



Xitsonga (S53)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) *ri-wa* ‘precipice’

2σ) *ri-koko* ‘crust’

N. CP_{X5} *ri-* can be omitted in some disyllabic inherent nouns. For example, *kwembe* ‘pumpkin’

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

V. 19: 19 classes

cl.1) *mu-nhu*

CP_{X1}-person

‘a person, a human being’

cl.2) *va-nhu*

CP_{X2}-person

‘people/human beings’

cl.1a) *tatana*

1a.father

‘father’

cl.2a) *va-tatana*

CP_{X2a}-father

‘fathers’

¹ In general, Xitsonga spellings are in principle phonetic, but exact phonetic values of some spellings may be different as follows: ph [p^h], py [pⁱ], bh [b], by [bⁱ], th [t^h], ty [tⁱ], thy [t^{hi}], dh [d], dy [dⁱ], kh [k^h], gh [gⁱ], tlh [t^h], v [β], vh [v], sw [s̥], x [ʃ], h [ɦ], hl [t̪], mh [m̪], nh [n̪], ny [ɲ], n' [ɲ], rh [r̪], y [j], c [t̪], and j [d̪].

- cl.3) ***mu-ti***
 CP_{X3}-village
 ‘a village’
- cl.4) ***mi-ti***
 CP_{X4}-village
 ‘villages’
- cl.5) ***ri-hlampfu***
 CP_{X5}-fence
 ‘a fence’
- cl.6) ***ma-hlampfu***
 CP_{X6}-fence
 ‘fences’
- cl.7) ***xi-hloka***
 CP_{X7}-axe
 ‘an axe’
- cl.8) ***swi-hloka***
 CP_{X8}-ax
 ‘axes’
- cl.9) ***Ø-nyimpfu***
 CP_{X9}-sheep
 ‘a sheep’
- cl.10) ***ti-nyimpfu***
 CP_{X10}-sheep
 ‘sheep’
- cl.11) ***ri-tswalo***
 CP_{X11}-mercy
 ‘mercy’
- cl.10) ***tin-tswalo***
 CP_{X10}-mercy
 ‘mercies’
- cl.14) ***vu-tama***
 CP_{X14}-completeness
 ‘completeness’
- cl.15) ***ku-tirha***
 CP_{X15}-work
 ‘working’
- cl.16) ***ha-nsi***
 CP_{X16}-below
 ‘below’

- cl.17) *ku-suhi*
 CP_{X17}-near
 ‘near’
- cl.18) *ndzhaku*
 18.behind
 ‘behind’
- cl.21) *dyi-movha*
 CP_{X21}-car
 ‘big car’

N. Many class prefixes also have allomorphs depending on lexical items.

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

V. yes

« cl.15 »

- i) *ku-hlaya*
 ku-hlay-a
 15-read-FV
 ‘to read’
- ii) *u rhandza ku-hlaya pephahungu*
 SM₁ like 15-read 5-newspaper
 ‘He likes reading newspaper.’

N. The infinitive/gerund marker is CP_{X15} *ku-*.

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

V. yes

- e.g. *xi-mbyany-ana*
 7-dog-DIM
 ‘a small dog’
- cf) *mbyana*
 9-dog
 ‘a dog’

N. Plural of the diminutive class is class 8.

- e.g. *swi-mbyany-ana*
 8-dog-DIM
 ‘small dogs’

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

V. yes

e.g. *dyi-mbyana*

21-dog

‘a big dog’

cf) *mbyana*

9-dog

‘a dog’

N. The augmentative prefix is not part of the noun class prefix system. Plural of this class 21 is regularly cl.6, i.e.

ma-dyi-mbyana

CP_{X6}-CP_{X21}-dog

‘big dogs’

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. no

e.g. **sangu* *ma-mbirhi*

sleeping.mat 6-two

‘two sleeping mats (intended)’

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) *ha-nsi*

16-down

‘down’

cl.17) *ku-suhi*

17-near

‘near’

cl.18) *ndzhaku*

18-behind

‘behind’

N. CP_{Xs} 16 and 17, *ha-* and *ku-* respectively, are neither productively used with other stems nor used as derivational suffixes. The agreement of locative nouns (productively derived by circumfixation of *e-NOUN-ini*) follow the noun class of the root noun.

- i) *e-ndlu-**ini*** [=endlwini]
 LOC-9.house-LOC
 ‘in the house’
- ii) *e-ndlu-**ini*** [=endlwini] *le-yi-kulu*
 LOC-9.house-LOC this-CPx9-big
 ‘in the big house’

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

V. yes

- i) *entshaveni*
*e-ntshava-**ini***
 LOC-mountain-LOC
 ‘(in) at a mountain [LOC noun]’
- ii) *ensin ’wini*
*e-nsimu-**ini***
 LOC-field-LOC
 ‘in the field [LOC noun]’

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

V. yes

« 16 »

- cl.16) *ehansi* *ka tsakama*
e-hansi ***ka**-tsakam-a*
 LOC-16.down SM₁₆-wet-FV
 ‘On the ground it is wet’
- cl.17) *kusuhi* *ka tsakama*
ku-suhi ***ka**-tsakam-a*
 17-near SM₁₆-wet-FV
 ‘Nearby it is wet’
- cl.18) *ndzhaku* *ka tsakama*
ndzhaku ***ka**-tsakam-a*
 18-behind SM₁₆-wet-FV
 ‘Behind it is wet’

N. The locative subject marking on the verb always takes class 16.

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

V. yes

- i) *ehansi ndzi ku khumb-ile*
 e-under SM_{1SG} OM₁₆ touch-PRF
 ‘Down, I have touched’
 (also possible ‘Down, I have touched you’, OM₁₆ and OM_{2SG} are both *ku*)
- ii) *kusuhi ndzi ku khumbile*
 near SM_{1SG} OM₁₆ touch-PRF
 ‘Nearby, I have touched’

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) *ndzi dya vuswa*
ndzi dya vu-swa
 SM_{1SG} eat 14-porridge
 ‘I eat porridge.’
 **dya vuswa*
- ii) *mina ndzi dya vuswa*
mina ndzi dya vu-swa
 PRON_{1SG} SM_{1SG} eat 14-porridge
 ‘I myself eat porridge.’

N. Xitsonga doesn’t have independent subject pronouns akin to English or Japanese. The subject agreement is obligatory, but the independent pronoun *mina*, that is focused, is not.

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

V. no: not in all contexts

- i) *xi-tulu xa tatana*
xi-tulu xa tatana
 7-chair ASSC₇ 1a.father (head-connective-modifier)
 ‘father’s chair’
- ii) *xa tatana xitulu*
xa tatana xi-tulu
 POSS₇ 1a.father 7-chair (connective-modifier-head)
 ‘FATHER’s chair’

- iii) *switulu swimbirhi*
swi-tulu swi-mbirhi
 8-chair 8-two
 ‘two chairs’ (head-modifier)
- iv) *swimbirhi switulu*
swi-mbirhi swi-tulu
 8-two 8-chair
 ‘TWO chairs’ (modifier-head)

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. yes

- cl.1) *mu-nhu wa yena*
 1-man ASSC₁ PRON₁
 ‘his man’
- cl.2) *va-nhu va yena*
 2-man ASSC₂ PRON₁
 ‘his people/men’
- cl.3) *mu-ti wa yena*
 3-home ASSC₃ PRON₁
 ‘his home’
- cl.4) *mi-ti ya yena*
 4-home ASSC₄ PRON₁
 ‘his homes’
- cl.5) *ri-hlampfu ra yena*
 5-fence ASSC₅ PRON₁
 ‘his fence’
- cl.6) *ma-hlampfu ma yena*
 6-fence ASSC₆ PRON₁
 ‘his fences’
- cl.7) *xi-hloka xa yena*
 7-axe ASSC₇ PRON₁
 ‘his axe’
- cl.8) *swi-hloka swa yena*
 8-ax ASSC₈ PRON₁
 ‘his axes’

- cl.9) *Ø-nyimpfu ya yena*
 9-sheep ASSC₉ PRON₁
 ‘his sheep’
- cl.10) *ti-nyimpfu ta yena*
 10-sheep ASSC₁₀ PRON₁
 ‘his sheep’

N. The following examples are possessive pronouns.

1SG) *ntanga wanga*
ntanga wa-nga
 3-garden ASSC₃-POSS_{1SG}
 ‘my garden’

1SG) *ntanga wa mina*
 3-garden ASSC₃ PRON_{1SG}
 ‘my garden’

2SG) *ntanga wa wena*
 3-garden ASSC₃ PRON_{2SG}
 ‘your [sg] garden’

2SG) *ntanga wa-ku*
 3-ntanga ASSC₃-POSS_{2SG}
 ‘your [sg] garden’

3SG) *ntanga wa yena*
 3-garden ASSC₃ PRON_{3SG}
 ‘his/her garden’

1PL) *ntanga wa hina*
 3-garden ASSC₃ PRON_{1PL}
 ‘our garden’

2PL) *ntanga wa n'wina*
 3-garden ASSC₃ PRON_{2PL}
 ‘your [pl] garden’

3PL) *ntanga wa vona*
 3-garden ASSC₃ PRON_{3PL}
 ‘their garden’

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

V. yes

- cl.1) *mu-nhu wa tiko*
 1-man ASSC₁ country
 ‘a person, a man of a country’
- cl.2) *va-nhu va tiko*
 2-man ASSC₂ country
 ‘people/men of a country’
- cl.3) *mu-rhi wa tiko*
 3-tree ASSC₃ country
 ‘a tree of a country’
- cl.4) *mi-rhi ya tiko*
 4-tree ASSC₄ country
 ‘trees of a country’
- cl.5) *ri-hlampfu ra tiko*
 5-fence ASSC₅ country
 ‘a fence of a country’
- cl.6) *ma-hlampfu ma tiko*
 6-fence ASSC₆ country
 ‘fences of a country’
- cl.7) *xi-hloka xa tiko*
 7-axe ASSC₇ country
 ‘an axe of a country’
- cl.8) *swi-hloka swa tiko*
 8-axe ASSC₈ country
 ‘axes of a country’
- cl.9) *Ø-nyimpfu ya tiko*
 9-sheep ASSC₉ country
 ‘a sheep of a country’
- cl.10) *ti-nyimpfu ta tiko*
 10-sheep ASSC₁₀ country
 ‘sheep 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) *ndzi tshovile voko ra n'wana*
 SM_{1SG} broke 5.arm ASSC₅ 1.child
 'I broke the arm of a child'
- ii) *ndzi tshovile n'wana voko*
 SM_{1SG} broke 1.child 5.arm
 'I broke child an arm.'
- iii) *ndzi vona buku ya munghana*
ndzi vona buku ya mu-nghana
 SM_{1SG} see 9.book ASSC₉ 1-friend
 'I see a friend's book'
- cf) **ndzi vona munghana buku*
 '(intended) I see friend a book'
- iv) *ndzi vona ya munghana buku*
ndzi vona ya mu-nghana buku
 SM_{1SG} see ASSC₉ 1-friend 9.book
 'I see a FRIEND's book'

N. Possessor raising is only possible with inalienable possession. In alienable possession construction, the possessor phrase can be fronted as a focus-driven phenomenon.

The colloquial form of *tshovile* 'broke' is *tshove*.

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) *miti leyi*
mi-ti la-iyi
 4-home DEM_n-AGR₄
 'these homes/families (near the interlocuters)'
- ii) *miti leyo*
mi-ti le-yo
 4-home DEM_r-AGR₄
 'those homes (near the listener)'
- iii) *miti liya*
mi-ti li-ya
 4-home DEM_d-AGR₄
 'those homes (very far the interlocuters)'

- iv) *miti* *lí!yáni*
mi-ti *li-yani*
 4-home DEMr-AGR₄
 ‘those homes (from the shared memory, but cannot see now)’

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

V. 1: yes, always

- cl.1) *mu-nhu* *lo-yi*
 1-person DEMn-Sx₁
 ‘this person’
- cl.2) *va-nhu* *la-va*
 2-man DEMn-Sx₂
 ‘these people’
- cl.3) *mu-ti* *lo-wu*
 3-village DEMn-Sx₃
 ‘this village’
- cl.4) *mi-ti* *le-yi*
 4-village DEMn-Sx₄
 ‘these villages’
- cl.5) *ri-hlampfu* *le-ri*
 5-fence DEMn-Sx₅
 ‘this fence’
- cl.6) *ma-hlampfu* *la-wa*
 6-fence DEMn-Sx₆
 ‘these fences’
- cl.7) *xi-hloka* *le-xi*
 7-axe DEMn-Sx₇
 ‘this axe’
- cl.8) *swi-hloka* *le-swi*
 8-ax DEMn-Sx₈
 ‘these axes’
- cl.9) *Ø-nyimpfu* *le-yi*
 9-sheep DEMn-Sx₉
 ‘this sheep’
- cl.10) *ti-nyimpfu* *le-ti*
 10-sheep DEMn-Sx₁₀
 ‘these sheep’

- cl.11) *ri-tswalo* *le-ri*
 11-mercy DEMn-Sx₁₁
 ‘this mercy’
- cl.10) *tin-tswalo* *le-ti*
 10-mercy DEMn-Sx₁₀
 ‘these mercies’
- cl.14) *vu-tama* *le-byi*
 14-completeness DEMn-Sx₁₄
 ‘this completeness’
- cl.15) *ku-tirha* *lo-ku*
 15-work DEMn-Sx₁₅
 ‘this working’
- cl.16) *ha-nsi* *la-ha*
 16-below DEMn-Sx₁₆
 ‘this below’
- cl.21) *dyi-mbyana* *le-dyi*
 21-dog DEMn-Sx₂₁
 ‘this big dog’

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

V. no: only spatial-deictic functions

N. Only the (near) demonstrative shares the form with relative clause marker., e.g.;

<i>Va ngehene</i>	<i>ekerekeni</i>	<i>laha</i>	<i>va ngeheneleke</i>
<i>va-ngehene-ile</i>	<i>e-kereke-ini</i>	<i>la-ha</i>	<i>va-ngehenelek-e</i>
SM _{3PL} -enter-PRF	LOC-9-church-LOC	DEMn-Sx ₁₆	SM _{1PL} -participate-PST
<i>xikhongelo</i>	<i>xa</i>	<i>madyambu</i>	
<i>xi-khongelo</i>	<i>x-a</i>	<i>ma-dyambu</i>	
7-prayer	PPx ₇ -ASSC	6-evening	

‘They have entered into the church where they participated in the evening prayer’

N. Demonstratives may be used as part of emphatic pronouns,

e.g. *volava* *va* *pasile*
vona-lava *va* *pas-ile*
 THOSE ONE SM_{3PL} pass-PRF
 ‘Those ones have passed (the exam).’

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

V. yes

e.g. *yindlu yitsongo*
yi-ndlu yi-tsongo
9-house PP_{x9}-small
'a small house'

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

-kulu 'big', *-tsongo/tsanana* 'small, few', *-nyingi* 'many', *-ntshwa* 'new', *-tsongo* 'young', *-mbe* 'other'; *-mbisi* 'raw'; *-nene* 'good'; *-kulukumba* 'big, senior'; *-n'wana* 'other'; *-n'wanyana* 'another'

these are stems with adjectival meanings:

-dzwii 'dark', *-leha* 'long, tall', *-koma* 'low, short', *-lala* 'lean, thin', *-lemi* 'zito', *-vevuka* 'light', *-hlatlisa* 'fast', *-nonoha* 'hard', *-olova* 'soft', *-nyanganya/tsokombela* 'sweet', *-kariha* 'sharp', *-kwalala* 'dull', *-basa* 'clean', *-thyaka* 'dirty', *-anama* 'wide', *-khale* 'old', *-kahle* 'good', *-biha* 'bad'

hinkwa- 'all' (not an adjective in Xitsonga)

N. Lexical adjectives (or morphologically "genuine" adjectives which take an AP_x as an agreement marker) are not so many in number. Verb stems can be productively used in relative clauses for deriving adjective-like meaning. e.g.;

n'wana loyietleleke
mu-ana la-uyi etlel-ek-e
1-child AP_{x1} sleep-STAT-FV
'A sleeping child (lit. a child who sleeps)'

cf) *n'wana u etlele*
mu-ana u etlel-e
1-child SM₁ sleep-STAT
'A child is sleeping'

e.g. *milomu leyi pfimbeke*
mi-lomu la-yi pfimb-ek-e
4-lip AP_{x4} swell-STAT-FV
'swollen lips (lit. lips that are swollen)'

cf) *milomu yi pfimbile*
mi-lomu yi pfimb-ile
4-lip SM₁₀ swell-STAT
'Lips are swollen'

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) *movha lowutsongo*
movha lo-wu-tsongo
3-car DEMn-APx₃-small
'this small car'
- ii) *vafana lavanene*
va-fana la-va-nene
2-boy DEMn-APx₂-good
'good boys'
- iii) *malamula lamambisi*
malamula la-ma-mbisi
6-orange DEMn-APx₆-unripe
'unripe oranges'
- iv) *buruku lerintshwa*
buruku le-ri-ntshwa
5-trouser DEMn-APx₅-new
'this pair of new trousers'
- v) *movha lowukulu*
movha lo-wu-kulu
3-car DEMn-APx₃-big
'a big car'

N. CPx and APx are not identical in classes 3/4 and 14. In 3/4, CPx is *mu-* and *mi-*, while APx is *wu-* and *yi-*, respectively. In cl.14, CPx is *vu-*, while APx is *byi-*.

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

V. no: another strategy is used to introduce adjectives

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

- i) *matinyana*
ma-ti-nyana
5-water-little
'little water'
- ii) *vanhunyana*
va-nhu-nyana
2-people-few
'few people'

- iii) *munyunyana*
mu-nyu-nyana
3-salt-little
'little salt'
- iv) *xinkwanyana*
xi-nkwa-nyana
7-bread-little
'little bread'
- v) *maritonyana*
ma-rito-nyana
6-word-few
'few words'
- vi) *xinkwanyana*
xi-nkwa-nyana
7-knife-small
'a small knife'

N. The word *n'wana* 'child' (pl. *vana*) is a cognate with the suffix *-nyana*.

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

(1) Suffix *-ana*

- i) *ximutana*
xi-mu-ti-ana
7-3-homestead-small
'a small homestead'
- ii) *ximovhana*
xi-movha-ana
7-3.car-small
'a small car'
- iii) *xibukwana*
xi-bukw-ana
7-9.book-little
'a booklet'
- iv) *xin'wanana*
xi-mu-ana-ana
7-1-child-little/small
'a small/little child'

(2) Suffix *-etana*

e.g. *xifanyetana*
xi-fany-etana
7-boy-little/small
'little boy/small'

(3) feminine suffix (obsolete)

e.g. *nhongontswele*
nhongo-ntswele
9.kudu_ antelope-female
'a female kudu antelope'

(4) masculine suffix (obsolete)

e.g. *nhongondhuna*
nhongo-ndhuna
9-kudu antelope-male
'a male kudu antelope'

(5) augmentative is expressed through prefix *dyi-* of noun class 21:

- i) *dyimunhu*
dyi-mu-nhu
21-1-person
'a very big person'
- ii) *dyiyindlu*
dyi-yi-ndlu
21-9-house
'a very big house'

(6) suffixes *-rhi/-ni/-bye* express possessive meaning.

- i) *n'wa-nakulo-rhi*
1-fellow-POSS_{1SG}
'my fellow'
- ii) *va-nakulo-ni*
2-fellow-POSS_{2SG}
'your fellows'
- iii) *va-nakulo-bye*
2-fellow-POSS_{3PL}
'their fellows'

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

(1) noun class 1: person

- i) *mufambi*
mu-famba-i
1-go-NMLZag
'a person who goes'
- ii) *mutirhi*
mu-tirha-i
1-work-NMLZag
'a worker'
- iii) *muaki*
mu-aka-i
1-build-NMLZag
'a builder'
- iv) *musweki*
mu-sweka-i
1-cook-NMLZag
'a cook'

(2) Noun class 7: Expert

- i) *xifambi*
xi-famba-i
7-go-NMLZag
'an expert / an excessive person'
- ii) *xitirhi*
xi-tirha-i
7-work-NMLZag
'an expert / excessive worker'
- iii) *xiaki*
xi-aka-i
7-build-NMLZag
'an expert builder'

N. However, with class 14, the suffix *-i* may be used with deverbal nouns that occur with the feature non-human, designated as [-human].

(3) Noun class 14: Act

- i) *vufambi*
vu-famba-i
14-go-NMLZabs
'going'
- ii) *vuaki*
vu-aka-i
14-build-NMLZabs
'building'
- iii) *vusweki*
vu-sweka-i
14-cook-NMLZabs
'cooking'

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. 1: yes, it is used productively

(1) Noun class 3: Event/Manner

- i) *ntshamo*
mu-tshama-o
3-sit-NMLZabs
'sitting'
- ii) *ntirho*
mu-tirha-o
3-walk-NMLZabs
'working'
- iii) *muako*
mu-aka-o
3-build-NMLZabs
'building'

(2) Noun class 5: Event/Excessive event/State

- i) *rihuho*
ri-huha-o
5-be.mad-NMLZabs
'madness'

- ii) *rifambo*
ri-famba-o
5-walk-NMLZabs
'excessive act of walking'
- iii) *rifo*
ri-fa-o
5-die-NMLZabs
'death'

(3) Class 7: Expert

- i) *xifambo*
xi-famba-o
7-go-NMLZag
'an expert/excessive going person'
- ii) *xitirho*
xi-tirha-o
7-work-NMLZag
'an expert/excessive worker'

(4) Class 14: Event/Act

- i) *vufambo*
vu-famba-o
14-walk-NMLZabs
'pathway'
- ii) *vuako*
vu-aka-o
14-build-NMLZabs
'a place that is built up'
- iii) *vutshamo*
vu-tshama-o
14-sit-NMLZabs
'a place to sit'

N. In contrast with the suffix *-i*, the suffix *-o* is generally used to derive nouns that refers to non-human entities. It may thus be associated with the feature [-human].

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

V. no

- 1) *n'we* 'one'
- 2) *mbirhi* 'two'
- 3) *nharhu* 'three'
- 4) *mune* 'four'
- 5) *ntlhanu* 'five'
- 6) *tsevu* 'six'
- 7) *nkombo* 'seven'
- 8) *nhungu* 'eight'
- 9) *kaye* 'nine'
- 10) *khume* 'ten'

N. The cardinal numerals from one to three are used with numeral prefixes (EPxs) when used as numeral adjectives.

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

V. yes

- i) *voko*
Ø-voko
5-arm/hand
'an arm, a hand'
- ii) *mavoko*
ma-voko
6-arm
'arms, hands'
- cf) *xandla*
xi-andla
7-palm
'a palm'

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

V. no: two different words

- i) *rintiho*
ri-ntiho
11-finger
'a finger'
- ii) *tintiho*
ti-ntiho
10-finger
'fingers'

N. The word for 'hand' is *voko*, see P031.

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

V. no: two different words

- i) *kondzo*
3-foot
‘a foot’
- ii) *mi-kondzo*
4-foot
‘feet’
- iii) *nenge*
mu-lenge
3-leg
‘a leg’
- iv) *milenge*
mi-lenge
4-leg
‘legs’

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

V. no

- e.g. *tiya*
Ø-tiya
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. yes

- i) *N’wana* *u* *etlele*
Mu-ana *u* *etlel-ile*
1-child SM₁ sleep-STAT
‘The child is asleep’
- ii) *Mbuti* *yi* *xurhile*
Mbu-iti *yi* *xurh-ile*
9-goat SM₉ full-STAT
‘The goat is full/satisfied’

- iii) *Nkuzi yi nonile*
Nkuzi yi non-ile
 9-bull SM₉ fat-STAT
 ‘The bull is fat’

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

V. yes

- i) *ndzi kanganyisiwile*
ndzi-kanganyais-iw-ile
 SM_{1SG}-trick-PASS-PRF
 ‘I have been tricked’
- ii) *xiximiwa*
xixim-iw-a
 respect-PASS-FV
 ‘We are honored’

N. The passive suffix *-iw* attaches to any active verbs.

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

V. no: ‘impersonal’ constructions are not typically used to express passives (P036)

- i) *xifaki xi-byar-iw-ile ensin’wini*
 mealie.cob SM₇-grow-PASS-PRF field-LOC
 ‘Mealie cob has been grown in the field’
- ii) **xifaki va-byar-iw-ile ensin’wini*
 mealie.cob SM₂-grow-PASS-PRF field-LOC
 ‘(intended) Mealie cob has grown in the field’

N. The verb of an impersonal construction agrees with the subject noun.

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

V. 3: by another preposition

« *hi* »

- e.g. *ndzi tsakisiwile hi yena*
ndz tsaka-is-iw-ile hi yena
 SM_{1SG} impress-CAUS-PASS-PRF by PRON_{3SG}
 ‘I have been impressed by him/her’

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

V. no: its presence is always required

e.g. **ndzi tsakis-**iw**-ile yena*
(intended) ‘I have been impressed by him/her’

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

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

e.g. *hi nyikanile tinyiko exikolweni*
*hi nyik-**an**-ile ti-nyiko e-xikolw-eni*
SM_{1PL} give-RECP-PRF 10-gift LOC-school-LOC
‘We have given the gifts to each other in the school’

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) *Wansati u nw-is-a n'wana mati*
woman SM₁ drink-CAUS-FV child water
‘The woman makes the child drink water.’
- ii) *Mu-dyondzisi u hlay-is-a mu-dyondzi xitori.*
1-teacher SM₁ read-CAUS-FV 1-learner story
‘The teacher causes the learner to read the story.’
- iii) *Wansati u kukur-is-a nhwana yindlu.*
woman SM₁ sweep-CAUS-FV young.woman house
‘The woman causes the young woman to sweep the house.’

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

V. no: prototypical instruments cannot be introduced by causative verbs

e.g. *Wanuna u swek-is-a nyama hi poto.*
man SM₁ cook-CAUS-FV meat with pot
‘The man is re-cooking meat with a pot.’

N. The causative meaning is lost when the causee is not present.

P044 Applicative: How are applicative constructions formed?

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

e.g. *Sasavona u xavele n'wana tintangu*
Sasavona u xav-el-e mu-ana ti-ntangu
 Sasavona SM₁ buy-APPL-PRF 1-child 10-shoes
 'Sasavona has bought shoes for the child'

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

V. yes

« purpose, direction »

Purpose:

- i) *Wanuna u tirh-el-a mali.*
 man SM₁ work-APPL-FV money
 'The man is working for money.'
- ii) *Wanuna u vuy-el-a movha ejoni.*
 man SM₁ return-APPL-FV car from.Johannesburg
 'The man is returning for the car from Johannesburg.'

Direction:

e.g. *ndzi lav-el-a evupeladyambu*
 SM_{1SG} search-APPL-FV west
 'I am searching towards the west'

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

V. 1: yes, to express intensity, repetition, completeness

« to express intensity »

e.g. *Wanuna u tirh-el-el-a mali.*
 man SM₁ work-APPL-APPL-FV money
 'The man is working for money.'
 (Figuratively, 'The man is applying concoction on the money so that the person who uses it will be bewitched')

N. Moving verbs such as 'go' and 'return' cannot be used with multiple applicative markers.

- i) **Wanuna u y-el-el-a movha egaraji.*
 'The man is going to the garage for the car.'
- ii) **Wanuna u vuy-el-el-a movha ejoni.*
 'The man is returning for the car from Johannesburg.'

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

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

« *-ek-* »

i) *tinomboro ta hlayeka*
ti-nomboro ta hlaya-ek-a
10-number SM₁₀.PRS read-NEUT-FV
'The numbers are readable.'

ii) *tinhonga ta tshoveka*
ti-nhonga ta tshova-ek-a
10-stick SM₁₀.PRS break-NEUT-FV
'The sticks are breakable/gets broken.'

iii) *malamula ma dy-eka*
ma-lamula ma dy-ek-a
6-orange SM₆.PRS eat-NEUT-FV
'The oranges are edible.'

N. The suffix *-ek-* is 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. 1: yes, causative-applicative-reciprocal-passive (CARP) order

-is-el-

e.g. *Wanuna u tsem-is-el-a wansati lapi.*
man SM₁ cut-CAUS-APPL-FV woman fabric
'The man is cutting the fabric for the woman'

-is-an-

e.g. *Wansati na nhwana va swek-is-an-a vuswa.*
woman and young.woman SM₂ cook-CAUS-RECP-FV porridge
'The woman and the young woman help each other to cook porridge'

-is-iw-

e.g. *N'wana u hlamb-is-iw-a hi wansati.*
child SM₁ wash-CAUS-PASS-FV by woman
'The child is caused to wash/washed by the woman'

-el-an-

e.g. *Mu-fana na nhwana va khom-el-an-a mikwama.*
1-boy and young.woman SM₂ hold-APPL-RECP-FV bag
'The boy and the young woman hold the bag for each other'

-el-iw-

e.g. *Wanuna u tsal-er-iw-a xikambelo hi wansati.*
man SM₁ write-APPL-PASS-FV exam by woman
'The man has the exam written for him by the woman.'

-an-iw-

e.g. *Ku tirh-an-iw-a na movha dyambu hinkwaro.*
SM₁₅ deal-RECP-PASS-FV with car day all
'There is being dealt with the car the whole day.'

-is-el-an-

e.g. *Muzamana na Magezi va xav-is-el-an-a ti-homu.*
Muzamana and Magezi SM₂ buy-CAUS-APPL-RECP-FV 10-cows
'Muzamana and Magezi sell cows for/to each other'

-is-el-iw-

e.g. *Muzamana u lungh-is-er-iw-a movha hi Magezi.*
Muzamana SM₁ fix-CAUS-APPL-PASS-FV car by Magezi
'Muzamana's car is being fixed for him by Magezi.'

-is-an-iw-

e.g. *Ka lungh-is-an-iw-a etlilasini.*
there correct-CAUS-RECP-PASS-FV in.the.class
'There is being corrected each other in the class.'

-is-el-an-iw-

e.g. *Ku lungh-is-el-an-iw-a ti-foni etikweni.*
SM₁₅ fix-CAUS-APPL-RECP-PASS-FV 10-phone in.the.village
'There is being fixed phones for each other in the village.'

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, 3: by a periphrastic construction) »

Present tense

i) *Wa famba.*
u-a famba
SM₁-DJ go
'He/She is going.'

- ii) *A nga famb-i*
 SM₁ NEG go-NEG
 ‘He/She is not going.’

Past tense

- i) *A a famba.*
 PST SM₁ go
 ‘He/She was going.’
- ii) *A a nga fambi.*
 PST SM₁ NEG go-NEG
 ‘He/She was not going.’

Future tense

- i) *U ta famba.*
 SM₁ FUT go
 ‘He/She will go.’
- ii) *A nge famb-i.*
 SM₁ NEG go-NEG
 ‘He/She will not go.’
- iii) *a wu dyi nyama*
a wu dy-i nyama
 NEG SM_{2SG}-PRS eat-NEG 9-meat
 ‘You don’t eat meat.’

Cf.

- i) *u dya nyama*
u dy-a nyama
 SM_{2SG} eat-FV 9-meat
 ‘You eat meat.’
- ii) *u nga tirhi*
u nga tirha-i
 SM_{2SG} NEG work-NEG
 ‘Don’t work.’
- iii) *loko u nga tsutsumi*
loko u nga tsutsum-i
 if SM_{2SG} NEG.SUB run-NEG
 ‘If you don’t run.’

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, 2: by a particle *nga*) »

- i) *U nga tirh-i*
SM_{2SG} NEG work-NEG
'Don't work!'
- ii) *Loko u nga tsutsum-i, u ta hlwela*
if SM_{2SG} NEG run-NEG SM_{2SG} FUT late
'If you don't run, you will be late'

Present tense

- i) *U yimbelela a yim-ile.*
SM₁ sing SM₁ stand-STAT
'He/She sings while standing'
- ii) *U yimbelela a nga yim-angi*
SM₁ sing SM₁ NEG stand-NEG
'He/She sings while not standing'

Past tense

- i) *A a yimbelela a yim-ile.*
PST SM₁ sing SM₁ stand-STAT
'He/She was singing while standing'
- ii) *A a yimbelela a nga yim-angi*
PST SM₁ sing SM₁ NEG stand-NEG
'He/She was singing while not standing'

Future tense

- i) *U ta yimbelela a yim-ile.*
SM₁ FUT sing SM₁ stand-STAT
'He/She will sing while standing'
- ii) *U ta yimbelela a nga yim-angi.*
SM₁ FUT sing SM₁ NEG stand-NEG
'He/She will sing while not standing'

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

V. 1: yes, as in dependent tenses

Present tense

- i) *Va-nhu lava tirha-ka emugodini va humelesa*
2-person who work-REL in.the.mine SM₂ successful
'The people who work in the mine are successful'
- ii) *Va-nhu lava tirha-ka emapurasini a va humelel-i*
2-person who work-REL in.the.farm NEG SM₂ successful-NEG
'The people who work in the farm are not successful'

Past tense

- i) *Va-nhu lava a va tirha emugodini va humeler-ile.*
2-person who PST SM₂ work in.the.mine SM₂ successful-PRF
'The people who worked in the mine have been successful'
- ii) *Va-nhu lava tirhaka emapurasini a va humelela-ngi.*
2-person who work-REL in.the.farm NEG SM₂ successful-PRF.NEG
'People who work in the farm have not been successful'

Future tense

- i) *Va-nhu lava nga ta tirha emugodini va ta humelesa.*
2-person who POT FUT work in.the.mine SM₂ FUT successful
'People who will work in the mine will be successful'
- ii) *Va-nhu lava nga ta tirha emapurasini a va nge humelel-i.*
2-person who POT FUT work in.the.farm NEG SM₂ NEG successful-NEG
'People who will work in the farm will not be successful'

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

V. 5: two (or more) of the strategies above

« (2: post-initial position (SM-NEG-...) & 3: 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 the strategies above

« (2: post-initial position (SM-NEG-...) & 3: 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

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

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. no: there is only one 1SG subject prefix used for both affirmative and negative verb forms

i) *Ndza tirha.*

I (disjoint) work

‘I am working.’

ii) *A ndzi tirh-i.*

NEG SM_{1SG} work-NEG

‘I am not working.’

iii) *Ha tirha.*

we (disjoint) work

‘We are working.’

iv) *A hi tirh-i.*

NEG SM_{1PL} work-NEG

‘We are not working’

N. In Xitsonga first person singular/plural subject negative marker is expressed by the substitution of the vowel *a* with *-i*.

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

V. no

i) *U nga tirh-i*

SM_{2SG} NEG work-NEG

‘Don’t work’

ii) *va vur-ile leswaku hi nga tirh-i*

SM_{3PL} say-PRF that SM_{1PL} NEG work-NEG

‘They said that we should not work’

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. no: all tense/aspect/mood constructions are negated by a negative prefix and/or a negative particle

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

V. yes

1SG) *ndzi ta endza*

SM_{1SG} FUT visit

‘I will visit.’

2SG) *u ta endza*

SM_{2SG} FUT visit

‘You [sg] will visit’.

3SG) *n’wana u ta endza*

child SM₁ FUT visit

‘A child will visit.’

1PL) *hi ta endza*

SM_{1PL} FUT visit

‘We will visit.’

2PL) *mi ta endza*

SM_{2PL} FUT visit

‘You [pl] will visit.’

3PL) *va-na va ta endza*

2-child SM_{3PL} FUT visit

‘Children will visit.’

cl.3) *mu-rhi wu ta wa*

3-tree SM₃ FUT fall

‘A tree will fall.’

cl.4) *mi-rhi yi ta wa*

4-tree SM₄ FUT fall

‘Trees will fall.’

cl.5) *ri-bye ri ta wa*

5-stone SM₅ FUT fall

‘A stone will fall.’

cl.6) *ma-ri-bye ma ta wa*

6-5-stone SM₆ FUT fall

‘Stones will fall.’

- cl.7) *xi-voni xi ta wa*
 7-mirror SM₇ FUT fall
 ‘A mirror will fall.’
- cl.8) *swi-voni swi ta wa*
 8-mirror SM₈ FUT fall
 ‘Mirrors will fall.’
- cl.9) *yi-ndlu yi ta wa*
 9-house SM₉ FUT fall
 ‘A house will fall.’
- cl.10) *ti-ndlu ti ta wa*
 10-house SM₁₀ FUT fall
 ‘Houses will fall.’
- cl.11) *rimhondzo ri ta wa*
 horn SM₁₁ FUT fall
 ‘A horn will fall.’
- cl.10) *ti-mhondzo ti ta wa*
 10-board SM₁₀ FUT fall
 ‘Horns will fall.’

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

- i) *mbuti ya khwita*
m-buti ya khwit-a
 9-goat SM₉ limp-FV
 ‘A goat is limping’
- ii) **mbuti wa khwit-a*
 9.goat SM₁ limp-FV

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

V. no

N. Examples in P060

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

V. 2: class 2 morphology

- e.g. *Tatana va nwa mati*
 father SM₂ drink water
 ‘Father drinks water’ (in colloquial)

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) *Wanuna na mbyana swi tsutsuma swin'we*
wa-nuna na mbyana swi tsutsuma swin'we
1-man and 9.dog SM₈ run-RECP-FV together
'A man and a dog are running together.'

ii) *Mbyana na xithuthuthu swa tlumbana*
mbyana na xi-thuthuthu swa tlumb-an-a
9-dog and 7-motorbike SM₈ crash-RECP-FV
'A dog and a motorbike crash.'

iii) *Movha na vhanichara swa tekiwa.*
movha na vhanichara swa tek-iv-a
3-car and 9-furniture SM₈ repossess-PASS-FV
'A car and furniture are repossessed.'

Examples with [+human]

e.g. *Wanuna na wansati va famba swin'we*
man and woman SM₂ go together
'The man and the woman go together.'

N. When both nouns are human, verbs take cl.2 agreement. While if either or both of nouns are inanimate, verbs take cl.8 agreement. When both are inanimate, cl.10 agreement is also allowed.

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

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

e.g. *a ndzi vona*
a-ndzi vona
PST-SM_{1SG} see
'I was seeing'

cf) *a ndzi tsanile*
a-ndzi tsan-ile
PST-SM_{1SG} sad-STAT
'I was sad [stative past]'

N. In stative verbs, past tense has no internal distinction, i.e. there is only a single past marked by prefix *-ile*.

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) *ndzi ta vona*
ndzi ta von-a
 SM_{1SG} FUT see-FV
 ‘I’ll see.’
- ii) *ndza vona*
ndzi-a von-a
 SM_{1SG-DJ} see-FV
 ‘I’m seeing.’

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 va a ha nwa wayeni*
 SM₁ POT COP SM₁ HAB drink wine
 ‘He may still be drinking wine’

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

V. yes

- e.g. *ndzi vonile*
ndzi von-ile
 SM_{1SG} see-PRF
 ‘I have seen’

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. *ndzi ya phamela vanhu swa-kudya*
 SM_{1SG} go dish.out 2-person 8-food
 ‘I go and dish out food for people’

N. The prefix *ka-* is not used as an itive marker in Xitsonga.

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

V. no

- e.g. *u ta ku phamela vanhu swakudya*
 SM₁ FUT INF dish.out people food
 ‘She will dish out food for people’

N. Expressions such as ‘to come and V’ are formed with an infinitive.

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

V. yes

- i) *famba*
famb-a
go-FV
'Go!'
- ii) *nyenya*
nyeny-a
dislike-FV
'dislike!'

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) *dyanani*
dya-na-ni
eat-NA-PL
'Eat! (for plural addressees)'
- ii) *dya-na*
dya-na
eat-NA
'Eat!'
- iii) *hlalelani*
hlalel-ani
watch-F.PL
'Watch! (for plural addressees)'
- iv) *hlalela*
hlalel-a
watch-FV
'Watch!'

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 or more preverbal slots for tense/aspect/mood marking

tense (future)

- e.g. *Tatana u ta ya edorobeni mundzuku.*
father SM₁ FUT go to.town tomorrow
'Father will go to town tomorrow.'

aspect (progressive, perfect)

e.g. *Manana u le ku swek-eni ka vuswa.*
mother SM₁ PROG cook-PROG of porridge
'Mother is busy cooking porridge'

mood

e.g. *Loko wanuna a a ri mudyondzisi,*
if man PST SM₁ COP teacher
a a ta va a dyondzisa exikolweni.
PST SM₁ FUT MOOD SM₁ be.teach at.school
'If the man were a teacher, he would be teaching at school'

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

V. yes

DJ) *ndza vona*
ndzi-a vona
SM_{1SG}-DJ see
'I see.' (Disjoint)

CJ) *ndzi vona munhu*
SM_{1SG} see person
'I see a person.' (Conjoint)

N. Past tense doesn't display disjoint-conjoint distinction.

i) *ndzi von-ile*
SM_{1SG} see-PST
'I saw.'

ii) *ndzi von-ile mu-nhu*
SM_{1SG} see-PST 1-man
'I saw a person.'

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) *Ndzi yi xav-ile eka munghana wa mina.*
SM_{1SG} OM₉ buy-PST from friend ASSC₁ PRON_{1SG}
'I bought it from my friend'

- ii) *Manana wa n'wi rhandza swinene.*
 mother SM₁ OM₁ love much
 'Mother loves him/her a lot'

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) *Ndzi nyika munhu nguluve*
 SM_{1SG} give person pig
 'I give a pig to a person'
- ii) *Ndzi n'wi nyika yona*
 SM_{1SG} OM₁ give it
 I him give it (=pig)
 'I give it to him.'
- iii) *Ndzi yi nyika yena*
 SM_{1SG} OM₉ give him
 'I give it to him.'
- cf) **ndzi n'wi yi nyika*
**ndzi yi n'wi nyika*

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)

- e.g. *Ndz-a titsakela*
ndzi-a ti-tsakel-a
 SM_{1SG}-DJ REFL-like-FV
 'I like myself'

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. 2: yes, co-occurrence is required in certain contexts

- i) *Wansati wa byi sweka vuswa.*
 woman SM₁ OM₁₄ cook porridge
 'The woman cooks it the porridge.'
- ii) *Wansati wa sweka vuswa.*
 woman SM₁ cook porridge
 'The woman cooks it the porridge.'

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

V. yes

- i) *a hi tlang-e*
let SM_{1PL} play-SBJV
'Let us play!'
- ii) *va famb-ile ku ri va ya tlanga*
they go-PRF INF COP they AUX play
'They went out in order to play'

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

V. yes

N. See examples in P049

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

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

- i) *Ndza swi tiva.*
SM_{1SG}.DJ OM₈ know
'I know.'
- ii) *A ndzi swi tiva*
PST SM_{1SG} OM₈ know
'I knew.'

N. Also, *a ndzi swi tivile* is possible.

- iii) *Mi na ti-homu to tala.*
SM_{2PL} have 10-cow of many
'You [pl] have many cows.'
- iv) *A mi ri na ti-homu to tala.*
PST SM_{2PL} PST have 10-cow of many
'You [pl] had many cows.'

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

V. no: all auxiliaries in the language can be used with all tenses/aspect/moods

- i) *ndzi ta hatla ndzi nwa mati*
SM_{1SG} FUT quickly SM_{1SG} drink water
'I will quickly drink water'
- ii) *ndzi hatl-ile ndzi nwa mati*
SM_{1SG} quickly-PRF SM_{1SG} drink water
'I have quickly drunk 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

- i) *ndzi dzumbela ku hatla ndzi nwa mati*
SM_{1SG} always SM₁₅ quickly SM_{1SG} drink water
'I always quickly drink water'
- ii) *ndzi dzumbela ro hatla ndzi nwa mati*
SM_{1SG} always do quickly SM_{1SG} drink water
'I 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. 1: yes, agreement on both forms in all contexts

- e.g. *ndzi dzumbela ku hatla ndzi nwa mati*
SM_{1SG} always SM₁₅ quickly SM_{1SG} drink water
'I always quickly drink water'

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. 2: yes, only in the domain of verbal aspect (quickly, suddenly, repeatedly)

- e.g. *Vakhalabye va dzumba va karhele.*
Old men SM₂ always SM₂ tired
'Old men are always tired.'

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

V. no

N. Xitsonga doesn't use copula verbs, but there is the verb *ri* 'to be' that is used in subordinate clauses as below.

- i) *loko ndzi ri kona*
if SM_{1SG} COP there
'if I am there'
- ii) *a ndzi ri kona*
PST SM_{1SG} COP there
'I was there'

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

V. yes

- i) *mufana loyi a hi pfun-eke*
 boy who SM₁ OM_{1PL} help-PST.REL
 ‘The boy who helped us’
- ii) *mufana loyi a hi pfun-aka*
 boy who SM₁ OM_{1PL} help-PRS.REL
 ‘The boy who helps us’
- iii) *mufana loyi a nga ta hi pfuna*
 boy who SM₁ POT FUT OM_{1PL} help
 ‘The boy who will help us’
- iv) *mufana loyi a nga hi pfuna-ngiki*
 boy who SM₁ POT OM_{1PL} help-PST.NEG.REL
 ‘The boy who didn’t help us’
- v) *mufana loyi a nga hi pfun-iki/-eki*
 boy who SM₁ POT OM_{1PL} help-PRS.NEG.REL
 ‘The boy who doesn’t help us’
- vi) *mufana loyi a nga ta ka a nga hi pfuni*
 boy who SM₁ POT FUT NEG SM₁ POT 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) *mufana loyi a hi pfun-aka*
 boy REL₁ SM₁ OM_{1PL} help-PRS.REL
 ‘The boy who helps us’
- ii) *vafana lava va hi pfun-aka*
 boys REL₂ SM₂ OM_{1PL} help-PRS.REL
 ‘The boys who help us’
- iii) *movha lowu wu famb-aka*
 car REL₃ SM₃ move-PRS.REL
 ‘The car that moves (written form)’
- iv) *movha lowu famb-aka*
 car REL₃ move-PRS.REL
 ‘The car that moves (colloquial form)’
- v) *mimovha leyi yi famb-aka*
 cars REL₄ SM₄ move-PRS.REL
 ‘The cars that move (written form)’

- vi) *mimovha leyi famb-aka*
 cars REL₄ move-PRS.REL
 ‘The cars that move (colloquial form)’

N. Relative marker has a morphological form dependent on the noun class of the relative head noun. Except in class 1 and 2, when the subject marker of a relative clause is phonologically identical with the relative marker, haplology is employed in colloquial forms.

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

- V. 2: yes, there are several types of separate word, 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
 e.g. *Crous u tsaker-ile buku leyi vana va yi xav-eke.*
 Crous SM₁ like-PRF book REL₉ children SM₂ OM₉ buy-PST.REL
 ‘Crous has liked the book that children bought.’
 cf) **Crous u tsakerile buku vana leyi a yi xav-eke.*

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. *Crous u tsaker-ile buku leyi vana va yi xav-eke.*
 Crous SM₁ like-PRF book REL₉ children SM₂ OM₉ buy-PST.REL
 ‘Crous has liked the book that children bought.’
 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
 « based on [+/- animate] »

[-animate]

- i) *Crous u tsaker-ile buku leyi vana va yi xav-eke.*
Crous SM₁ like-PRF book REL₉ children SM₂ OM₉ buy-PST.REL
'Crous has liked the book that children bought.'
- ii) *Crous u tsakerile buku leyi vana va xav-eke yona*
Crous SM₁ liked book REL₉ children SM₂ buy-PST.REL OM₉
'Crous liked the book that children bought.'

[+animate]

- e.g. *Crous u tsaker-ile mu-yeni lo-yi vana va n'wi rhamb-eke.*
Crous SM₁ like-PRF 1-visitor REL₁ children SM₂ OM₁ invite-PST.REL
'Crous has liked the visitor that children invited.'
- cf) **Crous u tsakerile mu-yeni lo-yi vana va Ø rhamb-eke.*

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

V. no

- i) *ndza swi tiva ku Burheni u ta fika nkarhi muni*
I OM₈ know that Burheni SM₁ FUT arrive time when
'I know (the time) when Burheni will arrive'
- ii) *ndza ku tiva laha Burheni a tshamaka kona*
I OM₁₅ know where Burheni SM₁ live-PRS.RLV PRON₁₅
'I know (the place) where Burheni lives'
- cf) **ndza ku tiva laha Burheni a tshamaka*
- iii) *ndzi tiva leswi Burheni a swekisaka swona*
SM_{1SG} know how Burheni SM₁ cook-PRS.REL manner
'I know (the way) how Burheni cooks'
- cf) **ndzi tiva leswi Burheni a swekisaka*

N. Headless relative clauses are not allowed in Xitsonga. Sentences with headless adverbial clauses are ungrammatical.

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

V. no

- i) *yindlu ya tshwa.*
house SM₉ burn
'the house is burning.'
- ii) *musi wa yindlu leyi tshw-aka*
smoke of house REL₉ burn-REL
'the smell of house burning.'

cf) **musi lowu yindlu leyi tshw-aka*

N. The relative clause marker *lowu* cannot be used in this context.

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) *i Burheni loyi a muk-eke*
COP Burheni REL₁ SM₁ go.home-PST.REL

‘It is Burheni who went home’

ii) *i Burheni loyi ndzi hlangan-eke na yena tolo*
COP Burheni that SM_{1SG} meet-PST.REL with her yesterday

‘It is Burheni whom I met yesterday’

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

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

V. yes

(temporal adverb)

e.g. *i tolo ndzi hlangan-eke na Burheni*
COP yesterday SM_{1SG} meet-PST.REL with Burheni

‘It is yesterday I met Burheni.’

(locative)

e.g. *hi kona ndzi hlangan-eke na Burheni*
COP there SM_{1SG} meet-PST.REL with Burheni

‘It is there I met Burheni.’

N. See also examples in P097. The cleft element has allomorphs *i-/hi-*.

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

V. yes

i) *mufana u lehile?*
boy SM₁ tall

‘Is the boy tall?’

- ii) *xana mufana u lehile?*
 XANA boy SM₁ tall
 ‘Is the boy tall?’
- iii) *xana mufana u lehile ke?*
 XANA boy SM₁ tall KE
 ‘Is the boy tall?’
- iv) *mufana u lehile ke?*
 boy SM₁ tall KE
 ‘Is the boy tall?’

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

V. 5: in situ

- i) *xana mufana u hlaya yini?*
 XANA boy SM₁ read what
 ‘What does the boy read?’
- ii) *xana mufana u rhandza mani?*
 XANA boy SM₁ love who
 ‘Whom does the boy love?’
- iii) *i mani a dy-eke vuswa xana?*
 COP who SM₁ eat-PST.REL porridge XANA
 ‘Who ate the porridge?’
- iv) *u xav-el-ile vana yini?*
 SM₁ buy-APPL-PST children what
 ‘What did he buy for the children?’ (unmarked)
- v) *u xav-el-ile yini vana?*
 SM₁ buy-APPL-PRF what children
 ‘What has he bought for the children?’ (marked)

N. Basically wh-elements are placed in situ (so-called wh-movement and the like are not attested).
 Subject wh-elements are placed in a cleft construction.

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

V. yes

- i) *hikokwalaho-ka-yini u famba*
 why-ASSC-what SM_{2SG} go
 ‘Why do you go?’

- ii) *u famb-el-a yini*
 SM2sg go-APPL-FV what
 ‘Why do you go?’

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

V. 1: an invariable copula only

- e.g. *Burheni i xichudeni.*
 Burheni COP student
 ‘Burheni is a student’

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) *ndzi mudyondzisi*
 SM_{1SG} teacher
 ‘I am a teacher’
- ii) *A ndzi mudyondzisi*
 NEG SM_{1SG} teacher
 ‘I’m not a teacher’

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. 1: a possessive copula only (subject marker + preposition)

« subject marker + preposition ‘with’ »

- i) *Burheni u na buku*
 Burheni SM₁ have book
 ‘Burheni has a book.’
- ii) *Burheni u ta va na vana*
 Burheni SM₁ FUT AFFM have children
 ‘Burheni will have children.’ or ‘Burheni will be with the children.’

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

V. yes

- i) *ndzi rhimila ma-rhimila*
 SM_{1SG} blow.one's.nose 6-nasal.mucus
 'I blow my nose.'
- ii) *ndzi khohlola xi-kholola*
 SM_{1SG} cough 7-spit
 'I cough spit.'

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) *Nsovo u famba-famb-ile na mi-sava*
 Nsovo SM₁ walk-walk-PRF with 4-world
 'Nsovo has travelled around the world.'
- ii) *ndzi hlaya-hlay-ile ma-tsalwa*
 SM_{1SG} read-read-PRF 6-literature
 'I have perused the literature.'

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. null: unknown

- e.g. *ndzi endla tshanga*
 SM_{1SG} make enclosure
 'I build (colloquial).'

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

V. yes

- i) *Burheni u nyika n'wana buku*
 Burheni SM₁ give child book
 'Burheni gives a book to a child.'
- ii) *Buku yi nyik-iwa n'wana hi Burheni*
 book SM₉ give-pass child by Burheni
 'A book is given to a child by Burheni.'
- iii) *n'wana u nyik-iwa buku hi Burheni*
 child SM₁ give-pass book by Burheni
 'A child is given a book by Burheni.'

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) *Burheni u nyika n'wana buku*
Burheni SM₁ give child book
'Burheni gives a book to a child.'
- ii) *Burheni u nyika yona eka n'wana*
Burheni SM₁ give PRON₉ to child
'Burheni gives it to the child.'
- iii) *Burheni u yi nyika n'wana*
Burheni SM₁ OM₉ give child
'Burheni gives it to a child.'
- iv) *Burheni u nyika yena buku*
Burheni SM₁ give PRON₁ book
'Burheni gives him a book.'

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

V. no

- cl.2) *va ta endza*
SM₂ FUT visit
'They (=children) will visit.'
- cl.3) *wu ta wa*
SM₃ FUT fall
'It (a tree) will fall.'
- cl.4) *yi ta wa*
SM₄ FUT fall
'They (= trees) will fall.'

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

- i) *Leyi buku ya durha*
DEM_{n9} book SM₉ expensive
'This (particular) book is expensive.'
- ii) *Burheni u tsakela leyi buku*
Burheni SM₁ like DEM_{n9} book
'Burheni likes this book.'

- iii) *Leyi buku leyi!*
 DEMn₉ book DEMn₉
 ‘As for this book!’ (from an exasperation)

N. The attested Dem-Noun order has a focus meaning on the demonstrative. The order *leyi buku* means ‘this particular book (and not others)’, and cannot be used in a context-neutral situation.

P113 Quant-Noun: Is there a prenominal quantifier?

V. no

- i) *hinkwa-to ti-buku*
 all-AGR₁₀ 10-book
 ‘all books’
- ii) *ti-buku hinkwa-to*
 10-book all-AGR₁₀
 ‘all books’
- iii) *ti-n’wana ti-buku*
 10-some 10-book
 ‘some books’
- iv) *ti-buku ti-n’wana*
 10-book 10-some
 ‘some books’

N. Quantifiers optionally appear in the prenominal or post-nominal position.

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

V. no

- e.g. *ti-nguluve ti-mbirhi letikulu ta Burheni*
 10-pig 10-two big of Burheni
 ‘two big pigs of Burheni’

N. The possessive modifier normally appears as a final modifier. However, the possessive modifier can be placed closest to the 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. *Burheni u xava ti-mbuti*
 Burheni SM₁ buy 10-goat
 ‘Burheni 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 the objects

i) *Burheni u nyika muyeni nguluve*

Burheni SM₁ give visitor pig

‘Burheni gives a pig to a visitor (default)’

ii) *Burheni u nyika nguluve muyeni*

Burheni SM₁ give pig visitor

‘Burheni gives a pig to a visitor (focus on *nguluve*).’

N. There is no strategy that controls for the order of the double objects in the ditransitive construction.

The default order is the indirect object followed by the direct object. If the order is reversed, the direct object is focused, comparable to the cleft sentence below.

e.g. *i nguluve leyi Burheni a yi nyik-aka muyeni*

COP pig DEM_{n9} Burheni SM₁ OM₉ give-REL visitor

‘It is a pig that Burheni gives to a visitor.’

When a temporal adjunct is added and the indirect object is postposed of the adjunct, the presence of the object prefix is obligatory.

i) *Burheni u nyika muyeni nguluve namuntlha*

Burheni SM₁ give visitor pig today

‘Burheni gives a pig to a visitor today.’

ii) *Burheni u n’wi nyika nguluve namuntlha muyeni*

Burheni SM₁ OM₁ give pig today visitor

‘Burheni gives a pig to a visitor today.’

(inanimate)

e.g. *Burheni u xav-er-ile baji ti-kunupu*

Burheni SM₁ buy-APPL-PRF jacket 10-button

‘Burheni has bought buttons for the jacket.’

cf) **Burheni u xaverile tikunupu baji*

(animate)

e.g. *u tivis-ile Burheni ntlangu*

SM₁ inform-PRF Burheni party

‘He has informed Burheni about the party.’

cf) **u tivisile ntlangu Burheni*

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. When the direct object is adjacent to the verb, it is not anymore in a pragmatically neutral context. The direct object is focused.

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

V. 5: multiple strategies

« (1: immediately after the verb (IAV); 3: clause-initially; 4: clause-finally) »

i) *u nyika muyeni Burheni nguluve*
SM₁ give visitor Burheni pig
'Burheni gives a pig to a visitor (focus on 'a visitor').'

ii) *u nyika nguluve Burheni muyeni*
SM₁ give pig Burheni visitor
'Burheni gives a pig to a visitor (focus on 'a pig').'

iii) *Burheni u xava nguluve*
Burheni SM₁ buy pig
'Burheni buys a pig'

iv) *nguluve Burheni wa yi xava.*
pig Burheni SM₁ OM₉ buy
'Burheni buys a pig (focus on 'a pig').'

v) *u xava nguluve Burheni*
SM₁ buy pig Burheni
'Burheni buys a pig (focus on 'Burheni').'

N. In ditransitive constructions, the immediately after verb position seems to function as a focus position.

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

V. yes

i) *Burheni u ta ku vona*
Burheni SM₁ FUT OM_{2SG} see
'Burheni will see you'

ii) *ndzi fanele ku yi xavisa*
SM_{1SG} must OM₉ sell
'I must sell it (= a pig).'

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

V. yes

- i) *ku sweka ndzi nga swi endla*
15 cook SM_{1SG} can OM₈ do
'I can COOK (lit. Cooking I can)'
- ii) *ku xavisa ndzi fanele ku swi endla*
15 sell SM_{1SG} have INF OM₈ do
'Selling, I have to do it'

N. An infinitive can appear before the auxiliary, but the auxiliary has to have a pronoun that refers back to the fronted infinitive.

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

V. 1: yes, and the verb agrees with the postverbal subject

- i) *va tshama vana eka Malamulele*
SM₂ live 2.child in Malamulele
'Children do live in Malamulele'
- ii) *vana va tshama eka Malamulele*
2.child SM₂ live in Malamulele
'Children live in Malamulele'
- iii) *loko ndzi fika, a ti nga si xavis-iw-a ti-nguluve*
when SM_{1SG} arrive PST OM₁₀ NEG yet sell-PASS-FV 10-pig
'When I arrived, pigs were not sold yet'.

P122 Locative inversion: Is locative inversion attested?

V. 1: yes, formally (i.e. the verb shows agreement with a preceding noun phrase which is locative marked)

- i) *Varimi va tshama eGiyani*
farmers SM₂ live in Giyani
'Farmers live in Giyani'
- ii) *EGiyani va-rimi va ku tshama*
in Giyani 2-farmers SM₂ OM₁₅ (=locative) live
'In Giyani, farmers live'
- iii) *EGiyani ku tshama va-rimi*
in Giyani SM₁₅ (=locative) live 2-farmers
'In Giyani, farmers live'

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

V. no

- cf) **masi ma nwa vana*

e.g. *vana va nwa masi*
 2.child SM₂ drink milk
 ‘Children drink milk.’

P124 Instrument inversion: Is instrument inversion attested?

V. no

cf) **swakudya swi hakasa rifetho*
 e.g. *ri-fetho ri hakasa swakudya*
 spatula SM₅ stir food
 ‘The spatula is stirring the food’

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) *mfenhe na mbyana a swi ri vanghana lavakulu*
 baboon and dog PST OM₈ be 2.friend good
 ‘A baboon and a dog were good friends’
- ii) *mfenhe a yi ri yikulu na va-na a va tele*
 baboon PST OM₉ be big and 2-child PST SM₂ many
 ‘A baboon was big and the children were many’

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

V. no: subsequent/consecutive events are expressed by means of another strategy

e.g. *ndzi yile egiyani, ndzi xava nyama ya nguluve, ndzi yi dya*
 SM_{1SG} go.PST to.Giyani SM_{1SG} buy meat ASSC₉ pig SM_{1SG} OM₉ eat
 ‘I went to Giyani, bought pork and ate it’

N. There is no verbal marker that can be used for expressing combinations of clauses encoding subsequent or consecutive events.

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

V. 2

- i) *ndzi ehleketa leswaku Giyani i yikulu*
 SM_{1SG} think that Giyani COP big
 ‘I think that Giyani is big’
- ii) *a ndzi swi tivi leswaku ndzi nga ya ekaya*
 NEG SM_{1SG} OM₈ know whether SM_{1SG} POT go home
 ‘I don’t know whether I can go home’

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

i) *leswaku*

ii) *leswi-swa-ku-ri*

DEM₈-8-15-say

‘that’

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. 1: only by means of a conjunction semantically equivalent to English ‘if’

e.g. *loko mpfula yi na, swi-luva swi ta baleka*

if rain SM₉ fall, 8-flower SM₈ FUT bloom

‘If it rains, flowers will bloom.’

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. *swi-luva swi ta baleka, loko mpfula yi na*

8-flowers SM₈ FUT bloom, if rain SM₉ fall

‘Flowers will bloom, if it rains.’

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) *loko a ndzi lo dyondza, a ndzi ta va na ntirho wa kahle*
 if PST SM_{1SG} LO study, PST SM_{1SG} FUT be have work of good
 ‘If I had studied, I would have a good job’ (counterfactual)
- ii) *loko a ndzi lo endzela vatswari va mina,*
 if PST SM_{1SG} LO visit parent of PRON_{1SG}
a va ta va va tsakile
 PST SM₂ FUT PST SM₂ happy
 ‘If I had visited my parents, they would have been happy.’ (counterfactual)
- iii) *loko a ndzi ri xinyenyana, a ndzi ta haha*
 if PST SM_{1SG} be bird PST SM_{1SG} FUT fly
 ‘If I were a bird, I would fly (hypothetical)’
- iv) *loko a ndzi ri dokotela, a ndzi ta va ndzi fumile*
 if PST SM_{1SG} be doctor PST SM_{1SG} FUT PST SM_{1SG} rich
 ‘If I were a doctor, I would be rich (hypothetical)’

P135 Temporal adverbial clauses: How are temporal adverbial clauses formed (e.g. when-clause, onceclause, 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) *ndza swi rhandza loko nkarhi wa lanci wu fika*
 SM_{1SG} OM₈ like when 3.time of lunch SM₃ arrive
 ‘I like it when the lunch time arrives.’
- ii) *loko ndzi heta ti-dyondzo tanga, ndzi ta muka*
 once SM_{1SG} finish 10-study my SM_{1SG} FUT go.home
 ‘Once I finish my studies, I will go home.’
- iii) *endzhaku ko heta ti-dyondzo tanga, ndzi ta tirha eyunivhesiti*
 after 15 finish 10-study my SM_{1SG} FUT work at.a.university
 ‘After completing my study, I will work at a university.’
- iv) *endzhaku ka loko ndzi het-ile tidyondzo tanga,*
 after there when SM_{1SG} finish-PRF study my
ndzi ta tirha eyunivhesiti
 SM_{1SG} FUT work at.a.university
 ‘After I complete my study, I will work at a university’
- v) *ndzi ta hlamba, (loko) ndzi nga si etlela*
 SM_{1SG} FUT take.a.bath (when) SM_{1SG} NEG yet sleep
 ‘I will take a bath before I sleep.’
 (lit. I will take a bath (when) I have not yet slept)

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

V. 3: by a specific locative relative construction

- i) *a ndzi (ku) tiv-i laha vanghana va mina*
NEG SM_{1SG} (LOC) know-NEG where friend ASSC₂ PRON_{1SG}
va yeke kona
SM₂ went.REL there
'I don't know where my friends went.'
- ii) *ndzi sweka swa-kudya laha va-tswari va mina va tshamaka kona*
SM_{1SG} cook 8-food where 2-parent ASSC₂ mine SM₂ live.REL there
'I cook food where my parents live.'

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

V. 1: by the verb 'surpass/exceed'

- i) *yindlu leyi yi kurile ku tlula yindlu liyani*
house DEM_{n9} SM₉ big SM₁₅ exceed house over.there
'This house is bigger than that house.'
- ii) *yindlu leyi yi kurile ku hundza yindlu liyani*
house DEM_{n9} SM₉ big SM₁₅ surpass house over.there
'This house is bigger than that house.'
- iii) *yindlu leyi hi yona leyi-kulu eka ti-yindlu hinkwato emugangeni.*
house DEM_{n9} COP PRON₉ DEM_{n9}-big in 10-house all in.village
'This house is the biggest in the village'
- iv) *yindlu leyi hi yona leyikulu emugangeni.*
house DEM_{n9} COP PRON₉ biggest in.village
'This house is the biggest in the village'

N. 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

- e.g. *eka Burheni ku dya vuswa swa tsakisa*
for Burheni SM₁₅ eat porridge SM₈(=*ku dya*) fun
'For Burheni to eat porridge is fun'

cf) **Burheni ku dya vuswa i swa tsakisa*

N. An overt subject is allowed but the subject has to be preceded by *eka* 'for'.

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) *swi vonaka Burheni a ri ku swekeni ka vuswa*
 SM₈ seem Burheni SM₁ be to cook of porridge
 ‘It seems that Burheni is busy cooking porridge.’
- ii) *Burheni u vonaka a ri ku swekeni ka vuswa*
 Burheni SM₁ seem SM₁ be to cook of porridge
 ‘Burheni seems to be busy cooking porridge.’
- iii) *swi tikomb-ile vana va muk-ile*
 SM₈ show-PRF 2.child SM₂ go.home-PRF
 ‘It seemed that children went home.’

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

V. no: focalisation is rendered by another strategy

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

V. yes

- i) *Burheni ntsena u xav-ile nguluve*
 Burheni only SM₁ buy-PRF pig
 ‘Only Burheni has bought a pig’
- ii) *Burheni u xav-ile nguluve ntsena*
 Burheni SM₁ buy-PRF pig only
 ‘Burheni has bought only a pig’
- iii) *Burheni u xav-ile ntsena nguluve*
 Burheni SM₁ buy-PRF only pig
 ‘Burheni has only bought a pig’
- cf) **ntsena Burheni u xavile nguluve*
- iv) *hambi Burheni u xav-ile nguluve*
 even Burheni SM₁ buy-PRF pig
 ‘Even Burheni has bought a pig’
- v) *Burheni u xav-ile hambu nguluve*
 Burheni SM₁ buy-PRF even pig
 ‘Burheni has even bought a pig’
- cf) **Burheni hambu u xavile nguluve*
 (only as a question ‘I’m not sure whether Burheni bought a pig’)
- vi) *Burheni u xav-ile nguluve na yena*
 Burheni SM₁ buy-PRF pig and it
 ‘Burheni bought a pig, too’

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) *i mani a dy-aka vuswa?*
COP who SM₁ eat-REL porridge
'Who is eating the porridge?

ii) *Burheni u dya yini?*
Burheni SM₁ eat what
'What does Burheni eat?

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