Tshivenḓa (S21)[1]

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P001 Shape of the augment: What is the shape of the augment?

V. no: there is no augment in the language

P002 Function of the augment: Does the augment fulfill a specific grammatical function?

V. n.a.: there is no augment in the language

P003 Shape of class 5: What is the shape of the class 5 nominal prefix?

V. 3: CV shape, possibly alternating with zero-marking

1σ)　**ḽi**-*ṱo*　　'eye'

2σ)　**ḽi**-*vhiḓa*　'grave'

N. CPx₅ *li-* can be omitted in some disyllabic inherent nouns. For example, *danda* 'wood' (pl. *ma-tanda* 'woods')

P004 Number of noun classes: How many noun classes are there? (including locative classes)

V. 20: 20 classes

cl.1)　**mu**-*nna*

　　　CPx₁-man

　　　'a man'

cl.2)　**vha**-*nna*

　　　CPx₂-man

　　　'men'

cl.1a)　*Ø-khotsi*

　　　CPx₁ₐ-father

　　　'father'

cl.2a)　**vho**-*khotsi*

　　　CPx₂ₐ-father

　　　'fathers'

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[1] A list of Tshivenḓa orthography symbols that differ from IPA is as follows (cf. Poulos 1990): 'bw' [bɣʷ] or [bj], 'dzh' [d͡ʒ], 'dzw' [d͡zʷ], 'ḓ' [ḓ], 'fh' [ɸ], 'hw' [ɣʷ] or [hʷ], 'k' [k'], 'kh' [kʰ], 'khw' [kʷʰ], 'ḽ' [ɭ], 'ng' [ŋg], 'ny' [ɲ], 'nz' [nd͡z], 'ṋ' [ṋ], 'ṅ' [ŋ], 'ṅw' [ŋʷ], 'ph' [pʰ], 'pfh' [p̪fʰ], 'r' [r], 'sh' [ʃ], 'sw' [s̶], 't' [t'], 'th' [tʰ], 'tsh' [t͡ʃʰ], 'tsw' [t͡sʷ], 'ty' [c], 'ṱ' [ṱ], 'ṱh' [ṱh], 'vh' [β], 'xw' [xʷ], 'y' [j], 'zh' [ʒ], 'zw' [z̶], 'a' [a] or [ɔ], 'e' [ɛ] or [e], 'i' [i], 'o' [ɔ] or [o], 'u' [u].

cl.3) **mu**-*ri*

CPx$_3$-tree

'a tree'

cl.4) **mi**-*ri*

CPx$_4$-tree

'trees'

cl.5) **d**anda

5.wood

'wood'   [agreement *ḽi*]

cl.6) **ma**-*tanda*

CPx$_6$-wood

'woods'

cl.7) **tshi**-*dulo*

CPx$_7$-chair

'a chair'

cl.8) **zwi**-*dulo*

CPx$_8$-chair

'chairs'

cl.9) *Ø-ndau*

CPx$_9$-lion

'a lion'

cl.10) *ndau*

10.lion

'lions'   [agreement is *dzi*]

cl.11) **lu**-*vhuḓa*

CPx$_{11}$-hare

'a hare'

cl.14) **vhu**-*vhuḓa*

CPx$_{14}$-hare

'hares'

cl.15) **u**-*tamba*

CPx$_{15}$-play

'playing'

cl.16) **fha**-*si*

CPx$_{16}$-down

'down'

cl.17) **ku**-*le*

CPx$_{17}$-far

'far'

cl.18) **mu**-*rahu*

   CPx$_{18}$-behind

   'behind'

cl.20) **ku**-*sidzana*

   CPx$_{20}$-girl

   'a small girl'

cl.21) **ḓi**-*thu*

   CPx$_{21}$-thing

   'a big thing; monster'

N. Many class prefixes also have allomorphs, especially zero forms, depending on lexical items. Noun classes 16, 17 and 18 refer to location. Noun class 20 is a diminutive prefix, and class 21 is an augmentative prefix.

P005 Class for infinitive: Does the infinitive take a noun class prefix?

V. yes

« class 15 »

i)   *u-tshimbil-a*

    15-walk-FV

    'to walk'

ii) *u-tshimbila   ndi zwavhuḓi kha   mutakalo.*

    15-walk   is   good   for   health

    'Walking is good for your health'

N. The infinitive/gerund marker is CPx15 *u-*.

P006 Class for diminutive: Is diminutive meaning expressed through the use of noun classes?

V. yes

i)   **ku**-*tanda*   cf.   *tanda*

    20-wood   5-wood

    'small wood'   'wood'

ii) **zwi**-*tanda*

    8-wood

    'small woods'

Limitedly, class 13 prefix can be used to express diminutive.

e.g.   **ka**-*budzi*   cf.   *mbudzi*

    13-goat   9-goat

    'a small goat'   'a goat'

N. The plural form of diminutive class is class 8, *zwi-*. Also, *-ana* can be added as in *tshi-budz-ana* 'a small goat'

P007 Class for augmentative: Is augmentative meaning expressed through the use of noun classes?

V. yes

e.g. *ḓi-thu*

21-thing

'a big thing; monster'

cf) **thu*

5-thing

'a thing'   [agreement is *ḽi*]

N. The augment prefix is *ḓi-*, and it is described as part of the noun class prefix system. Plural of this class 21 is regularly cl.6, i.e.

ma-ḓi-thu

CPx$_6$-CPx$_{21}$-thing

'big things; monsters'

P008 Noun class prefix omission: Is it possible to omit the noun class prefix when class membership is marked through agreement (on a modifier or on the verb)?

V. yes

i) *ndau   dzo   vozha*

lion   SM$_{10}$ escape

'lions escaped'

ii) *ndau   ṱhanu*

lion   five

'five lions'

cf) **dzi-ndau dzo   vozha*

10-lion   SM$_{10}$ escape

'(intended) lions escaped'

iii) *mi-ri   mi-vhili*

4-tree 4-two

'two trees'

N. When an agreement marker is present, class prefix may be omitted.

P009 Locative class prefixation: Can a noun take a locative class prefix?

V. no: another strategy is used, either locative suffixation (P010) or prepositional phrases

cl.16) **fha-**si

    16-down

    'down'

cl.17) **ku-**le

    17-far

    'far'

cl.18) **mu-**rahu

    18-behind

    'behind'

N. CPxs 16 and 17, *fha-* and *ku-* respectively. They exist, but they are neither productively used with other stems nor used as derivational suffixes.

P010 Locative class suffixation: Can a noun take a locative suffix?

V. yes

e.g.   *tshiṱanga-**ni***

        kitchen-LOC

        'in the kitchen'

P011 Locative subject markers: Are there locative subject markers on the verb?

V. yes

i)   *fha-si*   ***ho***   *oma*

      16-down SM_{16} dry-FV

      'On the ground it is dry'

ii)   *ku-le*   ***ha***   *vha-thu*

      17-far SM_{17} 2-man

      'it is far away from people'

iii)   *mu-rahu* *hanga* ***hu***   *na phosho*

      18-behind PRON SM_{18} is noisy

      'Behind me, it is noisy'

P012 Locative object markers: Are there locative pre-stem object markers on the verb?

V. yes

i)   *ndi*   *ya*   *fhasi*   *ha ṱafula*

      SM_{1SG} go   16.down of table

      I   go   under   of table

      'I go under the table'

ii)   *fhasi* *ndo* ***hu***   *fara*

      under SM_{1SG} OM_{16} touch

      'Under, I touched it'

iii) *kule   ndo   **hu**   swika*

far SM_{1SG} OM_{16} arrived

'Far, I arrived'

iv) *murahu   ndo   **hu**   kwama*

behind   I OM_{16} touched

'Behind, I touched (it)'

N. Locative pre-verb stem object markers only appear when the locative noun is preposed. When the locative noun is in the canonical position, the presence of the object marker yields an ungrammatical sentence.

P013 Locative enclitics: Are there locative post-verbal clitics?

V. no: such clitics do not exist in the language

P014 Independent subject pronouns: Are independent subject pronouns obligatory?

V. no

i) *ndi   guda   Tshivenḍa*

SM_{1SG} study   7-Venḍa

'I study the Venḍa language'

cf) **guda Tshivenḍa*

ii) *Ṋṋe   ndi   guda   Tshivenḍa*

$PRON_{1SG}$ SM_{1SG} study 7-Venḍa

'I myself study the Venḍa language'

cf) **Ṋṋe guda   Tshivenḍa*

N. Tshivenḍa doesn't have independent subject pronouns akin to English or Japanese. The subject agreement markers however are obligatory.

P015 Connective constructions: Is the order of connective constructions always head - connective - modifier?

V. no: not in all contexts

i) *kholomo   ya   khotsi*

cow $ASSC_9$ father   (head-connective-modifier)

'father's cow'

ii) *ya   khotsi kholomo   y-o   fa*

$ASSC_9$ father cow SM_9-PST die   (connective-modifier-head)

'FATHER's cow died'

iii) *kholomo   mbili*

cow   two   (head-modifier)

'two cows'

iv) *mbili   kholomo   dz-o   fa*

two   cow   SM$_{10}$-PST die   (modifier-head)

'TWO cows died'

N. Head-initial nominal phrases are the unmarked order. When modifiers are fronted, the modifiers are focused.

P016 Possessive pronouns: Are there distinct possessive pronominal forms for all noun classes and all speech act participants?

V. no: only for speech act participants

cl.1) *mu-nna   wa-we*

1-man   APx$_1$-POSS$_{3SG}$

'his/her man'

cl.2) *vha-nna   vha-we*

2-man   APx$_2$-POSS$_{3SG}$

'his/her people/men'

cl.3) *mu-ri   wa-we*

3-tree   APx$_3$-POSS$_{3SG}$

'his/her tree'

cl.4) *mi-ri   ya-we*

4-tree   APx$_4$-POSS$_{3SG}$

'his/her trees'

cl.5) *danda   ḽa-we*

5-wood   APx$_5$-POSS$_{3SG}$

'his/her wood'

cf) **ḽi-tanda   ḽa-we*

cl.6) *ma-tanda   a-we*

6-wood   APx$_6$-POSS$_{3SG}$

'his/her woods'

cl.7) *tshi-dulo   tsha-we*

7-chair   APx$_7$-POSS$_{3SG}$

'his/her chair'

cl.8) *zwi-dulo   zwa-we*

8-chair   APx$_8$-POSS$_{3SG}$

'his/her chairs'

cl.9) *Ø-ndau   ya-we*

9-lion   APx$_9$-POSS$_{3SG}$

'his/her lion'

cl.10) *ndau*   *dza-we*

       10.lion   APx$_{10}$-POSS$_{3SG}$

       'his/her lions'

cf) **dzi-ndau*   *dza-we*

N. The personal possessive pronouns have two different forms for speech act participants. The distinct possessive pronoun is not available for 3rd person singular.

1SG) *tsimu*   *ya-nga*

       CPx9.field   APx$_9$-POSS$_{1SG}$

       'my field'

2SG) *tsimu*   *ya-u*

       CPx9.field   APx$_9$-POSS$_{2SG}$

       'your (SG) field'

3SG) *tsimu*   *ya-we*

       CPx9.field   APx$_9$-POSS$_{3SG}$

       'his/her field'

1PL) *tsimu*   *ya-shu*

       CPx9.field   APx$_9$-POSS$_{1PL}$

       'our field'

2PL) *tsimu*   *ya-ṇu*

       CPx9.field   APx$_9$-POSS$_{2PL}$

       'your(pl) field'

3PL) *tsimu*   *ya-vho*

       CPx9.field   APx$_9$-POSS$_{3PL}$

       'their field'

1SG) *tsimu*   *ya*   *nṇe*

       CPx9.field   APx$_9$ PRON

       'my field'

2SG) *tsimu*   *ya*   *vhone*

       CPx9.field   APx$_9$ PRON

       'your (SG) field'

1PL) *tsimu*   *ya*   *hashu*

       CPx9.field   APx$_9$ PRON

       'our field'

2PL) *tsimu*   *ya*   *ene*

       CPx9.field   APx$_9$ PRON

       'your(pl) field'

3PL) *tsimu*   *ya*   *vhone*

CPx9.field   APx$_9$ PRON

'their field'

P017 Possessive pronoun agreement: Do the possessive pronouns agree in noun class with the possessed?

V. yes

cl.1)   *mu-nna*   *wa*   *shango*

       CPx1-man   ASSC$_1$ 5.country

       'a person of a country'

cl.2)   *vha-nna*   *vha*   *shango*

       CPx2-man   ASSC$_2$ 5.country

       'people/men of a country

cl.3)   *mu-ri*   *wa*   *shango*

       CPx3-tree   ASSC$_3$ 5.country

       'a tree of a country

cl.4)   *mi-ri*   *ya*   *shango*

       CPx4-tree   ASSC$_4$ 5.country

       'trees of a country

cl.5)   *danda*   *ḽa*   *shango*

       CPx5.wood   ASSC$_5$ 5.country

       'wood of a country

cl.6)   *ma-tanda*   *a*   *shango*

       CPx6-wood   ASSC$_6$ 5.country

       'woods of a country

cl.7)   *tshi-dulo*   *tsha*   *shango*

       CPx7-chair   ASSC$_7$ 5.country

       'a chair of a country'

cl.8)   *zwi-dulo*   *zwa*   *shango*

       CPx8-chair   ASSC$_8$ 5.country

       'chairs of a country'

cl.9   *Ø-ndau*   *ya*   *shango*

       CPx9-lion   ASSC$_9$ 5.country

       'a lion of a country'

cl.10) *ndau*   *dza*   *shango*

       lion   ASSC$_{10}$ 5.country

       'lions of a country'

P018 Kinds of possession: Are there specific possessive pronominal forms for different kinds of possession?

V. no: possessive pronouns do not display variation

P019 Possessor raising: Is possessor raising possible?

V. 2: yes, with inalienable possession only

i) *ndo*　*vunḓa*　*tsh-anḓa*　　*tsha*　　*ṅwana*
    SM$_{1SG}$ broke　CPx7-arm　　ASSC$_7$　　1.child
    'I broke the arm of a child'

ii) *ndo*　　*vunḓa*　*ṅwana*　　*tsh-anḓa*
    SM$_{1SG}$ broke　1.child　　7-arm
    'I broke child an arm.'

iii) *ndi*　*vhona*　*bugu*　　*ya*　　　*khonani*
     SM$_{1SG}$ see　　9.book　　ASSC$_9$　　1.friend
     'I see a friend's book'

cf) **ndi*　*vhona*　*khonani*　*bugu*
    SM$_{1SG}$ see　　1.friend　9.book

P020 Demonstrative morphology: Are there morphological divisions in the system of demonstratives? (e.g. in terms of spatial and temporal deixis and/or visibility)

V. 3: yes, there is a four-way distinction

i) *bugu*　　　*i-no*
    9.book　　　APx$_9$-DEMc
    'this book (very close to the interlocuters)'

ii) *bugu*　　　*i-yi*
    9.book　　　APx$_9$-DEMn
    'this book (near to the interlocuters)'

iii) *bugu*　　　*i-yo*
     9.book　　　APx$_9$-DEMr
     'that book (a bit away from the interlocuters)'

iv) *bugu*　　　*i-ḽa*
    9.book　　　APx$_9$-DEMd
    'that book over there (far away from the interlocuters)'

P021 Demonstrative agreement: Do the demonstratives agree in noun class with the head noun?

V. 1: yes, always

cl.1) ***mu**-nna*　　　***u**-no*
      1-man　　　　APx$_1$-DEMc
      'this person, this man'

cl.2) **vha**-*nna*   **vha**-*no*
       2-man   APx$_2$-DEMc
       'these people/men'

cl.1a) *Ø-khotsi*   **vha**-*no*
       1a.father   APx$_{1a}$-DEMc
       'this father'
       N. The prefix *vha-* is used as an honorific marker

cl.2a) **vho**-*khotsi*   **vha**-*no*
       2a-father   APx$_{2a}$-DEMc
       'these fathers'

cl.3) **mu**-*ri*   **u**-*no*
       3-tree   APx$_3$-DEMc
       'this tree'

cl.4) **mi**-*ri*   **i**-*no*
       4-tree   APx$_4$-DEMc
       'these trees'

cl.5) *danda*   **l̩i**-*no*
       5.wood   APx$_5$-DEMc
       'this wood'

cl.6) **ma**-*tanda*   **a**-*no*
       6-wood   APx$_6$-DEMc
       'these woods'

cl.7) **tshi**-*dulo*   **tshi**-no
       7-chair   APx$_7$-DEMc
       'this chair'
       N. *tshìnò* 'this' must be in low tone.

cl.8) **zwi**-*dulo*   **zwi**-no
       8-chair   APx$_8$-DEMc
       'these chairs'

cl.9) *Ø-ndau*   **i**-*no*
       9-lion   APx$_9$-DEMc
       'this lion'

cl.10) *ndau*   **dzi**-*no*
       10.lion   APx$_{10}$-DEMc
       'these lions'

cl.11) **lu**-*vhuḓa*   **lu**-*no*
       11-hare   APx$_{11}$-DEMc
       'this hare'

cl.14) **vhu**-*vhuḓa*   **vhu**-*no*

14-hare   APx$_{14}$-DEMc

'these hares'

cl.15) **u**-*tamba*   **hu**-*no*

15-play   APx$_{15}$-DEMc

'this playing'

cl.16) **fha**-*si*   **hu**-*no*

16-down   APx$_{16}$-DEMc

'this down'

cl.17) **ku**-*le*   **fha**-*no*

17-far   APx$_{17}$-DEMc

'this far'

cl.18) **mu**-*rahu*   **fha**-*no*

18-behind   APx$_{18}$-DEMc

'this behind'

cl.20) **ku**-*sidzana*   **ku**-*no*

20-girl   APx$_{20}$-DEMc

'this small girl'

cl.21) **ḓi**-*thu*   **ḽi**-*no*

21-thing   APx$_{21}$-DEMc

'this big thing; monster'

N. Demonstratives in classes 17 and 18 can also be expressed by *hu-no* as in *kule huno fhisa* 'a far place that is hot' for class 17, as in *murahu huno fhisa* 'a back that is hot' for class 18.

P022 Functions of demonstratives: In addition to spatial-deictic functions, do the demonstrative pronouns assume other functions?

V. no: only spatial-deictic functions

e.g.   **vhaḽa**   *vhone*   *vha*   *nga*   *si*   *ḓe*

DEMd$_2$ PRON$_2$ SM$_2$ may   NEG   come

'Those, they may not come'

N. Relative clause marker is different from demonstratives

e.g.   *vhomme*   **vhane**   *vha*   *ḓa*   *tshikoloni*   *vha*   *na thuso*

mothers   REL$_{2a}$ SM$_{2a}$ come   to.school   SM$_{2a}$ be   helpful

'Mothers who come to school are helpful'

P023 Lexical adjectives: Are there lexical adjectives? (i.e. which are not syntactically complex)

V. yes

e.g.   *mu-tukana*   *mu-ṱuku*

1-boy   APx₁-small

'a small boy'

other adjective stems (i.e., which take APx as an agreement marker):

-*tswu* 'dark', -*hulu* 'big', -*lapfu* 'tall (human)', -*sekene* 'lean, thin', -*nzhi* 'many', -*swa* 'new, young', -*aluwa/-lala* 'old'

N. Lexical adjectives (or morphologically "genuine" adjectives which take an APx as an agreement marker) are not so many in number.

N. The derivational suffix -*ho* changes a verb stem into an adjective.

e.g.   -*lemelaho* 'heavy', -*leluwaho* 'light', -*ṱapilaho* 'sweet', -*konḓaho* 'hard', -*kunaho* 'clean', -*tshikafhalaho* 'dirty

N. The quantifier *zwo-ṱhe*   'all' agrees in noun classes.

i)   *bugu*   *dzo-ṱhe*

10.book   APx₁₀-all

'all books'

ii)   *vha-tukana*   *vho-ṱhe*

2.boy   APx₂-all

'all boys'

P024 Adnominal concord prefixes: Are there different forms/paradigms for adnominal concord prefixes?

V. yes: different concord prefixes apply depending on the type of modifier

i)   *u-yu*   *mu-tukana*   *mu-ṱuku*

APx₁-DEMn   1-boy   APx₁-small

'this small boy'

ii)   *mu-tukana*   *u-yu*   *mu-ṱuku*

1-boy   APx₁-DEMn   APx₁-small

'this SMALL boy'

iii)   *mu-tukana mu-ṱuku*   *u-yu*

1-boy   APx₁-small   APx₁-DEMn

'THIS small boy'

P025 Attributive linkers: Are there attributive linkers which are used to introduce adjectives?

V. no: another strategy is used to introduce adjectives

i)   *ndi   ṭoḓa   thanda dzi   lemelaho*

        I   want   wood APx$_9$ heavy

        'I want heavy wood'

ii)   *ndi   ṭoḓa   thanda dza   khotsi anga*

        I   want   wood ASSC$_9$ father POSS$_{1SG}$

        'I want my father's wood'

iii)   *thanda khulwane*

        wood big

        'big wood'

N. Derived adjectives require the adjective prefix.

P026 *-yánà compounding: Is a form related to *-yánà 'child' productively used in word formation as the first member of a nominal compound (e.g. to express diminutive or group membership…)?

V. no: such compounding is not attested

e.g.   *mbudz-**ana***

       9.goat-little

       'little goat'

N. One example of initial *ṅwana* is found in the example where *ṅwana* 'child' (pl. *vhana*). is used with the suffix *-nyana* that refers to the female gender.

e.g.   ***ṅwana**-nyana*

       child-FEM

       'girl, daughter'

P027 Nominal derivational suffixes: Does the language productively use nominal derivational suffixes for the expression of diminutive meanings or feminine/augmentative/qualitative meanings? (e.g. expressed by forms similar to -yánà and kazi ?)

V. 1: yes, for diminutive meaning only

« Suffix *-ana* »

e.g.   *mbudz-**ana***

       9.goat-little

       'little goat'

N. Augmentative is expressed using a prefix.

P028 Agentive suffix -*i*: Does suffixation of the agentive marker -*i* occur as a verb-to-noun derivational process (possibly in addition to classes 1/2 prefixes)?

V. 1: yes, it is used productively

i)   *mu-tshimbil-i*
       1-walk-NMLZag
       'a person who walks'

ii)   *mu-imb-i*
       1-sing-NMLZag
       'a singer'

P029 Derivational suffix -*o*: Does the suffixation of -*o* occur as a verb-to-noun derivational process (with sometimes the addition of the applicative extension)?

V. 2: yes, but it is no longer productive

i)   *phindul-o*
       answer-NMLZabs
       'response'

cf)   *fhindula* 'to answer'

ii)   *lu-fun-o*
       11-love-NMLZabs
       'love'

P030 Cardinal numerals: Does the formation of cardinal numerals below ten obey a pattern?

V. 1: yes, it is based on 5

1)   *nthihi* 'one' [adjective]

2)   *mbili* 'two' [adjective]

3)   *raru* 'three'   cf. *tharu* [adjective]

4)   *nṇa* 'four' [adjective]

5)   *ṭhanu* 'five (cl.9)' [also as adj. cl.10 as -*ṭhanu*]

6)   *ṭhanu na nthihi*   /   *rathi*
       'six (5 + 1)'   'six (cl.9)'

7)   *ṭhanu na mbili*   /   *sumbe*
       'seven (5+2)   'seven (cl.9)'

8)   *ṭhanu na tharu*   /   *malo*
       'eight (5 + 3)   'eight (cl.9)'

9)   *ṭhanu na nṇa*   /   *ṭahe*
       'nine (5 + 4)'   'nine (cl.9)'

10)   *fumi*
       'ten (cl.5)'

N. Numerals one to five are used as numeral adjectives. Numerals from 6 to 9 are traditionally based on 5, but modern days numbers are created around 1956 when the Bantu Education Act was enacted.

P031 'arm' and 'hand': Is there a single stem that denotes both 'arm' and 'hand'?

V. yes

i)   *tsh-anḍa*

     7-arm/hand

     'an arm, a hand'

ii)   *zw-anḍa*

     8-arm

     'arms, hands'

P032 'hand' and 'finger': Is there a single stem that denotes both 'hand' and 'finger'?

V. no: two different words

i)   *mu-nwe*

     3-finger

     'a finger'

ii)   *mi-nwe*

     4-finger

     'fingers'

N. for 'hand' see P031.

P033 'leg' and 'foot': Is there a single stem that denotes both 'leg' and 'foot'?

V. no: two different words

i)   *mu-lenzhe*

     3-leg

     'a leg'

ii)   *mi-lenzhe*

     4-leg

     'legs'

iii)   *lwayo*

     foot

     'a foot (cl.11)'

iv)   *ṇayo*

     feet

     'feet (cl.10)'

v)   *tshi-kunwe*

7-toe

'a toe'

vi)   *zwi-kunwe*

8-toe

'toes'

P034 'tea': Is the word for 'tea' similar to *cha*?

V. no

e.g.   *tie*

9/10.tea

'tea [SG/PL]'

P035 Inchoative verbs: Is there a group of verbs expressing qualities or states which are lexically inchoative and are thus typically used with a perfect/perfective verb form to express a present state? (e.g. fall asleep, be full, be late, be dirty, etc)

V. no: such qualities or states are expressed by means of another strategy

« by subject agreement marker »

i)   *mu-gudi*   ***o***   *eḓela*

1-student   SM$_1$.PRS   sleep

'The student is asleep'

cf)   **mu-gudi*   ***u***   *eḓela*

1-student   SM$_1$ sleep

ii)   *mu-gudi*   *u*   *nwa*   *maḓi*

1-student   SM$_1$ drink   water

'The student drinks water'

iii)   *mu-gudi*   ***o***   *nwa*   *maḓi*

1-student   SM$_1$-PST   drink   water

'The student drank water'

iv)   *mu-tukana **o***   *fura*

1-boy   SM$_1$-PRS   full

'The boy is full'

v)   *Ǹwana*   ***o***   *aluwa*

1-child   SM$_1$-PRS   grow.PRF

'The child has grown'

N. The example below shows that 'be dirty' is not the same class of verb.

e.g. *lufhera   lu   na   tshikha*

       11.room   SM$_{11}$ PRS COP   dirty

       'The room is dirty'

If *eḓela* is followed by an adverb, the sentence in i-cf) is acceptable.

e.g. *Mu-gudi   u   eḓela masiari   oṱhe*

       1-student SM$_1$ sleep afternoon whole

       'a student sleeps the whole afternoon'

P036 Canonical passive: Is the canonical passive productively expressed through a verbal extension?

V. yes

i)   *ndo   rw-iw-a*

      SM$_{1SG}$ beat-PASS-FV

      'I was beaten'

ii)   *tshi-mange   tsho   luṅ-w-a*

      7-cat   SM$_7$ bite-PASS-FV

      'The cat was bitten'

iii) *tshi-mange   tshi   a   lum-a*

      7-cat   SM$_7$ PRS   bite-FV

      'The cat bites'

N. The passive suffix -*iw* attaches to any active verbs. Phonological processes affect the surface form.

P037 'Impersonal' passive: Can an 'impersonal' construction be used to express passive meaning?

V. ?

« yes, using a class 17, without the expression of an agent noun phrase »

e.g. *hu   khou shuṅ-w-a   tshikolo-ni*

       SM$_{17}$ COP   work-PASS-FV   school-LOC

       'There is being worked at the school.'

N. The impersonal passive meaning 'there is …' is only possible when the passivized verb occurs with the existential morpheme *hu* in the subject position.

P038 Agent noun phrase: How is the agent noun phrase (when present) introduced?

V. 3: by another preposition

« *nga* 'by' »

e.g.   *tshi-mange*   *tsho*   *luṅ-w-a*   *nga*   *mmbya*

        7-cat SM_7 bite-PASS-FV by   9.dog

        'The cat was bitten by the dog'

P039 Bare agent: Can the preposition/copula which introduces the agent be omitted?

V. no: its presence is always required

e.g.   **tshi-mange*   *tsho*   *luṅ-w-a*   *mmbya*

        7-cat SM_7 bite-PASS-FV 9.dog

        '(intended) The cat was bitten by the dog'

P040 Reciprocal/associative: How is reciprocal/associative meaning expressed?

V. 1: through the use of a verbal affix only

e.g.   *ro*   *fh-an-a*   *mpho* *mu-vhundu-ni*

        SM_{1PL} give-RECP-FV   gift   3-village-LOC

        'We gave gifts to each other in the village'

P041 Other functions for -*an*-: Does the suffix -*an*- (or similar form) have functions other than reciprocal (e.g. antipassive function)?

V. no: the suffix -*an*- only has a reciprocal function

P042 Causative: How is causative meaning expressed?

V. 1: through the use of verbal affixation only

i)   *mme*   *vha*   *nw-is-a*   *ṅwana* *maḓi*

        mother SM_{1a} drink-CAUS-FV child   water

        'The mother makes (causes) the child to drink water'

ii)   *mu-nna*   *u*   *bik-is-a*   *mu-swa*   *ṇama*

        1-man SM_1 cook-CAUS-FV 1-youngman meat

        'The man helps/causes the young man to cook meat'.

P043 Instrumental causative: Can the causative extension be used to introduce prototypical instruments?

V. yes

e.g.   *mu-nna*   *u*   *bik-is-a*   *mu-swa*   *nga*   *bodo*

        1-man SM_1 cook-CAUS-FV 1-youngman with   pan

        'The man helps/causes the young man to cook with a pan'.

P044 Applicative: How are applicative constructions formed?

V. 1: through the use of a verbal affix only

e.g. *khonani ya-nga yo reng-el-a ṅwana wa-yo mu-kapu*

friend PPx9-my SM9-PST buy-APPL-FV child PPx1-POSS1 3-porridge

'My friend bought porridge for his/her child'

P045 Applicative functions: In addition to the benefactive meaning typically associated with the applicative complement, do applicative constructions convey other meanings?

V. yes

e.g. *mu-nna u tshimbil-el-a tshelede*

1-man SM1 walk-APPL-FV money

'The man is walking for money'

N. When applicative is used with intransitive verbs, it denotes 'purpose'.

P046 Multiple applicative extensions: Can two (or more) applicative extensions be productively used in the same verb form?

V. no: no more than one applicative suffix can be attached to a verb

e.g. *khonani yo reng-el-a ṅwana mu-kapu wa tshikoloni*

friend SM9-PST buy-APPL-FV child 3-porridge school

'A friend bought porridge for a child for school'

P047 Neuter/stative: Is there a productive neuter/stative extension?

V. 1: yes, the suffix *-ik-* or similar form

i) *nomboro dzi-khou vhal-e-a*

10.number SM10-PRS read-NEUT-FV

'The numbers are readable'

ii) *zwi-ambaro zwi-khou kuvh-e-a*

8-cloth SM8-PRS wash-NEUT-FV

'The clothes are washable'

N. The suffix *-e-* is quite productive and can be used together with different types of verbs.

P048 Order of suffixes: Is there a specific order in which multiple productive verbal extensions typically appear?

V. 2: the order reflects the order of the derivation

N. CARP?

Causative-Applicative-Reciprocal-Passive

is-el-an-w

-is-el-

e.g. *mu-nna* *u* *tshimb-idz-el-a* *mu-fumakadzi goloyi*
1-man SM₁ move-CAUS-APPL-FV 1-woman car
'The man moves the car for the woman'

-is-an-

e.g. *mu-nna* *na* *mu-fumakadzi vha* *swiel-is-an-a* *nnḓu*
1-man and 1-woman SM₂ sweep-CAUS-RECP-FV house
'The man and the woman help each other to sweep the house.'

-is-w-

e.g. *Ǹwana* *u* *ṱanzw-is-w-a* *nga* *mu-fumakadzi*
child SM₁ wash-CASU-PASS-FV by 1-woman
The child is caused to wash/washed by the woman.

-el-an-

e.g. *mu-nna* *na* *mu-fumakadzi vha* *bik-el-an-a* *mu-kapu*
1-man and 1-woman SM₂ cook-APPL-RECP-FV 3-porridge
'The man and the woman cook soft-porridge for each other.

-el-w-

e.g. *mu-nna* *u* *bik-el-w-a* *nga* *mu-fumakadzi*
1-man SM₁ cook-APPL-PASS-FV by 1-woman
'The man is cooking on for the woman'

-an-w-

e.g. *hu* *na* *u* *khaḓ-an-w-a* *nga* *zwanḓa*
SM₁₆ COP SM₁ shake-RECP-PASS-FV by hands
musi *vha* *tshi* *lumelis-an-a*
when SM₂ greet-RECP-FV
'There is being shaken with the hands when greeting each other.'

-is-el-an-

e.g. *mu-nna* *na* *mu-fumakadzi vha* *reng-is-el-an-a* *kholomo*
1-man and 1-woman SM₂ sell-CAUS-APPL-RECP-FV cow
'The man and the woman sell cows for/to each other'

-is-el-w-

e.g.   *mu-tukana u*   *reng-is-el-w-a*   *bugu* *nga*   *Mavhungu*

       1-boy   SM$_1$ sell-CAUS-APPL-PASS-FV book   by   Mavhungu

       'The book is being sold to the boy by Mavhungu'

-is-an-iw-

e.g.   *hu*   *na*   *u*   *reng-is-an-w-a*   *kha*   *ḽi-horo*   *he-ḽi*

       SM$_{16}$ COP INF   sell-CAUS-RECP-PASS-FV in   5-organization   this-CPx$_5$

       'There is a selling of each other in this organization'

-is-el-an-iw-

e.g.   *hu*   *na*   *u* *reng-is-el-an-w-a*   *ha* *zwi-ḽiwa*

       SM$_{16}$ be   sell-CAUS-APPL-RECP-PASS-FV of 8-food

       'There is bartering of food with each other'

N. All combinations of the CARP suffixes are possible in Tshivenda.

P049 Negation in independent tenses: What are the formal means of expressing negation in independent tenses?

V. 4: multiple strategies

« (1: by morphological modification of the verb, and 3: by a periphrastic construction) »

Non-past tense

i)   *ndi*   *a*   *funa*   *bugu*

      I   PRS   like   book

      'I like books'.

ii)   *a*   ***thi***   *fun-**i***   *bugu*

      SM$_{1SG}$.PRS   NEG   like-NEG book

      'I don't like books'.

iii)   *ndi*   *ḓo*   *funa*   *bugu*.

      SM$_{1SG}$ FUT   like   book

      'I will like the book'.

iv)   *a*   ***thi***   *nga*   *fun-**i***   *bugu*.

      SM$_{1SG}$.PRS   NEG   POT   like-NEG book

      'I will not like the book'. (future1)

v)   *a*   ***thi***   *nga*   *ḓo*   *funa*   *bugu*.

      SM$_{1SG}$.PRS   NEG   POT   FUT   like   book

      'I will not like the book'. (future2)

vi) *ndi*   *khou*   *vhala* *bugu*.

SM$_{1SG}$.PRS   PROG read   book

'I am reading the book'.

vii) *a*   **thi**   *vhal-**i***   *bugu*.

SM$_{1SG}$.PRS   NEG   read-NEG book

'I am not reading the book'. (progressive)

Past tense

i) *ndo*   *vha*   *ndi*   *tshi*   *funa*   *bugu*

I.PST   AUX   I   PST   like   book

'I liked books'.

ii) *ndo*   *vha*   *ndi*   **sa**   *fun-**i***   *bugu*

I.PST   AUX   I   NEG   like-NEG book

'I didn't like books'.

P050 Negation in dependent tenses: What are the formal means of expressing negation in dependent tenses?

V. 4: multiple strategies

« (1: by morphological modification of the verb, and 3: by a periphrastic construction) »

i) *ni*   **songo**   *shuma*

   ni   *sa-ngo*[2]   *shuma*

   you   IMP.NEG work

'Don't work!'

ii) *arali* *ni* **sa** *gidimi* *ni* *ḓo* *lenga*

   if   you NEG run   you will be.late

'If you don't run, you will be late'

Non-past tense

i) *u* *humbula* *uri*   *ndi*   *a*   *funa*   *bugu*

   he think   COMP I   PRS like   book

'He thinks I like books'.

ii) *u* *humbula* *uri*   *a*   **thi** *fun-**i***   *bugu*

   he think   COMP PRS NEG like-NEG book

'He thinks I don't like books'.

---

[2] A reviewer pointed out that it is rare to find this construction in modern Tshivenḓa. The etymology of the word *songo* is *sa-ngo,* but the form *sa* is no longer traceable in Tshivenda.

iii) *u   ri   ndi   ḓo   funa   bugu.*

    he say I   FUT like   book

    'He says I will like the book'.

iv) *u   ri   a   **thi**   nga   fun-**i**   bugu.*

    u *ri*   I   NEG POT like-NEG book

    'He says I will not like the book'. (future)

v) *u   ri   a   **thi**   nga   ḓo   funa   bugu.*

    u *ri*   I   NEG POT FUT like   book

    'He says I will not like the book'. (future)

vi) *u   humbula   uri   ndi   khou   vhala   bugu.*

    he think   COMP I   PROG read   book

    'He thinks I am reading the book'.

vii) *u   humbula   uri   a   **thi**   vhal-i   bugu.*

    he think   COMP I   NEG read-NEG book

    'He thinks I am not reading the book'. (progressive)

Past tense

i) *o*   *humbula   uri   ndo   vha   ndi   tshi   funa   bugu*

    he-PST   think   COMP I.PST AUX I   PST   like   book

    'He thought I liked books'.

ii) *o*   *humbula   uri   ndo   vha   ndi   **sa**   fun-**i**   bugu*

    he-PST   think   COMP I.PST AUX I   PST   like-NEG book

    'He thought I didn't like books'.

P051 Negation in relative clauses: Is negation in relative clauses expressed in the same way as in another clause type?

V. 4: yes, either as in dependent tenses or independent tenses (two different strategies)

N. Present tense in relative clauses patterns together with the past tense (in dependent/independent clauses, it patterns together with the future tense).

Future tense relative: *thi*

i) *u   renga   bugu   dzi-ne   nda   ḓo   dzi   funa*

    he buy   book   10-REL I   FUT OM_{10} like

    'He buys books that I will like'.

ii) *u   renga   bugu   dzi-ne   a   **thi**   nga   dzi   fun-i*

    he buy   book   10-REL   I   NEG POT OM_{10} like-NEG

    'He buys books that I will not like'. (future)

Present tense relative: *si*

i)   *u renga bugu dzi-ne   nda   dzi funa*

       he buy   book   10-REL   I OM_{10} like

       'He buys books that I like'.

ii)   *u renga bugu dzi-ne   nda   **si**   dzi fun-e*

       he buy   book   10-REL   I   NEG OM_{10} like-NEG

       'He buys books that I don't like'.

Past tense relative: *sa*

i)   *u renga bugu dz-e   nda   vha   ndi   tshi   dzi   funa*

       he buy   book   10-REL   I   PST   I OM_{10} like

       'He buys books that I liked'.

ii)   *u renga bugu dz-e   nda   vha   ndi   **sa**   dzi   fun-i*

       he buy   book   10-REL   I   PST   I   NEG OM_{10} like-NEG

       'He buys books that I did not like'.

P052 Place of negation in independent tenses: Where is negation expressed in independent tenses?

V. 5: two (or more) of above

« (2: the post-initial position only (SM-NEG) & 3: in the final vowel position of the inflected verb (see P080)) »

N. See P049.

P053 Place of negation in dependent tenses: Where is negation expressed in dependent tenses?

V. 5: two (or more) of above

« (2: the post-initial position only (SM-NEG) & 3: in the final vowel position of the inflected verb) »

N. see P050.

P054 Number of negation markers in independent tenses: How many markers of negation are there in independent tenses?

V. 3: obligatory double marking in the clause

« (count both NEG and the -*i* verbal suffix) »

N. see P049

P055 Number of negation markers in dependent tenses: How many markers of negation are there in dependent tenses?

V. 3: obligatory double marking in the clause

« (count both NEG and the -*i* verbal suffix) »

N. see P050

P056 Independent negative particle: Is there an independent negative particle used to express negation?

V. no: not attested in the language

P057 First person singular negative: Is there a specific first person singular negative subject prefix which is different from the affirmative one?

V. 1: yes, in all contexts (all tense/aspect/mood)

i)   *ndi   renga   bugu*
     SM$_{1SG}$PRS   buy   book
     'I buy a book'

ii) *a   thi   rengi   bugu*
     SM$_{1SG}$PRS   NEG   buy.NEG   book
     'I don't buy a book'

iii) *a   thi   ngo   renga   bugu*
     SM$_{1SG}$PRS   NEG   PST   buy   book
     'I didn't buy a book'

iv) *a   thi   nga   rengi   bugu*
     SM$_{1SG}$PRS   NEG   POT   buy.NEG   book
     'I will not buy a book'

v)   *a   thi   nga   ḍo   renga   bugu*
     SM$_{1SG}$PRS   NEG   POT   FUT   buy   book
     'I will not buy a book'

P058 Negative imperative: Is there a negative imperative which is formally distinct from the negative subjunctive?

V. no

« the form is not distinct »

i)   *ni   **songo**   shuma*
     ni   sa-ngo   shuma
     IMP   NEG-PST   work
     'Don't work!'

ii) *vho   amba   uri   ri   **songo**   shuma*
     they.PST say   COMP we NEG-PST   work
     'They said that we should not work'

iii) *ndi   tenda   uri   a   u   vhoni*
     SM$_{1SG}$PRS   believe   COMP   you   INF   see.NEG
     'I believe that you don't see'

P059 Periphrastic negation: Is negation in certain tense/aspect/moods expressed by means of a periphrastic form (e.g. making use of an auxiliary construction or a verb like 'refuse/deny' for instance)? (see P049)

V. null: unknown

i) *u   hana*

INF   deny

'to deny'

ii) *u   lamba*

INF   refuse

'to refuse'

iii) *ndi   lamba u   nwa   maḓi*

$SM_{1SG}PRS$ refuse SM_{15} drink   water

'I refuse to drink water'

iv) *a   thi   athu   nwa   maḓi*

$SM_{1SG}PRS$ NEG   ever   drink   water

'I have not as yet drunk water'

P060 Subject-verb agreement: Is there subject-verb agreement?

V. yes

cl.1) *ṅwana   u   ḓo   tamba*

1.child SM_1 FUT   play

'A child will play'

cl.2) *vha-na   vha   ḓo   tamba*

2-child SM_2 FUT   play

'Children will play'

cl.3) *mu-ri   u   ḓo   wa*

3-tree SM_3 FUT   fall

'A tree will fall'

cl.4) *mi-ri   i   ḓo   wa*

4-tree SM_4 FUT   fall

'Trees will fall'

cl.5) *tombo   ḽi   ḓo   wa*

5.stone SM_5 FUT   fall

'A stone will fall'

cl.6 *ma-tombo a   ḓo   wa*

6-stone SM_6 FUT   fall

'Stones will fall'

cl.7) *tshi-vhoni tshi ḓo wa*
7-mirror SM$_7$ FUT fall
'A mirror will fall'

cl.8) *zwi-vhoni zwi ḓo wa*
8-mirror SM$_8$ FUT fall
'Mirrors will fall'

cl.9) *nguluvhe i ḓo ḽ-iwa*
9.pig SM$_9$ FUT eat-PASS
'A pig will be eaten''

cl.10) *nguluvhe dzi ḓo ḽ-iwa*
10.pig SM$_{10}$ FUT eat-PASS
'Pigs will be eaten'

P061 Animate agreement: Can animate nouns show subject agreement with class 1/2 regardless of class membership? (without class shift, e.g. the addition of a diminutive class)

V. no: animate nouns trigger agreement with their inherent classes

e.g. *dendele ḽi khou amba*
5.important_person SM$_5$ PROG talk
'An important person talks'

cf) ***dendele u khou amba**

P062 1st and 2nd person plurals: Are first person plural and second person plural subject prefixes identical?

V. no: first person plural and second person plural subject prefixes are formally distinct

N. The 1st person plural is *ri*, and the 2nd person plural is *inwi*.

P063 Honorific plural: Can plural persons be used to express an honorific singular?

V. 2: class 2 morphology

e.g. *khotsi **vha** nwa maḓi*
father SM$_{2a}$ drink water
'Father drinks water'

N. The class 2 morphology is used for expressing honorifics.

P064 Coordinated nominals: What subject agreement does the verb show with coordinated nominals?

V. 2: the verb always shows agreement with the whole noun phrase (this includes default agreement)

i) *mu-nna na mmbwa zwi khou gidima zwo-ṱhe*
1-man and 9.dog SM$_8$ PROG run APx$_8$-all
'A man and a dog are running together'

ii) *goloi na dzembe zwo dzhiiwa*

9.car and 5.hoe SM$_8$ repossess-PASS-FV

'A car and furniture are repossessed'

Examples with [+human]

iii) *mu-nna na mu-sadzi vha tshimbila vho-ṱhe*

1-man and 1-woman SM$_2$ go APx$_2$-all

'The man and the woman go together'

N. For subject coordination of different classes, verbs take cl.8 agreement. If both nouns are human, verbs take cl.2 agreement.

P065 Past time reference: How is past time reference formally divided?

V. 1: there is a distinction between past and non-past only

i) *ndo mu vhona*

SM$_{1SG}$.PST OM$_1$ see

'I saw him'

ii) *ndo mu vhona mulovha*

SM$_{1SG}$.PST OM$_1$ see yesterday

'I saw him yesterday'

P066 Future time reference: How is future time reference formally divided?

V. 1: there is a formal distinction between future and non-future only

i) *ndi ḓo vhona*

SM$_{1SG}$.PRS FUT see-FV

'I will see'

ii) *ndi ḓo vhona matshelo*

SM$_{1SG}$.PRS FUT see-FV tomorrow

'I will see tomorrow'

P067 Suffix -*ag*-: Is there a tense/aspect (pre-final) suffix -*ag*- or a similar form used with an imperfective meaning (expressing for instance habituality/iterativity/pluractionality/intensity)?

V. no: habituality/iterativity/pluractionality/intensity are expressed through another strategy

e.g. *a nga kha ḓi vhona*

he POT PROG HAB see

'It is possible that he may still be seeing'

N. Habituality is expressed using *ḓi*.

P068 Suffix -*ile*: Is there a tense/aspect suffix -*ile* or a similar form (as a reflex of *-ide)?

V. no

e.g. *nd-o   vhona nguluvhe*
      SM₁SG-PST   see   9.pig
      'I saw a pig'

P069 Itive marker: Is there an itive motional/directional marker? (e.g. *ka-* prefix)

V. 4: yes, with another form (or forms) in all contexts

e.g. *ndi   ya rengela   vha-thu   zwi-ḽiwa*
      SM₁SG go buy   2-people   8-food
      'I go and buy food for people'

Past tense requires *u*

e.g. *ndo   ya u   rengela   vha-thu   zwi-ḽiwa*
      SM₁SG   go INF   buy   2-people   8-food
      'I went and bought food for people'

N. The prefix *ka-* is not used as an itive marker in Tshivenda. The itive marker can also be used in isolation.

e.g. *ndi   ya tshikoloni.*
      I   go school
      'I go to school'

Also, the main verb can be preceded by repeated pronoun.

e.g. *ndi   ya nda   rengela   vha-thu   zwi-ḽiwa*
      SM₁SG   go SM₁SG buy   2-people   8-food
      'I went and bought food for people'

P070 Ventive marker: Is there a ventive motional/directional marker ('come and V')?

V. no

e.g. *ndi   ḓa   u   rengela   vhathu zwi-ḽiwa*
      I   come   INF   buy   people 8-food
      'I come and buy food for people'

N. There is no ventive verb in Tshivenda.

P071 Imperatives: Is the basic imperative formally identical to the verb stem (root-ext.-FV)?

V. yes

i)   *ṭuw-a*

go-FV

'Go!'

ii)   *iḓa*

come

'Come!'   (cf. *ḓa* 'come')

P072 Plural imperatives: Is there a singular/plural distinction in imperative verb forms?

V.   1: yes, the plural is expressed by a post-verbal marker (suffix or enclitic)

i)   *ṭuw-a-ni*

go-FV-PL

'Go (PL)!'

ii)   *i-ḓa-ni*

PRF-come-PL

'Come!'   (cf. *ḓa* 'come')

N.   The prefix *i-* may be the 2nd person plural marker (*inwi* 'you (pl.)'). In monosyllabic verbs, the prefix *i-* is used in addition to the plural suffix *-ni*.

P073 TAM slots: In an inflected verb form, is preverbal marking of tense/aspect/mood typically restricted to one slot?

V.   no: there are two are more preverbal slots for tense/aspect/mood marking

tense (future)

e.g.   *khotsi*   *vha*   ***ḓo***   *ya*   *ḓoroboni*   *matshelo*

father   SM₂ₐ   will   go   to_town   tomorrow

'Father will go to town tomorrow'

aspect (progressive, perfect)

i)   *mme*   *vha*   ***khou***   *bika*   *vhuswa*

mother   SM₁ₐ   PROG cook   porridge

'Mother is cooking porridge'

ii)   *mme*   *vha*   ***khou*** ***ḓo***   *bika*   *vhuswa*

mother   SM₁ₐ   PROG FUT   cook   porridge

'Mother will be cooking porridge'   (cf. *khou = kha + u*)

iii)   *mme*   *vha*   ***kha*** ***ḓi***   ***ḓo***   *bika*   *vhuswa*

mother   SM₁ₐ   PROG HAB   FUT   cook   porridge

'Mother will be cooking porridge'

iv)   *mme*   *vha*   ***nga***   ***kha*** ***ḓi***   ***ḓo***   *bika*   *vhuswa*

mother   SM₁ₐ   POT   PROG HAB   FUT   cook   porridge

'In the future, there is a possibility that mother will be cooking porridge'

N. The order of the markers in Tshivenda is 'mood-aspect-tense'.

P074 Conjoint/disjoint: Does the language have a conjoint/disjoint distinction?

V. yes

DJ) *ndi   a   vhona*

       1SG   DJ   see

       'I see' (Disjoint)

CJ) *ndi   vhona   ndau*

       1SG   see   lions

       'I see lions' (Conjoint)

N. The morpheme *a* is not used with the conjoint form.

e.g.   **ndi a vhona ndau*

N. In counterfactual sentences, the main clause has a morpheme that is described to be an unqualified present (van Warmelo 1989:1).

e.g.   *arali   ndo   ya   Kruger   ndi   a   vhona   ndau*

       if   I.PST   go   Kruger   I   PRS   see   lion

       'If I go to Kruger, I see lions'

N. The disjoint-conjoint distinction is not used in the past tense.

i)   *ndo   vhona*

       1SG   see

       'I saw'

ii)   *ndo   vhona   ndau*

       1SG   see   lions

       'I saw lions'

P075 Object marking: Are there object markers on the verb (excluding locative object markers, see P012 & P013)?

V. 1: yes, there are only pre-stem object markers

i)   *ndi   vhona   ndau   bugu-ni*

       1SG   see   lions   book-LOC

       'I see lions in the book'

ii)   *ndi   dzi   vhona   bugu-ni*

      1SG OM_{10} see   book-LOC

      'I see them (= lions) in the book'

P076 Multiple object marking: Is it possible to have more than one pre-stem object marker?

V.   no: there is only one slot for pre-stem object marking

i)   *ndi   fha   mu-eni   nguluvhe*

      SM_{1SG} give   1-visitor   9.pig

      'I give a pig to a visitor'

ii)   *ndi   i   fha   mu-eni*

      SM_{1SG} OM_9 give   1-visitor

      'I give it (=pig) to a visitor'

iii)   *ndi   mu   fha   nguluvhe*

      SM_{1SG} OM_1 give   9.pig

      'I give a pig to him (=visitor)'

iv)   *ndi   mu   fha   yo-ne*

      SM_{1SG} OM_1 give PPx_9-PRON

      'I give it (=pig) to him (=visitor)'

v)   *ndi   i   fha   e-ne*

      SM_{1SG} OM_9 give PPx_1-PRON

      'I give it (=pig) to him (=visitor)'

cf)   **ndi   i   mu   fha*

      *ndi   mu   i   fha

P077 Reflexive: Is the reflexive expressed by a reflexive marker in a pre-stem verbal slot on the verb?

V.   1: yes, by a form similar to *-i-* (reflex of **yi*)

i)   *ndi ṱoda   u   **ḓi**-vhona*

      I   want   INF   REFL-see

      'I want to see myself'

ii)   *ndi ṱamba mu-vhili*

      I   wash   3-body

      'I wash myself'

N.   The verb *tamba* 'wash' uses body to add reflexive meaning.

P078 Object doubling: Can the object marker and the post-verbal lexical object noun phrase co-occur in the same domain? (excluding 'afterthought' constructions)

V.   1: yes, co-occurrence is possible/optional

i)   *ndi*   *vhona ndau*

        SM$_{1SG}$ see   lions

        'I see lions' (Conjoint)

ii)   *ndi*   *a dzi*   *vhona*

        SM$_{1SG}$ DJ OM$_{10}$ see

        'I see them'

iii)   *ndi*   *a dzi*   *vhona ndau*

        SM$_{1SG}$ DJ OM$_{10}$ see   lions

        'I see them'

iv)   *ndi*   *a dzi*   *vhona ndau*   *n̯amusi*

        SM$_{1SG}$ DJ OM$_{10}$ see   lions   today

        'I see the lions'

v)   *ndo*   *dzi*   *vhona ndau*

        SM$_{1SG}$ OM$_{10}$ see   lions

        'I saw lions' (Conjoint)

vi)   *ndo*   *bik-el-a*   *vhana*   *zwil̯iwa*

        I-PST cook-APPL-FV   2.child   food

        'I cooked food for the children'

vii)   *ndo*   *vha*   *bik-el-a*   *vhana*   *zwil̯iwa*

        I-PST OM$_2$ cook-APPL-FV   2.child   food

        'I cooked food for the children'

N. Doubling is allowed, but in the present tense disjoint is required. We are not aware of any required context at the moment. Adding the applicative suffix *-el-* to verbs such as *bik-a* (cook) leads to a ditransitive verb; hence there are two objects: ***vhana zwiliwa***. In addition, the order here is animate and inanimate respectively and there is no change of meaning if the order were to be vice-versa: ***zwiliwa vhana***.

P079 Subjunctive final -*e*: Is the subjunctive normally formed by means of a final -*e*? (with possible exceptions, such as loanwords)

V. yes

i)   *kha*   *ri*   *tamb-e*

        let   us   play-SBJV

        'Let's play.'

ii)   *vho*   *ya nnd̯a*   *uri*   *vha*   *tamb-e*

        SM$_2$ go out   in_order_to   SM$_2$ play-SBJV

        'They went out in order to play'

P080 Negative final vowel: Is there a negative final vowel (e.g. -*i*, -*e*)? (see also P052 and P053)

V. yes

N. See examples in P049, also

Present tense:

i)   *u   khou   vhala*

      SM₁   PROG read

      'He/She is reading'

ii)   *ha   khou   vhala*

      NEG   PROG read

      'He/She is not reading'

iii)   *ri   a   shuma*

      SM₁ₚₗ PRS   work

      'we work'

iv)   *a   ri   shum-i*

      NEG   SM₁ₚₗ work-NEG

      'we don't work'

Future tense

i)   *u   ḓo   vhala*

      SM₁   FUT   read

      'He/She will read'

ii)   *ha   nga   vhal-i*

      SM₁.NEG NEG   read-NEG

      'He/She will not read'

P081 Defective verbs: Are there 'defective verbs' which do not exhibit regular inflection?

V. 2: yes, a subset of (non-borrowed) words, such as 'know' or 'say'

i)   *ndi natsho*

      I   have.it

      'I have it'

ii)   *ndo   vha   ndi natsho*

      I.PST   PST   I   have.it

      'I had it'

iii)   *ndi a   ḓivha*

      I   DJ   know

      'I know'

iv)   *ndo   zwi   ḓivha*

      I.PST   OM₈   know

      'I knew'

v) *ndi a   zwi   amba*

I   PRS   OM$_8$ say

'I say it'

vi) *ndo   zwi   amba*

I.PST   OM$_8$ say

'I said it'

P082 TAM and auxiliaries: Are there dedicated auxiliaries for different tense/aspect/moods?

V.   no: all auxiliaries in the languages can be used with all tenses/aspects/moods

i) *ndo   vha   ndi   tshi   khou   ṅwala   vhuriḟhi*

SM$_{1SG}$.PST   be   SM$_{1SG}$ SIT   PROG   write   letter

'I have been writing a letter'

ii) *ndi   ḓo   vha   ndi   tshi   khou   ṅwala   vhuriḟhi*

SM$_{1SG}$ **FUT**   be   SM$_{1SG}$ PROG write   letter

'I will be writing a letter'

iii) *ndo   vhuya nda   ṅwala vhuriḟhi*

SM$_{1SG}$ **once**   SM$_{1SG}$ write   letter

'I once wrote a letter'

iv) *ndo   vhuya   ndo   ṅwala   vhuriḟhi*

SM$_{1SG}$ **come_back**   SM$_{1SG}$.PST   write   letter

'I came back while I have written the letter' (two clauses)

v) *nguluvhe dzi   dzula dzi   tshi   nwa   maḓi*

pigs   SM$_{10}$ **always** SM$_{10}$ SIT   drink   water

'Pigs always drink water'

vi) *nguluvhe dzi   ṱavhanya u   nwa   maḓi*

pigs   SM$_{10}$ **quickly**   INF   drink   water

'Pigs quickly drink water'

P083 Multiple auxiliaries: Can two (or more) auxiliaries co-occur with the same main verb form?

V.   yes: auxiliary constructions allow two (or more) auxiliaries

e.g. *nguluvhe dzi   dzul-**el**-a   u   ṱavhanya   u   nwa   maḓi*

pigs   SM$_{10}$ always   INF   quickly   INF   drink   water

'Pigs always quickly drink water'

P084 Agreement in complex constructions: In complex constructions, does the subject trigger agreement on both the auxiliary and the main verb?

V.   no: agreement only on one form, most probably the auxiliary

e.g.   *ndi*   *dzul-**el**-a*   *u*   *ṱavhanya*   *u*   *nwa*   *maḓi*

            SM$_{1SG}$ always   INF   quickly   INF   drink   water

            'I always quickly drink water'

cf)   **ndi*   *dzul-**el**-a* *ndi*   *ṱavhanya* *ndi*   *nwa*   *maḓi*

N. Only the first auxiliary verb triggers the subject agreement.

P085 Auxiliary semantics: Are there auxiliaries which express semantic notions beyond tense/aspect? (i.e. notions which are often expressed by adverbs in European languages, like manner such as 'quickly')

V. 3: yes, both 1 and 2 (1: yes, only in the domain of modality (ability, possibility, permission); 2: yes, only in the domain of verbal aspect (quickly, suddenly, repeatedly))

i)   *ndi*   *a*   *tendelwa*   *u*   *ṱavhanya*   *u*   *nwa*   *maḓi*

        SM$_{1SG}$ PRS   PERMISSION   INF   quickly   INF   drink   water

        'I am permitted to quickly drink water'

ii)   *ndi*   *dzul-**el**-a*   *u*   *ṱavhanya*   *u*   *nwa*   *maḓi*

        SM$_{1SG}$ always   INF   quickly   INF   drink   water

        'I always quickly drink water'

P086 Copula as auxiliary: Is the copula used as an auxiliary?

V. no

i)   *ndi*

        COP

ii)   *vhana ndi*   *vha-gudi*

        2.child COP   2-student

        'Children are students'

iii)   *vhana vha*   *khou*   *gidima*

        2.child SM$_2$ PROG   run

        'Children are running'

cf)   **vhana vha **ndi** khou gidima*

N. The copular verb is *ndi*. No known auxiliary use of *ndi* is reported.

P087 Verbal relative morphology: Are there relative forming strategies which employ verbal morphology?

V. no: relative verbs have no specific morphology, another strategy is used to express relativisation (P088)

i)   *mu-tukana*   *we*   *a*   *ri*   *thusa*

        1-boy   REL.PST$_1$ SM$_1$ OM$_{1PL}$ help

        boy who he us help

        'The boy who helped us'

ii) *mu-tukana*   *ane*   *a*   *ri*   *thusa*

     1-boy   REL.NPST$_1$ SM$_1$ OM$_{1PL}$ help

     'The boy who helps us'

iii) *mu-tukana*   *ane*   *a*   *ḍo*   *ri*   *thusa*

     1-boy   REL.NPST$_1$ SM$_1$ FUT   OM$_{1PL}$ help

     'The boy who will help us'

iv) *mu-tukana*   *we*   *a*   *si*   *ri*   *thus-e*

     1-boy   REL.PST$_1$ SM$_1$ NEG   OM$_{1PL}$ help-NEG

     'The boy who didn't help us'

v) *mu-tukana*   *ane*   *a*   *si*   *ri*   *thus-e*

     1-boy   REL.NPST$_1$ SM$_1$ NEG   OM$_{1PL}$ help-NEG

     'The boy who doesn't help us'

vi) *mu-tukana*   *ane*   *a*   *sa*   *ḍo*   *ri*   *thusa*

     1-boy   REL.NPST$_1$ SM$_1$ NEG   FUT   OM$_{1PL}$ help-NEG

     'The boy who will not help us'

P088 Nominal relative morphology: Are there relative strategies which employ a nominal relative marker?

V. yes

i) *mu-tukana*   *we*   *a*   *ri*   *thusa*

     1-boy   REL.PST$_1$ SM$_1$ OM$_{1PL}$ help

     boy who he us help

     'The boy who helped us'

ii) *vha-tukana*   *vhe*   *vha*   *ri*   *thusa*

     2-boy   REL.PST$_2$ SM$_2$ OM$_{1PL}$ help

     boys who he us help

     'The boys who helped us'

iii) *mu-ri*   *we*   *wa*   *wa*

     3-tree   REL.PST$_3$ SM$_3$ fall

     'The tree that has fallen'

iv) *mi-ri*   *ye*   *ya*   *wa*

     4-tree   REL.PST$_4$ SM$_4$ fall

     'The trees that have fallen'

v) *nguluvhe*   *ye*   *ya*   *ḽa*   *nga maanḓa*

     9.pig   REL.PST$_9$ SM$_9$ eat   much

     'The pig that ate a lot'

vi) *nguluvhe*   *dze*   *dza*   *ḽa*   *nga maanḓa*

     10.pig   REL.PST$_{10}$ SM$_{10}$ eat   much

     'The pigs that ate a lot'

[Examples below show an object relative clause]

vii) *mu-tukana*   *we*   *ra*   *mu*   *thusa*
     1-boy $REL.PST_1$ SM_{1PL} OM_1 help
     'The boy who we helped'

viii) *vha-tukana*   *vhe*   *ra*   *vha*   *thusa*
     2-boy $REL.PST_2$ SM_{1PL} OM_2 help
     'The boys who we helped'

N. Relative marker has a morphological form dependent on the noun class of the relative head noun. The non-past relative marker also agrees with the head noun.

P089 Relativisor agreement: When the relative marker is a separate word, does it agree with the head noun?

V. 1: yes, there is only one type of separate word or preverbal clitic relativisor in the language which always shows agreement

N. see the examples in P088

P090 Subject-Relativisor: When the relative marker is a separate word, can it be preceded by the subject in non-subject relative clauses?

V. no: the relative marker is invariable

e.g. *mu-tukana*   *we*   *Mpho*   *a*   *mu*   *thusa*
     1-boy $REL.PST_1$ Mpho SM_1 OM_1 help
     'The boy who Mpho helped'

cf) **mu-tukana Mpho we a mu thusa*

P091 Relative verb agreement: In non-subject relatives, what does the verb of the relative clause agree with?

V. 2: the subject

N. see the examples in P090

P092 Subject-Relative verb: In non-subject relatives, can the subject be preverbal?

V. yes

e.g. *mu-nna*   *o*   *ṱangana*   *na*   *mu-tukana*   *we*   *Mpho*   *a*   *mu*   *thusa*
     1-man $SM_1.PST$ meet   with   1-boy   REL.PST   Mpho SM_1 OM_1 help
     'The man met the boy who Mpho helped'

N. The subject is by default in the preverbal position.

P093 Resumptive pronouns in relatives: In non-subject relatives, is there a resumptive element referring to the head noun (through object marking or independent pronoun)?

V.   3: yes, it is required in certain conditions

« it is required in certain condition [+animate]. »

[+animate] head noun

e.g. | *mu-nna* | *o* | *ṱangana* | *na* | *mu-tukana* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1-man | SM$_1$.PST | meet | with | 1-boy |

we		*Mpho*	*a*	*mu*	*thusa*
REL.PST$_1$		Mpho	SM$_1$	OM$_1$	help

'The man met the boy who Mpho helped'

cf) **mu-nna o ṱangana na mu-tukana we Mpho a thusa*

[-animate] head noun

i) | *mu-nna* | *o* | *vhona* | *goloi* | *ye* | | *Mpho* | *a* | *i* | *renga* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1-man | SM$_1$.PST | see | 9.car | REL.PST$_9$ | | Mpho | SM$_1$ | OM$_9$ | buy |

'The man saw a car that Mpho bought'

ii) | *mu-nna* | *o* | *vhona* | *goloi* | *ye* | | *Mpho* | *a* | *renga* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1-man | SM$_1$.PST | see | 9.car | REL.PST$_9$ | | Mpho | SM$_1$ | buy |

'The man saw a car that Mpho bought'

N.   The object marker is optional when the head noun is [-animate].

P094 Headless adverbial relatives: Can headless relatives be used as adverbial clauses, with, for instance, temporal ('when…'), locative ('where…'), or manner ('how…') meaning?

V.   yes

i) | *ndi* | *a* | *ḓivha* | *tshifhinga* | *tshine* | *Mpho* | *a* | *ḓa* | **ngatsho** |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| SM$_{1SG}$ | PRS | know | time | when | Mpho | SM$_1$ | come | RES.PRON |

'I know (the time) when Mpho comes'

ii) | *ndi* | *a* | *ḓivha* | *tshifhinga* | *tshine* | *Mpho* | *a* | *ḓa* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| SM$_{1SG}$ | PRS | know | time | when | Mpho | SM$_1$ | come |

'I know (the time) when Mpho comes'

iii) | *ndi* | *a* | *ḓivha* | *tshine* | *Mpho* | *a* | *ḓa* | **ngatsho** |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| SM$_{1SG}$ | PRS | know | what | Mpho | SM$_1$ | come | RES.PRON |

'I know what makes Mpho come' (only when the referent is nearby)

iv) | *ndi* | *a* | *ḓivha* | *tshine* | *Mpho* | *a* | *ḓ-el-a* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| SM$_{1SG}$ | PRS | know | what | Mpho | SM$_1$ | come-APPL-FV |

'I know (the reason) why Mpho comes for (something)' [Applicative is required]

cf) | **ndi* | *a* | *ḓivha* | *tshine* | *Mpho* | *a* | *ḓa* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|

v)

ndi	a	ḓivha	muhumbulo	wa	u	ḓa	ha Mpho
SM$_{1SG}$	PRS	know	why		POSS	INF	come	to Mpho

'I know the reason why Mpho came'

N. Sentences with headless adverbial clauses for reasoning is allowed.

P095 Gapless relatives: Are gapless relatives/noun-modifying clauses attested?

V. no

i)

nnḓu	i	khou	swa
house	SM$_9$	PROG	burn

'the house is burning'

ii)

mu-nukho	wa		nnḓu	i	no	khou	swa
3-smell	ASSC$_3$		house	SM$_9$	PROG	PROG	burn

'the smell of house burning'

cf)

*mu-nukho	**we**		nnḓu	i	khou		swa

[the phrase 'house is burning' cannot be combined with a relative clause marker, *we*]

P096 TAM and relatives: Can relative clauses express the full range of tense/aspect/mood distinctions found in main clauses?

V. yes

N. See the examples in P087

P097 Clefts: How are clefts formed?

V. 1: through the use of a segmentally expressed copula

i)

ndi	nnyi	o	ḓa-ho?
COP	who	PST	come-

'Who came?'

ii)

ndi	Mpho	**we**	**a**	ya	hayani.
COP	Mpho	REL.PST$_1$	SM$_1$	go	home

'It is Mpho that went home'

N. The structure of cleft construction is formed with *ndi-* # NP # relative clause.

P098 Clefted word classes: In addition to canonical noun phrases, may other categories be clefted?

V. yes

(temporal adverb)

i)

mulovha	ndo		renga	bugu
yesterday	SM$_{1SG}$.PST		buy	book

'Yesterday I bought a book'

ii) *ndi   mulovha   he   nda   renga bugu*
COP   yesterday REL₁₈ SM₁SG.PST   buy   book
'It is yesterday I bought a book'

(locative)

i) *ndi   hafhaḽa   he   nda   renga bugu*
COP   there   REL₁₇ SM₁SG.PST   buy   book
'It is there I bought a book'

ii) *ndi   hafhaḽa   he   nda   renga hone   bugu*
COP   there   REL₁₅ SM₁SG.PST   buy   RES.PRON.LOC book
'It is there I bought a book'

iii) *ndi   he   nda   renga hone   bugu*
COP   REL₁₅ SM₁SG.PST   buy   RESPRN.LOC   book
'It is where I bought a book'

N. See also examples in P097.

P099 Yes/no questions: In addition to intonation, are there other means used to encode yes/no questions (polar interrogatives)?

V. yes

i) *ni   ṱoḓa   u   ḽa tshiswiṱulo?*
SM₂SG want   INF   eat lunch?
'Do you want to eat lunch?'

ii) ***nandi** ni   a   ṱoḓa   u   ḽa tshiswiṱulo   **vho**?*
QP   SM₂SG PRS   want   INF   eat lunch   QP?
'Do you want to eat lunch?'

iii) *tshiswiṱulo   ni   a   ṱoḓa   u   tshi   ḽa*
lunch   SM₂SG PRS   want   INF   SIT   eat
'Do you want to eat lunch?'

N. *nandi* and *vho* are question elements that are optional.

P100 Wh-element location: In the dominant strategy for argument wh-questions, where does the wh-element typically appear?

V. 6: difficult to distinguish a dominant strategy

i) *mu-tukana   u   khou vhala mini?*
1-boy   SM₁   PROG read   what
'What does the boy read?'

ii) *o   reng-el-a   vha-na   mini?*
PST   buy-APPL-FV   2-child   what
'What did he buy for the children?' [in situ]

iii) *o   reng-el-a   mini   vha-na?*
PST   buy-APPL-FV   what   2-child
'What did he buy for the children?' [IAV]

iv) *o   ḽisa   hani   vhana?*
PST   feed   how   2.child
'How did you feed the children?' [in situ]

v) *o   ḽisa   vhana   hani?*
PST   feed   2.child   how
'How did you feed the children?' [IAV]

vi) *ndi   lini   he   vha   ḽisa   vha-na?*
COP   when   REL$_{17}$ you   feed   2-child
'When did you feed the children?'   [cleft]

vii) *vho   ḽisa   vha-na   lini?*
'When did you feed the children?'   [in-situ]

viii) *vho   ḽisa   lini   vha-na?*
'When did you feed the children?'   [IAV]

ix) *ndi   ngafhi he   vha   ḽisa   vhana?*
COP   where   REL$_{15}$ you   feed   2.child
'Where did you feed the children?'   [cleft]

x) *vho   ḽisa   vha-na   ngafhi?*
you   feed   2-child   where
'Where did you feed the children?'   [in-situ]

xi) *vho   ḽisa   ngafhi   vha-na?*
you   feed   where   2-child
'Where did you feed the children?'   [IAV]

xii) *vho   ḽis-el-a   ngafhi vha-na?*
you   feed-APPL-FV   where 2-child
'Where did you feed the children?' [IAV]

N. Basically wh-elements are placed in situ and IAV position. The wh-element can also appear in cleft constructions.

P101 'why' applicatives: Can 'why' be formed through the combination of an applicative on the verb + 'what'?

V. yes

i) *ndi   ngani   vho   eḓela*

    COP   why   SM₂   sleep

    'Why did they sleep?

ii) *vho   eḓel-el-a   mini?*

    SM₂SG sleep-APPL-FV   what

    'Why did you sleep?

P102 Equative predication: How is equative predication achieved with non-discourse participants?

V. 1: an invariable copula only

i) *Mpho ndi   mu-gudi*

    mpho   COP   1-student

    'Mpho is a student'

ii) *ndau   ndi   phukha*

    lion   COP   animal

    'Lions are animals'

N. See also P086

P103 Affirmative copula: In the copula system, what is the form of the affirmative copula?

V. n.a.: there is no copula in the language

i) *ndi mu-gudi*

    I   1-student

    'I am a student

ii) *a   thi   mu-gudi*

    SM₁SG NEG   1-student

    'I'm not a student'

P104 Copula's other meanings: In addition to equative predication, may a copula form be used to convey other meanings?

V. n.a.: there is no copula in the language

P105 'to have': How is possession ('to have') expressed?

V. 4: both 1 and 2 (1: a possessive copula only (subject marker + preposition); 2: the verb 'be' + preposition 'with' only)

i) *Mpho u   **na**   bugu*

    Mpho   SM₁   with   book

    'Mpho has a book'   [subject marker + preposition]

ii)	*Mpho*	*u*	*ḓo*	*vha*	*na*	*vha-na*
	Mpho	SM₁	FUT	DEP.COP	with	2-child

'Mpho will have children'   [verb "be" + preposition "with"]

iii)	*u*	*vha*	*na*	*vha-na*	*ndi*	*zwavhuḓi*
	INF	DEP.COP	with	2-child	COP	good

'To have children is good'

P106 Verb + cognate object: Are there verbal constructions with obligatory cognate objects?

V. no

« no, probably »

i)	*ndi*	*lora*	*mu-loro*
	I	dream	3-dream

'I dream a dream'

ii)	*ndi*	*a*	*lora*
	I	PRS	dream

'I dream'

N. Cognate objects can co-occur in verbal constructions, but they are not obligatory.

P107 Verb doubling constructions: Are there verb doubling constructions, where a non-finite verb form (e.g. infinitive, verbal base) appears before an inflected form of the same verb?

V. 1: yes, for verb focus

i)	*ndo*	*tshimbilatshimbila*	*na*	*ma-shango*
	SM₁SG.PST	walk.walk	with	6-world

'I traveled around the world'

ii)	*ni*	*tshimbil-e-tshimbil-e*	*na*	*ma-shango*
	you	walk.walk	with	6-world

'You must travel around the world.'

iii)	*ndo*	*imaima*	*nga*	*ma-fhungo*
	SM₁SG.PST	stand.stand	about	6-issue

'I tried to solve the problem.'

iv)	*ndo*	*imaima*	*nga*	*ma-fhungo*	*aṋu*
	SM₁SG.PST	stand.stand	about	6-issue	your

'I tried to solve your problem.'

P108 Light verb constructions: Are there complex predicates or light verb constructions of the form *beat colour* 'to paint'? (e.g. '-piga rangi' in Swahili)

V. yes

« (*ita* 'to make') »

i)   *u   ita*
     INF   do
     'to make, do'

ii) *ndo   ita   mu-ano*
     I   make   vow
     'I made a vow'

iii) *ndo   ita   tshikolodo*
     I   make   debt
     'I incurred debt'

iv) *u   rwa*
     INF   beat
     'to beat'

P109 Passivisation in ditransitives: In double object constructions, can either object become subject under passivisation?

V. yes

i)   *Mpho   u   fha   ṅwana bugu*
     Mpho   SM$_1$ give   child   book
     'Mpho gives a book to a child'

ii) **bugu   i   fh-iw-a**   *ṅwana nga   Mpho*
     book   SM$_9$ give-PASS-FV   child   by   Mpho
     'A book is given to a child by Mpho'

iii) *ṅwana u   **fh-iw-a**   bugu   nga   Mpho*
     child   SM$_1$ give-PASS-FV   book   by   Mpho
     'A child is given a book by Mpho'

P110 Object marking in ditransitives: In double object constructions, can either object be expressed by an object marker, independently of the other object?

V. yes

i)   *Mpho   u   fha   ṅwana bugu*
     Mpho   SM$_1$ give   child   book
     'Mpho gives a book to a child'

ii) *Mpho   u   a   mu   fha   bugu*
     Mpho   SM$_1$ PRS   OM$_1$ give   book
     'Mpho gives a book to him'

iii) *Mpho   u   i   fha   ṅwana*
     Mpho   SM$_1$ OM$_9$ give   child
     'Mpho gives it to a child'

iv) **Mpho u i fha** *ṅwana bugu*

Mpho SM$_1$ OM$_9$ give child book

'Mpho gives it to a child'

N. Double object markers are not allowed. For both objects to be a pronoun, one of them have to be independent pronoun.

i) *Mpho u a mu fha yone*

Mpho SM$_1$ PRS OM$_1$ give PRON$_9$

'Mpho gives it to him'

ii) *Mpho u a i fha ene*

Mpho SM$_1$ PRS OM$_9$ give PRON$_1$

'Mpho gives it to him'

P111 Pro-drop: Can the grammatical subject be omitted (i.e. is there pro-drop)? (link with P060)

V. no

3PL) *vha ḓo dala*

SM$_2$ FUT visit

'They (=children) will visit'

cf) **ḓo dala*

N. The context of these examples is taken from P060. The agreement marker is obligatory.

P112 Dem-Noun: Is it possible for a demonstrative to precede the head noun?

V. 3: yes, and an additional demonstrative follows the noun: DEM-NOUN-DEM

« DEM-NOUN-DEM is possible »

i) *bugu iyi i a konḓa*

book DEMn$_9$ SM$_9$ PRS difficult

'This book is difficult'

ii) *iyi bugu i a konḓa*

DEMn$_9$ book SM$_9$ PRS difficult

'This book is difficult'

iii) *iyi bugu iyi i a konḓa*

DEMn$_9$ book DEMn$_9$ SM$_9$ PRS difficult

'This book is difficult'

iv) *i a konḓa iyi bugu*

SM$_9$ PRS difficult DEMn$_9$ book

'This book is difficult'

v)   *i   a   konḓa   iyi   bugu   iyi*
     SM$_9$ PRS   difficult   DEMn$_9$ book   DEMn$_9$
     'This book is difficult'

N.   The attested Dem-Noun order has a focus meaning on the demonstrative.

P113 Quant-Noun: Is there a prenominal quantifier?

V.   no

i)   *bugu   dzo-ṱhe*
     book   APx$_{10}$-all
     'all books'

ii) *dzo-ṱhe   bugu*
     APx$_{10}$-all   book
     'all books'

iii) *bugu   dzi-ṅwe*
     book   APx$_{10}$-some
     'some books'

iv) *dzi-ṅwe   bugu*
     APx$_{10}$-some   book
     'some books'

N.   Quantifiers can appear in the prenominal position only if there is a focus on the quantifier.

P114 Possessive in multiple modifiers: In the case of co-occurring modifiers, does the possessive normally appear closest to the noun?

V.   no

i)   *nguluvhe   mbili   khulwane   dza   Mpho*
     9.pig   two   big   ASSC$_9$ Mpho
     'two big pigs of mpho'

ii) *dza   Mpho   nguluvhe   mbili   khulwane*
     ASSC$_9$ Mpho   9.pig   two   big
     'two big pigs OF MPHO'

N.   The possessive modifier normally appears as a final modifier. However, the possessive modifier can be placed immediately before the head noun if the possessive phrase is focused.

P115 SVO: Is Subject-Verb-Object the canonical constituent order in a neutral context (topic/comment)?

V.   yes

e.g.   *Mpho   u   renga   mbudzi*
       Mpho   SM$_1$ buy   9.goat
       'Mpho buys goats'

P116 Control of object order: In ditransitive constructions, are there mechanisms which control the order of multiple objects?

V. 2: yes, the order is determined by the thematic/semantic properties of objects

i)   *Mpho u   ramb-el-a   **mu-eni**   **khotsi***

Mpho SM$_1$ invite-APPL-FV 1-visitor   father

'Mpho invites father for a visitor'

ii)   *Mpho u   ramb-el-a   **khotsi**   **mu-eni***

Mpho SM$_1$ invite-APPL-FV 1a.father 1-visitor

'Mpho invites visitor for father'

iii)   *Mpho u   reng-el-a   **khotsi**   **nguluvhe***

Mpho SM$_1$ buy-APPL-FV 1a.father 9.pig

'Mpho buys a pig for father'

iv)   *Mpho u   reng-el-a   **nguluvhe khotsi***

Mpho SM$_1$ buy-APPL-FV 9.pig   1a.father

'Mpho buys father for a pig'

(inanimate)

e.g.   *Mpho o   reng-el-a   badzhi gunubu*

Mpho SM$_1$.PST buy-APPL-FV   jacket buttons

'Mpho bought buttons for the jacket'

cf)   **Mpho o reng-el-a   gunubu   badzhi*

(animacy effect)

e.g.   *ndo   ḓivhadza Mpho munyanya*

SM$_{1SG}$.PST   introduce Mpho party

'I introduced Mpho to the party'

cf)   **ndo ḓivhadza   munyanya   Mpho*

N. The order is determined by animacy.

P117 Object order asymmetry: In pragmatically neutral ditransitive constructions, can either object be adjacent to the verb?

V. no

N. see the examples in P116.

N. The order of the object is fixed.

P118 Focus position: In simple main clauses, is there a specific syntactic focus position?

V. 5: two of the above strategies exist in the language

« 3: clause-initially or 4: clause-finally »

i) *Mpho   u   fha   mu-eni   nguluvhe*
    Mpho   SM$_1$ give   1-visitor   pig
    'Mpho gives a pig to a visitor

ii) *u   fha   mu-eni   nguluvhe   Mpho*
    SM$_1$ give   1-visitor   pig   Mpho
    'She gives a pig to a visitor, Mpho does'

iii) *nguluvhe, Mpho   u   i   fha   mu-eni*
    pig   Mpho SM$_1$ OM$_9$ give   1-visitor
    'The pig, Mpho gives it to a visitor'

N. The focus position is sentence-initial or sentence-final.

P119 Aux-Obj.pronoun-Verb: In auxiliary constructions, can object pronouns be placed between the auxiliary and the main verb?

V. no

i) *nguluvhe dzi   dzul-**el**-a   u   ṱavhanya   u   nwa   maḓi*
    pigs   SM$_{10}$ always   INF   quickly   INF   drink   water
    'Pigs always quickly drink water'

ii) *nguluvhe dzi   dzul-**el**-a   u   ṱavhanya   u   a   nwa*
    pigs   SM$_{10}$ always   INF   quickly   INF   OM$_6$ drink
    'Pigs always quickly drink it'

cf) **nguluvhe dzi   dzul-**el**-a   u   a   ṱavhanya   u   nwa*

P120 Infinitive-Auxiliary: Is it possible for an infinitive to appear before the auxiliary?

V. no

i) *u   dzul-**el**-a   u   ṱavhanya   u   nwa   zwo   vhifha*
    SM$_{15}$ always   SM$_{15}$ quickly   INF   drink   can   bad
    'To drink always quickly can be bad'

cf) **u dzul-**el**-a   u   nwa   u   ṱavhanya   zwo   vhifha*
     u nwa   u   dzul-el**-a   u   ṱavhanya   zwo   vhifha*

N. An infinitive cannot appear before auxiliaries.

P121 Verb-subject: Are there verb-initial clauses with subject inversion (e.g. thetic statements or subject focus)?

V. no

i) **vha   dzula   vha-limi   Ṱhohoyanḓou*
    SM$_2$ live   2-farmer   Thohoyandou
    '(intended) Farmers live in Thohoyandou'

ii) *vha-limi   vha   dzula   Ṱhohoyanḓou*
2-farmer   SM₂   live   Thohoyandou
'Farmers live in Thohoyandou'

P122 Locative inversion: Is locative inversion attested?

V.   ?

« yes »

i) *vha-limi   vha   dzula   Ṱhohoyanḓou*
2-farmer   SM₂   live   Thohoyandou
'Farmers live in Thohoyandou'

ii) *Ṱhohoyanḓou hu   dzula   vha-limi*
Thohoyandou SM₁₇   live   2-farmer
'Farmers live in Thohoyandou'

P123 Patient inversion : Is patient inversion (subject-object reversal) attested?

V.   no

cf)   **mafhi a nwa vhana*

e.g.   *vha-na   vha   nwa   mafhi*
2-child   SM₂   drink   milk
'Children drink milk'

P124 Instrument inversion: Is instrument inversion attested?

V.   no

e.g.   *lufo   lu   ritha   zwiḽiwa*
spatula   SM₅   stir   food
'The spatula (=cooking stick) is stirring the food'

cf)   **zwiḽiwa zwi ritha lufo*

P125 Conjunction 'and' : Is the conjunction 'and' used in coordinated nouns (or noun phrases) the same as the one used in coordinated clauses?

V.   yes

i) *nguluvhe **na**   mbudzi   zwo   shavha*
9.pig   and   9.goat   SM₈   run_away
'A pig and a goat ran away'

ii) *nguluvhe yo   shavha   **na**   ṅwana   o   nwa   mafhi.*
9.pig   SM₉   run_away and   1.child   PST   drink   milk
'A pig ran away and a child drank milk'

P126 Subsequent/consecutive: Is there any verbal marker to express combinations of clauses encoding subsequent/consecutive events?

V. yes

« a sequential narrative marker -*a*- »

e.g. *ndo ya Ṱhohoyanḓou, nda renga ṋama ya nguluvhe, nda i ḽa.*

I go Thohoyandou I.CONS buy meat of pig I OM$_9$ eat

'I went to Thohoyandou and bought a pork, and ate it'

N. There is a sequential marker -*a*- that can be used for expressing combinations of clauses encoding subsequent or consecutive events. The sentence can only be expressed with listing clauses, but the tense is coded only in the first clause.

P127 Complementiser presence: Is a subordinator/complementiser present in a subordinate clause?

V. 2: yes, necessarily

i) *ndi humbula **uri** vha-gudi vha guda nga maanḓa*

SM$_{1SG}$ think COMP 2-student SM$_2$ study a_lot

'I think that students study a lot'

ii) *a thi ḓivh-i **uri** vha-gudi vha guda nga maanḓa*

SM$_{1sg}$PRS NEG know-NEG COMP 2-student SM$_2$ study a_lot

'I don't know whether students study a lot'

iii) *a thi zwi ḓivh-i*

SM$_{1sg}$PRS NEG OM$_8$ know-NEG

'I don't know it (=whether students study a lot)'

P128 Complementiser location: Where does the subordinator/complementiser appear with respect to the subordinate clause?

V. 1: in front of the clause

N. See P0127

P129 Complementiser origin: Is there a subordinator/complementiser derived from a verb meaning 'say' or 'tell'?

V. yes

e.g. *u **ri** u ḓo ḓa*

SM$_1$ say SM$_1$ FUT come

'She says she will come'

P130 Complementiser agreement: Is there an agreement marker on the subordinator/complementiser?

V. no

P131 if-clauses expression: How are conditional clauses (or if-clauses) expressed?

V. 4: both a conjunction and a specific tense/aspect/mood are possible in the same clause

i)   ***arali***   *Roṇewa*   *a*   *ḓa,*   *ri*   *ḓo*   *ḽa vhuswa*

       if   Ronewa SM_1 come SM_{1PL} FUT   eat porridge

       'If Ronewa comes, we will eat porridge'

ii)   ***arali***   *Roṇewa*   *a*   *tshi*   *ḓo*   *ḓa,*   *ri*   *ḓo*   *ḽa vhuswa*

       if   Ronewa   NPST   FUT   FUT   come SM_{1PL} FUT   eat porridge

       'If Ronewa will come, we will eat porridge'

iii)   *Roṇewa*   *a*   *ḓa*   ***vho****,*   *ri*   *ḓo*   *ḽa vhuswa*

       Ronewa   NPST   come   if, SM_{1PL} FUT   eat porridge

       'If Ronewa comes, we will eat porridge'

iv)   ***arali***   *Roṇewa*   *a*   *ḓa*   ***vho****,*   *ri*   *ḓo*   *ḽa vhuswa*

       if   Ronewa   NPST   come   if, SM_{1PL} FUT   eat porridge

       'If Ronewa comes, we will eat porridge'

v)   ***arali***   *Roṇewa*   *a*   *ḓa*   *vho,*

       if   Ronewa   NPST   come   if,

       ndi   *hone*   *ri*   *tshi*   *ḓo*   *ḽa vhuswa*

       COP   when SM_{1PL} FUT   FUT   eat porridge

       'If Ronewa comes, then we will eat porridge'

P132 if-clause order: Does the subordinate if-clause always precede the main then-clause?

V. no

« (the main then-clause can precede the subordinate if-clause) »

e.g.   *ri*   *ḓo*   *ḽa vhuswa,*   ***arali***   *Roṇewa*   *a*   *ḓa*

       SM_{1PL} FUT   eat porridge   if   ronewa   NPST   come

       'If Ronewa comes, we will eat porridge'

P133 if-clause = then-clause: Do the verbs in the if-clause and the then-clause have the same tense/aspect marking?

V. no

N. see P132

P134 Hypothetical = Counterfactual: Are hypothetical (if I Ved) and counterfactual (if I had Ved) clauses expressed in similar ways?

V. yes

i) | *arali* | *ndo* | | *vha* | ***ndo*** | *guda,* | *ndo* | *vha* | *ndi* | *tshi* | *ḑo* | *vha* |
    | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
    | if | SM₁SG.PST | PST | | SM₁SG study | | SM₁SG | PST | SM₁SG | | FUT | PST |

$$SM_{1SG}.PST \quad PST \quad SM_{1SG} \quad FUT \quad PST$$

na	*mushumo*	*wa-vhuḑi*
with	job	of-good

'If I had studied, I would have a good job' (counterfactual)

ii) | *arali* | *ndo* | | *vha* | ***ndi*** | | *dokotela,* |
     | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
     | if | SM₁SG.PST | PST | | SM₁SG.PRS | | doctor |

ndo	*vha*	*ndi*	*tshi*	*ḑo*	*pfuma*
I	PST	I	SIT	will	be_rich

'If I were a doctor, I would be rich (hypothetical)'

N. The conjunction is the same, but the tense in the hypothetical clause (past) and the counterfactual clause (present) was not the same.

P135 Temporal adverbial clauses: How are temporal adverbial clauses formed (e.g. when-clause, once-clause, after-clause, before-clause, etc)?

V. 4: two or more of the above strategies

« 1: by the use of a specific adverbial conjunction AND 2: by the use of specific tense/aspect/mood marking (for 'before-clause') »

i) | *ndi a* | | ***zwi*** | *funa* | ***musi*** | *tshiswitulo* | | *tshi* | *tshi* | *swika* |
    | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
    | I | PRS | OM₈ | like | when | lunch | | SM₇ | SIT | arrive |

'I like it when the lunch arrives.'

ii) | ***nga*** | ***murahu*** | *ha musi* | *ndo* | *fhedza* | *ngudo* | *dzanga* | | *ndi* | *ḑo* | *ya* | *hayani* |
     | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
     | by | after | 17 when | SM₁SG | finish | study | my | | SM₁sg | FUT | go | home |

'After finishing my study, I will go home.'

iii) | *ndi ḑo* | | *nwa* | *maḑi* | *ndi* ***sa*** | ***athu*** | *ḽa* |
      | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
      | I | FUT | drink | water | I NEG | before | eat |

'I will drink water before I eat. (lit: I will drink water, I don't eat before)'

P136 Locative adverbial clauses: How are locative adverbial clauses ('where'-clauses) formed?

V. 3: by a specific locative relative construction

i) | *a* | *thi* | *ḑivh-i* | | ***uri*** | *khonani* | *dzanga* | *dzo* | *ya* | ***ngafhi*** |
    | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
    | I | neg | know-NEG | | COMP | friends | mine | SM₁₀ | go | RES.PRON.LOC |

'I don't know where my friends went.'

The complementizer *hune* is sometimes used for a locative adverbial clause.

ii) | *ndi* | *dalela* | ***hune*** | *vhabebi* | *vhanga* | *vha* | *dzula* | ***hone*** |
     | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
     | I | | visit | where | 2.parents | mine | SM₂ | stay | place |

'I visit where my parents live.'

iii) *a*   *thi*   *ḍivh-i*   **hune** *khonani* *dzanga* *dzo* *ya* **hone**

I   NEG   know-NEG   where friends   mine   SM₁₀ go place

'I don't know where my friends went.'

iv) *a*   *thi*   *dalel-i*   **hune** *vhabebi* *vhanga* *vha* *dzula* **hone**

I   NEG   visit-NEG where 2.parents mine   SM₂ stay place

'I don't visit where my parents live.'

v)   *a*   *thi*   *dal-i*   **ngauri** *vhabebi* *vhanga* *vho* *dzula* **ngafhi**

I   NEG   visit-NEG because 2.parents mine   SM₂ stay RES.PRON.LOC

'I don't visit because of where my parents lived'

P137 Comparative: How is the comparative (and by extension the superlative) conveyed?

V. 5: several of the above strategies are attested

i)   *nguluvhe* *iyi*   *ndi*   *khulw-ane*   *kha*   *iḽa*

pig   this   COP   big-CMPR   than   that

'This pig is bigger than that pig.'

ii) *nguluvhe* *iyi*   *yo*   *hula*   *u*   *fhira*   *iḽa*

pig   this   SM₉   big   INF   exceed   that

'This pig is bigger than that pig.'

iii) *nguluvhe* *iyi*   *ndi*   *khulu-sa*

pig   this   COP   big-COMP

'This pig is the biggest.'

N. Comparatives and superlatives employ a copula verb.

P138 SM in non-finite clauses: Can non-finite clauses have an overt subject? (For John to eat cookies is fun / John eating cookies is fun / people to play football is annoying)

V. yes

i)   **kha**   **Mpho** *u*   *ḽa* *vhu-swa*   *ndi*   *zwavhuḓi*

for   Mpho SM₁₅   eat 14-porridge   COP   good

'For Mpho to eat porridge is good'

ii) *vhaṅwe*   *vha-eni*   *vho*   *eḓela* *ngeno* *vhaṅwe*   *vha*   *tshi*   *khou*   *tshina*

some   2-visitor   SM₂   sleep while some   SM₂   SIT   PROG dance

'Some visitors slept and others to dance'

N. An overt subject is allowed but the subject has to be preceded by *kha* 'for'. In bi-clausal sentences, the second clause cannot have a non-finite clause preceded by a subject.

P139 Verb inflection in raising constructions: In raising constructions, can the raising verb (i.e. in the upper clause) and the main verb (in the lower clause) both be inflected?

V. yes

i) *vha-na   vha   vhonala   vha   tshi   bika   vhuswa*

    2-child   SM₂   appear   SM₂   SIT   cook   14.porridge

    'Children appear to cook porridge'

ii) *hu   vhonala   vhana   vha   tshi   bika   vhuswa*

    SM₁₇   appear   children   SM₂   SIT   cook   14.porridge

    'It appears that children cook porridge'

N. *vhonala* is a raising verb; agreement appears in both clauses. No raising with *ngari* 'seem'.

iii) *u   nga ri vha-na   vha   khou   bika   vhu-swa*

     SM₁₅   seem   children   SM₂   PROG cook   14-porridge

     'It seems that children are cooking porridge.'

iv) *u   nga ri vhana   vho   bika   vhu-swa*

     SM₁₅   seem   children   SM₂.PST   cook   14-porridge

     'It seemed that children cooked porridge'

v)   *Vha-na   u   nga ri vha   khou   bika   vhu-swa*

     2-child   SM₁₅   seem   SM₂.PRS   PROG cook   14-porridge

     'Children seem to be cooking porridge.'

vi) *Vhana   u   nga ri vho   bika   vhu-swa*

     2-child   SM₁₅   seem   SM₂.PST   cook   14-porridge

     'Children seemed to cook porridge.'

cf) **Vhana   vhanga   ri   vha   bika   vhu-swa*

     'Children can say that they cook porridge'

P140 Morphological focus marker: Can a focused term be marked by a morphological focus marker?

V. no: focalisation is rendered by another strategy (e.g. word order P118)

N. See P097 for cleft constructions.

P141 Focus-sensitive particles: Are there focus-sensitive particles such as 'too', 'only' or 'even'?

V. yes

i) ***na***   *Mpho o   renga nguluvhe*

    even   Mpho PST   buy   pig

    'Even Mpho bought a pig'

N. *naho* means 'even though' and requires a main clause.

ii)   **ndi**   Mpho   a   eṱhe   o   renga-ho   nguluvhe

   COP   Mpho   SM$_1$ alone   PST   buy-REL   pig

   'Only Mpho bought a pig'

iii)   Mpho   **fhedzi**   o   renga   nguluvhe

   Mpho   only   PST   buy   pig

   'Only Mpho bought a pig'

iv)   Mpho   o   renga   nguluvhe   **fhedzi**

   Mpho   PST   buy   pig   only

   'Mpho bought only a pig'

v)   Mpho   o   renga   nguluvhe   **fhedzi**

   Mpho   PST   buy   pig   only

   'Mpho only bought a pig (she didn't bring it home)'

vi)   Mpho   o   renga   **vho**   nguluvhe

   Mpho   PST   buy   also   pig

   '(other people bought a pig and) Mpho bought a pig, too'

vii)   Mpho   o   renga   **na**   nguluvhe

   Mpho   PST   buy   also   pig

   'Mpho bought (also) a pig (in addition to other animals)'

P142 Subject focalisation: Are the strategies available for questioning or focusing subjects different from those available for other constituents? (e.g. subjects have to be clefted and cannot be questioned in situ)

V. yes

i)   ndi   nnyi   o   renga-ho   nguluvhe

   COP   who   PST   buy-REL   9.pig

   'Who bought the pig?

ii)   nnyi   o   renga   nguluvhe

   who   PST   buy   9.pig

   'Who bought the pig? (as an echo question)'

iii)   ho   renga   nnyi   nguluvhe

   SM$_{16}$.PST   buy   who   9.pig

   'Who bought the pig?

N. Subject questions need to be used in the cleft construction.