



**Descriptive materials of morphosyntactic microvariation in Bantu vol. 2:  
A microparametric survey of morphosyntactic microvariation in Southern Bantu languages**

edited by Seunghun J. Lee, Yuko Abe, and Daisuke Shinagawa



**Research Institute for Languages and Cultures of Asia and Africa  
Tokyo University of Foreign Studies**

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## Foreword

The present volume brings together morphosyntactic descriptions of six South(ern) African Bantu languages: Xitsonga, Tshivenda, Siswati, South Ndebele, Sepedi (Northern Sotho) and Sesotho (Southern Sotho) in terms of their morphosyntactic parameters which is the second volume in a series of such descriptions (cf. Shinagawa & Abe 2019). These descriptions have been created by an international team during a two-week workshop hosted by the JSPS-funded ReNeLDA project at the University of Venda in March 2020 and subsequent team meetings for each language team.

These descriptions make an important contribution to South African linguistics because they are internally and externally comparable, thereby lending themselves to further work on varieties or closely related languages. They are clearly and accessibly structured, which means they are usable by students and scholars in South Africa and beyond; and all data is fully glossed and the volume is available free of charge in open access.

Work on (micro)parameters has been the focus of work in much of Eastern (cf. Gibson et al. 2020, Gibson et al. to appear) and Southern Africa, but little has been done in South Africa itself and on South African languages. Despite the existence of colonial-era grammars and other reference grammars published until the 1990s, there is a lack of up-to-date and accessible linguistic work on the African languages of South Africa in general and the languages featured in this volume in particular, seeing as they are mostly less frequently spoken, and little to no comparative linguistic work is being done in South Africa. There is overall far too little descriptive work being done on most of South Africa's languages and students who may be keen to start such work lack good and accurate linguistic materials to get started and it often remains difficult to answer even simple questions. To draw on examples from Sesotho – it remains unclear if there is a general unmarked past or which form that would be, and what the various TAM markers and auxiliaries mean (cf. Riedel et al. 2019, Morolong 1978, Doke and Mofokeng 1957 which give some examples but none of which are comprehensive or exhaustive). Or how the two prefixes before Sesotho adjectives should be analysed, and if they are indeed prefixes, or if in fact there are clear adjectives. While the chapters in this volume take a position on some of these matters, more importantly they can open up conversations and instigate new research projects into these questions.

Each chapter was authored by a team including students and scholars from local and international universities, creating opportunities for building a global research network for the participants. Local postgraduate students who are home language speakers of the relevant languages were integral parts of each team, thereby receiving important training and a new understanding of what gaps exist for future studies.

Traditional grammars typically include little to no syntactic information, beyond some discussion of verbal extensions, focusing on morphology and less on phonetics; while teaching focussed materials

tend to leave them out altogether or aim for simplicity over adequate and correct linguistic descriptions. In Southern Africa glossing is rarely seen in all but the most recent journal publications or theses written at universities abroad, which means even existing and available literature is not easily accessible to the wider linguistic community, including local students and scholars who wish to start exploring African languages but either are not native speakers and/or not deeply familiar with the morphology of the relevant language. Moreover, older works such as Doke (1927) or Doke and Mofokeng (1957), use terminology and concepts that are not accessible to current students and scholars, either locally or internationally.

This publication can address some of these unfortunate gaps and be of great help to the next generation of scholars. These descriptions will be a good starting point for students looking to identify topics for a dissertation or thesis and for scholars in search of research questions or comparative data. Scholars from across Africa can also access these materials to learn more about Southern African Bantu languages.

Kristina Riedel,  
Bloemfontein, March 2021

# Introduction

This is the second volume, after Shinagawa & Abe (2019), published from ILCAA that compiles descriptive data materials collected through a set of 142 fine-grained parameters set up for microtypological investigation of morphosyntactic microvariation in Bantu languages (Guérois et al. 2017) and is part of research outcome of the data collection workshop held in March 2020, which was jointly organised by the JSPS funded inter-institutional program titled ‘Establishment of a Research Network for Exploring the Linguistic Diversity and Dynamism in Africa’ (‘ReNeLDA’ for short) and MER Mathivha Centre for African Languages, Arts and Culture (MCALAC), University of Venda.

## 1. Team organisation

The two-week workshop was organised as a joint research session for data collection from six languages, which are systematically studied and educated by independent departments at MCALAC, namely Venda, Tsonga, Swati, South Ndebele, Northern Sotho, and Southern Sotho. Especially by the enthusiastic support by Professor Crous Hlungwani, it was made possible to form a research team working on each target language consisting of 1) ‘home’ researchers affiliated in MCALAC, 2) master course students native to one of the target languages and playing a role of a native language consultant, and 3) ‘guest’ researchers from outside MCALAC. The following is the list of team members of each team.

### Team Tsivenda

Researcher: Nthambeleni Netshisaulu (University of Venda)

Researcher: Seunghun J. Lee (International Christian U. & University of Venda)

Consultant: Salphina Mbedzi (University of Venda)

### Team Xitsonga

Researcher: Crous Hlungwani (University of Venda)

Researcher: Seunghun J. Lee (International Christian U. & University of Venda)

Consultant: Vicent Maswanganyi (University of Venda)

### Team Siswati

Researcher: Khulisile Judith Nkuna (University of Venda)

Researcher: Hannah Gibson (University of Essex)

Researcher: Kyoungwon Jeong (Tokyo University of Foreign Studies)

Consultant: Bongane Nyambi (University of Venda)

Consultant: Sikhumbuzo Sibusiso Khoza (University of Venda)

### **Team South Ndebele**

Researcher: Piet Masilela (University of Venda)

Researcher: Daisuke Shinagawa (Tokyo University of Foreign Studies)

Consultant: Bafana Mathibela (University of Venda)

### **Team Northern Sotho**

Researcher: Sannah L. Baker (University of Venda)

Researcher: Eleazar L. Mphasha (University of Venda)

Researcher: Yuko Abe (Lanzhou University)

Consultant: Leften M. Matheere (University of Venda)

### **Team Southern Sotho**

Researcher: Kristina Riedel (University of the Free State)

Researcher: Makoto Furumoto (JSPS, University of Essex)

Consultant: ‘Maseanakoena Mokoaleli (University of the Free State)

By the collaboration of each group, we successfully collected data through the above mentioned 142 parameters from all the six languages, which we believe a substantial contribution to the current research trend on cross-Bantu micro-typology. We hereby acknowledge especially Dr. Kristina Riedel and Dr. Hannah Gibson for their active commitment to the workshop through taking a lead and providing theoretical clarification of specific parameters at joint research sessions, which substantially helps to improve the quality of data collection and analysis.

## **2. Target languages**

The following is a list of target languages with some basic information about speakers’ population, genetic classification, and published bibliographical resources.

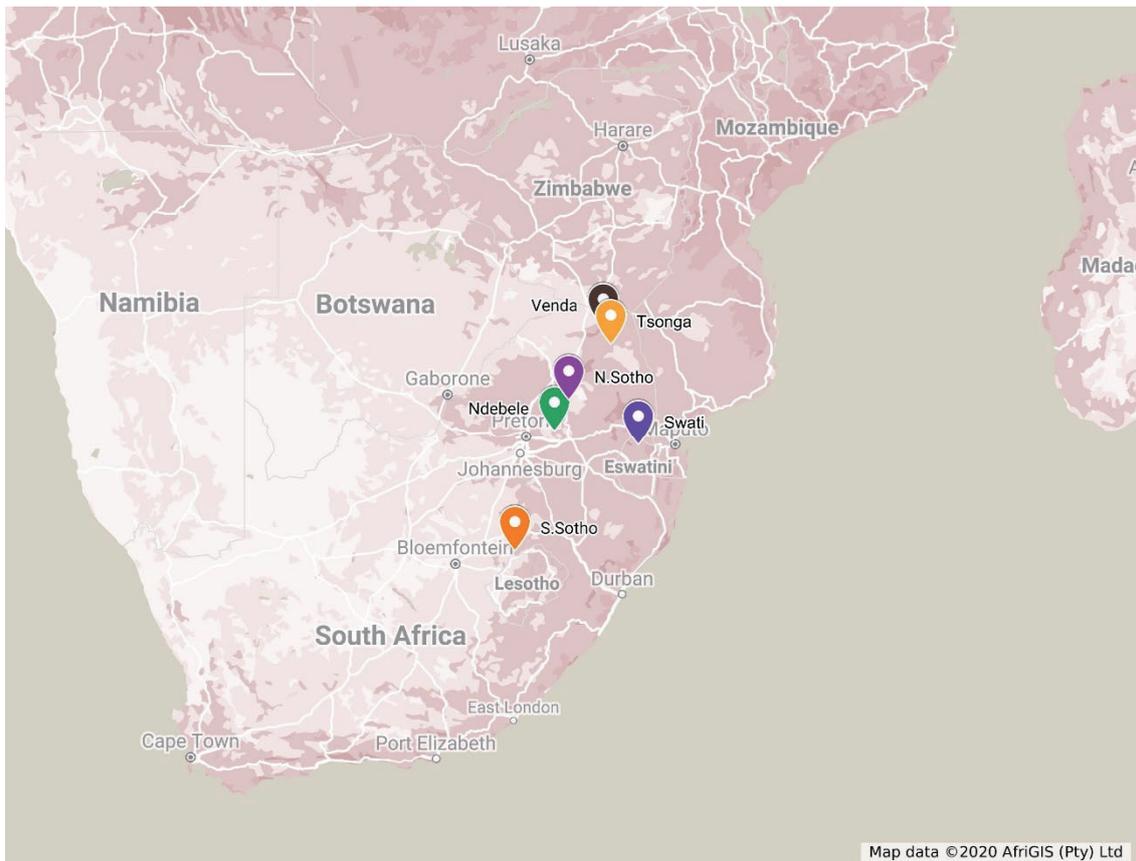
Table: A list of the six target languages with basic information

Name	Population	Classification	Bibliographical resources
Venda	1,209,388 (2.4%)	Venda, S21	Westphal (1946), Ziervogel et al. (1981/90), Poulos (1990), du Plessis et al. (1995)
Tsonga (Changana)	2,277,148 (4.5%)	Tswa-Rhonga, S53	Ribeiro (1965), Baumbach (1987), Ngunga & Simbine (2012)
Swati	1,297,046 (2.6%)	Nguni, S43	Ziervogel & Mabuza (1976), wa Ilunga (1995), Thwala (1996)
South Ndebele	1,090,223 (2.1%)	Nguni, S407	cf. Ziervogel (1967), van Warmelo (1930)

Name	Population	Classification	Bibliographical resources
Northern Sotho (Sepedi)	4,618,576 (9.1%)	Sotho-Tswana, S32	Ziervogel (1960), Zerbian (2007), Wyk (1986),
Southern Sotho (Sesotho)	3,849,563 (7.6%)	Sotho-Tswana, S33	Doke & Mofokeng (1957/74), Guma (1971), du Plessis (1995)

As for sociolinguistic aspects, all of the six languages have the status of official languages of South Africa. However, as shown in the population ratio, they are all ‘minor’ languages spoken by a relatively small number of people with less socio-political prestige and social recognition. It is also to be noted that most of the languages have only a few reliable linguistic descriptions, many of which were classic works published around the mid-19th century. While such studies are still valuable in the context of e.g., diachronic linguistics, in most cases these do not sufficiently provide direct information relevant to the interest of current linguistic typology. All of these facts thus constitute our motivation for data collection of these languages in a disciplined way of descriptive linguistics.

One more thing to be noted here is about their genetic classification. In the standard classificatory system of Bantu languages (so-called ‘Guthrie code’) the entire Bantu area is classified into 16 zones. While all the Bantu languages spoken in South Africa are classified into one single zone (Zone S), the six target languages are distributed over different subgroups, namely two of them are in the Sotho-Tswana group (S30), another two of them belong to the Nguni group (S40), and the remaining two are from different groups, i.e., Tsonga belongs to the Tswa-Rhonga group, while Venda constitutes itself as an independent subgroup (S10). This internal variety in terms of linguistic classification works ideally for the microvariation study as a framework focusing on inter-genetic diversity of structural types.



Map: Location of the six target languages

### 3. Data archiving

The data collected in the workshop are archive-oriented, i.e., all examples described in this volume are digitally recorded in order to make them publicly accessible online for the benefit of cross-Bantu or general typological studies. Those who like to access the data for academic purposes can visit <https://renelda.aa-ken.jp/about.html> for further information.

### 4. Acknowledgement

First of all, we are grateful for all the cooperative effort made by all participant researchers based in MCALAC and their students who provided their native knowledge of target languages throughout the workshop. We are especially indebted to Prof. Crous Hlungwani for his enthusiastic support. Without his commitment, the workshop would not be made possible. Our thanks also go to anonymous reviewers who kindly made a painstaking effort to read through each chapter and make productive comments, which improved the reliability and accuracy of the data. We hereby acknowledge Prof. Nhlanhla Thwala for his comments and suggestions for grammaticality judgement of the Swati examples. We also acknowledge JSPS for their financial support to the ReNeLDA project (Core-to-core program: B. Asia-Africa Science platforms). Publication of this volume is financially supported by ‘LingDy3’, the core research unit of linguistics at ILCAA, and is also part of the research outcome of ILCAA’s joint research project ‘Typological Study of Microvariation in Bantu (2)’. Last but not

least, we gratefully acknowledge Kyoung-won Jeong and Patricio Varela Almiron for their tireless effort made throughout the editing process.

March, 2021

The editors

## Gloss abbreviations

Subscript number (X <sub>1,2,3...</sub> )	(Coreferential) Noun class numbers
AGMT	Augmentative
AGR	Unidentified agreement marker
ANT	Anterior
APPL	Applicative
APx	Adjectival prefix
ASSC	Associative
AUG	Augment (Nominal pre-prefix)
AUX	Auxiliary
CAUS	Causative
CERT	Certainty (modality)
cl.	(Noun) class
CMPR	Comparative
COMP	Complementizer
COMPL	Completive
COND	Conditional
CONS	Consecutive
COP	Copula
CF	Counter factual
CPx	(Noun) class prefix
DEM	Demonstrative
DEMc	Demonstrative (very close to the speaker)
DEMd	Demonstrative (distal)
DEMn	Demonstrative (near to the speaker)
DEMx	Demonstrative (just next to the speaker)
DEMr	Demonstrative (referential)
DEP	Dependent clause marker
DET	Determiner
DIM	Diminutive
DJ	Disjoint
EPx	Enumerative prefix
FEM	Feminine (as a derivational category denoting female entities)
FOC	Focus
FUT	Future
FV	Final Vowel

HAB	Habitual
IMPF	Imperfective
INF	Infinitive
INTERR	Interrogative
ITER	Iterative
ITV	Itive
LNK	Linker
LOC	Locative
NEG	Negative
NEUT	Neuter
NMLZag	Nominalizer (agent)
NMLZabs	Nominalizer (abstract)
NP	Narrative Past
NPST	Non-past
OM	Object marker
PASS	Passive
PERS	Persistive
PFV	Perfective
PL	Plural
PN	Proper noun
POSS	Possessive
POT	Potential
PPx	Pronominal prefix
PREP	Unidentified prepositional
PRF	Perfect
PROG	Progressive
PRON	Pronoun, Pronominal
PRS	Present
PST	Past
QP	Question particle
RECP	Reciprocal
REFL	Reflexive
REL	Relative
SBJV	Subjunctive
SG	Singular
SIM	Simultaneous (aspect)
SIT	Situational
SM	Subject marker

STAT	Stative
SUGG	Suggestive (mood)
TOP	Topic
VNT	Ventive

## Chapter 1

# Geographical distribution of the values of 142 parameters of Bantu morphosyntactic microvariation



## P001

### Values

-  no
-  1
-  2

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

null: unknown

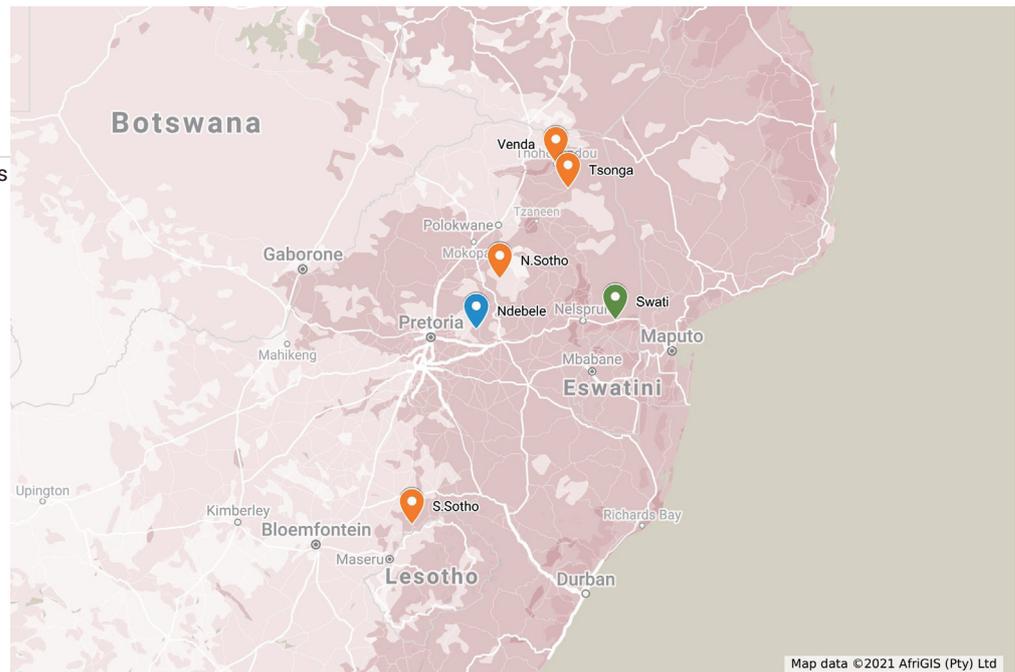
no: there is no augment in the language

1: V shape only

2: V and CV shape

3: the augment is expressed only tonally

4: there is no productive augment, but evidence (e.g. tonal, or lexicalized forms) of the former presence of augment



## P002

### Values

-  n.a.
-  yes

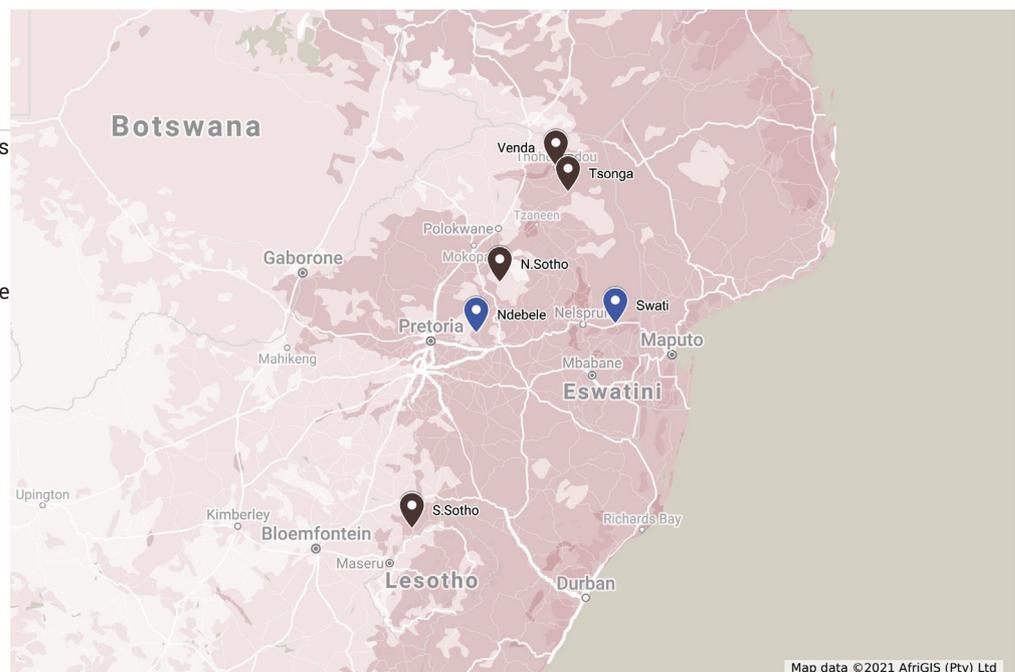
Function of the augment: Does the augment fulfill a specific grammatical function?

null: unknown

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

no: the augment is always present or its presence is phonologically determined (e.g. for reasons of phonological weight)

yes: the presence/absence is related to grammatical (e.g. semantic / syntactic / pragmatic) meaning



## P003

Values

3

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

null: unknown

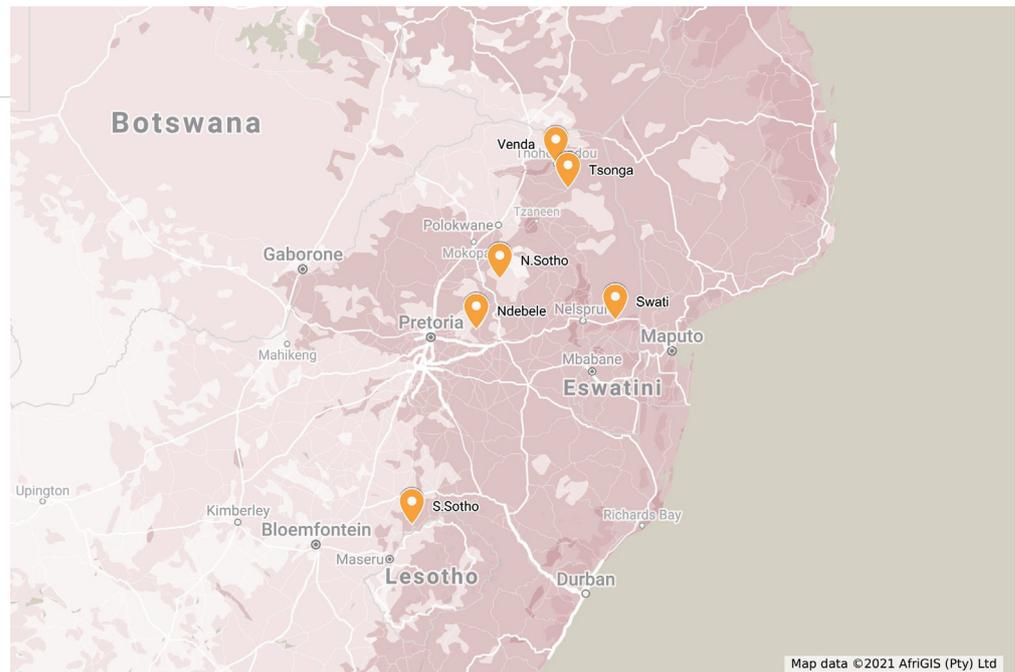
n.a.: there is no class 5 in the language

1: it is always zero-marked

2: V shape, possibly alternating with zero-marking

3: CV shape, possibly alternating with zero-marking

4: both V and CV shape are found



## P004

Values

15

16

17

18

19

20

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

null: unknown

n.a.: the language has completely lost its noun class system

10: 10 classes

11: 11 classes

12: 12 classes

13: 13 classes

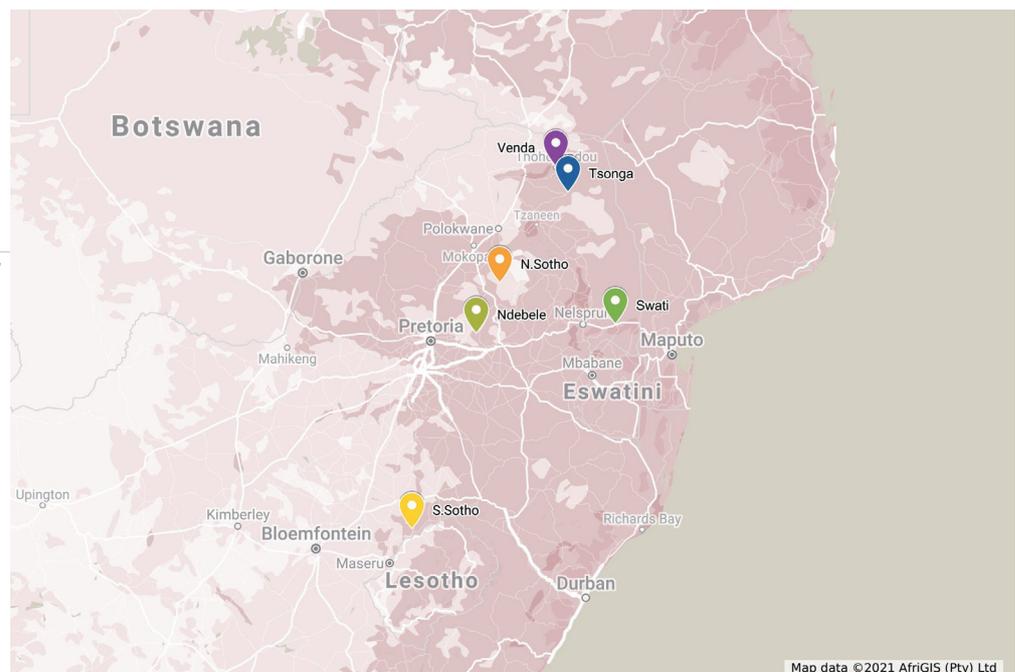
14: 14 classes

15: 15 classes

16: 16 classes

17: 17 classes

18: 18 classes



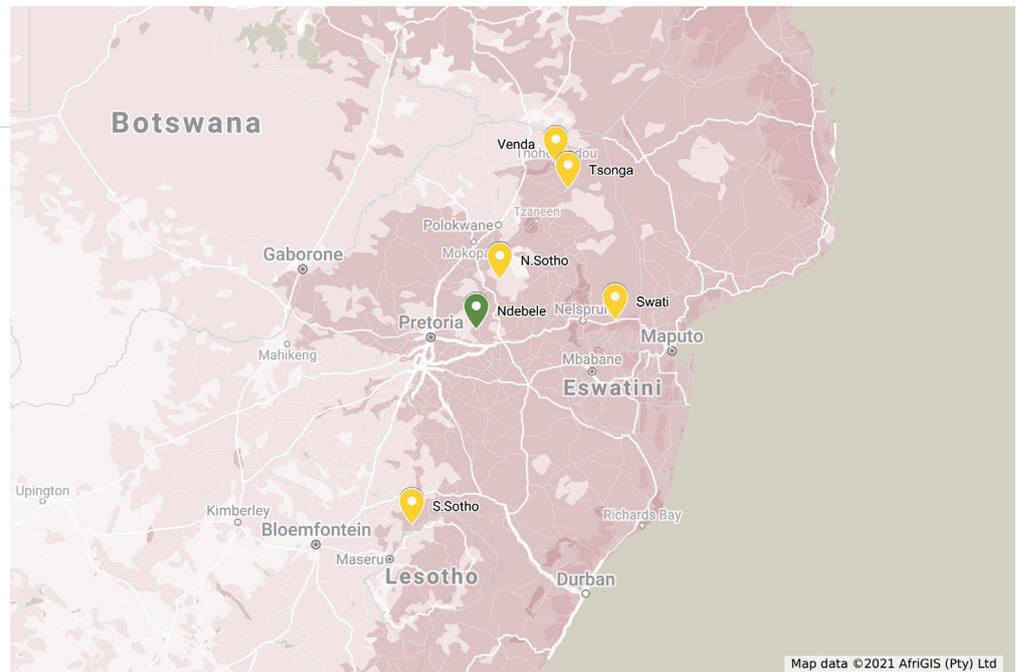
## P005

### Values

- 📍 yes (cl.15)
- 📍 yes (cl. 5 and cl. 15)

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

- null: unknown
- n.a.: there is no infinitive as such (unexpected)
- no: the infinitive is marked in another way (e.g. through tonal marking)
- yes: specify which noun class(es)



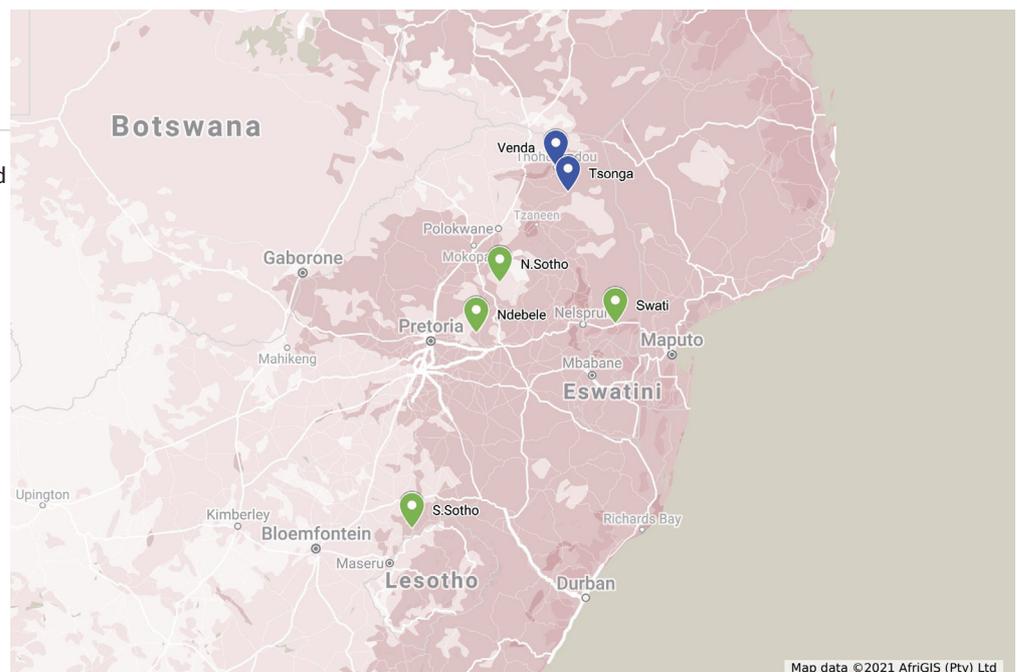
## P006

### Values

- 📍 no
- 📍 yes

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

- null: unknown
- no: another strategy is used
- yes: yes



## P007

Values

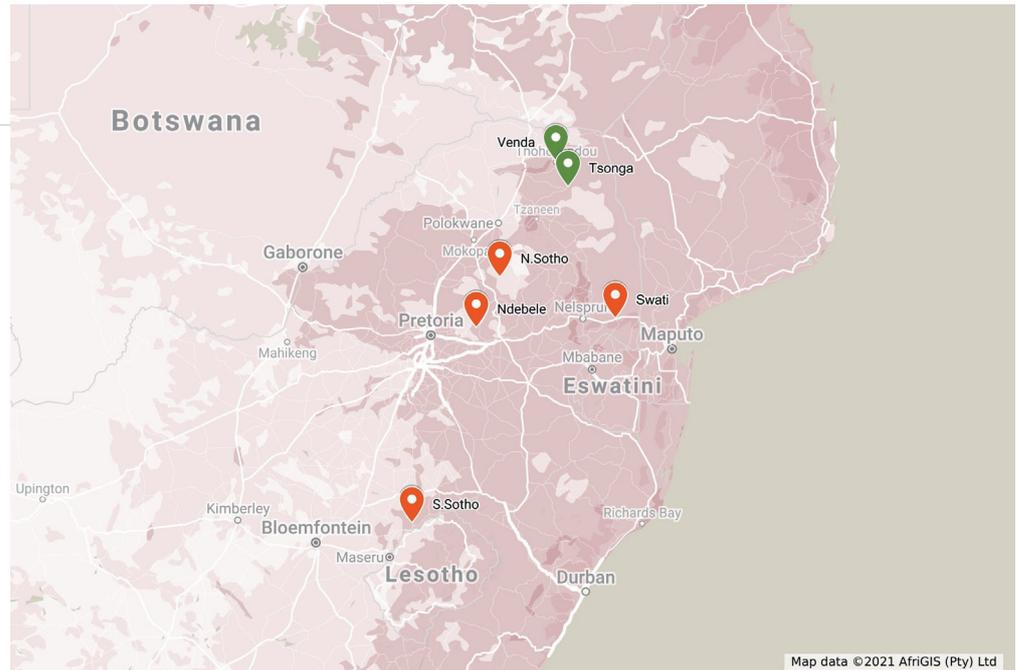
- no
- yes

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

null: unknown

no: another strategy is used

yes: yes



## P008

Values

- no
- yes

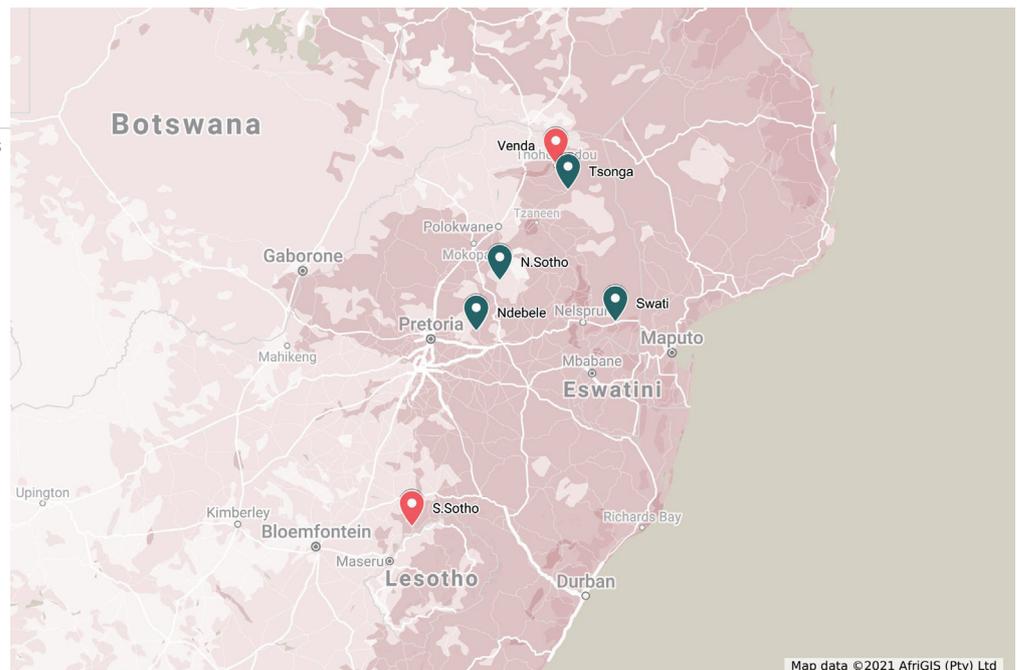
Noun class prefix omission: Is it possible to omit the noun class prefix when class membership is marked through agreement (on a modifier or on the verb)?

null: unknown

n.a.: there is no noun class prefix in the language

no: no

yes: yes



## P009

Values

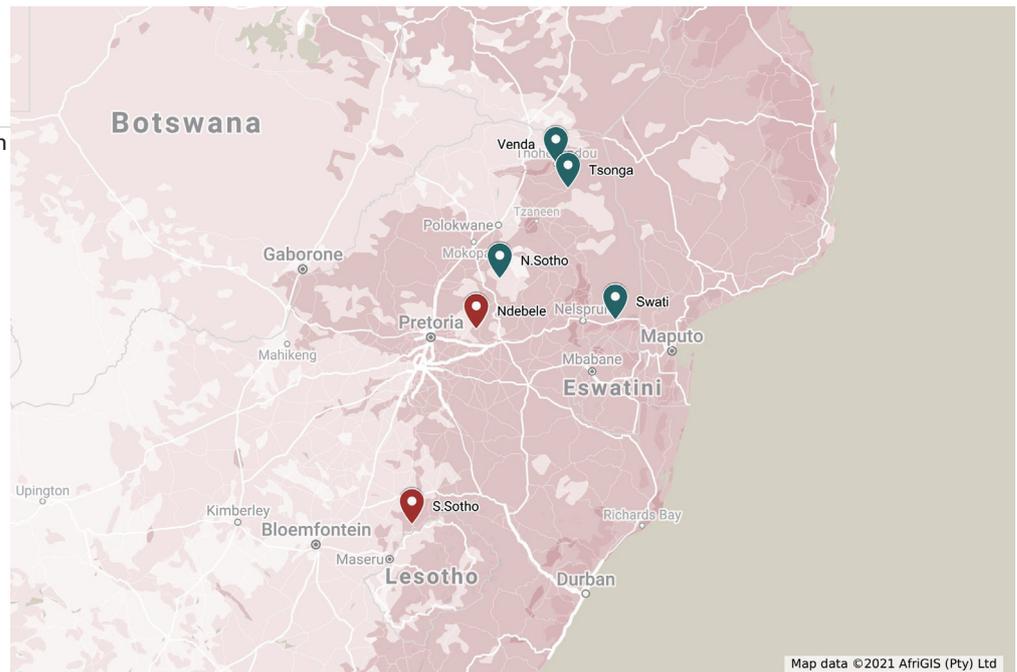
-  no
-  yes

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

null: unknown

no: another strategy is used, either locative suffixation (parameter 10) or prepositional phrases

yes: yes



## P010

Values

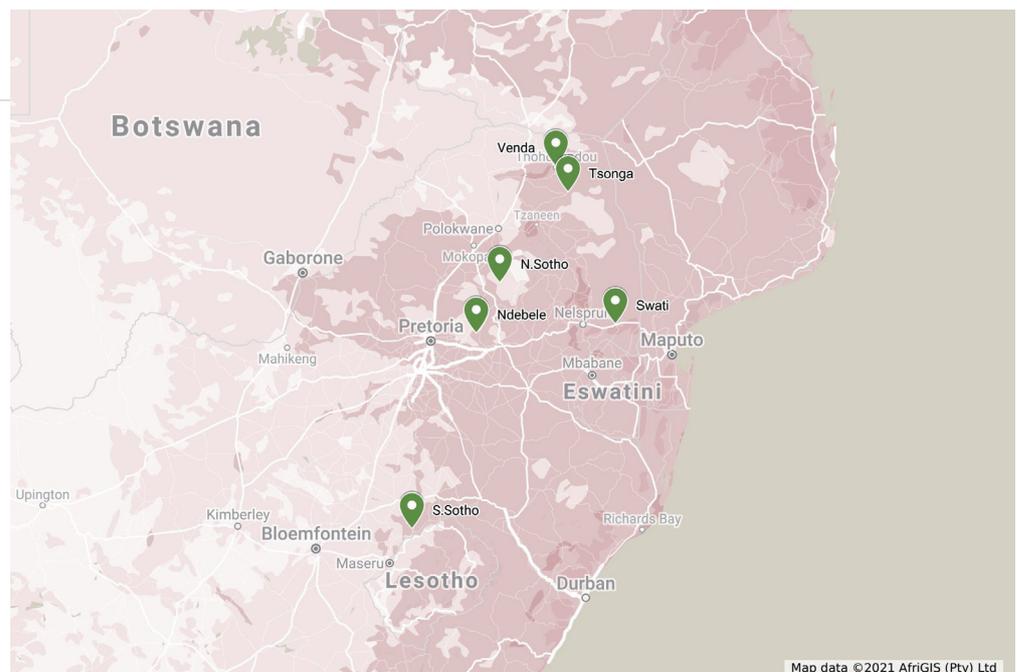
-  yes

Locative nominal suffixation: Can a noun take a locative suffix?

null: unknown

no: another strategy is used, either locative prefixation (parameter 9) or prepositional phrases

yes: yes



# P011

Values

 yes

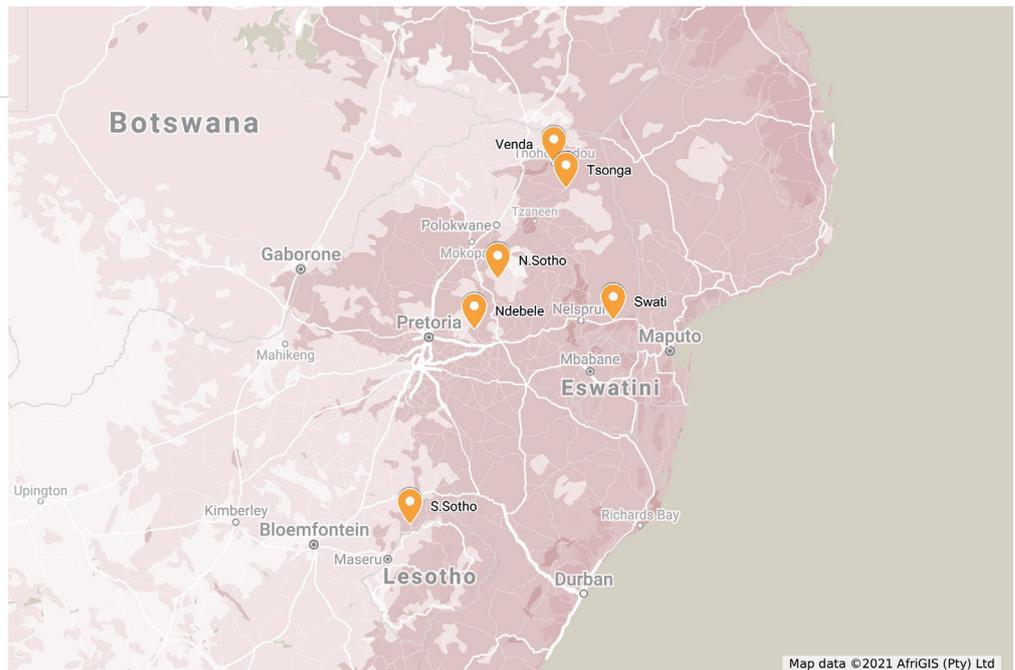
Locative subject markers: Are there locative subject markers on the verb?

null: unknown

n.a.: there is no subject marking on the verb in the language

no: there is subject marking, but not with locative classes

yes: yes



# P012

Values

 yes

 no

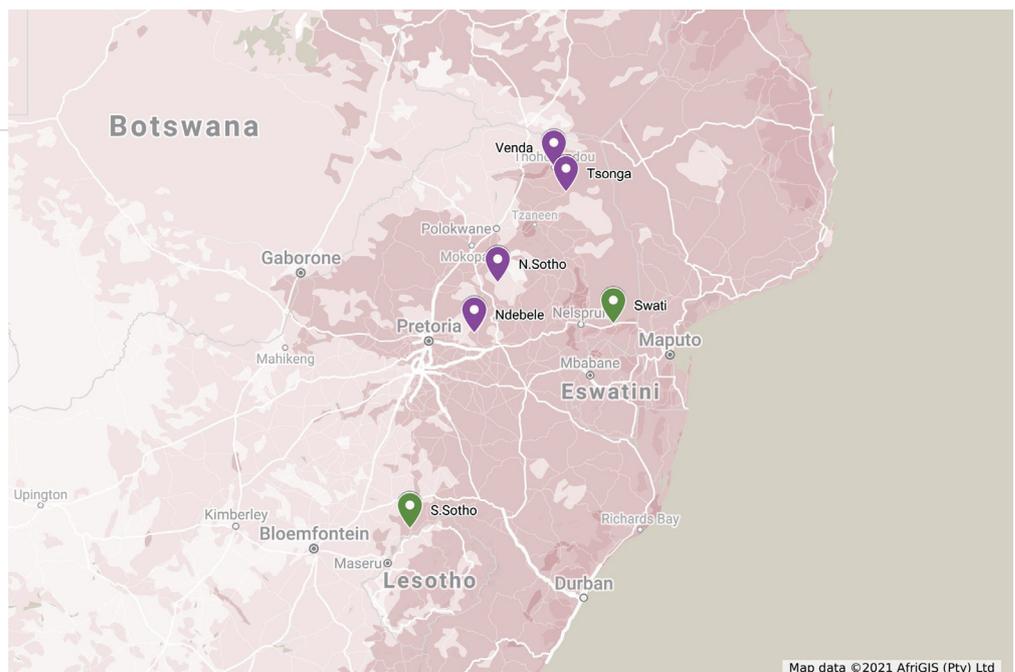
Locative object markers: Are there locative pre-stem object markers on the verb?

null: unknown

n.a.: there is no object prefixation on the verb in the language

no: there is object prefixation, but not with locative classes (give examples showing ungrammaticality)

yes: yes



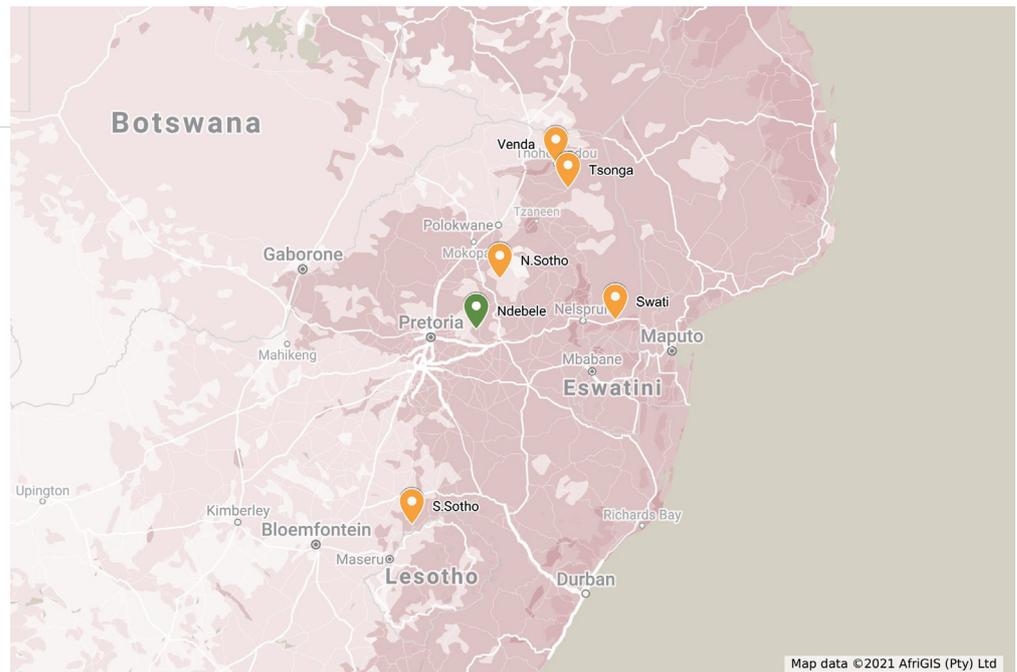
## P013

Values

- no
- null

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

null: unknown  
no: such clitics do not exist in the language  
yes: yes



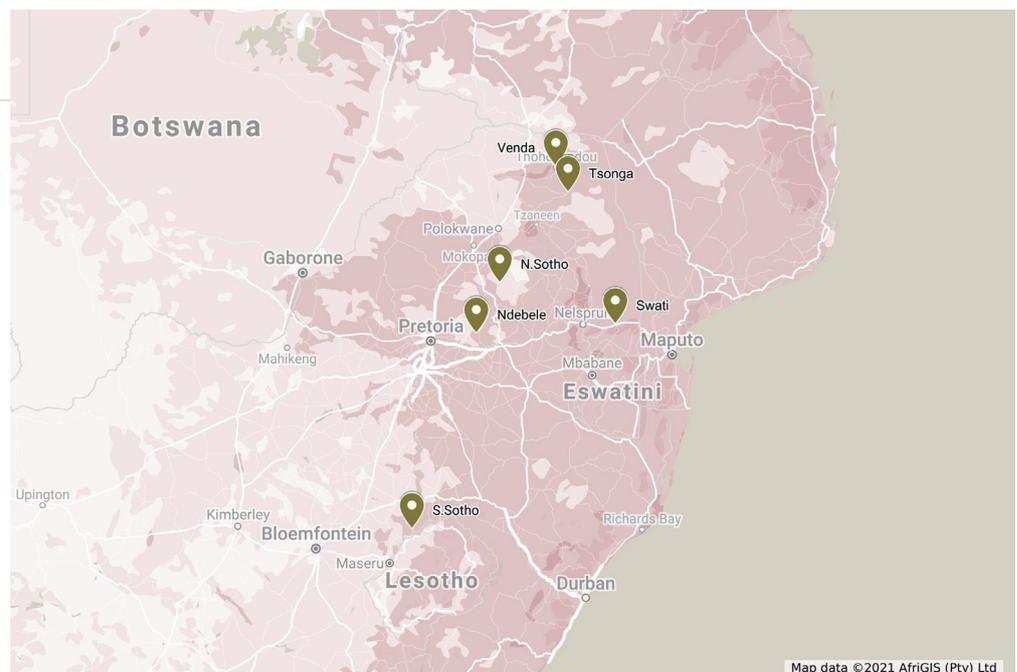
## P014

Values

- no

Independent subject pronouns: Are independent subject pronouns obligatory?

null: unknown  
n.a.: there are no personal pronouns in the language  
no: no  
yes: personal pronouns are obligatory



## P015

Values



no

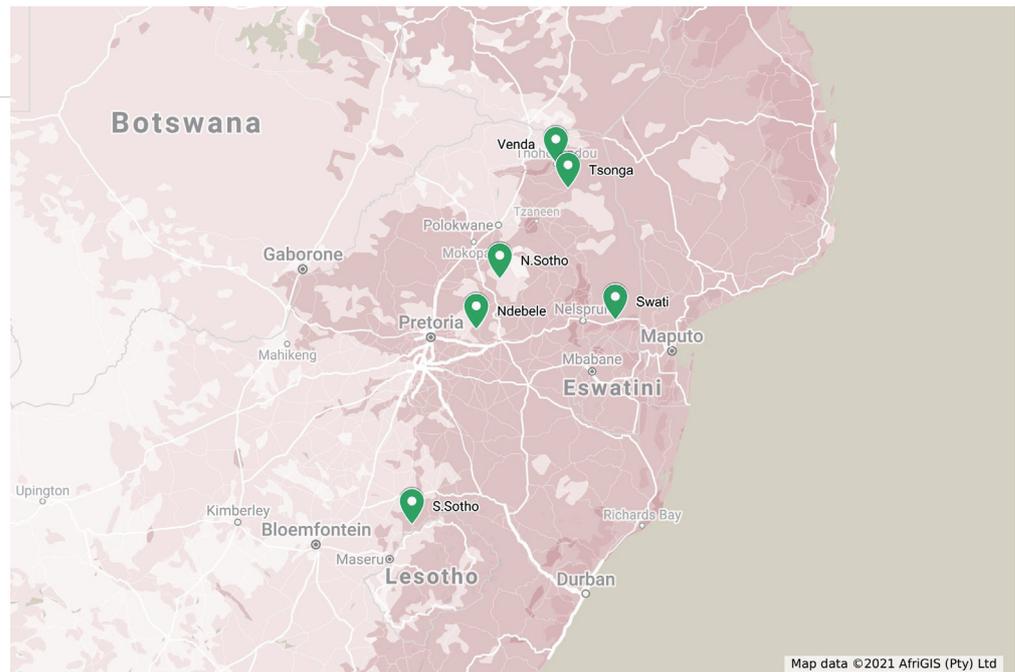
Connective constructions: Is the order of connective constructions always head - connective - modifier?

null: unknown

n.a.: there are no connective constructions in the language

no: not in all contexts (e.g. modifier-connective-head in qualifying constructions)

yes: in all contexts (e.g. genitive as well as qualifying constructions)



## P016

Values



no



yes

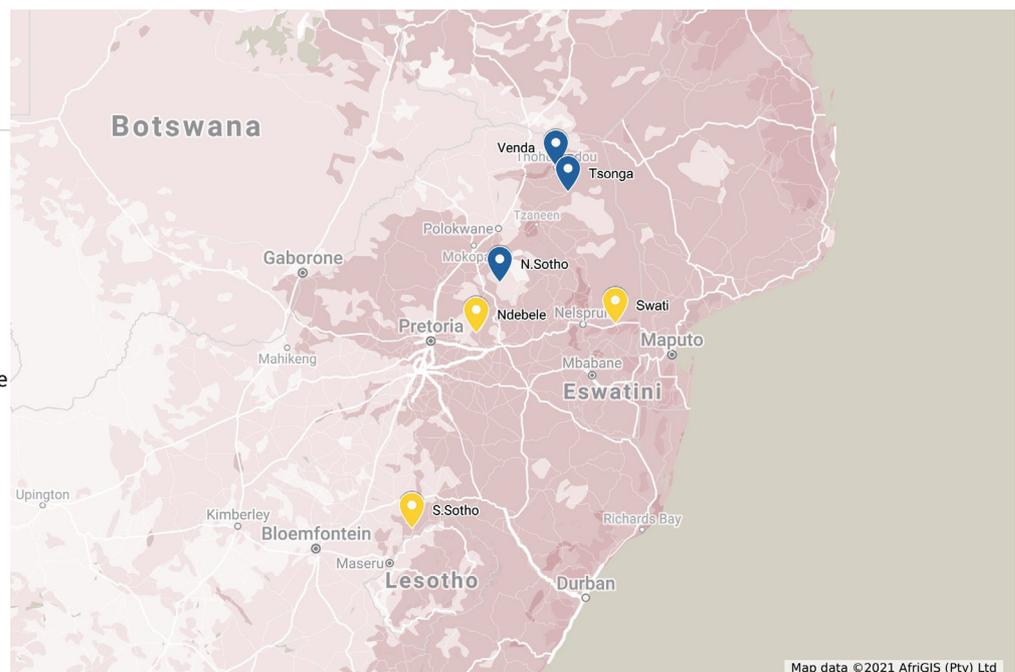
Possessive pronouns: Are there distinct possessive pronominal forms for all noun classes and all speech act participants?

null: unknown

n.a.: there are no possessive pronouns (e.g. only connective constructions?)

no: only for speech act participants

yes: yes



## P017

Values

 yes

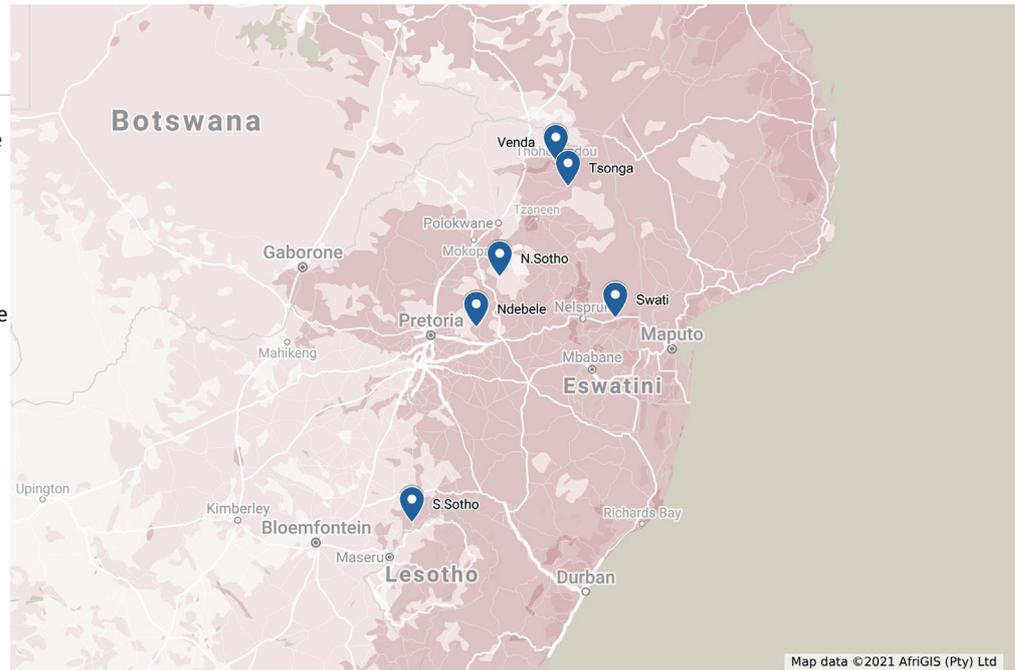
Possessive pronoun agreement: Do the possessive pronouns agree in noun class with the possessed?

null: unknown

n.a.: there are no possessive pronouns (e.g. only connective constructions?)

no: no

yes: yes



## P018

Values

 no

 yes

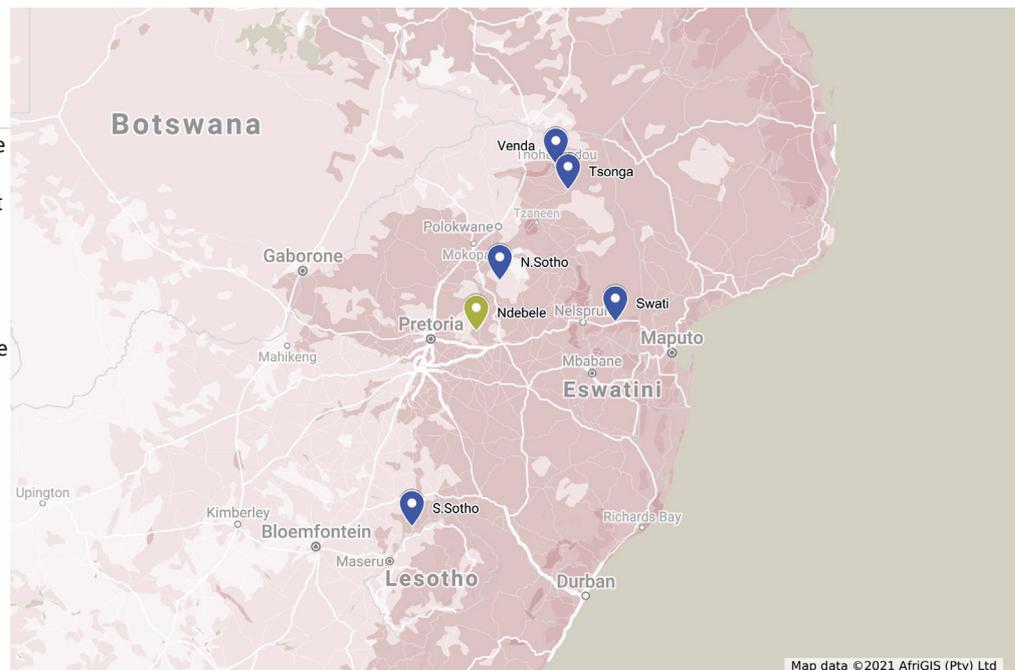
Kinds of possession: Are there specific possessive pronominal forms for different kinds of possession?

null: unknown

n.a.: there are no possessive pronouns (e.g. only connective constructions?)

no: possessive pronouns do not display variation

yes: yes



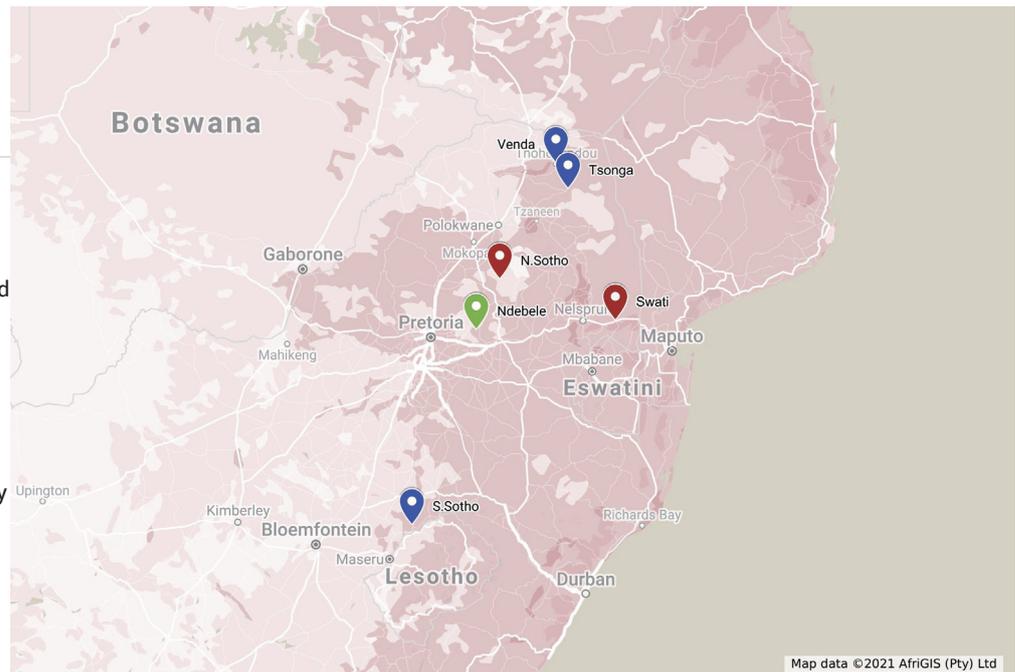
## P019

Values

- 📍 2
- 📍 ?
- 📍 3

Possessor raising: Is possessor raising possible?

null: unknown  
 no: the possessor is expressed only through a modifying possessive pronoun  
 1: yes, and it is unrestricted  
 2: yes, with inalienable possession only  
 3: yes, with inalienable and alienable possession (possibly including applicative marking for alienable possession)



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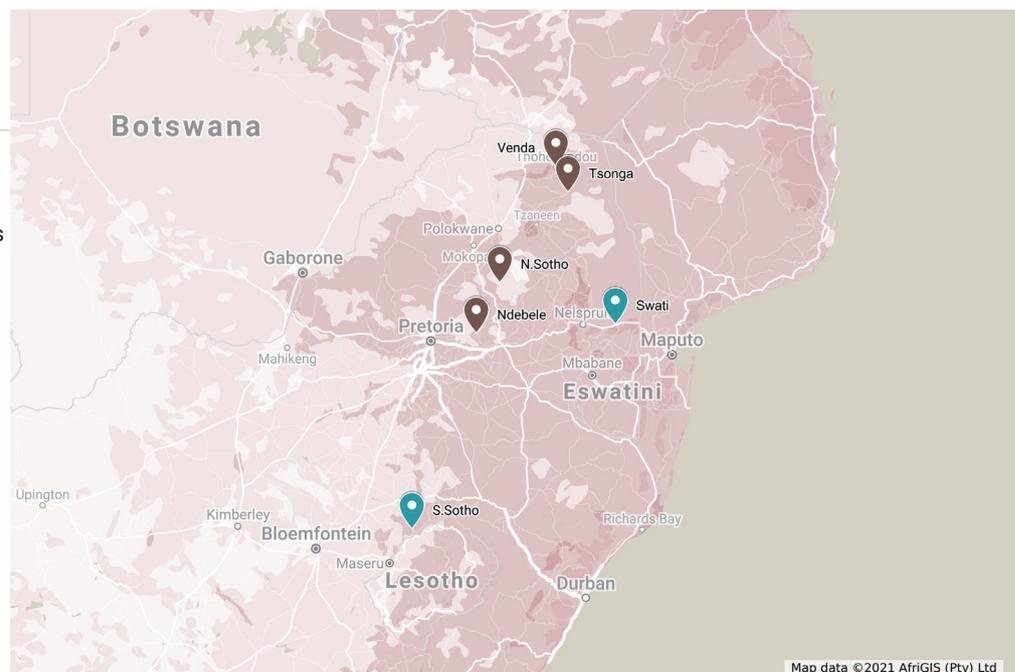
## P020

Values

- 📍 2
- 📍 3

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

null: unknown  
 no: no distinction  
 1: yes, there is a two-way distinction  
 2: yes, there is a three-way distinction  
 3: yes, there is a four-way distinction  
 4: yes, there is a five-way (or more) distinction



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## P021

Values

- 📍 1
- 📍 2

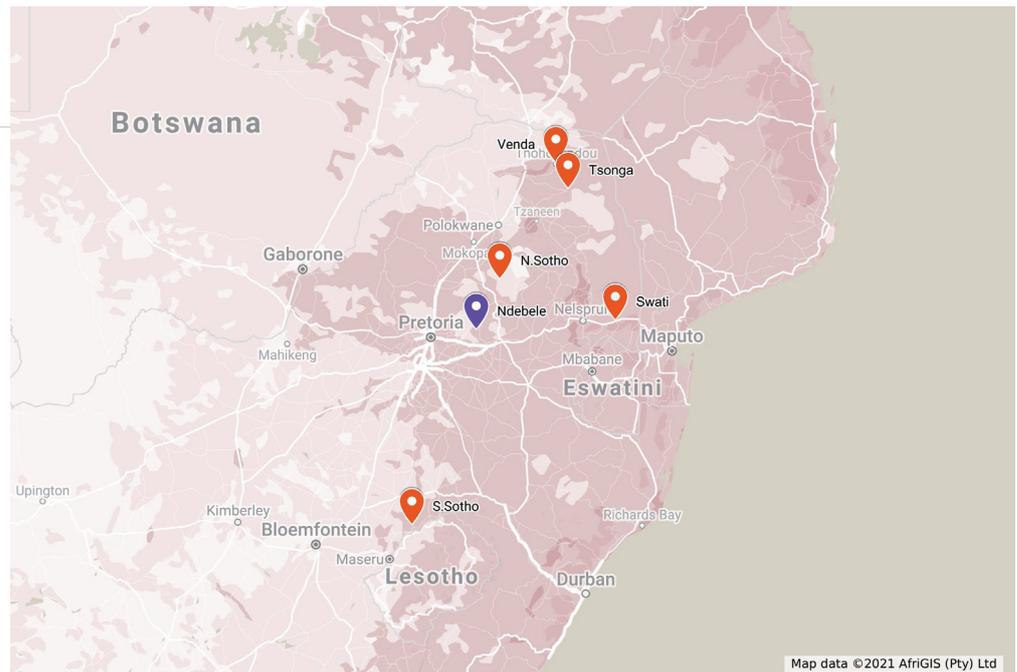
Demonstrative agreement: Do the demonstratives agree in noun class with the head noun?

null: unknown

no: demonstratives are invariable

1: yes, always

2: yes, but with exceptions



## P022

Values

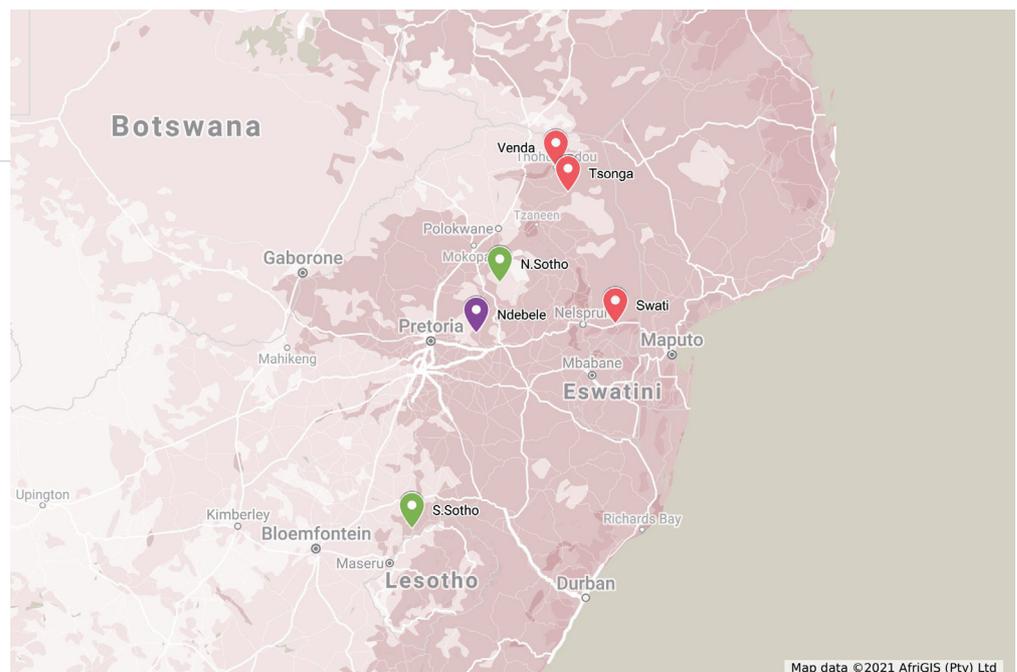
- 📍 no
- 📍 yes
- 📍 null

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

null: unknown

no: only spatial-deictic functions

yes: yes



## P023

Values

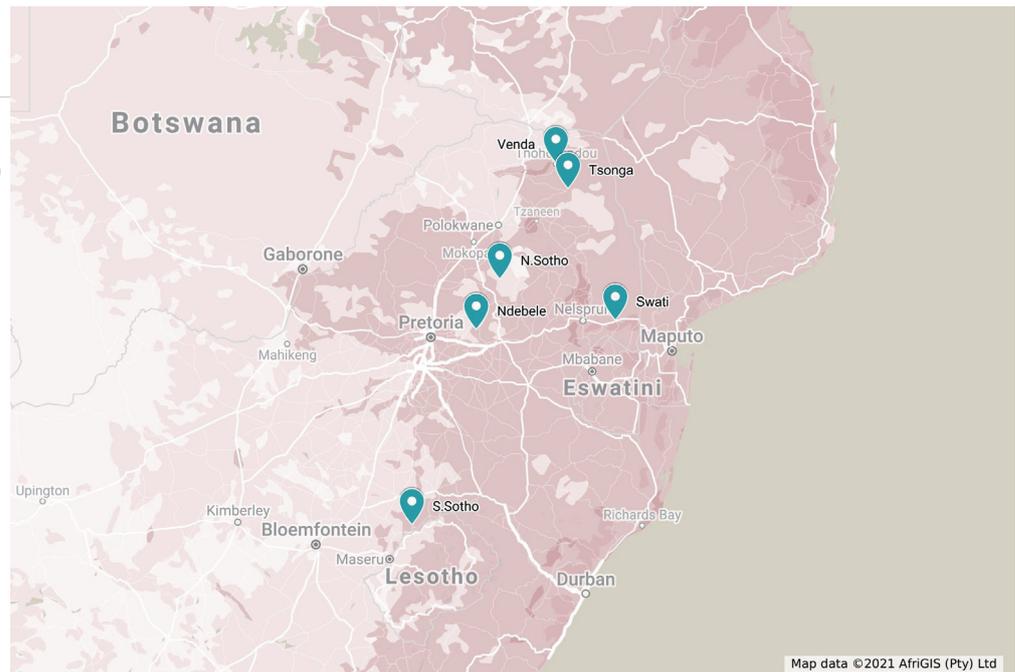
yes

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

null: unknown

no: qualification is expressed using another strategy

yes: yes



## P024

Values

yes

no

?

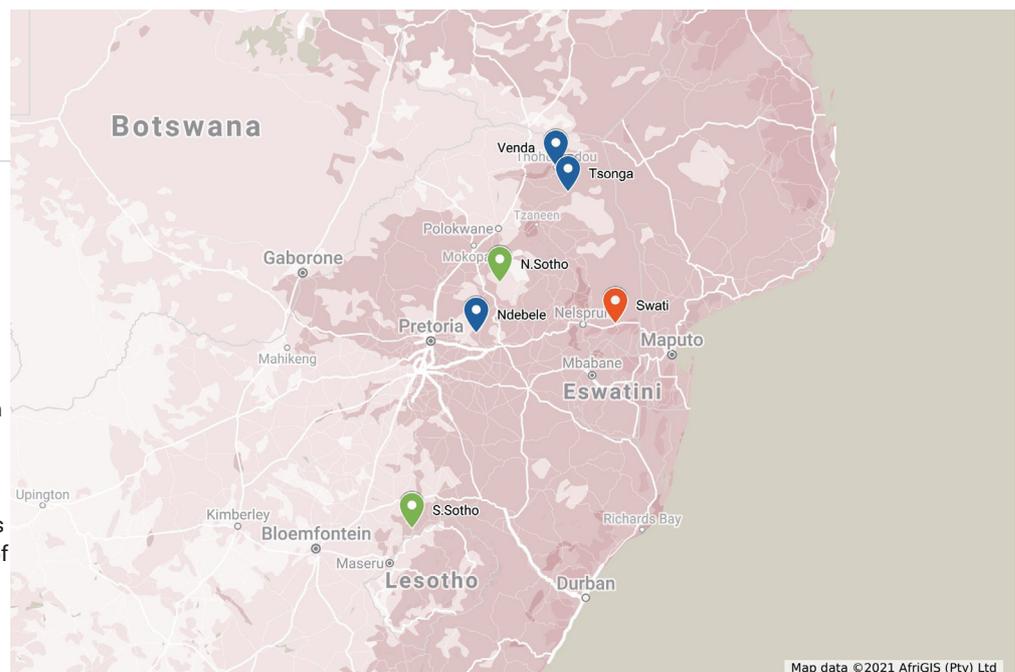
Adnominal concord prefixes: Are there different forms/paradigms for adnominal concord prefixes?

null: unknown

n.a.: modifiers do not agree with the head noun

no: there is only one paradigm which applies for adjectives, numerals, and all pronominal forms

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



## P025

Values

-  no
-  yes

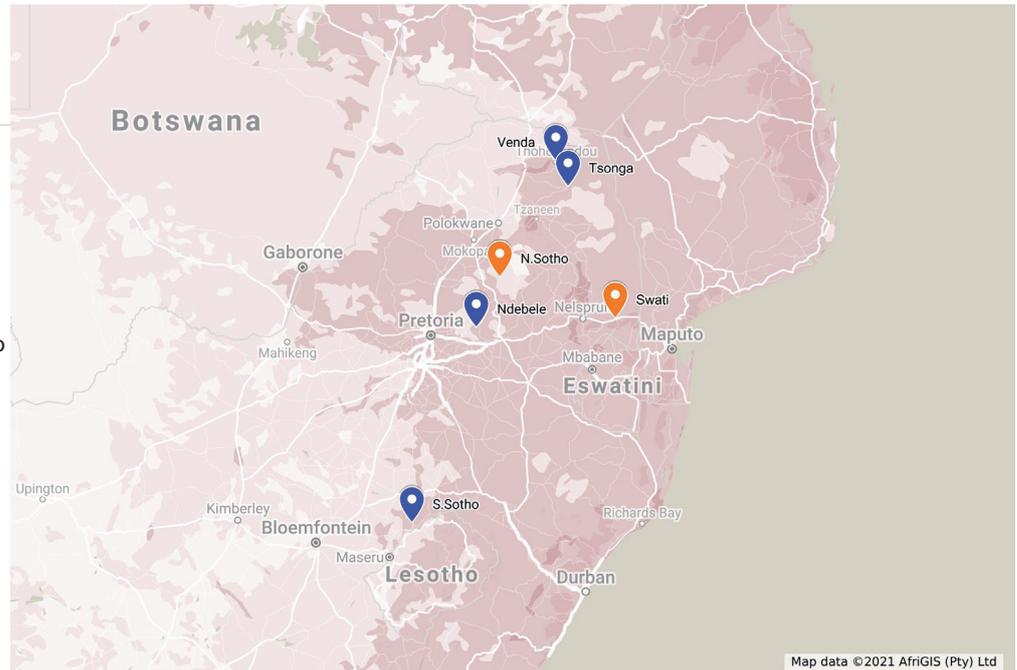
Attributive linkers: Are there attributive linkers which are used to introduce adjectives?

null: unknown

n.a.: there are no lexical adjectives in the language

no: another strategy is used to introduce adjectives

yes: yes



## P026

Values

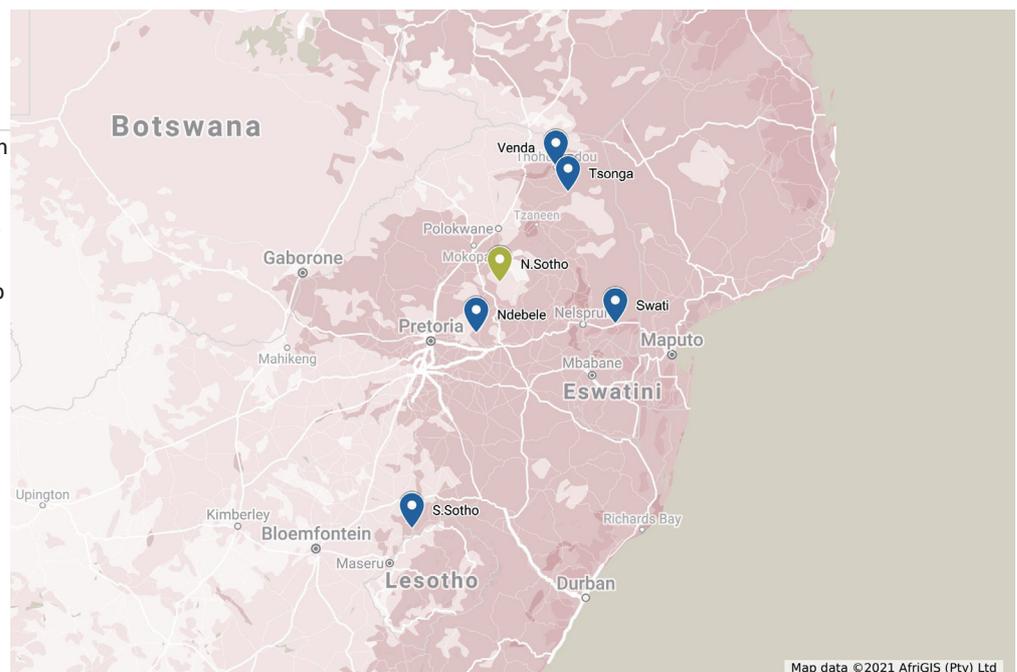
-  no
-  yes

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

null: unknown

no: such compounding is not attested

yes: yes



## P027

Values

- 📍 1
- 📍 3

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?)

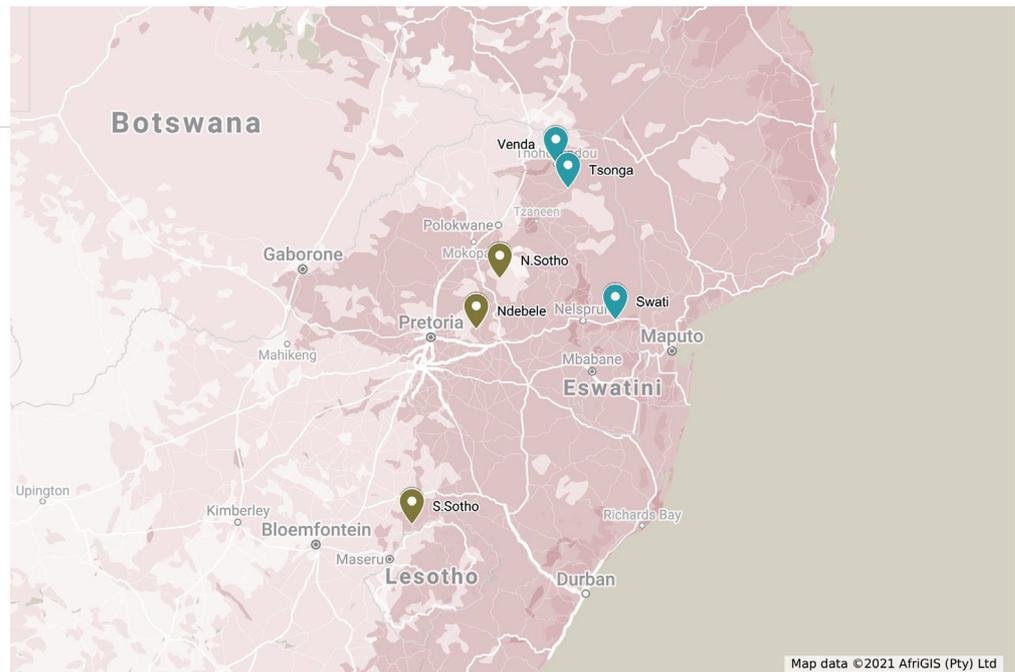
null: unknown

no: such compounding is not attested

1: yes, for diminutive meaning only

2: yes, for feminine / augmentative / qualitative meanings only

3: yes, all



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## P028

Values

- 📍 1
- 📍 ?

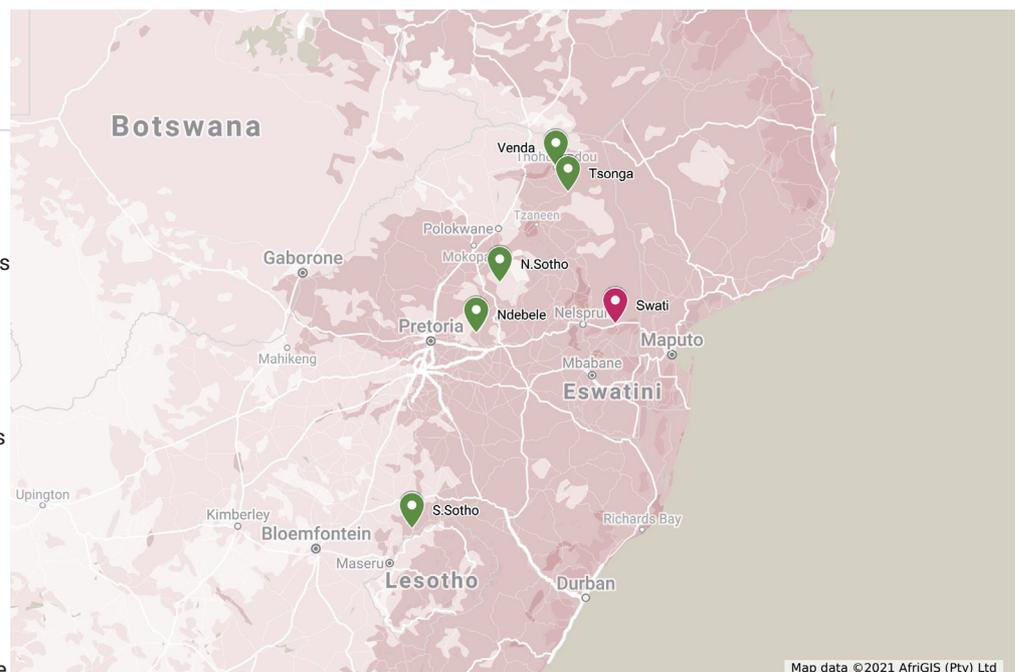
Agentive suffix -i : Does suffixation of the agentive marker -i occur as a verb-to-noun derivational process (possibly in addition to classes 1/2 prefixes)?

null: unknown

n.a.: there is no agentive noun derivation in the language  
no: this derivational process is not attested in the language, but there other suffixes (provide examples)

1: yes, it is used productively (give examples attesting the derivational process)

2: yes, but it is no longer productive (e.g. there might be frozen forms)



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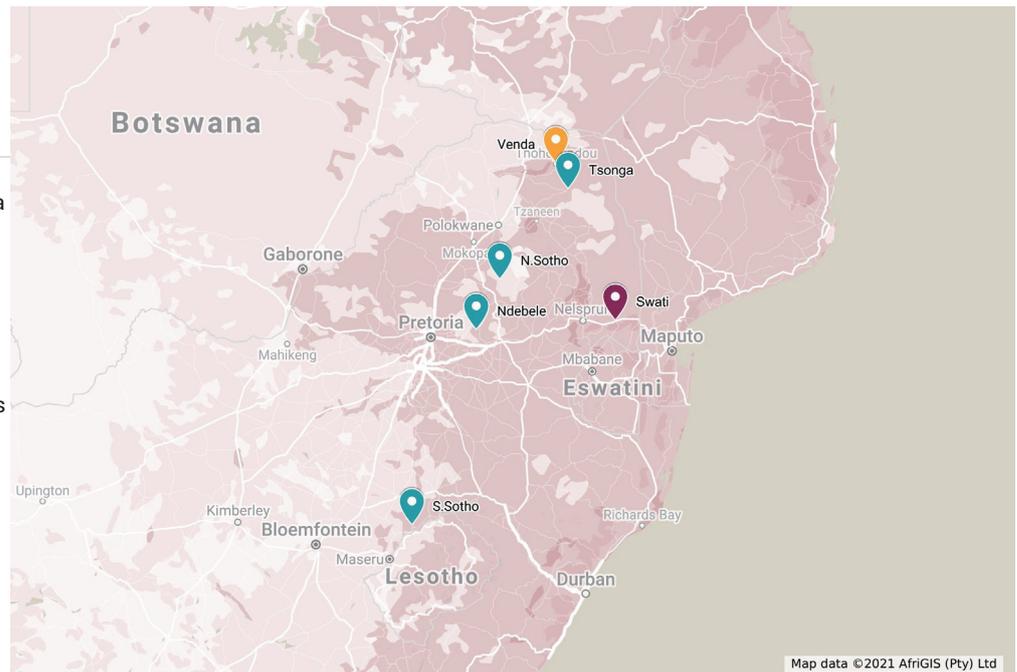
## P029

Values

- 1
- 2
- ?

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

null: unknown  
 no: this derivational process is not attested in the language  
 1: yes, it is used productively  
 2: yes, but it is no longer productive ( e.g. there might be frozen forms)



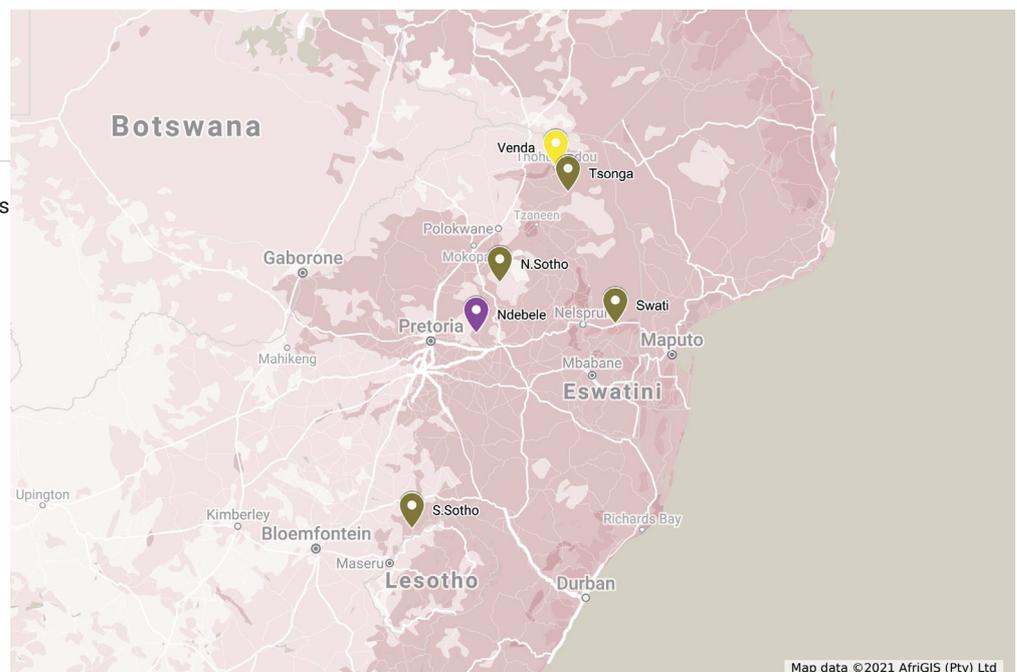
## P030

Values

- no
- 1
- 2

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

null: unknown  
 no:  
 1: yes, it is based on 5 (e.g. 6=5+1)  
 2: yes, it is based on different combinations (e.g. 3+3, 4+4)  
 3: yes, it is based on another pattern



# P031

Values

yes

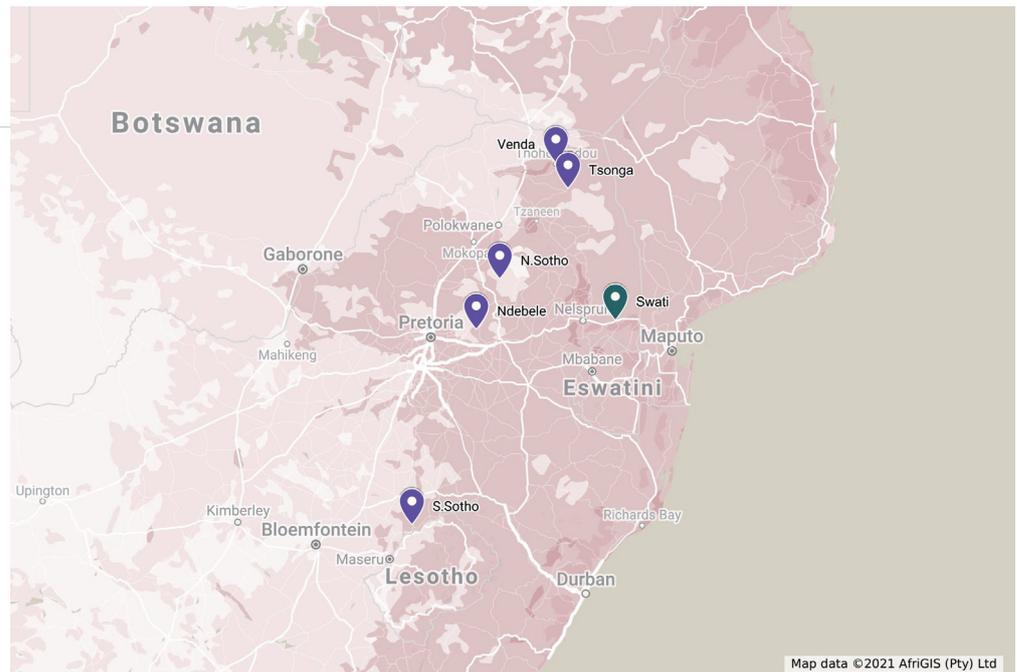
no

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

null: unknown

no: two different words (provide the words for 'arm' and 'hand')

yes: yes



# P032

Values

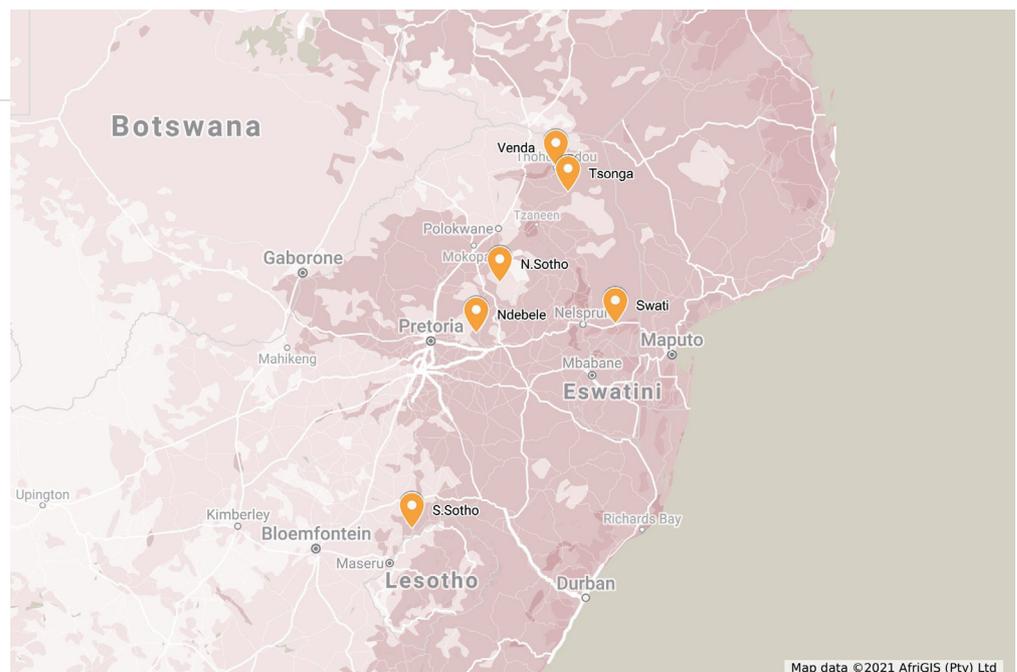
no

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

null: unknown

no: two different words (provide the words for 'hand' and 'finger')

yes: yes



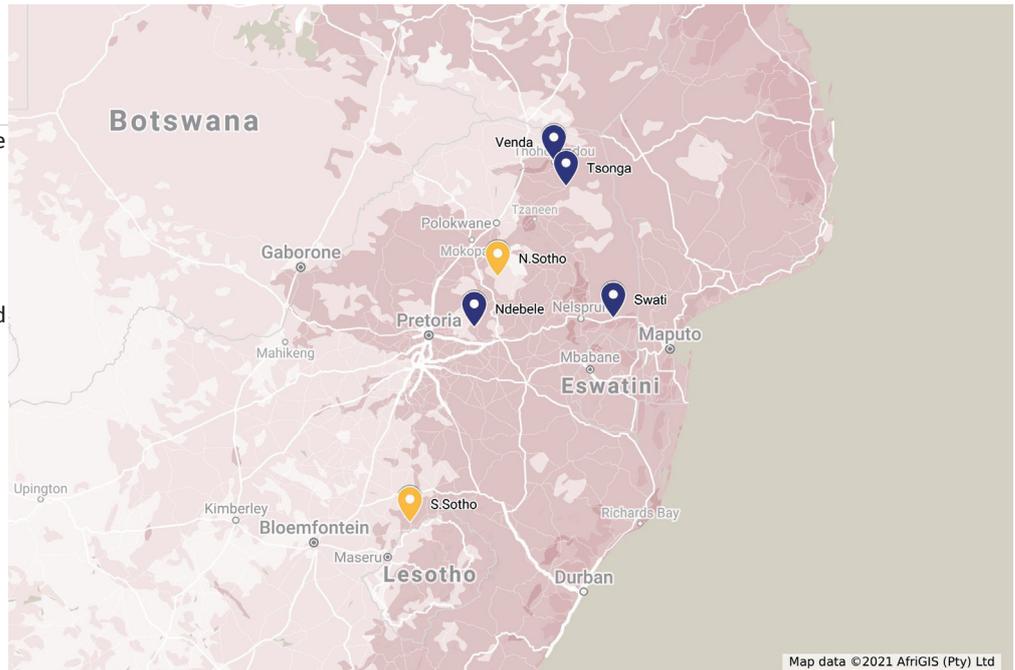
# P033

Values

- no
- yes

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

- null: unknown
- no: two different words (provide the words for 'leg' and 'foot')
- yes: yes



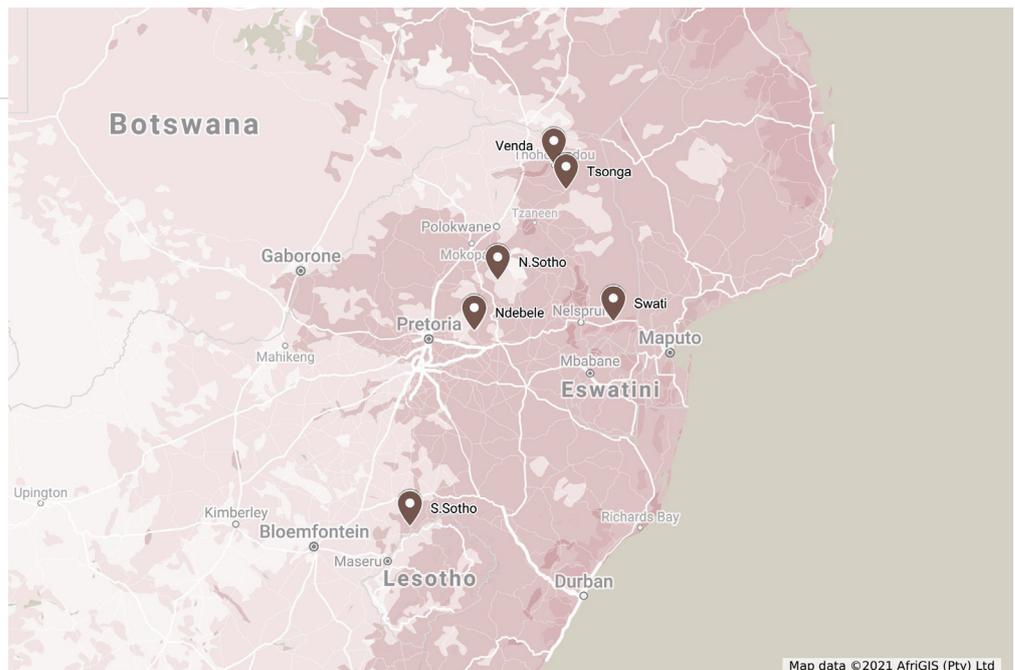
# P034

Values

- no

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

- null: unknown
- no: no
- yes: yes



## P035

Values

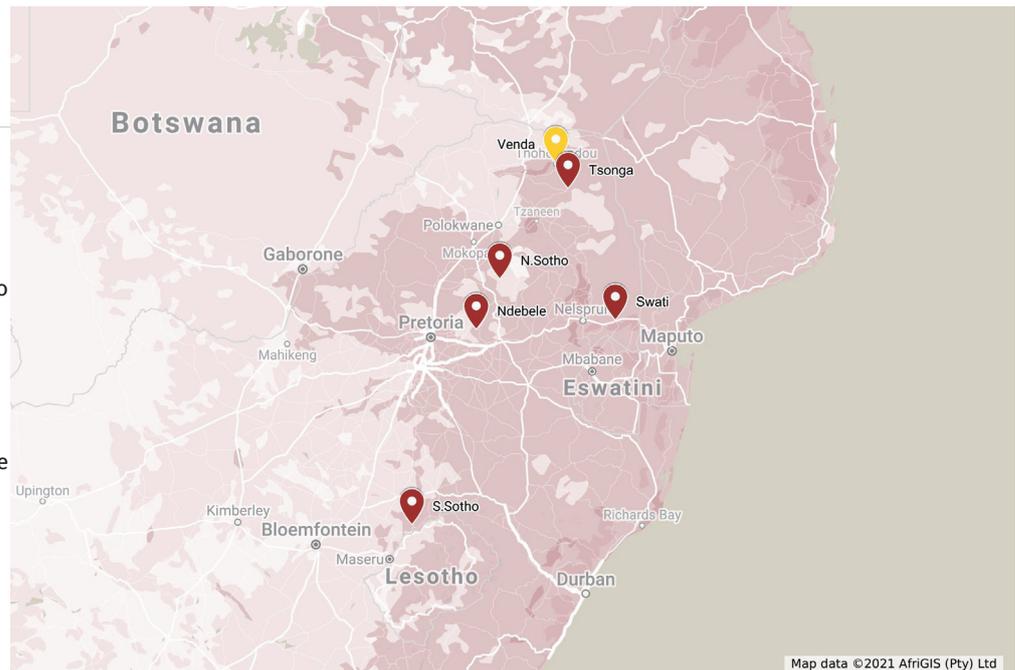
-  yes
-  no

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)

null: unknown

no: such qualities or states are expressed by means of another strategy (e.g. by lexical adjectives)

yes: yes



## P036

Values

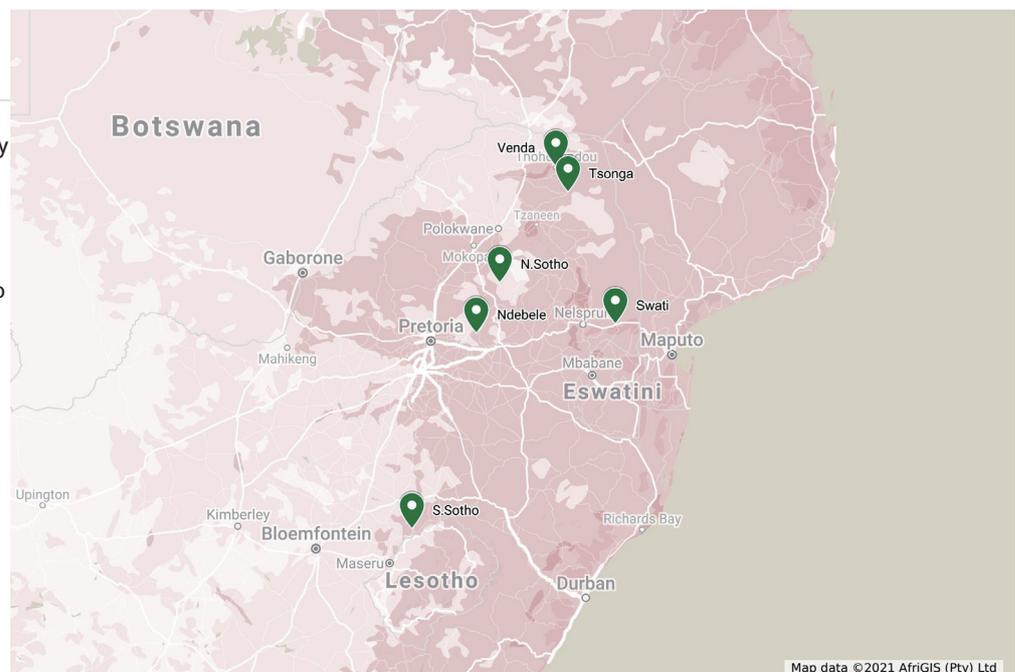
-  yes

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

null: unknown

no: another strategy is used to express passivisation, e.g. an impersonal construction (parameter 37)

yes: yes



## P037

Values

- no
- 1
- ?

'Impersonal' passive: Can passive meaning be expressed by the impersonal use of class 1 or 2 subject markers (so called 'ba-passives')?

null: unknown

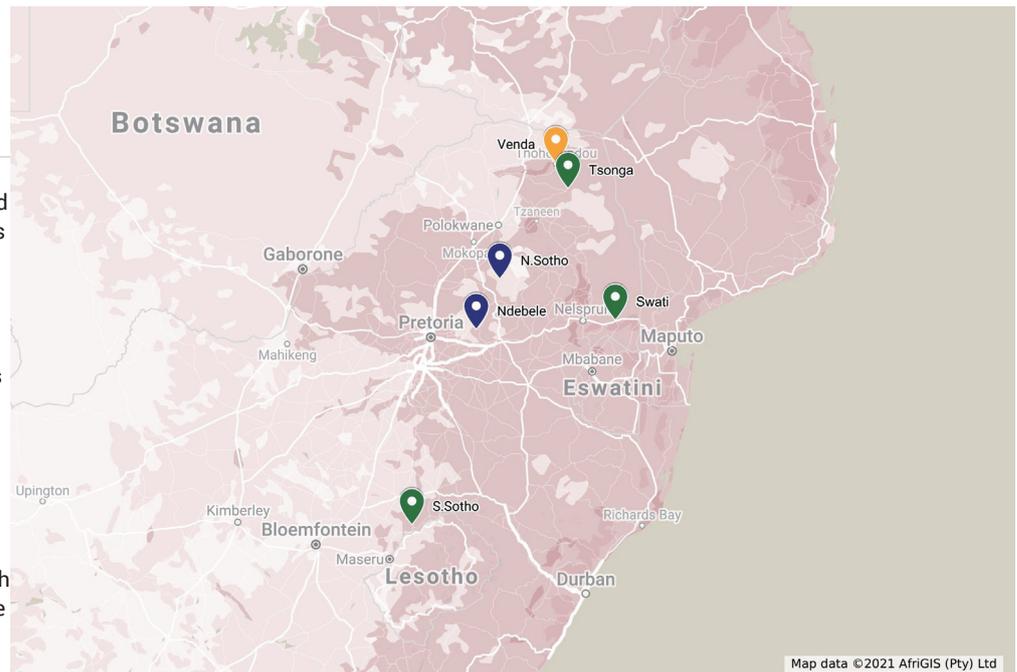
no: 'impersonal' constructions are not typically used to express passives (parameter 36)

1: yes, using a class 2 SM, without the expression of an agent noun phrase

2: yes, using a class 2 SM, with an optional agent noun phrase

3: yes, using a class 1 SM, without the expression of an agent noun phrase

4: yes, using a class 1 SM, with an optional agent noun phrase



## P038

Values

- 3
- 4
- 3+4

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

null: unknown

no: an agent noun phrase cannot be added to a passive construction

1: by the comitative or instrumental (e.g. na)

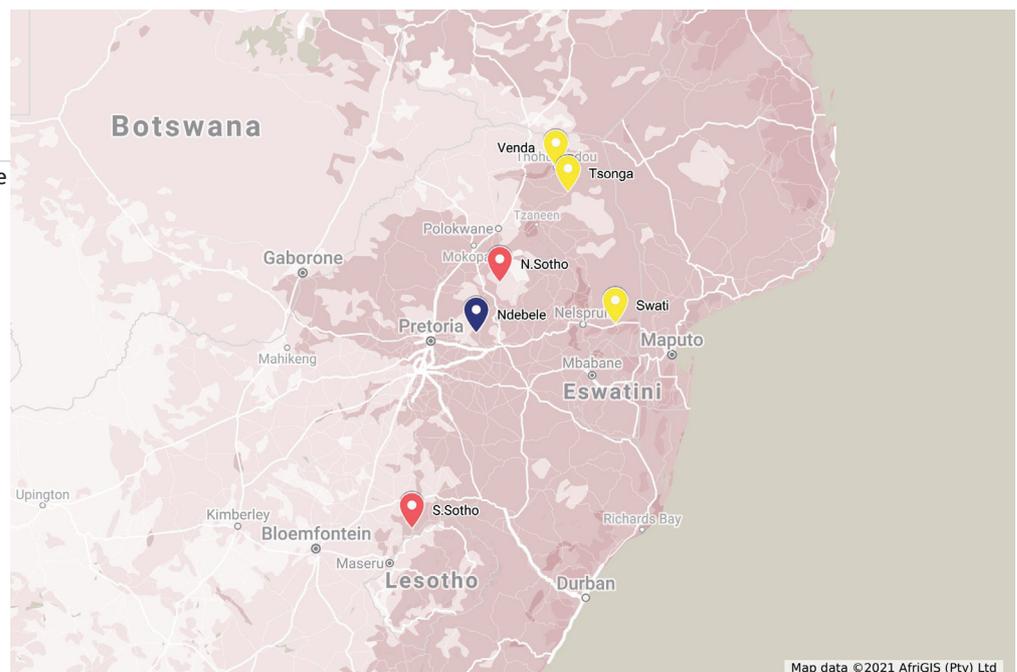
2: by class 17 locative morphology (e.g. ku or kwa)

3: by another preposition

4: by a copula

5: there is no overt marker used to introduce the agent noun phrase

6: using two (or more) of the above strategies



## P039

Values

-  no
-  1

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

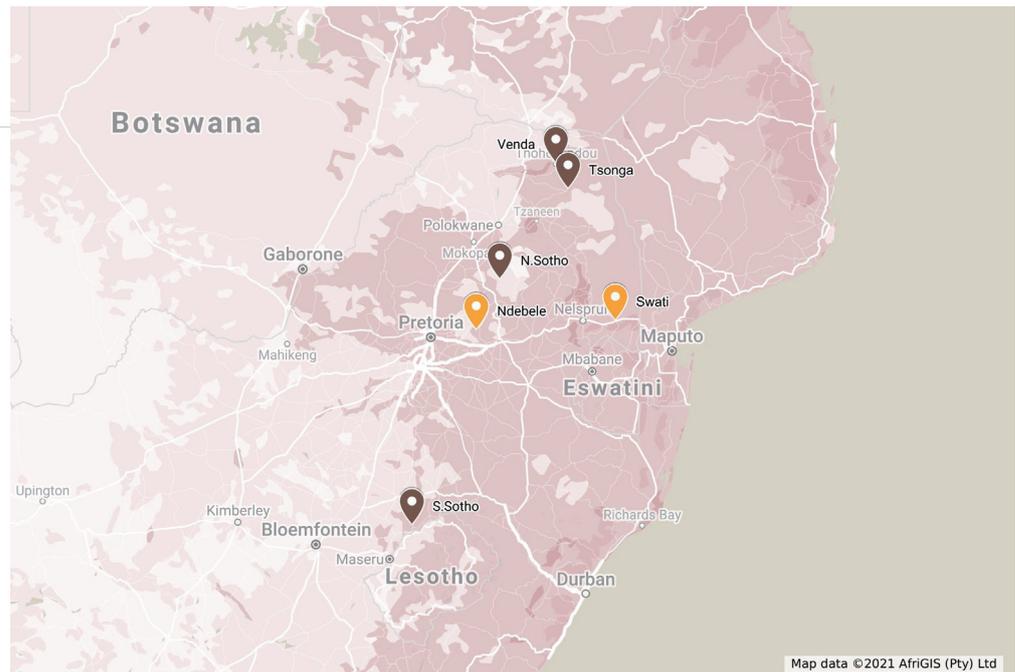
null: unknown

n.a.: an agent noun phrase cannot be added to a passive construction or there is no agent marker (parameter 38)

no: its presence is always required

1: yes, but in specific configuration(s) only

2: yes, it is by default unmarked



## P040

Values

-  1

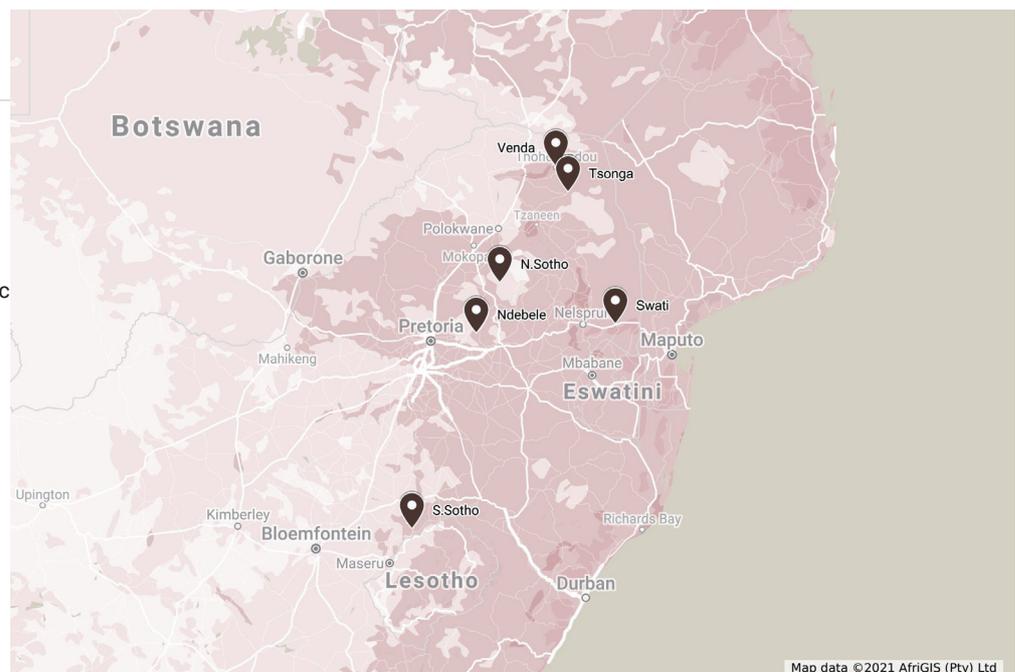
Reciprocal: How is reciprocal meaning expressed?

null: unknown

1: through the use of a verbal affix only

2: through the use of a specific construction only (i.e. the use of personal pronouns)

3: both 1 and 2



## P041

Values

- 📍 no
- 📍 null

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

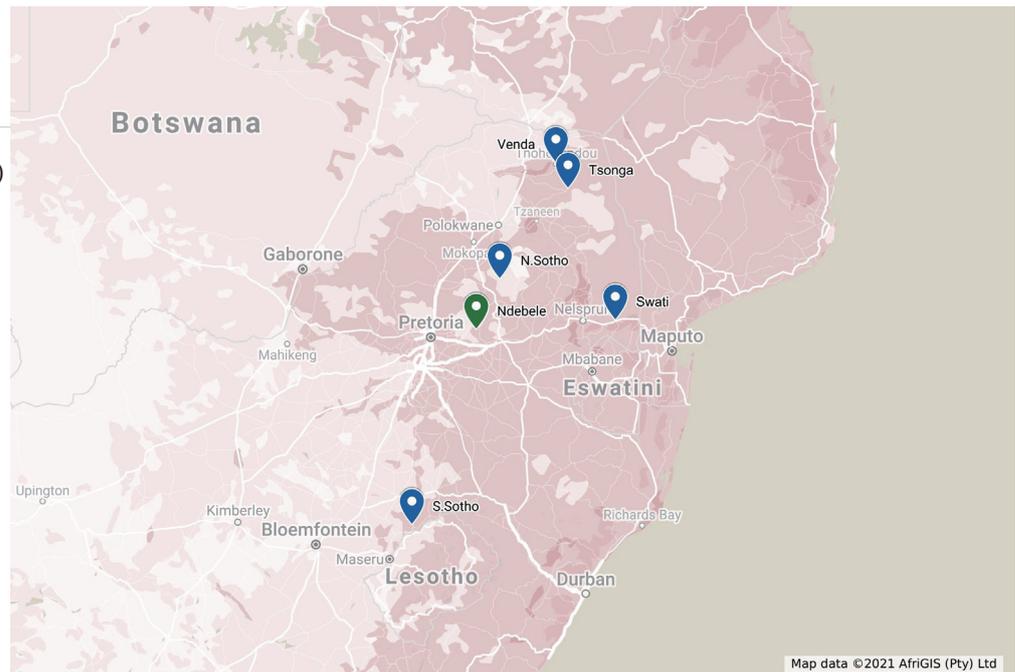
null: unknown

n.a.: there is no suffix -an- in the language

no: the suffix -an- only has a reciprocal function

1: yes, but these are lexicalised

2: yes, productively



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## P042

Values

- 📍 1
- 📍 3(1+2)

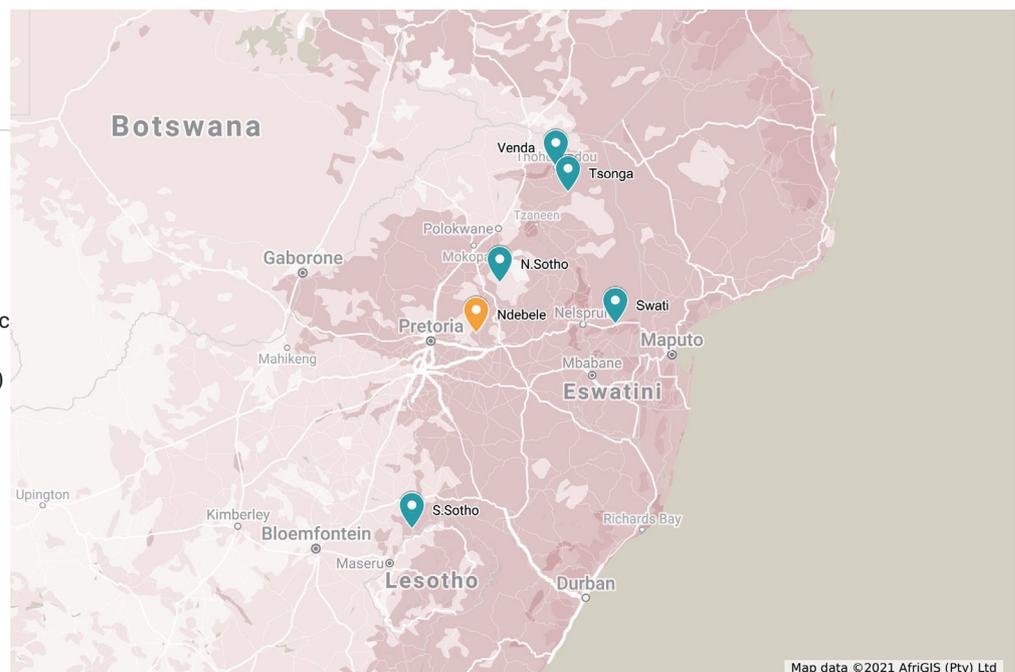
Causative: How is causative meaning expressed?

null: unknown

1: through the use of verbal affixation only

2: through the use of a specific construction only (i.e. the use of a periphrastic construction)

3: both 1 and 2



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## P043

Values

-  no
-  yes

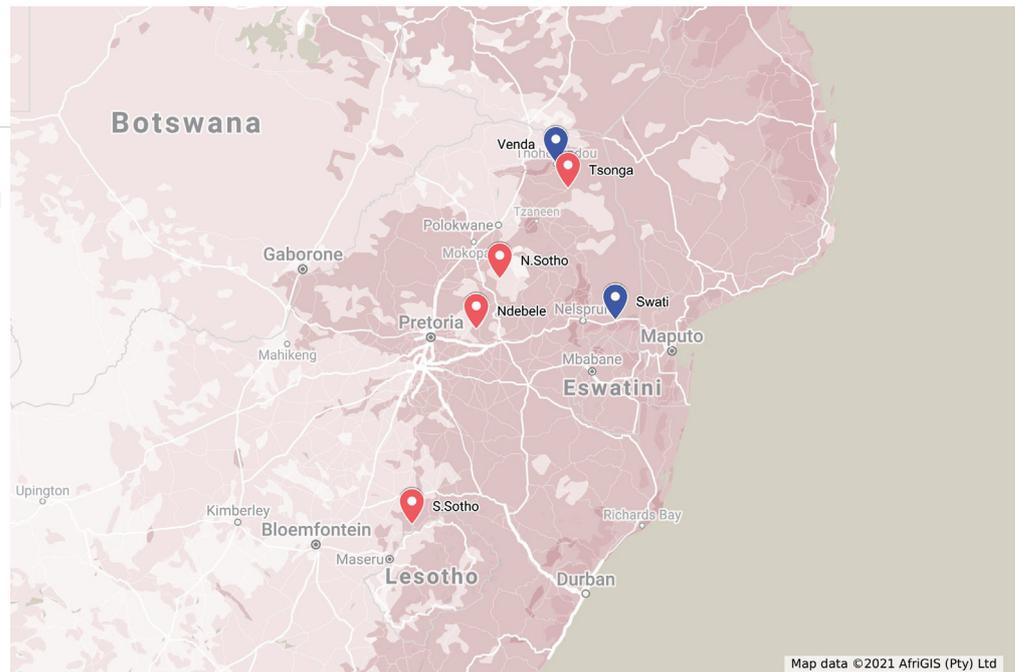
Instrumental causative: Can the causative extension be used to introduce prototypical instruments?

null: unknown

n.a.: there is no causative suffix in the language

no: prototypical instruments cannot be introduced by causative verbs

yes: yes



## P044

Values

-  1

Applicative: How are applicative constructions formed?

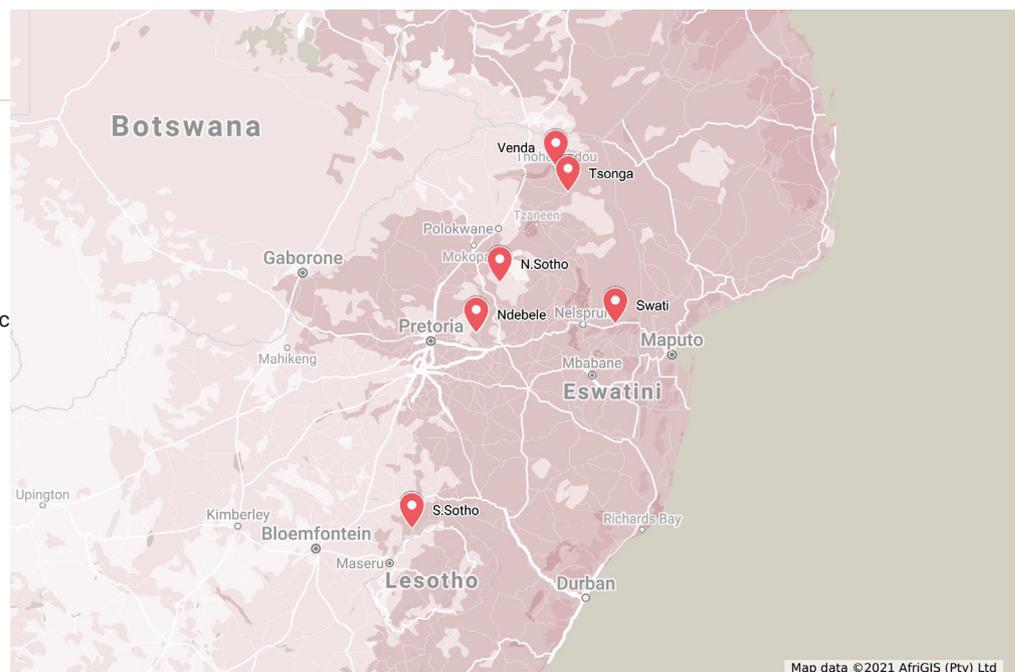
null: unknown

1: through the use of a verbal affix only

2: through the use of a specific construction only (i.e. the use of a preposition, verb serialisation, etc.)

3: without morphological material

4: two (or more) of the strategies above



## P045

Values

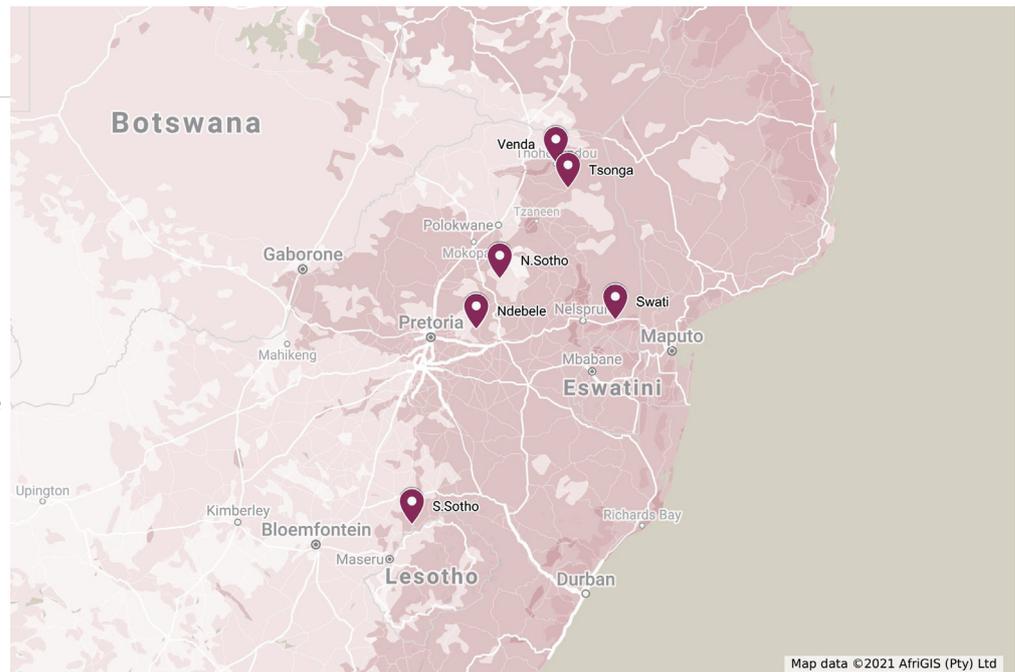
yes

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

null: unknown

no: the applicative complement can only assume a benefactive meaning

yes: yes



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## P046

Values

no

1

?

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

null: unknown

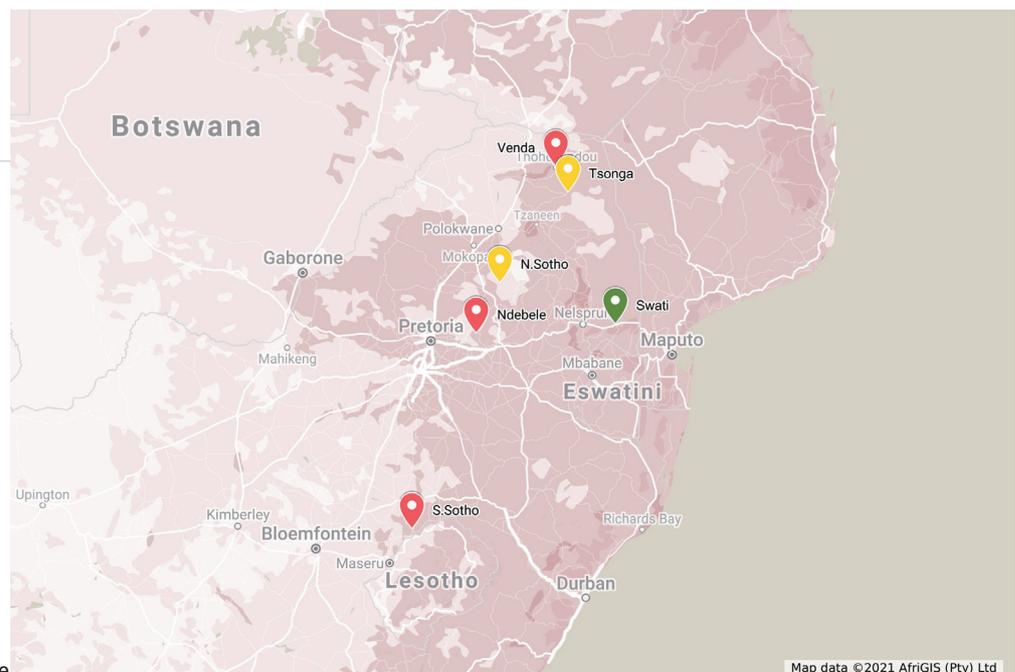
n.a.: there is no applicative suffix in the language  
no: no more than one applicative suffix can be attached to a verb

1: yes, to express intensity, repetition, completeness

2: yes, to allow the addition of an argument

3: yes, for another use

4: yes, for a combination of the above functions



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## P047

Values

1

2

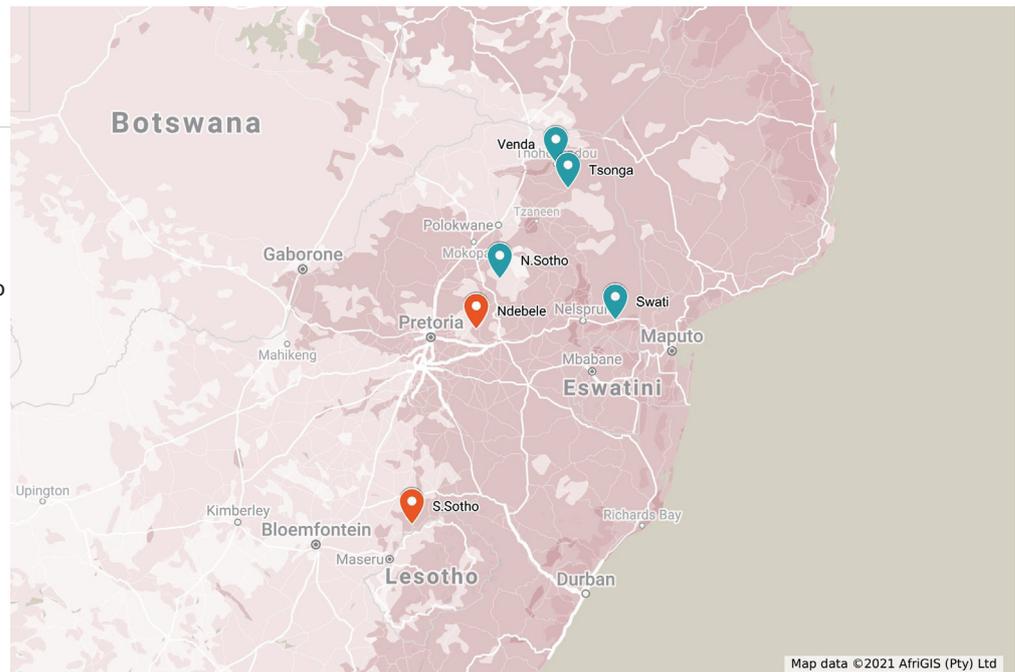
Neuter/stative: Is there a productive neuter/stative extension?

null: unknown

no: another strategy is used to express neuter/stative

1: yes, the suffix -ik- or similar form

2: yes, another form



## P048

Values

1

2

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

null: unknown

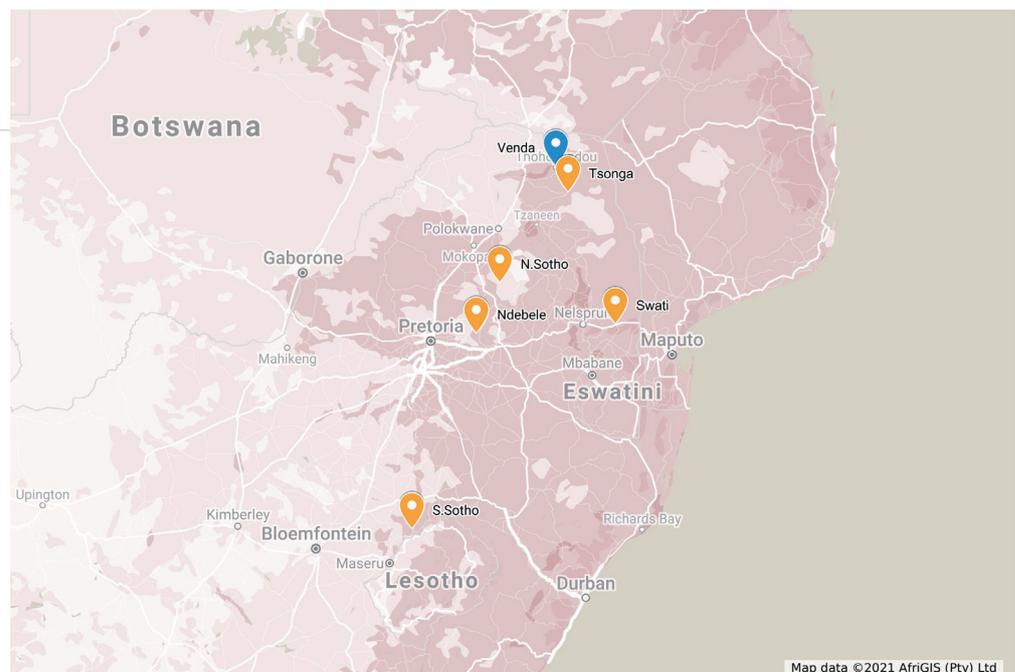
n.a.: it is not possible to have multiple verbal extensions

no: there is no systematic fixed order

1: yes, causative-applicative-reciprocal-passive (CARP) order

2: the order reflects the order of the derivation

3: another order



## P049

Values

1

4(1+3)

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

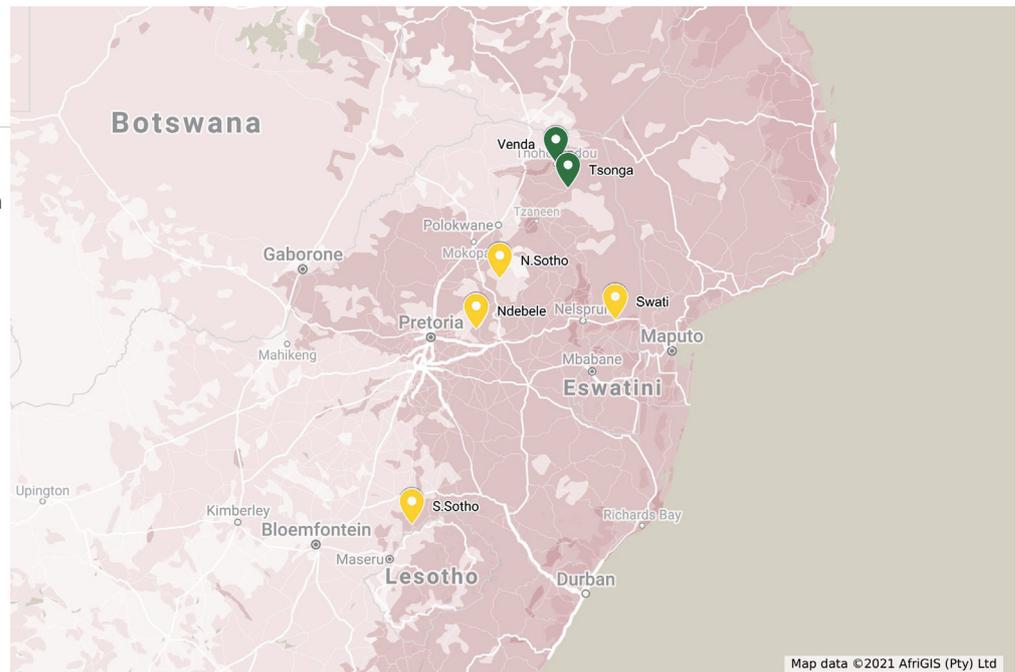
null: unknown

1: by morphological modification of the verb

2: by a particle

3: by a periphrastic construction

4: multiple strategies



## P050

Values

1

4(1+2)

4(1+3)

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

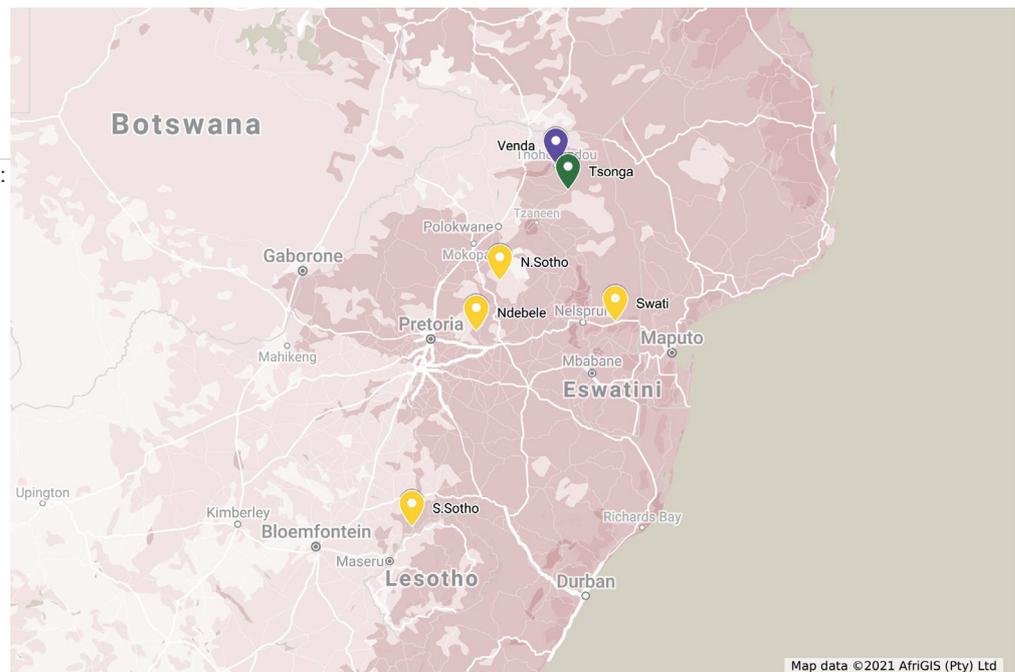
null: unknown

1: by morphological modification of the verb

2: by a particle

3: by a periphrastic construction

4: multiple strategies



## P051

Values

- 1
- 2
- 4

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

null: unknown

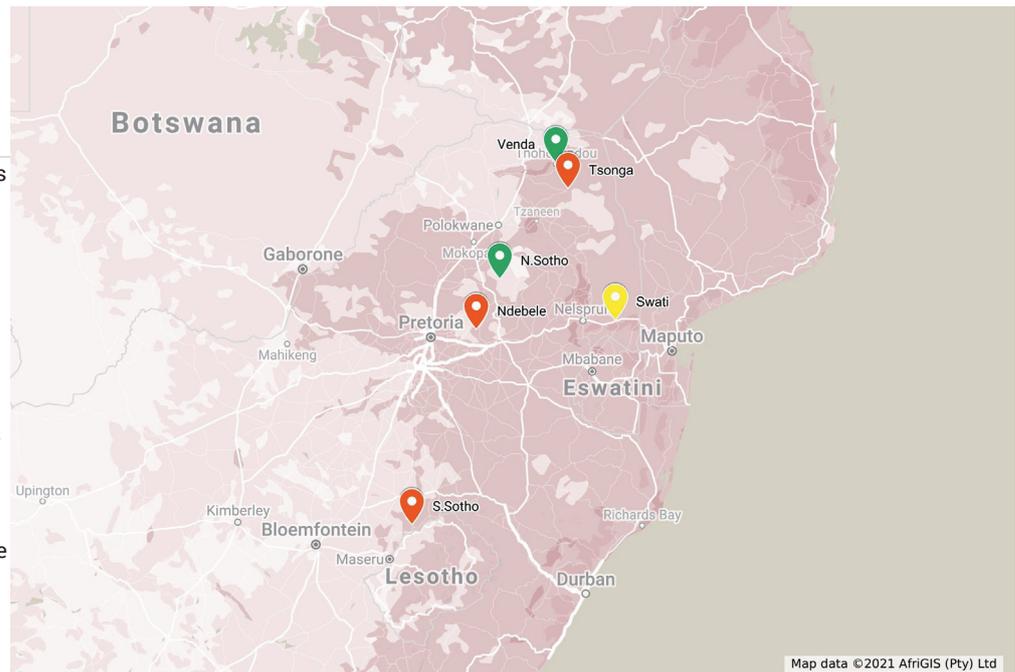
no: relative clauses have a specific strategy to express negation

1: yes, as in dependent tenses

2: yes, as in independent tenses

3: yes, as in both dependent and independent tenses (since no distinction)

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



## P052

Values

- 5(1 or 2+3)
- 5(2+3)
- 5(1+3)

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

null: unknown

n.a.: negation is achieved using a periphrastic construction

1: in the pre-initial position only? (NEG-SM-...)

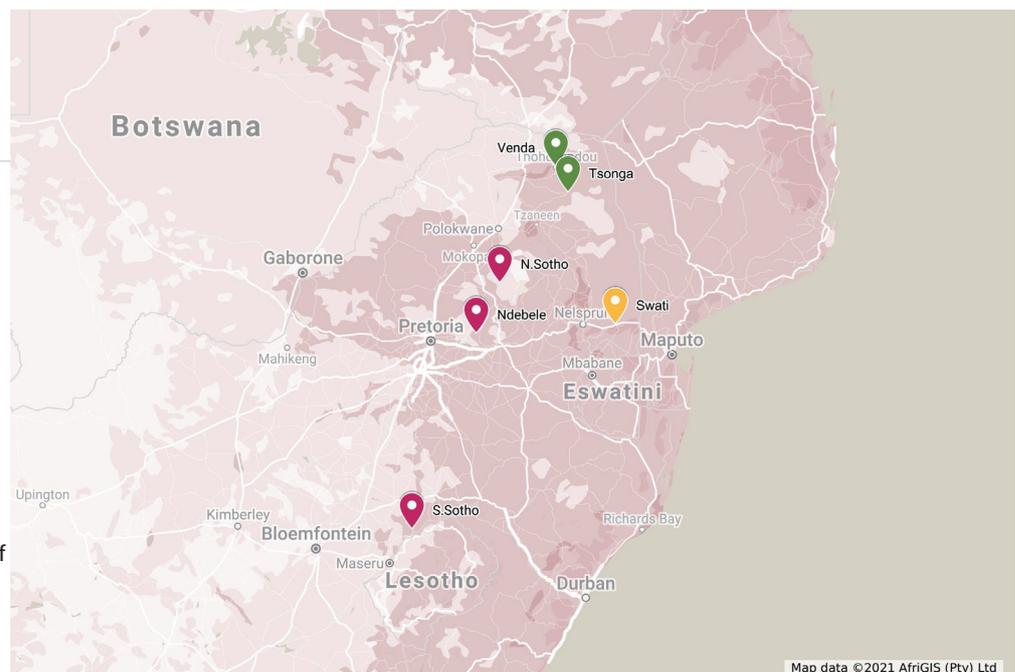
2: in the post-initial position only? (SM-NEG-...)

3: in the final vowel position of the inflected verb? (see parameter (80))

4: in the post-final position of the inflected verb? (i.e. as an enclitic)

5: two (or more) of the above (either 1 or 2 + 3)? 7: in a post-verbal independent negative particle only

6: in a pre-verbal independent negative particle only 8: two (or more) of the strategies above



## P053

### Values

- 📍 5(1 or 2+3)
- 📍 5(2+3)

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

null: unknown

n.a.: negation is achieved using a periphrastic construction

1: in the pre-initial position only? (NEG-SM-...)

2: in the post-initial position only? (SM-NEG-...)

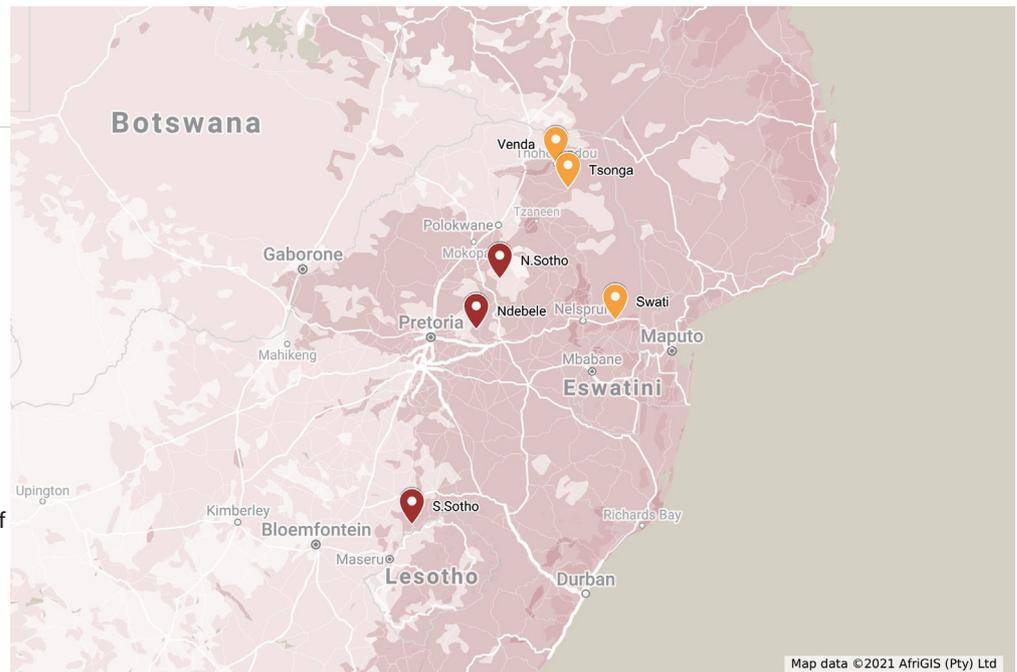
3: in the final vowel position of the inflected verb?

4: in the post-final position of the inflected verb? (i.e. as an enclitic)

5: two (or more) of the above (either 1 or 2 + 3)?

6: independent negative particle only 8: in a post-verbal independent negative particle only

7: in a pre-verbal independent negative particle only 9: two (or more) of the strategies above



## P054

### Values

- 📍 3
- 📍 6
- 📍 Other / No value

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

null: unknown

n.a.: there is no negation (or means to express negation) in the language

1: a single marker in the clause

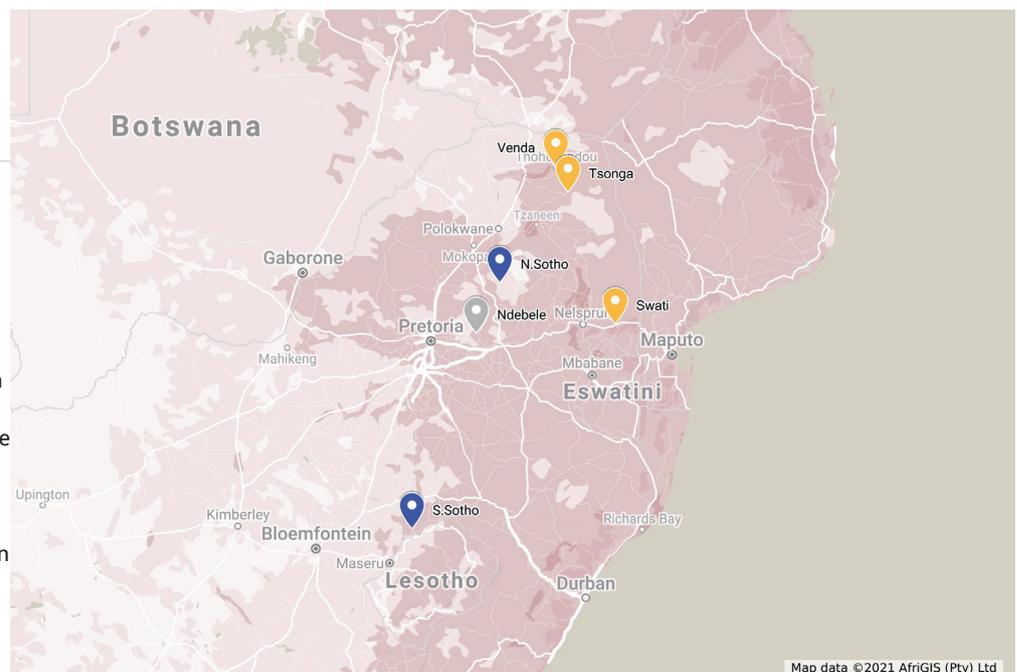
2: optional double marking in the clause (including tone marking)

3: obligatory double marking in the clause (including tone marking)

4: optional triple marking in the clause

5: obligatory triple marking in the clause

6: it varies depending on the tense



## P055

Values



3



6



Other / No value

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

null: unknown

n.a.: there is no negation (or means to express negation) in the language

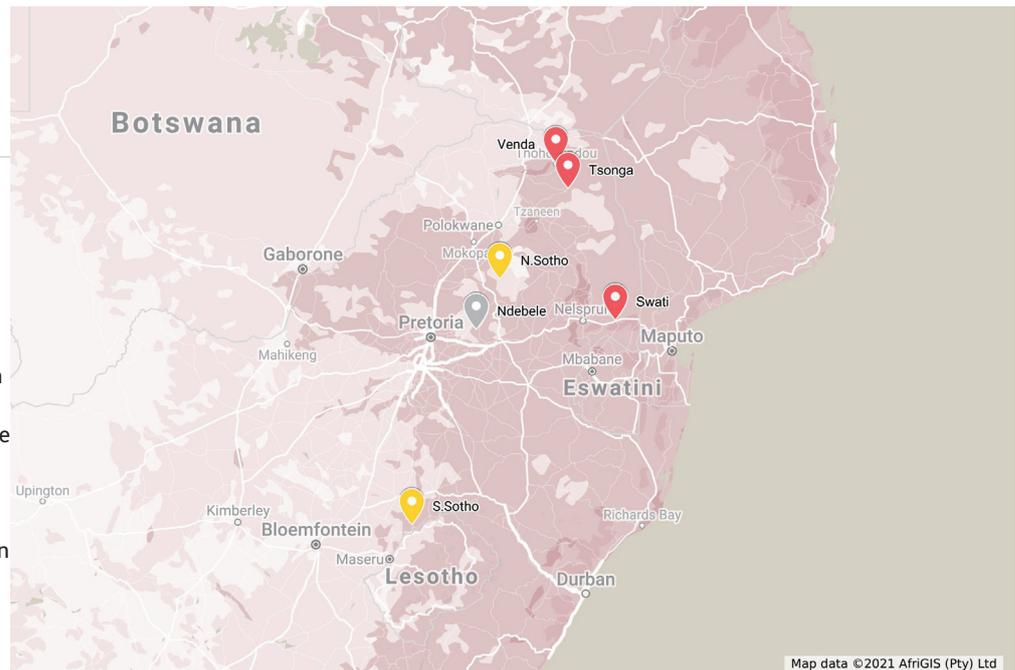
1: a single marker in the clause  
2: possible double marking in the clause (including tone marking)

3: obligatory double marking in the clause (including tone marking)

4: possible triple marking in the clause

5: obligatory triple marking in the clause

6: it varies depending on the tense



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## P056

Values



no

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

null: unknown

n.a.: there is no negation (or means to express negation) in the language

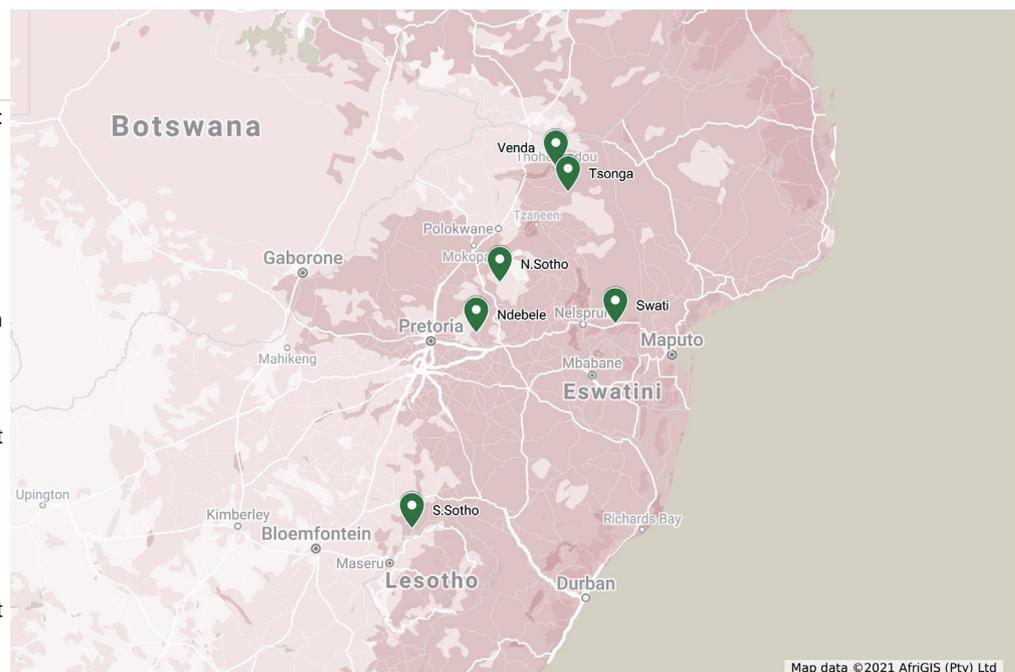
no: not attested in the language

1: yes, it is obligatorily present in addition to verb marking (including tone)

2: yes, it is optionally present in addition to verb marking (including tone)

3: yes, it is obligatorily present without any other verb marking

4: yes, its presence varies depending on the tense



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## P057

Values

- no
- 1

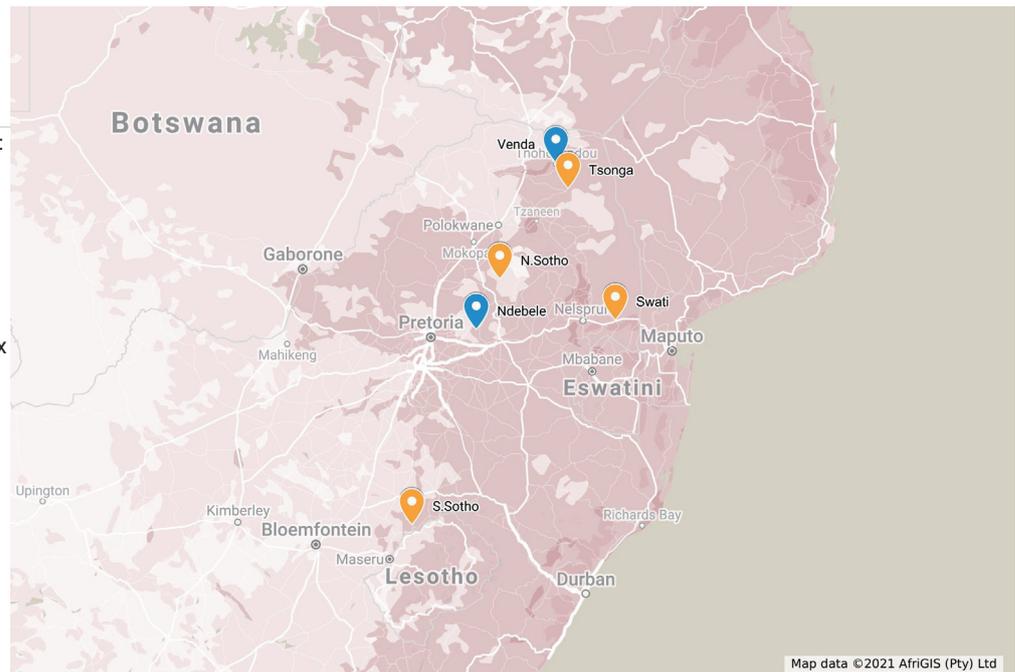
First person singular negative: Is there a specific first person singular negative subject prefix which is different from the affirmative one?

null: unknown

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

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

2: yes, with exceptions (e.g. in specific tense/aspect/mood only)



## P058

Values

- no
- yes

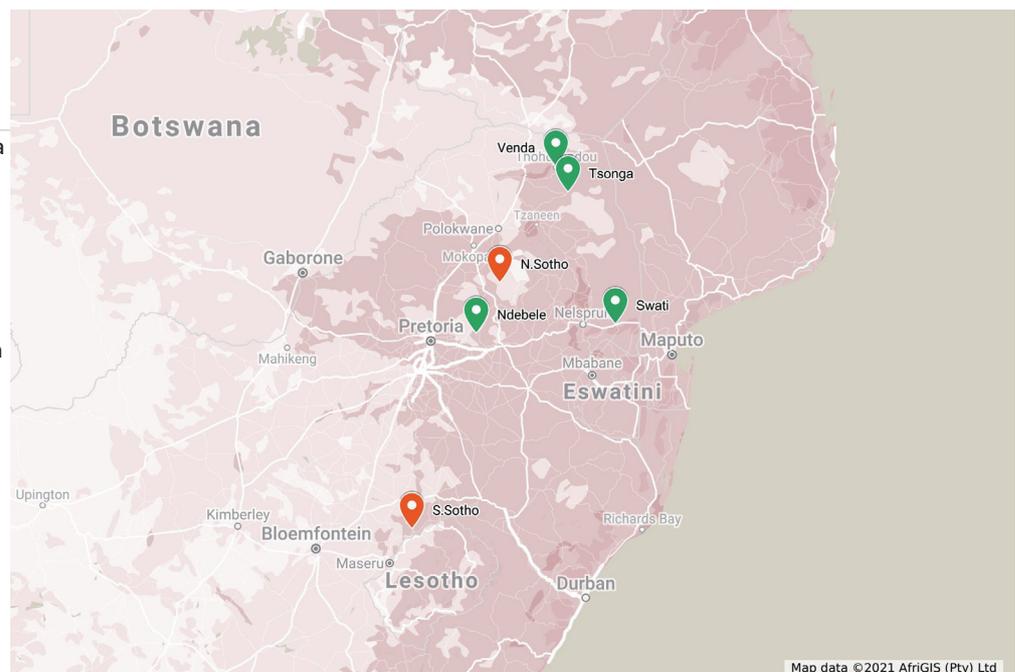
Negative imperative: Is there a negative imperative which is formally distinct from the negative subjunctive?

null: unknown

n.a.: there is no negation (or means to express negation) in the language

no: no

yes: yes



## P059

Values

- 📍 no
- 📍 null
- 📍 yes

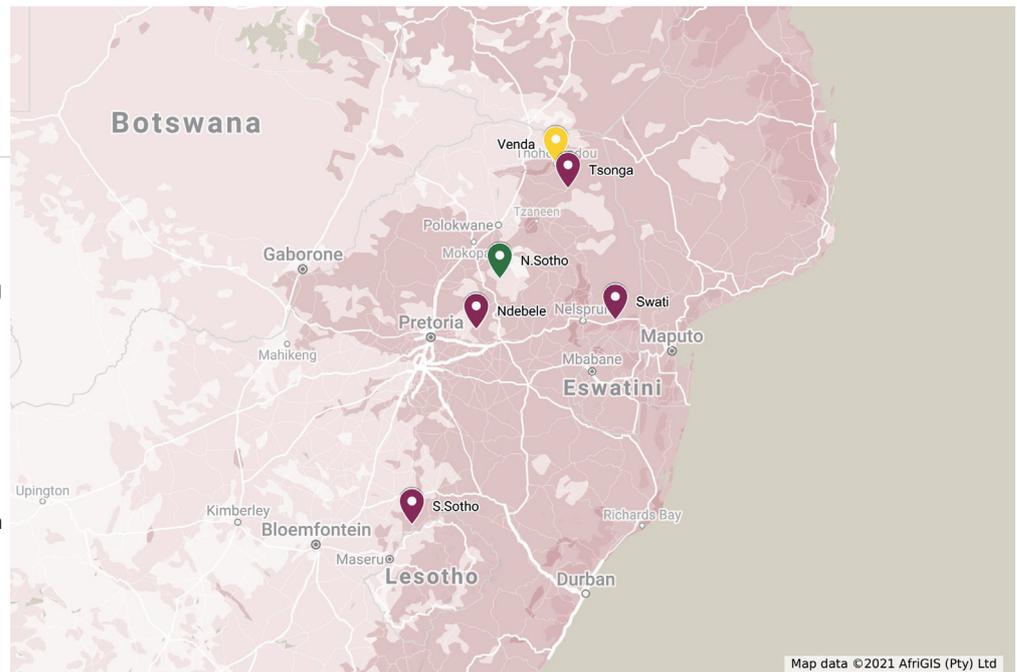
Periphrastic negation: Is negation in certain tense/aspect/moods expressed by means of a periphrastic form (e.g. making use of an auxiliary construction or a verb like 'refuse/deny' for instance)? (see (parameter 49))

null: unknown

n.a.: there is no negation (or means to express negation) in the language

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

yes: yes



## P060

Values

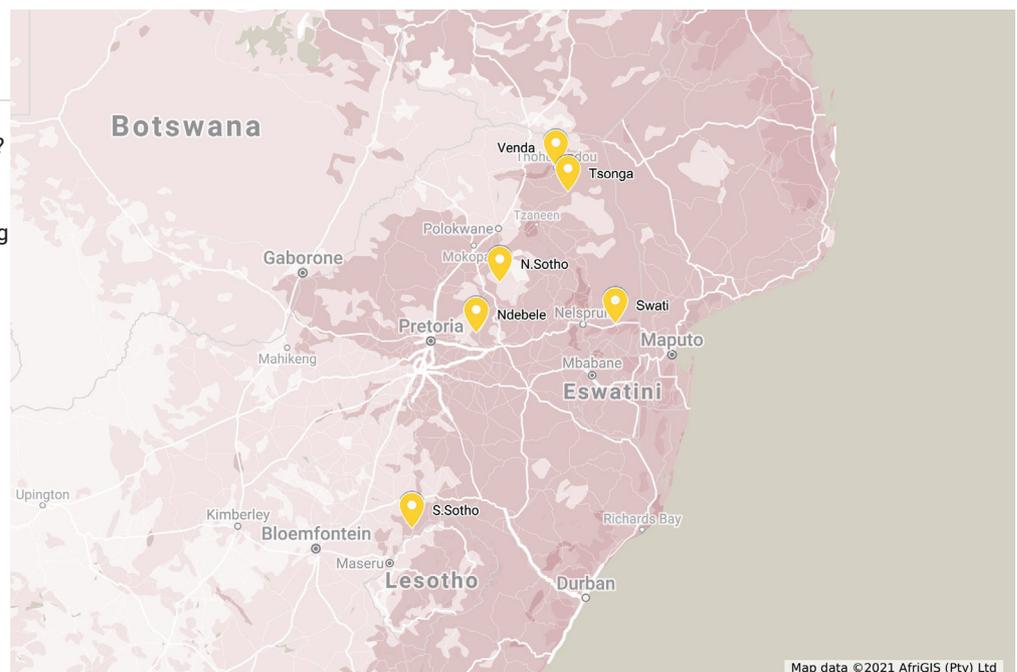
- 📍 yes

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

null: unknown

no: there is no subject marking on the verb in the language

yes: yes



## P061

Values



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

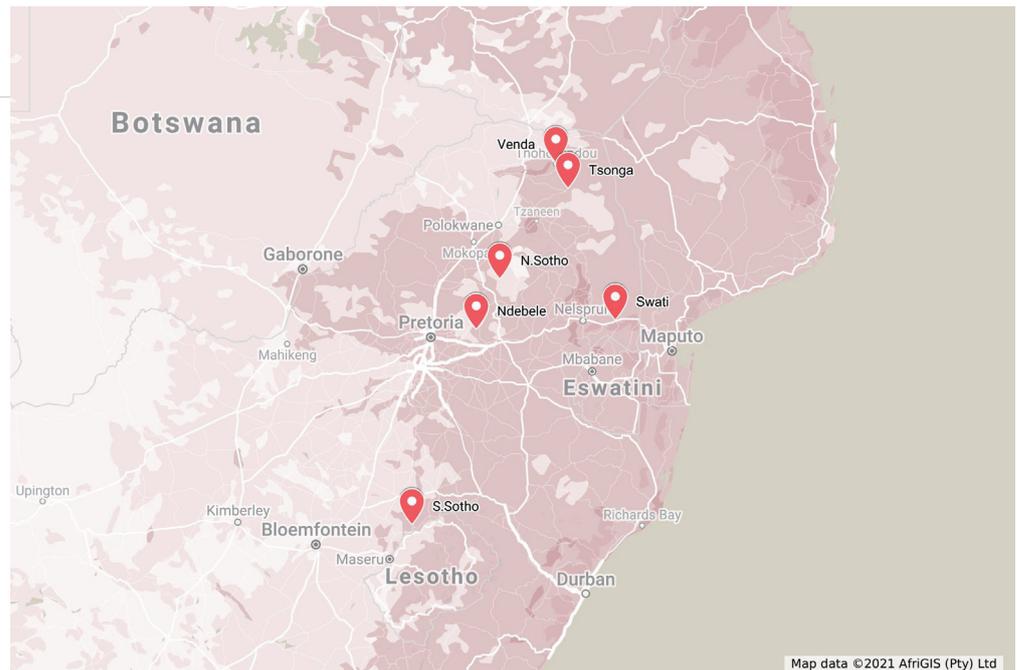
null: unknown

n.a.: there is no subject marking on the verb anyway (parameter 60)

no: animate nouns trigger agreement with their inherent classes

1: yes, without exception

2: yes, in specific contexts (e.g. personification in narratives, or semantic/pragmatic purposes)



## P062

Values



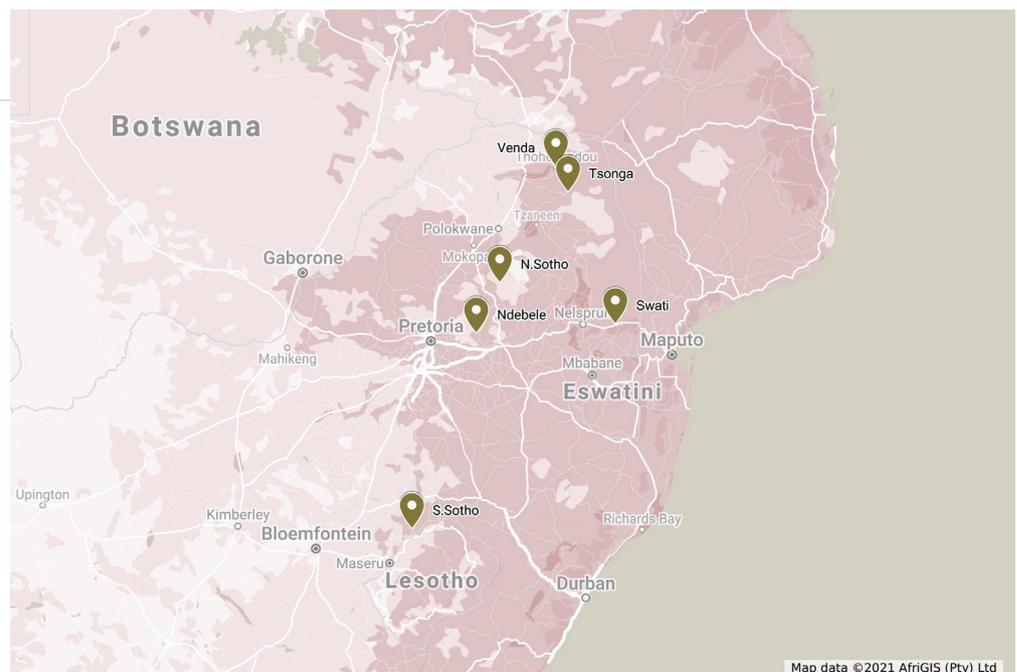
1st and 2nd person plurals :  
Are first person plural and second person plural subject prefixes identical?

null: unknown

n.a.: there is no subject marking on the verb anyway (parameter 60)

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

yes: yes



## P063

### Values

-  no
-  2
-  3(1+2)

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

null: unknown

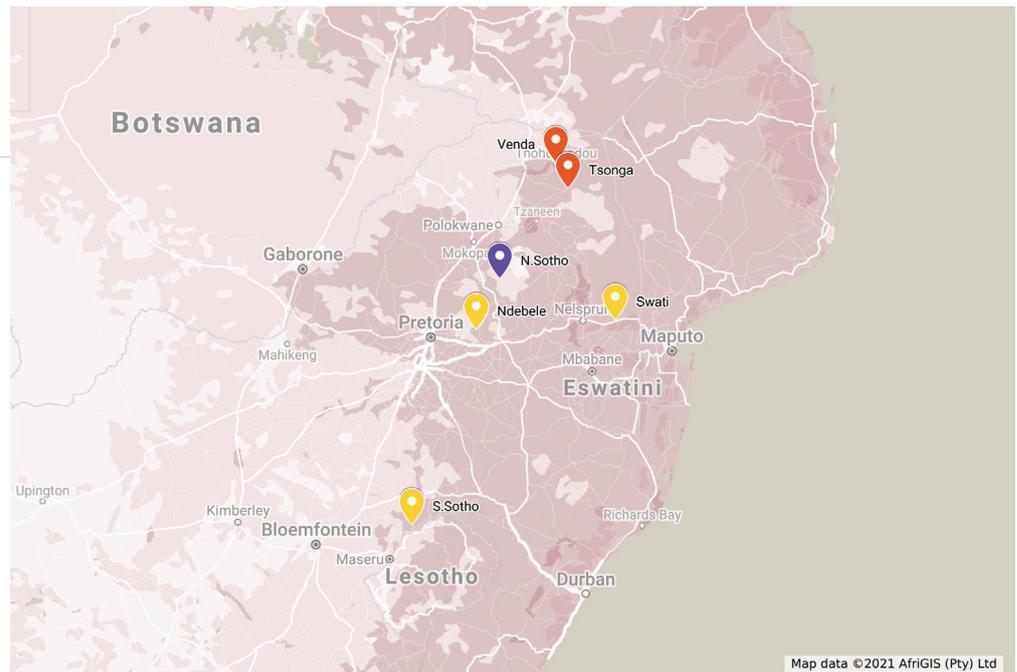
n.a.: there is no subject marking on the verb anyway (parameter 60)

no:

1: second person plural subject marker

2: class 2 morphology

3: both 1 and 2 are attested



## P064

### Values

-  2

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

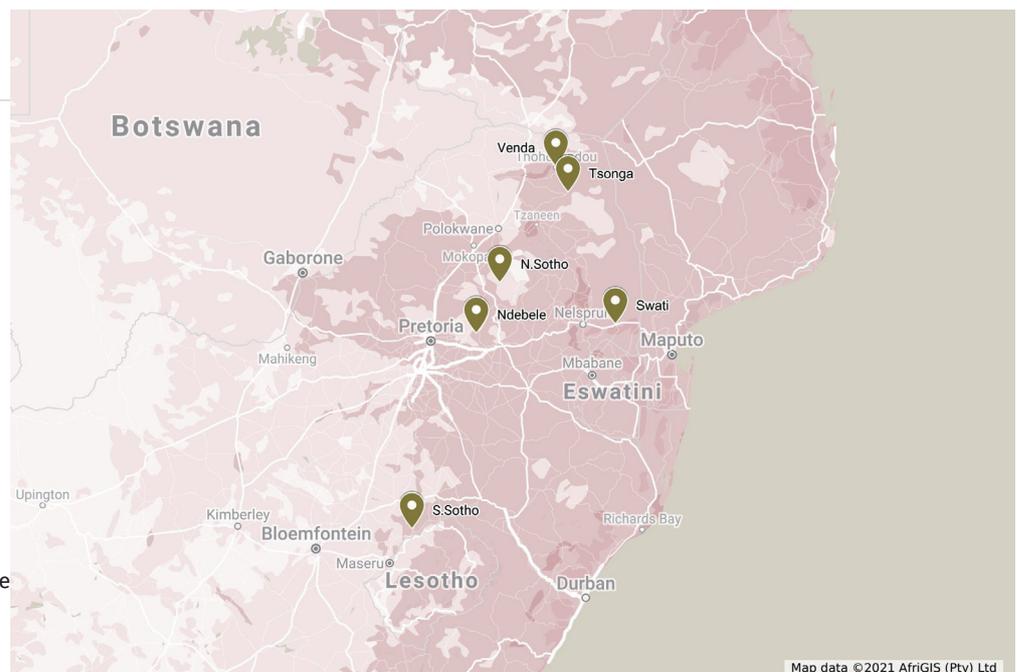
null: unknown

n.a.: there is no subject marking on the verb in the language (parameter 60)

1: such constructions are avoided

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

3: the verb may show partial agreement with only one of the coordinated nominals



## P065

Values

- 📍 1
- 📍 2

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

null: unknown

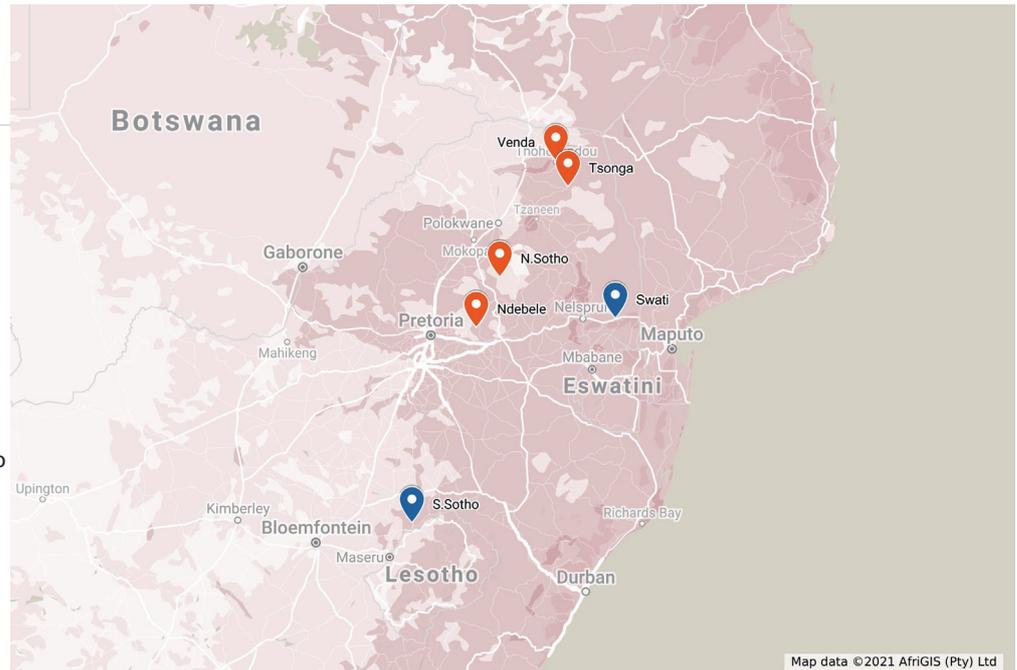
n.a.: there is no distinction between past and non-past in the language

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

2: past time is divided into two (e.g. hodiernal vs. pre-hodiernal, etc)

3: past time is divided into three

4: past time has more than three subdivisions



## P066

Values

- 📍 1
- 📍 2
- 📍 3

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

null: unknown

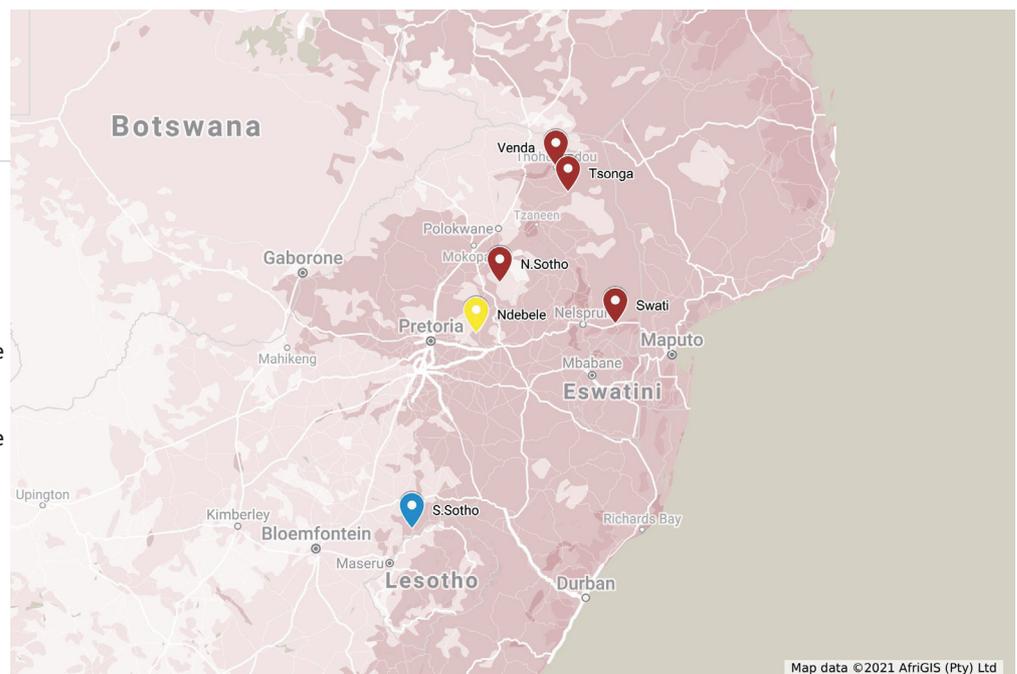
n.a.: there is no distinction between future and non-future in the language

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

2: future time is divided into two (e.g. hodiernal vs. post-hodiernal, etc)

3: future time is divided into three

4: future time has more than three subdivisions



## P067

Values

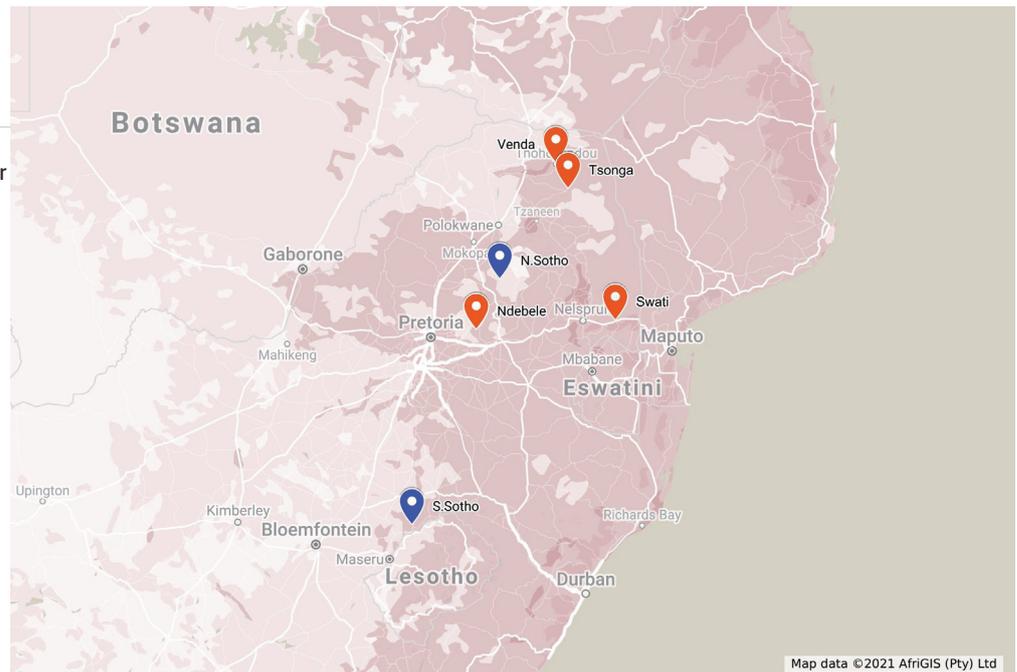
- 📍 no
- 📍 yes

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)?

null: unknown

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

yes: yes



## P068

Values

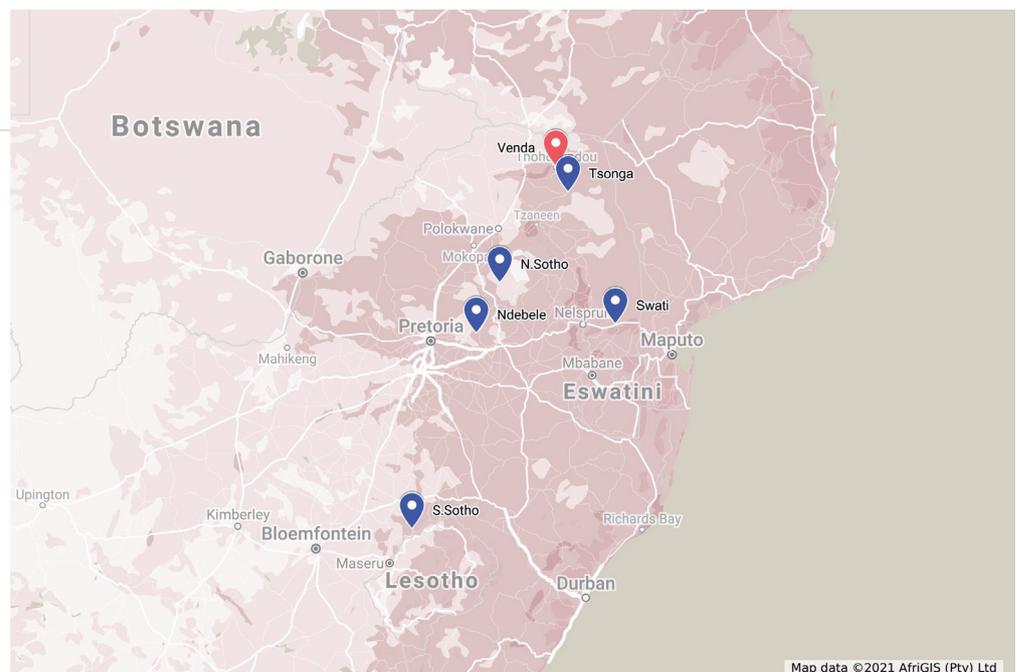
- 📍 yes
- 📍 no

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

null: unknown

no: no

yes: yes



## P069

Values

4

no

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

null: unknown

no: indicate how expressions such as 'to go and V' are formed

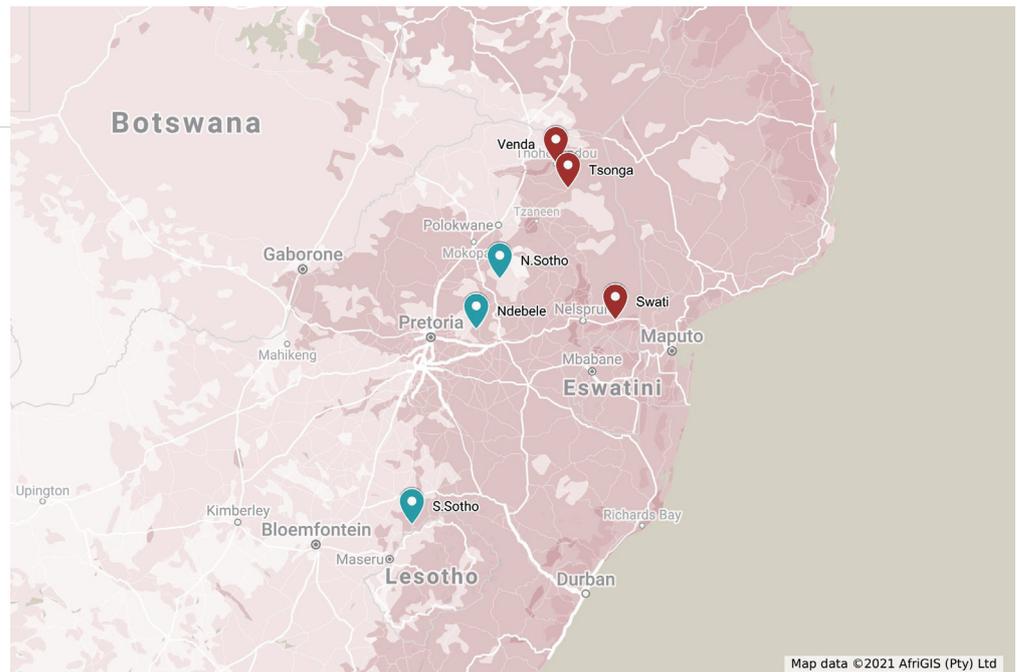
1: yes, with a ka- prefix in restricted contexts only (e.g. subjunctive)

2: yes, with a ka- prefix in all contexts

3: yes, with another form in restricted contexts only (e.g. subjunctive)

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

5: yes, different itive markers are attested depending on the context



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## P070

Values

no

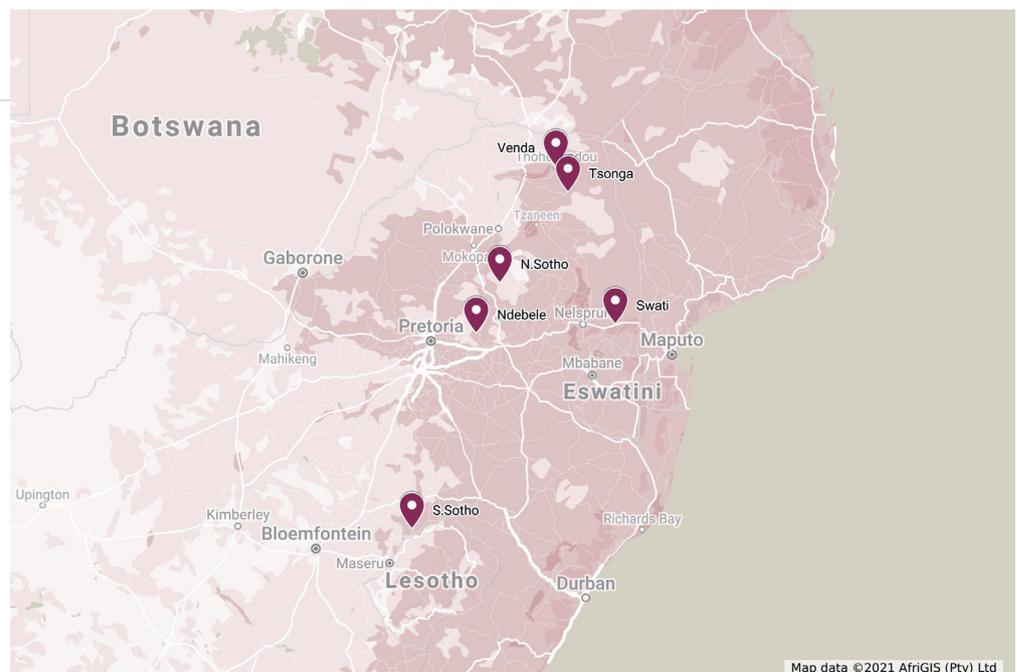
Ventive marker: Is there a ventive motional/directional marker ('come and V')?

null: unknown

no: no

1: yes, in restricted contexts only (e.g. a particular tense/aspect)

2: yes, in all contexts



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## P071

Values

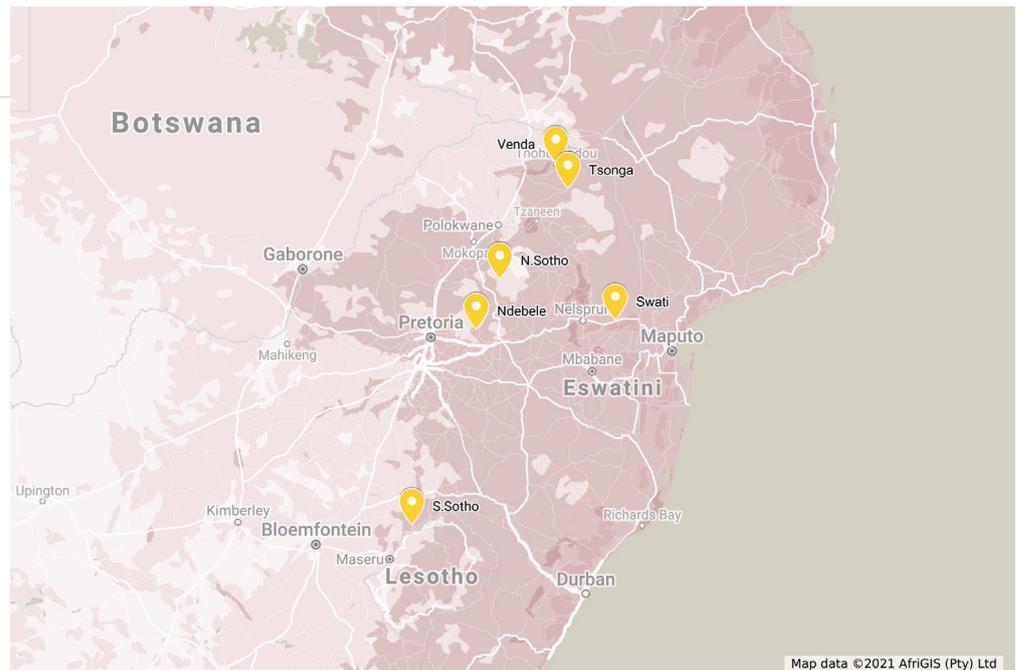
 yes

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

null: unknown

no: no

yes: yes



## P072

Values

 1

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

null: unknown

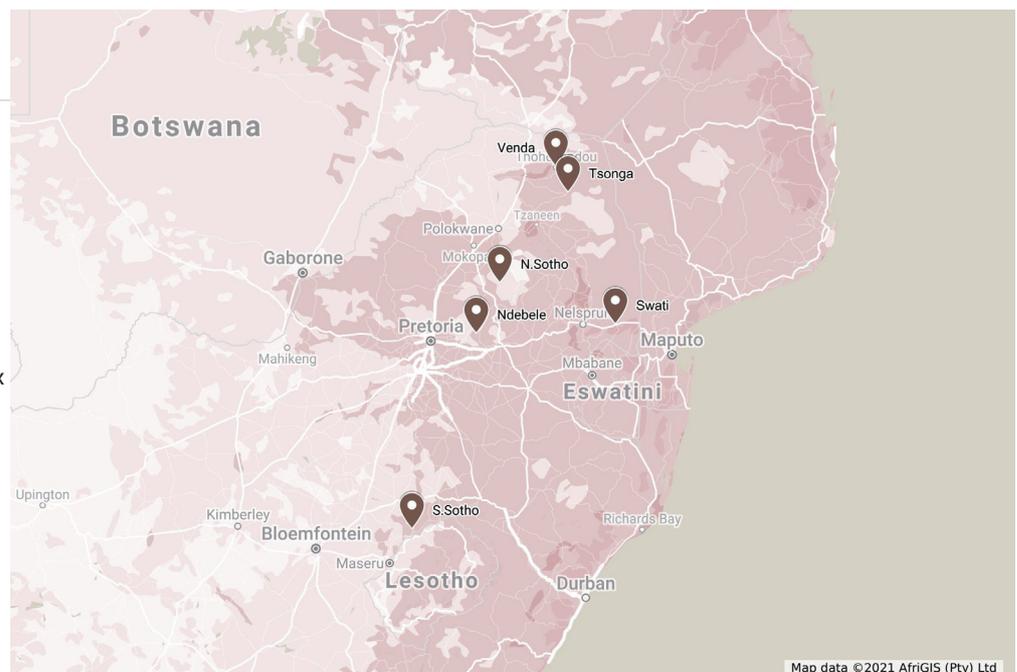
no: give examples illustrating contexts which show the lack of a formal distinction

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

2: yes, the plural is expressed by substitution of the final vowel

3: yes, the plural is expressed by the addition of a second person plural subject marker

4: yes, several strategies are possible



## P073

Values

-  no
-  yes

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

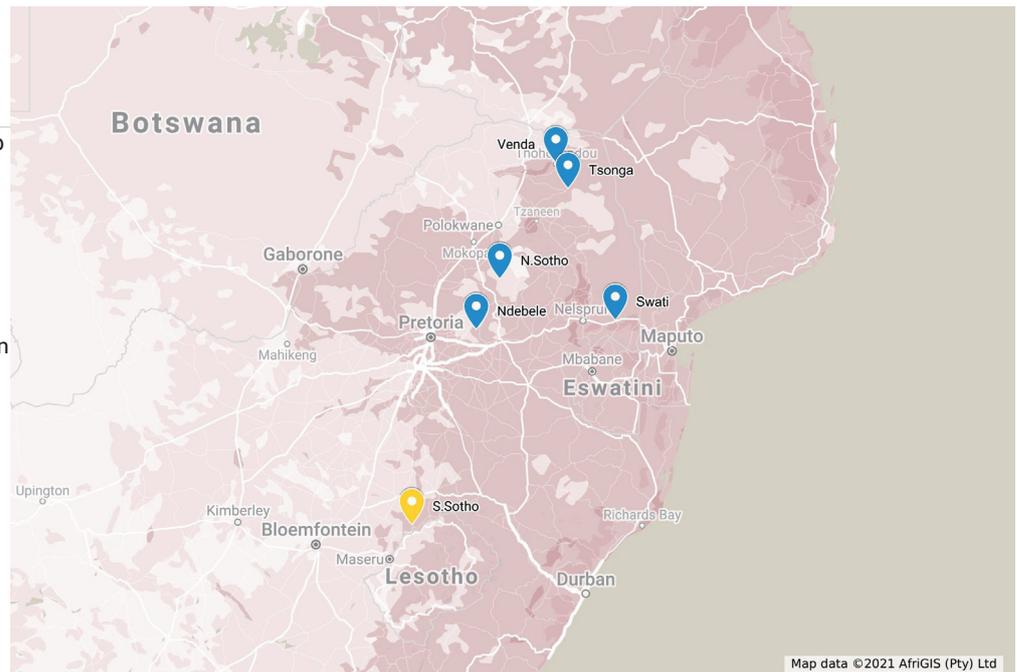
null: unknown

n.a.: there are no tense/aspect/mood prefixes in the language

no: there are two or more preverbal slots for

tense/aspect/mood marking

yes: there is typically only one preverbal slot for tense/aspect/mood marking



## P074

Values

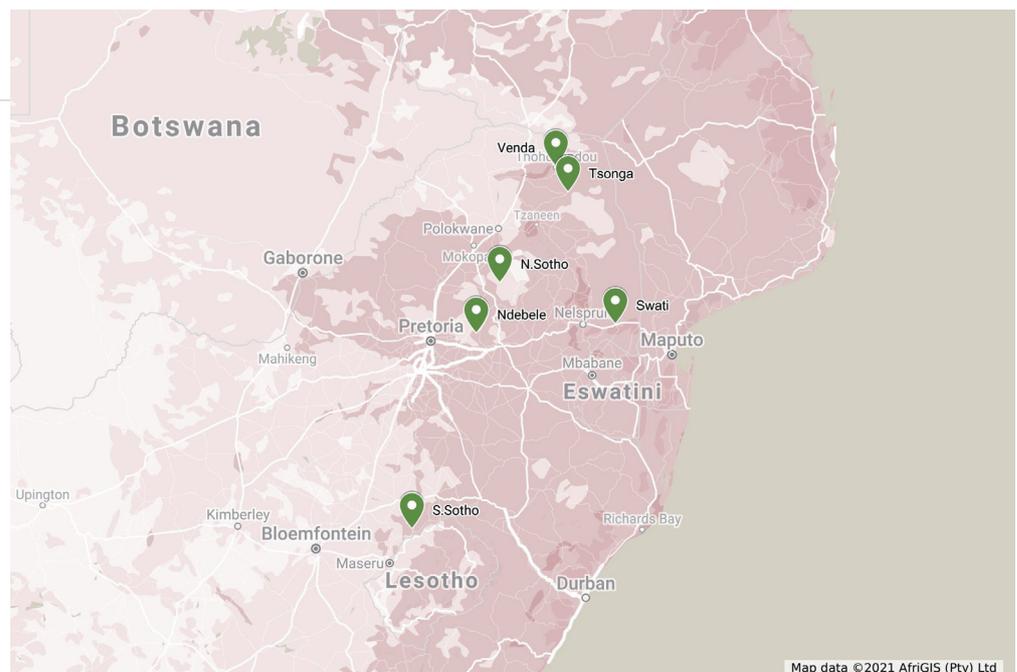
-  yes

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

null: unknown

no: no

yes: yes



## P075

Values

1

Object marking: Are there object markers on the verb (excluding locative object markers, see parameters 12 and 13?)

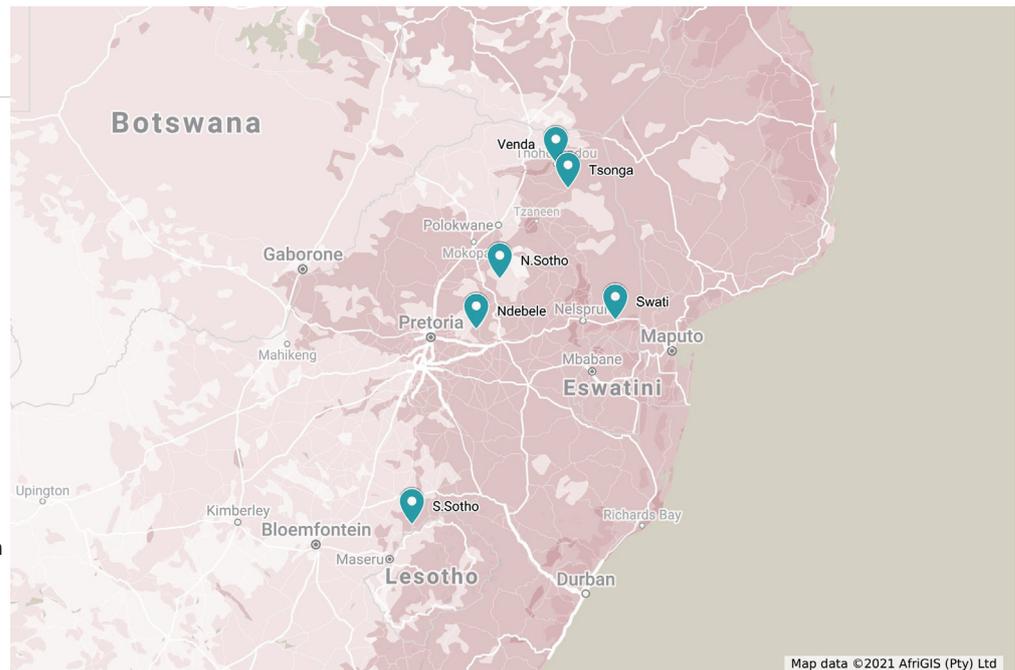
null: unknown

no: there is no slot for object marking in the language (i.e. only independent pronouns)

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

2: yes, there are only post-verbal object markers (enclitics)

3: yes, there are both pre-stem and post-verbal object markers



## P076

Values

no

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

null: unknown

n.a.: there is no slot for object marking in the language (parameter 75)

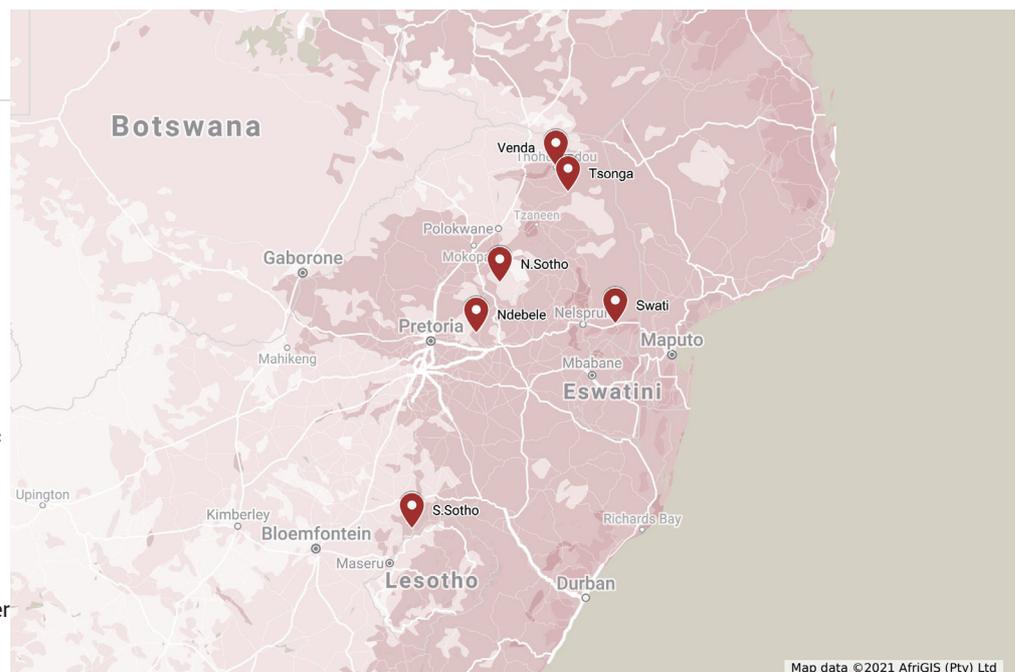
no: there is only one slot for pre-stem object marking

1: yes, in most contexts and they must appear in a specific order

2: yes, in most contexts and the order is flexible

3: yes, but only in certain structural contexts and they must appear in a specific order

4: yes, but only in certain structural contexts and the order is free



## P077

Values

1

yes

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

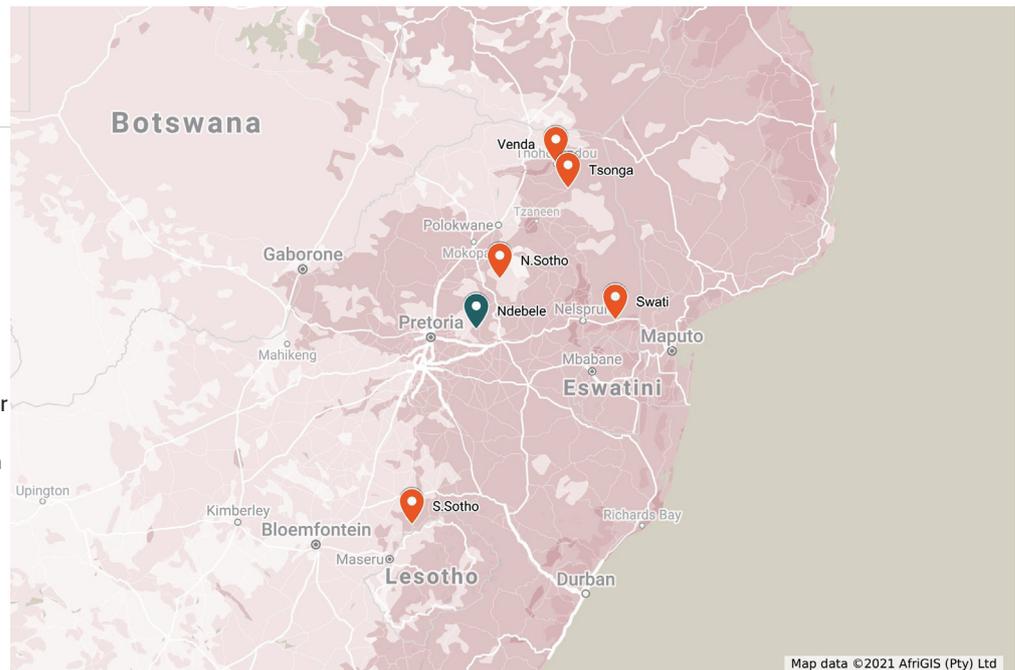
null: unknown

n.a.: there is no pre-stem verbal slot in the language (parameter 75)

no: there is no reflexive marker (but e.g. only independent reflexive pronoun, or use of an extension)

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

2: yes, by another form



## P078

Values

1

2

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

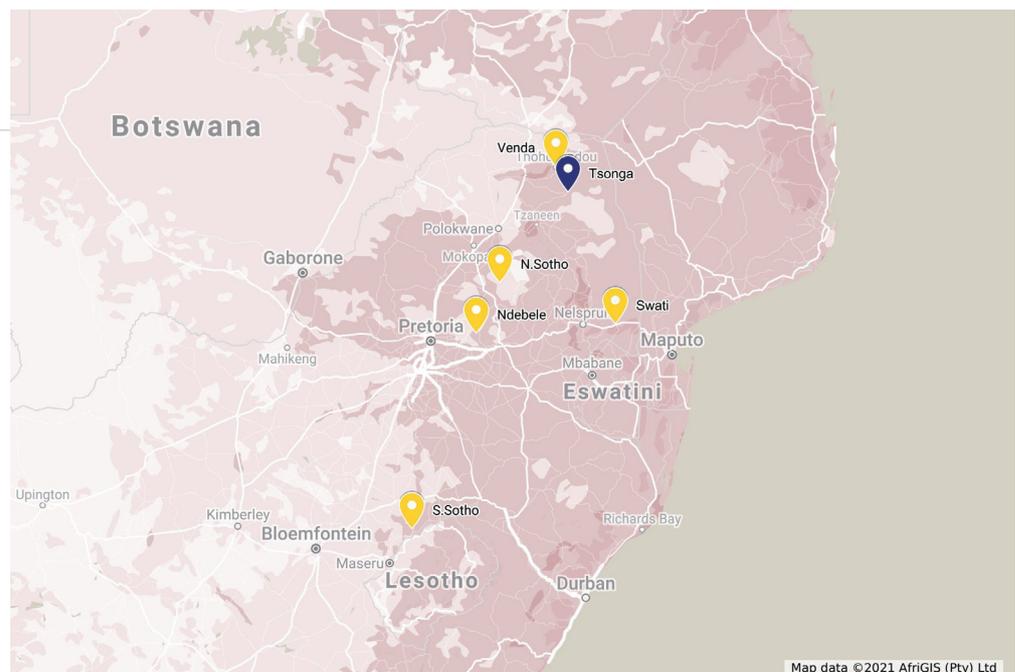
null: unknown

n.a.: there is no slot for object marking in the language (parameter 75)

no: no

1: yes, co-occurrence is possible/optional

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



## P079

Values

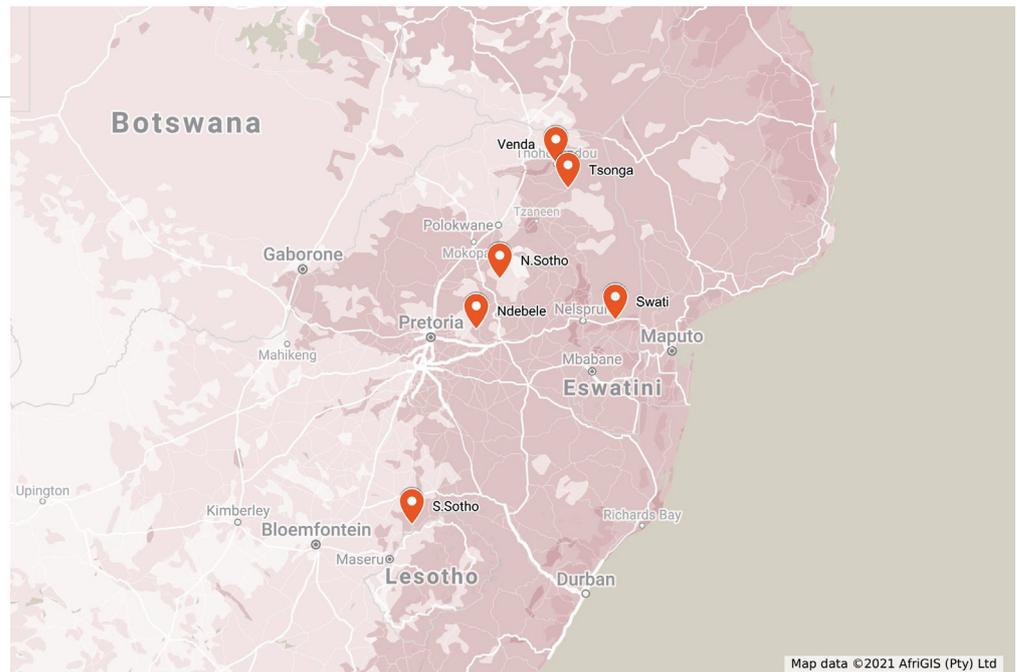
 yes

Is the subjunctive normally expressed by SM-stem-front vowel (-e/-i)? (with possible exceptions, such as loanwords)

null: unknown

no: no

yes: yes



## P080

Values

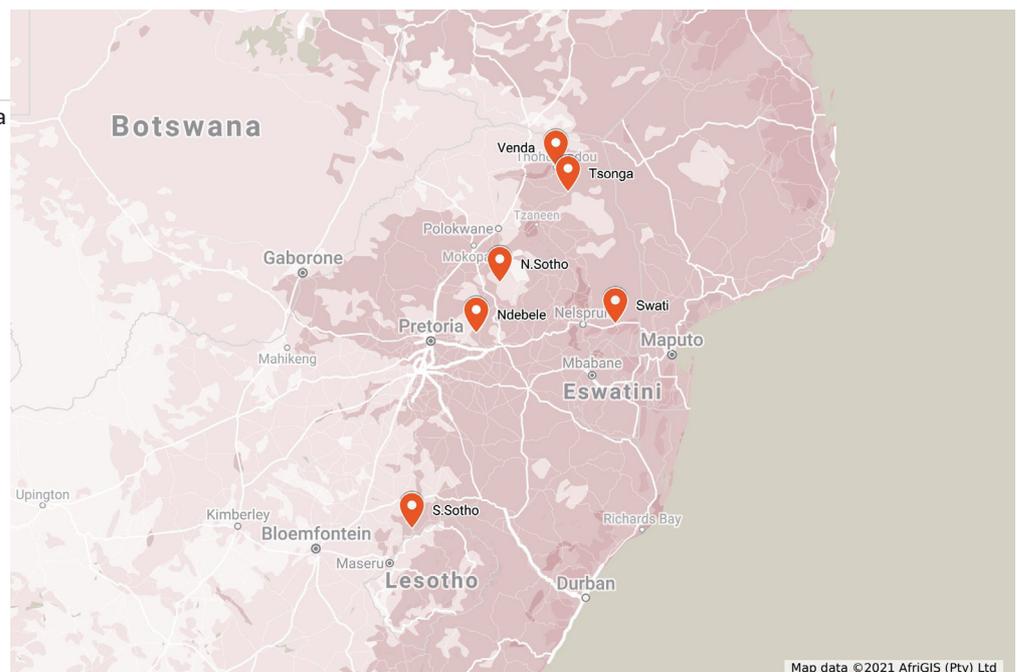
 yes

Negative final vowel: Is there a negative final vowel (e.g. -i, -e)? (see also parameters 52 and 53)

null: unknown

no: not used in any tense/aspect/mood construction

yes: yes



## P081

Values

- 📍 2
- 📍 no
- 📍 null

**Defective verbs:** Are there 'defective verbs' which do not exhibit regular inflection? (not including the copula -li or similar form)

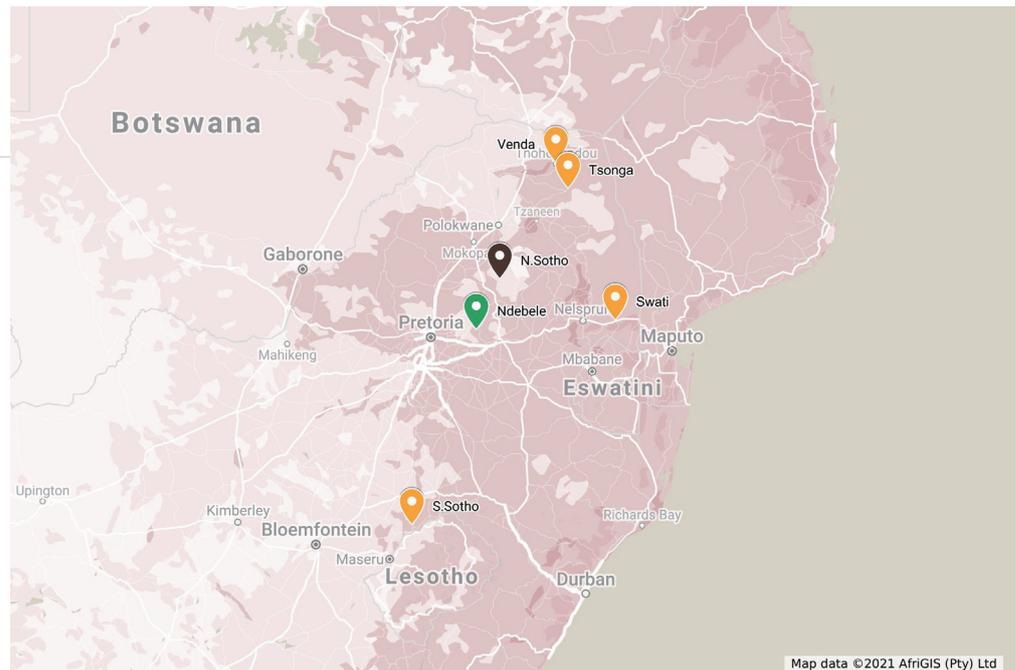
null: unknown

no: no evidence of defective verbs

1: yes, loan words

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

3: both



## P082

Values

- 📍 1
- 📍 ?
- 📍 no

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

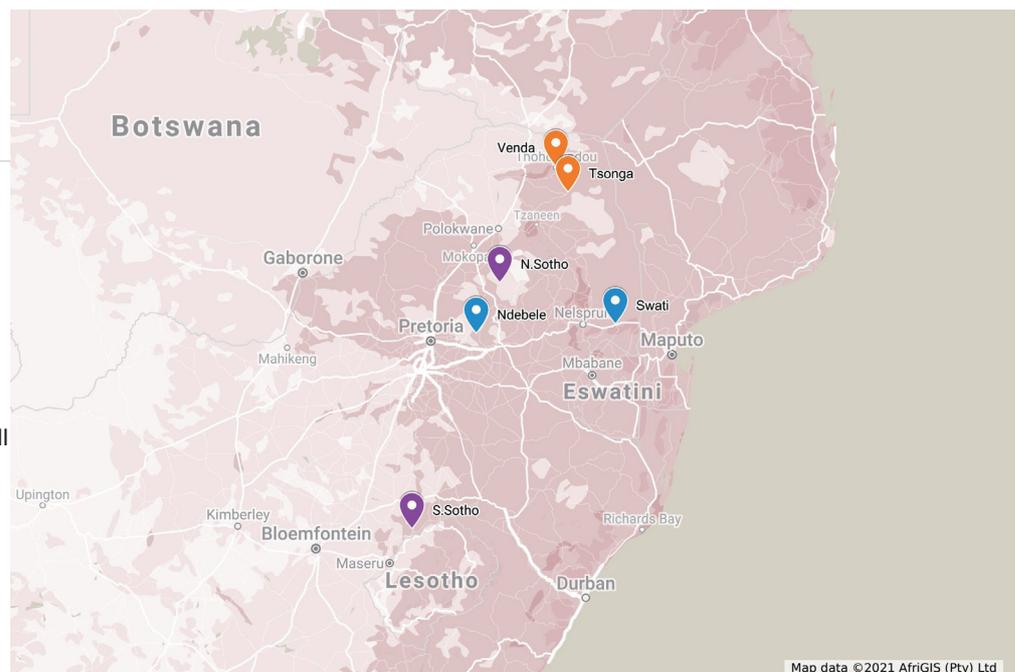
null: unknown

n.a.: there are no auxiliaries in the language

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

1: yes, each auxiliary is used with a specific tense/aspect/mood

2: yes, some auxiliaries are restricted to different tense/aspect/ but not with a one-to-one match



## P083

Values

- 📍 yes
- 📍 no

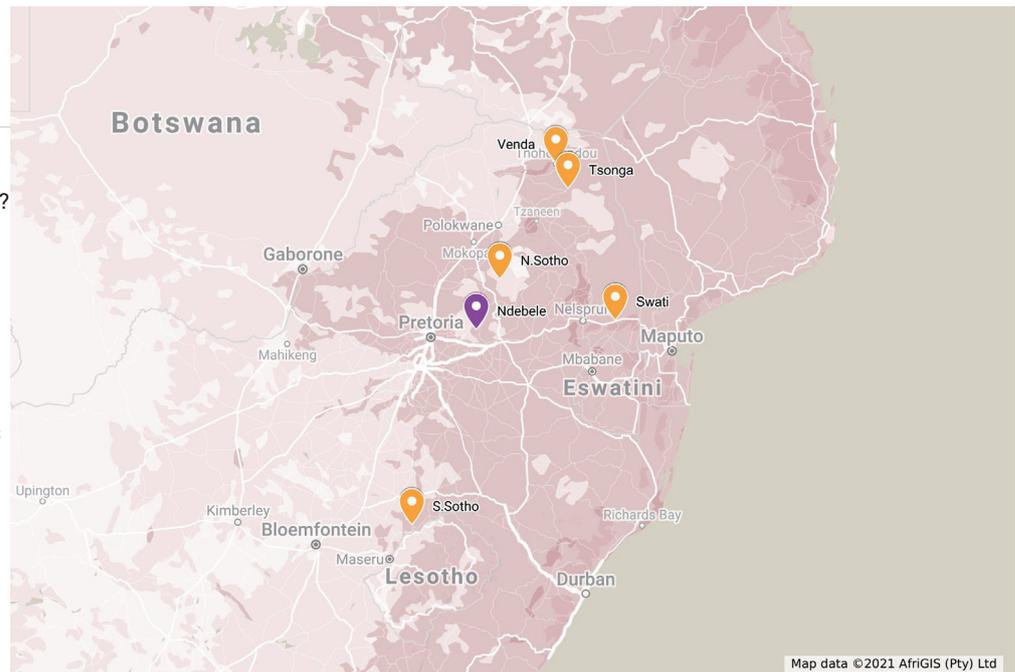
Multiple auxiliaries: Can two (or more) auxiliaries co-occur with the same main verb form?

null: unknown

n.a.: there are no auxiliaries in the language

no: auxiliary constructions only allow one auxiliary

yes: auxiliary constructions allow two (or more) auxiliaries



## P084

Values

- 📍 1
- 📍 2
- 📍 ?
- 📍 no

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

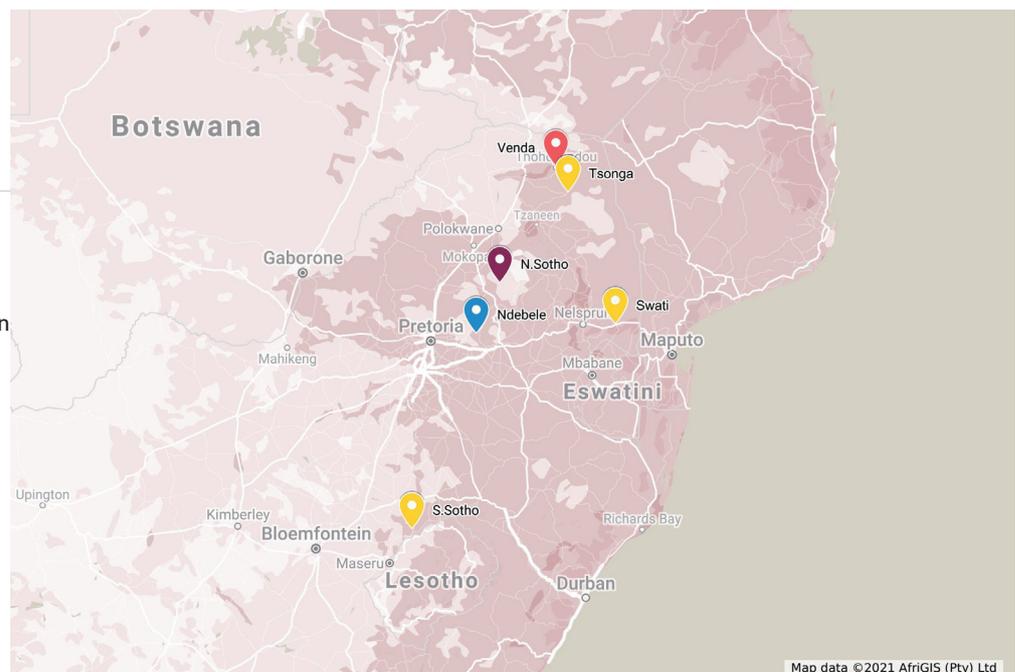
null: unknown

n.a.: there are no auxiliaries in the language

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

1: yes agreement on both forms in all contexts

2: it varies according to TAM



## P085

Values

- 1
- 3(1+2)
- 2
- null

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')

null: unknown

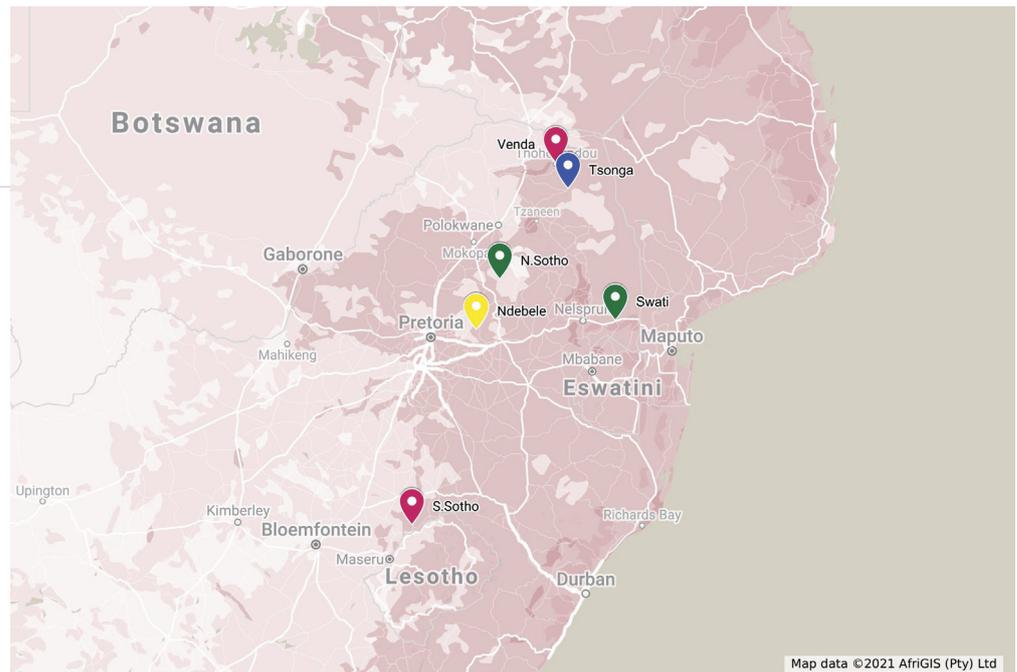
n.a.: there are no auxiliaries in the language

no: the auxiliaries are semantically restricted to tense/aspect

1: yes, only in the domain of modality (ability, possibility, permission)

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

3: yes, both 1 and 2



## P086

Values

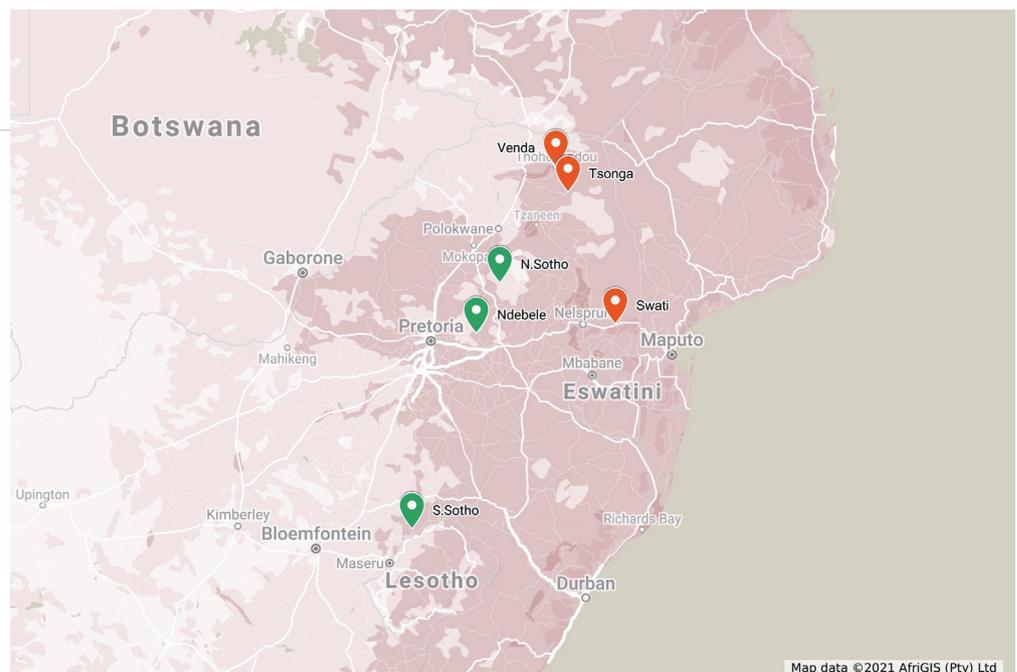
- no
- yes

Copula as auxiliary: Is the copula (ni or -li or similar forms) used as an auxiliary?

null: unknown

no: no

yes: yes



## P087

Values

yes

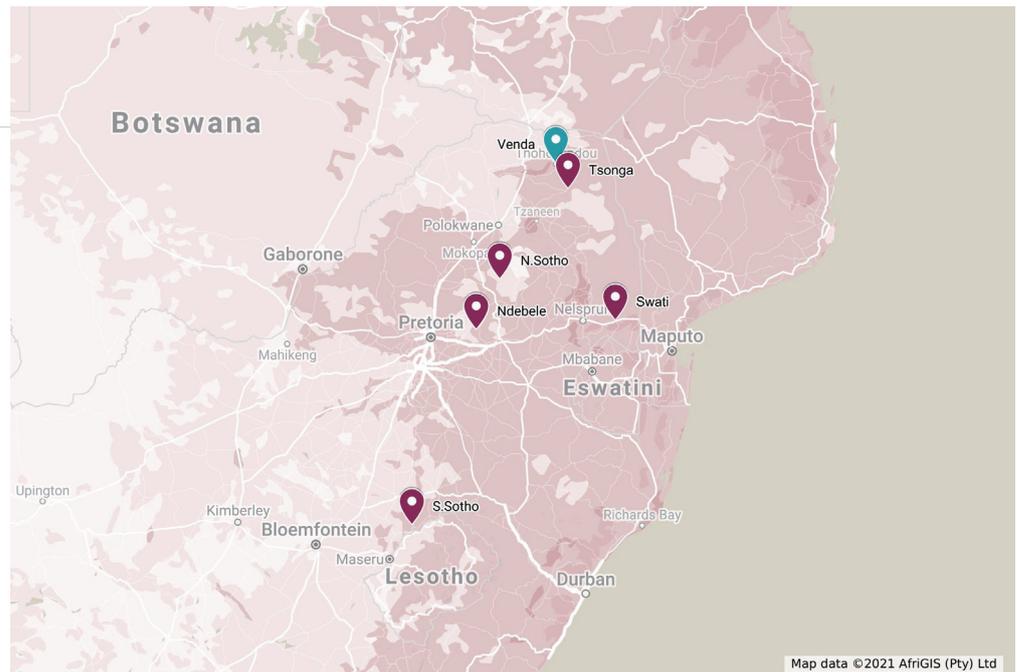
no

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

null: unknown

no: relative verbs have no specific morphology, another strategy is used to express relativisation (parameter 88)

yes: yes



## P088

Values

yes

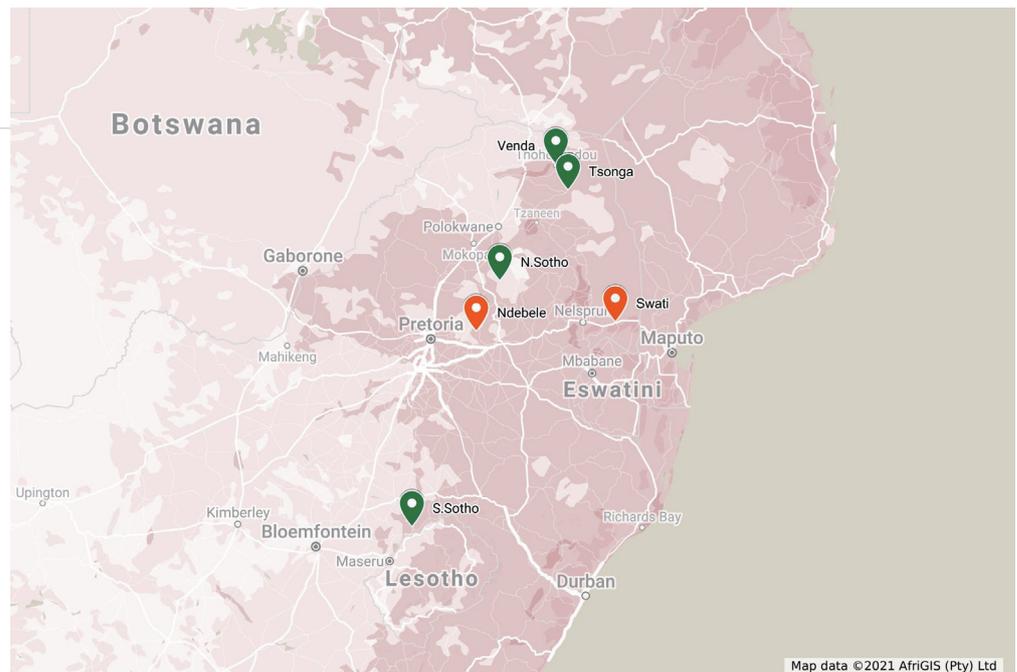
no

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

null: unknown

no: there is no dedicated relative marker, or relativisation is only marked through verbal morphology (parameter 87)

yes: yes



## P089

Values

- 📍 1
- 📍 n.a.
- 📍 2

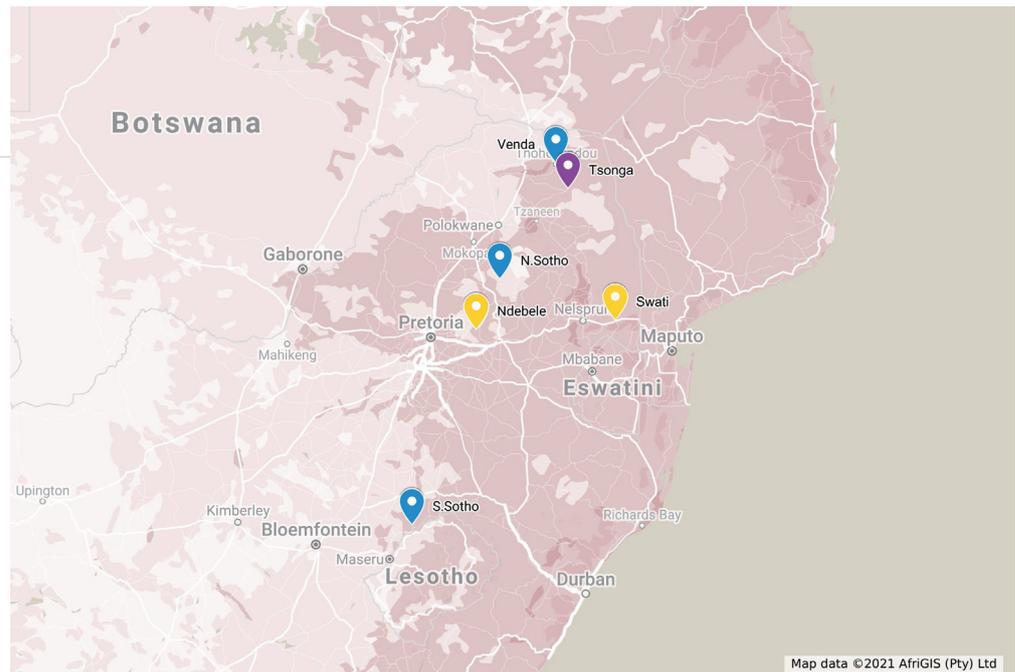
**Relativiser agreement:** When the relative marker is a separate word or a preverbal clitic, does it agree with the head noun?

null: unknown

n.a.: there is no dedicated relative marker, or relativisation is only marked through verbal morphology (parameter 87)

no: the relative marker is invariable

yes: yes



## P090

Values

- 📍 no
- 📍 n.a.
- 📍 yes

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

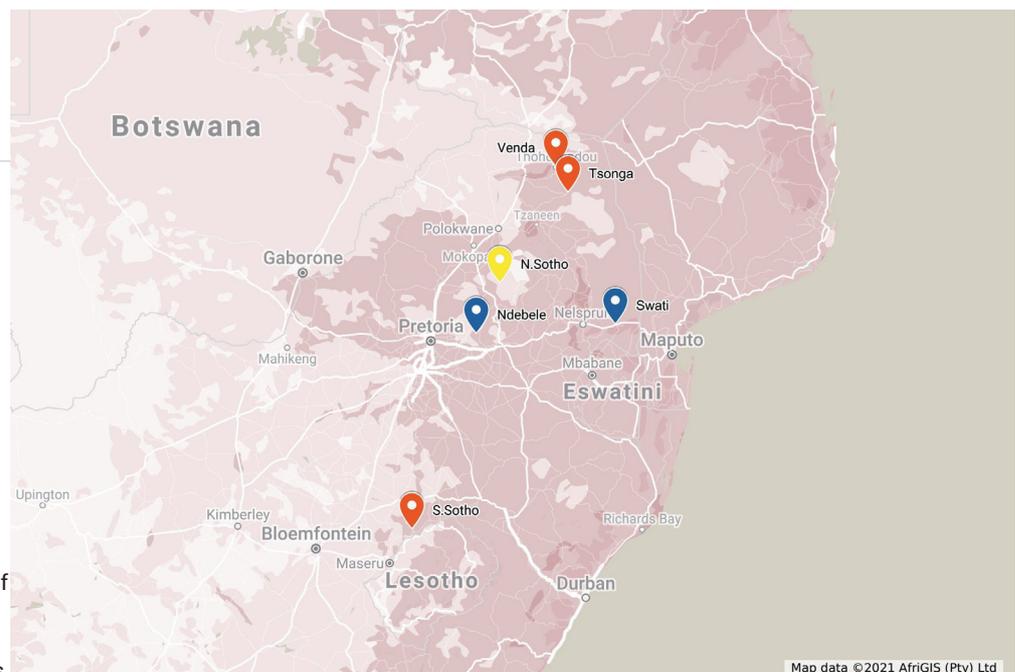
null: unknown

n.a.: there is no dedicated relative marker, or relativisation is only marked through verbal morphology (87)

no: the relative marker is invariable

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

2: yes, there are several types of separate word or preverbal clitic relativisers, one of which always shows agreement



## P091

Values

📍 2

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

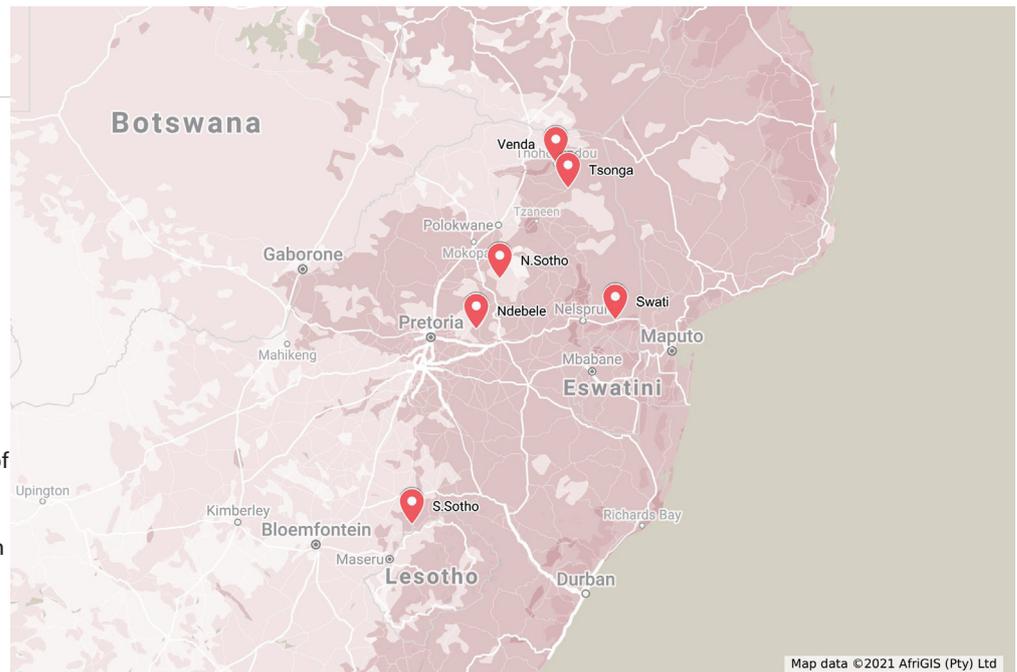
null: unknown

n.a.: there is no agreement marking on the verb (parameter 60)

1: the head noun

2: the subject

3: there are several relativisation strategies, one of which shows agreement with the head noun, and one of which shows agreements with the subject.



## P092

Values

📍 yes

📍 no

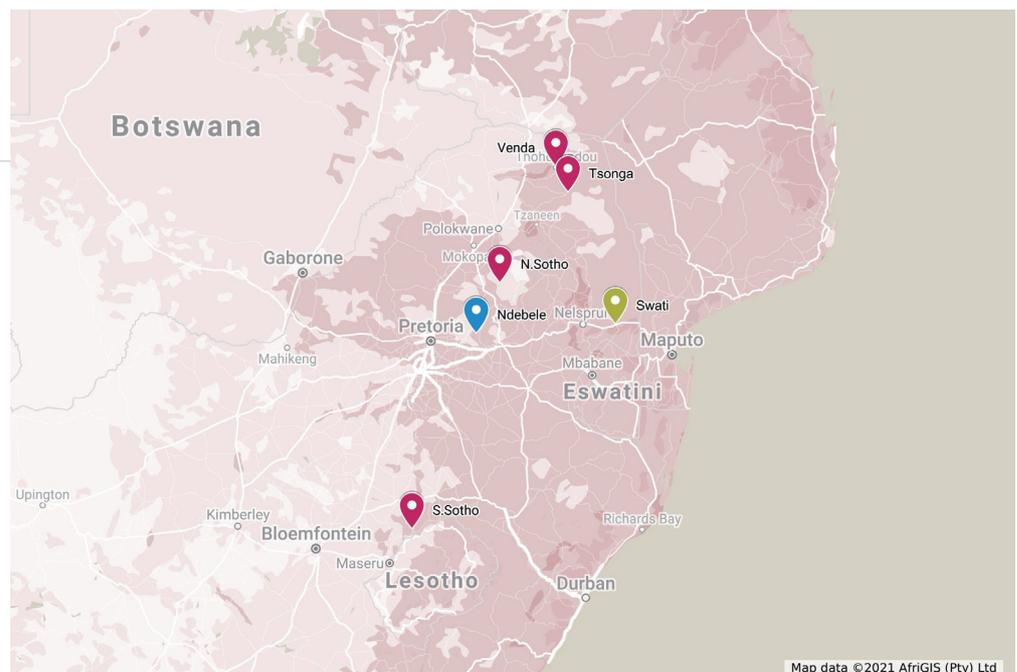
📍 null

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

null: unknown

no: no

yes: yes



## P093

Values

- 📍 2
- 📍 3

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

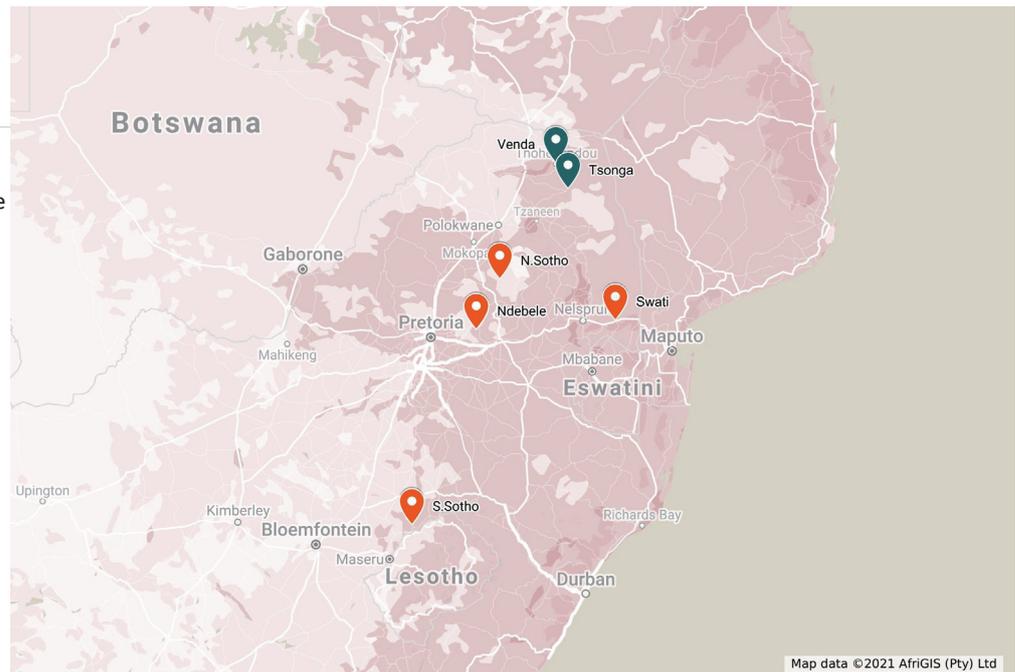
null: unknown

no: no

1: yes, it is optional

2: yes, it is always required

3: yes, it is required in certain conditions (e.g. depending on the class, [+/- animate], etc)



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## P094

Values

- 📍 yes
- 📍 no

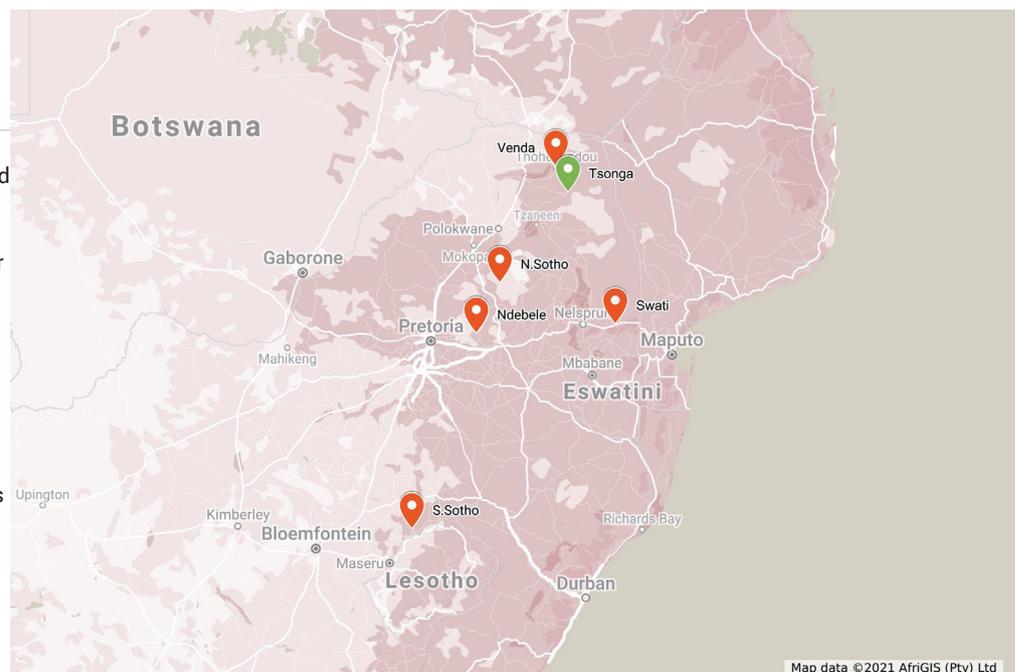
Headless adverbial relatives: Can headless relatives be used as adverbial clauses, with, for instance, temporal ('when...'), locative ('where...'), or manner ('how...') meaning?

null: unknown

n.a.: there are no headless relatives in the language

no: add examples of other headless relatives and of ungrammatical adverbial ones

yes: yes



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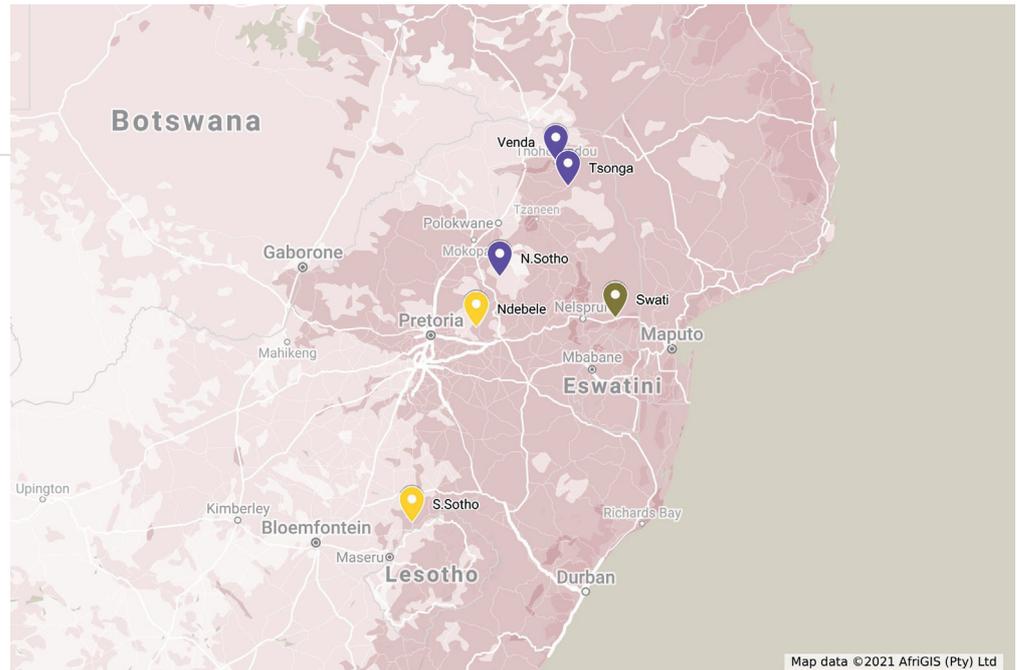
## P095

Values

- 📍 no
- 📍 yes
- 📍 ?

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

null: unknown  
no: no  
yes: yes



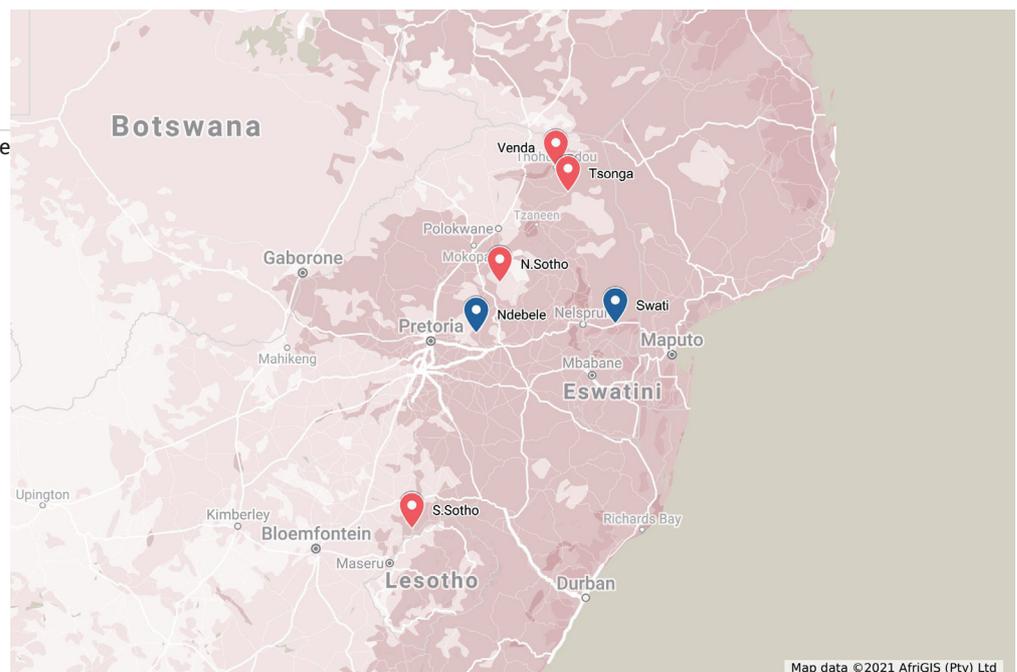
## P096

Values

- 📍 yes
- 📍 null

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

null: unknown  
no: no  
yes: yes



## P097

Values

1

Clefts: How are clefts formed?

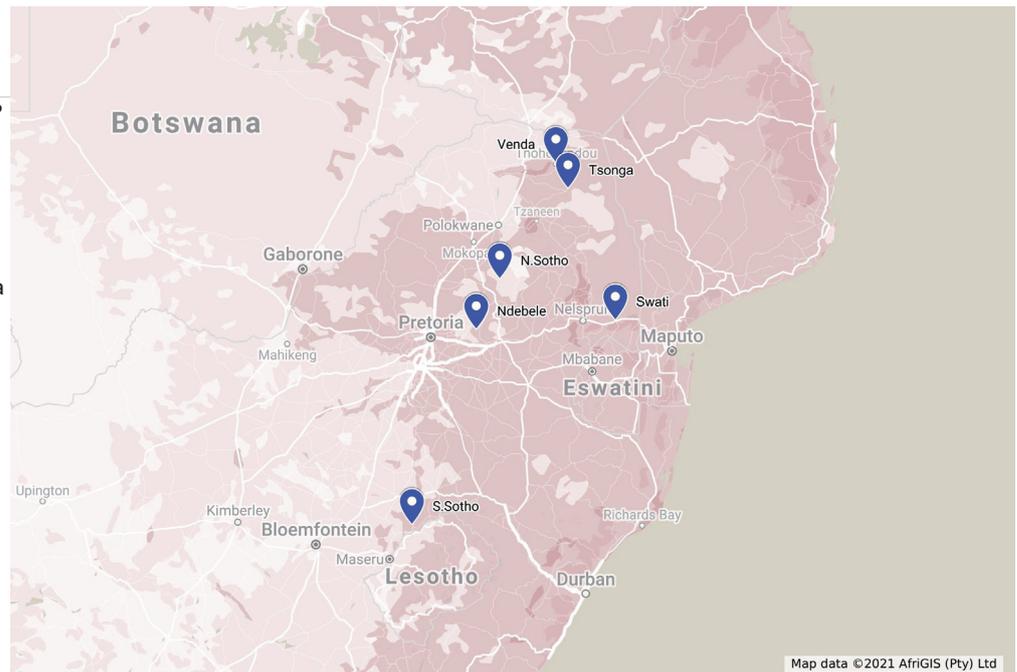
null: unknown

n.a.: there are no cleft constructions in the language

1: through the use of a segmentally expressed copula

2: through modification of the noun (linked with the tonal/segmental augment)

3: both strategies



## P098

Values

no

yes

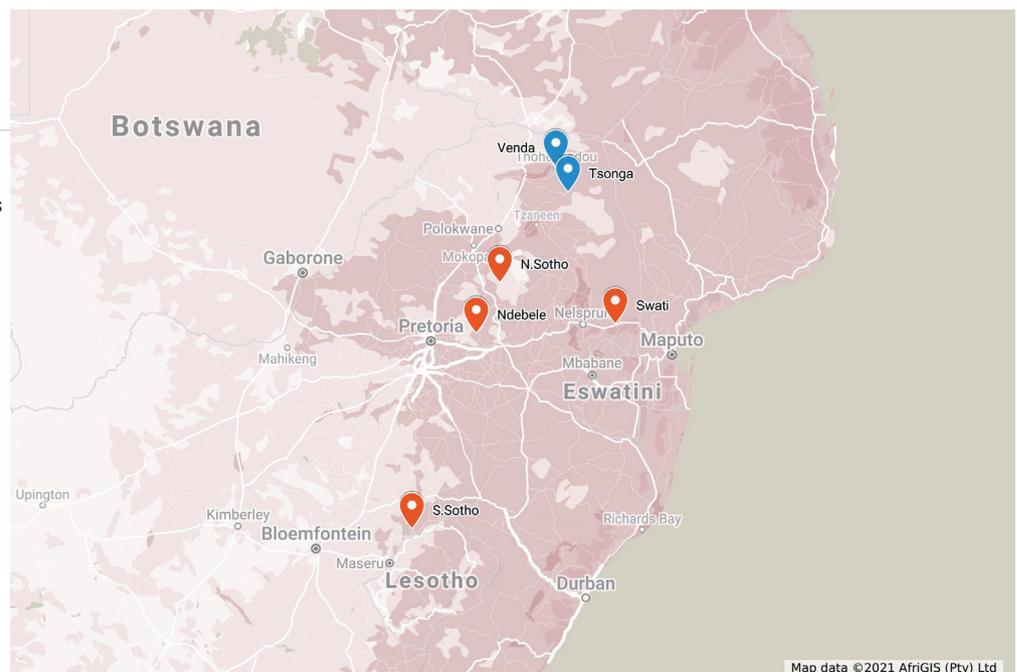
Clefted word classes: In addition to canonical noun phrases, may other categories be clefted?

null: unknown

n.a.: there are no cleft constructions in the language

no: no

yes: yes



## P099

Values

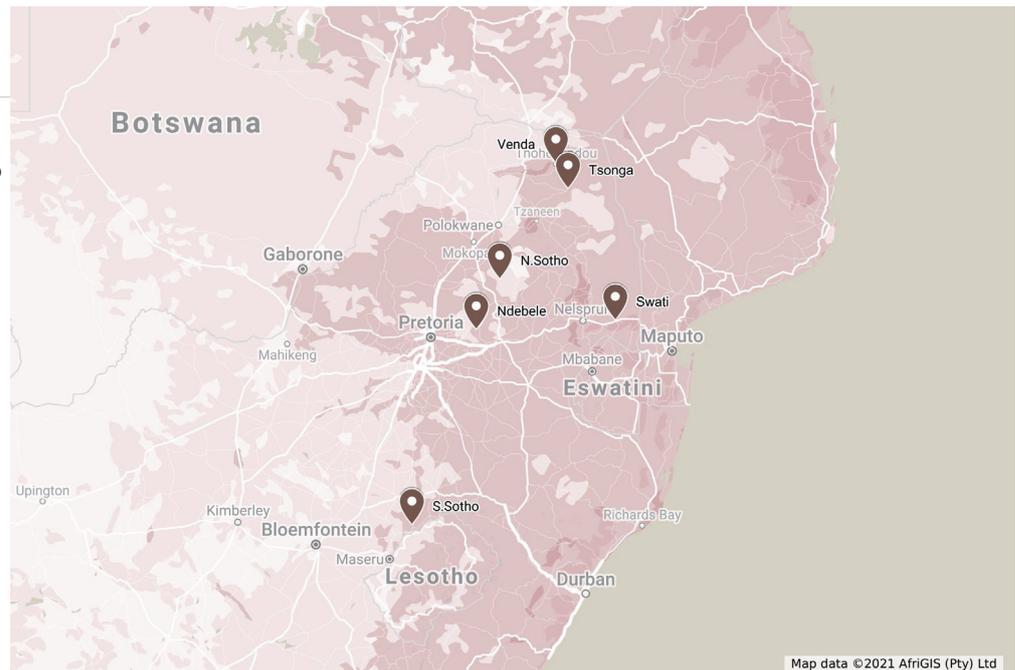


Yes/no questions: In addition to intonation, are there other means used to encode yes/no questions (polar interrogatives)?

null: unknown

no: there are no other means

yes: yes



## P100

Values



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

null: unknown

1: clause-initially

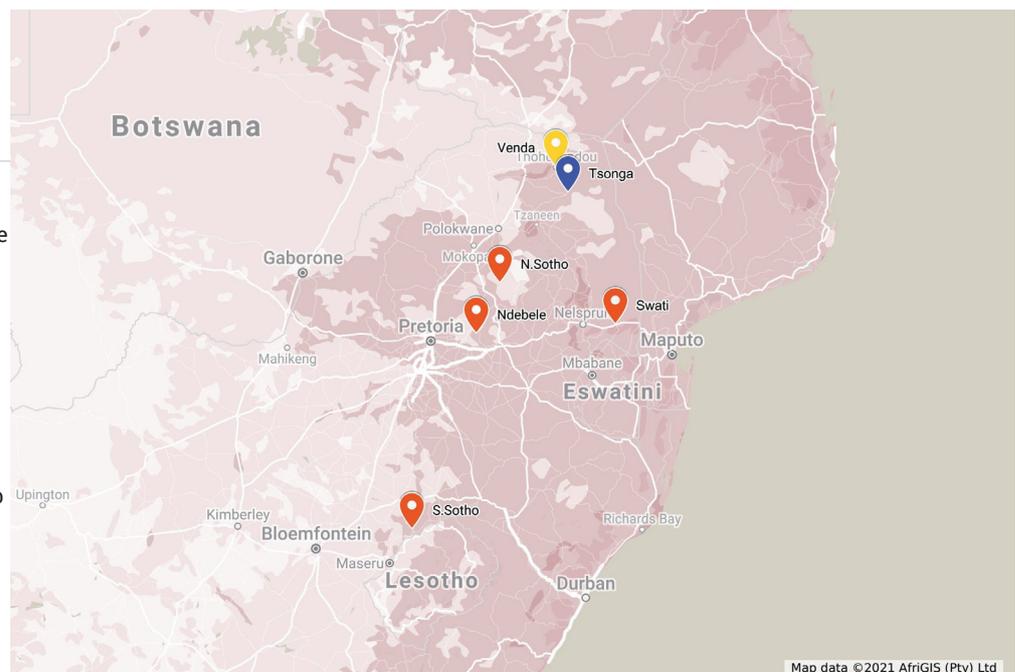
2: clause-finally

3: immediately after the verb (IAV)

4: immediately before the verb (IBV)

5: in situ

6: difficult to distinguish a dominant strategy



## P101

Values

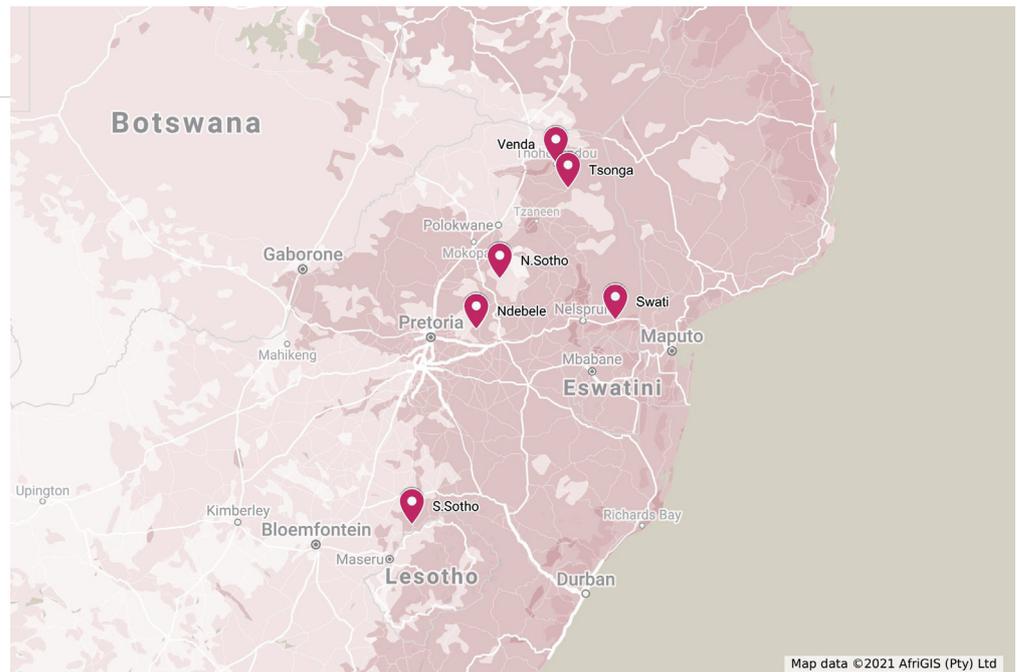


'why' applicatives: Can 'why' be formed through the combination of an applicative on the verb + 'what'?

null: unknown

no: 'why' is expressed in another way

yes: yes



## P102

Values



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

null: unknown

1: an invariable copula only

2: variable (class-inflected) copulas only

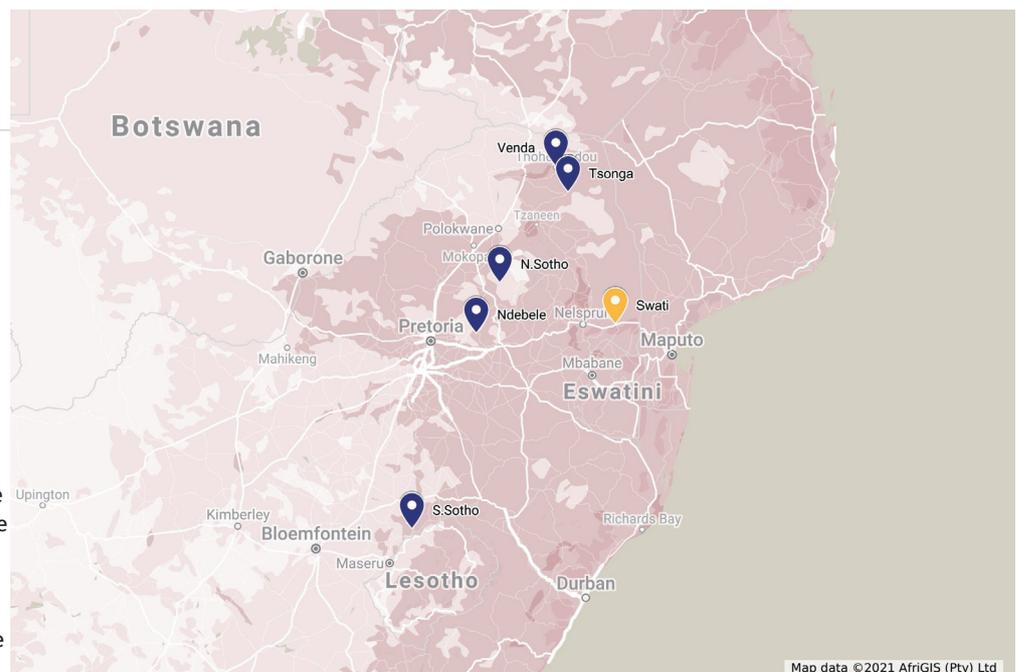
3: through tones only (unexpected as a single strategy)

4: both 1 and 2 = both variable (class-inflected) and invariable copulas

5: both 1 and 3

6: both 2 and 3

7: all of the above are possible strategies



## P103

Values

- 📍 6
- 📍 n.a.
- 📍 2

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

null: unknown

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

1: of the shape ni (or similar)

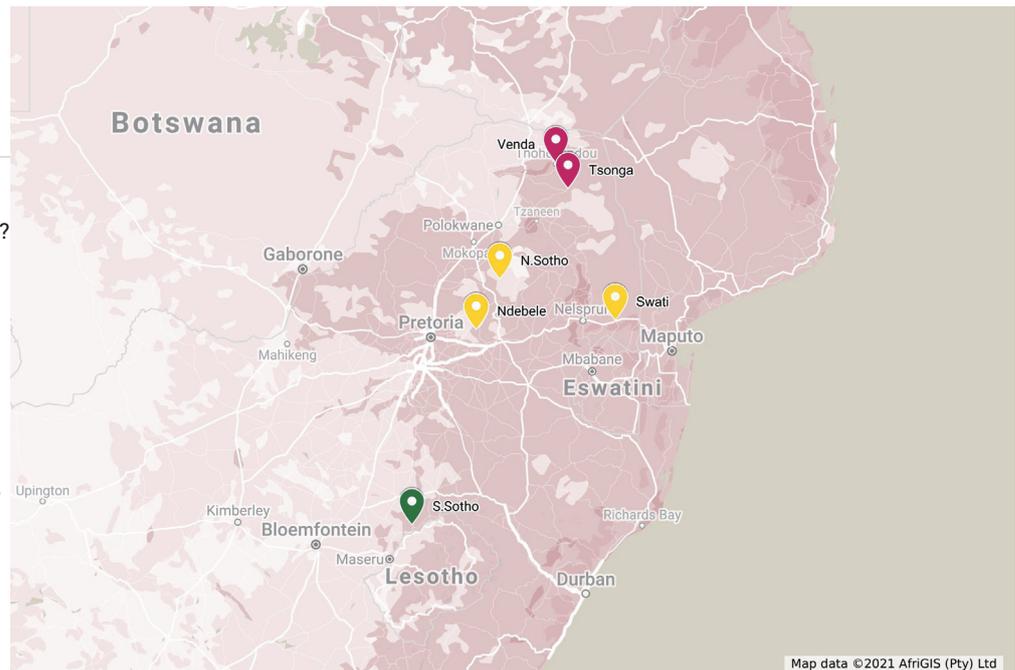
2: derived from verbal subject markers

3: derived from a verb

4: derived from demonstrative pronouns

5: other (specify)

6: multiple strategy



## P104

Values

- 📍 yes
- 📍 n.a.

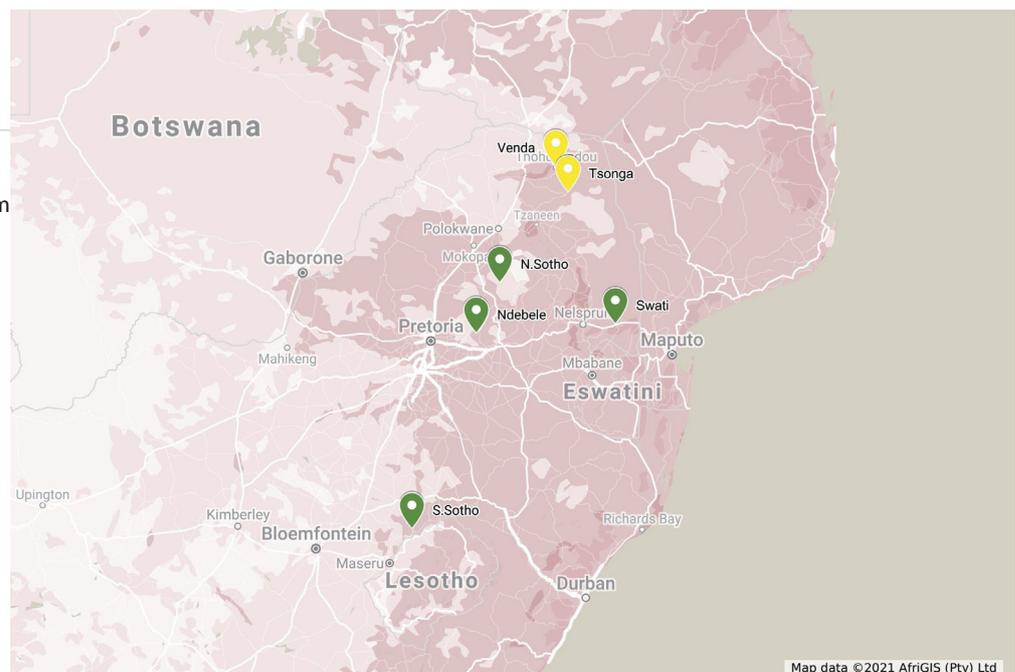
Copula's other meanings: In addition to equative predication, may a copula form be used to convey other meanings?

null: unknown

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

no: copula constructions are only used for equative predication

yes: yes



## P105

Values

- 4(1+2)
- 1
- 2

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

null: unknown

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

2: the verb 'be' + preposition 'with' only

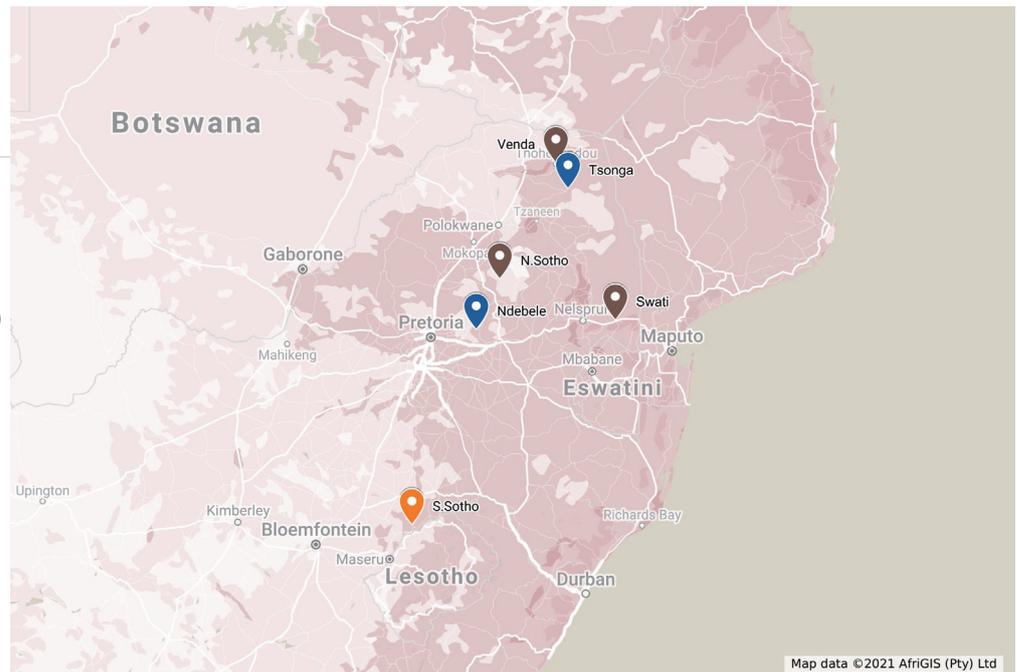
3: a lexical verb only

4: both 1 and 2

5: both 1 and 3

6: both 2 and 3

7: a combination of strategies



## P106

Values

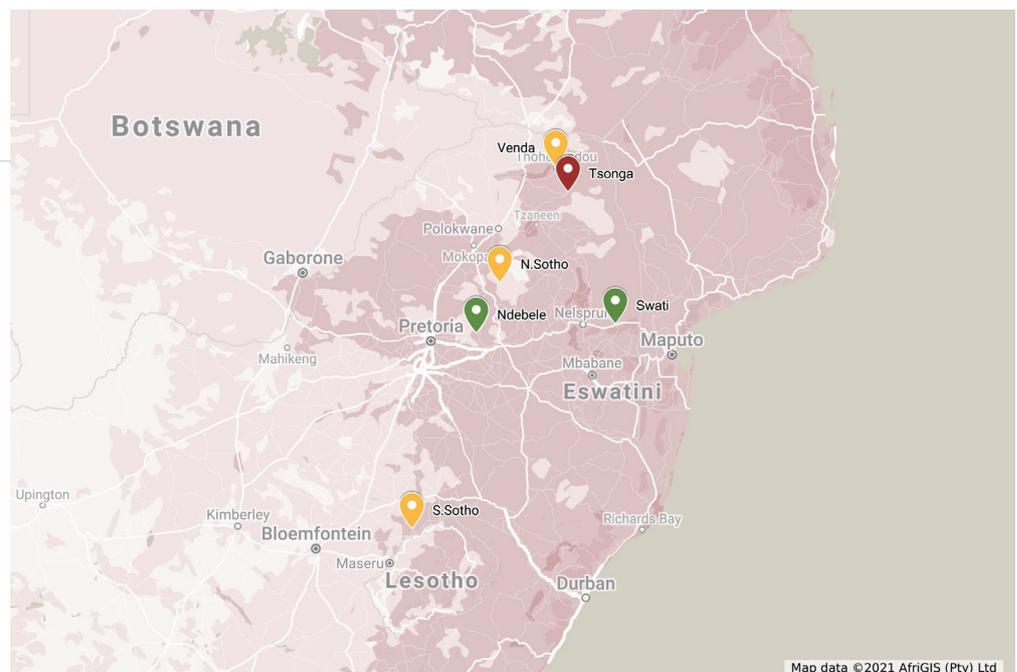
- no
- null
- yes

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

null: unknown

no: no

yes: yes



## P107

Values

- 📍 1
- 📍 no
- 📍 ?

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?

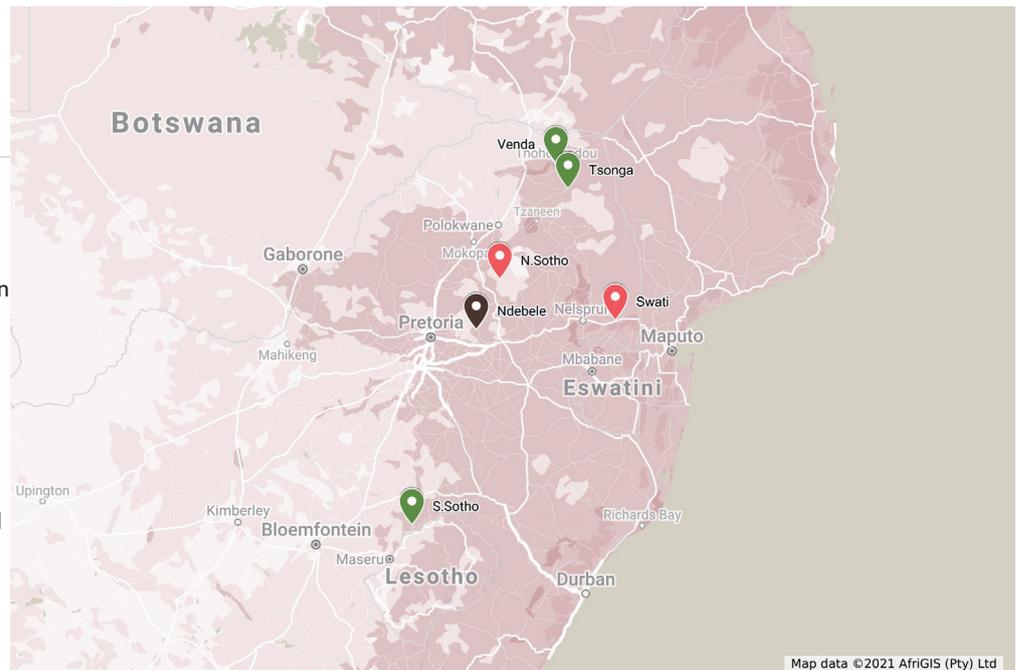
null: unknown

no: no

1: yes, for verb focus

2: yes, for topicalisation

3: yes, for both verb focus and topicalisation



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## P108

Values

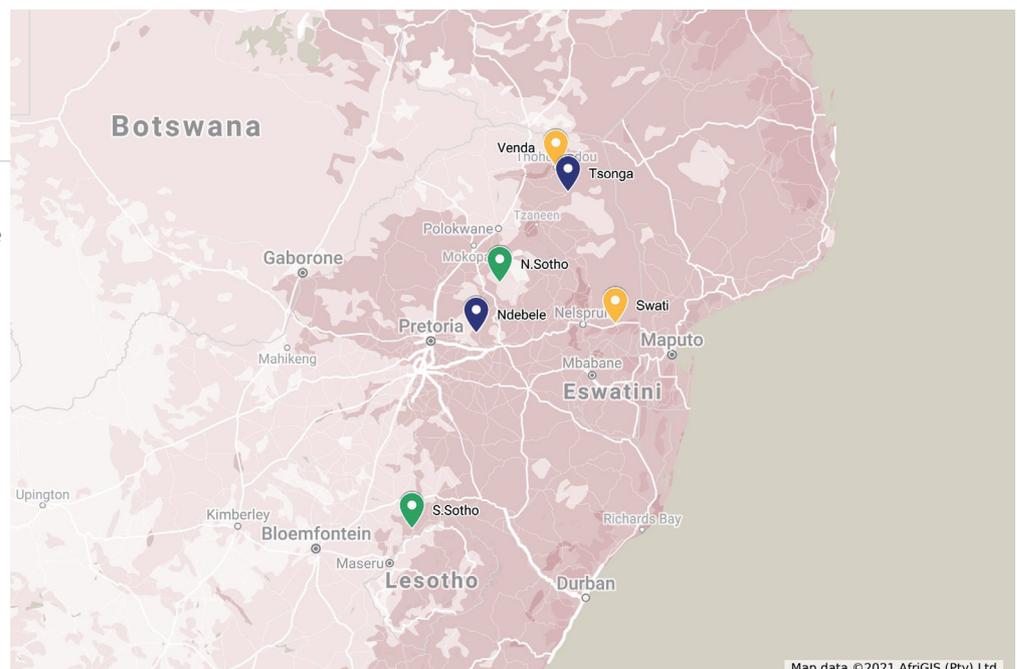
- 📍 no
- 📍 null
- 📍 yes

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

null: unknown

no: no

yes: yes



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## P109

Values

yes

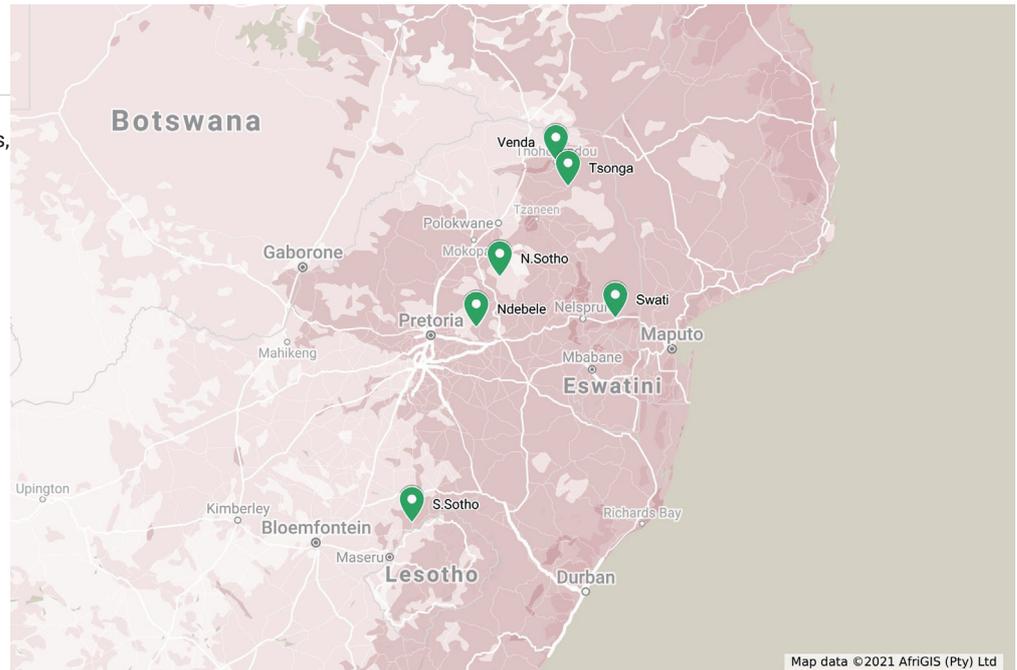
Passivisation in ditransitives:  
In double object constructions,  
can either object become  
subject under passivisation?

null: unknown

n.a.: there is no passive  
constructions

no: no

yes: yes



## P110

Values

yes

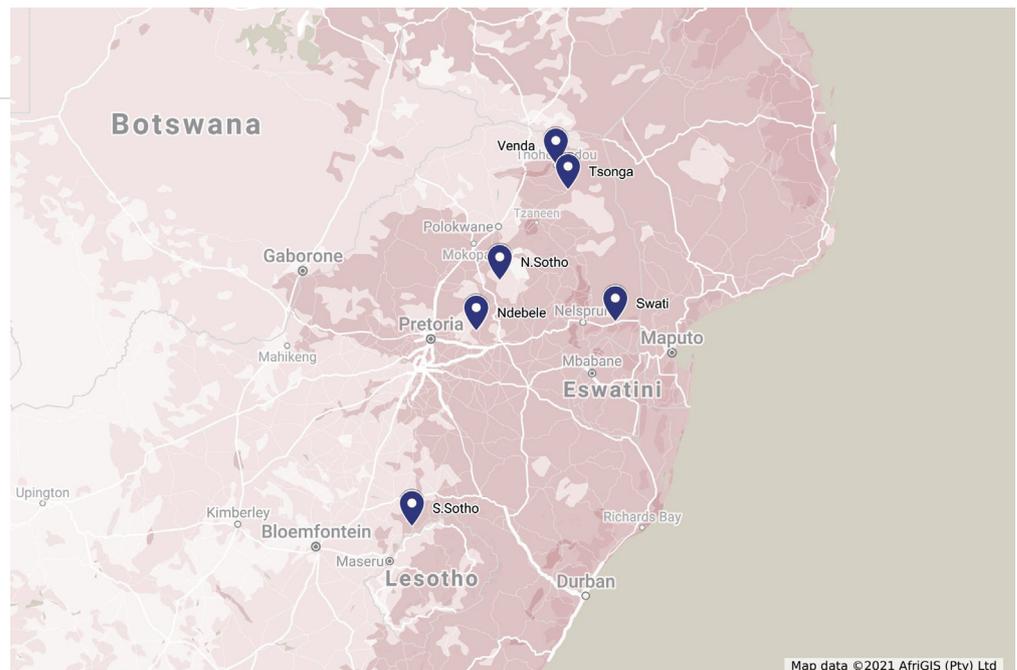
Object marking in  
ditransitives: In double object  
constructions, can either  
object be expressed by an  
object marker?

null: unknown

n.a.: there are no object  
markers in the language

no: no

yes: yes



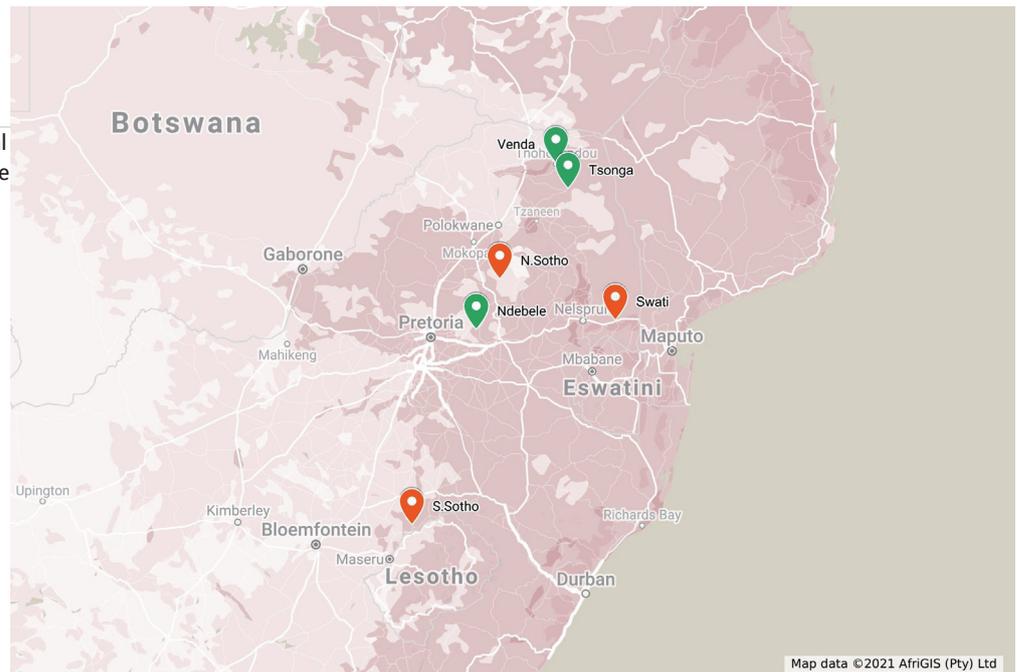
# P111

Values

- no
- yes

Pro-drop: Can the grammatical subject be omitted (i.e. is there pro-drop)? (link with (parameter 60))

null: unknown  
no: no  
yes: yes



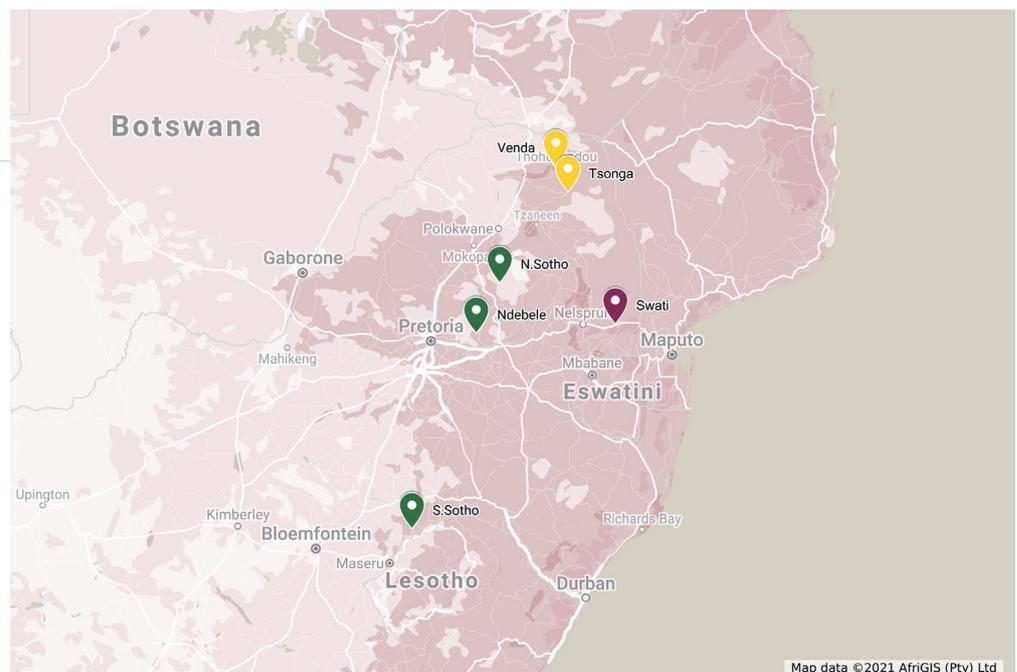
# P112

Values

- 2
- 3
- no

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

null: unknown  
no: no  
1: Dem-Noun is the default order  
2: Dem-Noun order is attested  
3: yes, and an additional demonstrative follows the noun: Dem-Noun-Dem



# P113

Values

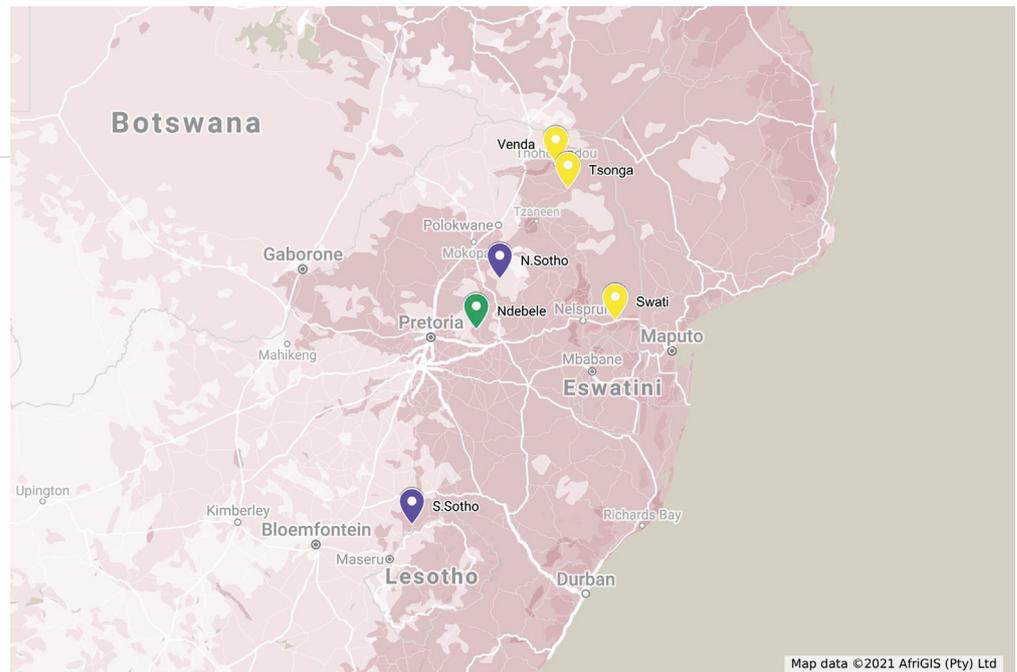
- no
- yes
- null

Quant-Noun: Is there a prenominal quantifier?

null: unknown

no: no

yes: yes



# P114

Values

- no
- yes

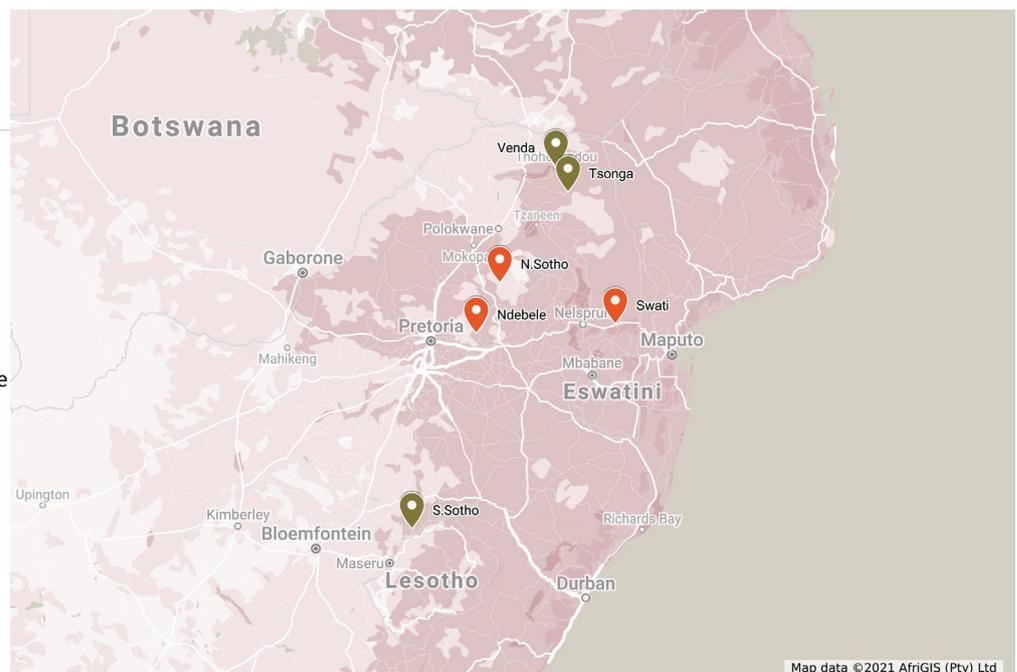
Possessive in multiple modifiers: In the case of co-occurring modifiers, does the possessive normally appear closest to the noun?

null: unknown

n.a.: there are no possessive pronouns (e.g. only connective constructions?)

no: no

yes: yes



## P115

Values

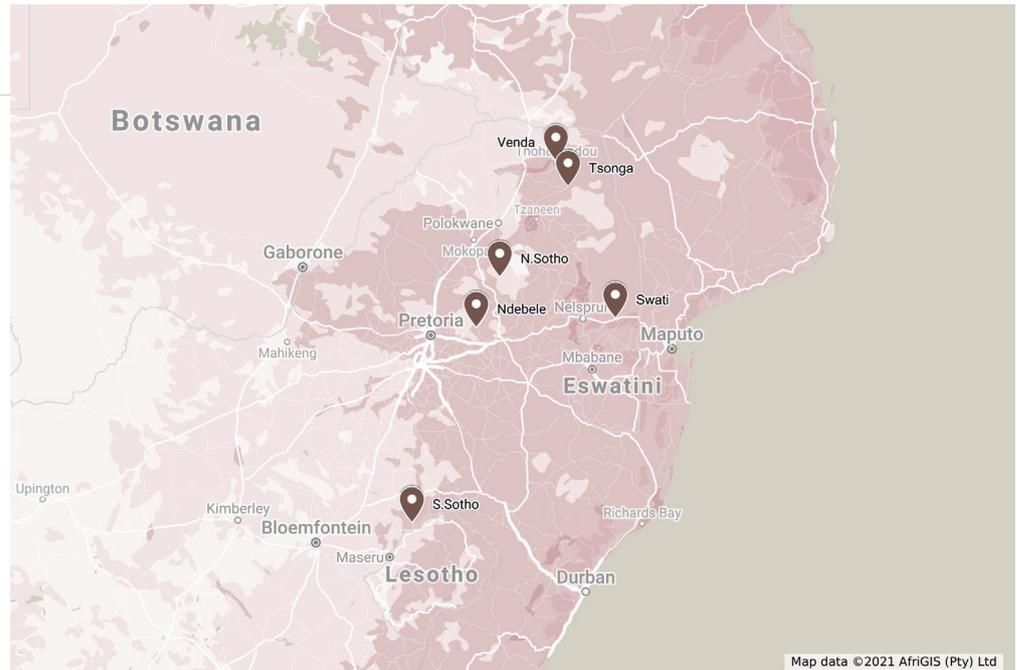
📍 yes

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

null: unknown

no: no

yes: yes



## P116

Values

📍 2

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

null: unknown

n.a.: there are no double object constructions

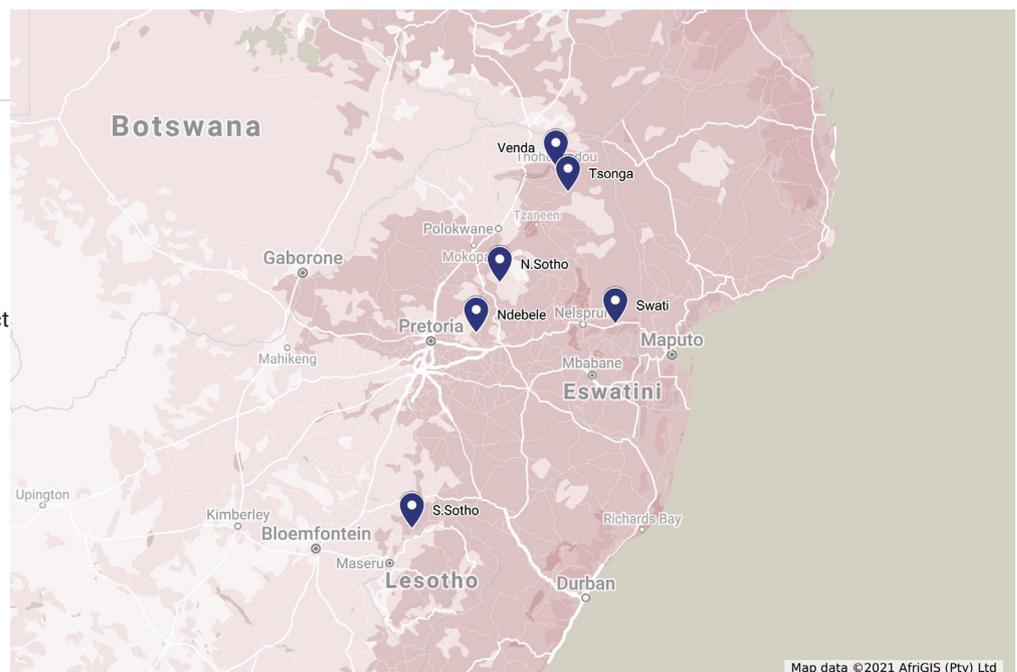
no: the order is completely flexible

1: yes, the order is determined by information structure

2: yes, the order is determined by the thematic/semantic properties of the objects (e.g. benefactive-theme, animacy)

3: yes, both 1 and 2

4: yes, by other factors (e.g. predicate type) possibly in addition to 1 or 2



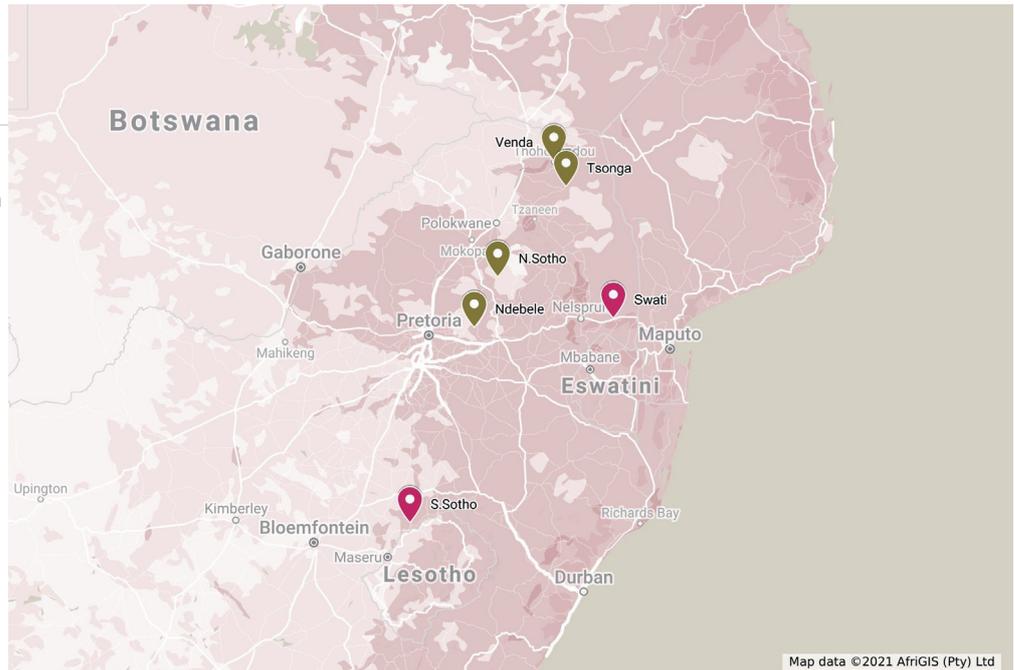
# P117

Values

- 📍 no
- 📍 yes

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

- null: unknown
- no: no
- yes: yes



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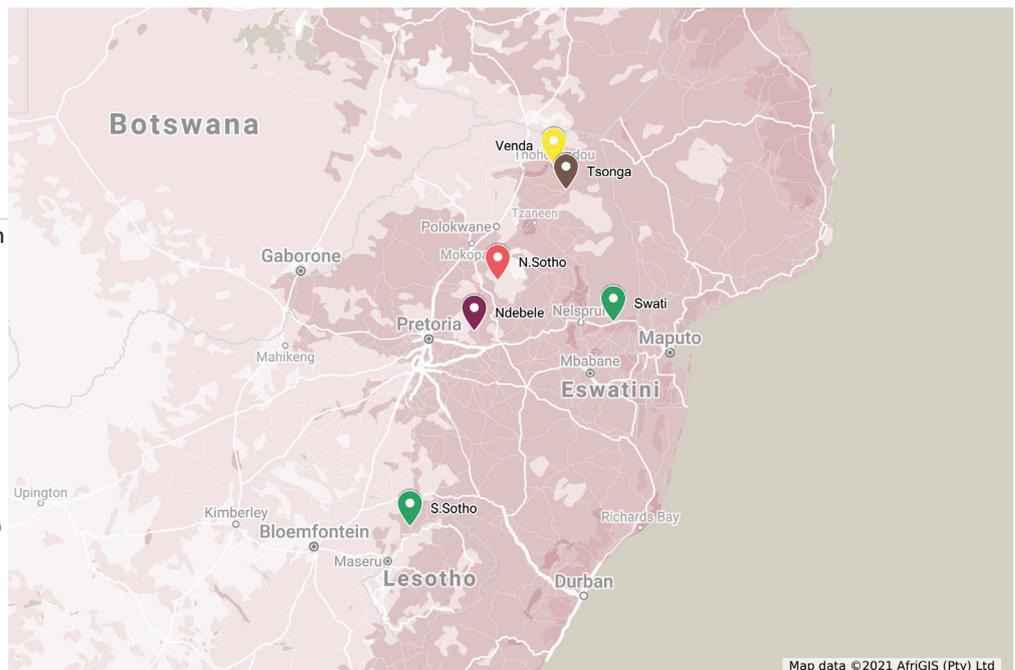
# P118

Values

- 📍 1
- 📍 4+6
- 📍 5(1+3+4)
- 📍 5(3+4)
- 📍 no

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

- null: unknown
- no: focus is not expressed by word order, but by another strategy (e.g. focus marker)
- 1: immediately after the verb (IAV)
- 2: immediately before the verb (IBV)
- 3: clause-initially
- 4: clause-finally
- 5: two of the above strategies exist in the language
- 6: other



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## P119

Values

-  no
-  yes

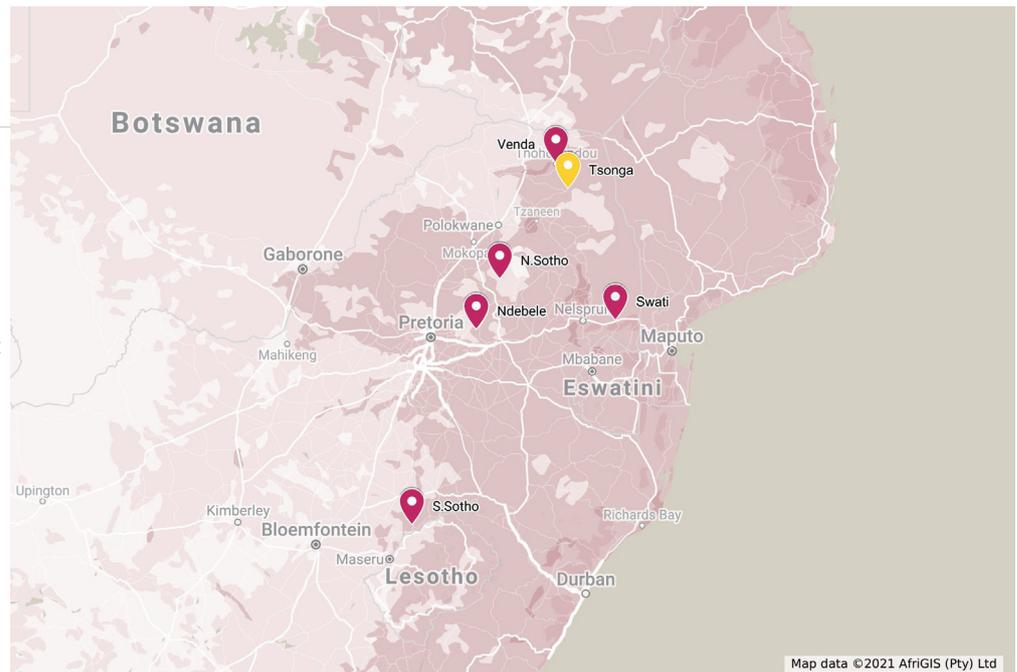
Aux-Obj.pronoun-Verb: In auxiliary constructions, can object pronouns be placed between the auxiliary and the main verb?

null: unknown

n.a.: there are no auxiliaries at all in the language (parameter 82)

no: no

yes: yes



## P120

Values

-  no
-  yes

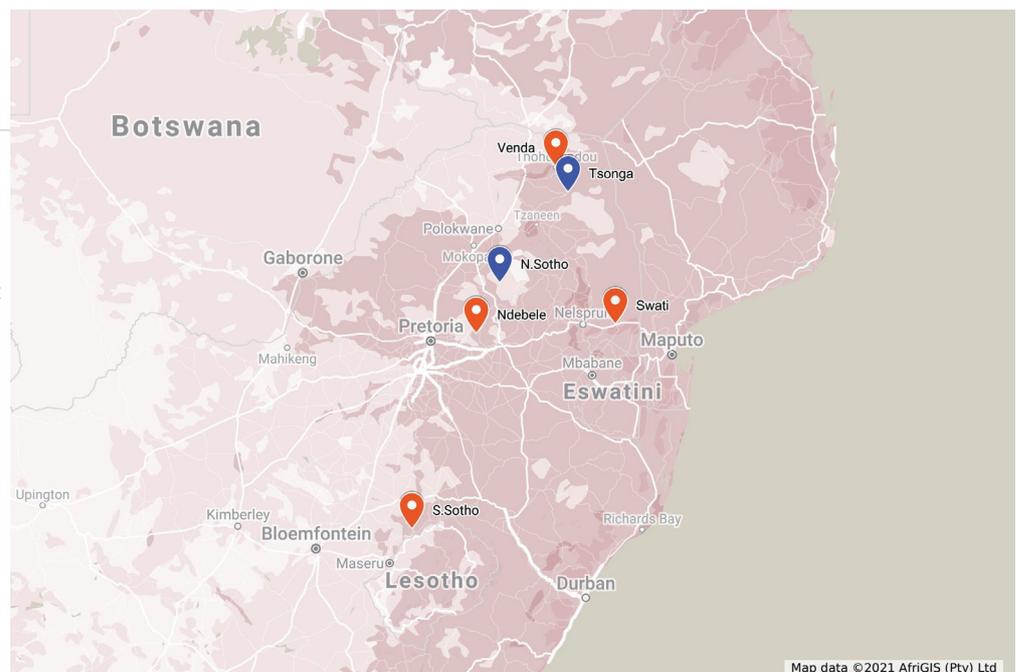
Infinitive-Auxiliary: Is it possible for an infinitive to appear before the auxiliary?

null: unknown

n.a.: there are no auxiliaries at all in the language (parameter 82)

no: no

yes: yes



## P121

Values

- 📍 1
- 📍 2
- 📍 no
- 📍 null

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

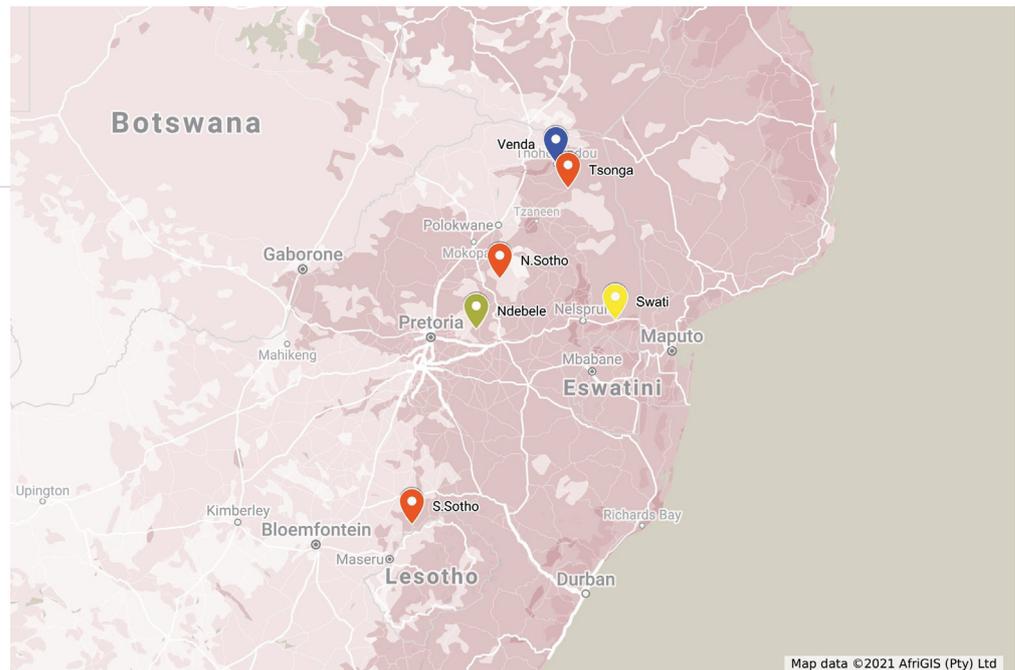
null: unknown

no: no

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

2: yes, and the verb shows default agreement

3: yes, both 1 and 2 are possible



## P122

Values

- 📍 1
- 📍 3
- 📍 ?

Locative inversion: Is locative inversion attested?

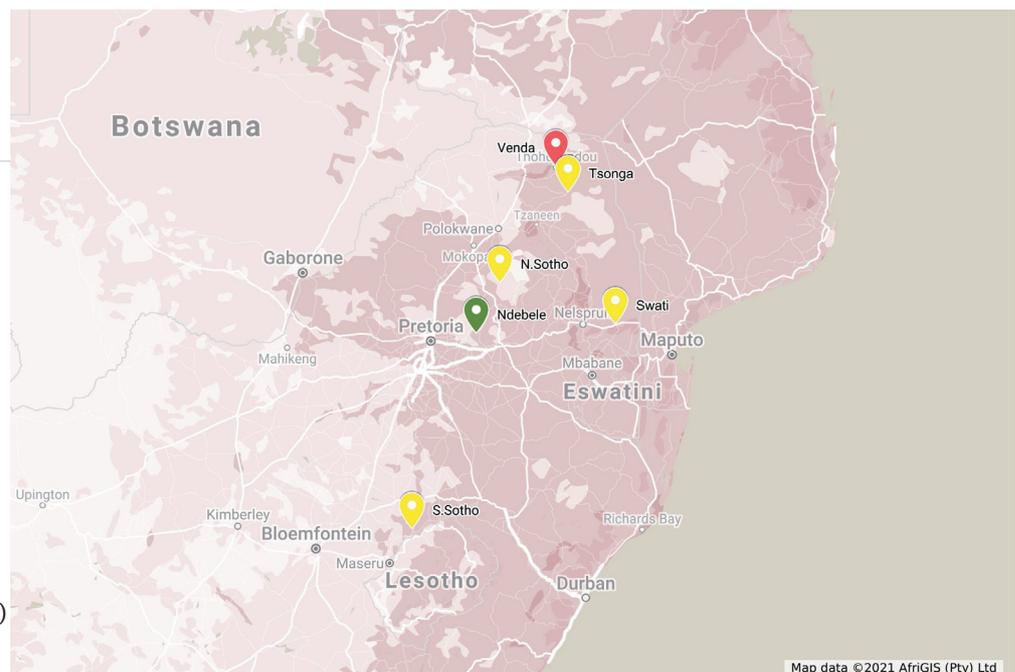
null: unknown

no: there is no locative inversion (although there might be default/expletive constructions)

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

2: yes, semantically (i.e. the verb shows agreement with a preceding locational noun phrase of a non-locative class)

3: yes, both formally and semantically



# P123

Values

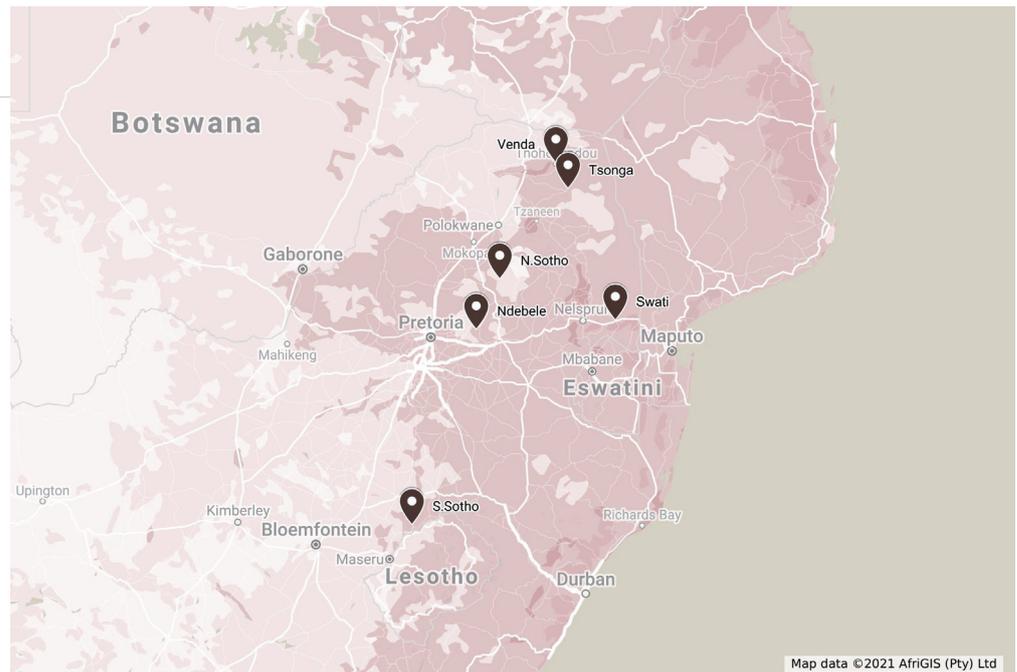
no

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

null: unknown

no: no

yes: yes



# P124

Values

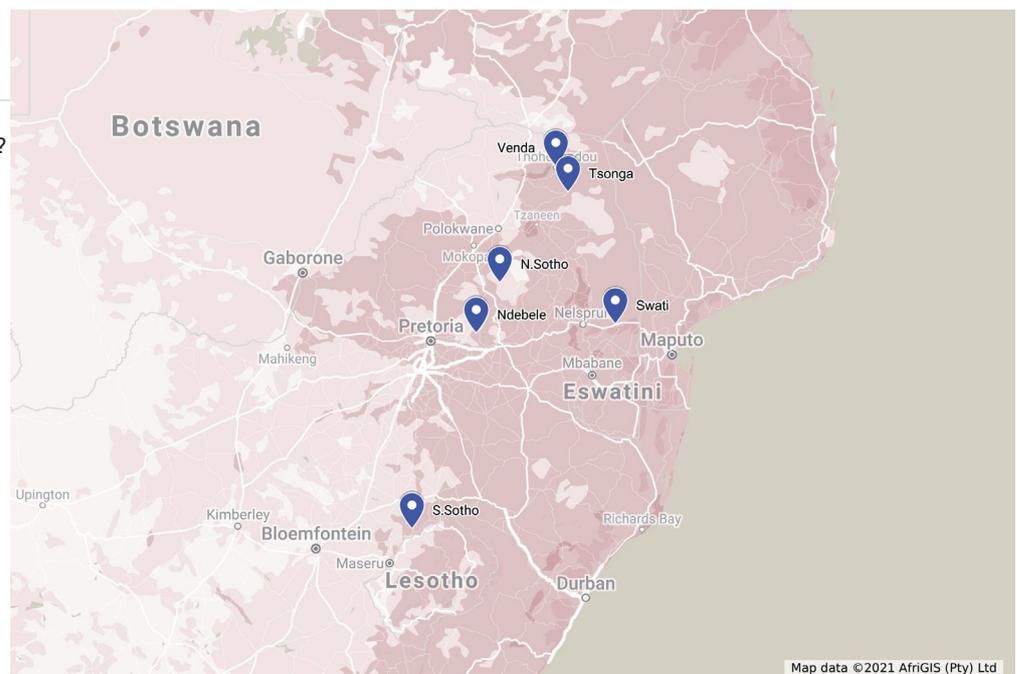
no

Instrument inversion: Is instrument inversion attested?

null: unknown

no: no

yes: yes



## P125

Values

 yes

 no

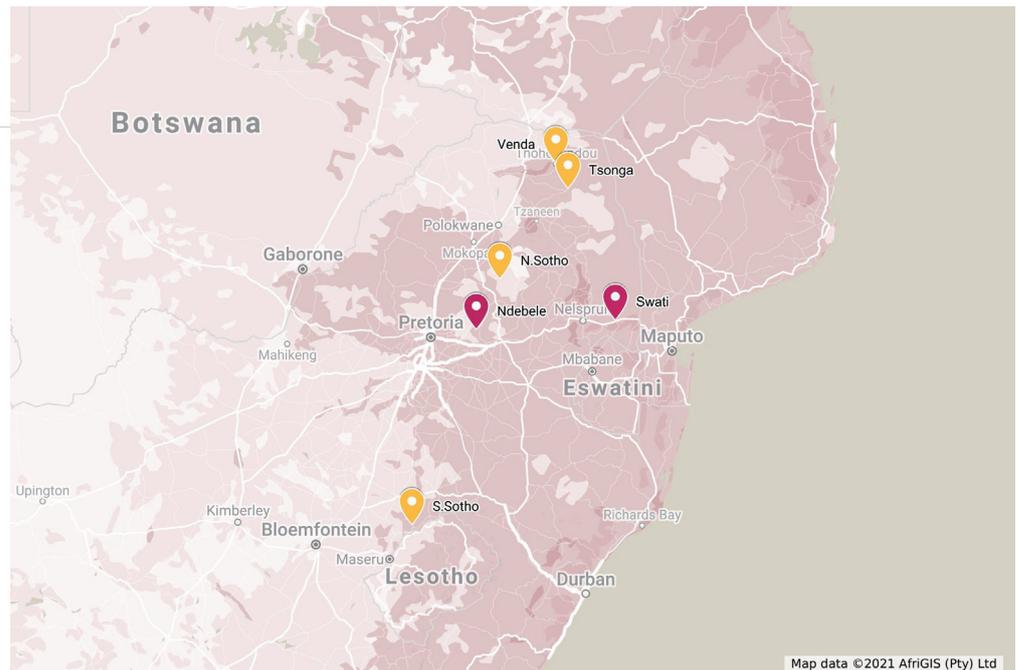
Conjunction 'and' : Is the conjunction 'and' used in coordinated nouns (or noun phrases) the same as the one used in coordinated clauses?

null: unknown

n.a.: no conjunction is used in coordinated clauses

no: no

yes: yes



## P126

Values

 yes

 no

Sequential/Narrative: Is there any verbal marker to express combinations of clauses encoding sequential events?

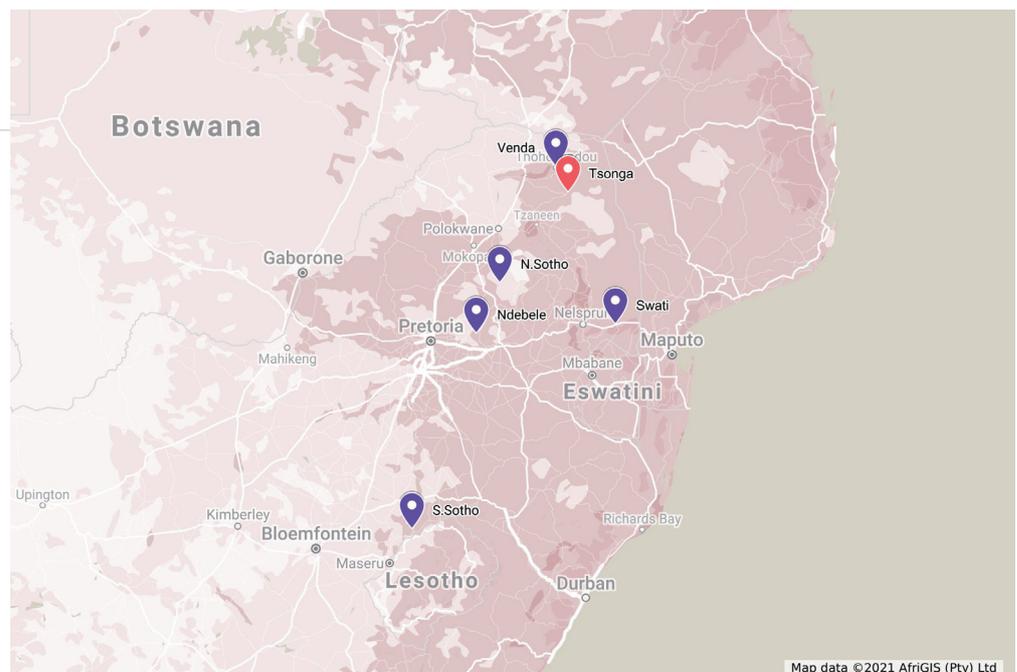
null: unknown

n.a.: there are no

tense/aspect/mood affixes in the language (parameter 73)

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

yes: yes



## P127

Values

2

1

1 or 2

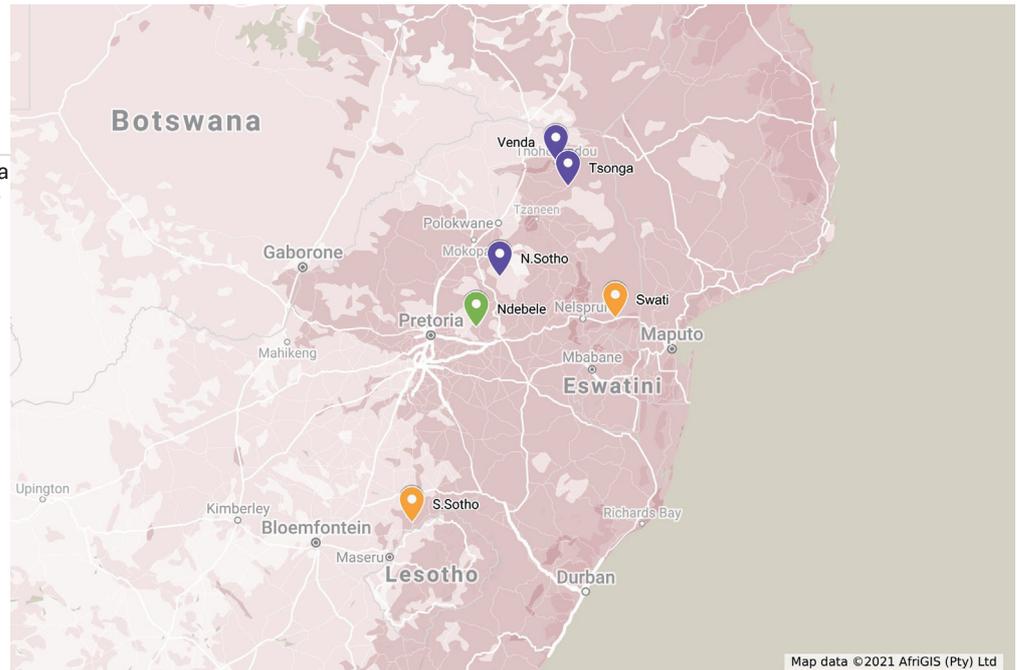
Complementiser presence: Is a subordinator/complementiser present in a subordinate clause?

null: unknown

no: no

1: yes, optionally

2: yes, necessarily



## P128

Values

1

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

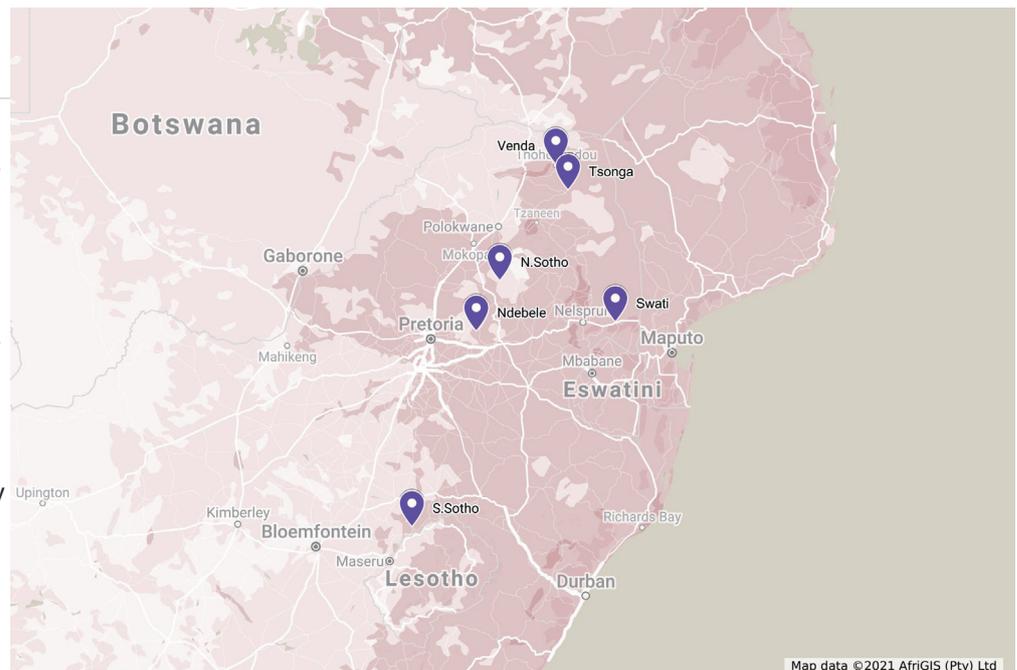
null: unknown

n.a.: there is no subordinator/complementiser (parameter 127)

1: in front of the clause

2: after the clause

3: within the clause (e.g. an overt subordinate subject may precede the subordinator)



## P129

Values

 yes

 no

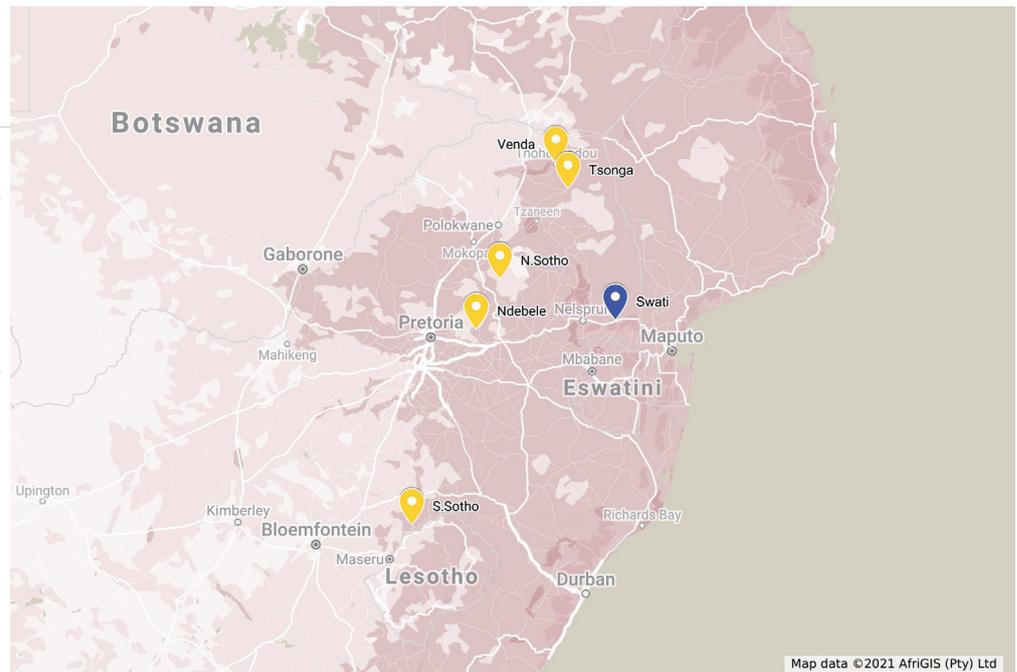
Complementiser origin: Is there a subordinator/complementiser derived from a verb meaning 'say' or 'tell'?

null: unknown

n.a.: there are no subordinator/complementiser (parameter 127)

no: no

yes: yes



## P130

Values

 no

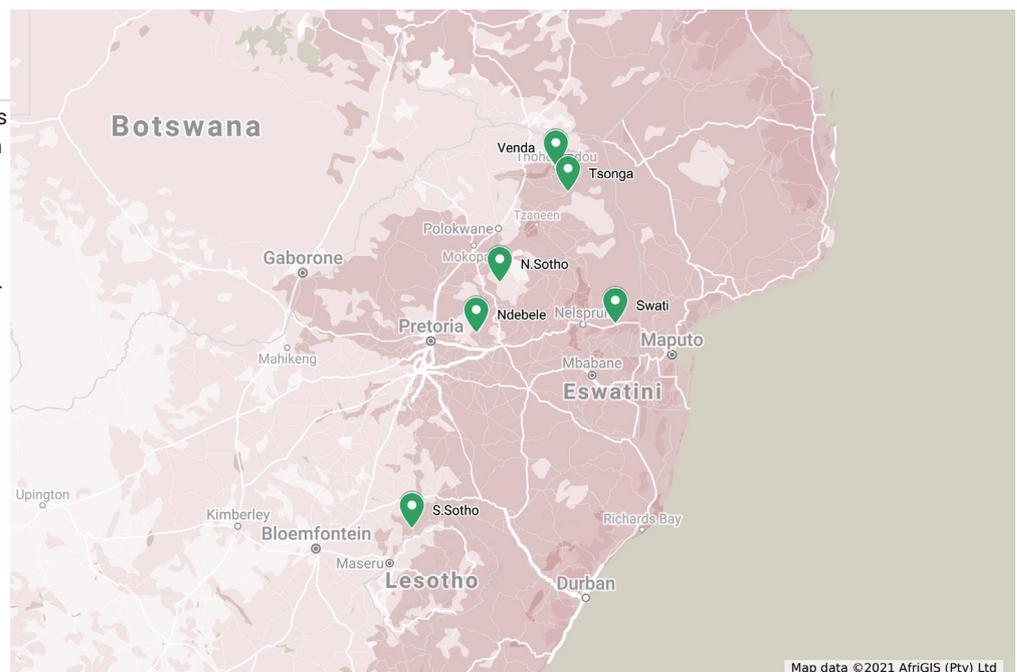
Complementiser agreement: Is there an agreement marker on the subordinator / complementiser?

null: unknown

n.a.: there are no subordinator / complementiser (parameter 127)

no: no

yes: yes



# P131

Values

- 📍 1
- 📍 4
- 📍 3(1 or 2)
- 📍 4 or 5

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

null: unknown

1: only by means of a conjunction semantically equivalent to English 'if'

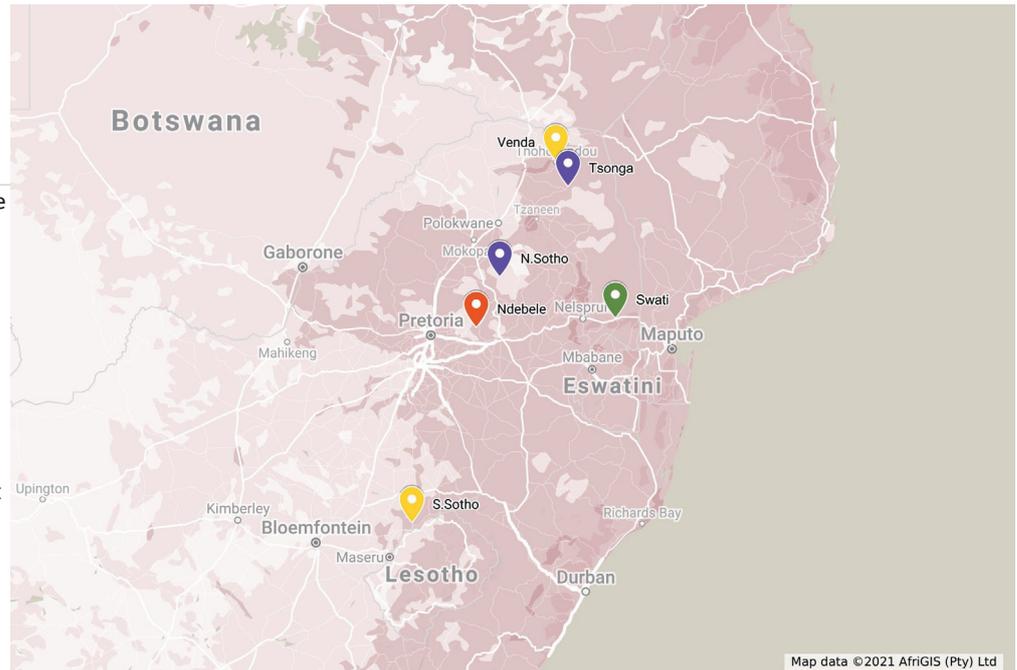
2: only by means of a specific tense/aspect/mood

3: both 1 or 2 are possible, but not in the same clause

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

5: both a conjunction and a specific tense/aspect/mood are required in the same clause

6: another strategy is used



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# P132

Values

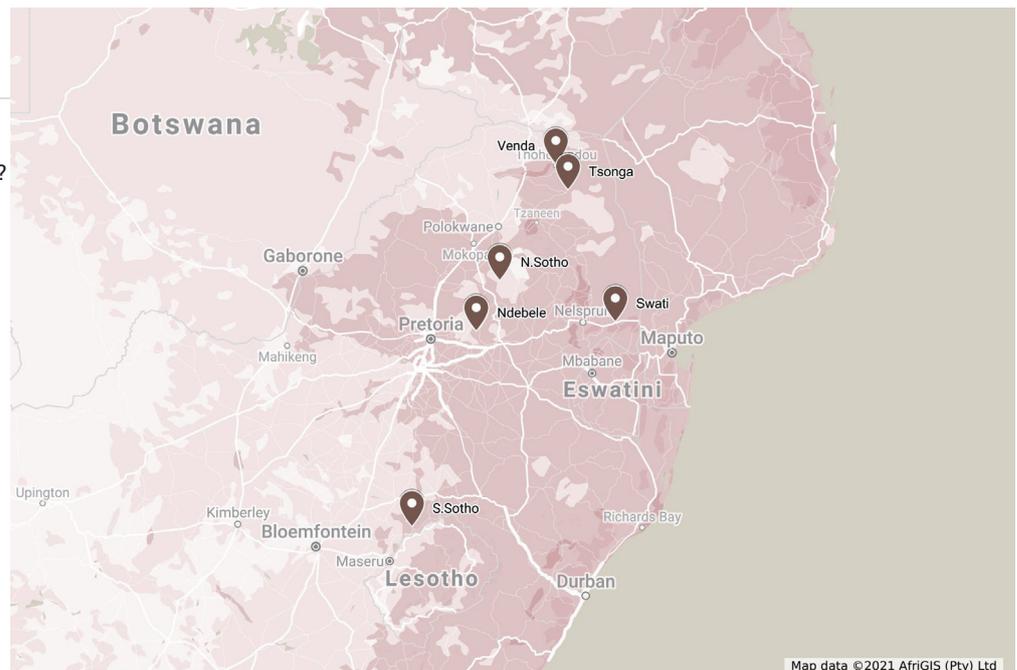
- 📍 no

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

null: unknown

no: no

yes: yes



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## P133

Values

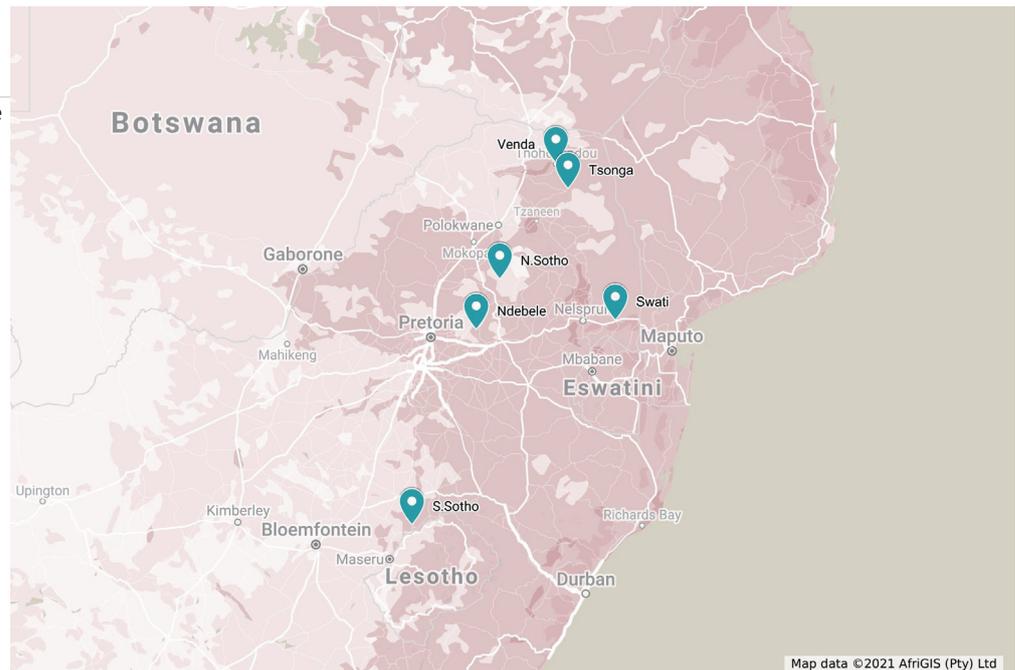
no

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

null: unknown

no: no

yes: yes



## P134

Values

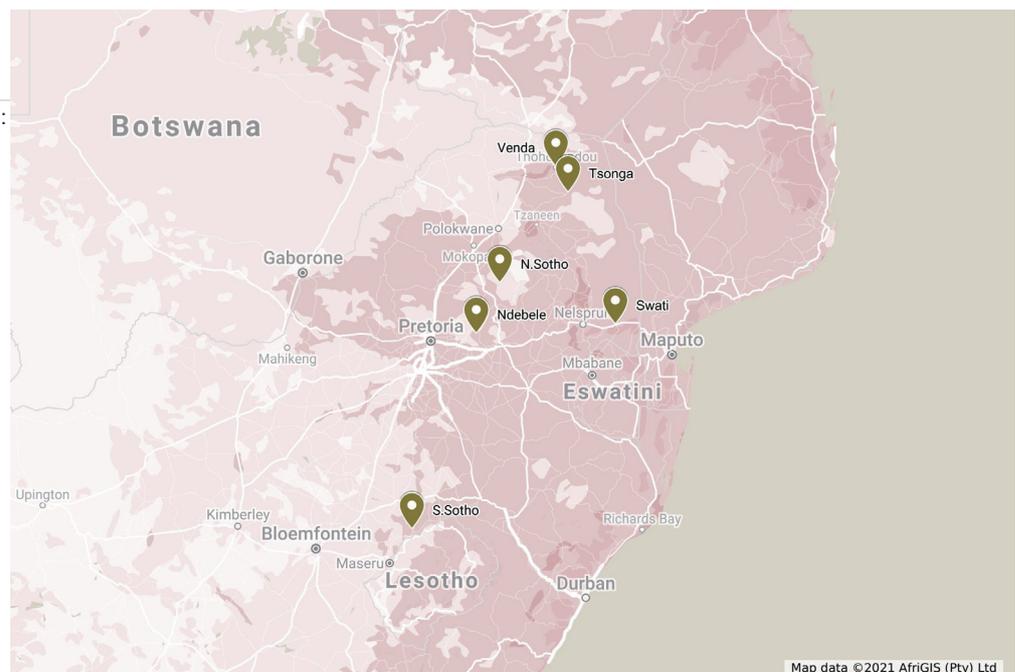
yes

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

null: unknown

no: no

yes: yes



## P135

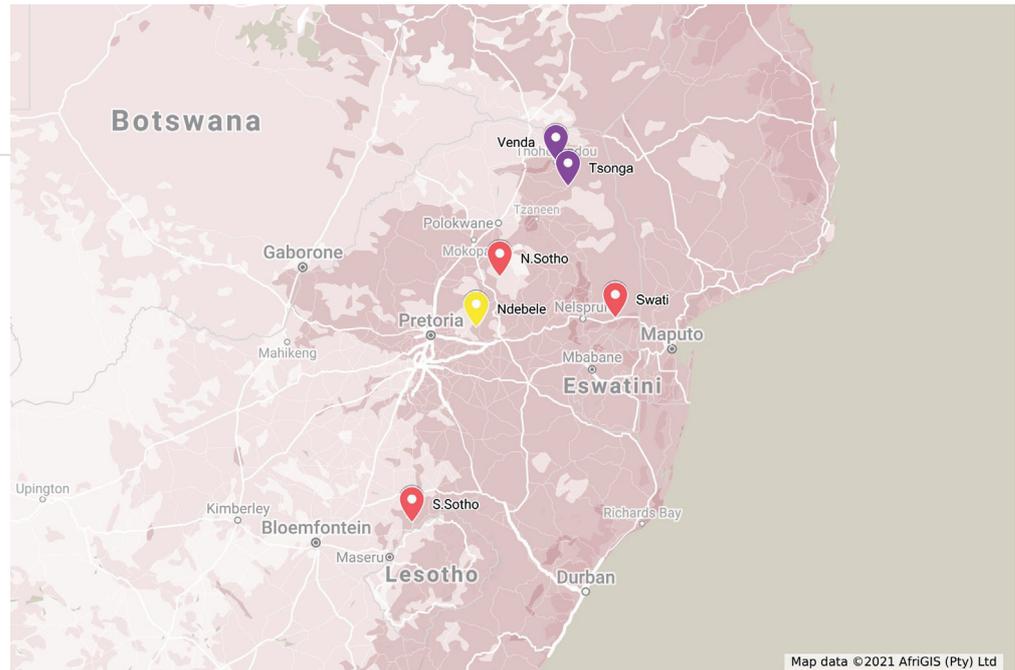
Values

- 📍 1
- 📍 4(1+2)
- 📍 4(1+2+3)

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

null: unknown

- 1: by the use of a specific adverbial conjunction
- 2: by the use of specific tense/aspect/mood marking
- 3: by a specific temporal relative construction
- 4: two or more of the above strategies



## P136

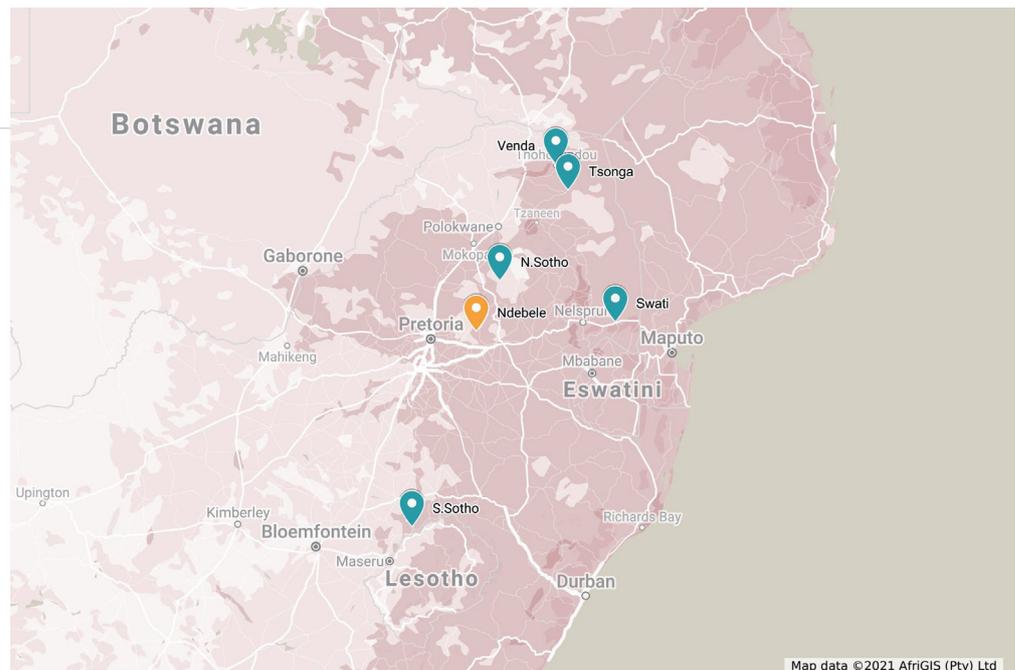
Values

- 📍 3
- 📍 null

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

null: unknown

- 1: by the use of a specific adverbial conjunction
- 2: by the use of specific tense/aspect/mood marking
- 3: by a specific locative relative construction
- 4: two or more of the above strategies



## P137

Values

- 📍 1
- 📍 4
- 📍 5

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

null: unknown

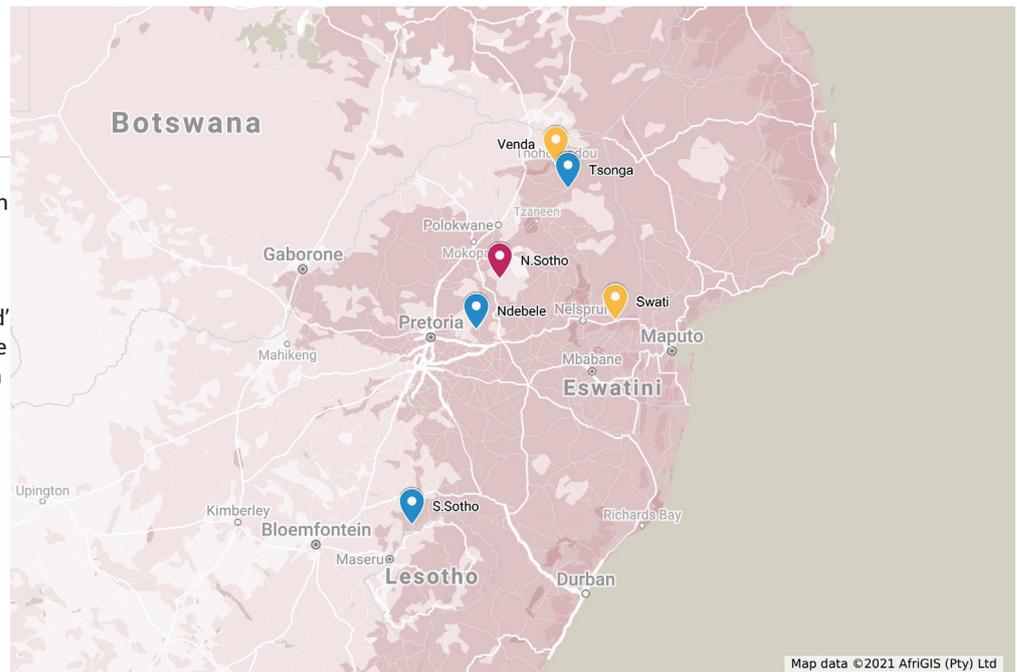
1: by the verb 'surpass/exceed'

2: by a particular lexical device (e.g. the 'comparator' kuliko in Swahili)

3: by a verbal enclitic (with a locative morphology)

4: by another strategy

5: several of the above strategies are attested



## P138

Values

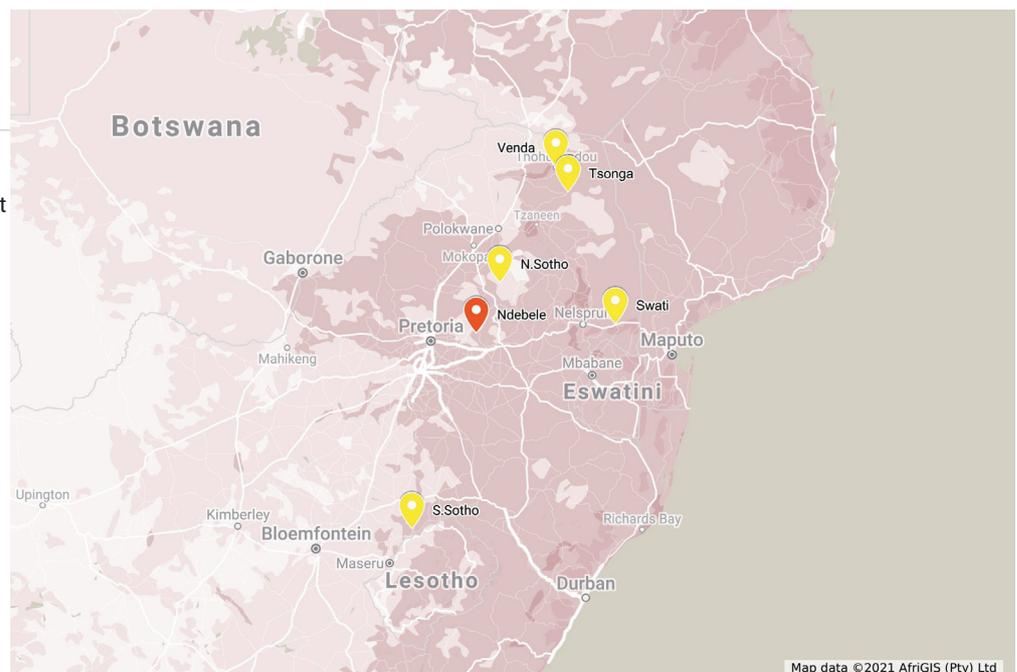
- 📍 yes
- 📍 yes?

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)

null: unknown

no: no

yes: yes



## P139

Values

yes

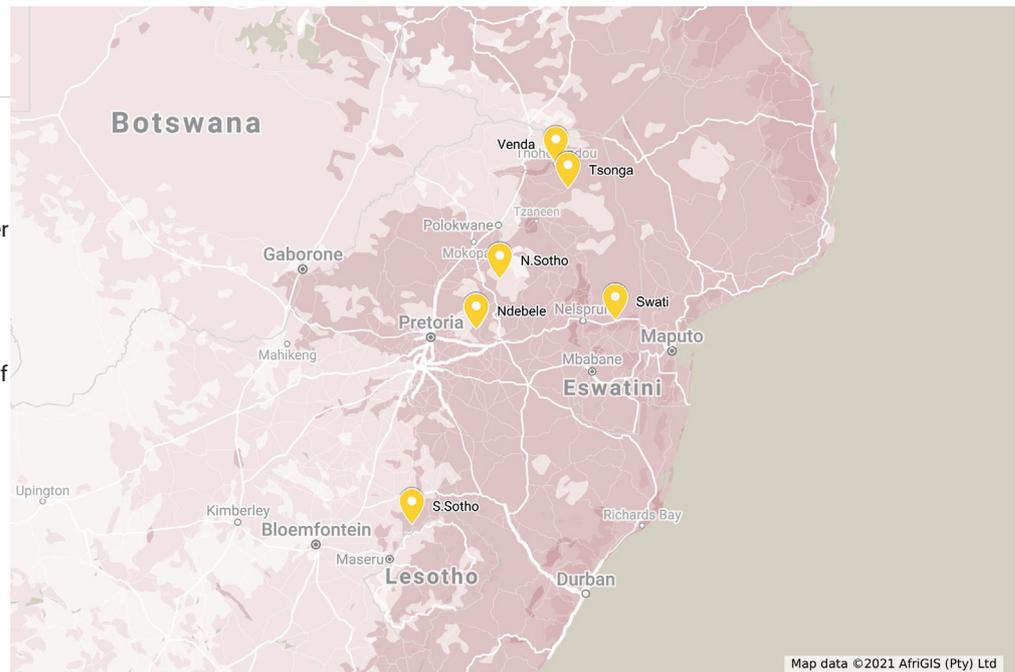
Verb inflection in raising constructions: In raising constructions, can the raising verb (i.e. in the upper clause) and the main verb (in the lower clause) both be inflected?

null: unknown

n.a.: raising constructions are not attested in the language (if possible, provide ungrammatical examples)

no: the lower verb is not inflected

yes: yes



## P140

Values

no

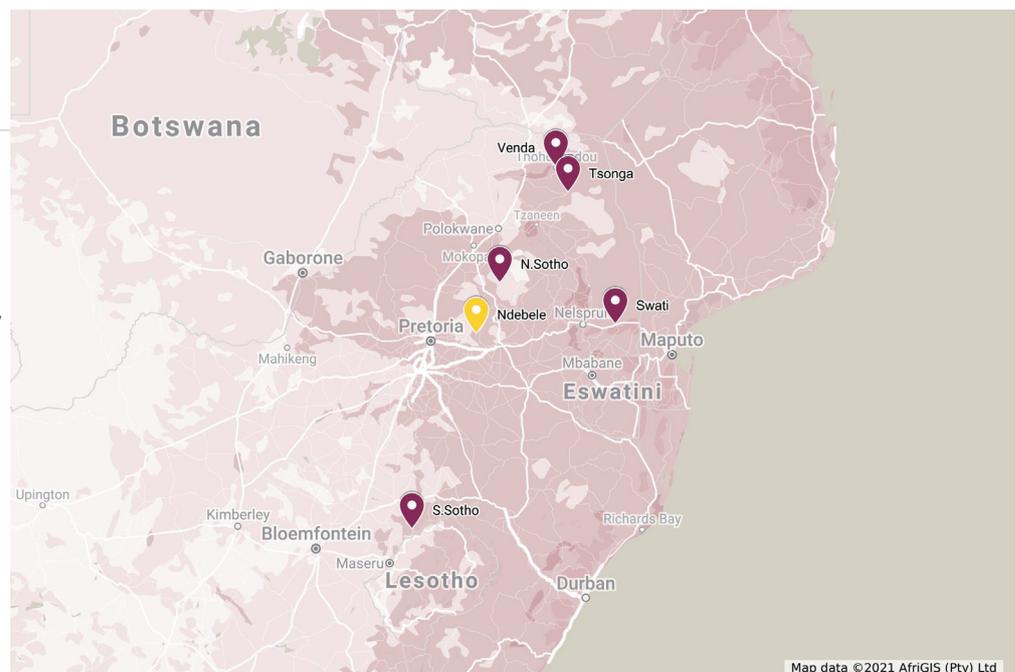
yes

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

null: unknown

no: focalisation is rendered by another strategy (e.g. word order parameter 118)

yes: yes



# P141

Values

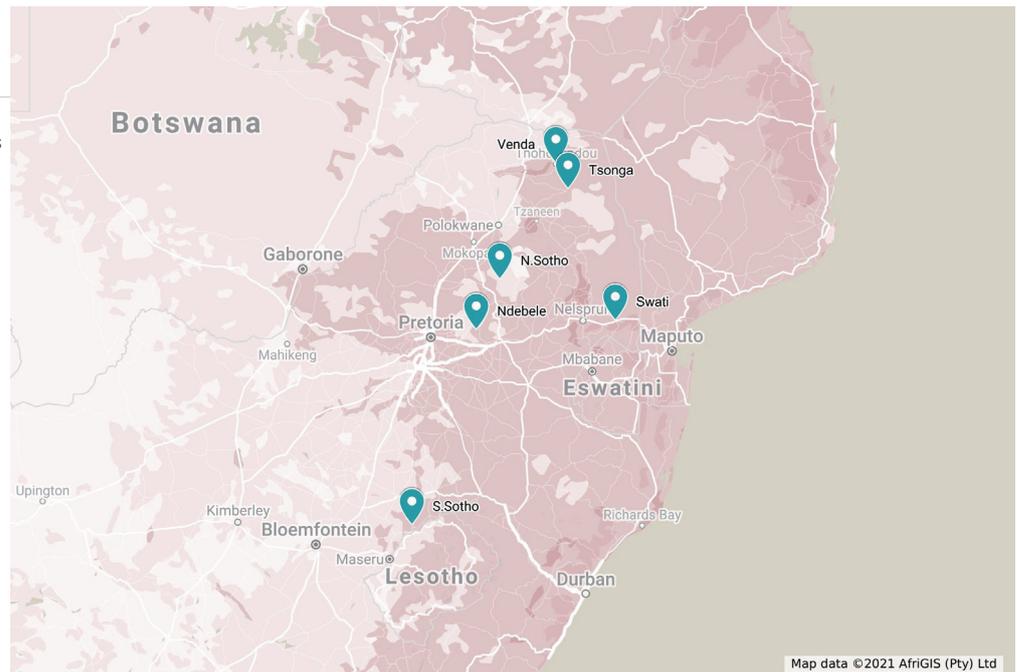
yes

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

null: unknown

no: no

yes: yes



# P142

Values

yes

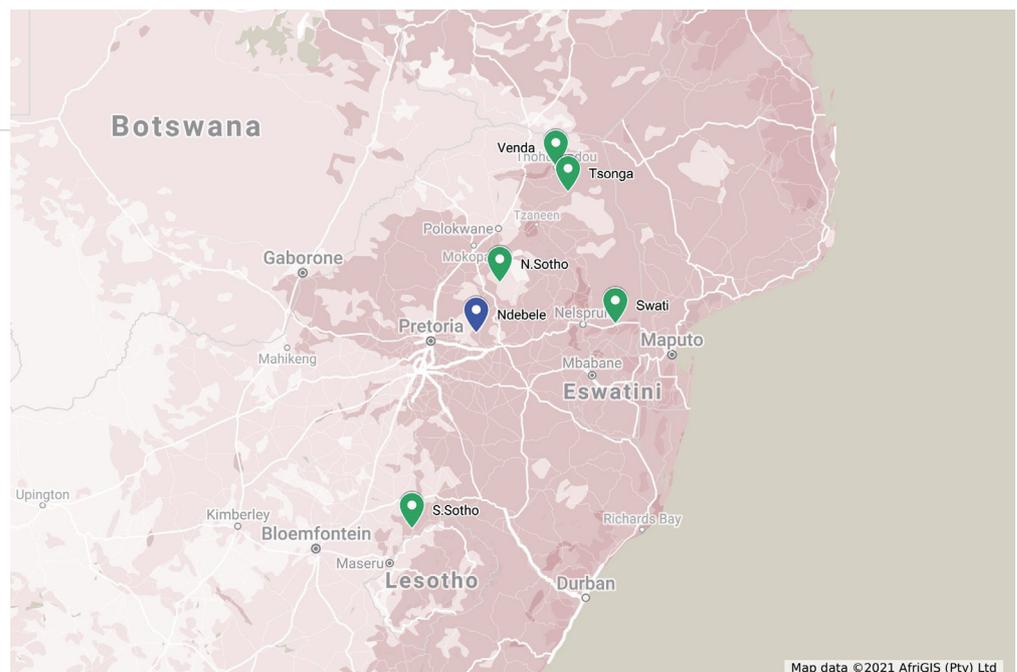
no

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)

null: unknown

no: no

yes: yes





## Chapter 2

### Descriptive materials of six South African languages



# Tshivenda (S21)<sup>1</sup>

N.C. Netshisaulu  
Salphina Mbedzi  
Seunghun J. Lee

## 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) *li-ṭo* ‘eye’

2σ) *li-vhida* ‘grave’

N. CPX<sub>5</sub> *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*

CPX<sub>1</sub>-man

‘a man’

cl.2) *vha-nna*

CPX<sub>2</sub>-man

‘men’

cl.1a) *Ø-khotsi*

CPX<sub>1a</sub>-father

‘father’

cl.2a) *vho-khotsi*

CPX<sub>2a</sub>-father

‘fathers’

---

<sup>1</sup> A list of Tshivenda orthography symbols that differ from IPA is as follows (cf. Poulos 1990): ‘bw’ [bʷ] or [bj], ‘dzh’ [dʒ], ‘dzw’ [dʒʷ], ‘ḍ’ [ḍ], ‘fh’ [fʰ], ‘hw’ [ɣʷ] or [hʷ], ‘k’ [k], ‘kh’ [kʰ], ‘khw’ [kʷh], ‘ḽ’ [ḽ], ‘ng’ [ŋg], ‘ny’ [ɲ], ‘nz’ [ndʒ], ‘ṅ’ [ṅ], ‘ṇ’ [ɲ], ‘ṇw’ [ɲʷ], ‘ph’ [pʰ], ‘pfh’ [pʰh], ‘r’ [r], ‘sh’ [ʃ], ‘sw’ [ʂ], ‘t’ [t], ‘th’ [tʰ], ‘tsh’ [tʰh], ‘tsw’ [tʰʷ], ‘ty’ [c], ‘ṭ’ [ṭ], ‘ṭh’ [ṭh], ‘vh’ [β], ‘xw’ [xʷ], ‘y’ [j], ‘zh’ [ʒ], ‘zw’ [ʒ], ‘a’ [a] or [ɔ], ‘e’ [ɛ] or [e], ‘i’ [i], ‘o’ [ɔ] or [o], ‘u’ [u].

- cl.3) ***mu-ri***  
 CP<sub>X3</sub>-tree  
 ‘a tree’
- cl.4) ***mi-ri***  
 CP<sub>X4</sub>-tree  
 ‘trees’
- cl.5) ***danda***  
 5.wood  
 ‘wood’ [agreement *li*]
- cl.6) ***ma-tanda***  
 CP<sub>X6</sub>-wood  
 ‘woods’
- cl.7) ***tshi-dulo***  
 CP<sub>X7</sub>-chair  
 ‘a chair’
- cl.8) ***zwi-dulo***  
 CP<sub>X8</sub>-chair  
 ‘chairs’
- cl.9) ***Ø-ndau***  
 CP<sub>X9</sub>-lion  
 ‘a lion’
- cl.10) ***ndau***  
 10.lion  
 ‘lions’ [agreement is *dzi*]
- cl.11) ***lu-vhuḁa***  
 CP<sub>X11</sub>-hare  
 ‘a hare’
- cl.14) ***vhu-vhuḁa***  
 CP<sub>X14</sub>-hare  
 ‘hares’
- cl.15) ***u-tamba***  
 CP<sub>X15</sub>-play  
 ‘playing’
- cl.16) ***fha-si***  
 CP<sub>X16</sub>-down  
 ‘down’
- cl.17) ***ku-le***  
 CP<sub>X17</sub>-far  
 ‘far’

cl.18) *mu-rahu*  
CP<sub>X18</sub>-behind  
'behind'

cl.20) *ku-sidzana*  
CP<sub>X20</sub>-girl  
'a small girl'

cl.21) *di-thu*  
CP<sub>X21</sub>-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 zwavhuḍi kha mutakalo.*  
15-walk is good for health  
'Walking is good for your health'

N. The infinitive/gerund marker is CP<sub>X15</sub> *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. *ḍi-thu*

21-thing

‘a big thing; monster’

cf) *\*thu*

5-thing

‘a thing’ [agreement is *li*]

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

*ma-ḍi-thu*

CP<sub>x6</sub>-CP<sub>x21</sub>-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<sub>10</sub> escape

‘lions escaped’

ii) *ndau ḥhanu*

lion five

‘five lions’

cf) *\*dzi-ndau dzo vozha*

10-lion SM<sub>10</sub> 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. *tshitanga-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<sub>16</sub> dry-FV  
'On the ground it is dry'
- ii) *ku-le ha vha-thu*  
17-far SM<sub>17</sub> 2-man  
'it is far away from people'
- iii) *mu-rahu hanga hu na phosho*  
18-behind PRON SM<sub>18</sub> 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 tafula*  
SM<sub>1SG</sub> go 16.down of table  
I go under of table  
'I go under the table'
- ii) *fhasi ndo hu fara*  
under SM<sub>1SG</sub> OM<sub>16</sub> touch  
'Under, I touched it'

- iii) *kule ndo hu swika*  
 far SM<sub>1SG</sub> OM<sub>16</sub> arrived  
 ‘Far, I arrived’
- iv) *murahu ndo hu kwama*  
 behind I OM<sub>16</sub> 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 Tshivenḁa*  
 SM<sub>1SG</sub> study 7-Venḁa  
 ‘I study the Venḁa language’
- cf) *\*guda Tshivenḁa*
- ii) *Nḁe ndi guda Tshivenḁa*  
 PRON<sub>1SG</sub> SM<sub>1SG</sub> study 7-Venḁa  
 ‘I myself study the Venḁa language’
- cf) *\*Nḁe guda Tshivenḁa*

N. Tshivenḁa 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<sub>9</sub> father (head-connective-modifier)  
 ‘father’s cow’
- ii) *ya khotsi kholomo y-o fa*  
 ASSC<sub>9</sub> father cow SM<sub>9</sub>-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<sub>10</sub>-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 AP<sub>X1</sub>-POSS<sub>3SG</sub>  
 ‘his/her man’

- cl.2) *vha-nna vha-we*  
 2-man AP<sub>X2</sub>-POSS<sub>3SG</sub>  
 ‘his/her people/men’

- cl.3) *mu-ri wa-we*  
 3-tree AP<sub>X3</sub>-POSS<sub>3SG</sub>  
 ‘his/her tree’

- cl.4) *mi-ri ya-we*  
 4-tree AP<sub>X4</sub>-POSS<sub>3SG</sub>  
 ‘his/her trees’

- cl.5) *danda la-we*  
 5-wood AP<sub>X5</sub>-POSS<sub>3SG</sub>  
 ‘his/her wood’

- cf) *\*li-tanda la-we*

- cl.6) *ma-tanda a-we*  
 6-wood AP<sub>X6</sub>-POSS<sub>3SG</sub>  
 ‘his/her woods’

- cl.7) *tshi-dulo tsha-we*  
 7-chair AP<sub>X7</sub>-POSS<sub>3SG</sub>  
 ‘his/her chair’

- cl.8) *zwi-dulo zwa-we*  
 8-chair AP<sub>X8</sub>-POSS<sub>3SG</sub>  
 ‘his/her chairs’

- cl.9) *Ø-ndau ya-we*  
 9-lion AP<sub>X9</sub>-POSS<sub>3SG</sub>  
 ‘his/her lion’

- cl.10) *ndau*            *dza-we*  
           10.lion        AP<sub>X10</sub>-POSS<sub>3SG</sub>  
           ‘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 3<sup>rd</sup> person singular.

- 1SG) *tsimu*            *ya-nga*  
       CP<sub>X9</sub>.field    AP<sub>X9</sub>-POSS<sub>1SG</sub>  
       ‘my field’
- 2SG) *tsimu*            *ya-u*  
       CP<sub>X9</sub>.field    AP<sub>X9</sub>-POSS<sub>2SG</sub>  
       ‘your (SG) field’
- 3SG) *tsimu*            *ya-we*  
       CP<sub>X9</sub>.field    AP<sub>X9</sub>-POSS<sub>3SG</sub>  
       ‘his/her field’
- 1PL) *tsimu*            *ya-shu*  
       CP<sub>X9</sub>.field    AP<sub>X9</sub>-POSS<sub>1PL</sub>  
       ‘our field’
- 2PL) *tsimu*            *ya-ṅu*  
       CP<sub>X9</sub>.field    AP<sub>X9</sub>-POSS<sub>2PL</sub>  
       ‘your(pl) field’
- 3PL) *tsimu*            *ya-vho*  
       CP<sub>X9</sub>.field    AP<sub>X9</sub>-POSS<sub>3PL</sub>  
       ‘their field’
- 1SG) *tsimu*            *ya*    *ṅe*  
       CP<sub>X9</sub>.field    AP<sub>X9</sub>    PRON  
       ‘my field’
- 2SG) *tsimu*            *ya*    *vhone*  
       CP<sub>X9</sub>.field    AP<sub>X9</sub>    PRON  
       ‘your (SG) field’
- 1PL) *tsimu*            *ya*    *hashu*  
       CP<sub>X9</sub>.field    AP<sub>X9</sub>    PRON  
       ‘our field’
- 2PL) *tsimu*            *ya*    *ene*  
       CP<sub>X9</sub>.field    AP<sub>X9</sub>    PRON  
       ‘your(pl) field’

3PL) *tsimu ya vhone*  
 CPx9.field APx9 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<sub>1</sub> 5.country  
 ‘a person of a country’

cl.2) *vha-nna vha shango*  
 CPx2-man ASSC<sub>2</sub> 5.country  
 ‘people/men of a country’

cl.3) *mu-ri wa shango*  
 CPx3-tree ASSC<sub>3</sub> 5.country  
 ‘a tree of a country’

cl.4) *mi-ri ya shango*  
 CPx4-tree ASSC<sub>4</sub> 5.country  
 ‘trees of a country’

cl.5) *danda la shango*  
 CPx5.wood ASSC<sub>5</sub> 5.country  
 ‘wood of a country’

cl.6) *ma-tanda a shango*  
 CPx6-wood ASSC<sub>6</sub> 5.country  
 ‘woods of a country’

cl.7) *tshi-dulo tsha shango*  
 CPx7-chair ASSC<sub>7</sub> 5.country  
 ‘a chair of a country’

cl.8) *zwi-dulo zwa shango*  
 CPx8-chair ASSC<sub>8</sub> 5.country  
 ‘chairs of a country’

cl.9) *Ø-ndau ya shango*  
 CPx9-lion ASSC<sub>9</sub> 5.country  
 ‘a lion of a country’

cl.10) *ndau dza shango*  
 lion ASSC<sub>10</sub> 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 vunḁa tsh-anḁa tsha ṅwana*  
SM<sub>ISG</sub> broke CPx7-arm ASSC<sub>7</sub> 1.child  
'I broke the arm of a child'
- ii) *ndo vunḁa ṅwana tsh-anḁa*  
SM<sub>ISG</sub> broke 1.child 7-arm  
'I broke child an arm.'
- iii) *ndi vhona bugu ya khonani*  
SM<sub>ISG</sub> see 9.book ASSC<sub>9</sub> 1.friend  
'I see a friend's book'
- cf) *\*ndi vhona khonani bugu*  
SM<sub>ISG</sub> 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<sub>9</sub>-DEMc  
'this book (very close to the interlocuters)'
- ii) *bugu i-yi*  
9.book APx<sub>9</sub>-DEMn  
'this book (near to the interlocuters)'
- iii) *bugu i-yo*  
9.book APx<sub>9</sub>-DEMr  
'that book (a bit away from the interlocuters)'
- iv) *bugu i-la*  
9.book APx<sub>9</sub>-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<sub>1</sub>-DEMc  
'this person, this man'

- cl.2) ***vha-nna***      ***vha-no***  
 2-man              AP<sub>X2</sub>-DEMc  
 ‘these people/men’
- cl.1a) ***Ø-khotsi***      ***vha-no***  
 1a.father          AP<sub>X1a</sub>-DEMc  
 ‘this father’  
 N. The prefix *vha-* is used as an honorific marker
- cl.2a) ***vho-khotsi***      ***vha-no***  
 2a-father          AP<sub>X2a</sub>-DEMc  
 ‘these fathers’
- cl.3) ***mu-ri***            ***u-no***  
 3-tree              AP<sub>X3</sub>-DEMc  
 ‘this tree’
- cl.4) ***mi-ri***              ***i-no***  
 4-tree              AP<sub>X4</sub>-DEMc  
 ‘these trees’
- cl.5) ***danda***            ***li-no***  
 5.wood              AP<sub>X5</sub>-DEMc  
 ‘this wood’
- cl.6) ***ma-tanda***      ***a-no***  
 6-wood              AP<sub>X6</sub>-DEMc  
 ‘these woods’
- cl.7) ***tshi-dulo***        ***tshi-no***  
 7-chair              AP<sub>X7</sub>-DEMc  
 ‘this chair’  
 N. *tshinò* ‘this’ must be in low tone.
- cl.8) ***zwi-dulo***        ***zwi-no***  
 8-chair              AP<sub>X8</sub>-DEMc  
 ‘these chairs’
- cl.9) ***Ø-ndau***          ***i-no***  
 9-lion                AP<sub>X9</sub>-DEMc  
 ‘this lion’
- cl.10) ***ndau***            ***dzi-no***  
 10.lion              AP<sub>X10</sub>-DEMc  
 ‘these lions’
- cl.11) ***lu-vhuḍa***      ***lu-no***  
 11-hare              AP<sub>X11</sub>-DEMc  
 ‘this hare’

- cl.14) *vhu-vhuḁa*    *vhu-no*  
 14-hare            AP<sub>X14</sub>-DEMc  
 ‘these hares’
- cl.15) *u-tamba*        *hu-no*  
 15-play            AP<sub>X15</sub>-DEMc  
 ‘this playing’
- cl.16) *fha-si*            *hu-no*  
 16-down            AP<sub>X16</sub>-DEMc  
 ‘this down’
- cl.17) *ku-le*             *fha-no*  
 17-far              AP<sub>X17</sub>-DEMc  
 ‘this far’
- cl.18) *mu-rahu*        *fha-no*  
 18-behind          AP<sub>X18</sub>-DEMc  
 ‘this behind’
- cl.20) *ku-sidzana*    *ku-no*  
 20-girl             AP<sub>X20</sub>-DEMc  
 ‘this small girl’
- cl.21) *ḁi-thu*            *ḁi-no*  
 21-thing            AP<sub>X21</sub>-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. *vhaḁa*    *vhone*    *vha*    *nga*    *si*    *ḁe*  
 DEM<sub>d2</sub>    PRON<sub>2</sub>    SM<sub>2</sub>    may    NEG    come  
 ‘Those, they may not come’

N. Relative clause marker is different from demonstratives

e.g. *vhomme*    *vhane*    *vha*    *ḁa*    *tshikoloni*    *vha*    *na*    *thuso*  
 mothers    REL<sub>2a</sub>    SM<sub>2a</sub>    come    to.school    SM<sub>2a</sub>    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-tuku*  
 1-boy            AP<sub>X1</sub>-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’, -*tapilaho* ‘sweet’, -*konḁaho* ‘hard’, -*kunaho* ‘clean’,  
 -*tshikafhalaho* ‘dirty’

N. The quantifier *zwo-the* ‘all’ agrees in noun classes.

i) *bugu*            *dzo-the*  
 10.book        AP<sub>X10</sub>-all  
 ‘all books’

ii) *vha-tukana*    *vho-the*  
 2.boy            AP<sub>X2</sub>-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-tuku*  
 AP<sub>X1</sub>-DEMn    1-boy            AP<sub>X1</sub>-small  
 ‘this small boy’

ii) *mu-tukana*    *u-yu*            *mu-tuku*  
 1-boy            AP<sub>X1</sub>-DEMn    AP<sub>X1</sub>-small  
 ‘this SMALL boy’

iii) *mu-tukana* *mu-tuku*    *u-yu*  
 1-boy    AP<sub>X1</sub>-small    AP<sub>X1</sub>-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 ɔ̀ɔ̀da thanda dzi lemela*

I want wood APx<sub>9</sub> heavy

‘I want heavy wood’

ii) *ndi ɔ̀ɔ̀da thanda dza khotsi anga*

I want wood ASSC<sub>9</sub> father POSS<sub>1SG</sub>

‘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 *nwana* is found in the example where *nwana* ‘child’ (pl. *vhana*). is used with the suffix *-nyana* that refers to the female gender.

e.g. *nwana-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)?**



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-anḁa*  
7-arm/hand  
‘an arm, a hand’
- ii) *zw-anḁa*  
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) *ḁayo*  
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 edela*  
1-student SM<sub>1</sub>.PRS sleep  
'The student is asleep'
- cf) *\*mu-gudi u edela*  
1-student SM<sub>1</sub> sleep
- ii) *mu-gudi u nwa maḍi*  
1-student SM<sub>1</sub> drink water  
'The student drinks water'
- iii) *mu-gudi o nwa maḍi*  
1-student SM<sub>1</sub>-PST drink water  
'The student drank water'
- iv) *mu-tukana o fura*  
1-boy SM<sub>1</sub>-PRS full  
'The boy is full'
- v) *Ñwana o aluwa*  
1-child SM<sub>1</sub>-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<sub>11</sub>.PRS COP dirty  
 ‘The room is dirty’

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

e.g. *Mu-gudi u edela masiari othe*  
 1-student SM<sub>1</sub> 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<sub>1SG</sub> beat-PASS-FV  
 ‘I was beaten’
- ii) *tshi-mange tsho lun-w-a*  
 7-cat SM<sub>7</sub> bite-PASS-FV  
 ‘The cat was bitten’
- iii) *tshi-mange tshi a lum-a*  
 7-cat SM<sub>7</sub> 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 shun-w-a tshikolo-ni*  
 SM<sub>17</sub> 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 luñ-w-a nga mbya*  
 7-cat SM<sub>7</sub> 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 luñ-w-a mbya*  
 7-cat SM<sub>7</sub> 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<sub>IPL</sub> 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 ñwana maḍi*  
 mother SM<sub>1a</sub> drink-CAUS-FV child water  
 ‘The mother makes (causes) the child to drink water’
- ii) *mu-nna u bik-is-a mu-swa ṅama*  
 1-man SM<sub>1</sub> 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<sub>1</sub> 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 nwana wa-yo mu-kapu*  
 friend PP<sub>x9</sub>-my SM<sub>9</sub>-PST buy-APPL-FV child PP<sub>x1</sub>-POSS<sub>1</sub> 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 SM<sub>1</sub> 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 nwana mu-kapu wa tshikoloni*  
 friend SM<sub>9</sub>-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 SM<sub>10</sub>-PRS read-NEUT-FV  
 ‘The numbers are readable’

ii) *zwi-ambaro zwi-khou kuvh-e-a*  
 8-cloth SM<sub>8</sub>-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 SM<sub>1</sub> 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 nnḁu*  
1-man and 1-woman SM<sub>2</sub> sweep-CAUS-RECP-FV house  
'The man and the woman help each other to sweep the house.'

**-is-w-**

e.g. *Ṃwana u tanzw-is-w-a nga mu-fumakadzi*  
child SM<sub>1</sub> 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 SM<sub>2</sub> 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 SM<sub>1</sub> cook-APPL-PASS-FV by 1-woman  
'The man is cooking on for the woman'

**-an-w-**

e.g. *hu na u khaḁ-an-w-a nga zwanḁa*  
SM<sub>16</sub> COP SM<sub>1</sub> shake-RECP-PASS-FV by hands  
*musi vha tshi lumelis-an-a*  
when SM<sub>2</sub> 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 SM<sub>2</sub> 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<sub>1</sub>    sell-CAUS-APPL-PASS-FV    book    by      Mavhungu  
'The book is being sold to the boy by Mavhungu'

**-is-an-iv-**

e.g. *hu    na    u      reng-is-an-w-a                      kha    li-horo                      he-li*  
SM<sub>16</sub>    COP    INF    sell-CAUS-RECP-PASS-FV    in      5-organization      this-CPx<sub>5</sub>  
'There is a selling of each other in this organization'

**-is-el-an-iv-**

e.g. *hu    na    u      reng-is-el-an-w-a                      ha zwi-liwa*  
SM<sub>16</sub>    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<sub>1SG</sub>.PRS    NEG    like-NEG    book  
'I don't like books'.
- iii) *ndi      do    funa    bugu.*  
SM<sub>1SG</sub>    FUT    like    book  
'I will like the book'.
- iv) *a                      thi    nga    fun-i    bugu.*  
SM<sub>1SG</sub>.PRS    NEG    POT    like-NEG    book  
'I will not like the book'. (future1)
- v) *a                      thi    nga    do    funa    bugu.*  
SM<sub>1SG</sub>.PRS    NEG    POT    FUT    like    book  
'I will not like the book'. (future2)

- vi) *ndi khou vhala bugu.*  
 SM<sub>1SG</sub>.PRS PROG read book  
 ‘I am reading the book’.
- vii) *a thi vhal-i bugu.*  
 SM<sub>1SG</sub>.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<sup>2</sup> shuma*  
 you IMP.NEG work  
 ‘Don’t work!’
- ii) *arali ni sa gidimi ni do 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 COMPI 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’.

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

- iii) *u ri ndi do 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 do 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 vhal-a bugu.*  
 he think COMPI PROG read book  
 ‘He thinks I am reading the book’.
- vii) *u humbula uri a thi vhal-i bugu.*  
 he think COMPI 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 COMPI.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 COMPI.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 do dzi funa*  
 he buy book 10-REL I FUT OM<sub>10</sub> 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<sub>10</sub> 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<sub>10</sub> 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<sub>10</sub> 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<sub>10</sub> 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<sub>10</sub> 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 buku*  
SM<sub>1SG</sub>PRS buy book  
'I buy a book'
- ii) *a thi renga buku*  
SM<sub>1SG</sub>PRS NEG buy.NEG book  
'I don't buy a book'
- iii) *a thi ngo renga buku*  
SM<sub>1SG</sub>PRS NEG PST buy book  
'I didn't buy a book'
- iv) *a thi nga renga buku*  
SM<sub>1SG</sub>PRS NEG POT buy.NEG book  
'I will not buy a book'
- v) *a thi nga do renga buku*  
SM<sub>1SG</sub>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<sub>1SG</sub>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 maḁi*  
 SM<sub>1SG</sub>PRS refuse SM<sub>15</sub> drink water  
 ‘I refuse to drink water’
- iv) *a thi athu nwa maḁi*  
 SM<sub>1SG</sub>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) *nwana u ḁo tamba*  
 1.child SM<sub>1</sub> FUT play  
 ‘A child will play’
- cl.2) *vha-na vha ḁo tamba*  
 2-child SM<sub>2</sub> FUT play  
 ‘Children will play’
- cl.3) *mu-ri u ḁo wa*  
 3-tree SM<sub>3</sub> FUT fall  
 ‘A tree will fall’
- cl.4) *mi-ri i ḁo wa*  
 4-tree SM<sub>4</sub> FUT fall  
 ‘Trees will fall’
- cl.5) *tombo ḁi ḁo wa*  
 5.stone SM<sub>5</sub> FUT fall  
 ‘A stone will fall’
- cl.6) *ma-tombo a ḁo wa*  
 6-stone SM<sub>6</sub> FUT fall  
 ‘Stones will fall’

- cl.7) *tshi-vhoni tshi do wa*  
 7-mirror SM<sub>7</sub> FUT fall  
 ‘A mirror will fall’
- cl.8) *zwi-vhoni zwi do wa*  
 8-mirror SM<sub>8</sub> FUT fall  
 ‘Mirrors will fall’
- cl.9) *nguluvhe i do l-iwa*  
 9.pig SM<sub>9</sub> FUT eat-PASS  
 ‘A pig will be eaten’
- cl.10) *nguluvhe dzi do l-iwa*  
 10.pig SM<sub>10</sub> 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 li khou amba*  
 5.important\_person SM<sub>5</sub> 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 1<sup>st</sup> person plural is *ri*, and the 2<sup>nd</sup> 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 maḍi*  
 father SM<sub>2a</sub> 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-the*  
 1-man and 9.dog SM<sub>8</sub> PROG run AP<sub>x8</sub>-all  
 ‘A man and a dog are running together’

- ii) *goloji na dzembe zwo dzhiwa*  
 9.car and 5.hoe SM<sub>8</sub> repossess-PASS-FV  
 ‘A car and furniture are repossessed’

**Examples with [+human]**

- iii) *mu-nna na mu-sadzi vha tshimbila vho-the*  
 1-man and 1-woman SM<sub>2</sub> go APX<sub>2</sub>-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<sub>1SG.PST</sub> OM<sub>1</sub> see  
 ‘I saw him’
- ii) *ndo mu vhona mulovha*  
 SM<sub>1SG.PST</sub> OM<sub>1</sub> 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 do vhona*  
 SM<sub>1SG.PRS</sub> FUT see-FV  
 ‘I will see’
- ii) *ndi do vhona matshelo*  
 SM<sub>1SG.PRS</sub> 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 di vhona*  
 he POT PROG HAB see  
 ‘It is possible that he may still be seeing’

N. Habituality is expressed using *di*.

**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*  
SM<sub>1SG</sub>-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-liwa*  
SM<sub>1SG</sub> 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-liwa*  
SM<sub>1SG</sub> 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-liwa*  
SM<sub>1SG</sub> go SM<sub>1SG</sub> 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 da u rengela vhathu zwi-liwa*  
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) *tɯw-a*  
go-FV  
'Go!'
- ii) *iɖa*  
come  
'Come!' (cf. *ɖa* '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) *tɯw-a-ni*  
go-FV-PL  
'Go (PL)!'
- ii) *i-ɖa-ni*  
PRF-come-PL  
'Come!' (cf. *ɖa* 'come')

N. The prefix *i-* may be the 2<sup>nd</sup> 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 ɖo ya ɖoroboni matshelo*  
father SM<sub>2a</sub> will go to\_town tomorrow  
'Father will go to town tomorrow'

**aspect (progressive, perfect)**

- i) *mme vha khou bika vhuswa*  
mother SM<sub>1a</sub> PROG cook porridge  
'Mother is cooking porridge'
- ii) *mme vha khou ɖo bika vhuswa*  
mother SM<sub>1a</sub> PROG FUT cook porridge  
'Mother will be cooking porridge' (cf. *khou* = *kha* + *u*)
- iii) *mme vha kha ɖi ɖo bika vhuswa*  
mother SM<sub>1a</sub> PROG HAB FUT cook porridge  
'Mother will be cooking porridge'
- iv) *mme vha nga kha ɖi ɖo bika vhuswa*  
mother SM<sub>1a</sub> 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<sub>10</sub> 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<sub>1SG</sub> give 1-visitor 9.pig  
 ‘I give a pig to a visitor’
- ii) *ndi i fha mu-eni*  
 SM<sub>1SG</sub> OM<sub>9</sub> give 1-visitor  
 ‘I give it (=pig) to a visitor’
- iii) *ndi mu fha nguluvhe*  
 SM<sub>1SG</sub> OM<sub>1</sub> give 9.pig  
 ‘I give a pig to him (=visitor)’
- iv) *ndi mu fha yo-ne*  
 SM<sub>1SG</sub> OM<sub>1</sub> give PP<sub>X9</sub>-PRON  
 ‘I give it (=pig) to him (=visitor)’
- v) *ndi i fha e-ne*  
 SM<sub>1SG</sub> OM<sub>9</sub> give PP<sub>X1</sub>-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 toda u di-vhona*  
 I want INF REFL-see  
 ‘I want to see myself’
- ii) *ndi tamba 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<sub>1SG</sub> see lions  
 ‘I see lions’ (Conjoint)
- ii) *ndi a dzi vhona*  
 SM<sub>1SG</sub> DJ OM<sub>10</sub> see  
 ‘I see them’
- iii) *ndi a dzi vhona ndau*  
 SM<sub>1SG</sub> DJ OM<sub>10</sub> see lions  
 ‘I see them’
- iv) *ndi a dzi vhona ndau namusi*  
 SM<sub>1SG</sub> DJ OM<sub>10</sub> see lions today  
 ‘I see the lions’
- v) *ndo dzi vhona ndau*  
 SM<sub>1SG</sub> OM<sub>10</sub> see lions  
 ‘I saw lions’ (Conjoint)
- vi) *ndo bik-el-a vhana zwiḽiwa*  
 I-PST cook-APPL-FV 2.child food  
 ‘I cooked food for the children’
- vii) *ndo vha bik-el-a vhana zwiḽiwa*  
 I-PST OM<sub>2</sub> 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 zwiḽiwa*. 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: *zwiḽiwa 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 nnḽa uri vha tamb-e*  
 SM<sub>2</sub> go out in\_order\_to SM<sub>2</sub> 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 vhalá*  
SM<sub>1</sub> PROG read  
'He/She is reading'
- ii) *ha khou vhalá*  
NEG PROG read  
'He/She is not reading'
- iii) *ri a shuma*  
SM<sub>1PL</sub> PRS work  
'we work'
- iv) *a ri shum-i*  
NEG SM<sub>1PL</sub> work-NEG  
'we don't work'

**Future tense**

- i) *u ðo vhalá*  
SM<sub>1</sub> FUT read  
'He/She will read'
- ii) *ha nga vhal-i*  
SM<sub>1</sub>.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 ðivha*  
I DJ know  
'I know'
- iv) *ndo zwi ðivha*  
I.PST OM<sub>8</sub> know  
'I knew'

- v) *ndi a zwi amba*  
 I PRS OM<sub>8</sub> say  
 ‘I say it’
- vi) *ndo zwi amba*  
 I.PST OM<sub>8</sub> 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 ñwala vhurifhi*  
 SM<sub>1SG</sub>.PST be SM<sub>1SG</sub> SIT PROG write letter  
 ‘I have been writing a letter’
- ii) *ndi do vha ndi tshi khou ñwala vhurifhi*  
 SM<sub>1SG</sub> FUT be SM<sub>1SG</sub> PROG write letter  
 ‘I will be writing a letter’
- iii) *ndo vhuya nda ñwala vhurifhi*  
 SM<sub>1SG</sub> once SM<sub>1SG</sub> write letter  
 ‘I once wrote a letter’
- iv) *ndo vhuya ndo ñwala vhurifhi*  
 SM<sub>1SG</sub> come\_back SM<sub>1SG</sub>.PST write letter  
 ‘I came back while I have written the letter’ (two clauses)
- v) *nguluvhe dzi dzula dzi tshi nwa maḍi*  
 pigs SM<sub>10</sub> always SM<sub>10</sub> SIT drink water  
 ‘Pigs always drink water’
- vi) *nguluvhe dzi tavhanya u nwa maḍi*  
 pigs SM<sub>10</sub> 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 tavhanya u nwa maḍi*  
 pigs SM<sub>10</sub> 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 ɰavhanya u nwa maɖi*  
 SM<sub>1SG</sub> always INF quickly INF drink water  
 ‘I always quickly drink water’

cf) *\*ndi dzul-el-a ndi ɰavhanya ndi nwa maɖi*

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 ɰavhanya u nwa maɖi*  
 SM<sub>1SG</sub> PRS PERMISSION INF quickly INF drink water  
 ‘I am permitted to quickly drink water’

ii) *ndi dzul-el-a u ɰavhanya u nwa maɖi*  
 SM<sub>1SG</sub> 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<sub>2</sub> 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<sub>1</sub> SM<sub>1</sub> OM<sub>1PL</sub> help  
 boy who he us help  
 ‘The boy who helped us’

- ii) *mu-tukana ane a ri thusa*  
 1-boy REL.NPST<sub>1</sub> SM<sub>1</sub> OM<sub>1PL</sub> help  
 ‘The boy who helps us’
- iii) *mu-tukana ane a ḍo ri thusa*  
 1-boy REL.NPST<sub>1</sub> SM<sub>1</sub> FUT OM<sub>1PL</sub> help  
 ‘The boy who will help us’
- iv) *mu-tukana we a si ri thus-e*  
 1-boy REL.PST<sub>1</sub> SM<sub>1</sub> NEG OM<sub>1PL</sub> help-NEG  
 ‘The boy who didn’t help us’
- v) *mu-tukana ane a si ri thus-e*  
 1-boy REL.NPST<sub>1</sub> SM<sub>1</sub> NEG OM<sub>1PL</sub> help-NEG  
 ‘The boy who doesn’t help us’
- vi) *mu-tukana ane a sa ḍo ri thusa*  
 1-boy REL.NPST<sub>1</sub> SM<sub>1</sub> NEG FUT OM<sub>1PL</sub> 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<sub>1</sub> SM<sub>1</sub> OM<sub>1PL</sub> help  
 boy who he us help  
 ‘The boy who helped us’
- ii) *vha-tukana vhe vha ri thusa*  
 2-boy REL.PST<sub>2</sub> SM<sub>2</sub> OM<sub>1PL</sub> help  
 boys who he us help  
 ‘The boys who helped us’
- iii) *mu-ri we wa wa*  
 3-tree REL.PST<sub>3</sub> SM<sub>3</sub> fall  
 ‘The tree that has fallen’
- iv) *mi-ri ye ya wa*  
 4-tree REL.PST<sub>4</sub> SM<sub>4</sub> fall  
 ‘The trees that have fallen’
- v) *nguluvhe ye ya ɭa nga maanḍa*  
 9.pig REL.PST<sub>9</sub> SM<sub>9</sub> eat much  
 ‘The pig that ate a lot’
- vi) *nguluvhe dze dza ɭa nga maanḍa*  
 10.pig REL.PST<sub>10</sub> SM<sub>10</sub> 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<sub>1</sub> SM<sub>1PL</sub> OM<sub>1</sub> help

‘The boy who we helped’

viii) *vha-tukana vhe ra vha thusa*  
2-boy REL.PST<sub>2</sub> SM<sub>1PL</sub> OM<sub>2</sub> 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 Relativiser 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 relativiser in the language which always shows agreement

N. see the examples in P088

**P090 Subject-Relativiser: 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<sub>1</sub> Mpho SM<sub>1</sub> OM<sub>1</sub> 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 tangana na mu-tukana we Mpho a mu thusa*  
1-man SM<sub>1</sub>.PST meet with 1-boy REL.PST Mpho SM<sub>1</sub> OM<sub>1</sub> 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 ʔangana na mu-tukana*  
 1-man SM<sub>1</sub>.PST meet with 1-boy  
*we Mpho a mu thusa*  
 REL.PST<sub>1</sub> Mpho SM<sub>1</sub> OM<sub>1</sub> help  
 ‘The man met the boy who Mpho helped’

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

**[-animate] head noun**

i) *mu-nna o vhona goloi ye Mpho a i renga*  
 1-man SM<sub>1</sub>.PST see 9.car REL.PST<sub>9</sub> Mpho SM<sub>1</sub> OM<sub>9</sub> buy  
 ‘The man saw a car that Mpho bought’

ii) *mu-nna o vhona goloi ye Mpho a renga*  
 1-man SM<sub>1</sub>.PST see 9.car REL.PST<sub>9</sub> Mpho SM<sub>1</sub> 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 ʔivha tshifhinga tshine Mpho a ʔa ngatsho*  
 SM<sub>1SG</sub> PRS know time when Mpho SM<sub>1</sub> come RES.PRON  
 ‘I know (the time) when Mpho comes’

ii) *ndi a ʔivha tshifhinga tshine Mpho a ʔa*  
 SM<sub>1SG</sub> PRS know time when Mpho SM<sub>1</sub> come  
 ‘I know (the time) when Mpho comes’

iii) *ndi a ʔivha tshine Mpho a ʔa ngatsho*  
 SM<sub>1SG</sub> PRS know what Mpho SM<sub>1</sub> come RES.PRON  
 ‘I know what makes Mpho come’ (only when the referent is nearby)

iv) *ndi a ʔivha tshine Mpho a ʔ-el-a*  
 SM<sub>1SG</sub> PRS know what Mpho SM<sub>1</sub> come-APPL-FV  
 ‘I know (the reason) why Mpho comes for (something)’ [Applicative is required]

cf) \**ndi a ʔivha tshine Mpho a ʔa*

- v) *ndi a divha muhumbulo wa u da ha Mpho*  
 SM<sub>1SG</sub> 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) *nnđu i khou swa*  
 house SM<sub>9</sub> PROG burn  
 ‘the house is burning’

- ii) *mu-nukho wa nnđu i no khou swa*  
 3-smell ASSC<sub>3</sub> house SM<sub>9</sub> PROG PROG burn  
 ‘the smell of house burning’

- cf) *\*mu-nukho we nnđu 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 da-ho?*  
 COP who PST come-  
 ‘Who came?’

- ii) *ndi Mpho we a ya hayani.*  
 COP Mpho REL.PST<sub>1</sub> SM<sub>1</sub> 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 buku*  
 yesterday SM<sub>1SG</sub>.PST buy book  
 ‘Yesterday I bought a book’

- ii) *ndi mulovha he nda renga bugu*  
 COP yesterday REL<sub>18</sub> SM<sub>1SG</sub>.PST buy book  
 ‘It is yesterday I bought a book’

**(locative)**

- i) *ndi hafhala he nda renga bugu*  
 COP there REL<sub>17</sub> SM<sub>1SG</sub>.PST buy book  
 ‘It is there I bought a book’
- ii) *ndi hafhala he nda renga hone bugu*  
 COP there REL<sub>15</sub> SM<sub>1SG</sub>.PST buy RES.PRON.LOC book  
 ‘It is there I bought a book’
- iii) *ndi he nda renga hone bugu*  
 COP REL<sub>15</sub> SM<sub>1SG</sub>.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 toda u la tshiswiṭulo?*  
 SM<sub>2SG</sub> want INF eat lunch?  
 ‘Do you want to eat lunch?’
- ii) *nandi ni a toda u la tshiswiṭulo vho?*  
 QP SM<sub>2SG</sub> PRS want INF eat lunch QP?  
 ‘Do you want to eat lunch?’
- iii) *tshiswiṭulo ni a toda u tshi la*  
 lunch SM<sub>2SG</sub> 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 vhalala mini?*  
 1-boy SM<sub>1</sub> 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 lisa hani vhana?*  
 PST feed how 2.child  
 ‘How did you feed the children?’ [in situ]
- v) *o lisa vhana hani?*  
 PST feed 2.child how  
 ‘How did you feed the children?’ [IAV]
- vi) *ndi lini he vha lisa vha-na?*  
 COP when REL<sub>17</sub> you feed 2-child  
 ‘When did you feed the children?’ [cleft]
- vii) *vho lisa vha-na lini?*  
 ‘When did you feed the children?’ [in-situ]
- viii) *vho lisa lini vha-na?*  
 ‘When did you feed the children?’ [IAV]
- ix) *ndi ngafhi he vha lisa vhana?*  
 COP where REL<sub>15</sub> you feed 2.child  
 ‘Where did you feed the children?’ [cleft]
- x) *vho lisa vha-na ngafhi?*  
 you feed 2-child where  
 ‘Where did you feed the children?’ [in-situ]
- xi) *vho lisa ngafhi vha-na?*  
 you feed where 2-child  
 ‘Where did you feed the children?’ [IAV]
- xii) *vho lis-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 edela*  
 COP why SM<sub>2</sub> sleep  
 ‘Why did they sleep?’
- ii) *vho edel-el-a mini?*  
 SM<sub>2SG</sub> 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*  
 SM<sub>1SG</sub> 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 SM<sub>1</sub> with book  
 ‘Mpho has a book’ [subject marker + preposition]

- ii) *Mpho u do vha na vha-na*  
 Mpho SM<sub>1</sub> FUT DEP.COP with 2-child  
 ‘Mpho will have children’ [verb “be” + preposition “with”]
- iii) *u vha na vha-na ndi zwavhuḍi*  
 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-lora*  
 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 tshimbatshimbila na ma-shango*  
 SM<sub>1SG</sub>.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*  
 SM<sub>1SG</sub>.PST stand.stand about 6-issue  
 ‘I tried to solve the problem.’
- iv) *ndo imaima nga ma-fhungo aṅu*  
 SM<sub>1SG</sub>.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 n'wana bugu*  
 Mpho SM<sub>1</sub> give child book  
 ‘Mpho gives a book to a child’
- ii) *bugu i fh-iw-a n'wana nga Mpho*  
 book SM<sub>9</sub> give-PASS-FV child by Mpho  
 ‘A book is given to a child by Mpho’
- iii) *n'wana u fh-iw-a bugu nga Mpho*  
 child SM<sub>1</sub> 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 n'wana bugu*  
 Mpho SM<sub>1</sub> give child book  
 ‘Mpho gives a book to a child’
- ii) *Mpho u a mu fha bugu*  
 Mpho SM<sub>1</sub> PRS OM<sub>1</sub> give book  
 ‘Mpho gives a book to him’
- iii) *Mpho u i fha n'wana*  
 Mpho SM<sub>1</sub> OM<sub>9</sub> give child  
 ‘Mpho gives it to a child’

- iv) *Mpho u i fha nwana bugu*  
 Mpho SM<sub>1</sub> OM<sub>9</sub> 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<sub>1</sub> PRS OM<sub>1</sub> give PRON<sub>9</sub>  
 ‘Mpho gives it to him’
- ii) *Mpho u a i fha ene*  
 Mpho SM<sub>1</sub> PRS OM<sub>9</sub> give PRON<sub>1</sub>  
 ‘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 do dala*  
 SM<sub>2</sub> FUT visit  
 ‘They (=children) will visit’

cf) *\*do 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 konḁa*  
 book DEM<sub>n9</sub> SM<sub>9</sub> PRS difficult  
 ‘This book is difficult’
- ii) *iyi bugu i a konḁa*  
 DEM<sub>n9</sub> book SM<sub>9</sub> PRS difficult  
 ‘This book is difficult’
- iii) *iyi bugu iyi i a konḁa*  
 DEM<sub>n9</sub> book DEM<sub>n9</sub> SM<sub>9</sub> PRS difficult  
 ‘This book is difficult’
- iv) *i a konḁa iyi bugu*  
 SM<sub>9</sub> PRS difficult DEM<sub>n9</sub> book  
 ‘This book is difficult’

- v) *i a konḁa iyi bugu iyi*  
 SM<sub>9</sub> PRS difficult DEM<sub>n9</sub> book DEM<sub>n9</sub>  
 ‘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-ḁhe*  
 book AP<sub>x10</sub>-all  
 ‘all books’
- ii) *dzo-ḁhe bugu*  
 AP<sub>x10</sub>-all book  
 ‘all books’
- iii) *bugu dzi-ḁwe*  
 book AP<sub>x10</sub>-some  
 ‘some books’
- iv) *dzi-ḁwe bugu*  
 AP<sub>x10</sub>-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<sub>9</sub> Mpho  
 ‘two big pigs of mpho’
- ii) *dza Mpho nguluvhe mbili khulwane*  
 ASSC<sub>9</sub> Mpho 9.pig two big  
 ‘two big pigs OF MPH0’

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<sub>1</sub> 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<sub>1</sub> invite-APPL-FV 1-visitor father  
 ‘Mpho invites father for a visitor’
- ii) *Mpho u ramb-el-a khotsi mu-eni*  
 Mpho SM<sub>1</sub> invite-APPL-FV 1a.father 1-visitor  
 ‘Mpho invites visitor for father’
- iii) *Mpho u reng-el-a khotsi nguluvhe*  
 Mpho SM<sub>1</sub> buy-APPL-FV 1a.father 9.pig  
 ‘Mpho buys a pig for father’
- iv) *Mpho u reng-el-a nguluvhe khotsi*  
 Mpho SM<sub>1</sub> 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<sub>1</sub>.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 divhadza Mpho munyanya*  
 SM<sub>1</sub>ISG.PST introduce Mpho party  
 ‘I introduced Mpho to the party’
- cf) *\*ndo divhadza 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<sub>1</sub> give 1-visitor pig  
'Mpho gives a pig to a visitor'
- ii) *u fha mu-eni nguluvhe Mpho*  
SM<sub>1</sub> 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<sub>1</sub> OM<sub>9</sub> 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 ṭavhanya u nwa maḍi*  
pigs SM<sub>10</sub> always INF quickly INF drink water  
'Pigs always quickly drink water'
- ii) *nguluvhe dzi dzul-el-a u ṭavhanya u a nwa*  
pigs SM<sub>10</sub> always INF quickly INF OM<sub>6</sub> drink  
'Pigs always quickly drink it'
- cf) *\*nguluvhe dzi dzul-el-a u a ṭavhanya u nwa*

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

V. no

- i) *u dzul-el-a u ṭavhanya u nwa zwo vhifha*  
SM<sub>15</sub> always SM<sub>15</sub> quickly INF drink can bad  
'To drink always quickly can be bad'
- cf) *\*u dzul-el-a u nwa u ṭavhanya zwo vhifha*  
*\*u nwa u dzul-el-a u ṭavhanya 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 Thohoyandou*  
SM<sub>2</sub> live 2-farmer Thohoyandou  
'(intended) Farmers live in Thohoyandou'

- ii) *vha-limi vha dzula Thohoyandou*  
 2-farmer SM<sub>2</sub> live Thohoyandou  
 ‘Farmers live in Thohoyandou’

**P122 Locative inversion: Is locative inversion attested?**

V. ?

« yes »

- i) *vha-limi vha dzula Thohoyandou*  
 2-farmer SM<sub>2</sub> live Thohoyandou  
 ‘Farmers live in Thohoyandou’
- ii) *Thohoyandou hu dzula vha-limi*  
 Thohoyandou SM<sub>17</sub> 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 SM<sub>2</sub> drink milk  
 ‘Children drink milk’

**P124 Instrument inversion: Is instrument inversion attested?**

V. no

- e.g. *lufo lu ritha zwiḽiwa*  
 spatula SM<sub>5</sub> 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 SM<sub>8</sub> run\_away  
 ‘A pig and a goat ran away’
- ii) *nguluvhe yo shavha na iwana o nwa mafhi.*  
 9.pig SM<sub>9</sub> 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 Thohoyandou, nda renga nama ya nguluvhe, nda i la.*  
I go Thohoyandou I.CONNS buy meat of pig I OM<sub>9</sub> 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 maandā*  
SM<sub>1SG</sub> think COMP 2-student SM<sub>2</sub> study a\_lot  
'I think that students study a lot'

ii) *a thi divh-i uri vha-gudi vha guda nga maandā*  
SM<sub>1sg</sub>PRS NEG know-NEG COMP 2-student SM<sub>2</sub> study a\_lot  
'I don't know whether students study a lot'

iii) *a thi zwi divh-i*  
SM<sub>1sg</sub>PRS NEG OM<sub>8</sub> 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 do da*  
SM<sub>1</sub> say SM<sub>1</sub> 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 Ronewa a da, ri do la vhuswa*  
if Ronewa SM<sub>1</sub> come SM<sub>1PL</sub> FUT eat porridge  
'If Ronewa comes, we will eat porridge'
- ii) *arali Ronewa a tshi do da, ri do la vhuswa*  
if Ronewa NPST FUT FUT come SM<sub>1PL</sub> FUT eat porridge  
'If Ronewa will come, we will eat porridge'
- iii) *Ronewa a da vho, ri do la vhuswa*  
Ronewa NPST come if, SM<sub>1PL</sub> FUT eat porridge  
'If Ronewa comes, we will eat porridge'
- iv) *arali Ronewa a da vho, ri do la vhuswa*  
if Ronewa NPST come if, SM<sub>1PL</sub> FUT eat porridge  
'If Ronewa comes, we will eat porridge'
- v) *arali Ronewa a da vho,*  
if Ronewa NPST come if,  
*ndi hone ri tshi do la vhuswa*  
COP when SM<sub>1PL</sub> 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 do la vhuswa, arali Ronewa a da*  
SM<sub>1PL</sub> 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 do vha*  
 if SM<sub>1SG</sub>.PST PST SM<sub>1SG</sub> study SM<sub>1SG</sub> PST SM<sub>1SG</sub> FUT PST  
*na mushumo wa-vhuḏi*  
 with job of-good

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

ii) *arali ndo vha ndi dokotela,*  
 if SM<sub>1SG</sub>.PST PST SM<sub>1SG</sub>.PRS doctor  
*ndo vha ndi tshi do 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 musu tshiswitulo tshi tshi swika*  
 I PRS OM<sub>8</sub> like when lunch SM<sub>7</sub> SIT arrive  
 ‘I like it when the lunch arrives.’

ii) *nga murahu ha musu ndo fhedza ngudo dzanga ndi do ya hayani*  
 by after 17 when SM<sub>1SG</sub> finish study my SM<sub>1sg</sub> FUT go home  
 ‘After finishing my study, I will go home.’

iii) *ndi do nwa maḏi ndi sa athu la*  
 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 divh-i uri khonani dzanga dzo ya ngafhi*  
 I neg know-NEG COMP friends mine SM<sub>10</sub> 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 vhanganga vha dzula hone*  
 I visit where 2.parents mine SM<sub>2</sub> stay place  
 ‘I visit where my parents live.’

- iii) *a thi ðivh-i hune khonani dzanga dzo ya hone*  
 I NEG know-NEG where friends mine SM<sub>10</sub> go place  
 ‘I don’t know where my friends went.’
- iv) *a thi dalel-i hune vhabebi vhanganga vha dzula hone*  
 I NEG visit-NEG where 2.parents mine SM<sub>2</sub> stay place  
 ‘I don’t visit where my parents live.’
- v) *a thi dal-i ngaauri vhabebi vhanganga vho dzula ngafhi*  
 I NEG visit-NEG because 2.parents mine SM<sub>2</sub> 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 iḷa*  
 pig this COP big-CMPR than that  
 ‘This pig is bigger than that pig.’
- ii) *nguluvhe iyi yo hula u fhira iḷa*  
 pig this SM<sub>9</sub> 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 ḷa vhu-swa ndi zwavhuḍi*  
 for Mpho SM<sub>15</sub> eat 14-porridge COP good  
 ‘For Mpho to eat porridge is good’
- ii) *vhanwe vha-eni vho eḍela ngeno vhanwe vha tshi khou tshina*  
 some 2-visitor SM<sub>2</sub> sleep while some SM<sub>2</sub> 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 vhoneala vha tshi bika vhuswa*  
 2-child SM<sub>2</sub> appear SM<sub>2</sub> SIT cook 14.porridge  
 ‘Children appear to cook porridge’
- ii) *hu vhoneala vhana vha tshi bika vhuswa*  
 SM<sub>17</sub> appear children SM<sub>2</sub> SIT cook 14.porridge  
 ‘It appears that children cook porridge’

N. *vhoneala* 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*  
 SM<sub>15</sub> seem children SM<sub>2</sub> PROG cook 14-porridge  
 ‘It seems that children are cooking porridge.’
- iv) *u nga ri vhana vho bika vhu-swa*  
 SM<sub>15</sub> seem children SM<sub>2</sub>.PST cook 14-porridge  
 ‘It seemed that children cooked porridge’
- v) *Vha-na u nga ri vha khou bika vhu-swa*  
 2-child SM<sub>15</sub> seem SM<sub>2</sub>.PRS PROG cook 14-porridge  
 ‘Children seem to be cooking porridge.’
- vi) *Vhana u nga ri vho bika vhu-swa*  
 2-child SM<sub>15</sub> seem SM<sub>2</sub>.PST cook 14-porridge  
 ‘Children seemed to cook porridge.’
- cf) *\*Vhana vhangari 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 ethe o renga-ho nguluvhe*  
 COP Mpho SM<sub>1</sub> 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 who 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) *nyyi o renga nguluvhe*  
 who PST buy 9.pig  
 ‘Who bought the pig? (as an echo question)’
- iii) *ho renga nnyi nguluvhe*  
 SM<sub>16</sub>.PST buy who 9.pig  
 ‘Who bought the pig?’

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



# Xitsonga (S53)<sup>1</sup>

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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<sub>X5</sub> *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<sub>X1</sub>-person

‘a person, a human being’

cl.2) *va-nhu*

CP<sub>X2</sub>-person

‘people/human beings’

cl.1a) *tatana*

1a.father

‘father’

cl.2a) *va-tatana*

CP<sub>X2a</sub>-father

‘fathers’

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<sup>1</sup> In general, Xitsonga spellings are in principle phonetic, but exact phonetic values of some spellings may be different as follows: ph [p<sup>h</sup>], py [p<sup>i</sup>], bh [b], by [b<sup>i</sup>], th [t<sup>h</sup>], ty [t<sup>i</sup>], thy [t<sup>hi</sup>], dh [d], dy [d<sup>i</sup>], kh [k<sup>h</sup>], gh [g̃], tlh [t<sup>h</sup>], v [β], vh [v], sw [s̃], x [ʃ], h [ɦ], hl [t̥], mh [m̃], nh [ñ], ny [ɲ], n' [ɲ], rh [r̃], y [j], c [t̥], and j [d̥ʒ].

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

- cl.17) *ku-suhi*  
 CP<sub>X17</sub>-near  
 ‘near’
- cl.18) *ndzhaku*  
 18.behind  
 ‘behind’
- cl.21) *dyi-movha*  
 CP<sub>X21</sub>-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*  
 SM<sub>1</sub> like 15-read 5-newspaper  
 ‘He likes reading newspaper.’

N. The infinitive/gerund marker is CP<sub>X15</sub> *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<sub>X6</sub>-CP<sub>X21</sub>-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. CPxs 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    SM<sub>16</sub>-wet-FV  
 ‘On the ground it is wet’
- cl.17) *kusuhi*    *ka tsakama*  
*ku-suhi*    *ka-tsakam-a*  
 17-near    SM<sub>16</sub>-wet-FV  
 ‘Nearby it is wet’
- cl.18) *ndzhaku*    *ka tsakama*  
*ndzhaku*    *ka-tsakam-a*  
 18-behind SM<sub>16</sub>-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<sub>1SG</sub> OM<sub>16</sub> touch-PRF  
 ‘Down, I have touched’  
 (also possible ‘Down, I have touched you’, OM<sub>16</sub> and OM<sub>2SG</sub> are both *ku*)
- ii) *kusuhi ndzi ku khumbile*  
 near SM<sub>1SG</sub> OM<sub>16</sub> 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<sub>1SG</sub> eat 14-porridge  
 ‘I eat porridge.’  
 \**dya vuswa*
- ii) *mina ndzi dya vuswa*  
*mina ndzi dya vu-swa*  
 PRON<sub>1SG</sub> SM<sub>1SG</sub> 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 ASSC<sub>7</sub> 1a.father (head-connective-modifier)  
 ‘father’s chair’
- ii) *xa tatana xitulu*  
*xa tatana xi-tulu*  
 POSS<sub>7</sub> 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 ASSC<sub>1</sub> PRON<sub>1</sub>  
 ‘his man’
- cl.2) *va-nhu va yena*  
 2-man ASSC<sub>2</sub> PRON<sub>1</sub>  
 ‘his people/men’
- cl.3) *mu-ti wa yena*  
 3-home ASSC<sub>3</sub> PRON<sub>1</sub>  
 ‘his home’
- cl.4) *mi-ti ya yena*  
 4-home ASSC<sub>4</sub> PRON<sub>1</sub>  
 ‘his homes’
- cl.5) *ri-hlampfu ra yena*  
 5-fence ASSC<sub>5</sub> PRON<sub>1</sub>  
 ‘his fence’
- cl.6) *ma-hlampfu ma yena*  
 6-fence ASSC<sub>6</sub> PRON<sub>1</sub>  
 ‘his fences’
- cl.7) *xi-hloka xa yena*  
 7-axe ASSC<sub>7</sub> PRON<sub>1</sub>  
 ‘his axe’
- cl.8) *swi-hloka swa yena*  
 8-ax ASSC<sub>8</sub> PRON<sub>1</sub>  
 ‘his axes’

- cl.9) *Ø-nyimpfu ya yena*  
 9-sheep ASSC<sub>9</sub> PRON<sub>1</sub>  
 ‘his sheep’
- cl.10) *ti-nyimpfu ta yena*  
 10-sheep ASSC<sub>10</sub> PRON<sub>1</sub>  
 ‘his sheep’

N. The following examples are possessive pronouns.

1SG) *ntanga wanga*  
*ntanga wa-nga*  
 3-garden ASSC<sub>3</sub>-POSS<sub>1SG</sub>  
 ‘my garden’

1SG) *ntanga wa mina*  
 3-garden ASSC<sub>3</sub> PRON<sub>1SG</sub>  
 ‘my garden’

2SG) *ntanga wa wena*  
 3-garden ASSC<sub>3</sub> PRON<sub>2SG</sub>  
 ‘your [sg] garden’

2SG) *ntanga wa-ku*  
 3-ntanga ASSC<sub>3</sub>-POSS<sub>2SG</sub>  
 ‘your [sg] garden’

3SG) *ntanga wa yena*  
 3-garden ASSC<sub>3</sub> PRON<sub>3SG</sub>  
 ‘his/her garden’

1PL) *ntanga wa hina*  
 3-garden ASSC<sub>3</sub> PRON<sub>1PL</sub>  
 ‘our garden’

2PL) *ntanga wa n'wina*  
 3-garden ASSC<sub>3</sub> PRON<sub>2PL</sub>  
 ‘your [pl] garden’

3PL) *ntanga wa vona*  
 3-garden ASSC<sub>3</sub> PRON<sub>3PL</sub>  
 ‘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 ASSC<sub>1</sub> country  
 ‘a person, a man of a country’
- cl.2) *va-nhu va tiko*  
 2-man ASSC<sub>2</sub> country  
 ‘people/men of a country’
- cl.3) *mu-rhi wa tiko*  
 3-tree ASSC<sub>3</sub> country  
 ‘a tree of a country’
- cl.4) *mi-rhi ya tiko*  
 4-tree ASSC<sub>4</sub> country  
 ‘trees of a country’
- cl.5) *ri-hlampfu ra tiko*  
 5-fence ASSC<sub>5</sub> country  
 ‘a fence of a country’
- cl.6) *ma-hlampfu ma tiko*  
 6-fence ASSC<sub>6</sub> country  
 ‘fences of a country’
- cl.7) *xi-hloka xa tiko*  
 7-axe ASSC<sub>7</sub> country  
 ‘an axe of a country’
- cl.8) *swi-hloka swa tiko*  
 8-axe ASSC<sub>8</sub> country  
 ‘axes of a country’
- cl.9) *Ø-nyimpfu ya tiko*  
 9-sheep ASSC<sub>9</sub> country  
 ‘a sheep of a country’
- cl.10) *ti-nyimpfu ta tiko*  
 10-sheep ASSC<sub>10</sub> 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<sub>1SG</sub> broke 5.arm ASSC<sub>5</sub> 1.child  
 'I broke the arm of a child'
- ii) *ndzi tshovile n'wana voko*  
 SM<sub>1SG</sub> broke 1.child 5.arm  
 'I broke child an arm.'
- iii) *ndzi vona buku ya munghana*  
*ndzi vona buku ya mu-nghana*  
 SM<sub>1SG</sub> see 9.book ASSC<sub>9</sub> 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<sub>1SG</sub> see ASSC<sub>9</sub> 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<sub>n</sub>-AGR<sub>4</sub>  
 'these homes/families (near the interlocuters)'
- ii) *miti leyo*  
*mi-ti le-yo*  
 4-home DEM<sub>r</sub>-AGR<sub>4</sub>  
 'those homes (near the listener)'
- iii) *miti liya*  
*mi-ti li-ya*  
 4-home DEM<sub>d</sub>-AGR<sub>4</sub>  
 'those homes (very far the interlocuters)'

- iv) *miti*      *lí!yáni*  
*mi-ti*      *li-yani*  
 4-home      DEMr-AGR<sub>4</sub>  
 ‘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-Sx<sub>1</sub>  
 ‘this person’
- cl.2) *va-nhu*      *la-va*  
 2-man      DEMn-Sx<sub>2</sub>  
 ‘these people’
- cl.3) *mu-ti*      *lo-wu*  
 3-village      DEMn-Sx<sub>3</sub>  
 ‘this village’
- cl.4) *mi-ti*      *le-yi*  
 4-village      DEMn-Sx<sub>4</sub>  
 ‘these villages’
- cl.5) *ri-hlampfu*      *le-ri*  
 5-fence      DEMn-Sx<sub>5</sub>  
 ‘this fence’
- cl.6) *ma-hlampfu*      *la-wa*  
 6-fence      DEMn-Sx<sub>6</sub>  
 ‘these fences’
- cl.7) *xi-hloka*      *le-xi*  
 7-axe      DEMn-Sx<sub>7</sub>  
 ‘this axe’
- cl.8) *swi-hloka*      *le-swi*  
 8-ax      DEMn-Sx<sub>8</sub>  
 ‘these axes’
- cl.9) *Ø-nyimpfu*      *le-yi*  
 9-sheep      DEMn-Sx<sub>9</sub>  
 ‘this sheep’
- cl.10) *ti-nyimpfu*      *le-ti*  
 10-sheep      DEMn-Sx<sub>10</sub>  
 ‘these sheep’

- cl.11) *ri-tswalo*      *le-ri*  
 11-mercy      DEMn-Sx<sub>11</sub>  
 ‘this mercy’
- cl.10) *tin-tswalo*      *le-ti*  
 10-mercy      DEMn-Sx<sub>10</sub>  
 ‘these mercies’
- cl.14) *vu-tama*              *le-byi*  
 14-completeness      DEMn-Sx<sub>14</sub>  
 ‘this completeness’
- cl.15) *ku-tirha*              *lo-ku*  
 15-work      DEMn-Sx<sub>15</sub>  
 ‘this working’
- cl.16) *ha-nsi*              *la-ha*  
 16-below      DEMn-Sx<sub>16</sub>  
 ‘this below’
- cl.21) *dyi-mbyana*      *le-dyi*  
 21-dog      DEMn-Sx<sub>21</sub>  
 ‘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>	<b><i>la-ha</i></b>	<i>va-ngehenelek-e</i>
SM <sub>3PL</sub> -enter-PRF	LOC-9-church-LOC	DEMn-Sx <sub>16</sub>	SM <sub>1PL</sub> -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 <sub>7</sub> -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<sub>3PL</sub>      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<sub>x9</sub>-small  
'a small house'

other adjective stems (i.e., which take AP<sub>x</sub> 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<sub>x</sub> 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<sub>x1</sub> sleep-STAT-FV  
'A sleeping child (lit. a child who sleeps)'

cf) *n'wana u etlele*  
*mu-ana u etlel-e*  
1-child SM<sub>1</sub> sleep-STAT  
'A child is sleeping'

e.g. *milomu leyi pfimbeke*  
*mi-lomu la-yi pfimb-ek-e*  
4-lip AP<sub>x4</sub> swell-STAT-FV  
'swollen lips (lit. lips that are swollen)'

cf) *milomu yi pfimbile*  
*mi-lomu yi pfimb-ile*  
4-lip SM<sub>10</sub> 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-APx<sub>3</sub>-small  
'this small car'
- ii) *vafana lavanene*  
*va-fana la-va-nene*  
2-boy DEMn-APx<sub>2</sub>-good  
'good boys'
- iii) *malamula lamambisi*  
*malamula la-ma-mbisi*  
6-orange DEMn-APx<sub>6</sub>-unripe  
'unripe oranges'
- iv) *buruku lerintshwa*  
*buruku le-ri-ntshwa*  
5-trouser DEMn-APx<sub>5</sub>-new  
'this pair of new trousers'
- v) *movha lowukulu*  
*movha lo-wu-kulu*  
3-car DEMn-APx<sub>3</sub>-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<sub>1SG</sub>  
'my fellow'
- ii) *va-nakulo-ni*  
2-fellow-POSS<sub>2SG</sub>  
'your fellows'
- iii) *va-nakulo-bye*  
2-fellow-POSS<sub>3PL</sub>  
'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 etele*  
*Mu-ana u etel-ile*  
1-child SM<sub>1</sub> sleep-STAT  
‘The child is asleep’
- ii) *Mbuti yi xurhile*  
*Mbu-iti yi xurh-ile*  
9-goat SM<sub>9</sub> full-STAT  
‘The goat is full/satisfied’

- iii) *Nkuzi yi nonile*  
*Nkuzi yi non-ile*  
 9-bull SM<sub>9</sub> 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<sub>1SG</sub>-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 SM<sub>7</sub>-grow-PASS-PRF field-LOC  
 ‘Mealie cob has been grown in the field’
- ii) *\*xifaki va-byar-iw-ile ensin’wini*  
 mealie.cob SM<sub>2</sub>-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<sub>1SG</sub> impress-CAUS-PASS-PRF by PRON<sub>3SG</sub>  
 ‘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<sub>1PL</sub> 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 SM<sub>1</sub> drink-CAUS-FV child water  
‘The woman makes the child drink water.’
- ii) *Mu-dyondzisi u hlay-is-a mu-dyondzi xitori.*  
1-teacher SM<sub>1</sub> read-CAUS-FV 1-learner story  
‘The teacher causes the learner to read the story.’
- iii) *Wansati u kukur-is-a nhwana yindlu.*  
woman SM<sub>1</sub> 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 SM<sub>1</sub> 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 SM<sub>1</sub> 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 SM<sub>1</sub> work-APPL-FV money  
 'The man is working for money.'
- ii) *Wanuna u vuy-el-a movha ejoni.*  
 man SM<sub>1</sub> return-APPL-FV car from.Johannesburg  
 'The man is returning for the car from Johannesburg.'

**Direction:**

e.g. *ndzi lav-el-a evupeladyambu*  
 SM<sub>1SG</sub> 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 SM<sub>1</sub> 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 SM<sub>10</sub>.PRS read-NEUT-FV  
‘The numbers are readable.’

ii) *tinhonga ta tshoveka*  
*ti-nhonga ta tshova-ek-a*  
10-stick SM<sub>10</sub>.PRS break-NEUT-FV  
‘The sticks are breakable/gets broken.’

iii) *malamula ma dy-eka*  
*ma-lamula ma dy-ek-a*  
6-orange SM<sub>6</sub>.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 SM<sub>1</sub> 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 SM<sub>2</sub> 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 SM<sub>1</sub> 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 SM<sub>2</sub> 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 SM<sub>1</sub> 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.*  
SM<sub>15</sub> 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 SM<sub>2</sub> 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 SM<sub>1</sub> 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.*  
SM<sub>15</sub> 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*  
SM<sub>1</sub>-DJ go  
'He/She is going.'

- ii) *A nga famb-i*  
 SM<sub>1</sub> NEG go-NEG  
 ‘He/She is not going.’

### Past tense

- i) *A a famba.*  
 PST SM<sub>1</sub> go  
 ‘He/She was going.’
- ii) *A a nga fambi.*  
 PST SM<sub>1</sub> NEG go-NEG  
 ‘He/She was not going.’

### Future tense

- i) *U ta famba.*  
 SM<sub>1</sub> FUT go  
 ‘He/She will go.’
- ii) *A nge famb-i.*  
 SM<sub>1</sub> NEG go-NEG  
 ‘He/She will not go.’
- iii) *a wu dyi nyama*  
*a wu dy-i nyama*  
 NEG SM<sub>2SG</sub>-PRS eat-NEG 9-meat  
 ‘You don’t eat meat.’

### Cf.

- i) *u dya nyama*  
*u dy-a nyama*  
 SM<sub>2SG</sub> eat-FV 9-meat  
 ‘You eat meat.’
- ii) *u nga tirhi*  
*u nga tirha-i*  
 SM<sub>2SG</sub> NEG work-NEG  
 ‘Don’t work.’
- iii) *loko u nga tsutsumi*  
*loko u nga tsutsum-i*  
 if SM<sub>2SG</sub> 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<sub>2SG</sub> NEG work-NEG  
'Don't work!'
- ii) *Loko u nga tsutsum-i, u ta hlwela*  
if SM<sub>2SG</sub> NEG run-NEG SM<sub>2SG</sub> FUT late  
'If you don't run, you will be late'

**Present tense**

- i) *U yimbelela a yim-ile.*  
SM<sub>1</sub> sing SM<sub>1</sub> stand-STAT  
'He/She sings while standing'
- ii) *U yimbelela a nga yim-angi*  
SM<sub>1</sub> sing SM<sub>1</sub> NEG stand-NEG  
'He/She sings while not standing'

**Past tense**

- i) *A a yimbelela a yim-ile.*  
PST SM<sub>1</sub> sing SM<sub>1</sub> stand-STAT  
'He/She was singing while standing'
- ii) *A a yimbelela a nga yim-angi*  
PST SM<sub>1</sub> sing SM<sub>1</sub> NEG stand-NEG  
'He/She was singing while not standing'

**Future tense**

- i) *U ta yimbelela a yim-ile.*  
SM<sub>1</sub> FUT sing SM<sub>1</sub> stand-STAT  
'He/She will sing while standing'
- ii) *U ta yimbelela a nga yim-angi.*  
SM<sub>1</sub> FUT sing SM<sub>1</sub> 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 SM<sub>2</sub> 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 SM<sub>2</sub> 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 SM<sub>2</sub> work in.the.mine SM<sub>2</sub> 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 SM<sub>2</sub> 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 SM<sub>2</sub> 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 SM<sub>2</sub> 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<sub>1SG</sub> work-NEG

‘I am not working.’

iii) *Ha tirha.*

we (disjoint) work

‘We are working.’

iv) *A hi tirh-i.*

NEG SM<sub>1PL</sub> 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<sub>2SG</sub> NEG work-NEG

‘Don’t work’

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

SM<sub>3PL</sub> say-PRF that SM<sub>1PL</sub> 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<sub>1SG</sub> FUT visit

‘I will visit.’

2SG) *u ta endza*

SM<sub>2SG</sub> FUT visit

‘You [sg] will visit.’

3SG) *n’wana u ta endza*

child SM<sub>1</sub> FUT visit

‘A child will visit.’

1PL) *hi ta endza*

SM<sub>1PL</sub> FUT visit

‘We will visit.’

2PL) *mi ta endza*

SM<sub>2PL</sub> FUT visit

‘You [pl] will visit.’

3PL) *va-na va ta endza*

2-child SM<sub>3PL</sub> FUT visit

‘Children will visit.’

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

3-tree SM<sub>3</sub> FUT fall

‘A tree will fall.’

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

4-tree SM<sub>4</sub> FUT fall

‘Trees will fall.’

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

5-stone SM<sub>5</sub> FUT fall

‘A stone will fall.’

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

6-5-stone SM<sub>6</sub> FUT fall

‘Stones will fall.’

- cl.7) *xi-voni xi ta wa*  
 7-mirror SM<sub>7</sub> FUT fall  
 ‘A mirror will fall.’
- cl.8) *swi-voni swi ta wa*  
 8-mirror SM<sub>8</sub> FUT fall  
 ‘Mirrors will fall.’
- cl.9) *yi-ndlu yi ta wa*  
 9-house SM<sub>9</sub> FUT fall  
 ‘A house will fall.’
- cl.10) *ti-ndlu ti ta wa*  
 10-house SM<sub>10</sub> FUT fall  
 ‘Houses will fall.’
- cl.11) *rimhondzo ri ta wa*  
 horn SM<sub>11</sub> FUT fall  
 ‘A horn will fall.’
- cl.10) *ti-mhondzo ti ta wa*  
 10-board SM<sub>10</sub> 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 SM<sub>9</sub> limp-FV  
 ‘A goat is limping’
- ii) *\*mbuti wa khwit-a*  
 9.goat SM<sub>1</sub> 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 SM<sub>2</sub> 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 SM<sub>8</sub> 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 SM<sub>8</sub> 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 SM<sub>8</sub> repossess-PASS-FV  
'A car and furniture are repossessed.'

**Examples with [+human]**

e.g. *Wanuna na wansati va famba swin 'we*  
man and woman SM<sub>2</sub> 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<sub>1SG</sub> see  
'I was seeing'

cf) *a ndzi tsanile*  
*a-ndzi tsan-ile*  
PST-SM<sub>1SG</sub> 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<sub>1SG</sub> FUT see-FV  
 ‘I’ll see.’
- ii) *ndza vona*  
*ndzi-a von-a*  
 SM<sub>1SG-DJ</sub> 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*  
 SM<sub>1</sub> POT COP SM<sub>1</sub> 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<sub>1SG</sub> 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<sub>1SG</sub> 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*  
 SM<sub>1</sub> 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 SM<sub>1</sub> 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 SM<sub>1</sub> PROG cook-PROG of porridge  
'Mother is busy cooking porridge'

**mood**

e.g. *Loko wanuna a a ri mudyondzisi,*  
if man PST SM<sub>1</sub> COP teacher  
*a a ta va a dyondzisa exikolweni.*  
PST SM<sub>1</sub> FUT MOOD SM<sub>1</sub> 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<sub>1SG</sub>-DJ see  
'I see.' (Disjoint)

CJ) *ndzi vona munhu*  
SM<sub>1SG</sub> see person  
'I see a person.' (Conjoint)

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

i) *ndzi von-ile*  
SM<sub>1SG</sub> see-PST  
'I saw.'

ii) *ndzi von-ile mu-nhu*  
SM<sub>1SG</sub> 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<sub>1SG</sub> OM<sub>9</sub> buy-PST from friend ASSC<sub>1</sub> PRON<sub>1SG</sub>  
'I bought it from my friend'

- ii) *Manana wa n'wi rhandza swinene.*  
 mother SM<sub>1</sub> OM<sub>1</sub> 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<sub>1SG</sub> give person pig  
 'I give a pig to a person'
- ii) *Ndzi n'wi nyika yona*  
 SM<sub>1SG</sub> OM<sub>1</sub> give it  
 I him give it (=pig)  
 'I give it to him.'
- iii) *Ndzi yi nyika yena*  
 SM<sub>1SG</sub> OM<sub>9</sub> 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<sub>1SG</sub>-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 SM<sub>1</sub> OM<sub>14</sub> cook porridge  
 'The woman cooks it the porridge.'
- ii) *Wansati wa sweka vuswa.*  
 woman SM<sub>1</sub> 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<sub>1PL</sub> 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<sub>1SG</sub>.DJ OM<sub>8</sub> know  
'I know.'
- ii) *A ndzi swi tiva*  
PST SM<sub>1SG</sub> OM<sub>8</sub> know  
'I knew.'

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

- iii) *Mi na ti-homu to tala.*  
SM<sub>2PL</sub> have 10-cow of many  
'You [pl] have many cows.'
- iv) *A mi ri na ti-homu to tala.*  
PST SM<sub>2PL</sub> 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<sub>1SG</sub> FUT quickly SM<sub>1SG</sub> drink water  
'I will quickly drink water'
- ii) *ndzi hatl-ile ndzi nwa mati*  
SM<sub>1SG</sub> quickly-PRF SM<sub>1SG</sub> 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<sub>1SG</sub> always SM<sub>15</sub> quickly SM<sub>1SG</sub> drink water  
'I always quickly drink water'
- ii) *ndzi dzumbela ro hatla ndzi nwa mati*  
SM<sub>1SG</sub> always do quickly SM<sub>1SG</sub> 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<sub>1SG</sub> always SM<sub>15</sub> quickly SM<sub>1SG</sub> 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 SM<sub>2</sub> always SM<sub>2</sub> 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<sub>1SG</sub> COP there  
'if I am there'
- ii) *a ndzi ri kona*  
PST SM<sub>1SG</sub> 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 SM<sub>1</sub> OM<sub>1PL</sub> help-PST.REL  
 ‘The boy who helped us’
- ii) *mufana loyi a hi pfun-aka*  
 boy who SM<sub>1</sub> OM<sub>1PL</sub> help-PRS.REL  
 ‘The boy who helps us’
- iii) *mufana loyi a nga ta hi pfun*  
 boy who SM<sub>1</sub> POT FUT OM<sub>1PL</sub> help  
 ‘The boy who will help us’
- iv) *mufana loyi a nga hi pfun-ngiki*  
 boy who SM<sub>1</sub> POT OM<sub>1PL</sub> help-PST.NEG.REL  
 ‘The boy who didn’t help us’
- v) *mufana loyi a nga hi pfun-iki/-eki*  
 boy who SM<sub>1</sub> POT OM<sub>1PL</sub> help-PRS.NEG.REL  
 ‘The boy who doesn’t help us’
- vi) *mufana loyi a nga ta ka a nga hi pfuni*  
 boy who SM<sub>1</sub> POT FUT NEG SM<sub>1</sub> POT OM<sub>1PL</sub> 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 REL<sub>1</sub> SM<sub>1</sub> OM<sub>1PL</sub> help-PRS.REL  
 ‘The boy who helps us’
- ii) *vafana lava va hi pfun-aka*  
 boys REL<sub>2</sub> SM<sub>2</sub> OM<sub>1PL</sub> help-PRS.REL  
 ‘The boys who help us’
- iii) *movha lowu wu famb-aka*  
 car REL<sub>3</sub> SM<sub>3</sub> move-PRS.REL  
 ‘The car that moves (written form)’
- iv) *movha lowu famb-aka*  
 car REL<sub>3</sub> move-PRS.REL  
 ‘The car that moves (colloquial form)’
- v) *mimovha leyi yi famb-aka*  
 cars REL<sub>4</sub> SM<sub>4</sub> move-PRS.REL  
 ‘The cars that move (written form)’

- vi) *mimovha leyi famb-aka*  
 cars REL<sub>4</sub> 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 SM<sub>1</sub> like-PRF book REL<sub>9</sub> children SM<sub>2</sub> OM<sub>9</sub> 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 SM<sub>1</sub> like-PRF book REL<sub>9</sub> children SM<sub>2</sub> OM<sub>9</sub> 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 SM<sub>1</sub> like-PRF book REL<sub>9</sub> children SM<sub>2</sub> OM<sub>9</sub> buy-PST.REL  
'Crous has liked the book that children bought.'
- ii) *Crous u tsakerile buku leyi vana va xav-eke yona*  
Crous SM<sub>1</sub> liked book REL<sub>9</sub> children SM<sub>2</sub> buy-PST.REL OM<sub>9</sub>  
'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 SM<sub>1</sub> like-PRF 1-visitor REL<sub>1</sub> children SM<sub>2</sub> OM<sub>1</sub> 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 OM<sub>8</sub> know that Burheni SM<sub>1</sub> FUT arrive time when  
'I know (the time) when Burheni will arrive'
- ii) *ndza ku tiva laha Burheni a tshamaka kona*  
I OM<sub>15</sub> know where Burheni SM<sub>1</sub> live-PRS.RLV PRON<sub>15</sub>  
'I know (the place) where Burheni lives'
- cf) *\*ndza ku tiva laha Burheni a tshamaka*
- iii) *ndzi tiva leswi Burheni a swekisaka swona*  
SM<sub>1SG</sub> know how Burheni SM<sub>1</sub> 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 SM<sub>9</sub> burn  
'the house is burning.'
- ii) *musi wa yindlu leyi tshw-aka*  
smoke of house REL<sub>9</sub> 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 REL<sub>1</sub> SM<sub>1</sub> go.home-PST.REL

‘It is Burheni who went home’

ii) *i Burheni loyi ndzi hlangan-eke na yena tolo*  
COP Burheni that SM<sub>1SG</sub> 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<sub>1SG</sub> meet-PST.REL with Burheni

‘It is yesterday I met Burheni.’

**(locative)**

e.g. *hi kona ndzi hlangan-eke na Burheni*  
COP there SM<sub>1SG</sub> 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 SM<sub>1</sub> tall

‘Is the boy tall?’

- ii) *xana mufana u lehile?*  
 XANA boy SM<sub>1</sub> tall  
 ‘Is the boy tall?’
- iii) *xana mufana u lehile ke?*  
 XANA boy SM<sub>1</sub> tall KE  
 ‘Is the boy tall?’
- iv) *mufana u lehile ke?*  
 boy SM<sub>1</sub> 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 SM<sub>1</sub> read what  
 ‘What does the boy read?’
- ii) *xana mufana u rhandza mani?*  
 XANA boy SM<sub>1</sub> love who  
 ‘Whom does the boy love?’
- iii) *i mani a dy-eke vuswa xana?*  
 COP who SM<sub>1</sub> eat-PST.REL porridge XANA  
 ‘Who ate the porridge?’
- iv) *u xav-el-ile vana yini?*  
 SM<sub>1</sub> buy-APPL-PST children what  
 ‘What did he buy for the children?’ (unmarked)
- v) *u xav-el-ile yini vana?*  
 SM<sub>1</sub> 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<sub>2SG</sub> 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<sub>1SG</sub> teacher  
 ‘I am a teacher’
- ii) *A ndzi mudyondzisi*  
 NEG SM<sub>1SG</sub> 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 SM<sub>1</sub> have book  
 ‘Burheni has a book.’
- ii) *Burheni u ta va na vana*  
 Burheni SM<sub>1</sub> 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<sub>1SG</sub> blow.one's.nose 6-nasal.mucus  
 'I blow my nose.'
- ii) *ndzi khohlola xi-kholola*  
 SM<sub>1SG</sub> 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 SM<sub>1</sub> walk-walk-PRF with 4-world  
 'Nsovo has travelled around the world.'
- ii) *ndzi hlaya-hlay-ile ma-tsalwa*  
 SM<sub>1SG</sub> 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<sub>1SG</sub> 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 SM<sub>1</sub> give child book  
 'Burheni gives a book to a child.'
- ii) *Buku yi nyik-iwa n'wana hi Burheni*  
 book SM<sub>9</sub> give-pass child by Burheni  
 'A book is given to a child by Burheni.'
- iii) *n'wana u nyik-iwa buku hi Burheni*  
 child SM<sub>1</sub> 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 SM<sub>1</sub> give child book  
'Burheni gives a book to a child.'
- ii) *Burheni u nyika yona eka n'wana*  
Burheni SM<sub>1</sub> give PRON<sub>9</sub> to child  
'Burheni gives it to the child.'
- iii) *Burheni u yi nyika n'wana*  
Burheni SM<sub>1</sub> OM<sub>9</sub> give child  
'Burheni gives it to a child.'
- iv) *Burheni u nyika yena buku*  
Burheni SM<sub>1</sub> give PRON<sub>1</sub> 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*  
SM<sub>2</sub> FUT visit  
'They (=children) will visit.'
- cl.3) *wu ta wa*  
SM<sub>3</sub> FUT fall  
'It (a tree) will fall.'
- cl.4) *yi ta wa*  
SM<sub>4</sub> 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<sub>n9</sub> book SM<sub>9</sub> expensive  
'This (particular) book is expensive.'
- ii) *Burheni u tsakela leyi buku*  
Burheni SM<sub>1</sub> like DEM<sub>n9</sub> book  
'Burheni likes this book.'

- iii) *Leyi buku leyi!*  
 DEMn<sub>9</sub> book DEMn<sub>9</sub>  
 ‘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-AGR<sub>10</sub> 10-book  
 ‘all books’
- ii) *ti-buku hinkwa-to*  
 10-book all-AGR<sub>10</sub>  
 ‘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 SM<sub>1</sub> 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 SM<sub>1</sub> give visitor pig

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

ii) *Burheni u nyika nguluve muyeni*

Burheni SM<sub>1</sub> 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<sub>n9</sub> Burheni SM<sub>1</sub> OM<sub>9</sub> 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 SM<sub>1</sub> give visitor pig today

‘Burheni gives a pig to a visitor today.’

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

Burheni SM<sub>1</sub> OM<sub>1</sub> give pig today visitor

‘Burheni gives a pig to a visitor today.’

**(inanimate)**

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

Burheni SM<sub>1</sub> 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*

SM<sub>1</sub> 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*  
SM<sub>1</sub> give visitor Burheni pig  
'Burheni gives a pig to a visitor (focus on 'a visitor').'

ii) *u nyika nguluve Burheni muyeni*  
SM<sub>1</sub> give pig Burheni visitor  
'Burheni gives a pig to a visitor (focus on 'a pig').'

iii) *Burheni u xava nguluve*  
Burheni SM<sub>1</sub> buy pig  
'Burheni buys a pig'

iv) *nguluve Burheni wa yi xava.*  
pig Burheni SM<sub>1</sub> OM<sub>9</sub> buy  
'Burheni buys a pig (focus on 'a pig').'

v) *u xava nguluve Burheni*  
SM<sub>1</sub> 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 SM<sub>1</sub> FUT OM<sub>2SG</sub> see  
'Burheni will see you'

ii) *ndzi fanele ku yi xavisa*  
SM<sub>1SG</sub> must OM<sub>9</sub> 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<sub>1SG</sub> can OM<sub>8</sub> do  
'I can COOK (lit. Cooking I can)'
- ii) *ku xavisa ndzi fanele ku swi endla*  
15 sell SM<sub>1SG</sub> have INF OM<sub>8</sub> 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*  
SM<sub>2</sub> live 2.child in Malamulele  
'Children do live in Malamulele'
- ii) *vana va tshama eka Malamulele*  
2.child SM<sub>2</sub> live in Malamulele  
'Children live in Malamulele'
- iii) *loko ndzi fika, a ti nga si xavis-iw-a ti-nguluve*  
when SM<sub>1SG</sub> arrive PST OM<sub>10</sub> 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 SM<sub>2</sub> live in Giyani  
'Farmers live in Giyani'
- ii) *EGiyani va-rimi va ku tshama*  
in Giyani 2-farmers SM<sub>2</sub> OM<sub>15</sub> (=locative) live  
'In Giyani, farmers live'
- iii) *EGiyani ku tshama va-rimi*  
in Giyani SM<sub>15</sub> (=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 SM<sub>2</sub> 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 SM<sub>5</sub> 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 OM<sub>8</sub> 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 OM<sub>9</sub> be big and 2-child PST SM<sub>2</sub> 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<sub>1SG</sub> go.PST to.Giyani SM<sub>1SG</sub> buy meat ASSC<sub>9</sub> pig SM<sub>1SG</sub> OM<sub>9</sub> 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<sub>1SG</sub> think that Giyani COP big  
 ‘I think that Giyani is big’
- ii) *a ndzi swi tivi leswaku ndzi nga ya ekaya*  
 NEG SM<sub>1SG</sub> OM<sub>8</sub> know whether SM<sub>1SG</sub> 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*

DEM<sub>8</sub>-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 SM<sub>9</sub> fall, 8-flower SM<sub>8</sub> 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 SM<sub>8</sub> FUT bloom, if rain SM<sub>9</sub> 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<sub>1SG</sub> LO study, PST SM<sub>1SG</sub> 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<sub>1SG</sub> LO visit parent of PRON<sub>1SG</sub>  
*a va ta va va tsakile*  
 PST SM<sub>2</sub> FUT PST SM<sub>2</sub> 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<sub>1SG</sub> be bird PST SM<sub>1SG</sub> 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<sub>1SG</sub> be doctor PST SM<sub>1SG</sub> FUT PST SM<sub>1SG</sub> 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<sub>1SG</sub> OM<sub>8</sub> like when 3.time of lunch SM<sub>3</sub> arrive  
 ‘I like it when the lunch time arrives.’
- ii) *loko ndzi heta ti-dyondzo tanga, ndzi ta muka*  
 once SM<sub>1SG</sub> finish 10-study my SM<sub>1SG</sub> 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<sub>1SG</sub> 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<sub>1SG</sub> finish-PRF study my  
*ndzi ta tirha eyunivhesiti*  
 SM<sub>1SG</sub> 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<sub>1SG</sub> FUT take.a.bath (when) SM<sub>1SG</sub> 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<sub>1SG</sub> (LOC) know-NEG where friend ASSC<sub>2</sub> PRON<sub>1SG</sub>  
*va yeke kona*  
SM<sub>2</sub> 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<sub>1SG</sub> cook 8-food where 2-parent ASSC<sub>2</sub> mine SM<sub>2</sub> 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<sub>n9</sub> SM<sub>9</sub> big SM<sub>15</sub> exceed house over.there  
'This house is bigger than that house.'
- ii) *yindlu leyi yi kurile ku hundza yindlu liyani*  
house DEM<sub>n9</sub> SM<sub>9</sub> big SM<sub>15</sub> 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<sub>n9</sub> COP PRON<sub>9</sub> DEM<sub>n9</sub>-big in 10-house all in.village  
'This house is the biggest in the village'
- iv) *yindlu leyi hi yona leyikulu emugangeni.*  
house DEM<sub>n9</sub> COP PRON<sub>9</sub> 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 SM<sub>15</sub> eat porridge SM<sub>8</sub>(=*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*  
 SM<sub>8</sub> seem Burheni SM<sub>1</sub> be to cook of porridge  
 ‘It seems that Burheni is busy cooking porridge.’
- ii) *Burheni u vonaka a ri ku swekeni ka vuswa*  
 Burheni SM<sub>1</sub> seem SM<sub>1</sub> be to cook of porridge  
 ‘Burheni seems to be busy cooking porridge.’
- iii) *swi tikomb-ile vana va muk-ile*  
 SM<sub>8</sub> show-PRF 2.child SM<sub>2</sub> 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 SM<sub>1</sub> buy-PRF pig  
 ‘Only Burheni has bought a pig’
- ii) *Burheni u xav-ile nguluve ntsena*  
 Burheni SM<sub>1</sub> buy-PRF pig only  
 ‘Burheni has bought only a pig’
- iii) *Burheni u xav-ile ntsena nguluve*  
 Burheni SM<sub>1</sub> 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 SM<sub>1</sub> buy-PRF pig  
 ‘Even Burheni has bought a pig’
- v) *Burheni u xav-ile hambu nguluve*  
 Burheni SM<sub>1</sub> 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 SM<sub>1</sub> 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 SM<sub>1</sub> eat-REL porridge  
'Who is eating the porridge?'

ii) *Burheni u dya yini?*  
Burheni SM<sub>1</sub> eat what  
'What does Burheni eat?'

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



# Siswati (S43)

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

V. 2: V and CV shape

cl.14) *e-bu-sika* ‘winter’

cl.6) *e-ma-kati* ‘cats’

cl.9) *i-ndlu* ‘house’

cl.9) *i-nyama* ‘meat’

N. According to Ziervogel (1952) the augment occurs only with classes 1 (*u-mu*), 3 (*u-mu*), 4 (*i-mi*), 6 (*e-ma*) and 9 (*i-n*). This observation is confirmed by the data we gathered (March 2020).

Below we do not segment the augment in the interlinear glossing where not relevant and consider it instead to be part of the noun class prefix.

## **P002 Function of the augment: Does the augment fulfil a specific grammatical function?**

V. yes: the presence/absence is related to grammatical (e.g. semantic/syntactic/pragmatic) meaning

N. The presence versus absence of the augment seems to be linked to specificity. But no clear function identified so far and further research would be needed to develop a more fine-grained analysis here.

## **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) *li-so* ‘eye’

2σ) *li-dvolo* ‘knee’

N. The class 5 prefix *li-* can be omitted in some inherently disyllabic nouns. For example, *kwembe* ‘pumpkin’.

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

V. 18: 18 classes

« (this includes classes 1a and 2a) »

cl.1) *u-mu-ntfu*

AUG-CP<sub>X1</sub>-person

‘a person, a man’

- cl.1a) *babe*  
 1a.father  
 ‘father’
- cl.2) *ba-ntfu*  
 CP<sub>X2</sub>-person  
 ‘people/men’
- cl.2a) *bo-babe*  
 CP<sub>X2a</sub>-father  
 ‘fathers’
- cl.3) *u-m-fula*  
 AUG-CP<sub>X3</sub>-river  
 ‘river’
- cl.4) *i-mi-fula*  
 AUG-CP<sub>X4</sub>-river  
 ‘rivers’
- cl.5) *li-dvolo*  
 CP<sub>X5</sub>-knee  
 ‘knee’
- cl.6) *e-ma-dvolo*  
 AUG-CP<sub>X6</sub>-knee  
 ‘knees’
- cl.7) *si-tja*  
 CP<sub>X7</sub>-plate  
 ‘plate’
- cl.8) *ti-tja*  
 CP<sub>X8</sub>-plate  
 ‘plates’
- cl.9) *i-n-ja*  
 AUG-CP<sub>X9</sub>-dog  
 ‘dog’
- cl.10) *tin-ja*  
 CP<sub>X10</sub>-dog  
 ‘dogs’
- cl.11) *lu-khuni*  
 CP<sub>X11</sub>-firewood  
 ‘firewood’
- cl.14) *bu-hlalu*  
 CP<sub>X14</sub>-beads  
 ‘beads’

- cl.15) *ku-fa*  
 CP<sub>X15</sub>-die  
 ‘to die’
- cl.16) *pha-nsi*  
 CP<sub>X16</sub>-below  
 ‘below’
- cl.17) *ku-nene*  
 CP<sub>X17</sub>-right\_hand  
 ‘right hand’
- cl.18) *m-shiya*      *lowa*  
 CP<sub>X18</sub>-side      that  
 ‘that side’
- cl.23 **e-sikolw-eni**  
 LOC-9.school-LOC  
 ‘at the school’

N. A number of noun class prefixes also have allomorphs depending on lexical items.  
 The locative adverbializer *e-...-ini* seems to be from archaic noun class 23.

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

V. yes

- i) *ku-fundz-a*  
 15-read-FV  
 ‘to read’
- ii) *u-tsandz-a*    *ku-fundz-a*    *li-phephandzaba*  
 SM<sub>1</sub>-like-FV    15-read-FV    5-newspaper  
 ‘He likes reading newspaper.’

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

V. no: another strategy is used

- i) *i-n-ja*  
 AUG-9-dog  
 ‘a dog’
- ii) *i-n-jany-ana*  
 AUG-9-dog-DIM  
 ‘a small dog’
- iii) *si-n-jany-ana*  
 7-9-dog-DIM  
 ‘a small dog’

N. Very rarely with class 9 co-occurring with class 7 but this is considered informal.

Diminutive meaning is expressed instead through the addition of the suffix *-ana* to nouns of any class. Thus *indvodza* ‘man’ *indvojeyana* ‘small man’ (cf. P027).

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

V. no: another strategy is used

i) *i-n-ja-kati*

AUG-9-dog-AGMT

‘a big dog’

ii) *i-n-ja*

AUG-9-dog

‘a dog’

N. The suffix *-kati* is also used to form augmentative meanings. NB this suffix is also used to express feminine, e.g. *indvodza* ‘man’ > *indvodza-kati* ‘daughter’ (cf. P027).

**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

i) *u-m-fula*     *mu-nye*

AUG-3-river EPX<sub>3</sub>-one

‘one river’

ii) *\*fula*     *mu-nye*

river EPX<sub>3</sub>-one

‘one river (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

N. Prefixes for noun classes 16, 17 and 18, *pha-*, *ku-*, and *m-* 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*) follows the noun class of the root noun. *Ku-* appears to function as a default agreement class (cf. P64)

cf) *e-n-dl-ini*

LOC-9-house-LOC

‘in the house’

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

V. yes

- i) *e-ntsab-eni*  
 LOC-9.mountain-LOC  
 ‘(in) at a mountain [LOC noun]’
- ii) *e-nsim-ini*  
 LOC-9.field-LOC  
 ‘in the field [LOC noun]’

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

V. yes

- i) *e-ndl-ini*            *ku-ne*            *ba-ntfu*  
 LOC-9.house-LOC    SM<sub>17</sub>-have    2-people  
 ‘In the house there are people’
- ii) *pha-nsi*    *ku-manti*  
 16-below    SM<sub>17</sub>-wet  
 ‘Below it is wet’
- iii) *nga-pha-ndle*    *ku-yashis-a*  
 COP-16-outside    SM<sub>17</sub>-be\_hot-FV  
 ‘Outside is hot’

N. The default locative subject marking on the verb is the class 17 prefix *ku-*.

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

V. no: there is object prefixation, but not with locative classes

N. There are no locative object markers. (No locative subject markers for class 16 or 18. Only class 17. And we were not able to get an acceptable example with a locative object marker. Absent in the language?)

**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) (*mine*)    *ngi-dl-a*            *li-phalishi*  
 PRON<sub>1SG</sub>    SM<sub>1SG</sub>-eat-FV    5-porridge  
 ‘I eat porridge’
- ii) (*mine*)    *ngi-ngu-thishela*  
 PRON<sub>1SG</sub>    SM<sub>1SG</sub>-COP-1a.teacher  
 ‘I’m a teacher’

N. Subject pronouns are optional and are used for contrast or emphasis.

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

V. no: not in all contexts

- i) *si-tulo s-a babe*  
 7-chair PP<sub>X7</sub>-ASSC father  
 ‘Father’s chair’
- ii) *s-a babe, le-si-tulo*  
 PP<sub>X7</sub>-ASSC father DEM<sub>n</sub>-7-chair  
 ‘Of father, this chair’
- iii) *i-n-dlu ye m-limi*  
 AUG-9-house PP<sub>X9</sub>.ASSC 1-farmer  
 ‘the farmer’s house’
- iv) *tin-dlu le-ti-mbili*  
 10-house DEM<sub>n</sub>-EP<sub>X?</sub><sub>10</sub>-two  
 ‘Two houses’
- v) *tin-dlu le-ti-mbili t-e m-limi*  
 10-house DEM<sub>n</sub>-EP<sub>X?</sub><sub>10</sub>-two PP<sub>X10</sub>-ASSC 1-farmer  
 ‘The farmer’s two houses’
- vi) *ti-tja le-ti-mbili*  
 8-plate DEM<sub>n</sub>-EP<sub>X?</sub><sub>8</sub>-two  
 ‘Two plates’

N. It is possible to get connective-modifier order with the use of the connective form *le-*. However, these forms appear to be pragmatically marked somehow – presentational construction?

**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

- 1SG) *i-n-gadze y-ami*  
 AUG-9-garden PP<sub>X9</sub>-POSS<sub>1SG</sub>  
 ‘my garden’
- 1SG) *li-so l-ami*  
 5-eye PP<sub>X5</sub>-POSS<sub>1SG</sub>  
 ‘my eye’  
 \*liso yami
- 2SG) *i-n-gadze y-akho*  
 AUG-9-garden PP<sub>X9</sub>-POSS<sub>2SG</sub>  
 ‘your(sg) garden’

- 3SG) *i-n-gadze*      *y-akhe*  
 AUG-9-garden    PP<sub>X9</sub>-POSS<sub>3SG</sub>  
 ‘his/her garden’
- 1PL) *i-n-gadze*      *y-etfu*  
 AUG-9-garden    PP<sub>X9</sub>-POSS<sub>1PL</sub>  
 ‘our garden’
- 2PL) *i-n-gadze*      *y-enu*  
 AUG-9-garden    PP<sub>X9</sub>-POSS<sub>2PL</sub>  
 ‘your [pl] garden’
- 3PL) *i-n-gadze*      *y-abo*  
 AUG-9-garden    PP<sub>X9</sub>-POSS<sub>3PL</sub>  
 ‘their garden’

N. Possessive pronominal forms only exist for speech act participants.

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

V. yes

N. See examples in P016

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

V. no: possessive pronouns do not display variation

i) *make*      *w-ami*

1a.mother PP<sub>X1</sub>-POSS<sub>1SG</sub>

‘My mother’ [kinship terms also appears to be in class 1]

ii) *li-so*      *l-ami*

5-eye PP<sub>X5</sub>-POSS<sub>1SG</sub>

‘my eye’ [inalienable]

N. both kinship terms and inalienable possession were tested and neither resulted in a different form.

**P019 Possessor raising: Is possessor raising possible?**

V. ?

« (Yes? See example 4 below) »

i) *u-m-tfwana*    *u-phul-e*                      *u-m-khono*    *we*    *m-ngani*    *w-akhe*  
 AUG-1-child    SM<sub>1</sub>-break-PST    AUG-3-arm    POSS<sub>3</sub> 1-friend    PP<sub>X3</sub>-POSS<sub>3SG</sub>  
 ‘The child broke his friend’s arm’

ii) *\*u-m-tfwana*    *u-phul-e*                      *u-m-khono*    *w-akhe*            *we*    *m-ngani*  
 AUG-1-child    SM<sub>1</sub>-break-PST    AUG-3-arm    PP<sub>X3</sub>-POSS<sub>3SG</sub>    POSS<sub>3</sub> 1-friend  
 ‘The child broke his friend’s arm’

- iii) *ngi-phul-e u-m-khono we-m-tfwana*  
 SM<sub>1SG</sub>-break-PST AUG-3-arm POSS<sub>3</sub>-1-child  
 ‘I broke the child’s arm’
- iv) *ngi-phul-e u-m-tfwana u-m-khono*  
 SM<sub>1SG</sub>-break-PST AUG-1-child AUG-3-arm  
 ‘I broke the child’s arm’
- v) *ngi-phul-e u-m-lente we m-tfwana*  
 SM<sub>1SG</sub>-break-PST AUG-3-leg POSS<sub>3</sub> 1-child  
 ‘I broke the child’s leg’

**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. 2: yes, there is a three-way distinction

- i) *i-mi-ti le*  
 AUG-4-home DEM<sub>4</sub>  
 ‘these homes (near the interlocuters)’
- ii) *imi-ti le-y-o*  
 AUG-4-home DEM-PPx4-DEMr  
 ‘these homes (medium distance)’
- iii) *imi-ti le-y-a*  
 AUG-4-home DEM-PPx4-DEMd  
 ‘those homes (very far the interlocuters)’

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

V. 1: yes, always

- cl.1) *u-mu-ntfu lo*  
 AUG-1-person DEM<sub>1</sub>  
 ‘this person’  
 \**u-mu-ntfu laba*
- cl.2) *ba-ntfu laba*  
 2-person DEM<sub>2</sub>  
 ‘these people’
- cl.3) *u-mu-ti lo*  
 AUG-3-village DEM<sub>3</sub>  
 ‘this village’
- cl.4) *i-mi-ti le*  
 AUG-4-village DEM<sub>4</sub>  
 ‘these villages’

- cl.5) *li-so leli*  
5-eye DEM<sub>5</sub>  
'this eye'
- cl.6) *e-me-hlo lawa*  
AUX-6-fence DEM<sub>6</sub>  
'these fences'
- cl.7) *si-catfulo lesi*  
7-shoe DEM<sub>7</sub>  
'this shoe'
- cl.8) *ti-catfulo leti*  
8-shoe DEM<sub>8</sub>  
'these shoes'
- cl.9) *i-n-ja le*  
AUG-9-dog DEM<sub>9</sub>  
'this dog'
- cl.10) *tin-ja leti*  
10-dog DEM<sub>10</sub>  
'these dogs'
- cl.11) *lu-khuni lolu*  
11-firewood DEM<sub>11</sub>  
'this firewood'
- cl.10) *tin-khuni leti*  
10-firewood DEM<sub>10</sub>  
'these firewood(s)' [Class 11 takes it plural in class 10]
- cl.14) *bu-hlalu lobu*  
14-beads DEM<sub>14</sub>  
'these beads'
- cl.15) *ku-dla loku*  
15-eat DEM<sub>15</sub>  
'this eating'
- cl.16) *pha-nsi lapha*  
16-below DEM<sub>16</sub>  
'this below'
- cl.17) *ku-nene la-pha*  
*ku-nene lo-kwa*  
*loku loko lokwa*  
DEM<sub>n17</sub> DEM<sub>r17</sub> DEM<sub>d17</sub>

cl.18) *mshiya lowa*  
 18.side DEM<sub>18</sub>  
 ‘that side (far away)’

N. Dialectal variation also possible with influence from Xitsonga which introduces additional suffix -na onto the demonstrative form (cf. Ziervogel 1952: 46).

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

V. no: only spatial-deictic functions

N. We were not able to find any examples through elicitation, but this doesn’t mean that they do not exist!

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

V. yes

-*dze* ‘tall’, -*imbi* ‘bad’, -*khulu* ‘large’, -*mfisha* ‘short’

- i) *u-m-fana lomudze*  
*l-o-mu-dze*  
 AUG-1-boy AP<sub>X1</sub>-tall  
 ‘a tall boy’
- ii) *li-tje leli-dze*  
 5-stone AP<sub>X5</sub>-tall  
 ‘?’
- iii) *i-n-dlu len-dze*  
 AUG-9-house AP<sub>X9</sub>-tall  
 ‘a tall house’
- iv) *i-mi-ti lemi-khulu*  
 AUG-4-village AP<sub>X4</sub>-big  
 ‘big villages’

N. Both N-Adj and Adj-N orders are possible. So *umfati (lo)mfisha* and *mfisha (lo)umfati* are acceptable when the copula is used.

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

V. ?

« yes/no »

Adnominal construction

NP + AttrLinker (*l-*) + Adjectival stem?

*moto+le+i-n-cane*

car+DEM+AUG-small

- i) *le moto len-cane*  
DEM<sub>9</sub> 9.car AP<sub>X<sub>9</sub></sub>-small  
'this small car'
- ii) *i-moto le-kahle*  
AUG-9.car AP<sub>X<sub>9</sub></sub>-good  
'good car'
- iii) *ba-ntfwana laba-kahle*  
2-child AP<sub>X<sub>2</sub></sub>-good  
'good children'  
also *ba-ntfwana ba-kahle laba*
- iv) *li-bhuluko leli-sha*  
5-trouser AP<sub>X<sub>5</sub></sub>-new  
'new trousers'
- v) *i-moto len-khulu*  
9-car AP<sub>X<sub>9</sub></sub>-big  
'a big car'
- vi) *tin-khomo leti-ngaki*  
10-cattle AP<sub>X<sub>10</sub></sub>-many  
'How many cattle?'
- vii) *muphi babe?*  
'Which father?'

N. See table on different forms in Ziervogel (1952: 24, 53)

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

V. yes

« *l-* is widespread »

- i) *u-m-fana lo-mu-dze*  
AUG-1-boy ATTRIB-1-tall  
'tall boy'
- ii) *li-tje le-li-dze*  
5-stone ATTRIB-5-tall  
'tall stone'
- iii) *i-n-dlu le-n-dze*  
AUG-9-house ATTRIB-9-tall  
'tall house'

N. Throughout the article, with the exception of this parameter, we use 'AP<sub>X<sub>N</sub></sub>' (N=class number) to gloss the 'attributive linker + class prefix' form.

**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

« not at the first member »

e.g. *e-ma-nt-ana*

AUG-6-water-DIM

‘little water’

N. However, *-ana* is used as a suffix in diminutive formation (cf. 006)

**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

« (cf. P026) »

i) *i-n-ja-nyana*

AUG-9-dog-DIM

‘a small dog’

ii) *si-n-ja-nyana*

7-9-dog-DIM

‘a small dog’

cf) *i-n-ja*

AUG-9-dog

‘a dog’

N. *indvodza* ‘a man’ vs. *indvojey-ana* ‘a small man’

- size

*indlu* ‘house’ > *indlwana* ‘small house’

*ingubo* ‘blanket’ > *ingutjana* ‘small blanket’

*sihlalo* ‘chair’ > *sihladlwana* ‘small chair’

- amount

*emavi* ‘words’ > *emavana* ‘small words’

*kudla* ‘food’ > *kudlana* ‘small food’

*imali* ‘money’ > *imadlana* ‘small money’

- negative meaning

*indvodza* ‘man’ > *indvojeyana* ‘small man’ (pejorative use)

*umfati* ‘woman’ > *umfatana* ‘small woman’ (pejorative use)

*umfana* ‘small boy’ > *umfanyana* ‘boy’ (pejorative use)

- positive, ameliorative, spoiling

*salukati* ‘granny’ > *salukatana* ‘granny’ (ameliorative, spoiling)

*likhehla* ‘grandfather’ > *likhehlana* ‘grandfather’ (ameliorative, spoiling)

*umtsakatsi* ‘witch’ > *umtsakashana* ‘small witch’

*in-ja*

9-dog

‘a dog’

*in-ja-kati*

9-dog-AGMT

‘a big dog’

*indvodza* ‘man’

*indvodzakati* ‘daughter’

- feminine gender

*salukati* ‘old woman’

*umkhwekati* ‘mother in law’

*saliwakati* ‘disliked wife’

*intsandvokati* ‘best beloved wife’

*inkhomati* ‘cow’

*inkhukhu* ‘rooster’ > *Sikhukhukati* ‘hen’

*inkhosi* ‘king’ > *inkhosi-kati* > ‘queen’

*litfole* ‘male calf’ > *litfo-kati* ‘female calf’

- size

*lukhuni* ‘firewood’ > *lukhunikati* ‘big firewood’

*lunyawo* ‘foot’ > *lunyawokati* ‘big foot’

*umfula* ‘river’ > *umfulakati* ‘big river’

*litje* ‘stone’ > *litjekati* ‘big stone’

*buso* ‘face’ > *busokati* ‘big face’

*in-khomati le-mhlophe-kati*

‘a very white cow’

*mhlophe* ‘white’ > *mhlophe-kati* ‘very white’

N. The suffix *-(k)atana* (< \**-(k)ati-ana*) is widespread (examples from Ziervogel 1952)

*umfokat-ana* ‘good for-nothing fellow’ < *umfokati* ‘fellow’ < *umfo* ‘man’

*(u)malukatana* ‘daughter-in-law’

*intfombatana* ‘young girl’ < *intfombi* ‘girl’

*litsangatana* ‘berry’ < *litsanga* ‘pumpkin’

*inyamatana* ‘buck’ < *inyama* ‘meat’

**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. ?

« yes »

(1) noun class 1: person

*umlimi* ‘farmer’ < *kulima* ‘to farm’

*umbhali* ‘a writer’ < *kubhala* ‘to write’

*umpheki* ‘a cook/chef’ < *kupheka* ‘to cook’

*umakhi* ‘a builder’ < *kwakha* ‘to build’

*kugijima* ‘to run’ < *umgijimi* ‘runner’

**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. ?

« yes »

*sihlalo* ‘seat’ < *-hlala* ‘sit’

*inkhulumo* ‘talk’ < *-khuluma* ‘speak’

*imfuyo* ‘live-stock’ < *-fuya* ‘raise stock’

*sono* ‘sin’ < *-ona* ‘do wrong’

*inhlonipho* ‘respect’ < *-hlonipha* ‘respect’

*libito* ‘name’ < *-bita* ‘call’

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

V. no

1 *kunye*

2 *kubili*

3 *kutsatfu*

4 *kune*

5 *sihlanu*

- 6 *sitfupha*
- 7 *sikhombisa*
- 8 *siphohlongo*
- 9 *imfica*
- 10 *lishumi*
- 11 *lishumi nakunye*

**P031 ‘arm’ and ‘hand’: Is there a single stem that denotes both ‘arm’ and ‘hand’?**

V. no: two different words

*sandla* ‘hand’

*umkhono* ‘arm’

**P032 ‘hand’ and ‘finger’: Is there a single stem that denotes both ‘hand’ and ‘finger’?**

V. no: two different words

*sandla* ‘hand’

*umunwe* ‘a finger’

*iminwe* ‘fingers’

*siphanga* ‘shoulder’

*tiphanga* ‘shoulders’

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

V. no: two different words

*lunyawo* ‘foot’

*tinyawo* ‘feet’

*umbala* ‘leg’ [knee to ankle]

*litsanga* ‘thigh’ [hip to knee]

*licakala* ‘ankle’

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

V. no

*litiya* ‘tea’

N. Borrowed from English.

**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) *u-m-ntfwana u-lele*  
 AUG-1-child SM<sub>1</sub>-sleep.PRF  
 ‘The child is asleep’  
 < *lala* ‘sleep’
- ii) *ngisutsi/ngesutse*  
 ‘I am full’
- iii) *imbuti isutsi*  
 ‘The goat is full/satisfied’
- iv) *imoto ingcolile*  
 ‘The car is dirty’
- v) *ti-nkunzi ti-khuluphele*  
 10-bull SM<sub>10</sub>-get\_fat.PRF  
 ‘The bulls are fat’  
 < *khuluphala* ‘to get fat’
- vi) *u-m-ntfwana u-khul-ile*  
 AUG-1-child SM<sub>1</sub>-grow-PRF  
 ‘The child has grown’
- vii) *i-ndvodza i-njingile*  
 i-ndvodza i-cebile  
 9-man SM<sub>9</sub>-be rich.PRF  
 ‘The man is rich’

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

V. yes

- i) *w-a-shay-w-a* *ngu-m-ngani w-akhe*  
 SM<sub>1</sub>-PSTr-hit-PASS-FV COP-1-friend PP<sub>X1</sub>-POSS.3SG  
 ‘He was hit by his friend’
- ii) *w-a-shay-w-a* *ba-ngani b-akhe*  
 SM<sub>1</sub>-PSTr-hit-PASS-FV 2-friend PP<sub>X2</sub>-POSS.3SG  
 ‘He was hit by his friends’
- iii) *u-m-mbila u-vun-w-e* *ngu-m-limi*  
 AUG-3-maize SM<sub>3</sub>-harvest-PASS-PST COP-1-farmer  
 ‘The maize was harvested by the farmer’
- iv) *si-nkhwa s-a-jutj-w-a* *nge-mu-khwa*  
 7-bread SM<sub>7</sub>-PSTr-cut-PASS-FV COP-3-knife  
 ‘The bread was cut with a knife’

- v) *kw-atsi-w-a*                    *u-ya-gula*  
 SM<sub>17</sub>-say?-PASS-FV SM<sub>1</sub>-PRS-be sick-FV  
 ‘It is said he was sick’ (Ziervogel:193)

N. the passive suffix *-w-* can be added productively to any verb form.

**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) *u-m-mbila*    *u-vun-w-e*                    *ngu-m-limi*  
 AUG-3-maize SM<sub>3</sub>-harvest-PASS-PST COP-1-farmer  
 ‘The maize was harvested by the farmer’

- ii) \**u-m-mbila*    *ba-vun-w-e*                    *ngu-m-limi*  
 AUG-3-maize SM<sub>2</sub>-harvest-PASS-PST COP-1-farmer  
 Intended: ‘The maize was harvested by the farmers’

- cf) *kwatsiwa uyagula*  
 ‘It is said he was sick’ (Ziervogel:193)

- iii) *ku-hanj-w-e*                    *nge-tin-yawo*  
 SM<sub>17</sub>-go-PASS-PST COP-10-feet  
 ‘It was travelled by foot’

N. The impersonal passive meaning ‘there is ...’ is only possible when the passivized verb occurs with the existential class 17 marker *ku-* in the subject position.

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

V. 3: by another preposition

- i) *wa-shay-w-a*                    *ngu-m-ngani*    *w-akhe*  
 SM<sub>1</sub>-hit-PASS-FV COP-1-friend PP<sub>x1</sub>-POSS.3SG  
 ‘He was hit by his friend’

- ii) *si-nkhwa*    *s-a-jutj-w-a*                    *nge-mu-khwa*  
 7-bread SM<sub>7</sub>-PSTr-cut-PASS-FV COP-3-knife  
 ‘The bread was cut with a knife’

- iii) *si-nkhwa*    *s-a-jutj-w-a*                    *nge-mi-khwa*  
 7-bread SM<sub>7</sub>-PSTr-cut-PASS-FV COP-4-knife  
 ‘The bread was cut by knives’

- iv) *si-nkhwa*    *s-a-jutj-w-a*                    *ngu-make*  
 7-bread SM<sub>7</sub>-PSTr-cut-PASS-FV COP-1a.mother  
 ‘The bread was cut by mother’

- v) *si-nkhwa*    *s-a-jutj-w-a*                    *ngu-make*                    *nge-mu-khwa*  
 7-bread SM<sub>7</sub>-PSTr-cut-PASS-FV COP-1a.mother COP-3-knife  
 ‘The bread was cut by mother with a knife’

- vi) \**si-nkhwa s-a-jutj-w-a* *make*<sup>1</sup>  
 7-bread SM<sub>7</sub>-PSTr-cut-PASS-FV 1a.mother
- vii) *make w-a-jub-a si-nkhwa*  
 1a.mother SM<sub>1</sub>-PSTr-cut-FV 7-bread  
 ‘Mother cut bread’

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

V. 1: yes, but in specific configuration(s) only

- i) *si-nkhwa s-a-jutj-w-a ngu-make*  
 7-bread SM<sub>7</sub>-PSTr-cut-PASS-FV COP-1a.mother  
 ‘The bread was cut by mother’
- ii) \**si-nkhwa s-a-jutj-w-a make*  
 7-bread SM<sub>7</sub>-PSTr-cut-PASS-FV 1a.mother  
 ‘Intended: ‘the bread was cut by mother’
- iii) *w-a-shay-w-a ba-ngani b-akhe*  
 SM<sub>1</sub>-PSTr-hit-PASS-FV 2-friend PP<sub>X2</sub>-POSS<sub>3SG</sub>  
 ‘He was hit by his friends’

N. The copula which introduces the agent can be omitted in certain contexts – perhaps when no chance of ambiguity with subject etc. Also appears to be phonologically motivated. Can omit the copula before a class 2 noun with the *ba-* prefix.

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

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

- i) *si-niket-en-e ti-pho e-sikolw-eni*  
 SM<sub>IPL</sub>-give-RECIP-PST 10-gift LOC-school-LOC  
 ‘We have given the gifts to each other in school’
- ii) *si-niket-an-a ti-pho e-sikolw-eni*  
 SM<sub>IPL</sub>-give-RECIP-FV 10-gift LOC-school-LOC  
 ‘We are giving gifts to each other in school’
- iii) *si-ya-bing-el-el-an-a*  
 SM<sub>IPL</sub>-PROG-greet-APPL-APPL-RECIP-FV  
 ‘We are greeting each other’
- cf) *ngi-ya-ku-bing-el-el-a*  
 SM<sub>IPL</sub>-PROG-OM<sub>2SG</sub>-greet-APPL-APPL-FV  
 ‘I am greeting you’

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<sup>1</sup> This sentence is judged to be acceptable by an expert consultant. We defer an explanation to future studies.

**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) *Ngi-ya-khal-a*  
SM<sub>1SG</sub>-cry-FV  
'I'm crying.'
- ii) *Umfana u-khal-is-a um-ntfwana*  
1-young.man SM<sub>1</sub>-cry-CAUS-FV 1-child  
'The young man causes the child to cry.'
- iii) *Umfati unats-is-a umntfwana e-ma-nti*  
1.woman SM<sub>1</sub>-cry-drink-FV 1-young.man AUG-6-water  
'The woman causes the child drink water'.
- iv) *fundza* 'read' > *fundzisa* 'to make read'  
*Tishela ufundz-is-a u-m-fundzi indzaba*  
1.teacher SM<sub>1</sub>-read-CAUS-FV AUG-1-sudent 9.story  
'The teacher makes the student read the story'
- v) *Indvodza i-hlabel-is-a um-fana*  
1.man SM<sub>1</sub>-sing-CAUS-FV 1-child  
'The man causes the young man to sing a song'

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

V. yes

- i) *Make u-phek-is-a u-m-ntfwana inyama nge-li-bhodo*  
1.mother SM<sub>1</sub>-cook-CAUS-FV AUG-1-child 9.meat COP-5-pot  
Mama is causing/helping the child to cook meat with a pot.
- ii) *Make u-tamat-is-is-a u-mn-tfwana nge-sipunu*  
1.mother SM<sub>1</sub>-stir-CAUS-CAUS-FV AUG-1-child COP-spoon  
'Mother is making the child stir with a spoon'

**P044 Applicative: How are applicative constructions formed?**

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

- i) *Thembi utseng-el-e u-m-ntfwana ti-catfulo*  
Thembi SM<sub>1</sub>-buy-APPL-FV AUG-1-child 10-shoes  
Thembi bought shoes for the child'

- ii) *Thembi wa-tseng-el-a u-m-ntfwana ti-catfulo*  
 Thembi SM<sub>1</sub>-PST-buy-APPL-FV AUG-1-child 10-shoes  
 Thembi bought shoes for the child'
- iii) *Ngi-ku-phek-el-a kudla*  
 SM<sub>1</sub>SG-OM<sub>2</sub>SG-cook-APPL-FV food  
 'I'm cooking food for you'

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

V. yes

- i) *Indvodza i-sebent-el-a imali*  
 1.man SM<sub>1</sub>-work-APPL-FV 9.money  
 'The man is working for money.' [purpose]
- ii) *Indvodza igijim-el-a imali.*  
 1.man SM<sub>1</sub>-run-APPL-FV 9.money  
 The man is running for money. [purpose]
- iii) *Indvodza i-buyis-el-a imoto eJozi*  
 1.man SM<sub>1</sub>-return-APPL-FV 9.car Johannesburg  
 'The man is returning for the car from Johannesburg.' [purpose]

N. When applicative is used with intransitive verbs the construction denotes 'purpose'.

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

V. ?

« yes »

- i) *Si-ya-bing-el-el-an-a*  
 SM<sub>1</sub>PL-PRS-greet-APPL-APPL-RECP-FV  
 'We are greeting each other'
- ii) *Ngi-sebent-el-el-a babe*  
 SM<sub>1</sub>SG-work-APPL-APPL-FV father  
 'I'm working on behalf of father'
- iii) *Indvodza isebent-el-el-a imali*  
 1.man SM<sub>1</sub>-work-APPL-APPL-FV money  
 'The man is working on behalf of the money.'
- cf) \**Ngiphekelela*

N. Limited doubling of applicative markers – fossilised forms?

Ziervogel (1952: 76) describes *-elela* as 'the intensive'

- bambelela* 'hold fast' < *-bamba* 'hold'  
*-phumelela* 'be all out' < *-phuma* 'go out'

-fikelela ‘reach far enough’ < -fika ‘arrive’  
 -bophelela ‘impute to’ < -bopha ‘bind’  
 -elekelela ‘help’

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

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

i) *tsandzeka* ‘lovable, likable’ < *-tsandza* ‘love, like’

*Ba-ntfwana ba-ya-tsandz-ek-a*

2-children SM<sub>2</sub>-PRS-like-STAT-FV

‘The children are likeable’

ii) *fundzeka* ‘learnable’ < *-fundza* ‘learn’

*le-si-fundvo si-ya-fundz-ek-a*

REL<sub>7</sub>-7-lesson SM<sub>7</sub>-PRS-learn-STAT-FV

‘This subject is learnable’

iii) *Si-fundvo se-tibalo si-ya-fundz-ek-a*

7-subject 7-maths SM<sub>7</sub>-PRS-learn-STAT-FV

‘Maths is learnable’

-valeka ‘closable’ < *-vala* ‘close’

-etfwaleka ‘carriable’ < *-etfwala* ‘carry’

-funeka ‘desirable’ < *-funa* ‘desire, seek’

cf) *-ika* in *-ehlika* ‘get down’ < *-ehla* ‘go down’

N. The suffix *-ek-* is quite productive and can be used together with different types of verbs. Note not also the form *-akala* described by Ziervogel (1942) *aka + ala > akala*

Some verbs take both these suffixes:

-boneka or -bonakala (be visible) < *-bona* ‘see’

-funeka or -funakala (be desirable) < *-funa* (desire)

-fihleka or -fihlakala (get hidden) < *-fihla* (hide)

-onakala (get spoiled) < *-ona* (spoil)

-vakala (be audible) < *-va* (hear)

-tfolakala (be picked up) < *-tfola* (pick up)

-khohlwakala (be forgotten) < *-khohlwa* (forget)

**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

Causative-Applicative-Reciprocal-Passive

*is-el-an-w*

**-is-el-**

e.g. *Indvodza i-ya-hamb-is-el-a umfati imoto*  
'The man is moving the car for the woman.'

**-is-an-**

- i) *Timoto ti-ya-shay-is-an-a*  
'The cars are crashing into each other'
- ii) *Bafati ba-ya-gez-is-an-a*  
2-women SM<sub>2</sub>-PRS-wash-CAUS-RECP-FV  
'The women wash each other.'

**-el-an-**

e.g. *Bafundzi ba-phek-el-an-a liphalishi*  
'The students cook porridge for each other.'

**-el-w-**

e.g. *Bafundzi ba-ya-phek-el-w-a li-phalishi ngu-Bongani*  
'The students were cooked porridge by Bongani'

**-an-w-**

- i) *Kube nekusikana nge-tinkemba e-bhale-ni*  
'There is being cut each other with swords at the tavern.'
- ii) *Ka-gogo kuvus-an-w-a ekuseni*  
'At grandmother's place you are woken early in the morning'

**-is-el-an-**

- i) *Vusi na-Bongani ba-tseng-is-el-ana tinkhomo*  
'Vusi and Bongani sell cows for/to each other.'
- ii) *Vusi na-Bongani ba-lung-is-ela-na timoto*  
'Vusi and Bongani fix cars for each other.'
- iii) *Vusi na-Bongani ba-ntjintj-is-el-an-a e-ma-washi*  
'Vusi and Bongani are being made to exchange watches'

**-is-el-w-**

- i) *Vusi u-tseng-is-el-w-a tinkhomo*  
'The cows are being sold on behalf of Vusi, Vusi had cows sold'

**-is-an-w**

e.g. *E-sikolw-eni*            *ku-dl-is-an-w-a*            *sitambu*  
LOC-school-LOC    INF-eat-CAUS-RECP-PASS-FV    stamp  
'At school they are made to eat stamp'

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

V. 1: by morphological modification of the verb

**Present tense (a- + -i for PRS tenses)**

- i) *Ngi-ya esikolweni*  
'I am going to school'
- ii) *A-ngi-y-i esikolweni*  
'I am not going to school'
- iii) *A-ngi-wa-tsandz-i*            *e-ma-zambane*  
NEG-SM<sub>1</sub>-OM<sub>6</sub>-like-NEG    AUG-6-potatos  
'I do not like potatoes'
- iv) *Ngiye esikolweni itolo*  
'I went to school yesterday'
- v) *Angikayi esikolweni itolo*  
'I have not gone to school'

Perf and narrative tenses: prefix (k)a- + suffix -nga

Stative tenses: prefix (k)a- + FV -i for STATIVE tenses

**Future tense: prefix (k)a-**

- i) *Ngi-tawu-ya e-sikolw-eni kusasa*  
'I will go to school tomorrow'
- ii) *A-ngi-y-i*            *esikolweni*    *kusasa*  
NEG-SM<sub>1SG</sub>-go-NEG    school            tomorrow  
'I will not go to school tomorrow'

**Past tense**

- i) *Ngi-ye esikolweni itolo*  
*itolo ngi-ye esikolweni*  
'I went to school yesterday'
- ii) *A-ngi-ka-y-i*            *e-sikolw-eni*    *itolo*  
NEG-SM<sub>1SG</sub>-NEG.PST-go-NEG    LOC-school-LOC yesterday  
'I did not go to school yesterday'

- iii) *uyadla inyama*  
‘You eat meat’
- iv) *Awudli inyama*  
‘You don’t eat meat’

#### Future tense

- i) *Indvodza i-tawu-y-a esikolweni kusasa*  
1-man 1-FUT-go-FV LOC-school-LOC tomorrow  
‘The man will go to school tomorrow’
- ii) *Indvodza a-nge-ke-iy-e e-sikolw-eni kusasa*  
1-man NEG-SM<sub>1</sub>-NEG-go-SBJV LOC-school-LOC tomorrow  
‘The man will not go to school tomorrow.’
- iii) *A-ngi-y-i esikolweni kusasa*  
NEG-SM<sub>1SG</sub>-go-NEG LOC-school-LOC tomorrow  
‘I will not go to school tomorrow’

N. Negation in independent clauses is expressed through *a- + -i*

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

V. 1: by morphological modification of the verb

- i) *Ungasabenti!*  
‘Don’t work!’
- ii) *Ungadlali!*  
‘Don’t play!’
- iii) *Uma ungagijimi utawuleda*  
‘If you don’t run, you will be late’
- iv) *Utoleda uma ungagijimi*  
*Uma ungagijimi utawushaywa sikhatsi*  
‘If you don’t run, you will be late’  
Lit. If you don’t run, you will be beaten by time
- v) *Ngicabanga kutsi kuncono sihambe*  
‘I think it is better that we should leave’  
*Ngicabanga kutsi kuncono singahambi*  
‘I think it is better that we should not go’
- vi) *Ngicabanga kutsi kuncono singaboni*  
‘I think it is better that we should not see’
- vii) *Ngicabanga kutsi kuncono ngingaboni*  
‘I think it is better that I should not see’

N. Negation in dependent tenses is expressed by means of two morphemes, *nga-* and *-i*.

- a) *ku-nga-bon-i* (*nga-* + *-i* for INF)  
15-NEG-see-NEG  
'not to see' (Ziervogel 1952: 93)
- b) *u-nga-bon-i* (*nga-* + *-i* for SBJV and IMP)  
SM<sub>2SG</sub>-NEG-see-NEG  
'that you do not see / don't see!' (Ziervogel 1952: 95)
- c) *ngi-nga-val-i* (*nga-* + *-i* for PARTICIPIAL)  
SM<sub>1SG</sub>-NEG-close-NEG  
'I not having closed' (Ziervogel 1952: 108)

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

V. 2: yes, as in independent tenses

**Noun phrase**

- i) *Umfula longasibanti*  
'a river which is not wide'
- ii) *Umfula lobantana*  
'A narrow river'
- iii) *Inja lengaguli*  
'a dog which is not ill'

**Present tense**

- i) *Bantfu labasabenta emayini bayaphumelela*  
'The people who work at the mine are successful.'
- ii) *Bantfu labasabenta emayini abaphumeleli*  
'The people who work at the mine are not successful.'

**Past tense.**

- i) *Bantfu labasabente emayini baphumelele*  
'The people who worked at the mine have been successful.'
- ii) *Bantfu labangakasebenti emayini abakaphumeleli*  
'The people who did not work at the mine were not successful.'

**Future tense**

- i) *Bantfu labatawusabenta emayini batawuphumelela*  
'People who will work at the mine will be successful.'

- ii) *Bantfu labangeke basabente emayini angekebaphumelele*  
*Bantfu labangeke basabente emayini abaphumeleli*  
 ‘People who will work at the mine will not be successful.’

N. Negation in relative clauses is expressed through *a + i*

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

V. 5: two (or more)

« 1: in the pre-initial position only (NEG-SM-...); 3: in the final vowel position of the inflected verb (see P080) »

- e.g. *a-ngi-wa-tsandz-i e-ma-zambane*  
 NEG-SM<sub>1</sub>-OM<sub>6</sub>-like-NEG AUG-6-potatos  
 ‘I do not like potatoes’

N. Negation in independent tense is formed through *a + i*

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

V. 5: two (or more)

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

- e.g. *Ngi-cabang-a kutsi kuncono ngi-nga-bon-i*  
 SM<sub>1SG</sub>-think-FV that better SM<sub>1SG</sub>-NEG-see-NEG  
 ‘I think it is better that I should not see’

N. Negation in dependent tenses is expressed by means of two morphemes, *nga-* and *-i*.

**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

- e.g. *a-ngi-wa-tsandz-i e-ma-zambane*  
 NEG-SM<sub>1</sub>-OM<sub>6</sub>-like-NEG AUG-6-potatos  
 ‘I do not like potatoes’

N. Negation in independent tense is formed through the obligatory presence *a- + -i*

**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

- e.g. *Ngi-cabang-a kutsi kuncono ngi-nga-bon-i*  
 SM<sub>1SG</sub>-think-FV that better SM<sub>1SG</sub>-NEG-see-NEG  
 ‘I think it is better that I should not see’

N. Negation in independent tenses is formed through the obligatory presence a+i

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

V. no: not attested in the language

N. Negation in independent tenses is formed through the obligatory presence *a-* + *-i* and negation in dependent tenses is expressed by means of two morphemes, *nga-* and *-i*.

**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) *ngi-val-a*  
SM<sub>1SG</sub>-close-FV  
'I close'
- ii) *a-ngi-val-i*  
NEG-SM<sub>1SG</sub>-close-NEG  
'I do not close / I am not closing'

(cf. examples in P049)

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

V. no

- i) *U-nga-sabenti!*  
'Don't work!'
- ii) *U-nga-dlali!*  
'Don't play!'
- iii) *U-nga-bon-i*  
SM<sub>2SG</sub>-NEG-see-NEG  
'that you do not see / don't see!'
- iv) *Batsite si-nga-sebent-i*  
SM<sub>2</sub>-say.PST SM<sub>1PL</sub>-NEG-work-NEG  
'They said we should not work'
- v) *Basitjele kutsi si-nga-dlal-i!*  
SM<sub>2</sub>-tell that SM<sub>1PL</sub>-NEG-play-NEG  
'They told us not to play'

**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
- N. Negation in independent tenses is formed through the obligatory presence *a-* + *i* and negation in dependent tenses is expressed by means of two morphemes, *nga-* and *-i*. cf. (see (49)))

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

V. yes

**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) *Inkhosi i-khotsem-e*  
 9.king SM<sub>9</sub>-die-PST  
 ‘The king has died’
- ii) *Imbuti i-ya-hamb-a*  
 9.goat SM<sub>9</sub>-DJ-walk-FV  
 ‘A goat is walking’
- iii) *Imbut-ana i-ya-hamb-a*  
 9.goat-DIM SM<sub>9</sub>-DJ-walk-FV  
 ‘A little goat is walking’
- iv) *Timbuti ti-ya-hamb-a*  
 10.goat SM<sub>10</sub>-DJ-walk-FV  
 ‘The goats are walking’
- v) *Inkhomo i-ya-hamb-a*  
 9.cow SM<sub>9</sub>-DJ-walk-FV  
 ‘The cow is walking’
- vi) *Tinkhomo ti-ya-hamb-a*  
 10.cow SM<sub>10</sub>-DJ-walk-FV  
 ‘The cows are walking’
- vii) *#Tinkhomo bayahamba*  
 ‘The cows are walking (personification)’

**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

**1PL**

- i) *Si-ya-lim-a*  
 SM<sub>1PL</sub>-DJ-farm-FV  
 ‘We are farming’

- ii) *Si-yo-lim-a*  
SM<sub>1PL</sub>-ITV-farm-FV  
'We are going to farm'
- iii) *Si-yo-lim-a            ensimini*  
SM<sub>1PL</sub>-ITV-farm-FV    LOC-field-LOC  
'We are going to farm in the field'

## 2PL

- i) *Ni-ya-lima*  
SM<sub>2PL</sub>-DJ-farm-FV  
'You (plural) are farming'
- ii) *Ni-ya        e-nsimi-ni*  
SM<sub>2PL</sub>-go    LOC-field-LOC  
'You (pl) are going to the field'
- iii) *Ni-yo-lim-a*  
SM<sub>2PL</sub>-DJ-farm-FV  
'You (pl) are going to farm'
- iv) *Ni-yo-lim-a            e-nsimi-ni*  
SM<sub>2PL</sub>-DJ-farm-FV    LOC-field-LOC  
'You (pl) are going to farm in the field'

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

V. no

- i) *Bafana    badlile*  
'the boys are drunk'  
*dlile* 'to be drunk' (soft)  
*kudzakwa* 'to be drunk' (harsh)
- ii) *Inkhosi    ikhotseme*  
*Inkhosi    ifile*  
'The king has died'  
*-file* 'die' (harsh)  
*-khotseme* 'die' (soft)
- iii) *Gogo u-shelelwe    lu-lwimi*  
'My grandmother lied'  
Lit. My grandmother slipped her tongue.  
*ku-shelela* 'to slip'

N. No examples identified yet. However, there appear to be variant lexical items used for respect/politeness purposes.

**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)

« (default agreement is class 17 except all-human subjects) »

- i) *Indvodza nenja kugijima kanyekanye*  
'A man and a dog are running together'
- ii) *Indvodza nenja kugijima ndzawonye*  
'A man and a dog are running together'
- iii) *Inja ne-si-dududu ku-shayisen-e*  
9.dog COP-9.motorbike 17-crash-PST  
'A dog and a motorbike crash'
- iv) *Umfati nendvodza ba-hamba kanyekanye*  
'The man and the woman go together'
- v) *Indvodza nemfati ba-ya-hlabela*  
'The man and the young woman are singing'
- vi) *Mkhulu na-gogo ba-ya e-dolobh-eni*  
1.old.man COP-1.old.woman SM<sub>2</sub>-go LOC-town-LOC  
'The old man and the old woman are going to town'
- vii) *Mkhulu na-gogo ba-ya e-dolobh-eni-nhloko*  
1.old.man COP-1.old.woman SM<sub>2</sub>-go LOC-town-LOC-capital  
'The old man and the old woman are going to the capital city'

N. If the nouns are human use *ba-* (SM<sub>2</sub>) but if one of the nouns is not human use *ku-* (Class 17) subject marker.

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

V. 2: past time is divided into two (e.g., hodiernal vs. pre-hodiernal, etc)

**Recent past (Hodiernal?)**

- i) *Ngibone bantfwana ekuseni*  
'I saw the children this morning'
- ii) *Ngibone bantfwana itolo*  
'I saw the children yesterday'

**Distant past (Pre-hodiernal?)**

- i) *Ngabona bantfwana kutsanti*  
'I saw the children the day before yesterday'
- ii) *Ngabona bantfwana le-viki leliphelile*  
'I saw the children last week'
- iii) *Ngabona bantfwana lo-mnyaka lofile*  
'I saw the children last year'

- iv) *Ekuseni u-si-sit-ile*  
morning SM<sub>1</sub>-OM<sub>1</sub>PL-help-PST  
‘She has helped us in the morning’
- v) U-si-sit-ile lo-mnyaka lo-file  
SM<sub>1</sub>.PST-OM<sub>1</sub>PL-help-PST REL-3.year REL-PST  
‘S/he helped us last year’
- vi) *Wa-si-sit-a* lo-mnyaka lo-file  
SM<sub>1</sub>.PST-OM<sub>1</sub>PL-help-PST REL-3.year REL-PST  
‘S/he helped us last year’

N. There is recent past (today, yesterday) and a distant past (day before yesterday onwards) marked by the suffix *-a* and *-e*. However, in the perfective there is no distinction between recent and distant past (both are marked with *-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) *Ngitawubona tinkhomo entsambama*  
‘I will see the cattle this afternoon’
- ii) *Ngitawubona tinkhomo kusasa*  
‘I will see the cattle tomorrow’
- iii) *Ngitawubona tinkhomo leliviki lelitako*  
‘I will see the cattle next week’
- iv) *Ngitawubona tinkhomo lomnyaka lotako*  
‘I will see the cattle next year’

**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

N. Habitual is expressed through the simple present or with the auxiliary *-vama*

- e.g. *Ngidlala ibhola ngabolwesibili*  
*Ngivama ku-dlal0a ibhola ngabolwesibili*  
SM<sub>1</sub>SG-AUX.usually INF-play-FV football Tuesdays  
‘I play football on Tuesdays’

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

V. yes

- i) *U-si-sit-ile*  
SM<sub>1</sub>-OM<sub>1</sub>PL-help-PRF  
‘She has helped us’

- ii) *Ngubani lo-fik-ile*  
COP-who REL<sub>1</sub>-arrive-PRF  
'Who arrived?'
- iii) *Ngi-hamb-a hamb-ile umbhlaba wonkhe*  
SM<sub>1SG</sub>-go-FV go-PRF world whole  
'I travelled around the world'

**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

- i) *Siyodla*  
'Lets (go) eat'
- ii) *Si-yo-lima ensimini*  
'We are going to farm in the field'
- iii) *Si-yo-dlala*  
'We are going to play'
- iv) *Asibalekeni siyodlala*  
'Let's run away and play'
- v) *Asibalekeni siyohlala*  
'Let's run away and sit'

N. Ziervogel describes the suffix as (ka) but speakers only accepted *a-* prefix plus plural suffix *-ni*.

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

V. no

- i) *Buy-a udle*  
'Come and eat'
- ii) *Buy-ani nidle*  
'Come and eat (excluding myself)'
- iii) *Buy-ani sidle*  
'Come and eat (including myself)'
- iv) *Buya upheke*  
'Come and cook'
- v) *Buyani nipheke*  
'Come and I'll cook'
- vi) *Buyani sipheke*  
'Come and lets cook'

N. The verb *buya* is used to convey ventive meaning. This appears to be distinct from lexical verb *-ta* 'go'

- vii) *Bantfwana beta esikolweni*  
'The children are coming to school'

- viii) *Ngita esikotweni*  
'I am coming to school'

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

V. yes

- i) *Hamb-a*  
Go-FV  
'Go!'
- ii) *Bhal-a*  
write-FV  
'Write!'
- iii) *Dlala*  
'Play!'
- iv) *Lima*  
'Farm!'

**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) *Hamba-ni*  
Go-PL  
'Go! (pl)'
- ii) *Bhala-ni*  
'Write! (pl)'
- iii) *Dlala-ni*  
'Play! (pl)'
- iv) *Lima-ni*  
'Farm (pl)!'

**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

**future**

- i) *babe utawuya edolobheni kusasa*  
'Father will go to town tomorrow'
- ii) *Ngj-tawu-va-la*  
'I will close'
- iii) *Ngj-sa-tawu-vala*  
SM<sub>1SG</sub>-PROG-FUT-close  
'I will be closing'

- iv) *si-sa-ta-ku-bona*  
 SM<sub>1PL</sub>-PROG-FUT-OM<sub>2SG</sub>-see-FV  
 ‘We will be seeing you’

**aspect (progressive, perfect)**

- i) *Ngingapheka*  
 ‘I can cook’
- ii) *Ningadlala*  
 ‘I can play’
- iii) *Make upheka liphalishi*  
 ‘Mother is cooking porridge’

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

V. yes

- CJ) *Ngi-bona Thembi*  
 SM<sub>1SG</sub>-see-FV Thembi  
 ‘I see Thembi’
- DJ) *Ngi-ya-m-bon-a*  
 SM<sub>1SG</sub>-DJ-see-OM<sub>1</sub>-FV  
 ‘I see him/her’
- cf) *\*Ngimbona Thembi*  
 SM<sub>1SG</sub>.CJ-see-OM<sub>1</sub>-FV Thembi  
 ‘I see him/her’

N. It appears that the morphological marking of CJ/DJ is restricted to the present tense where the disjunctive form is marked with *-ya-*. In other TAM combinations the distinction does not seem to be active, at least morphologically.

**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) *Ngi-ya-m-bon-a*  
 SM<sub>1SG</sub>-DJ-see-OM<sub>1</sub>-FV  
 ‘I see him/her’
- ii) *Umfana lo-nga-ka-si-sit-i*  
 1.boy REL-NEG-PST-OM<sub>1PL</sub>-help-FV  
 ‘The boy who did not help us’
- iii) *Ngi-ya-s-ati si-khatsi la-tawu-fik-a ngaso Thembi*  
 SM<sub>1SG</sub>-PROG-OM<sub>7</sub>-know 7-time REL-FUT-arrive-FV when Thembi  
 ‘I know the time when Thembi will arrive’

**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) *Ngi-fundz-el-a ba-ntfwana tin-cwadzi*  
SM<sub>1SG</sub>-read-APPL-FV 2-child 10-book

‘I’m reading books to/for the children’

- cf) *\*Ngi-tin-fundz-el-a ba-ntfwana*  
SM<sub>1SG</sub>-OM<sub>10</sub>-read-APPL-FV 2-child

Intd: ‘I’m reading (them) to/for the children’

- ii) *Ngi-ba-fundz-el-a tin-cwadzi*  
SM<sub>1SG</sub>-OM<sub>2</sub>-read-APPL-FV 10-book

‘I’m reading (them to/for the children)’

- cf) *Ngi-ta-ba-fundz-el-a*  
*\*Ngi-tin-ba-fundz-el-a*  
*\*Ngi-ba-tin-fundz-el-a*

N. Object marking without the overt inanimate object appears to be unacceptable.

**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) *Ngi-ya-ti-gez-is-a*  
‘I wash myself’

- ii) *Ngi-ya-ti-phek-el-a*  
‘I am cooking for myself/me’

- iii) *U-ya-ti-fundz-el-a*  
‘She is reading for herself’

- iv) *Ngi-ti-fundz-el-a tin-cwadzi*  
‘I am reading books to/for myself’

N. The reflexive marker is *ti-*

**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) *Ngi-bon-a Thembi*  
SM<sub>1SG</sub>.CJ-see-FV Thembi  
‘I see Thembi’

- ii) *Ngi-ya-m-bon-a*  
SM<sub>1SG</sub>-DJ-OM<sub>1</sub>-see-FV  
‘I see him/her’

- iii) \**Ngi-m-bon-a*                      *Thembi*  
 SM<sub>1SG</sub>.CJ-OM<sub>1</sub>-see-FV    *Thembi*  
 Intd: ‘I see him/her’
- iv) *Ngi-ta-m-bon-a*                      *Thembi*    *kusasa*  
 SM<sub>1SG</sub>.CJ-FUT-OM<sub>1</sub>-see-FV    *Thembi*    *tomorrow*  
 ‘I will see Thembi tomorrow’
- v) *Ngi-ta-m-bon-a*                      *kusasa*    *Thembi*  
 SM<sub>1SG</sub>.CJ-FUT-OM<sub>1</sub>-see-FV    *tomorrow*    *Thembi*  
 ‘I will see Thembi tomorrow’

N. Co-occurrence is possible in certain contexts (cannot be used in tenses where there is a CJ/DJ form). Not sure about the contexts in which it may be obligatory but doesn't seem to be triggered by animacy for example.

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

V. yes

**Singular**

- i) *Ake ngihambe*  
 ‘Let me go’
- ii) *Ake ngihambe ngiyolima*  
 ‘Let me go and farm’
- iii) *Ake ngilime*  
 ‘Let me farm’
- iv) *Ake sihambe siyolima*  
 ‘Let us go and farm’  
 \**Ake ngihambe ngilime*
- v) *Ake uhambe*  
 ‘Let you go’

N. Suffix -e is added to verb stem and the form *ake* is also used (‘leave’?). Plural subjunctive is also possible with -e-ni

**Plural**

- i) *A-si-phek-e-ni*  
 SBJV-SM<sub>1PL</sub>-cook-SBJV-PL  
 ‘Let’s cook’
- ii) *Asidlaleni*  
 ‘Let’s play’

- iii) *Asifundzeni*  
'Let's read'
- iv) *Asibalekeni*  
'Let's run away'

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

V. yes

e.g. *Umfana lo-nga-si-sit-i*  
1.boy REL<sub>1</sub>-NEG-OM<sub>1PL</sub>-help-NEG.PST  
'The boy who does not help us'

N. (Cf. P049)

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

V. 2: yes, a subset of (non-borrowed) verbs

« specifically -know' or 'say' and 'have' »

-*tsi* 'say'

-*ati* 'know'

- i) *Ngi-yati*  
'I know'  
*Bengati*  
'I knew'
- ii) *Ngi-tsi*  
'I say'  
*Ngi-tse*  
'I said'
- iii) *ngi-ne* 'I have'  
*u-ne* 'you have'  
*u-ne* 's/he has'  
*si-ne* 'we have'  
*ni-ne* 'you (pl) have'  
*ba-ne* 'they have'

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

V. ?

« yes »

- i) *Ngi-tawu-buye*      *ngi-phek-e*  
SM<sub>1SG</sub>-FUT-return    SM<sub>1SG</sub>-cook-SBJV  
'I will come and cook'

- ii) *Nga-buya nga-phek-a*  
 SM<sub>1SG</sub>.PST-return SM<sub>1SG</sub>-cook  
 ‘I came back and cooked’
- iii) *Nga-phindze nga-m-funa*  
 ‘I looked for him again’

**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) *Nga-buya nga-phindze nga-pheka*  
 SM<sub>1SG</sub>.PST-return SM<sub>1SG</sub>.PST-repeat SM<sub>1SG</sub>.PST-cook  
 ‘I came back and cooked again’
- ii) *Ngi-hlala ngi-fundza tin-cwadzi*  
 SM<sub>1SG</sub>-remain SM<sub>1SG</sub>-read 10-books  
 ‘I’m always reading books’
- iii) *Li-lalanga li-hlala li-sheshe li-shone e-bu-sika*  
 5-sun SM<sub>5</sub>-remain SM<sub>5</sub>-do\_quickly SM<sub>5</sub>-set AUG-14-winter  
 ‘The Sun always sets quickly in winter’
- iv) *Tin-gulube ti-sheshe tin-atse e-ma-nti*  
 10-pig SM<sub>10</sub>-do\_quickly SM<sub>10</sub>-drink AUG-6-water  
 ‘Pigs drink water quickly’

**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

- i) *Li-lalanga li-hlala li-sheshe li-shone e-bu-sika*  
 5-sun SM<sub>5</sub>-remain SM<sub>5</sub>-do\_quickly SM<sub>5</sub>-set AUG-14-winter  
 ‘The Sun always sets quickly in winter’
- ii) *Tin-gulube ti-sheshe tin-atse e-ma-nti*  
 10-pig SM<sub>10</sub>-do\_quickly SM<sub>10</sub>-drink AUG-6-water  
 ‘Pigs drink water quickly’

N. Actually, here it doesn’t seem to vary according to TAM but to verb forms. At least some of the so-called ‘defective’ verbs are described as always taking infinitive, i.e., lacking subject agreement, verbal complements.

**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. 1: yes, only in the domain of modality (ability, possibility, permission)

- i) *Tin-gulube ti-sheshe tin-atse e-ma-nti*  
 10-pig SM<sub>10</sub>-do\_quickly SM<sub>10</sub>-drink AUG-6-water  
 ‘Pigs drink water quickly’
- ii) *Tin-gulube ti-natsa e-ma-nti nge-ku-shesha*  
 10-pig SM<sub>10</sub>-drink AUG-6-water COP-15-do\_quickly  
 ‘Pigs drink water quickly’
- iii) *Ba-ntfu laba-dzala ba-hlala ba-dziniwe*  
 2-old\_man REL<sub>2</sub>-always SM<sub>2</sub>-remain SM<sub>2</sub>-be\_tired  
 ‘Old men are always tired’
- iv) *Li-lalanga li-sheshe li-shone e-bu-sika*  
 5-sun SM<sub>5</sub>-do\_quickly SM<sub>5</sub>-set AUG-14-winter  
 ‘The Sun always sets quickly in winter’
- v) *Li-lalanga li-hlala li-sheshe li-shone e-bu-sika*  
 5-sun SM<sub>5</sub>-remain SM<sub>5</sub>-do\_quickly SM<sub>5</sub>-set AUG-14-winter  
 ‘The Sun always sets quickly in winter’

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

V. no

N. It depends on how the form *le-ngi-ng-aka* is analysed in the example below. I wonder if this is a negative copula form being used as an auxiliary.

e.g. *Ngidle li-phalishi kuphela, le-ngi-ng-aka li-phek-i*  
 SM<sub>1SG</sub>-eat.PST 5-porridge only REL<sub>5</sub>-SM<sub>1SG</sub>-COP?-NEG 5-cook-NEG.PST  
 ‘I only ate porridge, I did not cook it.’

N. Any usage of copula as an Aux has not been attested so far (but confirmation of ungrammaticality needed?)

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

V. yes

- i) *Umfana lo-wa-si-sit-a*  
 1.boy REL<sub>1</sub>-SM<sub>1</sub>-OM<sub>1PL</sub>-help-FV  
 ‘The boy who helped us’
- ii) *Bafana le-ba-si-sit-a*  
 2.boy REL<sub>2</sub>-SM<sub>2</sub>-OM<sub>1PL</sub>-help-FV  
 ‘The boys who helped us’

- iii) *Umfana lo-nga-ka-si-sit-i*  
 1.boy REL<sub>1</sub>-NEG-PST-OM<sub>1PL</sub>-help-NEG  
 ‘The boy who did not help us’
- iv) *Umfana lo-nga-si-sit-i*  
 1.boy REL<sub>1</sub>-NEG-OM<sub>1PL</sub>-help-NEG  
 ‘The boy who does not help us’
- v) *Bafana la-ba-nga-ka-si-sit-i*  
 2.boy REL<sub>2</sub>-SM<sub>2</sub>-NEG-PST-OM<sub>1PL</sub>-help-NEG  
 ‘The boys who did not help us’
- vi) *Bafana la-ba-nga-ka-ku-sit-i*  
 2.boy REL<sub>2</sub>-SM<sub>2</sub>-NEG-PST-OM<sub>2SG</sub>-help-NEG  
 ‘The boys who did not help you’
- vii) *Umfana lo-tawu-phek-a*  
 1.boy REL<sub>1</sub>-FUT-cook-FV  
 ‘The boy who will cook’
- viii) *Umfana lo-nge-ke-a-phek-e*  
 1.boy REL<sub>1</sub>-NEG-NEG-FUT-TAM-cook-NEG  
 ‘The boy who will not cook’
- ix) *Umntfu lo-yo-si-sit-a*  
 1.person REL<sub>1</sub>-REL-OM<sub>1PL</sub>-help-FV  
 ‘The person who will help us’
- x) *Bantfu laba-yo-si-sit-a*  
 2.person REL<sub>2</sub>-REL-OM<sub>1PL</sub>-help-FV  
 ‘the people who will help us’
- xi) *Umfana lo-yo-si-sit-a*  
 1.boy REL<sub>1</sub>-REL-OM<sub>1PL</sub>-help-FV  
 ‘The boy who will help us’
- xii) *Bafana laba-yo-si-sit-a*  
 2.boy REL<sub>2</sub>-REL-OM<sub>1PL</sub>-help-FV  
 ‘The boys who will help us’
- xiii) *U-si-sit-ile*  
 SM<sub>1</sub>-OM<sub>1PL</sub>-help-PRF  
 ‘She has helped us’
- xiv) *Wa-si-sit-a*  
 SM<sub>1</sub>.PST-OM<sub>1PL</sub>-help-FV  
 ‘S/he helped us’

N. verbal relative marker can be used in affirmative only. In negative contexts it appears to be prohibited in negative.

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

V. no: there is no dedicated relative marker, or relativisation is only marked through verbal morphology (P087)

« a verbal marker is used instead »

- i) *Umuntfu le-sa-m-bon-a*  
1.person REL<sub>1</sub>-SM<sub>1PL</sub>-OM<sub>1</sub>-see-FV  
'The person we saw'
- ii) *Umuntfu le-nga-m-bon-a*  
1.person REL<sub>1</sub>-SM<sub>1SG</sub>-OM<sub>1</sub>-see-FV  
'The person I saw'
- iii) *Umuntfu le-si-yo-m-bon-a*  
1.person REL<sub>1</sub>-SM<sub>1PL</sub>-REL-OM<sub>1</sub>-see-FV  
The person we will see
- iv) *Umuntfu le-ka-m-bon-a*  
1.person REL<sub>1</sub>-SM<sub>1</sub>-OM<sub>1</sub>-see-FV  
'The person who s/he saw'
- v) *Umuntfu lowa-bon-w-a ngu-Thembi*  
1.person REL-see-PASS-FV COP-Thembi  
'The person who was seen by Thembi'
- vi) *Indlu leya-bon-w-a ngu-Thembi*  
9.house REL<sub>9</sub>-see-PASS-FV COP-Thembi  
'The house that was seen by Thembi'
- vii) *Bantfu le-sa-ba-bon-a*  
2.person REL<sub>2</sub>-SM<sub>1PL</sub>-OM<sub>2</sub>-see-FV  
'the people who we saw'

N. See also the examples in P087.

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

V. n.a.: there is no dedicated relative marker, or relativisation is only marked through verbal morphology (P087)

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

V. n.a.: there is no dedicated relative marker, or relativisation is only marked through verbal morphology (P087)

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

V. 2: the subject

- i) *In-cwandzi leya-tseng-w-a ngu-Thembi*  
 9-book REL<sub>9</sub>-buy-PASS-FV COP-Thembi  
 ‘The book that Thembi bought’
- ii) *Sitja lesa-tseng-w-a ngu-Thembi*  
 7.plate REL<sub>7</sub>-buy-PASS-FV COP-Thembi  
 ‘The plate that was bought by Thembi’

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

V. null: unknown

- cf) *In-cwandzi leya-tseng-w-a ngu-Thembi*  
 9-book REL<sub>9</sub>-buy-PASS-FV COP-Thembi  
 ‘The book that Thembi bought’

**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. 2: yes, it is always required

« (an object marker or an independent pronoun are possible, and always required) »

- i) *Incwandzi leya-tseng-w-a ngu-Thembi*  
 9.book REL<sub>9</sub>-REL-buy-PASS-FV COP-Thembi  
 ‘The book that Thembi bought’
- ii) *Indvodza ya-hlangana ne-m-fana lo-wa-sit-w-a ngu-Thembi*  
 9.man SM<sub>9</sub>-meet-RECP COP-1-boy REL-SM<sub>1</sub>-help-PASS-FV COP-Thembi  
 ‘The man met the boy who Thembi helped’
- iii) *Indvodza leya-bon-a i-moto leya-tseng-w-a ngu-Thembi*  
 9-man REL<sub>9</sub>-see-FV 9-car REL<sub>9</sub>-buy-PASS-FV COP-Thembi  
 ‘The man who saw a car that Thembi bought’
- iv) *Indvodza ya-hlangana ne-m-fana lo-wa-sit-w-a ngu-Thembi*  
 9-man SM<sub>9</sub>-meet-FV COP-1-boy REL<sub>1</sub>-SM<sub>1</sub>-help-PASS-FV COP-Thembi  
 ‘The man met the boy who Thembi helped’
- v) *Indvodza leya-bona i-moto leya-tseng-w-a ngu-Thembi*  
 9-man REL<sub>9</sub>-see-FV 9-car REL<sub>9</sub>-buy-PASS-FV COP-Thembi  
 ‘The man who saw a car that Thembi bought’
- vi) *Imoto le-nga-yi-bon-a*  
 9-car REL<sub>9</sub>-SM<sub>1SG</sub>-OM<sub>9</sub>-see-FV  
 ‘The car that I saw’

- vii) *I-ndvodza le-nga-yi-bon-a*  
 9-man REL<sub>9</sub>-SM<sub>1SG</sub>-OM<sub>9</sub>-see-FV  
 ‘The man that I saw’

**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

**Temporal (“when”)**

- i) *Uma Thembi afika ngi-tawu-ya e-sikolweni*  
 ‘When Thembi arrives, I will go to school’
- ii) *Uma ngicedza kufundza ngitawupheka*  
 ‘When I finish reading, I will cook’
- iii) *Ngi-ya-s-ati si-khatsi la-tawu-fik-a ngaso Thembi*  
 SM<sub>1SG</sub>-OM<sub>7</sub>-know 7-time REL-FUT-arrive-FV when Thembi  
 ‘I know the time when Thembi will arrive’
- iv) *Be-ngi-s-ati si-khatsi lebe-ka-tawu-fika ngaso Thembi*  
 TAM?-SM<sub>1SG</sub>-OM<sub>7</sub>-know 7-time REL-SM<sub>1</sub>-FUT-arrive when Thembi  
 ‘I knew the time when Thembi will arrive’
- v) *Be-ngi-s-ati lebe-ka-tawu-fika ngaso Thembi*  
 TAM?-SM<sub>1SG</sub>-OM<sub>7</sub>-know REL-SM<sub>1</sub>-FUT-arrive when Thembi  
 ‘I knew (the time) when Thembi will arrive’

**Locative (“where”)**

- i) *Ngi-ya-y-ati le-ndzawo la-lim-a ku-yo Thembi*  
 SM<sub>1SG</sub>-PRS-OM<sub>9</sub>-know DEM-9.place REL-farm-FV DEM-9 Thembi  
 ‘I know the place that Thembi is farming’
- ii) *Ngi-ya-t-ati le-tindzawo la-lim-a ku-to Thembi*  
 SM<sub>1SG</sub>-PRS-OM<sub>10</sub>-know DEM-10.place REL-farm-FV DEM-10 Thembi  
 ‘I know the places that Thembi is farming’
- iii) *Ngi-ya-t-ati le-tindzawo la-ba-lim-a ku-to la-ba-fana*  
 SM<sub>1SG</sub>-PRS-OM<sub>10</sub>-know DEM-10.place REL-SM<sub>2</sub>-farm-FV DEM-10 DEM-2-boy  
 ‘I know the places that the boys are farming’
- iv) *Ngi-ya-y-ati le-ndzawo lebe-ka-lim-a ku-yo Thembi*  
 SM<sub>1SG</sub>-PRS-OM<sub>9</sub>-know DEM-9.place REL-SM<sub>1</sub>.PST-farm-FV DEM-9 Thembi  
 ‘I know the place that Thembi farmed’
- v) *Be-ngi-y-ati le-ndzawo lebe-ka-lima ku-yo Thembi*  
 TAM?-SM<sub>1SG</sub>-OM<sub>9</sub>-know DEM-9.place REL-SM<sub>1</sub>.PST-farm DEM-9 Thembi  
 ‘I knew the place that Thembi farmed’

- vi) *Ngi-ta-y-ati le-ndzawo la-tawu-lim-a ku-yo Thembi*  
 SM<sub>1SG</sub>-FUT-OM<sub>9</sub>-know DEM-9.place REL-FUT-farm-FV DEM-9 Thembi  
 ‘I will know the place that Thembi will farm.’
- vii) *Ngi-ya-y-ati le-ndzawo la-tawu-lim-a kuyo Thembi*  
 SM<sub>1SG</sub>-PRS-OM<sub>9</sub>-know DEM-9.place REL-FUT-farm-FV DEM-9 Thembi  
 ‘I know the place that Thembi will farm.’

N. These examples seem to suggest that you can omit the words *sikhatsi* ‘time’ and the clause will still be well-formed.

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

V. ?

« no? »

N. We couldn’t get these through elicitation but it’s true that it’s quite difficult to achieve it through the English translation since it’s not really possible in English.

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

V. null: unknown

**P097 Clefts: How are clefts formed?**

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

- i) *kute bani*  
 ‘Who came?’
- ii) *Kufike bani?*  
 ‘Who arrived?’
- iii) *Ngu-bani lo-fik-ile*  
 COP-who REL<sub>1</sub>-arrive-PRF  
 ‘Who arrived?’
- iv) *Ngu-bani lo-tseng-e in-cwadzi*  
 COP-who REL-buy-PST 9-book  
 ‘Who bought the book?’
- v) *Ngu-Thembi lo-fik-ile*  
 ‘It is Thembi who arrived’
- vi) *Kufike Thembi*  
 ‘There arrived Thembi’
- vii) *Kukusasa lapho ngi-ta-kuya khona enyuvesi*  
 Tomorrow 16.DEM SM<sub>1SG</sub>-FUT-go where University  
 ‘It is tomorrow I will go to University’

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

V. no

- cf) \*Nge-itolo Thembi lo-fik-ile  
COP-yesterday Thembi REL-arrive-PST  
Intd. 'It is yesterday that Thembi arrived'
- cf) \*Ngu-kukusasa Thembi lo-fik-ile  
\*Nge-kushesha Thembi ugijima  
Thembi ugijima nge-kushesha

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

V. yes

« question word 'ná' »

- i) U-ya-fundza na?  
SM<sub>2SG</sub>-DJ-study QP  
'Do you study?'
- ii) U-fundz-ile itolo na?  
SM<sub>2SG</sub>-study-PRF yesterday QP  
'Did you study yesterday?'
- iii) U-ya-dla inyama na?  
'Do you eat meat?'
- iv) U-ya-dla na?  
'Do you eat?'

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

V. 3: immediately after the verb (IAV)

- i) U-fundz-a-ni?  
SM<sub>2SG</sub>-study-FV-what  
'What do you study?'
- ii) U-fundz-a ini?  
SM<sub>2SG</sub>-study-FV what  
'What do you study?'
- iii) Uya kuphi  
SM<sub>2SG</sub> where
- iv) Uyaphi  
'Where are you going?'

- v) *Uhamba njani?*  
‘How are you going?’
- vi) *Ngi-ya-hamba*  
SM<sub>1SG</sub>-DJ-go  
‘I’m going’
- vii) *Ngi-hamba nge-tin-yawo*  
SM<sub>1SG</sub>-go COP-10-foot  
‘I’m going by foot’
- viii) *U-ba-tseng-el-e ini ba-ntfwana*  
SM<sub>2SG</sub>-OM<sub>2</sub>-buy-APPL-PST what 2-child  
‘What did you buy for the children?’
- ix) *Ngi-ba-tseng-el-e kudla ba-ntfwana*  
SM<sub>1SG</sub>-OM<sub>2</sub>-buy-APPL-PST food 2-child  
‘I bought food for the children’
- x) *U-ba-dl-is-e njani ba-ntfwana?*  
SM<sub>2SG</sub>-OM<sub>2</sub>-eat-CAUS-PST how 2-child  
‘How did you feed the children?’
- xi) *U-ba-dl-is-e nini ba-ntfwana?*  
SM<sub>2SG</sub>-OM<sub>2</sub>-eat-CAUS-PST when 2-child  
‘When did you feed the children?’
- xii) *Ngi-ba-dl-is-e itolo ba-ntfwana?*  
SM<sub>1SG</sub>-OM<sub>2</sub>-eat-CAUS-PST yesterday 2-child  
‘I fed the children yesterday’
- xiii) *U-ya-ku-fun-a ku-dl-a na?*  
SM<sub>2SG</sub>-DJ-INF-want-FV INF-eat-FV QP  
‘Do you want to eat?’

N. Question words: *ini* ‘what’, *bani* ‘who’, *kuphi* ‘where’, *njani* ‘how’, *kungani* ‘why’

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

V. yes

- i) *U-khal-el-a-ni?*  
SM<sub>2SG</sub>-cry-APPL-FV-what  
‘Why are you crying?’
- ii) *U-khal-el-a ini?*  
SM<sub>2SG</sub>-cry-APPL-FV what  
‘Why are you crying?’

**cf. Independent “why” word**

- i) *Yini a-balek-a lo-m-fana?*  
 why SM<sub>1</sub>.PRS-run-FV REL-1-boy  
 ‘why is this boy running away?’
- ii) *Yini u-nga-hlal-i?*  
 why SM<sub>2SG</sub>-NEG-sit-NEG  
 ‘Why are you not sitting/staying?’

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

V. 2: variable (class-inflected) copulas only

- i) *Ngu-mfundzi*  
 SM<sub>1SG</sub>-student  
 ‘S/he is a student’
- ii) *Ungumfundzi*  
 SM<sub>1</sub>-student  
 ‘S/he is a student’
- iii) *Babafundzi*  
 ‘They are students’
- iv) *Thembi ungumfundzi*  
 ‘Thembi is a student’

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

V. 6: multiple strategy

- i) *Ngi-ngu-m-fundzi*  
 SM<sub>1SG</sub>-COP-1-student  
 ‘I am a student’
- ii) *U-ngu-m-fundzi*  
 SM<sub>2SG</sub>-COP-1-student  
 ‘You are a student’
- iii) *a-ngi-su-ye-umfundzi*  
 NEG-SM<sub>1SG</sub>-NEG-?-1-student  
 ‘I’m not a student’

Predicative lowering: The tone of the penultimate syllable of the noun is lowered: *umuntú* vs *umúntu*  
 Nouns from all classes other than 9 can drop the augment and the tone of the penultimate syllable is lowered: *muntfú* ‘It is a person’

In class 4 and 9, the prefix *y-* is added: *y-inja* ‘it is a dog’

Nouns which begin with the prefixes *e-* or *u* add the prefix *ng*’

- e.g. *ngu-mfati* ‘it is a woman’  
*ngu-mfula* ‘it is a river’  
*nge-bafati* ‘it is women’

Locatives prefix *ngu*: *ngu-phandle* ‘it is outside’

- N. There are multiple copulas in the language – predicative lowering occurs, also the prefix *y-* (but this may well be regarded as an allomorph of (the regular copula) *ngV*, appeared only before class 4 and 9 whose augment form is *i-*)

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

V. yes

- N. The copula is used in the formation of the passive, it is also used in the formation of clefts (to convey focus).

**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)

*Ngine* ‘I have’

*Sine* ‘We have’

*Une* ‘You have’

*Nine* ‘You (pl) have’

*Une* ‘S/he’ [distinguished tonally]

*Bane* ‘They have’

i) *U-ne lusiba*

SM<sub>1</sub>-with pen

‘S/he has a pen’

ii) *Beka ne-lusiba*

SM<sub>1</sub>.PST with-pen

‘She had a pen’

iii) *Beka ne-li-pulazi*

SM<sub>1</sub>.PST with-5-big.farm

‘S/he had a large farm’

iv) *U-tawu-ba ne-ba-ntfwana*

SM<sub>2SG</sub>-FUT-COP with-2-child

‘S/he will have children’

- N. Both the defective verb forms are used, along with the *ba* construction which can be inflected for temporal information and occurs alongside the conjunction/preposition *ne*

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

V. null: unknown

« There are examples of cognate objects but it is not clear whether any of these are obligatory? »

- i) *Iyana im-vula*  
SM<sub>9</sub>-rain 9-rain  
'It's raining'
- ii) *Ngi-phuphe li-phuph-o*  
SM<sub>1SG</sub>-dream 5-dream-NMLZ  
'I dream a dream'
- iii) *Ngi-hambe lu-hamb-o*  
SM<sub>1SG</sub>-go 11-go-NMLZ  
'I'm going on a journey'
- iv) *Ngi-khulum-a in-khulum-o*  
SM<sub>1SG</sub>-talk-FV 9-talk-NMLZ  
'I'm talking a talk'

**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. no

« [these examples all involve simple reduplication of finite verb forms. Non-finite forms do not appear to be permitted] »

- i) *Ngi-hamb-a hamb-ile umhlaba wonkhe*  
SM<sub>1SG</sub>-go-FV go-PRF world whole  
'I travelled around the world'
- ii) *Ngi-fundz-a fundz-ile itolo*  
SM<sub>1SG</sub>-read-FV read-PRF yesterday  
'I read yesterday'
- iii) *Ngi-ya-hamb-a hamb-a*  
SM<sub>1SG</sub>-DJ-go-FV go-FV  
*\*Kuhamba ngiyahamba*

N. Second verb form cannot appear with subject marking but takes suffix *-(il)e* (subjunctive rather than perfect?)

**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

« (*kushaya* 'to hit') »

- i) *Shay-a tim-bongolo*  
hit-FV 10-donkey  
'beat the donkeys'



- iv) *Thembi u-yi-nika kudla*  
Thembi SM<sub>1</sub>-OM<sub>9</sub>-give-FV food  
'Thembi gives it (class 9) food'
- v) *Thembi u-yi-nik-a u-m-ntfwana*  
Thembi SM<sub>1</sub>-OM<sub>9</sub>-give-FV AUG-1-child  
'Thembi gives it (class 9) to the child'
- vi) *Thembi u-li-nik-a u-m-ntfwana*  
Thembi SM<sub>1</sub>-OM<sub>5</sub>-give-FV AUG-1-child  
'Thembi gives it (class 5) to the child'
- vii) *Thembi u-ti-nika tona e-m-tfwan-eni*  
Thembi SM<sub>1</sub>-OM<sub>10</sub>-give-FV 10.PRO LOC-1-child-LOC  
'Thembi gives them (class 10) to a child'
- viii) *Nga-tseng-el-a inja kudla*  
SM<sub>1SG</sub>.PST-buy-APPL-FV 9.dog 15.food  
'I bought food for the dog'
- ix) *Nga-ku-tseng-el-a inja*  
SM<sub>1SG</sub>.PST-OM<sub>15</sub>-buy-APPL-FV 9.dog  
'I bought it (food) for the dog'
- x) *Nga-yi-tseng-el-a kudla*  
SM<sub>1SG</sub>.PST-OM<sub>9</sub>-buy-APPL-FV 15.food  
'I bought (the dog) it food'

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

V. yes

N. see the examples in P060?

- i) *Tinkhomo tiyagijima*  
'The cows are running'  
*Tiyagijima tinkhomo*
- ii) *Tiyagijima*  
'(they) are running'

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

V. no

- i) *Le-tinkhomo leti*  
'These cows'  
*\*Leti letinkhomo*
- ii) *Leti tinkhomo*  
'these are cows'  
*\*Leti letinkhomo leti*

N. Dem-Noun construction is only used as a copulative sentence, thus e.g. *Leti tinkhomo* means ‘these are cows’ but not ‘these cows’.

**P113 Quant-Noun: Is there a prenominal quantifier?**

V. no

- cf) *Umfundzi ngamunye une ncwadzi*  
*Ngamunye umfundzi une ncwadzi*  
‘Each student has a book’

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

V. yes

- i) *Incwadzi yami lenkhulu*  
9.book 9.my big  
‘My big book’  
*\*Incwadzi lenkhulu yami<sup>2</sup>*
- ii) *Incwadzi yami lenkhulu lebovu*  
9.book 9.my big red  
‘My big red book’
- iii) *Incwadzi yami lenkhulu lebovu lensha*  
9.book 9.my big red new  
‘My big red new book’

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

V. yes

- e.g. *Ngi-fundz-el-a bantfwana tincwadzi*  
SM<sub>ISG</sub>-read-APPL-FV 2.child 10.book  
‘I’m reading books to/for the children’

**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 (e.g. benefactive-theme, animacy)

« the highest in terms of animacy appears first »

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<sup>2</sup> This sentence is judged to be acceptable by an expert consultant. We defer an explanation to future studies.

- i) *Thembi u-nik-a sivakashi ingulube*  
 PN SM<sub>1</sub>-give-FV visitor pig  
 ‘Thembi gives a pig to a visitor’
- ii) *##\*Thembi unika ingulube sivakashi*  
 Intended: ‘Thembi gives a visitor a pig’  
 Meaning: ‘Thembi gives a visitor to the pig!’
- iii) *Ngatsenga tinkinobho te lijazi*  
 SM<sub>1SG</sub>.PST-buy 10.buttons 10.ASSC 5.jacket  
 ‘I bought buttons for the jacket’
- iv) *Nga-tseng-el-a gogo tinkinobho*  
 SM<sub>1SG</sub>.PST-buy-APPL-FV 1a.grandmother 10.buttons  
 ‘I bought buttons for grandmother’  
 \* *Nga-tseng-el-a tin-kinobho gogo*<sup>3</sup>

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

V. yes

- i) *Thishela ufundz-is-a umfundzi indzaba* [normal, neutral, unmarked]  
 1a.teacher SM<sub>1</sub>-read-CAUS-FV 1.student 9.story  
 ‘The teacher makes the student read the story’
- ii) *Thishela ufundz-is-a indzaba umfundzi* [marked order]  
 1a.teacher SM<sub>1</sub>-read-CAUS-FV 9.story 1.student  
 ‘The teacher makes the student read the story’
- iii) *Ngaphekela umtfwana kudla* [normal, neutral, unmarked]  
 ‘I cooked food for the child’
- iv) *Ngaphekela kudla umtfwana* [marked order]  
 ‘I cooked the child food’
- v) *Nga-tfula ba-fundzi e-m-ngani-ni wami*  
 SM<sub>1</sub>.PST-introduce 2-student LOC-1-friend-LOC my  
 ‘I introduced the students to my friend’
- vi) *Nga-tfula um-ngani wami ku-ba-fundzi*  
 SM<sub>1</sub>.PST-introduce 1-friend my LOC-2-student  
 ‘I introduced my friend to the students’

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

V. 1: immediately after the verb (IAV)

<sup>3</sup> This sentence is judged to be acceptable by an expert consultant. We defer an explanation to future studies.

- i) *Watinikani Thembi tivakashi?*  
*Wa-ti-nika            ini    Thembi    tivakashi?*  
 SM<sub>1</sub>-PST-give        what    Thembi    10.guests  
 ‘What did Thembi give to the visitors?’
- ii) *Thembi watinika ingulube tivakashi*  
 ‘Thembi gave A PIG to the visitors.’
- iii) *Ngu-bani Thembi la-m-nika ingulube?*  
 ‘Who did Thembi give the pig to?’
- iv) *Wanika bani Thembi ingulube?*  
 ‘Who did Thembi give the pig to?’
- v) *Thembi wa-nika            Sibonelo    ingulube*  
 Thembi    SM<sub>1</sub>.PST-give    Sibonelo    9.pig  
 ‘Thembi gave the pig TO SIBONELO’

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

V. no

- i) *Tin-gulube    ti-sheshe        tin-atse        ema-nti*  
 10-pig            SM<sub>10</sub>-quickly    SM<sub>10</sub>-drink    6-water  
 ‘Pigs drink water quickly’
- ii) *\*Tin-gulube    ti-sheshe        ema-nti        tin-atse*  
 10-pig            SM<sub>10</sub>-quickly    6-water        SM<sub>10</sub>-drink  
 ‘Pigs drink water quickly’
- iii) *\*Tin-gulube    ti-sheshe        la                tin-atse*  
 10-pig            SM<sub>10</sub>-quickly    6.DEM        SM<sub>10</sub>-drink  
 ‘Pigs drink water quickly’

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

V. no

- i) *Ngiyakufuna    kudla*  
 I want            to eat  
 ‘I want to eat’
- ii) *\*Kudla    ngiyakufuna*  
 to eat        I want  
 ‘I want to eat’

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

V. null: unknown

« probably 1: yes, and the verb agrees with the postverbal subject »

- i) *Kufike Thembi na Sibonelo*  
‘There arrived Thembi and Sibonelo’
- ii) *Ku-pheka ku-hle*  
15-cooking 15-good  
‘Cooking is good’
- iii) *Ku-phek-a ku-yingoti*  
15-cook 15-dangerous  
‘Cooking is dangerous’
- iv) *Kupheka kuyashisana*  
‘Cooking burns’
- v) *Bantswana bayashisana*  
‘The children are burning each other’
- vi) *Bantswana bebashayana*  
‘the children were hitting each other’

**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)

« formal locative inversion »

- i) *Tinyoni ti-ya-hlabelel-a e-si-hlahl-eni*  
10.bird SM<sub>10</sub>-PRS-sing-FV LOC-8-tree  
‘Birds are singing in the trees’
- ii) *E-si-hlahl-eni ku-hlabelel-a tinyoni* [locative inversion]  
LOC-8-tree-LOC SM<sub>17</sub>-sing-FV 10.bird  
‘In the trees the birds are singing’
- iii) *E-si-hlahl-eni ti-nyoni ti-ya-hlabe-le-la*  
LOC-10-trees-LOC 10-birds SM<sub>1</sub>-PROG-sing-APPL-FV  
‘In the trees the birds are singing’
- iv) *Kune-ti-nyoni e-ti-hlahl-eni*  
*ku-na i-ti-nyoni e-ti-hlahl-eni*  
18-with AUG-10-bird LOC-8-tree-LOC  
‘In the trees there are birds’
- v) *E-tihlahl-eni ku-ne-ti-nyoni*  
LOC-10-trees-LOC 18-with-10-birds  
‘In the trees there are birds’
- vi) *Balimi ba-hlala e-Malalane*  
2-farmer SM<sub>2</sub>-stay LOC-Malalane  
‘Farmers live in Malalane’

- vii) *E-malalane ku-hlala balimi*  
 LOC-Malalane SM<sub>17</sub>-stay 2.farmer  
 ‘In Malalane live farmers’

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

V. no

- i) *Um-ntfwana wa-phul-a li-bhodo*  
 1-child SM<sub>1</sub>.PST-break-FV 5-pot  
 ‘The child broke the pot’
- ii) *Li-bhodo laphula umntfwana*  
 ‘The pot broke the child’ (\*The child broke the pot)
- N. Reversal of subject and object results in personification.

**P124 Instrument inversion: Is instrument inversion attested?**

V. no

- i) *Si-punu sipheka inyama*  
 7-spoon SM<sub>7</sub>-cook-FV 9.meat  
 ‘The spoon is cooking the meat’
- ii) *Si-punu si-phek-EL/ESH-a inyama*  
 7-spoon SM<sub>7</sub>-cook-APPL/CAUS-FV 9.meat  
 ‘The spoon is cooking the meat (s.o. is cooking the meat with the spoon)’
- iii) *Ngiphek-EL/ESH-a sipunu inyama*  
 ‘I am cooking the meat with the spoon’
- iv) *\*Inyama ipheka sipunu*  
 ‘The meat is cooking the spoon’
- v) *Sipunu sibondza liphalihi*  
 ‘The spoon is stirring the porridge’
- vi) *\*Liphalihi libondza sipunu*  
 ‘The spoon is stirring the porridge’

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

V. no

- i) *Ngitsandza ku-dla inyama ne-liphalihi*  
 SM<sub>1SG</sub>-like 15-eat 9.meat and-6.porridge  
 ‘I like eating meat and porridge’
- ii) *Imfene ne-nja ti-ya-balek-a*  
 9.baboon and-9.dog SM<sub>10</sub>-PRS-run.away-FV  
 ‘The baboon and the dog are running away’

- iii) *Imfene ne-nja ti-ya-balek-a futsi ti-ya-lwa*  
 9.baboon and-9.dog SM<sub>10</sub>-PRS-run.away-FV and SM<sub>10</sub>-PROG-fight  
 ‘The baboon and the dog are running away and fighting each other’
- iv) *Batfwana ba-ya-dlal-a futsi ba-ya-hleka*  
 2-child SM<sub>2</sub>-PRS-play-FV and SM<sub>2</sub>-PRS-laugh  
 ‘The children are playing and laughing’
- v) *Ku-fike Thembi na Sibonelo*  
 17-arrive.PST Thembi and Sibonelo  
 ‘There arrived Thembi and Sibonelo’
- vi) *Thembi wa-phek-a liphalishi (\*na) Sibonelo wapheka inyama*  
 Thembi SM<sub>1</sub>.PST-cook-FV 5-porridge Sibonelo SM<sub>1</sub>-cook 9.meat  
 ‘Thembi cooked porridge and Sibonelo cooked meat’

N. *na* cannot be used to combine sentences. Instead a pause is used to combine sentences.

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

V. yes

- i) *U-vuk-e, w-a-gez-a, w-a-gcok-a,*  
 SM<sub>1</sub>-wake.up-PST SM<sub>1</sub>-CONS-bathe.-FV SM<sub>1</sub>-CONS-get.dressed.-FV  
*w-a-dl-a w-a-y-a e-sikolw-eni*  
 SM<sub>1</sub>-CONS-eat-FV SM<sub>1</sub>-CONS-go-FV LOC-school-LOC  
 ‘He woke up, bathed, got dressed, ate, and went to school’
- ii) *Ngiya esikoleni nangicedza ngiya emsebentini*  
 ‘I’m going to school and after that I go to work’

N. The narrative past form (SM-*a-a*) is used.

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

V. 1: yes, optionally

- i) *Ngicabanga kutsi iMalalane y-inkhulu*  
 SM<sub>1SG</sub>.think that Malalane 9-big  
 ‘I think that Malalane is big’
- ii) *Ngi-ya-cabanga iMalalane y-inkhulu*  
 SM<sub>1SG</sub>-PRS-think Malalane 9-big  
 ‘I think Malalane is big’

- iii) \**Ngicabanga iMalalane y-inkhulu*<sup>4</sup>  
 SM<sub>1SG</sub>.think Malalane 9-big  
 ‘I think Malalane is big’
- iv) *Ngicabanga kutsi ku-pheka ku-yingoti*  
 SM<sub>1SG</sub>.think that 15-cooking 15-be\_dangerous  
 ‘I think that cooking is dangerous!’
- v) *Ngi-ya-cabanga kupheka ku-yingoti*  
 SM<sub>1SG</sub>-PRS-think 15-cooking 15-be\_dangerous  
 ‘I think that cooking is dangerous!’
- vi) *Ngi-ya-tsemba kutsi iyana*  
 SM<sub>1SG</sub>-PRS-believe that SM<sub>9</sub>.raining  
 ‘I believe that it is raining’

N. The complementiser *kutsi* is optional. However, with omission of the complementiser the verb appears in the long form.

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

V. 1: in front of the clause

- e.g. *Ngi-ya-tsemba kutsi [Thembi ungu-thishela]*  
 SM<sub>1SG</sub>-PRS-believe that Thembi COP-teacher  
 ‘I believe that Thembi is a teacher’

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

V. no

N. The following verbs are identified: *-khuluma* ‘say’, *-tjela* ‘tell’

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

V. no

- i) *Ngicabanga kutsi iThohoyandou yi-nkhulu*  
 SM<sub>1SG</sub>.think that Thohoyandou 9-big  
 ‘I think that Thohoyandou is large.’
- ii) *Ngi-ya-tsemba kutsi [Thembi ungu-thishela]*  
 SM<sub>1SG</sub>-PRS-believe that Thembi COP-teacher  
 ‘I believe that Thembi is a teacher’

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<sup>4</sup> This sentence is judged to be acceptable by an expert consultant. We defer an explanation to future studies.

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

V. 3: both 1 or 2 are possible, but not in the same clause (1: only by means of a conjunction semantically equivalent to English ‘if’; 2: only by means of a specific tense/aspect/mood)

e.g. *Uma ina imvula ti-mbali ti-ya-chakata*  
If SM<sub>9</sub>.rain 9.rain 10-flower SM<sub>10</sub>-PRS-bloom  
‘If it rains, flowers will bloom’

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

V. no

i) *Uma ina imvula ti-mbali ti-ya-chakata*  
If SM<sub>9</sub>.rain 9.rain 10-flower SM<sub>10</sub>-PRS-bloom  
‘If it rains, flowers will bloom’

ii) *Ti-mbali ti-ya-chakata uma ina imvula*  
10-flower SM<sub>10</sub>-PRS-bloom if SM<sub>9</sub>.rain 9.rain  
‘If it rains, flowers will bloom’

iii) *Ti-mbali ti-ya-chakata uma imvula ina*  
10-flower SM<sub>10</sub>-PRS-bloom if 9.rain SM<sub>9</sub>.rain  
‘If it rains, flowers will bloom’

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

V. no

i) *Uma imvula i-n-a ti-mbali ti-tawu-chakata*  
if 9.rain SM<sub>9</sub>-rain-FV 10-flower SM<sub>10</sub>-FUT-bloom  
If it rains, flowers will bloom

ii) *Ti-mbali ti-ya-chakat-a uma imvula i-n-a*  
10-flower SM<sub>10</sub>-PRS-bloom-FV if 9.rain SM<sub>9</sub>-rain-FV  
‘Flowers will bloom, if it rains’

N. If clauses can also marked with *la, lapha, lapho* (Ziervogel 1951: 157)

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

V. yes

i) *Kube in-ile ti-mbali nga-be ti-chakat-ile*  
If SM<sub>9</sub>.rain-PST 10-flower SM-HAVE/COP SM<sub>10</sub>-bloom-PST  
‘If it rained, the flowers would have bloomed’

ii) *Kube be-ngi-fundzil-e nga-be ngi-sebent-a kahle*  
If TAM-SM<sub>1SG</sub>-study-PST SM<sub>1SG</sub>HAVE/COP SM<sub>1SG</sub>-work-FV good  
‘If I had studied, I would have a good job’

- iii) *Kube nga-fundz-a nga-be ngi-sebent-a kahle*  
 If SM<sub>1SG</sub>-study-FV SM<sub>1SG</sub>-HAVE/COP SM<sub>1SG</sub>-work-FV good  
 ‘If I had studied, I would have a good job’
- iv) *Kube ngi-yinyoni nga-be ngi-ndiz-el-a kuwe*  
 if COP-bird SM<sub>1SG</sub>-HAVE/COP SM<sub>1SG</sub>-fly-APPL-FV you  
 ‘If I were a bird, I would fly to you.’

N. They are similar since both introduced by *kube* but the they used different tense-aspect combinations.

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

V. 1: by the use of a specific adverbial conjunction

- i) *Ngi-ya-tsandz-a uma si-khatsi se-ku-dla si-fika*  
 SM<sub>1SG</sub>-like-FV if 7-time 7.of-15-eat SM<sub>7</sub>-arrive  
 ‘I like it when the lunch time arrives.’
- ii) *Ngi-ya-tsandz-a uma ku-fika si-khatsi se-ku-dla*  
 SM<sub>1SG</sub>-like-FV if 15-arrive 7-time 7.of-15-eat  
 ‘I like it when the lunch time arrives.’
- iii) *Uma ngi-cedz-a ku-fundza ngi-tawu-ya e-khaya*  
 if SM<sub>1SG</sub>-finish-FV 15-study-FV SM<sub>1SG</sub>-FUT-go LOC-home  
 ‘Once I finish my classes, I will go home.’
- iv) *Uma ngi-cedz-a ti-fundvo ta-mi ngi-tawu-sebent-a e-nyuvesi*  
 if SM<sub>1SG</sub>-finish-FV 10-lessons 10-my SM<sub>1SG</sub>-FUT-work-FV LOC-university  
 ‘After completing my study, I will work at a university.’
- v) *Ngi-tawu-geza nge-mva kwe-kutsi ngi-dl-e*  
 SM<sub>1SG</sub>-FUT-wash COP-after ?-that SM<sub>1SG</sub>-eat-SBJV  
 ‘I will take a bath after I eat’
- vi) *Ngi-tawu-gez-a nge-mva kwe-kudla*  
 ‘I will take a bath after I eat’
- vii) *Ngi-tawu-gez-a nge-mpi kwe-kutsi ngi-lal-e*  
 SM<sub>1SG</sub>-FUT-wash-FV COP-before ?-that SM<sub>1SG</sub>-sleep-SBJV  
 ‘I will take a bath before I sleep.’

**P136 Locative adverbial clauses: How are locative adverbial clauses (‘where’-clauses) formed?**

V. 3: by a specific locative relative construction

- i) *A-nga-ti lapho ba-ngani ba-mi ba-y-e khona*  
 NEG-SM<sub>1SG</sub>-know REL<sub>16</sub> 2-friend 2-my SM<sub>2</sub>-go-PST where  
 ‘I don’t know where my friends went’

- ii) *A-ng-ati kutsi ba-ngani ba-mi ba-y-e kuphi*  
 NEG-SM<sub>1SG</sub>-know that 2-friend 2-my SM<sub>2</sub>-go-PST where  
 ‘I don’t know where my friends went.’
- iii) *Ngi-phek-e kudla lapho ku-hlala khona ba-tali ba-mi*  
 SM<sub>1SG</sub>-cook-FV 15.food REL<sub>16</sub> 15-stay where 2-parents 2-my  
 ‘I cook food where my parents live.’
- iv) *Ba-lima ummbila lapho ina khona invula*  
 SM<sub>2</sub>-plant maize REL<sub>16</sub> 9.rain where 9.rain  
 ‘They plant maize where it rains’
- v) *Ngi-ya-kw-ati lo-ko lo-kwente ba-fundzi kutsi ba-fey-ile*  
 SM<sub>1SG</sub>-OM17-know DEM-17 ATTRIB.REL-17 2-students that SM<sub>2</sub>-fail-PST  
 ‘I know what made the students fail’
- vi) *Ngiyati kutsi bafundzi bafeyile kuphi*  
 ‘I know where the students failed’

N. Locative constructions involving the class 16 or class 17 locative relative demonstratives can be used to form where-clauses. (Ziervogel 1951: 157)

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

V. 5: several of the above strategies are attested (1: by the verb ‘surpass/exceed’; 2: by a particular lexical device (e.g. the ‘comparator’ *kuliko* in Swahili); 3: by a verbal enclitic (with a locative morphology))

- i) *Ngi-mudze kuna bhuti w-ami*  
 SM<sub>1SG</sub>-be tall than 1a.brother 1-my  
 ‘I am taller than my brother’
- ii) *Ngi-mudze kw-endlula bhuti w-ami*  
 SM<sub>1SG</sub>-be tall 15-compare 1a.brother 1-my  
 ‘I am taller than my brother’
- iii) *Ngi-mfisha kuna bhuti w-ami*  
 SM<sub>1SG</sub>-be short than 1a.brother 1-my  
 ‘I am shorter than my brother’
- iv) *Inja incane kun-emphisi*  
 9.dog SM<sub>9</sub>.be\_small than-hyena  
 ‘the dog is smaller than the hyena’
- v) *Ngi-mudze kubobonkhe e-sikolw-eni sa-mi*  
 SM1-tall LOC-school-LOC 9-my  
 ‘I am the tallest in my school’

**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) *Le-tinye tivakashi beti-lel-e le-tinye ti-jayiva*  
REL?-some 8-visitor SM<sub>2</sub>-sleep-PST REL?-some SM<sub>8</sub>-dance  
'Some visitors slept and others danced'
- ii) *Ku-Thembi ku-dla li-phalishi ku-balulekile*  
17-Thembi 15-eat 5-porridge 15-important  
'For Thembi to eat porridge is important'
- iii) *Ku-Sibonelo ku-jayiv-a ku-ya-mangalis-a*  
17-Sibonelo 15-dance-FV SM<sub>15</sub>-PRS-surprise-FV  
'For Sibonelo to dance is surprising'
- iv) *U-mntfwana u-mangalis-e thishela*  
AUG-1-child SM1-surprise-PST 1.teacher  
'The child surprised the teacher'

**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) *Ku-bon-akal-a ngatsi Thembi w-ent-a Sibonelo a-fundz-e*  
SM<sub>17</sub>-see-NEUT-FV that Thembi SM<sub>1</sub>-do-FV Sibonelo SM<sub>1</sub>-read-SBJV  
'It seems that Thembi is making Sibonelo read'
- ii) *Thembi ku-bon-akal-a ngatsi w-ent-a Sibonelo a-fundz-e*  
Thembi SM<sub>17</sub>-see-NEUT-FV that SM<sub>1</sub>-do-FV Sibonelo SM<sub>1</sub>-read-SBJV  
'Thembi seems to be making Sibonelo read'
- iii) *Ku-bon-akal-a ngatsi Sibonelo u-fundz-is-a Thembi*  
SM<sub>17</sub>-see-NEUT-FV that Sibonelo SM<sub>1</sub>-read-CAUS-FV Thembi  
'It seems that Sibonelo is teaching Thembi'
- iv) *\*Ku-bon-akal-a kutsi Sibonelo u-fundz-is-a Thembi*  
SM<sub>17</sub>-see-NEUT-FV that Sibonelo SM<sub>1</sub>-read-CAUS-FV Thembi  
'It seems that Sibonelo is teaching Thembi'
- v) *Ku-bon-akal-a ngatsi ba-ntfwana ba-phek-a li-phalishi*  
SM<sub>17</sub>-see-NEUT-FV that 2-child SM<sub>2</sub>-cook-FV 5-porridge  
'The children appear to be cooking porridge/It appeared the children to cook porridge'

N. The subordinator *kutsi* cannot be used with such constructions (cf. parameters on subordinate clauses). *-akal* is described as the neuter suffix (Ziervogel 1952: 77)

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

V. no: focalisation is rendered by another strategy

N. The copula is used to form a cleft construction which conveys focus.

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

V. yes

**“only”**

- i) *Ngu-Sibonelo yedvwa lo-pheka-ko*  
 COP-Sibonelo only REL-cook-17  
 ‘Only Sibonelo is cooking’  
 ‘lit. the one who is cooking is Sibonelo’
- ii) *Ngi-tsandz-a li-phalishi kuphela a-ngi-wa-tsandz-i e-ma-zambane*  
 SM<sub>1SG</sub>-like-FV 5-porridge only NEG-SM<sub>1SG</sub>-NEG-like-NEG AUG-6-potato  
 ‘I only like porridge. I do not like potatoes’
- iii) *Ngi-tsandza tin-ja kuphela a-ngi-wa-tsandz-i e-ma-kati*  
 SM<sub>1SG</sub>-like 10-dog only NEG-SM<sub>1SG</sub>-NEG-like-NEG AUG-6-cat  
 ‘I only like dogs. I don’t like cats’
- iv) *Ngi-dl-e li-phalishi kuphela, le-ngi-ng-aka li-phek-i*  
 SM<sub>1SG</sub>-eat-PST 5-porridge only REL.5-SM<sub>1SG</sub>-COP-NEG SM<sub>5</sub>-cook-PST.NEG  
 ‘I only ate porridge, I did not cook it.’
- v) *Ngi-dl-e li-phalishi kuphela, a-ngi-ka-dl-i inyama*  
 SM<sub>1SG</sub>1sg-eat-.PST 5-porridge only NEG-SM<sub>1SG</sub>-NEG-eat-NEG 9.meat  
 ‘I ate only porridge. I didn’t eat meat’

**“even” [no lexical item identified, na can be used]**

- i) *Na-Thembi ung-um-hlabelel-i lo-muhle*  
 CONJ-Thembi COP<sub>1</sub>-1-sing-AGENT REL-good  
 ‘Even Thembi is a good singer’
- ii) *Na-nobe ute imali u-nge-ta e-sikole-ni*  
 ? SM<sub>2SG</sub>-NEG.have 9.money SM<sub>2SG</sub>-?-come LOC-school-LOC  
 ‘Even if you don’t have money, you can come to school’
- iii) *Na-nome ute imali u-nge-ta esi-kole-ni*  
 ? SM<sub>2SG</sub>-NEG.have 9.money SM<sub>2SG</sub>-?-come LOC-school-LOC  
 ‘Even if you don’t have money, you can come to school’

**“too”**

- e.g. *Ngi-tsandz-a e-ma-kati futsi ngi-tsandz-a ne-tinja*  
 SM<sub>1SG</sub>-like-FV AUG-6-cat and SM<sub>1SG</sub>-like-FV COP-10.dog  
 ‘I like cats and I like dogs, too’

N. Only ‘only’ seems to be attested as a lexical item. ‘even’ and ‘too’ appear to be indicated through *na* or a copula.

**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) *Ku-tseng-e bani ingulube?*  
 SM<sub>17</sub>-buy-PST who 9.pig  
 ‘Who bought a pig?’
- ii) *Ku-fik-e bani ekhaya?*  
 SM<sub>17</sub>-arrive-PST who home  
 ‘Who arrived at home?’
- iii) *Ngu-bani lo-fik-e ekhaya?*  
 COP-who REL-arrive-PST 9.home  
 ‘Who arrived at home?’
- iv) \**Bani lofike ekhaya?*  
 ‘Who arrived at home?’
- v) *Ngu-bani lo-tseng-e le-ngulube*  
 COP-who REL-buy-PST REL-10.pig  
 ‘Who bought the pig?’
- vi) *Ngu-bani lo-dl-a le-li-phalishi*  
 COP-who REL-eat-FV REL-5-porridge  
 ‘Who is eating the porridge?’
- vii) *Ngu-bani lo-dl-a li-phalishi*  
 COP-who REL-eat-FV 5-porridge  
 ‘Who is eating the porridge?’
- viii) *U-tseng-e ingulube na?*  
 SM<sub>2SG</sub>-buy-PST 9.pig Q  
 ‘You bought a pig?’
- ix) *Ingulube lo-yi-tseng-ile na?*  
 9.pig RELSM<sub>2SG</sub>-OM<sub>9</sub>-buy-PST Q  
 ‘You bought a pig?’

# South Ndebele (S407)<sup>1, 2</sup>

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

V. 1: V shape only

### Mono-syllabic stem

- i) *i-li-tje*  
AUG-5-stone  
'a stone'
- ii) *i-Ø-dla*  
AUG-5-eat  
'to eat (infinitive)'

### Poly-syllabic stem

- i) *i-Ø-puphu*  
AUG-5-maize  
'maize (singular)'
- ii) *i-N-puphu*  
AUG-10-maize  
'maize (plural)' cf. *iimpuphu* in orthography

N. Three regular forms of augments are attested in this language, namely *u-* before the Cu- form class prefixes (i.e. *u-mu-* in cl. 1 & 3 with historically related 1a form *u-Ø-*, and *u-bu-* in cl. 14), *a-* before the Ca- form CPx (i.e., *a-ba-* in cl. 2, and *a-ma-* in cl. 6), and *i-* before other forms of CPx. The exceptional form is *e-* in cl.23, which itself may be regarded as a CPx, not an augment, based on a comparative-historical point of view (cf. Katamba 2003: 104, 109). See P004 for a list of examples.

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<sup>1</sup> South Ndebele language is classified as S407 in the latest classification of Bantu languages by Hammarström (2019: 52). At least two dialects are identified in Southern Ndebele, namely Ndzundza and Manala. The data presented here is based on the Ndzundza dialect.

<sup>2</sup> Unless otherwise provided in square brackets as a note on phonetic realization, examples are described following the orthographic convention, which, according to Skhosana (2009), can be summarized as follows; *p* [pʰ], *t* [tʰ], *k* [kʰ], *ph* [pʰ], *th* [tʰ], *kh* [kʰ], *bh* [bʰ], *d* [dʰ], *g* [gʰ], *mp* [mʰp], *nt* [nʰt], *nk* [nʰk], *mb* [mʰb], *nd* [nʰd], *ng* [nʰg], *m* [m], *n* [n], *ny* [nʲ], *ng* [ŋ], *b* [b], *f* [f], *s* [s], *rh* [x], *v*, [v], *z* [z], *h* [h], *mv* [mʰv], *mf* [mʰf], *dl* [dʰl], *hl* [hʰl], *dlh* [dʰh], *r* [r], *l* [l], *w* [w], *y* [j], *c* [kʰ], *q* [kʰ], *x* [kʰ], *ch* [kʰh], *qh* [kʰh], *gc* [gʰ], *gq* [gʰ], *gx* [gʰ], *nc* [ŋ], *nq* [ŋ], *nx* [ŋh], *ts* [tsʰ], *tj* [tʰ], *kg* [kx], *tsh* [tsʰ], *tjh* [tʰh], *kgh* [kxʰ], *tl* [tʰ], *tlh* [tʰh], *dz* [dʰz], *j* [dʰz], *nj* [nʰdʰz].

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

V. yes: the presence/absence is related to grammatical (e.g. semantic/syntactic/pragmatic) meaning

e.g. *mu muntu*  
*mu mu-ntu*  
AGR<sub>1</sub> 1-person  
'S/he (lit. that one) is a person'  
cf. *\*mu u-mu-ntu*

N. The augment seems to be dropped when a host noun serves as a syntactic nominal predicate.

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

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

« See the examples in P001 »

N. CP<sub>x</sub>5 *li-* occurs with a mono-syllabic stem, while it drops with a verbal stem and a polysyllabic stem.

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

V. 16: 16 classes

« including 1a/2a »

- cl.1) *u-mu-ntu*  
AUG-CP<sub>x1</sub>-person  
'a person'
- cl.2) *a-ba-ntu*  
AUG-CP<sub>x2</sub>-person  
'people'
- cl.1a) *u-Ø-gogo*  
AUG-CP<sub>x1a</sub>-grandmother  
'a grandmother'
- cl.2a) *a-bo-gogo*  
AUG-CP<sub>x2a</sub>-grandmother  
'grandmothers'
- cl.3) *u-mu-thi*  
AUG-CP<sub>x3</sub>-tree  
'a tree'
- cl.4) *i-mi-thi*  
AUG-CP<sub>x4</sub>-tree  
'trees'

- cl.5) *i-li-tje*  
 AUG-CP<sub>X5</sub>-stone  
 ‘a stone’
- cl.6) *a-ma-tje*  
 AUG-CP<sub>X6</sub>-stone  
 ‘stones’
- cl.5) *i-Ø-phaphu*  
 AUG-CP<sub>X5</sub>-lung  
 ‘lung’
- cl.6) *a-ma-phaphu*  
 AUG-CP<sub>X6</sub>-lung  
 ‘lungs’
- cl.5) *i-Ø-puphu*  
 AUG-CP<sub>X5</sub>-maize  
 ‘maize’
- cl.10) *i-im-puphu*  
 i-N-puphu  
 AUG-CP<sub>X10</sub>-maize  
 ‘maize’
- cl.5) *i-Ø-dla*  
 AUG-CP<sub>X5</sub>-eat  
 ‘to eat (INF)’
- cl.7) *i-si-tja*  
 AUG-CP<sub>X7</sub>-bowl  
 ‘a bowl’
- cl.8) *i-zi-tja*  
 AUG-CP<sub>X8</sub>-bowl  
 ‘bowls’
- cl.9) *i-kosi* [ik’osi]  
 i-N-kosi  
 AUG-CP<sub>X9</sub>-king  
 ‘a king’
- cl.10) *i-in-kosi* [iŋkosi]  
 i-N-kosi  
 AUG-CP<sub>X10</sub>-king  
 ‘kings’

cl.9) *inja*  
i-N-ja  
AUG-CP<sub>X9</sub>-dog  
'a dog'

cl.8) *izinja*  
i-zi-nja  
AUG-CP<sub>X8</sub>-dogs  
'a dog'

N. According to the literature (e.g. Bosch 2008), it is reported that in some Nguni languages, CP<sub>X.9</sub> *N-* is dropped regularly under the following conditions; i) followed by a specific group of consonants such as a) voiceless plain (phonetically ejective) plosives as in *ikosi* 'king', b) voiceless aspirated plosives as in *itjhada* 'sound', c) fricatives as in *izolo* 'yesterday', and d) nasals as in *imali* 'money', ii) followed by a polysyllabic stem, i.e., when followed by a monosyllabic stem, the effect is blocked as in *inja* 'dog'. However, the isomorphic CP<sub>X.10</sub> is not the subject of this process and thus is conventionally spelled as *in* or *im* (depending on the place feature of the following consonant) in order to explicitly denote the morphophonological difference between cl. 9 and 10 in the orthography.

cl.14) *u-bu-hle*  
AUG-CP<sub>X14</sub>-beautiful  
'beauty'

cl.15) *u-ku-dla*  
AUG-CP<sub>X15</sub>-eat  
'food'

cl.15) *ukulwa*  
u-ku-lu-a  
AUG-CP<sub>X15</sub>-fight-FV  
'to fight (INF)'

cl.16) -

N. The form *phasi* 'place (under sth)' can be analysed as *pha-si*, where *pha-* can be regarded as an archaic cl.16 prefix, while *-si* is a nominal/adverbial stem meaning 'under, beneath'. Other examples of lexicalized noun/adverb with an archaic cl.16 prefix include *phезulu* 'up, upper place', which has a cl.17 counterpart *kwezulu* 'up, upper place'.

cl.17) *ku-phasi*  
CP<sub>X17</sub>-place  
'a (lower) place (under sth)'

cl.17) *kw-a mhlanga*  
PP<sub>X17</sub>-ASSC PN  
'(the place) of Mhlanga'

cl.23) *e-mu-thi-ni*  
CP<sub>X23</sub>-CP<sub>X3</sub>-tree-LOC  
'(in/at) the tree'

N. The common singular-plural pairing patterns are summarised as follows; 1-2, 3-4, 5-6, 5-10, 7-8, 9-10, 9-8. Noun classes 5 and 15 can be used with a verbal stem to make infinitive (gerund) forms, but the output may not necessarily be so (see *ukudla* 'food'). Classes 16, 17, and 23 are for locative nouns.

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

V. yes

« cl.5 and cl.15 »

cl.5) *idla*  
i-Ø-dl-a  
AUG-5-eat-FV  
'to eat (INF)'

cl.15) *ukulwa*  
u-ku-lu-a  
AUG-15-fight-FV  
'to fight'

N. Both cl.5 and cl.15 can be used to form an infinitive (or gerund), while the morphosyntactic and semantic differences between the two forms are further to be clarified.

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

V. no: another strategy is used

i) *umuntwana*  
u-mu-ntu-ana  
AUG-1-person-DIM  
'a small person'

ii) *umutjhana*  
u-mu-thi-ana  
AUG-3-tree-DIM  
'a small tree'

N. The suffix *-ana*, grammaticalized from \*-yánà 'child', can be used to derive a diminutive noun.

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

V. no: another strategy is used

N. *-kazi* < \**-kazi* can be used to derive augmentative nouns. See P027

**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. *umuntu*                    *uyeza*  
u-mu-ntu                    u-ye-z-a  
AUG-1-person    SM<sub>1</sub>-PRS-come-FV  
'a person is coming'

cf) \* *\_ntu*    u-ye-z-a  
\_person    SM<sub>1</sub>-PRS-come-FV  
'a person is coming'

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

V. yes

i) *emuthini*  
e-mu-thi-ini  
23-3-tree-LOC  
'(in/at) the tree'

ii) *endlini*  
e-N-dlu-ini  
23-9-house-LOC  
'(in) the house'

iii) *endlini*                    *ekulu*  
e-N-dlu-ini                    e-kulu  
23-9-house-LOC    AP<sub>x23</sub>-big  
'(in) the big house'

N. In South Ndebele, cl.16 and 17 prefixes are rarely used to derive locative nouns. Instead, locative nouns are derived by the class 23 prefix *e-*, which is exclusively used for derivational purposes.

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

V. yes

« *-ini* »

- i) *entabeni*  
 e-N-tabani (or e-Ø-ntabani?)  
 23-10-mountain-LOC  
 ‘(in/at) the mountain’
- ii) *esimini*  
 e-Ø-simu-ini  
 23-5-field-LOC  
 ‘in the field’

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

V. yes

« SM<sub>17</sub> in the following examples »

- i) *kwa*                      *mhlanga*    *kuhle* [kwa mlanga ku:le]  
 ku-a                      mhlanga    ku-hle  
 PP<sub>X17</sub>-ASSC      PN              AP<sub>X17</sub>-beautiful  
 ‘(the place) of Mhlanga is beautiful’
- ii) *endlini*                  *kuyabonakala*  
 e-N-dlu-ini              ku-ya-bon-ak-al-a  
 23-9-house-LOC    SM<sub>17</sub>-PRS-see-AK-AL-FV  
 ‘A house can be seen’

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

V. yes

« OM<sub>17</sub> in the following examples »

- i) *ngikubonile*                  *phasi*  
 ngi-ku-bon-ile                  pha-si  
 SM<sub>1SG</sub>-OM<sub>17</sub>-see-PRF      16-place  
 ‘I have seen a place’
- ii) *phasi*                  *ngikubonile*  
 pha-si                  ngi-ku-bon-ile  
 16-place    SM<sub>1SG</sub>-OM<sub>17</sub>-see-PRF  
 ‘I have seen a place’

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

V. null: unknown

« seems to be not attested »

**P014 Independent subject pronouns: Are independent subject pronouns obligatory?**

V. no

<independent pronouns>

	sg.	pl.
1	mi-na	thi-na
2	we-na	ni-na
3	ye-na	bo-na

- i) *mina ngizile*  
 mina ngi-z-ile  
 PRON<sub>1SG</sub> SM<sub>1SG</sub>-come-PRF  
 ‘I have come’
- ii) *ngizile*  
 ngi-z-ile  
 SM<sub>1SG</sub>-come-PRF  
 ‘I have come’

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

V. no: not in all contexts (e.g. modifier-connective-head in qualifying constructions)

« possessor raising is possible. See also P019 »

- i) *umuthi kababa*  
 u-mu-thi ka-baba  
 AUG-3-tree KA-father  
 ‘a tree/medicine of my father’
- ii) *umuthi wa kababa*  
 u-mu-thi u-a ka-baba  
 AUG-3-tree PP<sub>X3</sub>-ASSC KA-father  
 ‘a tree/medicine of my father’
- iii) *wa kababa umuthi*  
 u-a ka-baba u-mu-thu  
 PP<sub>X3</sub>-ASSC KA-father AUG-3-tree  
 ‘a tree/medicine of <sub>FOC</sub>[my father] (not of someone else)’

**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

1SG) *indluami*  
*indlu*        *yami*  
i-N-dlu        i-ami  
AUG-9-house PP<sub>X9</sub>-POSS<sub>1SG</sub>  
'my house'

2SG) *indluako*  
*indlu*        *yakho*  
i-N-dlu        i-akho  
AUG-9-house PP<sub>X9</sub>-POSS<sub>2SG</sub>  
'your house'

3SG) *indluakhe*  
*indlu*        *yakhe*  
i-N-dlu        i-akhe  
AUG-9-house PP<sub>X9</sub>-POSS<sub>3SG</sub>  
'his/her house'

1PL) *indluethu*  
*indlu*        *yethu*  
i-N-dlu        i-ethu  
AUG-9-house PP<sub>X9</sub>-POSS<sub>1PL</sub>  
'our house'

1PL) *yethu*        *indlu*  
i-ethu        i-N-dlu  
PP<sub>X9</sub>-POSS<sub>1PL</sub>    AUG-9-house  
'our house'

N. POSS-N order is also accepted as well-formed.

2PL) *indluenu*  
*indlu*        *yenu*  
i-N-dlu        i-enu  
AUG-9-house PP<sub>X9</sub>-POSS<sub>2PL</sub>  
'your house'

3PL) *indluabo*  
*indlu*        *yabo*  
i-N-dlu        i-abo  
AUG-9-house PP<sub>X9</sub>-POSS<sub>3PL</sub>  
'their house'

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

V. yes

cl.1) *umuntu*            *wa*            *kababa*  
u-mu-ntu            u-a            ka-baba  
AUG-1-person    PP<sub>X1</sub>-ASSC    KA-father  
‘my father’s person’

cl.2) *abantu*            *ba*            *kababa*  
a-ba-ntu            ba-a            ka-baba  
AUG-2-person    PP<sub>X2</sub>-ASSC    KA-father  
‘my father’s person’

cl.3) *umuthi*            *wa*            *kababa*  
u-mu-thi            u-a            ka-baba  
AUG-3-tree    PP<sub>X3</sub>-ASSC    KA-father  
‘my father’s tree’

cl.4) *imithi*            *ya*            *kababa*  
i-mi-thi            i-a            ka-baba  
AUG-4-tree    PP<sub>X4</sub>-ASSC    KA-father  
‘my father’s trees’

cl.5) *ilitje*            *la*            *kababa*  
i-li-tje            li-a            ka-baba  
AUG-5-stone    PP<sub>X5</sub>-ASSC    KA-father  
‘my father’s stone’

cl.6) *amatje*            *wa*            *kababa*  
a-ma-tje            u-a            ka-baba  
AUG-6-stone    PP<sub>X6</sub>-ASSC    KA-father  
‘my father’s stones’

N. The form of PP<sub>X6</sub> *u-* (cf. PB *\*ga-*) seems to be irregular and the background motivation for this change is still unclear.

cl.7) *isitja*            *sa*            *kababa*  
i-si-tja            si-a            ka-baba  
AUG-7-bowl    PP<sub>X7</sub>-ASSC    KA-father  
‘my father’s bowl’

cl.8) *izitja*            *za*            *kababa*  
i-zi-tja            zi-a            ka-baba  
AUG-8-bowl    PP<sub>X8</sub>-ASSC    KA-father  
‘my father’s bowls’

- cl.9) *ikosi*            *ya*            *kababa*  
i-N-kosi            i-a            ka-baba  
AUG-9-king    PP<sub>X9</sub>-ASSC    KA-father  
‘my father’s king’
- cl.10) *iinkosi*            *za*            *kababa*  
i-N-kosi            zi-a            ka-baba  
AUG-10-king    PP<sub>X10</sub>-ASSC    KA-father  
‘my father’s kings’
- cl.14) *ubuso*            *ba*            *kababa*  
u-bu-so            bu-a            ka-baba  
AUG-14-face    PP<sub>X14</sub>-ASSC    KA-father  
‘my father’s king’
- cl.15) *ukudla*            *kwa*            *kababa*  
u-ku-dla            ku-a            ka-baba  
AUG-15-eat    PP<sub>X15</sub>-ASSC    KA-father  
‘my father’s food’
- cl.17) *kwa*            *kababa*  
ku-a            ka-baba  
PP<sub>X17</sub>-ASSC    KA-father  
‘(the place of) my father’
- cf) *u-ku-ka-baba*  
AUG-17-KA-father  
‘my father’s place’
- cl.23) *endlini*            *kababa*  
e-N-dlu-ini            ka-baba  
23-9-house-LOC    KA-father  
‘my father’s house’
- cl.23) *endlini*            *ya*            *kababa*  
e-N-dlu-ini            e-a            ka-baba  
23-9-house-LOC    PP<sub>X23</sub>-ASSC    KA-father  
‘my father’s house’

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

V. yes

N. Shortened forms are attested to be used for kinship terms.

- 1SG) *ubabami*  
 u-Ø-baba-mi  
 AUG-1a-father-POSS<sub>1SG</sub>  
 ‘my father’
- 2SG) *ubabakho*  
 u-Ø-baba-kho  
 AUG-1a-father-POSS<sub>2SG</sub>  
 ‘your father’
- 3SG) *ubabakhe*  
 u-Ø-baba-khe  
 AUG-1a-father-POSS<sub>3SG</sub>  
 ‘his/her father’
- 1PL) *ubabethu*  
 u-Ø-baba-ethu  
 AUG-1a-father-POSS<sub>1PL</sub>  
 ‘our father’
- 2PL) *ubabenu*  
 u-Ø-baba-enu  
 AUG-1a-father-POSS<sub>2PL</sub>  
 ‘your (pl.) father’
- 3PL) *ubababo*  
 u-Ø-baba-bo  
 AUG-1a-father-POSS<sub>3PL</sub>  
 ‘their father’

### General nouns

- i) *umuthi wami*  
 u-mu-thi u-ami  
 AUG-3-tree PPX<sub>3</sub>-POSS<sub>1SG</sub>  
 ‘my tree’
- ii) *imithi yami*  
 i-mi-thi i-ami  
 AUG-4-tree PPX<sub>4</sub>-POSS<sub>1SG</sub>  
 ‘my trees’

### P019 Possessor raising: Is possessor raising possible?

V. 3: yes, with inalienable and alienable possession (possibly including applicative marking for alienable possession)

- i) *umuthi wa kababa*  
u-mu-thi u-a ka-baba  
AUG-3-tree PP<sub>X3</sub>-ASSC KA-father  
‘a tree/medicine of my father’
- ii) *wa kababa umuthi*  
u-a ka-baba u-mu-thi  
PP<sub>X3</sub>-ASSC KA-father AUG-3-tree  
‘a tree/medicine of <sub>FOC</sub>[my father] (not of someone else)’
- iii) *wa kababa umuthi uyababa*  
u-a ka-baba u-mu-thi u-ya-bab-a  
PP<sub>X3</sub>-ASSC KA-father AUG-3-tree SM<sub>3</sub>-PRS-be strong-FV  
‘<sub>FOC</sub>[my father]’s medicine is strong’
- iv) *isandla sa kababa*  
i-si-andla si-a ka-baba  
AUG-7-arm PP<sub>X7</sub>-ASSC KA-father  
‘my farther’s arm’
- v) *sa kababa isandla*  
si-a ka-baba i-si-andla  
PP<sub>X7</sub>-ASSC KA-father AUG-7-arm  
‘<sub>FOC</sub>[my farther]’s arm’
- vi) *sa kababa isandla sihle*  
si-a ka-baba i-si-andla si-hle  
PP<sub>X7</sub>-ASSC KA-father AUG-7-arm AP<sub>X7</sub>-beautiful  
‘<sub>FOC</sub>[my farther]’s arm is beautiful’
- vii) *u-bu-hle*  
AUG-14-beautiful  
‘beauty’

**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

**cl.1**

- i) *umuntu lo*  
u-mu-ntu lo  
AUG-1-person DEM<sub>1</sub>  
‘this person (near)’

- ii) *umuntu*            *loyo*  
u-mu-ntu            lo-o  
AUG-1-person    DEM<sub>1</sub>-DEMr  
‘that person (middle, cf. *o* of reference)’
- iii) *umuntu*            *loya/lowaya*  
u-mu-ntu            lo(-wa)-ya  
AUG-1-person    DEM<sub>1</sub>-DEMd  
‘that person (far)’

#### cl.2

- i) *abantu*            *laba*  
a-ba-ntu            laba  
AUG-2-person    DEM<sub>2</sub>  
‘these persons (near)’
- ii) *abantu*            *labo*  
a-ba-ntu            laba-o  
AUG-2-person    DEM<sub>2</sub>-DEMr  
‘those persons (middle, referential)’
- iii) *abantu*            *labaya*  
a-ba-ntu            laba-ya  
AUG-2-person    DEM<sub>2</sub>-DEMd  
‘those persons (remote)’

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

V. 2: yes, but with exceptions

- cl.16) *phasi la*            ‘this place (near)’  
*phasi lapha*            ‘this place (middle-far)’  
*phasi lapho*            ‘that place (middle)’  
*phasi laphaya*            ‘that place (remote)’
- cl.23) *endlini le*            ‘in this house (near)’  
*endlini leyo*            ‘in that house (middle)’  
*endlini leya*            ‘in that house (middle-far)’  
*endlini leyaya*            ‘in that house (far)’
- e.g. *endlini*            *le*  
e-N-dlu-ini            l-e  
23-9-house-LOC    DEM-PP<sub>x23</sub>  
‘(in) this house’

- cf) cl.17 head noun: cl.16 DEM
- |                |                |                           |
|----------------|----------------|---------------------------|
| <i>kuphasi</i> | <i>la</i>      | ‘this place (near)’       |
| <i>kuphasi</i> | <i>lapha</i>   | ‘this place (middle-far)’ |
| <i>kuphasi</i> | <i>lapho</i>   | ‘that place (middle)’     |
| <i>kuphasi</i> | <i>laphaya</i> | ‘that place (remote)’     |

N. cl.17 demonstrative series seems to have lost its original markers and been replaced with cl.16 markers, which can be regarded as general locative demonstratives.

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

V. null: unknown

« at least DEM doesn't play a role of a (pseudo-)relativizer »

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

V. yes

« see especially the example in cl.10 which takes a different agreement prefix from that attached to the head noun »

There is a series of adjectives that take an adnominal agreement marker different from a noun class prefix, e.g.; *-khulu* ‘big’, *-de* ‘tall’, *-manzi* ‘wet’, *-hle* ‘beatiful’ etc.

- |        |                       |                       |
|--------|-----------------------|-----------------------|
| cl.1)  | <i>umuntu</i>         | <i>mukhulu</i>        |
|        | u-mu-ntu              | mu-khulu              |
|        | AUG-1-person          | AP <sub>x1</sub> -big |
|        | ‘a great person’      |                       |
| cl.2)  | <i>abantu</i>         | <i>bakhulu</i>        |
|        | a-ba-ntu              | ba-khulu              |
|        | AUG-2-person          | AP <sub>x2</sub> -big |
|        | ‘great people’        |                       |
| cl.1a) | <i>ugogo</i>          | <i>mukhulu</i>        |
|        | u-Ø-gogo              | mu-khulu              |
|        | AUG-1a-grandmother    | AP <sub>x1</sub> -big |
|        | ‘a great grandmother’ |                       |
| cl.2a) | <i>abogogo</i>        | <i>bakhulu</i>        |
|        | a-bo-gogo             | ba-khulu              |
|        | AUG-2a-grandmother    | AP <sub>x2</sub> -big |
|        | ‘great grandmothers’  |                       |
| cl.3)  | <i>umuthi</i>         | <i>mukhulu</i>        |
|        | u-mu-thi              | mu-khulu              |
|        | AUG-3-tree            | AP <sub>x3</sub> -big |
|        | ‘a big tree’          |                       |

- cl.4) *imithi*      *mikhulu*  
i-mi-thi      mi-khulu  
AUG-4-tree    AP<sub>x4</sub>-big  
‘big trees’
- cl.5) *ilitje*      *likhulu*  
i-li-tje      li-khulu  
AUG-5-stone    AP<sub>x5</sub>-big  
‘a big stone’
- cl.6) *amatje*      *makhulu*  
a-ma-tje      ma-khulu  
AUG-6-stone    AP<sub>x6</sub>-big  
‘big stones’
- cl.7) *isitja*      *sikhulu*  
i-si-tja      si-khulu  
AUG-7-bowl    AP<sub>x7</sub>-big  
‘a big bowl’
- cl.8) *izitja*      *zikulu*  
i-zi-tja      zi-khulu  
AUG-8-bowl    AP<sub>x8</sub>-big  
‘big bowls’

N. As an orthographic convention, the stem onset *kh* in cl.8, 9 and 10 forms are spelled as a plain *k* (and pronounced as an ejective [k’]).

- cl.9) *ikosi*      *ikulu*  
i-N-kosi      i-khulu  
AUG-9-king    AP<sub>x9</sub>-big  
‘a great king’
- cl.10) *iinkosi*      *zikulu*  
i-N-kosi      zi-khulu  
AUG-10-king    AP<sub>x10</sub>-big  
‘great kings’
- cf) *iinkosi zihle*    ‘beautiful kings’  
*iinkosi zide*      ‘tall kings’  
*iinkosi zimanzi* ‘wet kings’
- cl.14) *ubuso*      *bukhulu*  
u-bu-so      bu-khulu  
AUG-14-face    AP<sub>x14</sub>-big  
‘a big face’

cl.15) *ukudla*            *kukhulu*  
 u-ku-dla            ku-khulu  
 AUG-15-food AP<sub>X15</sub>-big  
 ‘great food’

cl.16: Seemingly (fossilized) cl.16 and 17 nouns are avoided to be a head noun modified by adjectives.

\**phasi phakhulu*  
*iphasi*            *li-khulu*  
 i-Ø-pha-si            li-khulu  
 AUG-5-16-under AP<sub>X5</sub>-big  
 ‘a big place’

cl.17: lacking the forms agreeing with cl.17

\**ku-phasi kukhulu*

cl.23) *endlini*            *ekhulu*  
 e-N-dlu-ini            e-khulu  
 23-9-house-LOC AP<sub>X23</sub>-big  
 ‘in a great/big house’

**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

« Adnominal concord prefixes are almost identical with nominal class prefixes but cl.10 has *zi-* as an adnominal prefix which is different from CP<sub>X</sub> *N-* »

**N+Adj**

e.g. *iinkosi*            *zikulu* [zik’ulu]  
 i-N-kosi            **zi**-kulu  
 AUG-10-king AP<sub>X10</sub>-big  
 ‘great kings’

**N+DEM**

e.g. *iinkosi*            *lezo*  
 i-N-kosi            **lezi**-o  
 AUG-10-king DEM<sub>10</sub>-DEM<sub>r</sub>  
 ‘those kings’

**N+NUM**

e.g. *iinkosi*            *zintathu* [zindatu]  
 i-N-kosi            **zi**-N-tathu  
 AUG-10-king AP<sub>X10</sub>-?-three  
 ‘those three kings’

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

V. no: another strategy is used to introduce adjectives

« An NP construction such as {head noun + linker + adjectival noun} seems not to be well-formed, e.g., *\*iinkosi za zikulu* (Intd.) ‘a great king’ »

**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

N. *\*-yánà* is only used as a diminutive suffix. See also P006 and P027.

**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. 3: yes, all

« *\*-yánà* for 1, *\*-kazi* for 2 »

**\*-yánà**

i) *umuntwana*

u-mu-ntu-ana

AUG-1-person-DIM

‘a child’

cf. *umuntu* ‘a person’

ii) *umutjhana*

u-mu-thi-ana

AUG-3-tree-DIM

‘a small tree’

cf. The following palatalization rule applies: th > tjh/ \_iV

iii) *imbotjana* [imbotʃˀa:na]

i-N-bobo-ana (i-N-bobo-ana?)

AUG-9-hole-DIM

‘a small hole’

cf. bo-a > bwa > tʃˀa

**\*-kazi**

i) *umufazi*

u-mu-fazi

AUG-1-woman

‘woman’

- ii) *umufazikazi*  
 u-mu-fazi-kazi  
 AUG-1-woman-AGMT  
 ‘a big woman, a bad woman (pejorative connotation)’

N. The suffix historically derived from \*-yána is used as a diminutive marker, while the suffix grammaticalized from \*-kazi is used as an augmentative/pejorative marker.

**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) *ukuvuma*  
 u-ku-vum-a  
 AUG-15-sing-FV  
 ‘to sing’
- ii) *umuvumi*  
 u-mu-vum-i  
 AUG-1-sing-NMLZ.ag  
 ‘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. 1: yes, it is used productively

- i) *ukuthanda*  
 u-ku-thand-a  
 AUG-15-love-FV  
 ‘to love’
- ii) *uthando*  
 u-Ø-thand-o  
 AUG-14-love-NMLZ.abs  
 ‘love (n.)’
- iii) *ukuthwala*  
 u-ku-thwal-a  
 AUG-15-carry on head-FV  
 ‘to carry sth. on the head’
- iv) *umuthwalo*  
 u-mu-thwal-o  
 AUG-3-carry on head-NMLZ.abs  
 ‘load’

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

V. 2: yes, it is based on different combinations (e.g. 3+3, 4+4)

- |     |        |                      |                 |
|-----|--------|----------------------|-----------------|
| 1.  | umuntu | mu-nye               | ‘one person’    |
| 2.  | abantu | ba-bili              | ‘two persons’   |
| 3.  | "      | ba-thathu            | ‘three persons’ |
| 4.  | "      | ba- <b>ne</b>        | ‘four persons’  |
| 5.  | "      | ba-hlanu             | ‘five persons’  |
| 6.  | "      | ba- <b>thandathu</b> | ‘six persons’   |
| 7.  | "      | ba-li-khomba         | ‘seven persons’ |
| 8.  | "      | ba-bu-nane           | ‘eight persons’ |
| 9.  | "      | ba-li-thoba          | ‘nine persons’  |
| 10. | "      | ba-li-sumi           | ‘ten persons’   |

**P031 ‘arm’ and ‘hand’: Is there a single stem that denotes both ‘arm’ and ‘hand’?**

V. yes

e.g. *umukhono*

u-mu-khono

AUG-3-hand/arm

‘hand/arm’

cf) *isandla*

i-si-andla

AUG-7-palm

‘palm/hand’

**P032 ‘hand’ and ‘finger’: Is there a single stem that denotes both ‘hand’ and ‘finger’?**

V. no: two different words

e.g. *imino*

i-mi-no

AUG-4-finger

‘fingers’

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

V. no: two different words

i) *umulenze*

u-mu-lenze

AUG-3-leg

‘leg’

- ii) *inyawo*  
 i-N-awo  
 AUG-9-foot  
 ‘foot’

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

V. no

- e.g. *itiye*  
 i-N-tiye  
 AUG-9-tea  
 ‘tea’

**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

**Inchoative**

- e.g. *ulele*  
 u-lal-ile  
 SM<sub>1</sub>-sleep-PRF  
 ‘He is sleeping’

**Active**

- e.g. *ngiyafunda*  
 ngi-ya-fund-a  
 SM<sub>1SG</sub>-PRS/PROG-read-FV  
 ‘I am reading’

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

V. yes

- e.g. *babonwe*                      *mu*    *muntu*  
 ba-bon-w-e                      mu    mu-ntu  
 SM<sub>2</sub>-see-PASS-STAT AGR<sub>1</sub> 1-person  
 ‘They are seen by a person’

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

V. 1 yes, using a class 2 SM, without the expression of an agent noun phrase

e.g. *bangirarhile* [baŋgirárule]  
 ba-ngi-rarh-ile  
 SM<sub>2</sub>-OM<sub>1SG</sub>-kick-PRF  
 ‘I’ve been kicked’

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

V. 3: by another preposition + 4: by a copula

i) *babonwe mu muntu*  
 ba-bon-w-e mu mu-ntu  
 SM<sub>2</sub>-see-PASS-STAT AGR<sub>1</sub> 1-person  
 ‘They are seen by a person’

ii) *babonwe ba bantu*  
 ba-bon-w-e ba ba-ntu  
 SM<sub>2</sub>-see-PASS-STAT AGR<sub>2</sub> 2-person  
 ‘They are seen by people’

N. The element introducing the agent can be regarded as grammaticalized copulative forms which are segmentally identical with noun class prefixes (cf. copulative use of agreement markers attested widely in Eastern and probably in Southern Bantu languages as well).

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

V. 1: yes, but in specific configuration(s) only

e.g. *babonwe (mu) muntu*  
 ba-bon-w-e mu mu-ntu  
 SM<sub>2</sub>-see-PASS-STAT AGR<sub>1</sub> 1-person  
 ‘They are seen by a person’

N. The class-sensitive agent marker, *mu* in the above example, is usually required in passive clauses, but in specific contexts, it can also be omitted. Detailed conditions should be further investigated.

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

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

i) *bayathandana*  
 ba-ya-thand-an-a  
 SM<sub>2</sub>-PRS-love-RECP-FV  
 ‘They love each other’

ii) *sinikezene iinzipho*  
 si-nikez-an-e i-n-zipho  
 SM<sub>1PL</sub>-give-RECP-STAT AUG-10-gift  
 ‘We have given the gifts to each other’

- iii) *siyasizana*  
 si-ya-siz-an-a  
 SM<sub>IPL</sub>-PRS-help-RECP-FV  
 ‘We are helping each other’

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

V. null: unknown

- i) *sidle*                    *inyama*  
 si-dl-e                    i-Ø-nyama  
 SM<sub>IPL</sub>-eat-STAT    AUG-9-meat  
 ‘we ate meat’

- cf) \**sidle*  
 Intd: ‘we ate’  
 This form should be followed by an object NP or any other post-verbal constituent.

- ii) *sikudle*  
 si-ku-dl-e  
 SM<sub>IPL</sub>-OM<sub>15</sub>-eat-PST  
 ‘we ate it (cl.15)’  
 cf. OM<sub>15</sub> agreement is intended to refer to a cl.15 noun *ukudla* ‘food’

- iii) *sidlile*  
 si-dl-ile  
 SM<sub>IPL</sub>-eat-PRF  
 ‘We ate’

- iv) *sidlene*  
 si-dl-an-ile  
 SM<sub>IPL</sub>-eat-RECP-PRF  
 ‘We ate each other’

N. Seemingly *-an* does not play at least a role of anti-passive function.

**P042 Causative: How is causative meaning expressed?**

V. 3: both 1 and 2 (1: through the use of verbal affixation only; 2: through the use of a specific construction only (i.e. the use of a periphrastic construction))

**Periphrastic construction**

- i) *ngi-mu-enz-e*                    *u-a-zi-bulal-a*  
 SM<sub>ISG</sub>-OM<sub>1</sub>-do-STAT    SM<sub>1</sub>-PST?-REFL-kill-FV  
 ‘I made him kill himself’

- ii) *uzibulele*  
 u-zi-bulal-ile  
 SM<sub>1</sub>-REFL-kill-PRF  
 ‘S/he killed her/himself’
- iii) *ngi-ba-enz-e*                      *ba-a-zi-bulal-a*  
 SM<sub>1SG</sub>-OM2-do-STAT    SM<sub>2</sub>-PST?-REFL-kill-FV  
 ‘I made them kill themselves’

### Causative suffix

- i) *ukulwa*  
 u-ku-lu-a  
 AUG-15-fight-FV  
 ‘to fight’
- ii) *ukulwisa*  
 u-ku-lu-is-a  
 AUG-15-fight-CAUS-FV  
 ‘to make someone fight’

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

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

- i) *ngizokutlolisa*  
 ngi-zo-ku-tlol-is-a  
 SM<sub>1SG</sub>-FUT-CERT-write-CAUS-FV  
 ‘I will make you write (sth)’
- ii) *ngizokutlola*                      *ngepensela*  
 ngi-zo-ku-tlol-a                      nga=i-N-pensela  
 SM<sub>1SG</sub>-FUT-CERT-write-FV    COP/FOC=AUG-9-pen  
 ‘I will write with a pen’
- cf) \* *ngitololisa ipensela*  
 \* *ngitololisa nepensela*  
 Int: ‘I will write with a pen’

### P044 Applicative: How are applicative constructions formed?

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

- i) *ngifunda*                      *incwadi*  
 ngi-fund-a                      i-N-cwadi  
 SM<sub>1SG</sub>-read-FV    AUG-9-book  
 ‘I read a book’

- ii) *ngikufundela* *incwadi*  
 ngi-ku-fund-el-a i-N-cwadi  
 SM<sub>1SG</sub>-OM<sub>2SG</sub>-read-APPL-FV AUG-9-book  
 ‘I read a book for you’

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

V. yes

**Locative: OK**

- i) *sizokudla* *ukudla*  
 si-zo-ku-dl-a u-ku-dla  
 SM<sub>1PL</sub>-FUT-OM<sub>15</sub>-eat-FV AUG-15-eat  
 ‘we will eat food’
- ii) *sizokudlela* *ngekhithini*  
 si-zo-ku-dl-el-a nga=i-N-khithini  
 SM<sub>1PL</sub>-FUT-OM<sub>15</sub>-eat-APPL-FV COP=AUG-9-kitchen  
 ‘we will eat in the kitchen’

**Instrumental: NG**

See P043

**Reason: Unattested**

See also P101

- i) *nginonile*  
 ngi-non-ile  
 SM<sub>1SG</sub>-become fat-PRF  
 ‘I’m fat/ I became fat’
- cf) *\*nginonilile inyama*  
 Int: ‘I became fat because of having meat’
- ii) *nginonile* *ngokudla* *inyama*  
 ngi-non-ile nga=u-ku-dl-a i-N-ama  
 SM<sub>1SG</sub>-be fat-PRF COP=AUG-15-eat-FV AUG-9-meat  
 ‘I became fat because of having meat’

**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

- i) *ngikufundelile*  
 ngi-ku-fund-el-ile  
 SM<sub>1SG</sub>-OM<sub>2SG</sub>-read-APPL-PRF  
 ‘I have read for you’
- ii) *ngikufundele* *ekamarweni*  
 ngi-ku-fund-el-e e-kamaro-ini  
 SM<sub>1SG</sub>-OM<sub>2SG</sub>-read-APPL-PST 23-room-LOC  
 ‘I have read for you in the room’

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

V. 2: yes, another form (cf. 1: yes, the suffix *-ik-* or similar form)

- e.g. *kwa bafana kutholakele*  
 ku-a bafana ku-thol-ak-ile  
 17-ASSC PN SM<sub>17</sub>-find-NEUT-PRF  
 ‘Bafana’s place is seen/ can be found’

A short summary of derivational suffixes

basic:	causative:	applicative:
<i>ukufunda</i> u-ku-fund-a ‘to read’	<i>ukufundiisa</i> u-ku-fund-(i)is-a ‘to make s.o. read’	<i>ukufundela</i> u-ku-fund-el-a ‘to read for s.o.’
neuter:	passive	reciprocal
<i>ukufundeka</i> u-ku-fund-ek-a ‘to be readable’	<i>ukufundwa</i> u-ku-fund-w-a ‘to be read’	<i>ukufundana</i> u-ku-fund-an-a ‘to read sth each other’

**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

**Causative+reciprocal**

- e.g. *ukufundisana*  
 ‘to make so read with each other’  
 \* *ukufundanisa*

**Causative+applicative**

- e.g. *ukufundisela*  
 ‘to make s.o. read for s.o.’  
 \* *ukufundelisa*

### **Applicative+reciprocal**

- e.g. *ukufundelana*  
'to read for s.o. with each other'  
\* *ukufundanela*

### **Applicative+passive**

- e.g. *ukufundelwa*  
'to be read for s.o. (s.o. is beneficated by reading)'  
\* *ukufundwela*

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

V. 1: by morphological modification of the verb

### **Present/progressive**

- i) *ngiyafunda*  
ngi-ya-fund-a  
SM<sub>1SG</sub>-PRS/PROG-read-FV  
'I am reading'
- ii) *angifundi*  
a-ngi-fund-i  
NEG-SM<sub>1SG</sub>-study-NEG  
'I am not reading'
- iii) *abafundi*  
a-ba-fund-i  
NEG-SM<sub>2</sub>-study-NEG  
'They are not reading'

### **Past**

- e.g. *angikafundi*  
a-ngi-ka-fund-i  
NEG-SM<sub>1SG</sub>-PST.NEG-study-NEG  
'I didn't read'
- cf) *ngifundile*  
ngi-fund-ile  
SM<sub>1SG</sub>-PST-read-PRF  
'I read'

### Future

- e.g. *angikazokufunda*  
a-ngi-ka-zo-ku-fund-a  
NEG-SM<sub>1SG</sub>-NEG-FUT-CERT-read-FV  
'I will not read'
- cf) *ngizokufunda*  
ngi-zo-ku-fund-a  
SM<sub>1SG</sub>-FUT-CERT-read-FV  
'I will read'

### Inchoative: PRS

- e.g. *angilali*  
a-ngi-lal-i  
NEG-SM<sub>1SG</sub>-sleep-NEG  
'I'm not sleeping'
- cf) *ngilele*  
ngi-lal-ile  
SM<sub>1SG</sub>-sleep-PRF  
'I'm sleeping'

### Inchoative: PST

- e.g. *bengilele*  
be-ngi-lal-e  
PST.STAT?-SM<sub>1SG</sub>-sleep-STAT  
'I was sleeping'

### Inchoative: FUT

- e.g. *ngizobe*                      *ngilele*  
ngi-zo-b-e                      ngi-lal-e  
SM<sub>1SG</sub>-FUT-be-STAT    SM<sub>1SG</sub>-sleep-STAT  
'I will be sleeping'

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

V. 1: by morphological modification of the verb

- i) *ngicabanga*      *bona*      *akafundi*  
ngi-cabang-a      bona      a-ka-fund-i  
SM<sub>1SG</sub>-think-FV    COMP    SM.DEP<sub>1</sub>-NEG-read-NEG  
'I think she is not reading'

N. SM.DEP in the gloss line stands for a subject agreement marker (SM) used in the context of dependent clauses.

- ii) *nangakezi*                      *ngizokuyela*                      *ekhaya*  
na-a-nga-kez-i                      ngi-zo-ku-yel-a                      e-khaya  
If-SM<sub>1</sub>-NEG-come-NEG SM<sub>1</sub>SG-FUT-CERT-return-FV      23-house  
‘If she doesn’t come, I will get back home’
- cf) *nakezako* [nagezao]                      *nangizako*  
na-a-kez-a=ko                      na-ngi-za=ko  
If-SM<sub>1</sub>-come-FV=DEP?                      If-SM<sub>1</sub>SG-come=DEP?  
‘If she comes’                      ‘If I come’
- iii) *umuntu*                      *ongafundiko*                      *incwadi*  
u-mu-ntu                      o-nga-fund-i=ko                      i-N-cwadi  
AUG-1-person      SM.DEP<sub>1</sub>-NEG-read-NEG=DEP?      AUG-9-book  
‘the person who is not reading (a book)’
- iv) *umuthi*                      *ongakathengwa*  
u-mu-thi                      o-nga-ka-theng-w-a  
AUG-3-tree      SM.DEP<sub>1</sub>-NEG-sell-PASS-FV  
‘a medicine which is not sold’
- v) *umuthi*                      *ongakathengwako*  
u-mu-thi                      o-nga-ka-theng-w-a=ko  
AUG-3-tree      SM.DEP<sub>1</sub>-NEG-sell-PASS-FV=DEP  
‘a medicine which is not sold’

**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

« to be investigated further »

See P050

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

V. 5: two (or more) of the above (either 1 or 2 + 3) (1: in the pre-initial position only (NEG-SM-...); 2: in the post-initial position only (SM-NEG-...); 3: in the final vowel position of the inflected (see P080))

« 1. preinitial or 1. preinitial + 3. final vowel »

See P050

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

V. 5: two (or more) of the above (either 1 or 2 + 3) (1: in the pre-initial position only (NEG-SM-...); 2: in the post-initial position only (SM-NEG-...); 3: in the final vowel position of the inflected verb)

« 2. postinitial or 2. postinitial + 3. final vowel »

See P050

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

V. (tentative analysis)

« 1 (a single marker) for Future, 3 (obligatory double marking) for Present and Past »

See P050 etc.

N. Seemingly tonal modification is also related to negation marking. Further investigation is needed.

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

V. (tentative analysis)

« 1 (a single marker) for a relative (with a passive verb stem), 3 (obligatory double marking) for if-clauses and relative clauses (with an active verb stem) »

See P050 etc.

N. Two negation markers, namely the prefix *nga-* and the suffix *-i*, the latter of which may not be regarded as a designated negation marker, are used in subordinate clauses such as if-clauses and relative clauses with active verb stems, while in relative clauses with a passive verb stem, only the prefix *nga-* appears. Tonal modification may also be related to mark negation. Further investigation needed.

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

V. no: not attested in the language

« tentative »

**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)

e.g. *angikazokufunda*

a-ngi-ka-zo-ku-fund-a

NEG-SM<sub>1SG</sub>-NEG-FUT-CERT-read-FV

‘I will not read’

- cf) *ngizokufunda*  
 ngi-zo-ku-fund-a  
 SM<sub>1SG</sub>-FUT-CERT-read-FV  
 ‘I will read’

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

V. no

« negative subjunctive is used as a negative imperative »

- e.g. *ungafundi*                      *incwadi*  
 u-nga-fund-i                      i-N-cwadi  
 SM<sub>2SG</sub>-NEG-read-NEG    AUG-9-book  
 ‘Don’t read a book’

**a-subjunctive**

- i) *asikhambe*  
 a-si-khamb-e  
 SUGG-SM<sub>1PL</sub>-go-SBJV  
 ‘Let’s go’
- ii) *angikhambe*  
 a-ngi-khamb-e  
 SUGG-SM<sub>1SG</sub>-go-SBJV  
 ‘Let me go’

N. *a-* in the Preinitial slot can be interpreted as a kind of discourse marker denoting ‘urging (listener to do something)’, which is labelled as Suggestive (SUGG) in the gloss line. Further investigation needed.

**Ø-subjunctive**

- e.g. *ngikhambe*  
 ngi-khamb-e  
 SM<sub>1SG</sub>-go-SBJV  
 ‘May I go’

**NEG of a-subjunctive**

- e.g. *angingakhambi*  
 a-ngi-nga-khamb-i  
 SUGG-SM<sub>1SG</sub>-NEG-go-NEG  
 ‘Let me not go’

### NEG of Ø-subjunctive

e.g. *ngingakhambi*  
ngi-nga-khamb-i  
SM<sub>1SG</sub>-NEG-go-NEG  
'Let me not go'

### NEG of Ø-subjunctive as negative imperative

e.g. *ungakhambi*  
u-nga-khamb-i  
SM<sub>2SG</sub>-NEG-go-NEG  
'Let you not go/ Don't go'

N. There are two subjunctive forms i.e., a-subjunctive {a-SM-stem-e} vs. Ø-subjunctive {SM-stem-e}, where the prefix *a-* encodes a discourse function that can be labelled as Suggestive ('urge s.o. to do' etc)'. Both forms can be negated by the NEG<sub>2</sub> marker *nga-* with the final vowel *-e* replaced by the negative final vowel *-i*, i.e. {(a-)nga-SM-stem-i}. The negative imperative is expressed by the negated form of Ø-subjunctive.

### 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 (49))

V. no: all tense/aspect/mood constructions are negated by a negative prefix and/or a negative particle « to be confirmed by a systematic survey on TA system »

N. *ka-* marker may be related to the itive \**ka-*, but it expresses a past event that is regarded as moving toward the referential point of time, e.g., the time of utterance.

e.g. *angikafundi incwadi*  
a-ngi-ka-fund-i  
NEG-SM<sub>1SG</sub>-KA-read-NEG  
'I didn't read'

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

V. yes

1SG) *mina ngiwile*  
mina ngi-u-ile  
PRON<sub>1SG</sub> SM<sub>1SG</sub>-fall-PRF  
'I fell'

2SG) *wena uwile*  
*wena u-u-ile*  
 PRON<sub>2SG</sub> SM<sub>1SG</sub>-fall-PRF  
 ‘You (sg) fell’

3SG = cl.1)  
*yena uwile*  
*yena u-u-ile*  
 PRON<sub>3SG</sub> SM<sub>1</sub>-fall-PRF  
 ‘S/he fell’

1PL) *thina siwile*  
*thina si-u-ile*  
 PRON<sub>1PL</sub> SM<sub>1PL</sub>-fall-PRF  
 ‘We fell’

2PL) *nina niwile*  
*nina ni-u-ile*  
 PRON<sub>2PL</sub> SM<sub>2PL</sub>-fall-PRF  
 ‘You (pl) fell’

3PL = cl.2)  
*bona bawile*  
*bona ba-u-ile*  
 PRON<sub>3PL</sub> SM<sub>2</sub>-fall-PRF  
 ‘They fell’

cl.1) *umuntu uwile*  
*u-mu-ntu u-u-ile*  
 AUG-1-person SM<sub>1</sub>-fall-PRF  
 ‘a person fell’

N. Class 1 subject agreement can be also marked by *a-* or *o-* in dependent clauses.

cl.2) *abantu bawile*  
*a-ba-ntu ba-u-ile*  
 AUG-2-person SM<sub>2</sub>-fall-PRF  
 ‘people fell’

cl.1a) *ugogo uwile*  
*u-Ø-gogo u-u-ile*  
 AUG-1a-grandmother SM<sub>1</sub>-fall-PRF  
 ‘a grandmother fell’

- cl.2a) *abogogo*                      *bawile*  
a-bo-gogo                      ba-u-ile  
AUG-2a-grandmother      SM<sub>2</sub>-fall-PRF  
‘grandmothers fell’
- cl.3) *umuthi*                      *uwile*  
u-mu-thi                      u-u-ile  
AUG-3-tree      SM<sub>3</sub>-fall-PRF  
‘a tree fell’
- cl.4) *imithi*                      *iwile*  
i-mi-thi                      i-u-ile  
AUG-4-tree      SM<sub>4</sub>-fall-PRF  
‘trees fell’
- cl.5) *ilitje*                      *liwile*  
i-li-tje                      li-u-ile  
AUG-5-stone      SM<sub>5</sub>-fall-PRF  
‘a stone fell’
- cl.6) *amatje*                      *awile*  
a-ma-tje                      a-u-ile  
AUG-6-stone      SM<sub>6</sub>-fall-PRF  
‘stones fell’
- cl.7) *isitja*                      *siwile*  
i-si-tja                      si-u-ile  
AUG-7-bowl      SM<sub>7</sub>-fall-PRF  
‘a bowl fell’
- cl.8) *izitja*                      *ziwile*  
i-zi-tja                      zi-u-ile  
AUG-8-bowl      SM<sub>8</sub>-fall-PRF  
‘bowls fell’
- cl.9) *ikosi*                      *iwile*  
i-N-kosi                      i-u-ile  
AUG-9-king      SM<sub>9</sub>-fall-PRF  
‘a king fell’
- cl.10) *iinkosi*                      *ziwile*  
i-N-kosi                      zi-u-ile  
AUG-10-king      SM<sub>10</sub>-fall-PRF  
‘kings fell’

cl.14) *ubuso*            *bubethiwe*  
 u-bu-hle            bu-beth-i-w-ile  
 AUG-14-bowl SM<sub>14</sub>-hit-APPL-PASS-PRF  
 ‘a face is beaten’

N. The so-called ‘imbrication’ process is attested in PASS-PRF sequence.

cl.15) *ukudla*            *kuwile*  
 u-ku-dl-a            ku-u-ile  
 AUG-15-eat-FV SM<sub>15</sub>-fall-PRF  
 ‘food fell’

cl.17) *kwa*            *bafana*    *kutholakele*  
 ku-a            bafana    ku-thol-ak-ile  
 17-ASSC PN            SM<sub>17</sub>-find-NEUT-PRF  
 ‘Bafana’s place is seen/ can be found’

cl.23) *endlini*            *kutholakele*  
 e-ndlu-ini            ku-thol-ak-ile  
 23-house-LOC    SM<sub>17</sub>-find-NEUT-PRF

cl.23) *endlini*            *etholakele*  
 e-ndlu-ini            e-thol-ak-ile  
 23-house-LOC    SM<sub>23</sub>-find-NEUT-PRF  
 ‘A house is seen/ can be found’

**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

cl.9) *ikosi*            *iwile*  
 i-N-kosi            i-u-ile  
 AUG-9-king SM<sub>9</sub>-fall-PRF  
 ‘a king fell’

N. Animacy is not relevant to the process of grammatical concordance, i.e., the so-called semantic agreement is not attested, i.e. *\*ikosi uwile*.

**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

1PL) *thina siwile*  
 thina si-u-ile  
 PRON<sub>1PL</sub> SM<sub>1PL</sub>-fall-PRF  
 ‘We fell’

2PL) *nina niwile*  
 nina ni-u-ile  
 PRON<sub>2PL</sub> SM<sub>2PL</sub>-fall-PRF  
 ‘You (pl) fell’

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

V. no

« more investigation needed »

**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)

**cl.1 + cl.1= cl.2**

e.g. *umufundisi nomuntwanakhe*  
 u-mu-fund-is-i na=u-mu-ntu-ana=khe  
 AUG-1-teach-CAUS-NMLZ.ag and=AUG-1-person-DIM=POSS<sub>3SG</sub>  
*bakhamba ngaphandle*  
 ba-khamb-a nga=ha-ndle  
 SM<sub>2</sub>-go-FV COP=16-outside  
 ‘a teacher and his student are walking outside’

**cl.1 + cl.9 (animate)**

e.g. *umusana nekosi badla inyama* [iɲa:]  
 u-mu-sana na i-N-kosi ba-dl-a i-N-ama  
 AUG-1-boy and AUG-9-king SM<sub>2</sub>-eat-FV AUG-9-meat  
 ‘a boy and a king are eating meat’

cf) \**umusana nekosi zidla inyama*

**cl.1 + cl.9 (inanimate)**

e.g. *umusana nekoloyi batjhayisene* [batʃaise(n)]  
 u-mu-sana na i-N-koloyi ba-tjhais-an-ile  
 AUG-1-boy and AUG-9-car SM<sub>2</sub>-clash-RECP-PRF  
 ‘a boy and a car clashed on the road’

cf) \**umusana nekoloyi zitjhayisene*

N. Though semantic (animacy) agreement seems not allowed in this language, a coordinated nominal phrase including cl.1 takes the cl.2 agreement, which may be regarded as (partial) semantic agreement.

**cl.9 + cl.9**

e.g. *ikoloyi            nebayisigili            zitjhayisene*  
 i-N-koloyi    na    i-N-bayisigili            zi-tjhais-an-ile  
 AUG-9-car    and    AUG-9-motor bike    SM<sub>10/8</sub>-clash-RECP-PRF  
 ‘a car and a motorbike clashed on the road’

**cl.9 + cl.7**

e.g. *ikopi            nesitja            ziphukile*  
 i-N-kopi    na    i-si-tja            zi-phuk-ile  
 AUG-9-cup    and    AUG-7-plate    SM<sub>10/8</sub>-break-PRF  
 ‘a cup and a plate are broken’

**cl.7 + cl.9**

e.g. *isitja            nekopi            ziphukile*  
 i-si-tja    na    i-Ø-kopi            zi-phuk-ile  
 AUG-7-plate    and    AUG-7-cup    SM<sub>10/8</sub>-break-PRF  
 ‘a plate and a cup are broken’

N. Basically SM *zi-*, which is either cl.10 or cl.8, is used for the subject coordination of different inanimate classes.

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

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

**PRS-1**

e.g. *ngifunda            incwadi*  
 ngi-fund-a            i-N-cwadi  
 SM<sub>1SG</sub>-read-FV    AUG-9-book  
 ‘I read a book’

**PRS-2**

e.g. *ngiyafunda            incwadi*  
 ngi-ya-fund-a            i-N-cwadi  
 SM<sub>1SG</sub>-PRS/PROG-read-FV    AUG-9-book  
 ‘I read a book’

### PROG/PERSISTIVE?

e.g. *ngisafunda incwadi*  
ngi-sa-fund-a i-N-cwadi  
SM<sub>1SG</sub>-PERS-read-FV AUG-9-book  
'I'm (still) reading a book'

### FUT PERSISTIVE?

e.g. *ngisazofunda incwadi*  
ngi-sa-zo-fund-a i-N-cwadi  
SM<sub>1SG</sub>-PERS-FUT-read-FV AUG-9-book  
'I will be (still) reading a book'

### PST

- i) *ngiyifund(ile) incwadi imizuzwini edlulileko*  
ngi-yi-fund-ile i-N-cwadi i-mi-zuzu-ini e-dlul-ile=ko  
SM<sub>1SG</sub>-OM<sub>9</sub>-read-PRF AUG-9-book AUG-4-minute-LOC SM<sub>23</sub>-pass-PRF=REL  
'I read a book few minutes ago'
- ii) *ngiyifund(ile) incwadi namuhlanje*  
ngi-yi-fund-ile i-N-cwadi na=muhlanje  
SM<sub>1SG</sub>-OM<sub>9</sub>-read-PRF AUG-9-book PREP=morning  
'I read a book this morning'
- iii) *ngiyifund(ile) incwadi izolo*  
ngi-yi-fund-ile i-N-cwadi i-Ø-zolo  
SM<sub>1SG</sub>-OM<sub>9</sub>-read-PRF AUG-9-book AUG-9-yesterday  
'I read a book yesterday'
- iv) *ngiyifund(ile) incwadi phambi kwayizolo*  
ngi-yi-fund-ile i-N-cwadi phambi ku-a i-N-zolo  
SM<sub>1SG</sub>-OM<sub>9</sub>-read-PRF AUG-9-book before PP<sub>x17</sub>-ASSC AUG-9-yesterday  
'I read a book the day before yesterday'
- v) *ngiyifund(ile) incwadi*  
ngi-yi-fund-ile i-N-cwadi  
SM<sub>1SG</sub>-OM<sub>9</sub>-read-PRF AUG-9-book  
*enyakeni odlulileko [enayeni oɔlulileyo]*  
e-N-aka-ini o-dlul-ile=ko  
23-9-year-LOC SM<sub>x</sub>-pass-PST=REL  
'I read a book last year'

- vi) *ngiyifund(ile) incwadi kade [ya:de]*  
 ngi-yi-fund-ile i-N-cwadi kade  
 SM<sub>1SG</sub>-OM<sub>9</sub>-read-PRF AUG-9-book long time ago (\*ka(cl.12)-de?)  
 ‘I read a book long time ago’

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

V. 2: future time is divided into two (e.g hodiernal vs. post-hodiernal, etc)

**FUT-1**

- e.g. *ngizofunda*  
 ngi-zo-fund-a  
 SM<sub>1SG</sub>-FUT-read-FV  
 ‘I will read’

**FUT-1+ku-**

- e.g. *ngizokufunda*  
 ngi-zo-ku-fund-a  
 SM<sub>1SG</sub>-FUT-CERT-read-FV  
 ‘I will read/ I will be reading’ Connotation: The event is going to happen in the future.

**FUT-2**

- e.g. *ngiyofunda*  
 ngi-yo-fund-a  
 SM<sub>1SG</sub>-FUT.PROG-read-FV  
 ‘I will read’

**FUT-2+ku-**

- e.g. *ngiyokufunda*  
 ngi-yo-ku-fund-a  
 SM<sub>1SG</sub>-FUT-CERT-read-FV  
 ‘I will read/ I will be reading’ Connotation: The event is going to happen in the future.

**FUT-1+ku**

- i) *ngizokufunda lencwadi nje*  
 ngi-zo-ku-fund-a la-i-N-cwadi nje  
 SM<sub>1SG</sub>-FUT-CERT-read-FV DEM-AUG-9-book now  
 ‘I will read the book right now’

- ii) *ngizokufunda*                      *lencwadi*                      *entambama*  
 ngi-zo-ku-fund-a                      la-i-N-cwadi                      entambama  
 SM<sub>1SG</sub>-FUT-CERT-read-FV    DEM-AUG-9-book    evening  
 ‘I will read the book this evening’
- iii) *ngizokufunda*                      *lencwadi*                      *kusasa*  
 ngi-zo-ku-fund-a                      la-i-N-cwadi                      ku-sasa  
 SM<sub>1SG</sub>-FUT-CERT-read-FV    DEM-AUG-9-book    17-tomorrow  
 ‘I will read the book tomorrow’
- iv) *ngizokufunda*                      *lencwadi*                      *ngemuva*  
 ngi-zo-ku-fund-a                      la-i-N-cwadi                      nga-imuva  
 SM<sub>1SG</sub>-FUT-CERT-read-FV    DEM-AUG-9-book    COP-after  
*kwakusasa*  
 ku-a                      ku-sasa  
 PP<sub>x17</sub>-ASSC    17-tomorrow  
 ‘I will read the book the day after tomorrow’
- v) *ngizokufunda*                      *lencwadi*                      *enyakeni*                      *ozako*  
 ngi-zo-ku-fund-a                      la-i-N-cwadi                      e-N-aka-ini                      o-za=ko  
 SM<sub>1SG</sub>-FUT-CERT-read-FV    DEM-AUG-9-book    23-9-year-LOC    SM<sub>x</sub>-come=REL  
 ‘I will read the book next year’
- vi) *ngelinye*                      *ilanga*                      *ngizokufunda*                      *lencwadi*  
 nga=i-li-nye                      i-li-anga                      ngi-zo-ku-fund-a                      la-i-N-cwadi  
 COP=AUG-PP<sub>x5</sub>-one    AUG-5-day    SM<sub>1SG</sub>-FUT-CERT-read-FV    DEM-AUG-9-book  
 ‘Someday I will read the book’

## FUT-2

e.g. *ngiyofunda*  
 ngi-yo-fund-a  
 SM<sub>1SG</sub>-FUT.PROG-read-FV  
 ‘I will read’

## FUT-2+ku

e.g. *Unyaka*                      *ozako*                      *ngiyokufunda*                      *evenda*  
 u-mu-nyaka    o-za=ko                      ngi-yo-ku-fund-a                      e-venda  
 AUG-3-year    SM.DEP<sub>3</sub>-come=REL    SM<sub>1SG</sub>-FUT.PROG-CERT-read-FV    23-PN  
 ‘I will be studying in Venda next year’

cf. There is a possibility that dropping of CP<sub>x3</sub> *mu-* in *u-mu-nyaka* is conditioned by the following nasal. Further investigation is needed.

N. There are at least two different markers used in the future context, which are *zo-* and *yo-*. Though the functional difference between the two is still unclear, it seems that *zo-* refers to relatively near future events, while *yo-* denotes relatively remote future.

**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. *ngibona*

ngi-bon-a

SM<sub>1SG</sub>-see-FV

‘I see’

cf) \**ngibon-ak-a*, \**ngibon-al-a*

**Neuter**

e.g. *ngibonakala*

ngi-bon-ak-al-a

SM<sub>1SG</sub>-see-AK-AL-FV

‘I am seen’

**Passive**

i) *ngibonwa*

ngi-bon-w-a

SM<sub>1SG</sub>-see-PASS-FV

‘I am seen’

ii) *ngibonwa nguthitjhere*

ngi-bon-w-a ngi-u-Ø-thitjhere

SM<sub>1SG</sub>-see-FV COP-AUG-1-teacher

‘I am seen by a teacher’

N. The function of *-ak* in this language seems to be related to valency changing function that can be equivalent to ‘neuter’ rather than marking imperfective aspects as reconstructed in PB.

**Habituality**

e.g. *ngithenga ibisi woke malanga*

ngi-theng-a i-Ø-bisi woke ma-langa

SM<sub>1SG</sub>-buy-FV AUG-5-milk every(day) 6-morning

‘I buy milk every morning’

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

V. yes

### Canonical/basic form

e.g. *sithengile*  
si-theng-ile  
SM<sub>IPL</sub>-buy-PRF  
'We (have) bought'

### Shortened form

e.g. *sithenge*  
si-theng-ile  
SM<sub>IPL</sub>-buy-PRF  
'We bought'

N. It seems that the basic *-ile* form denotes perfect/anteriority rather than past tense, which is expressed through the shortened form *-e*.

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

V. no

#### To go and V

e.g. *bakhambile bayomdubula bese babaleka*  
ba-khamb-ile ba-yo-m-dubul-a bese ba-ba-lek-a  
SM<sub>2</sub>-go-PRF SM<sub>2</sub>-PRS-OM<sub>1</sub>-shoot-FV then SM<sub>2</sub>-TAM?-run-FV  
'They went to kill him then they ran'

N. Itive concepts are seemingly only expressed through lexical/periphrastic constructions with lexical verbs like *khamb-a* 'to go?'. Further investigation is needed.

### *ka-*

i) *abakatholi* [abagatô:li]  
a-ba-ka-thol-i  
NEG-SM<sub>2</sub>-PST.NEG-find-NEG  
'They did not find'

ii) *abatholi*  
a-ba-thol-i  
NEG-SM<sub>2</sub>-find-NEG  
'They do not find'

N. The function of the prefix *ka-* in this language can be regarded as marking of past-ness in the negative context.

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

V. no

### To come and V

e.g.    *za*            *uzokudla*  
      *z-a*            *u-zo-ku-dl-a*  
      come-FV    SM<sub>2SG</sub>-FUT-CERT-eat-FV  
      ‘come and eat (Lit: come and you will eat)’

N. There is a TA marker grammaticalized from the verb ‘come’, *zo-*, which marks future tense.

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

V. yes

- i)    *za* (X)            vs.            *iza*  
      *z-a* (X)            *i-z-a*  
      come-FV            15-come-FV  
      ‘come!’            ‘come!’
- ii)    *thola*            vs.            \**ithola*  
      *thol-a*            *i-thol-a*  
      find-FV            15-find-FV  
      ‘find!’

N. Basically the imperative form is identical to a bare stem. However, when the stem is monosyllabic and used solely without any constituent following the form, the prefix *i-* should be attached.

### 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)

« +3: yes, the plural is expressed by the addition of a second person plural subject marker »

- i)    *thola*            vs.            *tholani*  
      *thol-a*            *thol-a=ni*  
      find-FV            find-FV=PL  
      ‘find!’            ‘find (to plural addressee)’
- ii)    *iza*                vs.            *izani*  
      *i-z-a*            *i-z-a=ni*  
      15-come-FV        15-come-FV=PL  
      ‘come!’            ‘come! (to plural addressee)’
- iii)    *za* (X)            vs.            \**zani*  
      *z-a*                *z-a=ni*  
      come-FV            come-FV=PL  
      ‘come!’            Int: ‘come! (to plural addressee)’

N. In monosyllabic verbs, *i-* should be attached and bare forms are not accepted as well-formed. The enclitic *=ni* may be regarded as a shortened form of 2nd pers. plural pronominal *ni-na*.

**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

e.g. *ngizokufunda*

ngi-zo-ku-fund-a

SM<sub>1SG</sub>-FUT-CERT-read-FV

‘I will read/ I will be reading’ Connotation: The event is going to happen in the future.

N. There are at least two prestem slots for markers denoting tense and aspectual concepts.

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

V. yes

**CJ**

e.g. *sibona*                      *abafundi*

si-bon-a                      a-ba-fundi

SM<sub>IPL</sub>-see-FV      AUG-2-student

‘we see (the) students’

**DJ**

cf) *\*siyabona*                      *abafundi*

si-ya-bon-a                      a-ba-fundi

SM<sub>IPL</sub>-PRS/PROG-see-FV      AUG-2-student

i) *siyabona*

si-ya-bon-a

SM<sub>IPL</sub>-PRS/PROG-see-FV

‘we are seeing’

ii) *siyababona*                      *abafundi*

si-ya-ba-bon-a                      a-ba-fundi

SM<sub>IPL</sub>-PRS/PROG-OM<sub>2</sub>-see-FV      AUG-2-student

‘We are seeing (the) students’

N. For example, the verb forms inflected by the TAM *ya*- PRS/PROG cannot take a post verbal object noun, unless they take an OM agreeing with a following object NP. This is a typical syntactic feature of disjoint verb forms.

**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

e.g. *sanibonani*  
 si-a-ni-bon-a=ni  
 SM<sub>1PL</sub>-PST?-OM<sub>2PL</sub>-see=PL  
 ‘Hello (Lit: we see you)’

**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) *ngizokunikela* *umadoro*  
 ngi-zo-ku-nik-el-a u-mu-adoro  
 SM<sub>1SG</sub>-FUT-OM<sub>2SG</sub>-give-APPL-FV AUG-14/3-car  
 ‘I will give you a car’

ii) *umadoro* *ngizobunikela*  
 u-mu-adoro ngi-zo-bu-nik-el-a  
 AUG-14/3-car SM<sub>1SG</sub>-FUT-OM<sub>14</sub>-give-APPL-FV  
 ‘As for a car, I will give’

cf) *\*ngizobunikela*  
 ngi-zo-bu-ku-nik-ela  
 SM<sub>1SG</sub>-FUT-OM<sub>14</sub>-OM<sub>2</sub>-give-APPL-FV

iii) *ngikubonile*  
 ngi-ku-bon-ile  
 SM<sub>1SG</sub>-OM<sub>2SG</sub>-see-PRF  
 ‘I saw you/ I’ve seen you’

iv) *ngikubonile* *lapho*  
 ngi-ku-bon-ile lapho  
 SM<sub>1SG</sub>-OM<sub>2SG</sub>-see-PRF DEM<sub>r16</sub>  
 ‘I saw you/ I’ve seen you there’

cf) *\*ngikuphabonile*  
 ngi-ku-pha-bon-ile  
 SM<sub>1SG</sub>-OM<sub>2SG</sub>-OM<sub>16</sub>-see-PRF  
 ‘I saw you/ I’ve seen you there’

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

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

e.g. *bazibethe* *bona*  
 ba-zi-beth-ile bona  
 SM<sub>2</sub>-REFL-hit-PRF PRON<sub>2</sub>  
 ‘They hit themselves’

**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)     *ngizoyifunda*                      *incwadi*  
       ngi-zo-i-fund-a                 i-N-cwadi  
       SM1sg-FUT-OM9-read-FV    AUG-9-book  
       ‘I will read a book’
- ii)    *ngizoyifunda*  
       ngi-zo-i-fund-a  
       SM1SG-FUT-OM9-read-FV  
       ‘I will read it’

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

V. yes

« but Negative subjunctives are marked by -i »

See also the examples in P057

**a-subjunctive**

- e.g.   *asikhambe*  
       a-si-khamb-e  
       SUGG-SM1PL-go-SBJV  
       ‘Let’s go’

**Ø-subjunctive**

- e.g.   *ngikhambe*  
       ngi-khamb-e  
       SM1SG-go-SBJV  
       ‘May I go’

**NEG of a-subjunctive**

- e.g.   *angingakhambi*  
       a-ngi-nga-khamb-i  
       SUGG-SM1sg-NEG-go-NEG  
       ‘Let me not go’



- iv) 'I know'      *ngiyazi*  
                       *ngi-ya-zi*  
                           SM<sub>1SG</sub>-PRS/PRG-know  
                           \**ngiyaza*
- 'you know'      *wena uyazi* [we:ná ujá:zi]  
           's/he knows'      *yena uyazi* [je:ná újá:zi]
- v) 'I knew'      *ngazile*  
                       *ngi-a-zi-ile*  
                           SM<sub>1SG</sub>-PST-know-PRF
- 'You knew'      *wena wazile* [we:ná wazǐ:le]  
           's/he knew'      *yena wazile* [yená wáǐ:le]
- vi) 'I will know'      *ngizokwazi*  
                           *ngi-zo-ku-a-zi*  
                           SM<sub>1sg</sub>-FUT-CERT-know

N. 'to have' is expressed by the predicate stem *na* 'with'. While it is directly attached to by SM, the form itself cannot be seen as a verb. On the other hand, *-zi* 'know' can be seen as an irregular verb stem in that it is not inflected by the default final vowel *-a*. However, while it is not clear whether it completely follow the regular inflection (especially TA) paradigm, it is attested not only in Past and Present but also in Future tense morphology.

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

V. ?

« yes »

- i)      *ngitlole*                      *incwadi*  
           *ngi-tlol-ile*                  i-N-cwadi  
           SM<sub>1SG</sub>-write-PRF      AUG-9-letter  
           'I wrote a letter'
- ii)      *ngizabe*                      *ngitlola*                      *incwadi*  
           *ngi-zab-e*                      *ngi-tlol-a*                      i-N-cwadi  
           SM<sub>1SG</sub>-AUX(<'get')-FV      SM<sub>1SG</sub>-write-FV      AUG-9-letter  
           '(During that time) I will be writing/I will continue to write a letter'
- iii)      *ngizokuba*                      *ngidla*  
           *ngi-zo-ku-b-a*                      *ngi-dl-a*  
           SM<sub>1SG</sub>-FUT-CERT-AUX(<'be')-FV      SM<sub>1SG</sub>-eat-FV  
           'I will be eating'

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

V. no: auxiliary constructions only allow one auxiliary

e.g. *ngokurhaba*                      *ngizabe*                      *ngisela*                      *amanzi*  
nga u-ku-rhab-a                      ngi-zab-e                      ngi-sel-a                      a-ma-nzi  
COP AUG-15-be quick-FV SM<sub>1SG</sub>-AUX(<'get')-FV SM<sub>1SG</sub>-drink-FV AUG-6-water  
'Quickly I drink water'

N. Seemingly the Adverbial concepts like 'quickly', which can be expressed through AUXs in e.g. Xitsonga, where multiple AUXs can be allowed in a single sentence, may be expressed through an adverbial use of infinitive, and not by an auxiliary. Further investigation needed.

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

V. ?

« yes (1 or 2?) »

e.g. *kuzabe*                      *kutlolwa*                      *incwadi*  
ku-zab-e                      ku-tlol-w-a                      i-N-cwadi  
SM<sub>17</sub>-AUX(<'get')-FV SM<sub>17</sub>-write-PASS-FV AUG-9-letter  
'There will be writing (by someone) a letter'

cf) \**kuzabe*                      *ngitlola*                      *incwadi*  
ku-zab-e                      ngi-tlol-w-a                      i-N-cwadi  
SM<sub>17</sub>-AUX(<'get')-FV SM<sub>1SG</sub>-write-PASS-FV AUG-9-letter  
'There will be writing (by someone) a letter'

N. Taking different agreement markers for an AUX and a main verb seems not to be allowed. But see the case of raising construction, where multiple verb forms with different subject marking can cooccur.

**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. null: unknown

« probably no »

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

V. yes

e.g. *ngizokuba*                      *ngidla*  
ngi-zo-ku-b-a                      ngi-dl-a  
SM<sub>1SG</sub>-FUT-CERT-be-FV SM<sub>1SG</sub>-eat-FV  
'I will be eating'

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

V. yes

N. Relative clauses are primarily marked by the pre-initial vowel as well as verbal enclitic =*ko*, which is obligatory in some specific syntactic environments.

**Subject relative with an animate head noun: =*ko* is NOT obligatory**

- i) *umuntu ofunde incwadi*  
u-mu-ntu o-fund-ile i-N-cwadi  
AUG-1-person SM.DEP<sub>1</sub>-read-PRF AUG-9-book  
‘The person who read a book’
- ii) *umuntu ofundileko incwadi*  
u-mu-ntu o-fund-ile=*ko* i-N-cwadi  
AUG-1-person SM.DEP<sub>1</sub>-read-PRF=REL AUG-9-book  
cf. \**ofundeko*  
‘The person who read a book’

**Subject relative with an inanimate head noun: =*ko* is obligatory**

- e.g. *iincwadi ezetjiweko*  
i-N-cwadi e-si-eb-w-ile=*ko*  
AUG-10-book REL-SM<sub>1PL</sub>-buy-PASS-PRF=REL  
‘The books which were stolen’  
cf. b-w > tj [tʃ] / \_-ile
- cf) \**iincwadi ezetjiwe*  
i-N-cwadi e-si-eb-w-ile  
AUG-10-book REL-SM<sub>1PL</sub>-buy-PASS-PRF  
‘The books which were stolen’

**Object relative with an animate head noun: =*ko* is NOT obligatory**

- i) *umuntu obonene nobafana izolo*  
u-mu-ntu o-bon-an-ile na=u-Ø-bafana i-N-zolo  
AUG-1-person SM.DEP<sub>1</sub>-see-RECP-PRF with=AUG-1a-PN AUG-9-yesterday  
‘The person whom Bafana met yesterday’
- ii) *umuntu oboneneko nobafana*  
u-mu-ntu o-bon-an-ile=*ko* na=u-Ø-bafana  
AUG-1-person SM.DEP<sub>1</sub>-see-RECP-PRF=REL with=AUG-1a-PN  
‘The person whom Bafana met’
- cf) \**umuntu ubonene nobafana*  
u-mu-ntu u-bon-an-ile na=u-Ø-bafana  
AUG-1-person SM.DEP<sub>1</sub>-see-RECP-PRF=REL with=AUG-1a-PN  
‘The person, Bafana met’ not ‘The person who Bafana met’

**Object relative with an inanimate head noun: =ko is obligatory**

- i) *iincwadi esizithengileko*  
i-N-cwadi e-si-zi-theng-ile=**ko**  
AUG-10-book REL-SM<sub>1PL</sub>-OM<sub>10</sub>-buy-PRF=REL  
'The books that we bought'
- cf) *\*iincwadi esizithengile*  
i-N-cwadi e-si-zi-theng-ile  
AUG-10-book REL-SM<sub>1PL</sub>-OM<sub>10</sub>-buy-PRF=REL  
Intd. 'The books that we bought'
- ii) *iincwadi abazifundileko*  
i-N-cwadi a-ba-zi-fund-ile=**ko**  
AUG-10-book REL-SM<sub>2</sub>-OM<sub>10</sub>-read-PRF=REL  
'The books they read'
- cf) *\*iincwadi abazifundile*  
i-N-cwadi a-ba-zi-fund-ile  
AUG-10-book REL-SM<sub>1PL</sub>-OM<sub>10</sub>-buy-PRF  
'The books they read'

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

V. no: there is no dedicated relative marker, or relativisation is only marked through verbal morphology (P087)

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

V. n.a.: there is no dedicated relative marker, or relativisation is only marked through verbal morphology (P087)

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

V. n.a.: there is no dedicated relative marker, or relativisation is only marked through verbal morphology (P087)

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

V. 2: the subject

See the examples in P085

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

V. no

e.g. *umuntu*                      *oboneneko*                                      *nobafana*  
u-mu-ntu                      o-bon-an-ile=ko                                      na=u-bafana  
AUG-1-person      SM.DEP<sub>1</sub>-see-RECP-PRF=REL      with=AUG-PN  
'The person whom Bafana met'

cf) \**umuntu*                      *nobafana*                      *oboneneko*  
u-mu-ntu                      na=u-bafana                      o-bon-an-ile=ko  
AUG-1-person      with=AUG-PN      SM.DEP<sub>1</sub>-see-RECP-PRF =REL  
'The person whom Bafana met'

cf) \**umuntu*                      *ubafana*                      *oboneneko*  
u-mu-ntu                      u-bafana                      o-bon-an-ile=ko  
AUG-1-person      AUG-PN      SM.DEP<sub>1</sub>-see-RECP-PRF =REL  
'The person whom Bafana met'

**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. 2: yes, it is always required

e.g. *iincwadi*                      *esizithengileko*  
i-N-cwadi                      e-si-zi-theng-ile=ko  
AUG-10-book      REL-SM<sub>1PL</sub>-OM<sub>10</sub>-buy-PRF=REL  
'The books that we bought'

cf) \**iincwadi*                      *esithengileko*  
i-N-cwadi                      e-si-theng-ile=ko  
AUG-10-book      REL-SM<sub>1PL</sub>-buy-PRF=REL  
'The books that we bought'

**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

e.g. *nangibuyako*    *ekhaya*      *ngibonene*  
na=ngi-buy-a=ko    e-khaya      ngi-bon-an-e  
PREP=SM<sub>1SG</sub>-return-FV=REL      23-home      SM<sub>1SG</sub>-see-RECP-PST  
*nesivakatjhi*  
na=i-si-vakatjh-i  
with=AUG-7-visit-NMNL.ag  
'When I returned home, I met a visitor'

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

V. yes

- i) *imali*                      *engiyitholileko*  
i-N-mali                      e-ngi-yi-thol-ile=ko  
AUG-9-money      REL-SM<sub>1SG</sub>-OM<sub>9</sub>-get-PRF=REL  
*ngokuthengisa*                      *imadoro*  
nga=u-ku-theng-is-a                      i-N-madoro  
COP=AUG-15-buy-CAUS-FV      AUG-9-car  
‘the money I get by selling a car’
- cf) *\*imali*                      *engiyithengisileko*                      *imadoro*  
i-N-mali                      e-ngi-yi-theng-is-ile=ko                      i-N-madoro  
AUG-9-money      REL-SM<sub>1SG</sub>-OM<sub>9</sub>-get-PRF=REL      AUG-9-car
- ii) *imali*                      *engiyithengisileko*                      *ngemadoro*  
i-N-mali                      e-ngi-yi-theng-is-ile=ko                      nga=i-N-madoro  
AUG-9-money      REL-SM<sub>1SG</sub>-OM<sub>9</sub>-get-PRF=REL      COP=AUG-9-car  
‘the money I get by selling a car’

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

V. null: unknown

« Yet to be investigated. »

**P097 Clefts: How are clefts formed?**

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

- i) *ubafana*                      *uzile*                      *izolo* [ubáfaná ↑úzi:lé ↑ízo:lo]  
u-Ø-bafana      u-z-ile                      i-zolo  
AUG-1a-PN      SM<sub>1</sub>-come-PRF      yesterday  
‘Bafana came here yesterday’
- ii) *ngubafana*                      *ozileko*                      *izolo*  
nga=u-Ø-bafana      a-u-z-ile=ko                      i-N-zolo  
COP=AUG-1a-PN      REL=SM<sub>1</sub>-come-PRF=REL      AUG-9-yesterday  
‘it is Bafana who came here yesterday’
- iii) *ngubafana*                      *ozile*                      *izolo*  
nga=u-Ø-bafana      a-u-z-ile                      i-N-zolo  
COP=AUG-1a-PN      REL=SM<sub>1</sub>-come-PRF      AUG-9-yesterday  
‘it is Bafana who came here yesterday’

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

V. no

e.g. *ubafana uzile musinya la*  
 u-Ø-bafana u-z-ile musinya la  
 AUG-1a-PN SM<sub>1</sub>-come-PRF quickly here (DEM<sub>n16</sub>)  
 ‘Bafana quickly came here’

cf) *\*ngamusinya ozile nobafana*  
 nga=musinya a-u-z-ile na=u-Ø-bafana  
 COP=quickly REL-SM<sub>1</sub>-come-PRF with=AUG-1a-PN

cf) *\*ngalapha ozile nobafana*  
 nga=lapha a-u-z-ile na=u-Ø-bafana  
 COP=DEM<sub>n16</sub> REL-SM<sub>1</sub>-come-PRF with=AUG-1a-PN

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

V. yes

« the question particle *na* can be added. »

- i) *uyifundile incwadi*  
 u-i-fund-ile i-N-cwadi  
 SM<sub>2SG</sub>-OM<sub>9</sub>-read-PRF AUG-9-book  
 ‘Did you read a book?’
- ii) *uyifundile na incwadi*  
 u-i-fund-ile na i-N-cwadi  
 SM<sub>2SG</sub>-OM<sub>9</sub>-read-PRF QP AUG-9-book  
 ‘Did you read a book?’
- iii) *uyifundile incwadi na*  
 u-i-fund-ile i-N-cwadi na  
 SM<sub>2SG</sub>-OM<sub>9</sub>-read-PRF AUG-9-book QP  
 ‘Did you read a book?’

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

V. 3: immediately after the verb (IAV)

- i) *ubathengeleni abentwana*  
 u-ba-theng-el-a ini a-ba-ntu-ana  
 SM<sub>2SG</sub>-TAM?-buy-APPL-FV what AUG-2-person-DIM  
 ‘What did you buy for the children?’

- cf) *\*ubathengela abantwana ini*  
*\*ini ubathengela abantwana*
- ii) *ubadlisenjani abentwana*  
u-ba-dlis-e njani a-ba-ntu-ana  
SM<sub>2SG</sub>-TAM?-feed-PST how AUG-2-person-DIM  
‘How did you feed the children’
- cf) *\*ubadlise abentwana njani*  
*\*njani ubadlise abentwana*

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

V. yes

- i) *udle ini*  
u-dl-ile ini  
SM<sub>2SG</sub>-eat-PRF what  
‘What did you eat?’
- ii) *kuba yini udlile*  
ku-ba yini u-dl-il-ile  
15-be what SM<sub>2SG</sub>-eat-APPL-PRF  
‘Why did you eat?’
- cf) *\*kuba yini udle*  
ku-ba yini u-dl-ile  
15-be what SM<sub>2SG</sub>-eat-PRF  
Intd: ‘Why did you eat?’
- iii) *kuba yini ulila*  
ku-ba yini u-lil-a  
15-be what SM<sub>2SG</sub>-cry-FV  
‘Why are you crying?’
- cf) u-ku-lil-a ‘to cry’

N. At least in some cases, ‘why’ is expressed through the combination of ‘what’ and applicative morphology. However, it may not be structurally necessary...

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

V. 1: an invariable copula only

« an invariant COP or deletion of the augment. »

- i) *ubafana nguthitjhere*  
u-Ø-bafana nga=u-Ø-thitjhere  
AUG-1a-PN COP=AUG-1a-teacher  
‘Bafana is a teacher’
- cf) *\*ubafana thitjhere*  
u-Ø-bafana Ø-thitjhere  
AUG-1a-PN 1a-teacher
- ii) *abo baba abadala laba bothitjhere*  
abobaba a-ba-dala laba bo-thitjhere  
AUG-2a-old man AUG-AP<sub>x2</sub>-old DEM<sub>n2</sub> 2a-teacher  
‘those old men are teachers.’
- cf) *\*abo baba abadala laba ngabothitjhere*  
abobaba a-ba-dala laba nga=a-bo-thitjhere  
AUG-2a-old man AUG-AP<sub>x2</sub>-old DEM<sub>n2</sub> COP=AUG-2a-teacher

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

V. 6: multiple strategy

- i) *ngimufundi*  
ngi=mu-fundi  
COP<sub>1SG</sub>=1-student  
‘I’m a student’
- ii) *ungumufundi*  
u=ngi=mu-fundi  
SM<sub>2SG</sub>=COP=1-student  
‘You are a student’
- iii) *mufundi*  
~~u~~-mu-fundi  
~~AUG~~-1-student  
‘S/he is a student’ (i.e., dropping of the AUG makes the form a predicate noun)
- iv) *singabafundi*  
si=nga=ba-fundi  
SM<sub>1PL</sub>=COP=AUG-2-student  
‘We are students’
- v) *ningabafundi*  
ni=nga=ba-fundi  
SM<sub>2PL</sub>=COP=2-student  
‘You (pl) are students’

- vi) *bangabafundi*  
 ba=nga=ba-fundi  
 SM<sub>2</sub>=COP=2-student  
 ‘They are students’
- vii) *umuthi ngowami*  
 u-mu-thi nga=u-a=mi  
 AUG-3-tree COP=PP<sub>x3</sub>-ASSC=PRON<sub>1SG</sub>  
 ‘a tree is mine’
- viii) *imithi ngeyami*  
 i-mi-thi nga=i-a=mi  
 AUG-4-tree COP=PP<sub>x4</sub>-ASSC=PRON<sub>1SG</sub>  
 ‘trees are mine (my property)’
- ix) *ijuba limungani*  
 i-Ø-juba li=mu-ngani  
 AUG-5-bird AGR<sub>5</sub>=1-friend  
 ‘a bird is a friend’
- x) *ijuba mungani*  
 i-Ø-juba mu-ngani  
 AUG-5-bird 1-friend  
 ‘a bird is a friend’
- cf) *\*ijuba ngamungani*  
 i-Ø-juba nga=mu-ngani  
 AUG-5-bird COP=1-friend
- xi) *amajuba abangani*  
 a-ma-juba a=ba-ngani  
 AUG-6-bird AGR<sub>6</sub>=2-friend  
 ‘birds are friends’
- xii) *amajuba bangani*  
 a-ma-juba ba-ngani  
 AUG-6-bird 2-friend  
 ‘birds are friends’

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

V. yes

« PREP: introducing agent/argument (‘by’) »

e.g. *imali*                    *engiyitholileko*  
 i-N-mali                    e-ngi-yi-thol-ile=ko  
 AUG-9-money    REL-SM<sub>1SG</sub>-OM<sub>9</sub>-get-PRF=REL  
*ngokuthengisa*                    *imodoro*  
 nga=u-ku-theng-is-a                    i-N-madoro  
 COP=AUG-15-buy-CAUS-FV    AUG-9-car  
 ‘the money I get by selling a car’

**P105 ‘to have’: How is possession (‘to have’) expressed?**

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

See the examples in P081

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

V. null: unknown

« further investigation needed »

- i)    *ukuphupha*                    *iphupho*  
       u-ku-phuph-a                    i-N-phuph-o  
       AUG-15-dream                    AUG-9-dream-NMLZ.abs  
       ‘to dream a dream’
- ii)   *ngiphuphile*  
       ngi-phuph-ile  
       SM<sub>1SG</sub>-dream-PRF  
       ‘I (have) dreamt’ (a cognate object is 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. ?

« yes (But its function is unclear. Most probably topicalization?) »

- e.g.    *ukukhamba*                    *ngizokukhamba*  
       u-ku-khamb-a                    ngi-zo-ku-khamb-a  
       AUG-15-go-FV    SM<sub>1SG</sub>-FUT-CERT-go-FV  
       ‘To go, I will go’

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

V. null: unknown

« further investigation is needed »

- i) *ukudosa*            *umutato*  
u-ku-dos-a            u-mu-tato  
AUG-15-pull-FV    AUG-3-phone  
‘to make a phone call’
- ii) *ukubetha*            *umutato*  
u-ku-beth-a            u-mu-tato  
AUG-15-ring-FV    AUG-3-phone  
‘to make a phone call’
- iii) *ukuwenza*            *itjhada*  
u-ku-wenz-a            i-N-tjhada  
AUG-15-make-FV    AUG-9-sound  
‘to make noise’
- iv) *ukuhlamba*            *amazinyo*  
u-ku-hlamb-a            a-ma-zinyo  
AUG-15-wash-FV    AUG-6-tooth  
‘to brush teeth’

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

V. yes

- i) *ubafana*            *uphekele*                            *umuntwana*            *ukudla*  
u-Ø-bafana            u-phek-el-e                            u-mu-ntu-ana            u-ku-dla  
AUG-1a-PN    SM<sub>1</sub>-cook-APPL-PST            AUG-1-person-DIM    AUG-15-eat  
‘Bafana cooked food for a child’
- ii) *ukudla*            *ko muntwana*            *kuphekwe*                            *ngu bafana*  
u-ku-dl-a            ko mu-ntu-ana            ku-phek-w-e                            ngu bafana  
AUG-15-eat    for 1-person-DIM            SM<sub>15</sub>-cook-PASS-PST            by    PN  
‘Food was cooked for a child by Bafana’
- iii) *umuntwana*            *uphekelwe*                            *ngu bafana*  
u-mu-ntu-ana            u-phek-el-w-e                            ngu bafana  
AUG-1-person-DIM    SM<sub>1</sub>-cook-APPL-PASS-PST            by    PN  
‘For a child, (food is) cooked by bafana’

**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) *ubafana uphekele umuntwana ukudla*  
 u-Ø-bafana u-phek-el-e u-mu-ntu-ana u-ku-dla  
 AUG-1a-PN SM<sub>1</sub>-cook-APPL-PST AUG-1-person-DIM AUG-15-eat  
 ‘Bafana cooked food for a child’
- ii) *ubafana ukuphekele ukudla*  
 u-Ø-bafana u-ku-phek-el-e ukudla  
 AUG-1a-PN SM<sub>1</sub>-OM<sub>15</sub>-cook-APPL-PST AUG-15-eat  
 ‘Bafana cooked food’
- iii) *ubafana umuphekele umuntwana*  
 u-Ø-bafana u-mu-phek-el-e u-mu-ntu-an  
 AUG-1a-PN SM<sub>1</sub>-OM<sub>1</sub>-cook-APPL-PST AUG-1-person-DIM  
 ‘Bafana cooked for a child’
- cf) \**ubafana umuphekele ukudla umuntwana*  
 \**ubafana umuphekele umuntwana ukudla*  
 Intd: ‘Bafana cooked food for a child’
- iv) *ukudla ubafana umuphekele umuntwana*  
 u-ku-dla u-Ø-bafana u-ku-phek-el-e u-mu-ntu-ana  
 AUG-15-eat AUG-1a-PN SM<sub>1</sub>-OM<sub>15</sub>-cook-APPL-FV AUG-1-person-DIM  
 ‘About food, Bafana cooked for a child (not for me)’

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

V. no

e.g. *mina ngiwile*  
 mina ngi-u-ile  
 PRON<sub>1SG</sub> SM<sub>1SG</sub>-fall-PRF  
 ‘I fell’

cf) \**mina wile*  
 mina \_-u-ile  
 PRON<sub>1SG</sub> \_-fall-PRF

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

V. 2: Dem-Noun order is attested

« The functional difference is not clear. Further investigation needed »

i) *ngimbonile umusana lo izolo*  
 ngi-m-bon-ile u-mu-sana lo i-Ø-zolo  
 SM<sub>1SG</sub>-OM<sub>1</sub>-see-PRF AUG-1-boy DEM<sub>n1</sub> AUG-9-yesterday  
 ‘I saw this boy yesterday’

- ii) *ngimbonile lomusana izolo*  
 ngi-m-bon-ile l-o mu-sana i-Ø-zolo  
 SM<sub>1SG</sub>-OM<sub>1</sub>-see-PRF DEM<sub>n1</sub> AUG-1-boy AUG-9-yesterday  
 ‘I saw this boy yesterday’
- iii) *ngilomusana engimbone izolo*  
 ngi=l-o mu-sana e=ngi-m-bon-e i-Ø-zolo  
 COP=DEM<sub>n1</sub> 1-boy REL?=SM<sub>1SG</sub>-OM<sub>1</sub>-see-PST yesterday  
 ‘It is this boy that I saw yesterday’
- iv) *ngumusana lo engimbone izolo*  
 ngi=u-mu-sana lo e-ngi-m-bon-e i-Ø-zolo  
 COP=AUG-1-boy DEM<sub>n1</sub> REL?=SM<sub>1SG</sub>-OM<sub>1</sub>-see-PST yesterday  
 ‘It is this boy that I saw yesterday’
- v) *ngiloyo umusana engimbone izolo*  
 ngi=loyo u-mu-sana e-ngi-m-bon-e i-Ø-zolo  
 COP=DEMr<sub>1</sub> AUG-1-boy REL?=SM<sub>1SG</sub>-OM<sub>1</sub>-see-PST yesterday  
 ‘It is that boy that I saw yesterday’
- vi) *ngumusana loyo engimbone izolo*  
 ngi-u-mu-sana loyo e-ngi-m-bon-e i-Ø-zolo  
 COP=AUG-1-boy DEMr<sub>1</sub> REL?=SM<sub>1SG</sub>-OM<sub>1</sub>-see-PST yesterday  
 ‘It is that boy that I saw yesterday’

**P113 Quant-Noun: Is there a prenominal quantifier?**

V. null: unknown

« probably no »

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

V. yes

- i) *imadoro yami ekulu*  
 i-N-madoro i-a=mi e-khulu  
 AUG-9-car PP<sub>x9</sub>-ASSC=PRON<sub>1SG</sub> AP<sub>x9</sub>-big  
 ‘my big car’
- cf) *imadoro yami ikulu*  
 i-N-madoro i-a=mi i-khulu  
 AUG-9-car PP<sub>x9</sub>-ASSC=PRON<sub>1SG</sub> PP<sub>x9</sub>-big  
 ‘my car is big’

- ii) *abomunakwethu*                      *abane*                      *abazekako*  
 a-bo-muna              ku-ethu              a-ba-ne              a-ba-zek-a=ko  
 AUG-2a-brother    PP<sub>X17</sub>-POSS<sub>1PL</sub>    AUG-EP<sub>X2</sub>-four    REL-SM<sub>2</sub>-be famous-FV=REL  
 ‘our four famous brothers’

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

V. yes

‘Bafana is reading a book’

SVO) *ubafana uyafunda incwadi*

\*SOV) *\*ubafana incwadi uyafunda*

VSO) *uyafunda ubafana incwadi*

VOS) *uyafunda incwadi ubafana*

\*OSV) *\*incwadi ubafana uyafunda*

\*OVS) *\*incwadi uyafunda ubafana*

N. SVO seems to be a basic word order for topic-comment sentences.

**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 (e.g. benefactive-theme, animacy)

« but animacy seems to be irrelevant to the mechanism that controls the order of multiple objects »

**I: AO = a child, DO= food**

**I-i) V+AO+DO**

- e.g. *ubafana uphekele umuntwana ukudla*  
 u-Ø-bafana u-phek-el-e u-mu-ntu-ana u-ku-dla  
 AUG-1a-PN SM<sub>1</sub>-cook-APPL-OST AUG-1-person-DIM AUG-15-eat  
 ‘Bafana cooked food for a child’

**I-ii) V+DO+AO: maybe OK but generally not preferable...**

- cf) ? *ubafana uphekele ukudla umuntwana*

**As an answer to the question ‘Who did Bafana cook food for?’**

- Q) *ubafana ukuphekele ubani ukudla*  
 u-Ø-bafana u-ku-phek-el-e u-bani u-ku-dla  
 AUG-1a-PN SM<sub>1</sub>-OM<sub>15</sub>-cook-APPL-FV AUG-who AUG-15-food

e.g. OK: *uphekele umuntwana ukudla*

- cf) ? : *uphekele ukudla umuntwana*

As an answer to the question ‘What did Bafana do for a child?’

Q) *ubafana umenzeleni umuntwana?*

e.g. OK: *uphekele umuntwana ukudla*

cf) ? : *uphekele ukudla umuntwana*

II: recipient = a guest, theme = a cow

II-i) V+IO+DO

e.g. *unikele umuyeni ikomo*  
u-nik-el-e u-mu-yen i-N-komo  
SM<sub>1</sub>-give-APPL-PST AUG-1-guest AUG-9-cow  
‘He gave a cow to the guest’

\*V+DO+IO

e.g. \**unikel ikomo umuyeni*

As an answer to ‘What did he give to the guest?’

e.g. OK: *unikele umuyeni ikomo*

cf) \**unikele ikomo umuyeni*

As an answer to ‘To whom did he give a cow?’

e.g. OK: *unikele umuyeni ikomo*

cf) \**unikele ikomo umuyeni*

cf) *ikomo uyinikele umuyeni*  
i-N-komo u-i-nik-el-e u-mu-yeni  
AUG-9-cow SM<sub>1</sub>-OM<sub>9</sub>-give-APPL-PST AUG-1-guest  
‘He gave a cow to the guest’

cf) \**u-mu-yi-nik-el-e*

SM<sub>1</sub>-OM<sub>1</sub>-OM<sub>9</sub>-give-APPL-PST

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

V. no

e.g. *unikele ubafana umadoro*  
u-nik-el-e u-Ø-bafana u-Ø-madoro  
SM<sub>1</sub>-give-APPL-PST AUG-1a-PN AUG-14-car  
‘he gave Bafana a car’

cf) \**unikele umadoro ubafana*

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

V. 4: clause-finally + 6: other (e.g. in passives and clefted passives)

**I. As an answer to ‘What did he give to Bafana?’**

1) clause-final

*unikele ubafana umadoro*

‘He gave <sub>FOC</sub>[a car] to Bafana’

2) passivized/clause-initial

*umadoro unikel-w-e ubafana*

‘<sub>FOC</sub>[A car] is given to Bafana’

3) cleft+passive

*ngu madoro onikelwe ubafana*

*\*ngu madoro unikelwe ubafana*

‘It is <sub>FOC</sub>[a car] that is given to Bafana’

**II. As an answer to ‘To whom did he give a car?’**

1) clause-final

*umadoro unikele ubafana*

‘He gave a car to <sub>FOC</sub>[Bafana]’

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

V. no

**AUX-V-O**

e.g. *ngizabe ngitlola incwadi*  
*ngi-zabe ngi-tlol-a i-N-cwadi*  
SM<sub>1SG</sub>-AUX(<‘get’) SM<sub>1SG</sub>-write-FV AUG-9-letter  
‘I will be writing a letter’

**AUX+V+OPron**

e.g. *ngizabe ngitlola yona*

**\*AUX+OPron+V**

e.g. *\*ngizabe yona ngitlola*

**cf. AUX+OM-V**

e.g. *ngizabe ngiyitlola*  
‘I will be writing it’

**OPron+AUX+OM-V**

e.g. *yona ngizabe ngiyitlola*

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

V. no

- e.g. *ngizoba*                      *ngifunda*  
ngi-zo-b-a                      ngi-fund-a  
SM<sub>1SG</sub>-FUT-be-FV      SM<sub>1SG</sub>-read-FV  
'I will be reading'
- cf) *\*ngizoba*                      *ukufunda*  
ngi-zo-b-a                      u-ku-fund-a  
SM<sub>1SG</sub>-FUT-be-FV      AUG-15(INF)-read-FV
- cf) *\*ngizoba*                      *ku-funda*  
ngi-zo-b-a                      ku-fund-a  
SM<sub>1SG</sub>-FUT-be-FV      15(INF)-read-FV
- cf) *\*ukufunda*                      *ngizoba*  
u-ku-fund-a                      ngi-zo-b-a  
15(INF)-read-FV      SM<sub>1SG</sub>-FUT-be-FV

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

V. 2: yes, and the verb shows default agreement

'Bafana is reading a book'

- i) VSO: as an answer to 'What is Bafana doing?'
- |                               |                |                |
|-------------------------------|----------------|----------------|
| <i>uyafunda</i>               | <i>ubafana</i> | <i>incwadi</i> |
| u-ya-fund-a                   | u-Ø-bafana     | i-N-cwadi      |
| SM <sub>1</sub> -PROG-read-FV | AUG-1a-PN      | AUG-9-book     |
- ii) SVO: as an answer to 'Who is reading a book?' or 'What is Bafana reading?'
- ubafana uyafunda incwadi*

**P122 Locative inversion: Is locative inversion attested?**

V. 3: yes, both formally and semantically

« yes, both semantically and functionally »

- i) *abodumbana*      *balala*                      *ngaphasi*      *komuthi*  
a-bodumbana      ba-lal-a                      ngaphasi      komuthi  
AUG-2.donkey      SM<sub>2</sub>-sleep-FV      under      17.3.tree  
'Donkeys sleep under the tree'
- ii) *ngaphasi*      *komuthi*      *kulala*                      *abodumbana*  
ngaphasi      komuthi      ku-lal-a                      a-bodumbana  
under      17.3.tree      SM<sub>17</sub>-sleep-FV      AUG-2.donkey
- iii) *balala*                      *ngaphasi*      *komuthi*      *abodumbana*  
ba-lal-a                      ngaphasi      komuthi      a-bodumbana  
SM<sub>2</sub>-sleep-FV      under      17.3.tree      AUG-2.donkey

- cf) \**ngaphas komuthi balala abodumbana*  
 \**ngaphasi komuthi abodumbana balala*

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

V. no

e.g. ubafana ufunda incwadi  
 ‘Bafana is reading a book’

- cf) \**incwadi ifunda ubafana*

**P124 Instrument inversion: Is instrument inversion attested?**

V. no

- i) *ubafana utlole incwadi ngomusobo*  
 u-Ø-bafana u-tlol-e i-N-cwadi nga=u-mu-sobo  
 AUG-1a-PN SM<sub>1</sub>-write-PST AUG-9-letter PREP=AUG-3-pen  
 ‘Bafana wrote a letter with a pen’
- ii) *ngizabe ngitlole incwadi ngomusobo*  
 ngi-zab-e ngi-tlol-e i-N-cwadi nga=u-mu-sobo  
 SM<sub>1SG</sub>-AUX(<’get’)-FV SM<sub>1SG</sub>-write-PST AUG-9-letter PREP=AUG-3-pen  
 ‘I will be writing a letter with a pen’
- iii) *ubafana uyitlole ngomusobo*  
 u-Ø-bafana u-i-tlol-e nga=u-mu-sobo  
 AUG-1a-PN SM<sub>1</sub>-OM<sub>9</sub>-write-PST PREP=AUG-3-pen  
 ‘Bafana wrote it with a pen’
- iv) *ubafana uyitlolile ngemisobo*  
 u-Ø-bafana u-i-tlol-e nga=i-mi-sobo  
 AUG-1a-PN SM<sub>1</sub>-OM<sub>9</sub>-write-APPL-PST PREP=AUG-4-pen  
 ‘Bafana wrote it with pens’
- cf) \**ubafana uyitlolile imisobo*
- v) *ngomusobo uyitlolile ubafana*  
 nga=u-mu-sobo u-i-tlol-e u-Ø-bafana  
 PREP=AUG-3-pen SM<sub>1</sub>-OM<sub>9</sub>-write-PST AUG-1a-PN  
 ‘With a pen Bafana wrote it’
- cf) \**ngemisobo iyitlolile ubafana*

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

V. no

- i) *ifene*                    *nenja*                    *bebabangani*                    *abahle*  
i-N-fene                    na    i-N-ja                    be-ba    ba-ngani    a-ba-hle  
AUG-9-baboon    and    AUG-9-dog    SM<sub>2</sub>-be    2-friend    AUG-APx<sub>2</sub>-beautiful  
‘Baboon and dog were very good friends’
- ii) *ubaba*                    *uye*                    *edorobheni*  
u-Ø-baba                    u-ye                    e-dorobha-ini  
AUG-1a-father    SM<sub>1</sub>-go.PST    23-town-LOC  
*nomma*                    *ubuye*                    *ekhaya*  
na    u-Ø-mma                    u-buy-el-e                    e-khaya  
and    AUG-1a-mother    SM<sub>1</sub>-return-APPL-PST    23-home  
‘My father went to town and my mother went back home’
- cf) kodwana ‘but’
- ubaba*                    *uye*                    *edorobheni*                    *kodwana*  
u-Ø-baba                    u-ye                    e-dorobha-ini                    kodwana  
AUG-1a-father    SM<sub>1</sub>-go.PST    23-town-LOC                    but  
*umma*                    *ubuye*                    *ekhaya*  
u-Ø-mma                    u-buy-el-e                    e-khaya  
AUG-1a-mother    SM<sub>1</sub>-return-APPL-PST    23-home  
‘My father went to town but my mother went back home’

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

V. yes

« by *a-* ‘consecutive/narrative past’ »

- i) *ngivukile*                    (*bese*) *ngahlanza*                    *amazinyo*  
ngi-vuk-ile                    (bese) ngi-a-hlanz-a                    a-ma-zinyo  
SM<sub>1</sub>SG-wake-PRF (and) SM<sub>1</sub>SG-CONS-brush-FV                    AUG-6-tooth  
‘I woke up and brushed my teeth’
- ii) *bavukile*                    *bahlanza*                    *amazinyo*  
ba-vuk-ile                    ba-a-hlanz-a                    a-ma-zinyo  
SM<sub>2</sub>-wake-PRF    SM<sub>2</sub>-CONS-brush-FV                    AUG-6-tooth  
‘They woke up and brushed their teeth’
- iii) *uvukile*                    *wahlanza*                    *amazinyo*  
u-vuk-ile                    u-a-hlanz-a                    a-ma-zinyo  
SM<sub>2</sub>SG-wake-PRF SM<sub>2</sub>SG-CONS-brush-FV                    AUG-6-tooth  
‘You woke up and brushed your teeth’

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

V. 1: yes, optionally or 2: yes, necessarily

« see the note below »

- i) *ngicabanga ngathi ubafana ukhaliphile*  
ngi-cabang-a ngathi u-Ø-bafana u-khaliph-ile  
SM<sub>1SG</sub>-think-FV that AUG-1a-PN SM<sub>1</sub>-be clever-PRF  
'I think that Bafana is very clever'
- ii) *bacabanga ngathi ubafana ukhaliphile*  
ba-cabang-a ngathi u-Ø-bafana u-khaliph-ile  
SM<sub>2</sub>-think-FV that AUG-1a-PN SM<sub>1</sub>-be clever-PRF  
'They think that Bafana is very clever'
- cf) *\*ngicabanga ubafana ukhaliphile*  
ngi-cabang-a u-Ø-bafana u-khaliph-ile  
SM<sub>1SG</sub>-think-FV AUG-1a-PN SM<sub>1</sub>-be clever-PRF  
Intd: 'I think that Bafana is very clever'
- iii) *ngiyacabanga ubafana ukhaliphile*  
ngi-ya-cabang-a u-Ø-bafana u-khaliph-ile  
SM<sub>1SG</sub>-PROG-think-FV AUG-1a-PN SM<sub>1</sub>-be clever-PRF  
'I think that Bafana is very clever'

N. Obligatoriness of the complementizer *ngathi* seems to vary depending on the TA forms of the main clause as well as on CJ/DJ distinction. Further investigation is needed.

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

V. 1: in front of the clause

- cf) *\*ngicabanga ubafana ukhaliphile ngathi*  
ngi-cabang-a u-Ø-bafana u-khaliph-ile ngathi  
SM<sub>1SG</sub>-think-FV AUG-1a-PN SM<sub>1</sub>-be clever-PRF that
- cf) *\*ngicabanga ubafana ngathi ukhaliphile*  
ngi-cabang-a u-Ø-bafana ngathi u-khaliph-ile  
SM<sub>1SG</sub>-think-FV AUG-1a-PN that SM<sub>1</sub>-be clever-PRF

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

V. yes

**Complementizer**

- e.g. *ngathi*  
ngi-a-thi  
SM<sub>1SG</sub>-CONS-say

### Verb ‘say’

e.g. *u-ku-thi*  
AUG-15-say  
‘to say’

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

V. no

See the examples in P127

### 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 or 5: both a conjunction and a specific tense/aspect/mood are required in the same clause

N. If clause can be marked at least by two different morphological means; 1) by the prestem TAM *nge-* (with or without the conjunction *na*), and ii) the clause initial conjunction/particle *nangabe*. Though it is still unclear how the form *nangabe* ‘if’ can be morphologically analyzed, *ngabe* can be regarded as the form which denotes the modal notion largely corresponding to ‘should’.

#### *nge* conditional

e.g. *ngizokubona*                      *nawungeza*                      *kwami*  
ngi-zo-ku-bon-a                      na=u-nge-z-a                      ku-ami  
SM<sub>1SG</sub>-FUT-OM<sub>2SG</sub>-see-FV    CONJ=SM<sub>2SG</sub>-COND-come-FV    PP<sub>X17</sub>-POSS<sub>1SG</sub>  
‘I will see you, if you come to my place’

#### *nangabe* conditional

i) *nangabe bayakhamba*  
nangabe ba-ya-khamb-a  
if            SM<sub>2</sub>-PROG-go-FV  
‘If they go...’

ii) *nangabe liyana*                      *izulu*                      *angedkhe*  
nangabe li-ya-n-a                      i-Ø-zulu                      angedkhe  
if            SM<sub>5</sub>-PROG-rain-FV    AUG-5-rain    NEG.FUT  
*ngikhambe*                      *ngaphadle*  
ngi-khamb-e                      nga=phadle  
SM<sub>1SG</sub>-go-SBJV    PREP=outside  
‘If it rains, I will not go outside’

- cf) *izulu linile*  
 i-Ø-zulu li-n-ile  
 AUG-5-rain SM<sub>5</sub>-rain-PRF  
 ‘It rains’  
*angedke ngikhambe*  
 angedke ngi-khamb-e  
 NEG.FUT SM<sub>1SG</sub>-go-SBJV?  
 ‘I will not go’

**Tentative analysis on *ngabe: nga-b-e***

- i) *ngabe angikhambi*  
 nga-b-e a-ngi-khamb-i  
 COP-be-SBJV NEG-SM<sub>1SG</sub>-go-NEG  
 ‘I should not go’
- ii) *ngabe ngiyakhamba*  
 ngi-ya-khamb-a  
 SM<sub>1SG</sub>-PROG-go-FV  
 ‘I should go’
- iii) *ngabe uyakhamba*  
 u-ya-khamb-a  
 SM<sub>2SG</sub>-PROG-go-FV  
 ‘You should go’

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

V. no

« both orders are fine »

***nge- conditional***

- i) *ngizokubona nawungeza kwami*  
 ngi-zo-ku-bon-a na=u-nge-z-a ku-ami  
 SM<sub>1SG</sub>-FUT-OM<sub>2SG</sub>-see-FV CONJ=SM<sub>2SG</sub>-COND-come-FV PP<sub>X17</sub>-POSS<sub>1SG</sub>  
 ‘I will see you, if you come to my place’
- ii) *nawungeza kwami ngizokubona*  
 na=u-nge-z-a ku-ami ngi-zo-ku-bon-a  
 CONJ=SM<sub>2SG</sub>-COND-come-FV PP<sub>X17</sub>-POSS<sub>1SG</sub> SM<sub>1SG</sub>-FUT-OM<sub>2SG</sub>-see-FV  
 ‘If you come to my place, I will see you’
- iii) *ungeza kwami ngizokubona*  
 u-nge-z-a ku-ami ngi-zo-ku-bon-a  
 CONJ=SM<sub>2SG</sub>-COND-come-FV PP<sub>X17</sub>-POSS<sub>1SG</sub> SM<sub>1SG</sub>-FUT-OM<sub>2SG</sub>-see-FV  
 ‘If you come to my place, I will see you’

cf) \**nangabe ungeza kwami*

***nangabe conditional***

- i) *nangabe uzokuza kwami, ngizokubona*  
nangabe u-zo-ku-z-a ku-ami ngi-zo-ku-bon-a  
if SM<sub>2SG</sub>-FUT-CERT-come-FV PP<sub>X17</sub>-POSS<sub>1SG</sub> SM<sub>1SG</sub>-FUT-CERT-see-FV  
'If you come to my place, I will see you'
- ii) *ngizokubona nangabe uzokuza kwami*  
ngi-zo-ku-bon-a nangabe u-zo-ku-z-a ku-ami  
SM<sub>1SG</sub>-FUT-CERT-see-FV if SM<sub>2SG</sub>-FUT-CERT-come-FV PP<sub>X17</sub>-POSS<sub>1SG</sub>  
'I will see you, if you come to my place'

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

V. no

- cf) \**ungeza kwami ngingekubona*  
u-nge-z-a ku-ami ngi-nge-ku-bon-a  
SM<sub>2SG</sub>-COND-come-FV PP<sub>X17</sub>-POSS<sub>1SG</sub> SM<sub>1SG</sub>-COND-OM<sub>2SG</sub>-see-FV

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

V. yes

- i) *nangabe be ngilijuba be ngizokuphapha*  
nangabe be ngi-li-juba be ngi-zo-ku-phaph-a  
if CF? SM<sub>1SG</sub>-COP-bird CF? SM<sub>1SG</sub>-FUT-fly-FV  
'If I were a bird, I would fly to you'
- ii) *nangabe be ngivakatjhele ababelethi bami*  
nangabe be ngi-vakatjh-ile a-ba-belethi ba-mi  
if CF? SM<sub>1SG</sub>-visit-PRF AUG-2-parent PP<sub>X2</sub>-POSS<sub>1SG</sub>  
'If I had visited my parents, ...'

**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; 2: by the use of specific tense/aspect/mood marking; 3: by a specific temporal relative construction)

### Relative

e.g. *nangibuyako* *ekhaya ngibonene*  
na=ngi-buy-a=ko e-khaya ngi-bon-an-e  
CONJ=SM<sub>1SG</sub>-return-FV=REL 23-home SM<sub>1SG</sub>-see-RECP-PST  
*nesivakatjhi*  
na=i-si-vakatjh-i  
with-AUG-7-visit-NMLZ.ag  
'When I returned home, I met a visitor'

### *ngemuva* 'after'

e.g. *ngemuva kokudla isidlo santambama*  
nga=imuva ko u-ku-dl-a i-si-dl-o santambama  
PREP=back PREP AUG-15-eat-FV AUG-7-eat-NMLZ.abs evening  
*sizokufunda incwadi*  
si-zo-ku-fund-a i-N-cwadi  
SM<sub>1PL</sub>-FUT-CERT-read-FV AUG-9-book  
'After eating dinner, we will read a book'

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

V. null: unknown

N. Locative phrases can be constructed with the form *khona*, which follows a locative dependent clause. Its morphological status is still unclear.

i) *lapho kunokudla boke bayeza*  
lapho ku-na u-ku-dl-a ba-oke ba-ya-z-a  
DEM<sub>n16</sub> SM<sub>17</sub>-with AUG-15-eat-FV PP<sub>x2</sub>-all SM<sub>2</sub>-PRS-come-FV  
'Where there is food, everyone comes'

cf) *lapho kunokudla khona, boke bayeza* is also acceptable

ii) *lapho bakhulumela khona ubafana ufunda incwadi*  
lapho ba-khulum-el-a khona u-Ø-bafana u-fund-a i-N-cwadi  
DEM<sub>n16</sub> SM<sub>2</sub>-talk-APPL-FV where AUG-1a-PN SM<sub>1</sub>-read-FV AUG-9-book  
'Where they are talking, Bafana is reading a book'

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

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

e.g. *indlu le ikulu ukudlula leya*  
 i-N-dlu le i-khulu u-ku-dlul-a leya  
 AUG-9-house DEMn<sub>9</sub> APx<sub>9</sub>-big AUG-15-pass-FV DEMd<sub>9</sub>  
 ‘The house is bigger than that one’

N. The infinitive verb *ukudlula*, which means ‘to pass’, is used as a standard marker of comparative expressions.

**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) *ukujayiva kumunandi*  
 u-ku-jayiv-a ku-mu-nandi  
 AUG-15-dance-FV 15-OM<sub>1</sub>-please  
 ‘to dance is fun’
- ii) *kubafana kumunandi ukujayiva*  
 ku-bafana ku-mu-nandi u-ku-jayiv-a  
 17-PN SM<sub>17</sub>-OM<sub>1</sub>-please AUG-15-dance-FV  
 ‘For Bafana to have fun is to dance’
- iii) *kubafana ukujayiva kumunandi*  
 ku-bafana u-ku-jayiv-a ku-mu-nandi  
 17-PN AUG-15-dance-FV SM<sub>15</sub>-OM<sub>1</sub>-please  
 ‘For Bafana to dance is fun’

**ka- as a possessive/ possessee**

- i) *kukabafana* ‘Bafana’s something’  
 ii) *kukabafana ukudla* ‘Bafana’s food’  
 iii) *ukudla kukabafana* ‘Bafana’s food’  
 iv) *ukudla kwakabafana* ‘Bafana’s food’  
 v) *kwakabafana ukudla* ‘Bafana’s food’  
 cf) *\*ukudla kabafana*

N. The form identical with CPx.17 can be used to denote a prepositional meaning ‘for’ and this form then can be used like a marker introducing the subject of infinitive (whether this construction can be regarded as a grammatical calque of the English construction ‘for S to INF’ is not clear).

**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) *kubonakala ngathi ubafana upheka umuratha*  
ku-bon-ak-al-a ngathi u-Ø-bafana u-phek-a u-mu-ratha  
SM<sub>17</sub>-see-AK-AL-FV COMP AUG-1a-PN SM<sub>1</sub>-cook-FV AUG-3-porridge  
‘It seems that Bafana cooks porridge’
- ii) *ubafana ubonakala apheka umuratha*  
u-Ø-bafana u-bon-ak-al-a a-phek-a u-mu-ratha  
AUG-1a-PN SM<sub>1</sub>-see-AK-AL-FV SM.DEP<sub>1</sub>-cook-FV AUG-3-porridge  
‘Bafana seems to cook porridge’

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

V. yes

- i) As an answer to ‘What does Bafana eat?’  
*ubafana udla umuratha*  
u-Ø-bafana u-dly-a u-mu-ratha  
AUG-1a-PN SM<sub>1</sub>-eat-FV AUG-3-porridge  
‘Bafana eats<sub>FOC</sub>[porridge]’
- ii) As an answer to ‘Who ate porridge?’  
*ngubafana odle umuratha*  
ng=u-Ø-bafana o-dly-e u-mu-ratha  
COP=AUG-1a-PN SM<sub>1</sub>-eat-PST AUG-3-porridge  
‘<sub>FOC</sub>[Bafana] ate porridge’

N. A cleft-like construction in the second example may also be regarded as a term-focussed sentence where the prevocal NP (*u*)*bafana* is morphologically focus marked by copulative *ngV=*.

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

V. yes

- i) ‘Only Bafana eats porridge’  
*ngubafana kwaphela odla umuratha*  
\**ubafana kwaphela odla umuratha*
- cf) *bafana kwaphela abadla umuratha*  
‘Only boys eat porridge’
- ii) ‘Bafana eats only porridge’  
*ubafana udla umuratha kwaphela*
- iii) ‘Bafana, too, eats porridge’  
*ubafana naye udla umuratha*  
\**ngubafana naye udla umuratha*
- cf) *ngubafana naye odla umuratha*  
‘Bafana with him eats porridge’

- iv) 'Bafana eats porridge, too'  
*ubafana udla umuratha naye*
- v) 'Even Bafana eats porridge'  
*nobafana udla umuratha*
- vi) 'Bafana eats even porridge'  
*ubafana udla nomuratha*

**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. no

« the focused subject is marked by the copula related prenominal element *ngV=*, i.e. by (pseudo=) cleft constructions. See also P140. »

Q) 'Who is eating the porridge?'

*ngubani odla umuratha*  
 ngubani o-dl-a u-mu-ratha  
 who SM<sub>1</sub>-eat-FV AUG-3-porridge

A) 'FOC[Bafana] is eating the porridge'

NG) *\*bafana udla umuratha*  
 Still okay) *ubafana udla umuratha*  
 Most preferred) *ngubafana odla umuratha*



# Northern Sotho / Sesotho sa Leboa (S32)<sup>1</sup>

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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 fulfil 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

e.g. *le-rumo*                      *Ø-lapa*  
CPX<sub>5</sub>-spear                      CPX<sub>5</sub>-household  
'a spear'                              'a household'

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

V. 17: 17 classes

« plus 1a and 2a »

cl.1) *mo-šomi*                      *ngw-ana*  
CPX<sub>1</sub>-worker                      CPX<sub>1</sub>-child  
'a worker'                              'a child'

cl.1a) *Ø-mma*  
CPX<sub>1a</sub>-mother  
'my/our mother'

cl.2) *ba-šomi*  
CPX<sub>2</sub>-worker  
'workers'

---

<sup>1</sup> Phonemic Inventory of this languages is as follows. Consonants: /b [β], d [dʲ], f, g [ɣ], h, j [ʒ], k [kʰ], kg [kxʰ], kh [kʰ], l, m, pš [pʃ], n, ng [ŋ], ny [ɲ], p [pʰ], r, s, š [ʃ], t [tʰ], th [tʰ], tl [tʰ], tlh [tʰʰ], ts [tʰs], tsh [tʰʰ], tš [tʰʃ], tšh [tʰʰ], w, y [j] /. Vowels /a [a], e [i:] [e:], i [i], o [o] [o:], u [u]/. Some examples and explanations are quoted from D.P Lombard, E.B. Van Wyk & P.C Mokgokong (1985) *Introduction to Grammar of Northern Sotho*. J.L. van Shaik.

- cl.2a) *bo-mma*  
 CP<sub>X2a</sub>-mother  
 ‘my/our mothers’
- cl.3) *mo-golo*  
 CP<sub>X3</sub>-throat  
 ‘a throat’
- cl.4) *me-golo*  
 CP<sub>X4</sub>-throat  
 ‘throats’
- cl.5) *le-gapu*                      *Ø-lapa*  
 CP<sub>X5</sub>-watermelon              CP<sub>X5</sub>-household  
 ‘a watermelon’                  ‘household’
- cl.6) *ma-gapu*  
 CP<sub>X6</sub>-watermelon  
 ‘watermelons’
- cl.7) *se-atla*  
 CP<sub>X7</sub>-hand  
 ‘a hand’
- cl.8) *di-atla*  
 CP<sub>X8</sub>-hand  
 ‘hands’
- cl.9) *(N-)pudi*                      *n-ko*  
 CP<sub>X9</sub>-goat                          CP<sub>X9</sub>-nose  
 ‘a goat’                              ‘a nose’
- cl.10) *di-pudi*                      *din-ko*  
 CP<sub>X10</sub>-goat                          CP<sub>X10</sub>-nose  
 ‘goats’                                ‘noses’
- cl.14) *bo-phelo*  
 CP<sub>X14</sub>-life  
 ‘a life’
- cl.15) *go-ralok-a*  
 CP<sub>X15</sub>-play-FV  
 ‘playing’
- cl.16) *fa-se*  
 CP<sub>X16</sub>-below  
 ‘below’
- cl.17) *go-dimo*  
 CP<sub>X17</sub>-top  
 ‘on top’

cl.18) *mo-rago*  
 CP<sub>X18</sub>-back  
 ‘back’

N. The prefix of cl.9 is a nasal *N-*, which may be deleted (zero *Ø-*) in some conditions. *N-* (*m-* [m] or *n-* [n]/[ŋ]/[ɲ]) occurs before monosyllabic noun stems, *Ø-* occurs before polysyllabic underived roots which begin with nasals or with the lateral fricative *hl* [ɬ]. In other cases, sound strengthening occurs in the initial consonants, but do not display any class prefix in orthography. In this database, the hidden *N-* will be indicated in morphological analysed line. Cl.10 might be *diN-* or *di-* depending on if the cl.9 has a prefix *N-* (*n-* or *m-*) or not (*Ø-*). (Lombard, Van Wyk & Mokgokong 1985: 44-47)

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

V. yes

i) *go-bal-a*  
 15-read-FV  
 ‘to read’

ii) *O rata go bala dipuku.*  
*o-rata go-bal-a di-puku*  
 SM<sub>2SG</sub>-like 15-read-FV 10-book  
 ‘He likes reading books.’

N. The *go-* is made up from the infinitive/gerund marker of CP<sub>X15</sub> *go-* and existential.

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

V. no: another strategy is used

i) *mo-satš-ana*                      *ba-satš-ana*  
 1-woman-DIM                      2-woman-DIM  
 ‘a small woman’                      ‘small women’

ii) *m-pša-nyana*                      *dim-pša-nyana*  
 9-dog-DIM                      10-dog-DIM  
 ‘a small dog (SG)’                      ‘small dogs (PL)’

N. Instead of diminutive prefixes, a diminutive suffix *-ana* ~ *-nyana* is used.

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

V. no: another strategy is used

e.g. *n-tlou-gadi*                      *Ø-kgoš-i-gadi*  
 9-elephant-AGMT                      1a-chief-AGMT  
 ‘a big elephant’                      ‘a female chief’

N. Instead of augment prefixes, an augmentative suffix *-gadi* is used. The suffix *-gadi* can also indicate feminine.

**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

**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) <i>fa-se</i>	cl.17) <i>go-dimo</i>	cl.18) <i>mo-rago</i>
16-below	17-top	18-back
‘below’	‘on top’	‘back’

N. Only fossilized forms appear in locative classes.

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

V. yes

e.g. <i>n-tlo-ng</i>	<i>n-thabe-ng</i>
9-house-LOC	9-mountain-LOC
‘in/at the house’	‘on/at the mountain’

N. Locative suffix *-ng* is productively used.

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

V. yes

e.g. <i>Fase go a fiša.</i>	<i>Godimo go a tonya.</i>
<i>fa-se go-a-fiš-a</i>	<i>go-dimo go-a-tony-a</i>
16-ground SM.LOC-DJ-be_wet-FV	17-up SM.LOC-DJ-be_cold-FV
‘On the ground it is hot’	‘On top it is cold’

N. The locative subject marking on the verb always takes *go-* for all locative classes.

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

V. yes

e.g. <i>Ke go bone Japane.</i>	
<i>ke-go-bon-e Japane</i>	
SM <sub>1SG</sub> -OM <sub>17</sub> -see-ANT PN	
‘I saw Japan.’	

N. Locative pre-verb stem object marker has only *go-* form (originally cl.17). It only appears when the locative noun phrase is emphasized.

**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

e.g. *Nna ke ja borotho.*

*nna ke-ja bo-rotho*

PRON<sub>1SG</sub> SM<sub>1SG</sub>-eat 14-bread

‘I myself eat a bread.’

**Absolute pronouns:** 1SG *nna*, 2SG *wena*, 3SG *yena*, 1PL *rena*, 2PL *lena*, 3PL *bona*

N. Subject pronouns are used for emphasis.

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

V. no: not in all contexts (e.g. modifier-connective-head in qualifying constructions)

SG) (head-connective-modifier)

*Senotlelo sa mma*

*se-notlelo sa Ø-mma*

7-key ASSC<sub>7</sub> 1a-mother

‘mother’s key’

(connective-modifier-head)

*Sa mma senotlelo*

*sa Ø-mma se-notlelo*

ASSC<sub>7</sub> 1a-mother 7-key

‘MOTHER’S key’

PL) *Dinotlelo tša mma*

*di-notlelo tša Ø-mma*

8-key ASSC<sub>8</sub> 1a-mother

‘mother’s keys’

*Tša mma dinotlelo*

*tša Ø-mma di-notlelo*

ASSC<sub>8</sub> 1a-mother 8-key

‘MOTHER’S keys’

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

1SG) *n-tšhengwana ya ka*  
9-garden ASSC<sub>9</sub> POSS.1SG  
‘my garden’

3SG) *n-tšhengwana ya gagwe*  
9-garden ASSC<sub>9</sub> POSS.3SG  
‘his/her garden’

... *ya gago* (2SG), ... *ya rena* (1PL), ... *ya lena* (2PL), ... *ya bona* (3PL)

- cl.5) *me-hlala*    *ya*        ***lona***        (*le-pogo*)  
 4-footprint    ASSC<sub>4</sub>    POSS.5    5-cheetah  
 ‘footprints of the cheetah’
- cl.6) *me-hlala*    *ya*        ***ona***        (*ma-pogo*)  
 4-footprint    ASSC<sub>4</sub>    POSS.6    6-cheetah  
 ‘footprints of the cheetahs’
- cl.8) *me-feng*        *ya*        ***tšona***        (*di-lepe*)  
 4-handle        ASSC<sub>4</sub>    POSS.8    (8-axe)  
 ‘handles of them (axes)’

N. Possessive pronouns are same as absolute pronouns except for some cases, e.g. 1<sup>st</sup> person singular (*nna*), 2<sup>nd</sup> person singular (*wena*), and 3<sup>rd</sup> person singular (*yena*).

**Absolute pronouns:** 1SG *nna*, 2SG *wena*, 3SG *yena*, 1PL *rena*, 2PL *lena*, 3PL *bona*

**Possessive pronouns:** 1SG *ka*, 2SG *gago*, 3SG *gagwe*, 1PL *rena*, 2PL *lena*, 3PL *bona*

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

V. yes

e.g. *n-tšhengwana*    *ya*        ***gagwe***  
 9-garden            ASSC<sub>9</sub>    POSS.3SG  
 ‘his/her garden’

**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. ?

« yes »

- i) *Ke robile letsogo la ngwana.*  
 ‘I broke the arm of the child.’  
 Possessor-raising construction;  
 OK: *Ke robile ngwana letsogo.*  
 OK: *Ke robile la ngwana letsogo.*
- ii) *Ke robile setulo sa yunibesithi.*  
 ‘I broke the chair of the university.’  
 OK: *Ke robile sa yunibesithi setulo.*  
 \* *Ke robile yunibesithi setulo.*

- iii) *Ke betha mmagongwana.*  
 ‘I broke mother of the child.’ (kinship: NG)  
 \* *Ke betha ngwana mmago.*  
 \* *Ke betha go ngwana mma.*

N. Possessor-raising is possible only for body-parts.

**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) *le-gapu le*  
 5-watermelon DEM<sub>n5</sub>  
 ‘this watermelon (close to the speaker)’
- ii) *le-gapu leno (~ lekhwi)*  
 5-watermelon DEM<sub>x5</sub>  
 ‘this watermelon (close or next to the speaker)’
- iii) *le-gapu leo (~ leuwe)*  
 5-watermelon DEM<sub>r5</sub>  
 ‘that watermelon (near to the addressee)’
- iv) *le-gapu lela*  
 5-watermelon DEM<sub>d5</sub>  
 ‘that watermelon (far away from both the speaker and addressee)’

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

V. 1: yes, always

- |  |   |
|--|---|
| cl.1) <i>mo-šomi yo</i><br>1-worker DEM <sub>n1</sub><br>‘this worker’         | cl.1a) <i>Ø-mma yo</i><br>1a-mother DEM <sub>n1</sub><br>‘this mother’    |
| cl.2) <i>ba-šomi ba</i><br>2-worker DEM <sub>n2</sub><br>‘these workers’       | cl.2a) <i>bo-mma ba</i><br>2a-mother DEM <sub>n2</sub><br>‘these mothers’ |
| cl.3) <i>mo-golo wo</i><br>3-throat DEM <sub>n3</sub><br>‘this throat’         |   |
| cl.4) <i>me-golo ye</i><br>4-throat DEM <sub>n4</sub><br>‘these throats’       |   |
| cl.5) <i>le-gapu le</i><br>5-watermelon DEM <sub>n5</sub><br>‘this watermelon’ |   |

- cl.6) *ma-gapu a*  
6-watermelon DEMn<sub>6</sub>  
'these watermelons'
- cl.7) *se-atla se*  
7-hand DEMn<sub>7</sub>  
'this hand'
- cl.8) *di-atla tše*  
8-hand DEMn<sub>8</sub>  
'these hands'
- cl.9) *(N-)pudi ye*  
9-goat DEMn<sub>9</sub>  
'this goat'
- cl.10) *di-pudi tše*  
10-goat DEMn<sub>10</sub>  
'these goats'
- cl.14) *bo-phelo bjo*  
14-life DEMn<sub>14</sub>  
'this life'
- cl.15) *go-ralok-a mo*  
15-play-FV DEMn<sub>15</sub>  
'this playing'
- cl.16) *fa-se fa*  
16-below DEMn<sub>16</sub>  
'below here'
- cl.17) *go-dimo mo*  
17-top DEMn<sub>17/18</sub>  
'on top here'
- cl.18) *mo-rago mo*  
18-back DEMn<sub>17/18</sub>  
'back here'

N. Demonstrative forms for classes 16, 17 and 18 are interchangeable *fa* / *mo*. (Lombard, Van Wyk & Mokgokong 1985: 87-90)

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

V. yes

- i) *Fale!*  
DEMd<sub>16</sub>  
'Oh!' (interjection)

- ii) *O ile mola a sa dutše, a swarwa ke boroko.*  
*o-ile mola a-sa-dutš-e*  
 SM<sub>1</sub>-AUX.PST DEM<sub>d18</sub> SM<sub>1</sub>-PERS-sit-ANT  
*a-swar-w-a ke bo-roko*  
 SM<sub>1</sub>-become-PASS-FV by 14-sleepness  
 ‘While he was still sitting, he became sleepy.’ (conjunction)

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

V. yes

- e.g. *(N-)katse ye n-tsho*  
 9-cat LNK<sub>9</sub> APX<sub>9</sub>-black  
 ‘a black cat’

Other adjective stems (i.e., which take APx as an agreement marker): **-golo** ‘big’, **-(n)nyane** ‘small, few’, **-telele** ‘long, tall’, **-kopana** ‘low, short’, **-sese** ‘lean, thin’, **-thata** ‘hard’, **-bose** ‘nice, sweet’, **-ntši** ‘many’, **-fša** ‘new’, **-tala** ‘old, green/blue’, **-botse** ‘good’, **-be** ‘bad’

N. Lexical adjectives (or morphologically “genuine” adjectives which take an APx 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.;

- e.g. *Monna yo a robetšego*  
*mo-nna yo a-robotš-e-go*  
 1-man DEM<sub>n1</sub> SM<sub>1</sub>-sleep-ANT-REL  
 ‘A sleeping man (lit. the man who sleeps)’

(cf.) Modifying noun *ma-folofolo* does not agree with the modified noun. (see **P025**)

- e.g. *(N-)katse ye ma-folofolo*  
 9-cat LNK<sub>9</sub> 6-energetic  
 ‘an energetic cat’

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

V. no: there is only one paradigm which applies for adjectives, numerals, and all pronominal forms

- |  |  |
|--|--|
| cl.1) <i>mosadi yo mogolo</i>                  | cl.2) <i>basadi ba bagolo</i>                  |
| <i>mo-sadi yo mo-golo</i>                      | <i>ba-sadi ba ba-golo</i>                      |
| 1-woman LNK <sub>1</sub> CPX <sub>1</sub> -big | 2-woman LNK <sub>2</sub> CPX <sub>2</sub> -big |
| ‘a big woman’                                  | ‘big women’                                    |

- |  |  |
|--|--|
| <p>cl.1) <i>mosadi yo motee</i><br/> <i>mo-sadi yo mo-tee</i><br/>         1-woman LNK<sub>1</sub> CPx<sub>1</sub>-one<br/>         ‘one woman’</p> <p>cl.9) <i>ntlo ye tala</i><br/> <i>n-tlo ye N-tala</i><br/>         9-house LNK<sub>9</sub> CPx<sub>9</sub>-blue<br/>         ‘a blue house’</p> | <p>cl.2) <i>basadi ba babedi</i><br/> <i>ba-sadi ba ba-bedi</i><br/>         2-woman LNK<sub>2</sub> CPx<sub>2</sub>-two<br/>         ‘two women’</p> <p><i>ntlo ye kgolo</i><br/> <i>n-tlo ye N-kgolo</i><br/>         9-house LNK<sub>9</sub> CPx<sub>9</sub>-one<br/>         ‘one house’</p> |
|--|--|

N. Both adnominal concord and enumerative concord are same as nominal prefix, but Attributive linker is required (see **P025**).

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

V. yes

- |   |  |
|---|--|
| <p>cl.7) <i>senotlelo se setala</i><br/> <i>se-notlelo se se-tala</i> (L-HL)<br/>         7-key LNK<sub>7</sub> APx<sub>7</sub>-old<br/>         ‘an old key’</p> <p>cf) <i>senotlelo se setala</i> (L-LH)<br/>         ‘a green key’</p> | <p>cl.8) <i>dinotlelo tše ditala</i><br/> <i>di-notlelo tše di-tala</i><br/>         8-key LNK<sub>8</sub> APx<sub>8</sub>-old<br/>         ‘old keys’</p> |
|---|--|

Numeral

(inverted)

- |   |   |
|---|---|
| <p><i>dinotlelo tše pedi</i><br/> <i>di-notlelo tše pedi</i><br/>         8-key LNK<sub>8</sub> two<br/>         ‘two keys’</p> | <p><i>tše pedi dinotlelo</i><br/> <i>tše pedi di-notlelo</i><br/>         LNK<sub>8</sub> two 8-key<br/>         ‘TWO keys’</p> |
|---|---|

(No EPx (\**di-pedi*) is required for Class 8.)

- cl.1) *monna yo mafolofolo* ‘an active man’  
 cl.2) *banna ba mafolofolo* ‘active men’  
 cl.3) *mohlare wo boima* ‘a heavy tree’  
 cl.4) *mehlare ye boima* ‘heavy trees’  
 cl.5) *lešela le boleta* ‘soft cloth’  
 cl.6) *magapu a monate* ‘delicious watermelons’  
 cl.7) *selepe se bogale* ‘a sharp axe’  
 cl.8) *dilepe tše bogale* ‘sharp axes’  
 cl.9) *kobo ye borutho* ‘a warm blanket’  
 cl.10) *dikobo tše borutho* ‘warm blankets’  
 cl.14) *bogobe bjo bose* ‘tasty porridge’

**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. yes

- |     |                    |                      |
|-----|--------------------|----------------------|
| i)  | <i>mo-satš-ana</i> | <i>ba-satš-ana</i>   |
|     | 1-woman-DIM        | 2-woman-DIM          |
|     | ‘a small woman’    | ‘small women’        |
| ii) | <i>m-pša-nyana</i> | <i>dim-pša-nyana</i> |
|     | 9-dog-DIM          | 10-dog-DIM           |
|     | ‘small dog (SG)’   | ‘small dogs (PL)’    |

N. See **P006**. The suffix *-ana* ~ *-nyana* indicates diminutive.

**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. 3: yes, all

**(1) Suffix -ana**

- |      |                    |                    |
|------|--------------------|--------------------|
| e.g. | <i>mo-satš-ana</i> | <i>ba-satš-ana</i> |
|      | 1-woman-DIM        | 2-woman-DIM        |
|      | ‘a small woman’    | ‘small women’      |

**(2) Suffix -gadi**

- |      |                    |                     |
|------|--------------------|---------------------|
| e.g. | <i>n-tlou-gadi</i> | <i>Ø-kgoši-gadi</i> |
|      | 9-elephant-AGMT    | 1a-chief-AGMT       |
|      | ‘a big elephant’   | ‘a female chief’    |

N. See **P006** and **P007**. *-ana* is used for diminutive or despise, and *-gadi* is for largeness or feminine.

**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

**cl.1, 2 (Agent)**

- |     |                               |                          |
|-----|-------------------------------|--------------------------|
| i)  | <i>mo-seped-i</i>             | <i>ba-seped-i</i>        |
|     | 1-go-NMLZ                     | 2-go-NMLZ                |
|     | ‘a person who goes, a walker’ | ‘people who go, walkers’ |
| ii) | <i>mo-ape-i</i>               | <i>ba-ape-i</i>          |
|     | 1-cook-NMLZ                   | 2-cook-NMLZ              |
|     | ‘a cook’                      | ‘cooks’                  |

iii)	<i>mo-šom-i</i>	<i>ba-šom-i</i>
	1-work-NMLZ	2-work-NMLZ
	‘a worker’	‘workers’

*moopedi* ‘a singer’, *moraloki* ‘a player’, *moagi* ‘a builder’, *moreri* ‘a preacher’, *morulaganyi* ‘a planner, an organizer, an editor’, *mophatlalatši* ‘a publisher’

#### cl.7 (Expert)

*seopedi* ‘an expert / excessive singer’, *seraloki* ‘an expert / excessive player’, *seagi* ‘an expert builder’, *sereri* ‘an expert preacher’, *serulaganyi* ‘an expert organizer’, *sephatlalatši* ‘an expert publisher’

#### cl.14 (Act)

*boopedi*, ‘singing’, *boagi* ‘building’, *boreri* ‘preaching’, *borulaganyi* ‘organizing’, *bophatlalatši* ‘publishing’

### 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

#### cl.3

e.g. *mo-sepel-o*  
3-walk-NMLZ  
‘walking’

#### cl.9

e.g. *(N-)kgamel-o*  
9-squeeze-NMLZ  
‘a milk pail’

#### cl.14

e.g. *bo-ful-o*  
14-graze-NMLZ  
‘a pasture’

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

V. no

*tee* ‘one’, *pedi* ‘two’, *tharo* ‘three’, *nne* ‘four’, *hlano* ‘five’, *tshela* ‘six’, *šupa* ‘seven’, *seswai* ‘eight’, *senyane* ‘nine’, *lesome* ‘ten’

### P031 ‘arm’ and ‘hand’: Is there a single stem that denotes both ‘arm’ and ‘hand’?

V. yes

e.g.	<i>le-tsogo</i>	<i>ma-tsogo</i>
	5-arm	6-arm
	‘an arm, a hand (SG)’	‘arms, hands (PL)’
cf)	<i>se-atla</i>	<i>di-atla</i>
	7-hand	8-hand
	‘a hand, a palm (SG)’	‘hands, palms (PL)’

N. *letsogo*, *matsogo* is a cover term for both “arm” and “hand”, but in addition there is a separate word for “hand” or “palm” *seatla*, *diatla*.

cf) *go dumedišana ka diatla* ‘to shake hands’

**P032 ‘hand’ and ‘finger’: Is there a single stem that denotes both ‘hand’ and ‘finger’?**

V. no: two different words

e.g.	<i>mo-nwana</i>	<i>me-nwana</i>
	3-finger	4-finger
	‘a finger (SG)’	‘fingers (PL)’

N. for ‘hand’ see **P031**.

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

V. yes

e.g.	<i>le-oto</i>	<i>ma-oto</i>
	5-leg	6-leg
	‘a leg, a foot (SG)’	‘legs, feet (PL)’
cf)	<i>le-nao</i>	<i>di-nao</i>
	5-foot	10-foot
	‘a foot (SG)’	‘feet (PL)’

N. *leoto*, *maoto* is a cover term for both “leg” and “foot”, but in addition there is a separate word for “foot” *lenao*, *di-nao*.

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

V. no

e.g.	<i>(N-)teye</i>
	9-tea
	‘tea (SG)’

**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) *Ngwana o robetše.*

*ngw-ana o-robotš-e*

1-child SM<sub>1</sub>-sleep-ANT

‘The child fell asleep and is asleep.’ (ANT) (cf.) *go robala* ‘to sleep’

ii) *Ke khoše.*

*ke-khoš-e*

SM<sub>1SG</sub>-be\_full-ANT

‘I am full.’ (cf.) *go khora* ‘to be full’ \**ke khora*

N. *Ke a robala.* or *Ke a khora* – a long form present tense, or can add an object.

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

V. yes

e.g. *Mafela a bunnwe ke molemi.*

*ma-fela a-bunn-w-e ke mo-lemi*

6-maize SM<sub>6</sub>-harvest-PASS-ANT by 1-farmer

‘Maize was harvested by the farmer.’ *go buna* ‘to harvest’

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

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

V. 1: yes, using a class 2 SM, without the expression of an agent noun phrase

e.g. *Ba ja mafela Japane.*

= *Mafela a lewa Japane.*

*ba-j-a ma-fela Ø-Japane.*

*ma-fela a-le-w-a*

*Ø-Japane.*

SM<sub>2PL</sub>-eat-FV 6-maize 9-PN

6-maize SM<sub>6</sub>-eat-PASS-FV

9-PN

‘They (people) eat maize in Japan. / Maize is eaten in Japan.’

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

V. 4: by a copula

e.g. *Bogobe bo apewa ke mosadi.*

*bo-gobe bo-ape-w-a ke mo-sadi*

14-porridge SM<sub>14</sub>-cook-PASS-FV by 1-woman

‘The porridge is cooked by the woman.’ *go apea* ‘to cook’

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

V. no: its presence is always required

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

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

i) *Re tla bonana gosasa.*

*re-tla-bon-an-a*                      *gosasa*  
SM<sub>IPL</sub>-FUT-see-RECP-FV    tomorrow

‘We will see each other tomorrow. / See you tomorrow.’

ii) *Re adimane dikopelo kerekeng.*

*re-adim-an-e*                      *di-kopelo*                      *N-kereke-ng*  
SM<sub>IPL</sub>-lend-RECP-ANT    10-hymn.book                      9-church-LOC

‘We have lent the hymn books to each other in church.’    *go adima* ‘to lend, to borrow’

N. Reciprocal expresses only ‘each other’ (no associative).

**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) *Morutiši o ngwadiša bana moleko.*

*mo-rutiši*    *o-ngwad-iš-a*                      *ba-na*                      *mo-leko*  
1-teacher    SM<sub>I</sub>-write-CAUS-FV                      2-child                      3-test

‘The teacher makes the children write a test.’

ii) *Ke tsentšha sefatanaga ka karatšheng.*

*ke-tsen-tšh-a*                      *se-fatanaga*                      *ka*                      *N-karatšhe-ng*  
SM<sub>ISG</sub>-put-CAUS-FV    7-car                      into                      9-garage-LOC

‘I put the car into the garage.’    **-tšh** is a variant of **-iš**

iii) *Tsenya tšhelete ka mokotleng.*

*tsen-y-a*                      *N-tšhelete*                      *ka*                      *mo-kotle-ng*  
enter-CAUS-FV    9-money                      into                      3-pocket-LOC

‘Put the money into the pocket.’    *go tsenya* ‘put into’, *go tsena* ‘to enter’

N. Two forms (**-iš** and **-y**) of the causative suffix are observed. **-y** is explained as an “old form” which is used when a root final consonant is **g**, **l**, **n**, or **p**. (Lombard, Van Wyk & Mokgokong 1985: 111-113)

**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. \**Ke segiša ka thipa nama.*

*ke-seg-iš-a*                      *ka N-thipa*    *Ø-nama*

SM<sub>1SG</sub>-cut-CAUS-FV    by 9-knife    9-meat

(Int.) ‘I make the knife to cut the meat.’

cf) *Ke segiša bana nama ka thipa.*

*ke-seg-iš-a*                      *ba-na*    *Ø-nama*

SM<sub>1SG</sub>-cut-CAUS-FV    2-child    9-meat

‘I make the children to cut the meat with a knife.’

**P044 Applicative: How are applicative constructions formed?**

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

i) *Matome o rekela mokgekolo diaparo.*

*Matome*    *o-rek-el-a*                      *mo-kgekolo*                      *di-aparo*

PN            SM<sub>1</sub>-buy-APPL-FV    1-elder\_woman    10-cloth

‘Matome buys clothes for the old woman.’

ii) *Matome o reketše mokgekolo diaparo.*

*Matome*    *o-rek-etš-e*                      *mo-kgekolo*                      *di-aparo*

PN            SM<sub>1</sub>-buy-APPL-ANT    1-elder\_woman    10-cloth

‘Matome bought clothes for the old woman.’    *-etš-e* < *-el-ile* (Imbrication)

N. only *-el* form is observed (no vowel harmony etc.) except for the imbricated forms.

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

V. yes

« direction and malefactive »

**Locative (direction)**

e.g. *Ba tlogela magae a bona.*

*Ba boela gae.*

*ba-tlog-el-a*                      *ma-gae*    *a-bona*                      *ba-bo-el-a*                      *gae*

SM<sub>2</sub>-go\_away-APPL-FV    6-home    ASSC<sub>6</sub>-PRON<sub>3PL</sub>    SM<sub>2</sub>-return-APPL-FV    home

‘They leave their homes behind.’

‘They are returning (toward) home.’

**Malefactive (disadvantage of something or someone)**

e.g. *Aowa, Masemola, o mpolaela ngwana!*

*aowa*    *Masemola*    *o-m-pola-el-a*                      *ngw-ana*

no    PN                      SM<sub>2SG</sub>-OM<sub>1</sub>-kill-APPL-FV    1-child

‘No, Masemola, you are killing my child (I’m losing MY child)!’    *go bolaya* ‘to kill’



**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

**CAUS-APPL**

e.g. *O mo hlapišetša ngwana.*

*o-mo-hlap-iš-etš-a* *ngw-ana*

SM<sub>1</sub>-OM<sub>1</sub>-wash-CAUS-APPL-FV 1-child

‘S/he washes the child for her/him.’

**CAUS-APPL-RECP**

e.g. *Ba hlapišetšana bana.*

*ba-hlap-iš-etš-an-a* *ba-na*

SM<sub>2</sub>-wash-CAUS-APPL-RECP-FV 2-child

‘They wash the children for each other.’

**CAUS-RECP**

e.g. *Re a hlapišana.*

*re-a-hlap-iš-an-a*

SM<sub>1PL</sub>-DJ-wash-CAUS-RECP-FV

‘We wash each other.’

**CAUS-PAS**

e.g. *Monna o kitimišwa ke lephodisa.*

*mo-nna o-kitim-iš-w-a* *ke le-phodisa*

1-man SM<sub>1</sub>-run-CAUS-PASS-FV by 5-police\_officer

‘The man is chased by the police officer.’

**APPL-PAS (see also examples in P109)**

e.g. *O hlahlobelwa nageng ye nngwe.*

*o-hlahlob-el-w-a* *Ø-nage-ng ye n-ngwe*

SM<sub>1</sub>-examine-APPL-PASS-FV 9-country LNK<sub>9</sub> AP<sub>X9</sub>-another

‘S/he is examined in another country.’

**APPL-REC**

e.g. *Monna yo le mosadi yo ba a sebelana.*

*mo-nna yo le mo-sadi yo ba-a-seb-el-an-a*

1-man DEM<sub>n1</sub> and 1-woman DEM<sub>n1</sub> SM<sub>2</sub>-DJ-whisper-APPL-RECP-FV

‘This man and this woman are whispering to each other.’

## RECP-PAS

e.g. *Go a gakantšhanwa kopanong ye.*

*go-a-gakantšh-an-w-a*                      *N-kopano-ng*      *ye*

SM<sub>17</sub>-DJ-confuse-RECP-PASS-FV 9-meeting-LOC DEM<sub>n9</sub>

‘There is a confusion in this meeting.’ (Intd: ‘They are confusing one another at this meeting.’)

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

V. 1: by morphological modification of the verb

« Generally, negation is expressed by means of three morphemes, namely pre-SM *ga-*, *se-*, post-SM *se-*, *sa-* and the final vowel *-e*. »

Present)	Past)	Future)
<i>Ga re reke.</i>	<i>Ga se re reke.</i>	<i>Re ka se reke.</i>
<b><i>ga-re-rek-e</i></b>	<b><i>ga-se-re-rek-e</i></b>	<b><i>re-ka-se-rek-e</i></b>
NEG-SM <sub>1PL</sub> -buy-NEG	NEG-NEG-SM <sub>1PL</sub> -buy-NEG	SM <sub>1PL</sub> -POT-NEG-buy-NEG
‘We don’t buy.’	‘We did not buy.’	‘We will not buy.’

N. Another alternative form for the Past is *Ga se ra reka*.

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

V. 1: by morphological modification of the verb

**Subject relative (Direct relative) requires a negative marker *sa-* + final vowel *-e***

i) <i>mosadi yo a sa apeeego</i>	<i>basadi ba ba sa apeeego</i>
<i>mo-sadi yo a-sa-ape-e=go</i>	<i>ba-sadi ba ba-sa-ape-e=go</i>
1-woman REL <sub>1</sub> SM <sub>1</sub> -NEG-cook-NEG=REL	2-woman REL <sub>2</sub> SM <sub>2</sub> -NEG-cook-NEG=REL
‘the woman who is not cooking’	‘the women who are not cooking’

cf) \*... *yo ga a apeeego* (=Present)

\*... *yo ga se apeeego* (=Past)

Future is OK. *Mosadi yo a ka se apeeego* ‘the woman who will not cook’

N. No construction from independent negative is attested.

ii) <i>mosadi yo a sa apeeng</i>	<i>basadi ba ba sa apeeng</i>
<i>mo-sadi yo a-sa-ape-e=ng</i>	<i>ba-sadi ba ba-sa-ape-e=ng</i>
1-woman REL <sub>1</sub> SM <sub>1</sub> -NEG-cook-NEG=REL	2-woman REL <sub>2</sub> SM <sub>2</sub> -NEG-cook-NEG=REL
‘the woman who is not cooking’	‘the women who are not cooking’

**Object relative (Indirect relative) requires a negative marker *sa-* + final vowel *-e***

- i) *mosadi yo ke sa mo ratego*                      *basadi ba ke sa ba ratego*  
*mo-sadi yo ke-sa-mo-rat-e=go*                      *ba-sadi ba ke-sa-ba-rat-e=go*  
 1-woman REL<sub>1</sub> SM<sub>1SG</sub>-NEG-OM<sub>1</sub>-like-NEG=REL    2-woman REL<sub>2</sub> SM<sub>1SG</sub>-NEG-OM<sub>2</sub>-like-NEG=REL  
 ‘the woman whom I don’t like’                      ‘the women whom I don’t like’
- ii) *mosadi yo ke sa mo rateng*                      *basadi ba ke sa ba rateng*  
*mo-sadi yo ke-sa-mo-rat-e=ng*                      *ba-sadi ba ke-sa-ba-rat-e=ng*  
 1-woman REL<sub>1</sub> SM<sub>1SG</sub>-NEG-OM<sub>1</sub>-like-NEG=REL    2-woman REL<sub>2</sub> SM<sub>1SG</sub>-NEG-OM<sub>2</sub>-like-NEG=REL  
 ‘the woman whom I don’t like’                      ‘the women whom I don’t like’

**Subjunctive requires a negative marker *se-***

- e.g. *Ke nyaka gore o se nthuše.*  
*ke-nyak-a gore o-se-n-thuš-e*  
 SM<sub>1SG</sub>-want-FV COMP SM<sub>2SG</sub>-NEG-OM<sub>1SG</sub>-help-SBJV  
 ‘I want you not to help me. / I don’t want you to help me.’
- cf) *Ke nyaka gore o nthuše.*  
*ke-nyak-a gore o-n-thuš-e*  
 SM<sub>1SG</sub>-want-FV COMP SM<sub>2SG</sub>-OM<sub>1SG</sub>-help-SBJV  
 ‘I want you to help me.’

N. Lombard, Van Wyk & Mokgokong (1985: 154)

**Complementiser requires the negative markers as same as in the independent clause**

- i) *Ke rile ga re sa tla go ithuta Sesotho sa Leboa.*  
*ke-r-ile [ga-re-sa-tla go-ithut-a Se-sotho sa Leboa]*  
 SM<sub>1SG</sub>-say-ANT NEG-SM<sub>1PL</sub>-NEG-AUX.FUT 15-learn-FV 7-Sotho ASSC<sub>7</sub> north  
 ‘I said **that** we will not learn Northern Sotho.’
- cf) ***Ga re sa tla go ithuta Sesotho sa Leboa.***  
 ‘We will not learn Northern Sotho.’
- ii) *Ke rile [ga re ithute Sesotho sa Leboa.]*  
 ‘I said that we are not learning Northern Sotho.’
- cf) ***Ga re ithute Sesotho sa Leboa.***  
 ‘We are not learning Northern Sotho.’
- iii) *Ke rile [ga se re ithute Sesotho sa Leboa].*  
 ‘I said that we did not learn Northern Sotho.’
- cf) ***Ga se re ithute Sesotho sa Leboa.***  
 ‘We did not learn Northern Sotho.’

N. ***Ga se re ithute Sesotho sa Leboa.*** is also fine with ***Ga se ra ithuta Sesotho sa Leboa.***

**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)

e.g. *Lengwalo le a sa kago a go ngwalela.*

*le-ngwalo le a-sa-ka-go a-go-ngwal-el-a*

5-letter REL<sub>5</sub> SM<sub>1</sub>-NEG-AUX.POT-REL SM<sub>1</sub>-OM<sub>2SG</sub>-write-APPL-FV

‘The letter which s/he didn’t write for/to you’ (Potential AUX *ka* appears only in relative clause *-ka-go*)

N. See also **P050**

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

V. 5: two (or more) of the above (either 1 or 2 + 3) (1: in the pre-initial position only (NEG-SM-...);

2: in the post-initial position only (SM-NEG-...); 3: in the final vowel position of the inflected verb

(see P080))

N. NEG-SM (*ga-*), SM-NEG (*sa-*, *se-*), and final vowel (*-e*)

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

V. 5: two (or more) of the above (either 1 or 2 + 3) (1: in the pre-initial position only (NEG-SM-...);

2: in the post-initial position only (SM-NEG-...); 3: in the final vowel position of the inflected verb)

e.g. *Ge o sa dule...* cf) *Ge o dula...*

*ge o-sa-dul-e ge o-dul-a*

if SM<sub>2SG</sub>-NEG-sit-NEG if SM<sub>2SG</sub>-sit-FV

‘If you don’t / wouldn’t sit...’ ‘If you sit...’

N. See also **P050**. SM-NEG (*sa-*), and final vowel (*-e*) appears in all dependent clauses, but NEG-SM (*ga-*) appears only in Complement clause.

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

V. 6: it varies depending on the tense.

N. see **P049**

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

V. 6: it varies depending on the tense

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

e.g.	<i>Ga ke leme.</i>	<i>Ke a lema.</i>
	<i>ga-ke-lem-e</i>	<i>ke-lem-a</i>
	NEG-SM <sub>1SG</sub> -plough-NEG	SM <sub>1SG</sub> -plough-NEG
	‘I don’t plough.’	‘I plough.’

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

V. yes

e.g.	<i>Se dule!</i>	<i>Se duleng!</i>
	<i>se-dul-e</i>	<i>se-dul-e-ng</i>
	NEG-sit-NEG	NEG-sit-NEG-PL
	‘Don’t sit! (SG)’	‘Don’t sit! (PL)’
cf.	<i>Dula!</i> ‘Sit! (SG)’	<i>Dulang!</i> ‘Sit! (PL)’

N. Imperative uses the verb stem.

**Polite Negative Imperative**

e.g.	<i>O se ke wa dula hle!</i>	<i>Le se ke la dula hle!</i>
	<i>o-se-ke wa-dul-a hle</i>	<i>le-se-ke la-dul-a hle</i>
	SM <sub>2SG</sub> -NEG-AUX.NEG SM <sub>2SG</sub> -sit-FV please	SM <sub>2PL</sub> -NEG-AUX.NEG SM <sub>2PL</sub> -sit-FV please
	‘Please don’t sit! (SG)’	‘Please don’t sit! (PL)’

**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. yes

**Auxiliary verb stem *-gana* + INF**

e.g.	<i>Pula e gana go na.</i>
	<i>N-pula e-gana go-na</i>
	9-rain SM <sub>9</sub> -AUX.NEG 15-rain
	‘It refuses to rain.’ (Intd: ‘It doesn’t want to rain.’)

### Auxiliary verb (*se*)-*ke* + CONS ‘not at all’ only in Negative

e.g. *Re ka se ke ra thušega ka bona.*

*re-ka-se-ke*                      *ra-thuš-eg-a*                      *ka bona*  
SM<sub>1PL</sub>-POT-NEG-at.all    SM<sub>1PL</sub>-help-NEUT-FV    by PRON<sub>3PL</sub>  
‘We shall not be helped by them at all.’

### Auxiliary verb *-ešo* + CONS ‘not yet’ only in Negative

e.g. *Ga ke ešo ka rua selo.*

*ga-ke-ešo*                      *ka-ru-a*                      *se-lo*  
NEG-AUX.NEG    CONS-possess-FV    7-thing  
‘I have not yet possessed anything.’

N. Lombard, Van Wyk & Mokgokong (1985: 187-189)

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

V. yes

- |        |                                 |                                 |
|--------|---------------------------------|---------------------------------|
| 1SG)   | <i>Ke tla robala.</i>           | ‘I will sleep.’                 |
| 2SG)   | <i>O tla robala.</i>            | ‘You (SG) will sleep.’          |
| 3SG)   | <i>Mokgekolo o tla robala.</i>  | ‘An old woman will sleep.’      |
| 1PL)   | <i>Re tla robala.</i>           | ‘We will sleep.’                |
| 2PL)   | <i>Le tla robala.</i>           | ‘You (PL) will sleep.’          |
| 3PL)   | <i>Banenyana ba tla robala.</i> | ‘The girls will sleep.’         |
| cl.1a) | <i>Mma o tla robala.</i>        | ‘Mother will sleep’             |
| cl.2a) | <i>Bomma ba tla robala.</i>     | ‘Mothers will sleep’            |
| cl.3)  | <i>Moago o tla wa.</i>          | ‘A building will fall.’         |
| cl.4)  | <i>Meago e tla wa.</i>          | ‘Buildings will fall.’          |
| cl.5)  | <i>Leeba le tla fofa.</i>       | ‘A dove will fly.’              |
| cl.6)  | <i>Maeba a tla fofa.</i>        | ‘Doves will fly.’               |
| cl.7)  | <i>Sefatanaga se tla wa.</i>    | ‘A car will fall.’              |
| cl.8)  | <i>Difatanaga di tla wa.</i>    | ‘Cars will fall.’               |
| cl.9)  | <i>Komiki e tla wa.</i>         | ‘A cup will fall.’              |
| cl.10) | <i>Dikomoki di tla wa.</i>      | ‘Cups will fall.’               |
| cl.14) | <i>Bogobe bo tla wa.</i>        | ‘Porridge will fall.’           |
| cl.15) | <i>Go šoma go tla fela.</i>     | ‘To work will finish.’          |
| cl.16) | <i>Fase go tla oma.</i>         | ‘Down place will get dry.’      |
| cl.17) | <i>Godimo go tla hlweka.</i>    | ‘Upper (area) will get clean.’  |
| cl.18) | <i>Morago go tla hlweka.</i>    | ‘Behind (area) will get clean.’ |

**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. *Kgaka e a fofa.*

*N-kgaka e-a-fof-a*

9-guineafowl SM<sub>9</sub>-DJ-fly-FV

‘A guineafowl is flying.’

cf) *\*Kgaka o a fofa*

**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

	Pronoun	Prefix
1PL	<i>rena</i>	<i>re-</i>
2PL	<i>lena</i>	<i>le-</i>

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

V. 3: both 1 and 2 are attested (1: second person plural subject marker; 2: class 2 morphology)

i) *Bomalome le re thušitše.*

*bo-malome le-re-thuš-itš-e*

2a-uncle SM<sub>2PL</sub>-OM<sub>1PL</sub>-help-APPL-ANT

‘Honourable uncle, you helped us.’

ii) *Bomalome ba re thušitše.*

‘Honourable uncle helped us.’

*mma* (SG) ‘mother’, *bomma* (PL, or SG with respect) ‘mothers, or a honourable mother’

**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)

**cl.1 + cl.9 > cl.2**

e.g. *Modišana le mpšanyana ba sepela mmogo.*

*mo-dišana le m-pšanyana ba-sepel-a mmogo*

1-man and 9-puppy SM<sub>2</sub>-walk-FV together

‘A herdbooy and a puppy are walking together.’

**cl.9 + cl.9 > cl.8/10**

e.g. *Terekere le lori di a thulana.*

*N-terekere le N-lori di-a-thul-an-a*

9-tractor and 9-lorry SM<sub>8/10</sub>-DJ-crash-RECP-FV

‘A tractor and a lorry crash each other.’

**cl.9 + cl.14 > cl.8/10**

e.g. *Thekisi le botšhelamakhura di thubilwe.*

*N-thekisi le bo-tšhelamakhura di-thub-iw-a*

9-taxi and 14-filling\_station SM<sub>8/10</sub>-destroy-PASS-FV

‘A taxi and a filling station are destroyed.’

**cl.5 + cl.7 > cl.8/10**

e.g. *Legapu le senotlelo di utswitšwe.*

*le-gapu le se-notlelo di-utsw-itš-w-e*

5-watermelon and 7-key SM<sub>8/10</sub>-steal-CAUS-PASS-ANT

‘A watermelon and a key were stolen.’

**cl.3 + cl.5 > cl.8/10**

e.g. *Morula le legapu di utswitšwe.*

*mo-rula le le-gapu di-utsw-itš-w-e*

3-morula and 5-watermelon SM<sub>8/10</sub>-steal-CAUS-PASS-ANT

‘Morula beer and a watermelon were stolen.’

**cl.5 + cl.5 > cl.8/10**

e.g. *Letsogo le leino di a opa.*

*le-tsogo le le-ino di-a-opa*

5-arm and 5-tooth SM<sub>8/10</sub>-DJ-be\_painful

‘An arm and tooth are painful.’

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

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

i) *Ke rekile.*

*ke-rek-ile*

SM<sub>1SG</sub>-buy-ANT

‘I bought.’ (Past)

ii) *Ke be ke reka.*  
*ke-be*                      *ke-rek-a*  
 SM<sub>1SG</sub>-AUX.IMPF    SM<sub>1SG</sub>-buy-FV  
 ‘I was buying.’        (Past progressive : \*ba-ile > be )

iii) *Ke šetše ke rekile.*  
*ke-šetše*                    *ke-rek-ile*  
 SM<sub>1SG</sub>-AUX.PST        SM<sub>1SG</sub>-buy-ANT  
 ‘I already bought.’    (Past perfective)

N. Anterior *-ile* is used for Past tense.

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

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

e.g. *Re tlo reka.* or *Re tla reka.*  
*re-tlo~tla-rek-a*  
 SM<sub>1PL</sub>-FUT-buy-FV  
 ‘We will buy.’

N. *Re tlo reka.* is shortened form of *Re tlile go reka.* ‘We come to buy.’

**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. yes

« *-ak* expresses iterativity »

i) *gat-ak-a* ‘step repeatedly’        < *gata* ‘step’  
 ii) *rog-ak-a* ‘insult repeatedly’      < *roga* ‘insult’  
 iii) *Ke mo rogaka.*  
*ke-mo-rog-ak-a*  
 SM<sub>1SG</sub>-OM<sub>1</sub>-insult-ITER-FV  
 ‘I repeatedly insult him/her.’

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

V. yes

« for the past tense »

e.g. *Ke bone.*                              < \* *ke-bon-ile*  
*ke-bon-e*  
 SM<sub>1SG</sub>-see-ANT  
 ‘I have seen.’

N. *-ile* is usually imbricated with the preceding verb root or suffix.

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

V. no

e.g. *Ke ya go ja.* *Ke ya go robala.*  
*ke-y-a go-j-a* *ke-y-a go-rob-al-a.*  
SM<sub>1SG</sub>-go-FV 15-eat-FV SM<sub>1SG</sub>-go-FV 15-sleep-FV  
'I go to eat' 'I go to sleep'

N. The prefix *ka-* is not used as an itive marker in Northern Sotho. Neither *ya* 'go' is used as a motional/directional marker. Gerund prefix (CP<sub>X15</sub>) *go* is indispensable immediately before V2.

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

V. no

e.g. *Ke tla go ja.*  
*ke-tl-a go-j-a*  
SM<sub>1SG</sub>-come-FV 15-eat-FV  
'I come to eat.'

N. No ventive marker is observed.

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

V. yes

e.g. *Lla!* *Llang!* *Robala!* *Robalang!*  
*ll-a ll-a-ng* *robal-a robal-a-ng*  
cry-FV cry-FV-PL sleep-FV sleep-FV-PL  
'Cry! (SG)' 'Cry! (PL)' 'Sleep! (SG)' 'Sleep! (PL)'

**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)

*-ng*

N. See **P071**

**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

« maximally two »

**1 slot**

i) *Mošemane o tla ya sekolong gosasa.*  
*mo-šemane o-tla-y-a se-kolo-ng gosasa*  
1-boy SM<sub>1</sub>-FUT-go-FV 7-school-LOC tomorrow  
'The boy will go to school tomorrow.'

- ii) *Baithuti ba sa ngwala.*  
*ba-ithuti ba-sa-ngwal-a*  
 2-student SM<sub>2</sub>-PERS-write-FV  
 ‘Students are still writing.’

**2 slots (PERS-FUT)**

- e.g. *Re sa tlo reka.*  
*re-sa-tlo-rek-a*  
 SM<sub>1PL</sub>-PERS-FUT-buy-FV  
 ‘We will still buy/ We are still going to buy.’

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

V. yes

**Present tense**

- |     | <b>Conjoint</b>  | <b>Disjoint</b>  |
|-----|--|--|
| i)  | <i>Mosadi o ja bogobe.</i><br><i>mo-sadi o-j-a bo-gobe</i><br>1-woman SM <sub>1</sub> -eat-FV 14-porridge<br>‘A woman is eating porridge.’ | <i>Mosadi o a ja.</i><br><i>mo-sadi o-a-j-a.</i><br>1-woman SM <sub>1</sub> -DJ-eat-FV<br>‘A woman is eating.’<br><i>Mosadi o a bo ja.</i><br><i>mo-sadi o-a-bo-j-a</i><br>1-woman SM <sub>1</sub> -DJ-OM <sub>14</sub> -eat-FV<br>‘A woman is eating it.’ |
| ii) | <i>Ke ngwala lengwalo.</i><br><i>ke-ngwal-a le-ngwalo</i><br>SM <sub>1SG</sub> -write-FV 5-letter<br>‘I write a letter.’                   | <i>Ke a ngwala.</i><br><i>ke-a-ngwal-a</i><br>SM <sub>1SG</sub> -DJ-write-FV<br>‘I write.’   |

N. Disjoint marker *a-* appears immediately after SM only in Present tense.

**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) *Morutiši o mo rata kudu.*  
*mo-rutiši o-mo-rat-a kudu*  
 1-teacher SM<sub>1</sub>-SM<sub>1</sub>-love-FV much  
 ‘The teacher loves her a lot.’

- ii) *Mokgalabje o se hweditše.*  
*mo-kgalabje o-se-hweditš-e.*  
 1-old\_man SM<sub>1</sub>-OM<sub>7</sub>-find-ANT  
 ‘The old man found it (7).’ *go hwetša* ‘to find, get’
- iii) *Ke e hweditše go mmatswale wa ka.*  
*ke-e-hweditš-e go-m-matswale wa ka.*  
 SM<sub>1SG</sub>-OM<sub>9</sub>-get-ANT LOC-1-mother-in-law ASSC<sub>1</sub> POSS.1SG  
 ‘I got it (9) from my mother in law.’

**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) *Ke mo file Karabo puku.*  
*ke-mo-f-ile Karabo N-puku.*  
 SM<sub>1SG</sub>-OM<sub>1</sub>-give-ANT PN 9-book  
 ‘I gave KARABO the book.’ (Karabo is focused.)
- ii) *Ke e file Karabo puku.*  
*ke-e-f-ile Karabo N-puku.*  
 SM<sub>1SG</sub>-OM<sub>9</sub>-give-ANT PN 9-book  
 ‘I gave Karabo THE BOOK.’  
 \* *Ke mo e file Karabo puku.* / \* *Ke e mo file Karabo puku.* (pre-stem object marker is limited to one)
- cf) *Ke file Karabo puku.*  
*ke-f-ile Karabo N-puku*  
 SM<sub>1SG</sub>-give-ANT PN 9-book  
 ‘I gave Karabo the book.’

**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 *-i-* (reflex of \*yi)

- e.g. *Ke a itseba.* *Re a itseba.*  
*ke-a-i-tseb-a re-a-i-tseb-a*  
 SM<sub>1SG</sub>-DJ-REFL-know-FV SM<sub>1PL</sub>-DJ-REFL-know-FV  
 ‘I know myself.’ ‘We know ourselves.’

**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) *Ke mmone Mpho.* cf) *Ke bone Mpho.* ‘I saw Mpho.’ (Default)  
*ke-mo-bon-e Mpho*  
 SM<sub>1SG</sub>-OM<sub>1</sub>-see-ANT PN  
 ‘I saw MPH.O.’
- ii) *Ke se bone senotlolo.* cf) *Ke bone senotlolo.* ‘I saw the key.’ (Default)  
*ke-se-bon-e se-notlolo*  
 SM<sub>1SG</sub>-OM<sub>7</sub>-see-ANT 7-key  
 ‘I saw THE KEY.’

N. The object marker is optionally used when the post-verbal lexical object noun is focused.

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

V. yes

- i) *Ke nyaka gore o nthuše.*  
*ke-nyak-a gore o-n-thuš-e*  
 SM<sub>1SG</sub>-want-FV COMP SM<sub>2SG</sub>-OM<sub>1SG</sub>-help-SBJV  
 ‘I want you to help me.’ (Desire)
- ii) *Mo thuše gore a fetše!*  
*mo-thuš-e gore a-fetš-e*  
 OM<sub>1</sub>-help-SBJV COMP SM<sub>1</sub>-finish-SBJV  
 ‘Help him so that he may finish.’ (Command + Desire)
- iii) *Eya lebenkeleng o reke borotho!*  
*ey-a le-benkele-ng o-rek-e bo-rotho*  
 go-FV 5-shop-LOC SM<sub>2SG</sub>-buy-SBJV 14-bread  
 ‘Go to the shop and buy a loaf of bread.’ (Directive, Request)

N. *e-y-* of *e* appears when the verb is monosyllabic (stabilizer *e*).

**Subjunctive Negative; SM-se-STEM-e**

- e.g. *Ke nyaka gore o se nthuše.*  
*ke-nyak-a gore o-se-n-thuš-e*  
 SM<sub>1SG</sub>-want-FV COMP SM<sub>2SG</sub>-NEG-OM<sub>1SG</sub>-help-SBJV  
 ‘I want you not to help me.’

N. Lombard, Van Wyk & Mokgokong (1985: 154-155)

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

V. yes

« -e »

N. see examples in P049

**P081 Defective verbs: Are ‘defective verbs’ which do not exhibit regular inflection?**

V. no: no evidence of defective verbs (give exs of loan verbs as well as verbs ‘know’ and ‘say’)

N. Only copula verb stem seems defective. In possession ‘to have...’ COP + *le...*, *na* is used for Present (SM-*na le...*), while *ba* is for Past (SM-*be le...* < (*ba+ile*) *le*), Future (SM-*tha-ba le...*), and Infinitive *go ba le* ‘to have’.

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

V. 1: yes, each auxiliary is used with a specific tenses/aspects/moods

**-be** (Perfect) + Situative

e.g. *Bašemane ba be ba tanya dinonyana.*

*ba-šemane*    *ba-be*                    *ba-tany-a*            *dī-nonyana*

1-boy            SM<sub>2</sub>-AUX.ANT    SM<sub>2</sub>-catch-FV    10-bird

‘The boys were catching birds.’

**-šetše** (‘already’ Past) + Situative

e.g. *A bona gore bana ba gagwe ba šetše ba thomile go nwa bjalwa.*

*a-bon-a*    *gore*    *ba-na*    *ba*    *gagwe*    *ba-šetše*

SM<sub>1</sub>-see-FV    COMP    2-child    ASSC<sub>2</sub>    POSS.3SG    SM<sub>2</sub>-AUX.PST

*ba-thom-ile*    *go-nw-a*    *bj-alwa.*

SM<sub>2</sub>-start-ANT    15-drink-FV    14-beer

‘He then noticed that his sons had already started drinking beer.’

cf) *O šetše gae.*

*o-šetše*    *gae.*

‘S/he remains at home.’

N. Lexical meaning of *šetše* is ‘remain’.

**-tlwaetše** (‘used to’ Habitual) + Infinitive

e.g. *Pere ye e tlwaetše go raga.*

*N-pere*    *ye*            *e-tlwaetše*            *go-raga*

9-horse    DEM<sub>n9</sub>    SM<sub>9</sub>-AUX.HAB    15-kick

‘This horse is used to kick.’

**-gana** (‘refuse’ Negative) + Infinitive

e.g. *Pula e gana go na.*

*N-pula*    *e-gana*                    *gona*

9-rain    SM<sub>9</sub>-AUX.NEG    there

‘It doesn’t want to rain there.’

N. Lombard, Van Wyk & Mokgokong (1985: 187)

**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. *Ba be ba šetše ba sepetše.*

*ba-be*                      *ba-šetše*                      *ba-sepetš-e*  
SM<sub>2</sub>-AUX.ANT    SM<sub>2</sub>-AUX.PST    SM<sub>2</sub>-leave-ANT

‘They had already left.’              *go sepela* ‘to leave’

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

V. 2: it varies according to TAM

**-be** (Perfective) + situative (finite)

e.g. *Bašemane ba be ba tanya dinonyana.*

*ba-šemane*    ***ba-be***                      ***ba-tany-a***                      *di-nonyana*  
1-boy              SM<sub>2</sub>-AUX.ANT    SM<sub>2</sub>-catch-FV              10-bird

‘The boys were catching birds.’

**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. 1: yes, only in the domain of modality (ability, possibility, permission)

**AUX + Infinitive**

*-gana* ‘refuse’, *-rata* ‘want, like’, *-swanetše* ‘ought’, *-tlwaetše* ‘used’, *-tseba* ‘know’, *-nyakile* ‘almost, nearly’, *-leka* ‘try’, *-belaela* ‘doubt’, *-batamela* ‘come, nearer’, *-lesa* ‘leave off’, *-thaba* ‘be glad’, *-diega* ‘tarry’

**AUX + Situative**

*-šetše* ‘already’, *-be* ‘has/have...’, *-bile* ‘even, thereupon’, *-nama* ‘thereupon’, *-lala* ‘spend the night’, *-fela* ‘only’, *-dula* ‘always’, *-šala* ‘afterwards’, *-napa* ‘thereupon’

**AUX + Subjunctive**

*-tle* ‘until’, *-ke* ‘a little, just’

**AUX + Consecutive**

*-ile* ‘once upon a time’, *-kile* ‘once upon a time’, *-ke* ‘not at all’, *-bea* ‘in course of time’, *-ešo* ‘not yet’

N. Lombard, Van Wyk & Mokgokong (1985: 187-189)

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

V. yes





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

V. 2: the subject

N. see **P090**

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

V. yes

N. see **P090**

**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. 2: yes, it is always required

- i) *mosadi yo ke mo ratago* *basadi ba ke ba ratago*  
*mo-sadi yo ke-mo-rat-a=go* *ba-sadi ba ke-ba-rat-a=go*  
 1-woman REL<sub>1</sub> SM<sub>1SG</sub>-OM<sub>1</sub>-like-FV=REL 2-woman REL<sub>2</sub> SM<sub>1SG</sub>-OM<sub>2</sub>-like-FV=REL  
 ‘the woman whom I like’ ‘the women whom I like’
- ii) *mosadi yo ke mo ratang* *basadi ba ke ba ratang*  
*mo-sadi yo ke-mo-rat-a=ng* *ba-sadi ba ke-ba-rat-a=ng*  
 1-woman REL<sub>1</sub> SM<sub>1SG</sub>-OM<sub>1</sub>-like-FV=REL 2-woman REL<sub>2</sub> SM<sub>1SG</sub>-OM<sub>2</sub>-like-FV=REL  
 ‘the woman whom I like’ ‘the women whom I like’
- iii) *badišana ba mosetsana a ba tsebago*  
*ba-dišana ba mo-setsana a-ba-tseb-a=go*  
 2-herdboy REL<sub>2</sub> 1-girl SM<sub>1</sub>-OM<sub>2</sub>-know-FV=REL  
 ‘the herdboys whom the girl knows’
- iv) *dipudi tše di fulago go yona*  
*di-pudi tše di-ful-a=go go yona*  
 10-field REL<sub>10</sub> SM<sub>10</sub>-graze-FV=REL at PRON<sub>9</sub> (Location)  
 ‘the field where the goats are grazing’ (cf.) *yona = tšhemo* ‘field’ (cl.9)

N. \**dipudi mo* (18) *di fulago go yona*

**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) *Re tseba nako ye a sepetšego ka yona.*  
*re-tseb-a Ø-nako ye a-sepetše-go ka yona*  
 SM<sub>1SG</sub>-know-FV 9-time REL<sub>9</sub> SM<sub>1</sub>-leave-REL with PRON<sub>9</sub>  
 ‘We know when (= the time when) he left.’ (NG for temporal)

- ii) *O tseba mo re dulago.*  
*o-tseb-a mo re-dul-a-go*  
 SM<sub>1</sub>-know-FV REL<sub>18</sub> SM<sub>1PL</sub>-live-FV-REL  
 ‘He knows where (= the place where) we live’ (OK for locative)
- iii) *Re tseba ka mokgwa wo ba boilego gae.*  
*re-tseb-a ka mo-kgwa wo ba-bo-ile-go gae*  
 SM<sub>1PL</sub>-know-FV by 3-way REL<sub>3</sub> SM<sub>2</sub>-return-ANT-REL home  
 ‘We know how (= the way how) they returned home.’ (NG for manner)
- N. Only locative seems to be headless, but this needs further investigation.

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

V. no

- i) *ditaba tša go hlokofala ga kgoši*  
*di-taba tša go-hlokofal-a ga N-kgōši*  
 10-news ASSC<sub>10</sub> 15-die-FV ASSC<sub>15</sub> 9-chief  
 ‘the news that the chief died = the news of chief’s dying’ (Internal headed relative is n.a.)
- cf) *ditaba tša kgoši ye e hlokofetšego.* ‘the news of the chief who died’
- ii) *monkgo wo o bakwago ke pešo*  
*mo-nkgo wo o-bak-wa=go ke N-pešo*  
 3-smell REL<sub>3</sub> SM<sub>3</sub>-cause-PAS=REL by 9-grilling  
 ‘the smell that is caused by grilling’ *go beša* ‘to grill’ (External headed relative is n.a.)
- cf) \*Neither *monkgo wo o pešwago* nor \**monkgo wo o pešago* are ill forms.

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

V. yes

- i) *puku ye ke e rekago*  
 ‘the book which I buy.’ (Present)
- ii) *puku ye ke e rekilego maabaane*  
 ‘the book which I bought yesterday.’ (Past)
- iii) *puku ye ke tla e rekago gosasa*  
 ‘the book which I will buy tomorrow.’ (Future)
- iv) *puku ye ke sa e rekago*  
 ‘the book which I am still buying.’ (Persistent)
- v) *puku ye ke tlego ke e reke* < *Ke tle ke reke puku.*  
 ‘the book which I always/usually buy.’ (Habitual) ‘I usually buy a book.’

N. Though not thoroughly confirmed, it seems there is no tense (also aspect?) restriction on relative clauses.

**P097 Clefts: How are clefts formed?**

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

**Copula *ke* + WORD [REL Clause]**

- i) *Ke Kamogelo yo a ilego gae.*  
*ke Kamogelo yo a-ile-go gae*  
COP PN REL<sub>1</sub> SM<sub>1</sub>-go-REL home  
'It is Kamogelo who went home.'
- ii) *Ke Kamogelo yo ke kopanego le yena maabane.*  
*ke Kamogelo yo ke-kopan-e-go le yena maabane*  
COP PN REL<sub>1</sub> SM<sub>1</sub>SG-meet-ANT-REL with her yesterday  
'It is Kamogelo whom I met yesterday.'
- iii) *Ke Kamogelo yo ke mmonego maabane.*  
*ke Kamogelo yo ke-m-mone-go maabane*  
COP PN REL<sub>1</sub> SM<sub>1</sub>SG-OM<sub>1</sub>-see-REL yesterday  
'It is Kamogelo whom I saw yesterday.'
- iv) *Ke maabane mo ke gahlanego le Kamogelo.*  
*ke maabane mo ke-gahlane-go le Kamogelo.*  
COP yesterday REL<sub>18</sub> SM<sub>1</sub>SG-meet-REL with PN  
'It is yesterday that I met Kamogelo.'

**[*e be e le* WORD + REL clause] *-be* + *-le* (COPs)**

- i) *E be e le Kamogelo yo a ilego gae.*  
*e-b-e e-le Kamogelo yo a-i-le-go gae*  
SM<sub>9</sub>-COP-ANT SM<sub>9</sub>-COP PN REL<sub>1</sub> SM<sub>1</sub>-go-ANT-REL home  
'It was Kamogelo who went home.' *-be* 'has/have (V-ed)', *-le* 'copulative verb stem'
- ii) *E be e le maabane mo ke gahlanego le Kamogelo.*  
*e-b-e e le maabane mo ke-gahlan-e-go le Kamogelo*  
SM<sub>9</sub>-COP-ANT SM<sub>9</sub>-COP yesterday REL<sub>18</sub> SM<sub>1</sub>SG-meet-ANT-REL with PN  
'It was yesterday that I met Kamogelo.'

N. *-ba* (copulative verb)

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

V. no

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

V. yes

« *na* or *afa* »

*na* ~ *aa* is attached at sentence initial or final position or at the both positions.

e.g. *Na o a mo rata?* < *O-a-mo-rat-a*  
*O a mo rata na?* SM<sub>1</sub>-DJ-OM<sub>1</sub>-love-FV  
*Na o a mo rata na?* ‘Do you love her/him?’

*afa* is used only at the sentence initial position.

e.g. *Afa o a mo rata?*

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

V. 3: immediately after the verb (IAV)

- i) *O ba reketše eng bana?*  
*o-ba-rek-etš-e eng ba-na*  
 SM<sub>2SG</sub>-OM<sub>2</sub>-buy-APPL-ANT what 2-child  
 ‘What did you buy for the children?’
- cf) *\*O ba reketše bana eng?*
- ii) *O reketše mang puku?*  
*o-rek-etš-e mang N-puku*  
 SM<sub>2SG</sub>-buy-APPL-ANT who 9-book  
 ‘Whom did you buy the book for?’
- iii) *O reketše bana puku neng?*  
*o-rek-etš-e ba-na N-puku neng*  
 SM<sub>2SG</sub>-buy-APPL-ANT 2-child 9-book when  
 ‘When did you buy the book for the children?’
- cf) *O reketše bana puku.* but *\*O reketše puku bana.*  
 ‘You bought the book for the children.’

N. Basically wh-elements are placed in IAV except for **when** question (in situ).

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

V. yes

e.g. *O llela eng?*  
*o-ll-el-a eng*  
 SM<sub>2SG</sub>-cry-APPL-FV what  
 ‘Why are you crying? (What are you crying for?)’

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

V. 1: an invariable copula only

*ke* (H tone) except for 1, 2 person SG/PL

### Identifying copula

- |      |  |  |
|------|--|--|
| i)   | <i>Ke moithuti.</i>                          | <i>Ke moithuti.</i>                      |
|      | <i>ke</i> (H) <i>mo-ithuti</i>               | <i>ke</i> (L) <i>mo-ithuti</i>           |
|      | COP    1-student                             | COP <sub>1SG</sub> 1-student             |
|      | ‘S/he is a student.’                         | ‘I am a student.’                        |
| ii)  | <i>O moithuti.</i>                           |  |
|      | ‘You (SG) are a student.’                    |  |
| iii) | <i>Re baithuti.</i>                          |  |
|      | ‘We are students.’                           |  |
| iv)  | <i>Le baithuti.</i>                          |  |
|      | ‘You (PL) are students.’                     |  |
| v)   | <i>Ke baithuti.</i> (ke in H tone)           |  |
|      | ‘They are students.’                         |  |
| vi)  | <i>Lesedi ke moithuti.</i>                   | <i>Yo ke moithuti.</i>                   |
|      | <i>Lesedi ke</i> (H) <i>mo-ithuti</i>        | <i>yo</i> <i>ke</i> (H) <i>mo-ithuti</i> |
|      | PN    COP    1-student                       | DEM <sub>n1</sub> COP    1-student       |
|      | ‘Lesedi is a student.’                       | ‘This is a student.’                     |
| vii) | <i>Legapu ke seenywa.</i>                    |  |
|      | <i>le-gapu</i> <i>ke</i> (H) <i>se-enywa</i> |  |
|      | 5-watermelon    COP    7-fruit               |  |
|      | ‘A watermelon is a fruit.’                   |  |

N. *ke* (H) is known as “identifying copula”. Apart from “identifying copula” (equative), Northern Sotho has “descriptive copula”, “existential copula”, and “associative copula (Possession)”. All of them have class concords. “Descriptive copula” and “existential copula” are same forms as “nominal relative” relativizes.

### Descriptive copula (=Nominal relative)

- |      |                                       |                                       |
|------|---------------------------------------|---------------------------------------|
| e.g. | <i>Monna o bogale.</i>                | <i>Legapu le bose.</i>                |
|      | <i>mo-nna</i> <i>o</i> <i>bo-gale</i> | <i>le-gapu</i> <i>le</i> <i>bo-se</i> |
|      | 1-man    REL <sub>1</sub> 14-brave    | 5-watermelon REL <sub>5</sub> 14-good |
|      | ‘The man is brave.’                   | ‘The watermelon is delicious.’        |

### Existential copula (Location, =Nominal relative)

- |      |  |   |
|------|--|---|
| e.g. | <i>Lesedi o sekolong.</i>                | <i>Legapu le tafoleng.</i>                  |
|      | <i>Lesedi</i> <i>o</i> <i>se-kolo-ng</i> | <i>le-gapu</i> <i>le</i> <i>N-tafole-ng</i> |
|      | PN    REL <sub>1</sub> 7-school-LOC      | 5-watermelon REL <sub>5</sub> 9-table-LOC   |
|      | ‘Lesedi is at school.’                   | ‘The watermelon is on the table.’           |

### Associative copula (Possession)

- i) *Mosadi o na le ngwana.*  
*mo-sadi o-na le ngw-ana*  
1-woman SM<sub>1</sub>-COP with 1-child  
'The woman has a child.'
- ii) *Legapu le na le dithotse.*  
*le-gapu le-na le di-thotse*  
5-watermelon SM<sub>5</sub>-COP with 10-pip  
'A watermelon has pips.'

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

V. 6: multiple strategies

« *ke, ba*, Demonstrative (approximate) »

N. see P102

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

V. yes

- e.g. *Mafela a bunnwe ke molemi.*  
*ma-fela a-bunn-w-e ke mo-lemi*  
6-maize SM<sub>6</sub>-harvest-PASS-ANT by 1-farmer  
'Maize was harvested by the farmer.'

N. Copula *ke* is the same form as the agentive preposition in the passive construction, but the two may just happen to have the same form. It needs further investigation.

### 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)

Present: subject marker + preposition *na + le ...*

Past/Future : copula verb *ba + le ...* (in the infinitive mood)

- i) *Mosadi o na le ngwana.*  
*mo-sadi o-na le ngw-ana*  
1-woman SM<sub>1</sub>-COP with 1-child  
'The woman has a child.'
- ii) *Legapu le na le dithotse.*  
*le-gapu le-na le di-thotse*  
5-watermelon SM<sub>5</sub>-COP with 10-pip  
'A watermelon has pips.'

**Present tense: SM-na le ‘X has a pen.’**

1SG) *Ke na le pene.*

2SG) *O (L) na le pene.*

3SG) *O (H) na le pene.*

1PL) *Re na le pene.*

2PL) *Le na le pene.*

3PL) *Ba na le pene.*

**Past tense: -bile (< \* -ba-ile) le**

e.g. *O bile le pene.* ‘S/he had a pen.’

**Future tense: -tla ba le**

e.g. *O tla ba le pene.* ‘S/he will have a pen.’

N. For possession “associative copula” is used. *na*: Present tense, *be~ba* : Past, Present and Future tenses.

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

V. no

- i) *Ke opela kopelo.* < *Ke a opela.*  
*ke-opel-a*      *N-kopelo*      *ke-a-opel-a*  
SM<sub>1SG</sub>-sing-FV    9-song      SM<sub>1SG</sub>-DJ-sing-FV  
‘I sing a song.’      ‘I sing.’
- ii) *Ke opela sefela.*  
*ke-opel-a*      *se-fela*  
SM<sub>1SG</sub>-sing-FV    7-hymn  
‘I sing a hymn.’

**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. no

e.g. \**Sepetše ke sepetše le mafase* < *Ke sepetše-sepetše le mafase.*  
‘I travelled a lot in different countries’ (verb reduplication)

**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. no

*go betha* ‘to beat’ is not applicable?

e.g. *go betha ka lefsiello* ‘to make sb. unpleasant’  
*go betha phutiana* ‘to cover your tracks, disappear’

- cf) *go letša mogala* 'to make a call'  
*Ke letša mogala.* 'I make a phone call.'  
*Ke tla go leletša mogala.* 'I will call you.'  
*Mogala o a lla.* 'A phone is ringing.'  
*go leletša* 'to make the phone cry, to ring for/to...' < *go lla* 'to cry'  
*go letša dinko* 'to be angry, to cause to ring a nose'

***go dira* 'to make/do'**

- e.g. *go dira dihlogo tša batho* 'to make heads of people = to give a birth to children'  
*go dira sa mpša le phiri* 'to do what is done by the dog and hyena = to lie to another person  
by making him a stupid' (a hyena is cleverer than a dog)

***go hloka* 'to lack'**

- e.g. *ngwana yo o hloka tsebe.* 'this child does not have an ear = this child does not listen'  
*go hloka molomo* 'not to have a mouth = not to have anything to say.'  
*go hloka thari* 'not to have skin for carrying infants = not to have children.'  
*go hloka le pudi ya leleme le letala* 'not to have a goat which has a green tongue = to be poor'

N. *go betha* 'to beat', *go dira* 'to make/do', nor *go hloka* 'to lack' do not seem the light verb. The examples here are rather idioms.

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

V. yes

- i) *Dijo di apeelwa ngwana ke Kamogelo.*  
*di-jo di-ape-el-w-a ngw-ana ke Kamogelo*  
10-food SM<sub>10</sub>-cook-APPL-PASS-FV 1-child by PN  
'Foods are cooked for the child by Kamogelo.'
- ii) *Ngwana o apeelwa dijo ke Kamogelo.*  
*ngw-ana o-ape-el-w-a di-jo ke Kamogelo*  
1-child SM<sub>1</sub>-cook-APPL-PASS-FV 10-food by PN  
'The child is cooked-for the foods by Kamogelo.'
- cf) *Kamogelo o apeela ngwana dijo.*  
*Kamogelo o-ape-el-a ngw-ana di-jo*  
PN SM<sub>1</sub>-cook-APPL-FV 1-child 10-food  
'Kamogelo cooks foods for the child.'

**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

### Ditransitive verb

- i) *Ke file Kamogelo puku.*  
*ke-f-ile*                      *Kamogelo N-puku*  
SM<sub>1SG</sub>-give-ANT PN              9-book  
'I gave Kamogelo a book.'
- ii) *Ke mo file Kamogelo puku.*                      *Ke e file Kamogelo puku.*  
*ke-mo-f-ile*                      ***Kamogelo*** *N-puku*              *ke-e-f-ile*                      *Kamogelo N-puku*  
SM<sub>1SG</sub>-OM<sub>1</sub>-give-ANT PN              9-book              SM<sub>1SG</sub>-OM<sub>9</sub>-give-ANT PN              9-book  
'I gave KAMOGELO a book.'                      'I gave Kamogelo THE BOOK'

### Causative

- i) *Ke badiša ngwana puku.*  
*ke-bad-iš-a*                      *ngw-ana N-puku*  
SM<sub>1SG</sub>-read-CAUS-FV 1-child 9-book  
'I make the child read the book'              *go bala* 'to read'
- ii) *Ke e badiša ngwana puku*  
*ke-e-bad-iš-a*                      *ngw-ana N-puku*  
SM<sub>1SG</sub>-OM<sub>9</sub>-read-CAUS-FV 1-child 9-book  
'I make the child read the book'  
*\*Ke mmadiša ngwana puku.*  
*\*Ke e badiša puku ngwana.*

cf) Pronominalised sentences are usually used.

- |   |  |
|---|--|
| <i>Ke mmadiša puku.</i>                                 | <i>Ke e badiša ngwana.</i>                               |
| <i>ke-m-mad-iš-a</i> <i>N-puku</i>                      | <i>ke-e-bad-iš-a</i> <i>ngw-ana</i>                      |
| SM <sub>1SG</sub> -OM <sub>1</sub> -read-CAUS-FV 9-book | SM <sub>1SG</sub> -OM <sub>9</sub> -read-CAUS-FV 1-child |
| 'I make him read the book.'                             | 'I make the child read it (9).'                          |

### Applicative

- i) *Kopanelo o apeela bana dijo.*  
*Kopanelo o-ape-el-a*                      *ba-na di-jo*  
PN              SM<sub>1</sub>-cook-APPL-FV 2-child 10-food  
'Kopanelo cooks foods for the children.'
- ii) *Kopanelo o di apeela bana dijo.*  
*Kopanelo o-di-ape-el-a*                      *ba-na di-jo*  
PN              SM<sub>1</sub>-OM<sub>10</sub>-cook-APPL-FV 2-child 10-food  
'Kopanelo cooks foods for the children.'

iii) *Kopanelo o ba apeela dijo bana.*

*Kopanelo o-ba-ape-el-a di-jo ba-na*  
 PN SM<sub>1</sub>-OM<sub>2</sub>-cook-APPL-FV 10-food 2-child

‘Kopanelo cooks foods for the children.’

\**Kopanelo o ba apeela bana dijo.*

N. For Applicative and Causative, object doubling (the object marker and the post-verbal lexical object noun phrase co-occur) is ungrammatical in some word order. For Ditransitive it appears optionally with the focused object. It needs further investigation. See **P078**.

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

V. yes

e.g. *Ke tla robala.*

*ke-tla-robal-a*  
 SM<sub>1SG</sub>-FUT-sleep-FV

‘I will sleep.’

*Nna ke tla robala.*

*nna ke-tla-robal-a*  
 PRON<sub>1SG</sub> SM<sub>1SG</sub>-FUT-sleep-FV

‘I myself will sleep.’

**Absolute pronouns**

1SG *nna*, 2SG *wena*, 3SG *yena*, 1PL *rena*, 2PL *lena*, 3PL *bona*

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

V. 2: Dem-Noun order is attested

cl.1)

*mosadi yo*

‘this woman’

*mosadi yoo*

‘that (yonder) woman’

*mosadi yola*

‘that woman’

*yo mosadi*

(marked, emphasized)

*yoo mosadi*

(marked, emphasized)

*yola mosadi*

(marked, emphasized)

cl.5)

*legapu le*

‘this watermelon’

*legapu leo*

‘yonder watermelon’

*legapu lela*

‘that watermelon’

*le legapu*

(marked, emphasized)

*leo legapu*

(marked, emphasized)

*lela legapu*

(marked, emphasized)

N. see also **P020**

**P113 Quant-Noun: Is there a pronominal quantifier?**

V. yes

i) *Seripagare sa namune.*

*se-ripagare sa Ø-namune*

7-half ASSC<sub>7</sub> 9-orange

‘half of the orange, half orange’

ii) *Kotara ya borotho.*

*N-kotara ya bo-rotho*

9-quarter ASSC<sub>9</sub> 14-bread

‘a quarter of bread’

cf) *Letšatši le lengwe le le lengwe.*

*letšatši le le-ngwe le le le-ngwe*

5-day LNK<sub>5</sub> APX<sub>5</sub>-some LNK<sub>5</sub> LNK<sub>5</sub> APX<sub>5</sub>-some

‘everyday’

(cf.) *letšatši le lengwe* ‘one day, someday’

N. ‘every’ is not prenominal in Northern Sotho.

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

V. yes

i) *Ye ke puku ya gago ye botse.*

*ye ke N-puku ya gago ye bo-tse*

DEMN<sub>9</sub> COP 9-book ASSC<sub>9</sub> POSS.2SG REL<sub>9</sub> 14-good

‘This is your good book.’ (Default)

ii) *Ye ke puku ye botse ya gago.*

*ye ke N-puku ye bo-tse ya gago*

DEMN<sub>9</sub> COP 9-book REL<sub>9</sub> 14-good ASSC<sub>9</sub> POSS.2SG

‘This is your GOOD book.’

N. The order of the second example is also possible, although the first example is more natural.

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

V. yes

e.g. *Kopanelo o apea dijo.*

*Kopanelo o-ape-a di-jo*

S V O

‘Kopanelo cooks foods.’

**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 (e.g. benefactive-theme, animacy)

i) *Ke file Kopanelo puku.*

*ke-f-ile Kopanelo N-puku*

SM<sub>1SG</sub>-give-ANT PN 9-book

‘I gave Kopanelo a book.’

\**Ke file puku Kopanelo.*

*ke-f-ile N-puku Kopanelo*

SM<sub>1SG</sub>-give-ANT 9-book PN

- ii) *Ke file moeng kolobe.* \**Ke file kolobe moeng.*  
*ke-f-ile mo-eng N-kolobe ke-f-ile N-kolobe mo-eng*  
 SM<sub>1SG</sub>-give-ANT 1-visitor 9-pig SM<sub>1SG</sub>-give-ANT 9-pig 1-visitor  
 ‘I gave the visitor a pig.’
- iii) *Ke reketše moletlo dijo.* \**Ke reketše dijo moletlo*  
*ke-rek-etš-e mo-letlo di-jo. ke-rek-etš-e di-jo mo-letlo*  
 SM<sub>1SG</sub>-buy-APPL-ANT 3-party 10-food ---- 10-food 3-party  
 ‘I bought food for the party.’
- iv) *Kopanelo o apeela bana dijo.* \**Kopanelo o apeela dijo bana.*  
*Kopanelo o-ape-el-a ba-na di-jo. Kopanelo o-ape-el-a di-jo ba-na.*  
 PN SM<sub>1</sub>-cook-APPL-FV 2-child 10-food PN ---- 10-food 2-child  
 ‘Kopanelo cooks foods for the children.’
- v) *Ke reketše koloi makhura.* \**Ke reketše makhura koloi.*  
*ke-rek-etš-e N-koloi ma-khura. ke-rek-etš-e ma-khura N-koloi*  
 SM<sub>1SG</sub>-buy-APPL-ANT 9-car 6-gasoline ---- 6-gasoline 9-car  
 ‘I bought gasoline for the car.’

N. Order is determined by the thematic property of the objects. Beneficiary-theme order.

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

V. no

- e.g. *Ke file Kopanelo puku.* \**Ke file puku Kopanelo.*  
*ke-f-ile Kopanelo N-puku ke-f-ile N-puku Kopanelo*  
 SM<sub>1SG</sub>-give-ANT PN 9-book SM<sub>1SG</sub>-give-ANT 9-book PN  
 ‘I gave Kopanelo a book.’

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

V. no: focus is not expressed by word order, but by another strategy (e.g. focus marker)

« focus is not expressed by word order, neither by other strategies. No focus position is recognized. »

- i) Q: *O file Kopanelo eng?* ‘**What** did you give to Kopanelo?’  
 A: *Ke file Kopanelo puku.* ‘I gave Kopanelo **THE BOOK.**’  
 Q: *O file mang puku?* ‘**Whom** did you give the book?’  
 A: *Ke file Kopanelo puku.* ‘I gave **KOPANELO** the book.’
- ii) Q: *O file moeng eng?* ‘**What** did you give to the visitor?’  
 A: *Ke file mo file kolobe.* ‘I gave **A PIG** to the visitor.’  
 Q: *O file mang kolobe?* ‘**Whom** did you give the pig?’  
 A: *Ke e file moeng kolobe.* ‘I gave a pig **TO THE VISITOR.**’

N. No preference of word order to express the focus is observed (probably).

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

V. no

**-tseba + INF 'know, can'**

e.g. *Ke tseba go ngwala.*

*ke-tseba*                      *go-ngwal-a*

SM<sub>1SG</sub>-AUX.POT      15-write-FV

'I can write. / I know how to write'

N. \**Ke tseba o ngwala.* '(Int.) I know he write.'

**-kile + CONS 'once upon a time'**

e.g. *Re kile ra mmona.*

*re-kile*                      *ra-m-on-a*

SM<sub>1PL</sub>-AUX.PST SM<sub>1PL</sub>-OM<sub>3SG</sub>-see-FV

'We once saw him.'

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

V. yes

i) *Go bapala ba a go tseba.*

*Ba tseba go bapala.*

'They know how TO PLAY.' (marked)      'They know how to play. / They can play' (-tseba: AUX)

ii) *Go bapala ba a go rata.*

*Ba rata go bapala.*

'They like TO PLAY.' (marked)      'They like to play.'

N. \**Go bapala ba rata.* (Disjoint marker *a* and an infinitive marker *go* are obligatory)

**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) *O fihlile motho.*

*Motho o fihlile.*

'A person HAS ARRIVED.'

'A person has arrived.'

ii) *O fihlile motho yo ke mo ratago.*

*Motho yo ke mo ratago o fihlile.*

'One whom I love HAS ARRIVED.'

'One whom I love has arrived.'

iii) *Ba fihlile batho ba ke ba ratago.*

*Batho ba ke ba ratago ba fihlile.*

'Those whom I love HAVE ARRIVED.'

'Those whom I love have arrived.'

iv) *E a fofa nonyana.*

*Nonyana e a fofa.*

'A bird IS FLYING.'

'A bird is flying.'

**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)

e.g. *Motseng go dula batho.*  
*mo-tse-ng go-dul-a ba-tho*  
 3-village-LOC SM<sub>17</sub>-live-FV 2-person  
 ‘There live people in the village.’

cf) *Batho ba dula motseng.*  
 ‘People live in the village.’  
 \**Motseng ba dula batho.*

N. For proper nouns (place) below both Locative subject concord and the class concord (9) are possible.

e.g. *Polokwane go ratwa ke batho.* *Polokwane e ratwa ke batho.*  
*Polokwane go-rat-w-a ke ba-tho Polokwane e-rat-w-a ke ba-tho*  
 PN SM<sub>17</sub>-love-PASS-FV by 2-person PN SM<sub>9</sub>-love-PASS-FV by 2-person  
 ‘Polokwane is loved by people.’

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

V. no

e.g. \**Maswi o nwa bana.* < *Bana ba nwa maswi.*  
*ma-swi o-nw-a ba-na ba-na ba-nw-a ma-swi*  
 6-milk SM<sub>6</sub>-drink-FV 2-child 2-child SM<sub>2</sub>-drink-FV 6-milk  
 ‘The children drink the milk.’

N. Inversion is possible only with the use of the copula *ke*, as in *maswi a nwa ke bana*.

**P124 Instrument inversion: Is instrument inversion attested?**

V. no

e.g. \**Ka thipa e sega nama* < *Ke sega nama ka thipa.*  
*ka N-thipa e-seg-a Ø-nama ke-seg-a Ø-nama ka N-thipa*  
 by 9-knife SM<sub>9</sub>-cut-FV 9-meat SM<sub>1SG</sub>-cut-FV 9-meat by 9-knife  
 ‘I cut the meat with a knife.’

N. Inversion is possible only with the use of the copula *ke*, as in *ka thipa ke sega nama*.

**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

### Coordinated nouns

e.g. *Tšhwene le mpša di a tshepana.*

*N-tšhwene le m-pša di-a-thep-an-a*

9-baboon and 9-dog SM<sub>10</sub>-DJ-trust-RECP-FV

‘Baboon and Dog trust each other.’ \**tšhwene mme / mola mpša*

### Coordinated clauses

e.g. *Tšhwene e ile motseng, mme mpša e ile toropong.*

*Tšhwene e ile motseng, mola mpša e ile toropong.*

‘Baboon went to the village, and Dog went to the town.’

\**Tšhwene e ile motseng, le mpša e ile toropong.*

N. For coordinated nouns *le* is applicable, while for coordinated clauses *mme* or *mola* are applied.

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

V. yes

i) *Ke ile toropong ka reka maswi.*

*ke-i-le N-toropo-ng ka-rek-a ma-swi*

SM<sub>1SG</sub>-go-ANT 9-town-LOC CONS-buy-FV 6-milk

‘I went to town and then bought milk.’

ii) *Ke a tsoga ka hlapa diatla ka apar-a.*

*ke-a-tsog-a ka-hlap-a di-atla ka-apar-a*

SM<sub>1SG</sub>-DJ-get.up-FV CONS-wash-FV 10-hand CONS-wear-FV

‘I get up and then I wash my hands and then I get dressed.’

N. Examples from Lombard, Van Wyk & Mokgokong (1985: 152, 144). Consecutive marker *ka-* is originally derived from SM *ke+ a*.

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

V. 2: yes, necessarily

« in some subordinate clauses »

#### Predicative complement clause (No complementiser is applied)

i) *Ke rile ka moka re tla ithuta Sesotho sa Leboa.*

*ke-r-ile ka moka re-tla-ithut-a Se-sotho sa Leboa*

SM<sub>1SG</sub>-say-ANT PRON<sub>1PL</sub> all SM<sub>1PL</sub>-FUT-learn-FV 7-PN ASSC<sub>7</sub> north

‘I said **that** we will all learn Northern Sotho.’

ii) *Ke rata ka moka re ithuta Sesotho sa Leboa.*

*ke-rat-a ka moka re-ithut-a Se-sotho sa Leboa*  
 SM<sub>ISG</sub>-like-FV PRON<sub>1PL</sub> all SM<sub>1PL</sub>-learn-FV 7-PN ASSC<sub>7</sub> north

‘I like **that** we all learn Northern Sotho.’

If the complement clauses are **irrealis (potential or subjunctive)**, complementisers (*o ka re* for potential, *gore* for subjunctive) are required.

i) *Ke rile o ka re ka moka re ka ithuta Sesotho sa Leboa.*

*ke-r-ile okare ka moka re-ka-ithut-a Sesotho sa Leboa*  
 SM<sub>ISG</sub>-say-ANT COMP PRON<sub>1PL</sub> all SM<sub>1PL</sub>-POT-learn-FV 7-PN ASSC<sub>7</sub> north

‘I said **that** we can possibly all study Northern Sotho.’ *ka-* ‘potential, possibility’ (IRR)

ii) *Ke gopola o ka re Thohoyandou ke ye kgolo.*

*ke-gopol-a okare Thohoyandou ke ye-kgolo*  
 SM<sub>ISG</sub>-think-FV COMP PN COP AP<sub>x9</sub>-big

‘I think that Thohoyandou is large.’ (IRR)

iii) *Ke rata gore ka moka re ithute Sesotho sa Leboa.*

*ke-rat-a gore ka moka re-ithut-e Se-sotho sa Leboa*  
 SM<sub>ISG</sub>-like-FV COMP PRON<sub>1PL</sub> all SM<sub>1PL</sub>-learn-SBJV 7-PN ASSC<sub>7</sub> north

‘I like **that** we all would learn Northern Sotho.’ (Subjunctive) **gore** ‘that, so that’ < *go re* ‘to say’

iv) *Ke rata gore ka moka re ithute Sesotho sa Leboa.*

*ke-rat-a gore ka moka re-ithut-e Se-sotho sa Leboa*  
 SM<sub>ISG</sub>-live-FV COMP PRON<sub>1PL</sub> all SM<sub>1PL</sub>-learn-SBJV 7-PN ASSC<sub>7</sub> north

‘I like that we all would learn Northern Sotho.’ (Subjunctive)

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

V. 1: in front of the clause

N. See **P127**

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

V. yes

e.g. *o ka re* ‘as if’, *gore* ‘that’ < *re* ‘say’

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

V. no

N. see **P127**

**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’

‘if, when’ *ge*

i) *Ge o sa tsebe karabo, mpotšiše dipotšišo.*

*ge o-sa-tseb-e*                      *N-karabo*      *m-potšiš-e*      *di-potšišo*

if SM<sub>2SG</sub>-NEG-know-NEG 9-answer      OM<sub>1SG</sub>-ask-SBJV 10-question

‘If/when you don’t know the answer, ask me questions.’

ii) *Ge selemo se etla, re tla bona matšoba a maswa.*

*ge se-lemo se-etl-a,*                      *re-tla-bon-a*                      *ma-tšoba a*      *ma-swa*

if 7-summer SM<sub>7</sub>-come-FV      SM<sub>1PL</sub>-FUT-see-FV      6-flower      LNK<sub>6</sub>      APX<sub>6</sub>-new

‘If summer comes, we will see new flowers.’

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

V. no

i) *Ge o sa tsebe karabo, mpotšiše dipotšišo.*

*Mpotšiše dipotšišo, ge o sa tsebe karabo.*

‘If you don’t know the answer, ask me questions.’

ii) *Ge selemo se etla, re tla bona matšoba a maswa.*

*Re tla bona matšoba a maswa, ge selemo se etla.*

‘If summer comes, we will see new flowers.’

**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 P131 and P132

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

V. yes

i) *Ge nka be ke le nonyana, ke be ke tla fofela go wena.*

*ge n-ka-be*                      *ke-le*                      *Ø-nonyana,*      *ke-be*

if SM<sub>1SG</sub>-POT-AUX.IMPF      SM<sub>1SG</sub>-COP      9-bird                      SM<sub>1SG</sub>-AUX.IMPF

*ke-tla-fofel-el-a*                      *go-wena*

SM<sub>1SG</sub>-FUT-fly-APPL-FV      LOC-PRON<sub>2SG</sub>

‘If I were a bird, I would fly to you.’ (Hypothetical)

- ii) *Ge nka be ke etetše batswadi ba ka, ba be ba tla thaba.*  
**ge n-ka-be**                      *ke-etetš-e*                      *ba-tswadi ba*                      *ka,*  
 if SM<sub>1SG</sub>-POT-AUX.IMPF SM<sub>1SG</sub>-visit-ANT 2-parent ASSC<sub>2</sub> POSS.1SG  
**ba-be**                      *ba-tla-thaba*  
 SM<sub>2</sub>-AUX.IMPF SM<sub>2</sub>-FUT-be.happy  
 ‘If I had visited my parents, they would have been happy.’ (Counterfactual) *go etela* ‘to visit’
- N. Both Hypothetical and Counterfactual are expressed with Potential **ka-** and Auxiliary verb (imperfective) **be**.

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

V. 1: by the use of a specific adverbial conjunction

« **ge.** »

- i) *Ke tla emiša go ngwala, ge nako ya matena e fihla.*  
 ‘I will stop writing when the lunch time arrives.’
- ii) *Ge ke seno fetša dithuto tša ka, ke tla ya gae.*  
 ‘Once I finish my classes, I will go home.’
- iii) *Ge ke fetša dithuto tša ka, ke tla šoma yunibesithing.*  
 ‘After completing my study, I will work at a university.’
- iv) *Ke tla hlapa, pele ke robala.*  
 ‘I will take a bath before I sleep.’ (**pele** ‘before’)

**P136 Locative adverbial clauses: How are locative adverbial clauses (‘where’-clauses) formed?**

V. 3: by a specific locative relative construction

« **mo-** »

- i) *Ga ke tsebe mo bagwera ba ka ba dulang.*  
 ‘I don’t know where my friends live.’
- ii) *Ke tseba mo batswadi ba ka ba ilego.*  
 ‘I know where my parents have gone.’

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

V. 4: by another strategy

« Adjective-DIM *go...* »

- i) *Lekau ke yo moteletšana go Sannah.*  
*Lekau ke yo mo-teletš-ana go Sannah*  
 PN COP LNK<sub>1</sub> AP<sub>X1</sub>-tall-DIM than PN  
 ‘Lekau is a little taller than Sannah.’ *-telele* ‘tall’

- ii) *Ntlo ye ke ye kgolwane go yela.*  
*n-tlo ye ke ye-kgolw-ane go yela*  
 9-house DEMn<sub>9</sub> COP APx<sub>9</sub>-big-DIM than DEMd<sub>9</sub>  
 ‘This house is a little bigger than that one.’ -kgolo ‘big’

N. For comparative adjectives, Diminutive suffix *-ana* ~ *ane* or *-nyana* ~ *nyane* is attached to the adjective stem.

**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. *Go ja ga Lekau bogobe go a thabiša.*  
*go-ja ga Lekau bo-gobe go-a-thabiš-a*  
 15-eat ASSC<sub>15</sub> PN 14-porridge SM<sub>15</sub>-DJ-be\_fun-FV  
 ‘For Lekau to eat porridge is fun.’

N. Overt subject is expressed by associative (cl.15) + noun

**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) *Go bonala Katlego a dira bogobe.*  
*go-bon-al-a Katlego a-dir-a bo-gobe*  
 SM<sub>17</sub>-see-STAT-FV PN SM<sub>1</sub>-make-FV 14-porridge  
 ‘It seems that Katlego makes porridge.’
- ii) *Katlego o bonala a dira bogobe.*  
*Katlego o-bon-al-a a-dir-a bo-gobe*  
 PN SM<sub>1</sub>-see-STAT-FV SM<sub>1</sub>-make-FV 14-porridge  
 ‘Katlego seems to make 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)

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

V. yes

**Prepositional particles: “too”, “also”**

- i) *Ke nwa gape le kofi.*  
*ke-nw-a gape le N-kofi*  
 SM<sub>1SG</sub>-drink-FV only with 9-coffee  
 ‘I drink coffee, too.’

- ii) *Le nna ke nwa kofi.*  
*le nna ke-nw-a N-kofi*  
 and PRON<sub>1SG</sub> SM<sub>1SG</sub>-drink-FV 9-coffee  
 ‘Even I drink coffee. / I also drink coffee.’

**Prepositional particles: “even”**

- i) *Ke nwa le ge e le kofi.*  
*ke-nw-a le ge e le N-kofi*  
 SM<sub>1SG</sub>-drink-FV even.if 9-coffee  
 ‘I drink even if it is coffee.’
- ii) *Ke nwa le ge e le maswi.*  
*ke-nw-a le ge e le ma-swi*  
 SM<sub>1SG</sub>-drink-FV even\_if 6-milk  
 ‘I drink even if it is milk’

**Post-positional particle: “only”**

- e.g. *Ke nwa teye fela.*  
*ke-nw-a N-teye fela*  
 SM<sub>1SG</sub>-drink-FV 9-tea only  
 ‘I drink only tea.’

**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

« subject has to be clefted »

- Q) *Ke mang yo a jago bogobe?*  
*ke mang yo a-j-a=go bo-gobe*  
 COP who REL<sub>1</sub> SM<sub>1</sub>-go-FV=REL 14-porridge  
 ‘Who is eating the porridge?’
- A) *Lekau o ja bogobe.*  
*Lekau o-j-a bo-gobe*  
 PN SM<sub>1</sub>-go-FV 14-porridge  
 ‘Lekau eats the porridge.’
- A) *Ke Lekau yo a jago bogobe.*  
*ke Lekau yo a-j-a=go bo-gobe*  
 COP PN REL<sub>1</sub> SM<sub>1</sub>-go-FV=REL 14-porridge  
 ‘It is Lekau who eats the porridge.’

# Sesotho (S33)<sup>1</sup>

‘Maseanakoena Amina Mokoaleli

Kristina Riedel

Makoto Furumoto

## **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

i) *le-tamo*

CPX<sub>5</sub>-dam

‘dam’

ii) *le-rako*

CPX<sub>5</sub>-wall

‘wall’

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

V. 15: 15 classes

« (plus 1a/2a) »

cl.1) *mo-nna*

CPX<sub>1</sub>-man

‘man’

cl.2) *ba-nna*

CPX<sub>2</sub>-man

‘men’

cl.1a) *malome*

CPX<sub>1a</sub>-uncle

‘uncle’

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<sup>1</sup> Examples are transcribed using the South African Sesotho orthography with modified word boundaries to represent phonological or morphological wordhood more accurately.

- cl.2a) *bo-malome*  
 CP<sub>X2a</sub>-uncle  
 ‘uncles’
- cl.3) *mo-tse*  
 CP<sub>X3</sub>-village  
 ‘village’
- cl.4) *me-tse*  
 CP<sub>X4</sub>-village  
 ‘villages’
- cl.5) *le-mati*  
 CP<sub>X5</sub>-door  
 ‘door’
- cl.6) *ma-mati*  
 CP<sub>X6</sub>-door  
 ‘doors’
- cl.7) *se-lepe*  
 CP<sub>X7</sub>-axe  
 ‘axe’
- cl.8) *di-lepe*  
 CP<sub>X8</sub>-axe  
 ‘axes’
- cl.9) *nku*  
 CP<sub>X9</sub>.sheep  
 ‘sheep’
- cl.10) *di-nku*  
 CP<sub>X10</sub>-sheep  
 ‘sheep’
- cl.14) *bo-hobe*  
 CP<sub>X14</sub>-bread  
 ‘bread’
- cl.15) *ho-tsamay-a*  
 CP<sub>X15</sub>-walk-FV  
 ‘to walk/walking’
- cl.17) *ha-Letsie*  
 LOC-1a.Letsie  
 ‘Letsie’s place’ (place name)

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

V. yes

« class 15 »

e.g. *Ba-rat-a ho-bin-a.*  
SM<sub>2</sub>-like-FV 15-sing-FV  
'They like to sing.'

N. Agreement with class 15 *ho-bina hwa-bona* 'their singing'

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

V. no: another strategy is used

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

V. no: another strategy is used

**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) *(Le-)tamo le-tletse.*  
5-dam SM<sub>5</sub>-full.PFV  
'The dam is full.'
- ii) *(se-)fate se-se-holo*  
7-tree AP<sub>X7</sub>-AP<sub>X7</sub>-big  
'a big tree'

N. CP<sub>X5</sub> *le-* and CP<sub>X7</sub> *se-* can optionally be omitted as shown in the above examples. See Machobane et al. (2007) for classes which can or cannot drop the class prefix.

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

V. no: other strategies are used: locative suffixation (parameter 10) and prepositional phrases

- i) *Ha-mo-rena ho-ho-tle.*  
LOC-1-chief AP<sub>X17</sub>-AP<sub>X17</sub>-nice  
'At the chief's place, it is nice.'
- ii) *Ka-ngakeng hwa-bata.*  
LOC-9.doctor.LOC SM<sub>17</sub>.DJ-be cold  
'In the surgery, it is cold.'
- iii) *ho-mo-rena*  
LOC-1-chief  
'to the chief's place'

N. While class 17 still exists for subject and nominal agreement there is no class prefix for class 17. The prepositional clitics *ha*, *ho*, *ka* appear before nouns but are not noun class prefixes. Only *ha-* and *ka-* marked nouns can agree with modifiers (i) and verbs (ii). *ka-* requires the locative suffix to be grammatical (cf. P010).

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

V. yes

- i) *thabeng* (< *thaba* ‘mountain’)  
 9.mountain.LOC  
 ‘in/at a mountain’

*-e of -(e)ng* is deleted after /i, o, ɔ, ɒ, u/:

- ii) *morohong* (< *moroho* ‘vegetable’)  
 3.vegetable.LOC  
 ‘in/at the vegetable’

- iii) *diperekising* (< *diperekisi* ‘peaches’)  
 10.peach.LOC  
 ‘in/at the peaches’

- iv) *mangaung* (< *mangaung* ‘a place name’ from *mangau* ‘cheetahs’)  
 6.cheetah.LOC  
 ‘in/at Mangaung’

*-e of -(e)ng* is deleted or merged:

- v) *sefateng* (< *sefate* ‘tree’)  
 7.tree.LOC  
 ‘in/at the tree’

*-a* of nouns becomes *-e*:

- vi) *moreneng* (< *morena* ‘chief’)  
 1.chief.LOC  
 ‘in/at the chief’s place’

- vii) *baneng* (< *bana* ‘children’)  
 2.child.LOC  
 ‘in/at the children’

N. Nouns can be marked with the locative suffix *-(e)ng*.

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

V. yes

« class 17 »

e.g. *Ha-mo-rena hwa-rat-w-a.*  
 LOC-1-chief SM<sub>17</sub>.DJ-like-PASS-FV  
 ‘Chief’s place is liked.’

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

V. no: there is object prefixation, but not with locative classes

i) \**Ke-a-ho-rat-a*  
 SM<sub>1SG</sub>-DJ-OM<sub>17</sub>-like-FV  
 Int.: ‘I like the place/I like it there.’

ii) *Ke-a-se-rat-a (se-baka)*  
 SM<sub>1SG</sub>-DJ-OM<sub>7</sub>-like-FV 7-place  
 ‘I like it (the place).’

N. While Doke and Mofokeng (1957: 84) note that there is an object marker for locatives and have an example similar to i), this seems to have fallen out of use.

**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

e.g. (*Nna*) *ha-ke-j-e nama.*  
 PRON<sub>1SG</sub> NEG-SM<sub>1SG</sub>-eat-NEG 9.meat  
 ‘I don’t eat meat.’

N. Independent pronouns are used for emphasis (e.g. contrastive focus).

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

V. no: not in all contexts

i) *se-tulo sa ntate* (head-connective-modifier)  
 7-chair ASSC<sub>7</sub> 1a.father  
 ‘father’s chair’

ii) *sa ntate se-tulo* (connective-modifier-head)  
 ASSC<sub>7</sub> 1a.father 7-chair  
 ‘FATHER’s chair’ (emphasis on father)

iii) *mo-tho wa nnete* (head-connective-modifier)  
 1-person ASSC<sub>1</sub> 9.truth  
 ‘an honest person’

- iv) *wa nnete mo-tho* (connective-modifier-head)  
 ASSC<sub>1</sub> 9.truth 1-person  
 ‘an honest person’

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

- i) *mo-kotla wa-ka*  
 3-bag PP<sub>X3</sub>-POSS<sub>1SG</sub>  
 ‘my bag’
- ii) *mo-kotla wa-hao*  
 3-bag PP<sub>X3</sub>-POSS<sub>2SG</sub>  
 ‘your [sg] bag’
- iii) *mo-kotla wa-hae*  
 3-bag PP<sub>X3</sub>-POSS<sub>3SG</sub>  
 ‘his/her bag’
- iv) *mo-kotla wa rona*  
 3-bag ASSC<sub>3</sub> PRON<sub>1PL</sub>  
 ‘our bag’
- v) *mo-kotla wa lona*  
 3-bag ASSC<sub>3</sub> PRON<sub>2PL</sub>  
 ‘your [pl] bag’
- vi) *mo-kotla wa bona*  
 3-bag ASSC<sub>3</sub> PRON<sub>2</sub>  
 ‘their bag’
- vii) *le-sapo la yona*  
 5-bone ASSC<sub>5</sub> PRON<sub>9</sub>  
 ‘its bone’
- viii) *le-sapo la tsona*  
 5-bone ASSC<sub>5</sub> PRON<sub>10</sub>  
 ‘their bone’
- ix) *le-sapo la ntja*  
 5-bone ASSC<sub>5</sub> 9.dog  
 ‘dog’s bone’

N. There are possessive pronouns for first and second person singular possessors and class 1 (see i-iii). For first and second person plural and all noun classes, except class 1, independent pronouns like *bona*, *yona* and *tsona* (see vi-viii) are used together with associative markers in the same way

as nouns (see ix). Note that the forms for first, second and class1 involve a morpheme which looks the same as that of the associative markers for the respective person/class but because the forms have merged we treat them as distinct synchronically.

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

V. yes

- i) *mo-radi wa-ka*  
1-daughter PP<sub>X1</sub>-POSS<sub>1SG</sub>  
'my daughter'
- ii) *ba-radi ba-ka*  
2-daughter PP<sub>X2</sub>-POSS<sub>1SG</sub>  
'my daughters'
- iii) *mo-kotla wa-ka*  
3-bag PP<sub>X3</sub>-POSS<sub>1SG</sub>  
'my bag'
- iv) *me-kotla ya-ka*  
4-bag PP<sub>X4</sub>-POSS<sub>1SG</sub>  
'my bags'
- v) *le-ihlo la-ka*  
5-eye PP<sub>X5</sub>-POSS<sub>1SG</sub>  
'my eye'
- vi) *ma-hlo a-ka*  
6-eye PP<sub>X6</sub>-POSS<sub>1SG</sub>  
'my eyes'
- vii) *se-fate sa-ka*  
7-tree PP<sub>X7</sub>-POSS<sub>1SG</sub>  
'my tree'
- viii) *di-fate tsa-ka*  
8-tree PP<sub>X8</sub>-POSS<sub>1SG</sub>  
'my trees'
- ix) *tafole ya-ka*  
9.table PP<sub>X9</sub>-POSS<sub>1SG</sub>  
'my table'
- x) *di-tafole tsa-ka*  
10-table PP<sub>X10</sub>-POSS<sub>1SG</sub>  
'my tables'

- xi) *bo-hobe ba-ka*  
 14-bread PP<sub>X14</sub>-POSS<sub>1SG</sub>  
 ‘my bread’
- xii) *ho-tsamay-a hwa-ka*  
 15-walk-FV PP<sub>X15</sub>-POSS<sub>1SG</sub>  
 ‘my walking’

**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) *Ke-rob-ile le-tsoho la ngwana.*  
 SM<sub>1SG</sub>-break-PFV 5-arm ASSC<sub>5</sub> 1.child  
 ‘I broke the arm of the child.’
- ii) *Ke-(mo-)rob-ile ngwana le-tsoho.* (possessor raising construction)  
 SM<sub>1SG</sub>-OM<sub>1</sub>-break-PFV 1.child 5-arm  
 ‘I broke the child the arm.’
- iii) *Ke-tabotse di-phahlo tsa ngwana.*  
 SM<sub>1SG</sub>-tear.PFV 10-clothes ASSC<sub>10</sub> 1.child  
 ‘I tore the clothes of the child’
- iv) *\*Ke-tabotse ngwana di-phahlo.* (possessor raising construction)  
 SM<sub>1SG</sub>-tear.PFV 1.child 10-clothes  
 Int.: ‘I tore the child the clothes’

N. Possessor raising constructions can be used to express inalienable possession (see i and ii), but not to express alienable possession (see iii and iv). In possessor raising constructions, an object marking the possessor is grammatical (see ii).

**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. 2: yes, there is a three-way distinction

**Proximal (near speaker):**

- i) *se-fate se-na*  
 7-tree PP<sub>X7</sub>-DEM  
 ‘this tree’
- ii) *se-fate se-e*  
 7-tree PP<sub>X7</sub>-DEM<sub>n</sub>  
 ‘this tree’

**Distal 1 (next to the speaker):**

- i) *se-fate se-no*  
7-tree PP<sub>X7</sub>-DEM<sub>X</sub>  
'that tree'
- ii) *se-fate se-o*  
7-tree PP<sub>X7</sub>-DEM<sub>X</sub>  
'that tree'

**Distal 2 (far from speaker and hearer):**

- i) *se-fate sa-ne*  
7-tree PP<sub>X7</sub>-DEM<sub>d</sub>  
'that tree'
- ii) *se-fate sa-a*  
7-tree PP<sub>X7</sub>-DEM<sub>d</sub>  
'that tree'

N. There is a three-way distinction in terms of spatial reference with an emphatic and a non-emphatic variant of each. See Doke and Mofokeng (1957) for more details on the Sesotho demonstrative.

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

V. 1: yes, always

N. See P020.

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

V. yes

e.g. *ba-tho bao ke-ba-pheh-etse-ng*  
2-person REL<sub>2</sub> SM<sub>1SG</sub>-OM<sub>2</sub>-cook-APPL.PFV-REL  
'people who I cooked for'

N. The referential demonstrative can be used as the relative pronoun. See, P20: Distal 1 (ii).

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

V. yes

- i) *ntlo e-nyane*  
9.house AP<sub>X9</sub>-small  
'a small house'
- ii) *mo-se o-mo-tsho*  
3-dress AP<sub>X3</sub>-AP<sub>X3</sub>-black  
'a black dress'

- iii) *se-fate se-se-holo*  
7-tree AP<sub>x7</sub>-AP<sub>x7</sub>-big  
'a big tree'
- iv) *le-rako le-le-tle*  
5-wall AP<sub>x5</sub>-AP<sub>x5</sub>-nice  
'a nice wall'

N. Adjectives are not so uncommon, so these are examples for illustration only.

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

V. no: there is only one paradigm which applies for adjectives, numerals and all pronominal forms

- i) *se-fate se-o* demonstrative  
7-tree PP<sub>x7</sub>-DEM  
'this tree'
- ii) *se-fate se-se-holo* adjective  
7-tree AP<sub>x7</sub>-AP<sub>x7</sub>-nice  
'a big tree'
- iii) *se-fate se-se-ng* numeral  
7-tree AP<sub>x7</sub>-AP<sub>x7</sub>-one  
'one tree'

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

V. no: another strategy is used to introduce adjectives

N. See P023.

**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

« such compounding is not attested as a regular pattern »

- e.g. *ngwana+tshwene*  
1.child+9.monkey  
'small food'

N. It does not appear to be productive, as only one example was found.

**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. 3: yes, all

- i) *mo-tse-nyana*  
3-village-DIM  
'a small village'
- ii) *petsana* (<< *pere* 'horse')  
9.horse.DIM  
'a foal (or a young donkey)'
- iii) *mo-sadi-nyana*  
1-woman-DIM  
'worthless woman'
- iv) *tau-hadi*  
9.lion-FEM  
'a female lion'

N. The diminutive suffix *-ana* can be used to convey smallness, youth, and pejorative meaning.

**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) *mo-tsama-i* (<< *-tsamaya* 'go')  
1-go-NMLZ  
'a person who goes'
- ii) *mo-ngod-i* (<< *-ngola* 'write')  
1-write-NMLZ  
'a secretary'

**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

- i) *tseb-o* (<< *-tseba* 'know')  
9.know-NMLZ  
'knowledge'
- ii) *tumell-o* (<< *-dumela* 'approve')  
9.approve.APPL-NMLZ  
'approval'
- iii) *thut-o* (<< *-ruta* 'educate')  
9.educate-NMLZ  
'education'

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

V. no

e.g.	<i>ngwe</i>	‘one’
	<i>pedi</i>	‘two’
	<i>tharo</i>	‘three’
	<i>nne</i>	‘four’
	<i>hlano</i>	‘five’
	<i>tshela</i>	‘six’
	<i>supa</i>	‘seven’
	<i>robedi</i>	‘eight’
	<i>robong</i>	‘nine’
	<i>leshome</i>	‘ten’

**P031 ‘arm’ and ‘hand’: Is there a single stem that denotes both ‘arm’ and ‘hand’?**

V. yes

e.g.	<i>le-tsoho</i>
	5-arm/hand
	‘hand/arm’

**P032 ‘hand’ and ‘finger’: Is there a single stem that denotes both ‘hand’ and ‘finger’?**

V. no: two different words

e.g.	<i>mo-nwana</i>
	3-finger
	‘finger’

N. For ‘hand’, see P031.

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

V. yes

e.g.	<i>le-oto</i>
	5-leg/foot
	‘leg/foot’

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

V. no

e.g.	<i>tee</i>
	9.tea
	‘tea’

**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

e.g. *Mo-nna o-robotse. (-robala)*  
1-man SM<sub>1</sub>-fall\_asleep.PFV  
'The man is asleep.'

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

V. yes

- i) *Amina o-ngol-a buka.*  
1a.Amina SM<sub>1</sub>-write-FV 9.book  
'Amina writes a book.'
- ii) *Buka e-ngol-w-a ke Amina*  
9.book SM<sub>9</sub>-write-PASS-FV by 1a.Amina  
'The book is written by Amina.'

N. The passive suffix *-w-* attaches to 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) *Ntate o-kotul-a poone.*  
1a.father SM<sub>1</sub>-harvest-FV 9.maize  
'Father harvests maize.'
- ii) *Poone e-kotul-w-a ke ntate.*  
9.maize SM<sub>9</sub>-harvest-PASS-FV by 1a.father  
'The maize is harvested by father'
- iii) *\*Poone ba-e-kotutse ke ntate.*  
9.maize SM<sub>2</sub>-OM<sub>9</sub>-harvest.PFV by 1a.father  
'The maize, they harvest by father'

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

V. 4: by a copula

- i) *Poone e-kotuts-w-e ke ntate.*  
9.maize SM<sub>9</sub>-harvest-PASS-PFV by 1a.father  
'Maize is harvested by father.'
- ii) *Amina ke nese*  
1a.Amina COP 9.nurse  
'Amina is a nurse.'

N. *ke*, which can be analyzed as a copula as shown in ii), introduces the agent noun phrase.

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

V. no: its presence is always required

e.g. \**Poone e-kotuts-w-e ntate*  
9.maize SM<sub>9</sub>-harvest-PASS-PFV 1a.father  
Int. ‘Maize is harvested by father.’

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

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

e.g. *Re-fan-an-e di-mpho.*  
SM<sub>1PL</sub>-give-RECP-PFV 10-gift  
‘We gave each other gifts.’

**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

e.g. *Ke-pheh-is-a ba-na di-jo.*  
SM<sub>1SG</sub>-cook-CAUS-FV 2-child 10-food  
‘I make children cook food.’

N. Causative meaning is encoded with the suffix -is-.

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

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

- i) *Amina o-ngol-a le-ngolo ka pene.*  
1a.Amina SM<sub>1</sub>-write-FV 5-letter with 9.pen  
‘Amina writes a letter with the pen.’
- ii) \**Ke-hlatsw-is-a di-phahlo se-sepa.*  
SM<sub>1</sub>-wash-CAUS-FV 10-clothes 7-soap  
Int: ‘I wash clothes with soap.’
- iii) \**Ke-hlatsw-is-a se-sepa di-phahlo.*  
SM<sub>1</sub>-wash-CAUS-FV 7-soap 10-clothes  
Int: ‘I wash clothes with soap.’

N. Instruments are introduced by the preposition *ka* ‘with’ (see i), not by the causative extension (see ii and iii)

**P044 Applicative: How are applicative constructions formed?**

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

i) *Ke-pheh-el-a*                      *ba-na di-jo.*  
SM<sub>1SG</sub>-cook-APPL-FV    2-child 10-food

‘I cook food for the children.’

ii) *Ke-dumel-I-a*                      *ba-na le-eto.*

SM<sub>1SG</sub>-permit-APPL-FV    2-child 5-trip

‘I give permission for the children to take the trip’

N. Applicative meaning is encoded with the suffix *-el-* and its phonological variants which include a geminate /l/ without a vowel in the extension and various changes to the final consonants in the stem induced by the perfective ending.

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

V. yes

N. location, reason, goal, direction, instrumental (with additional syntactic restrictions), malefactive

i) *Ke-pheh-el-a*                      *le-chato.*    (reason)  
SM<sub>1SG</sub>-cook-APPL-FV    5-wedding

‘I cook for the wedding.’

ii) *Ke-rek-el-a*                      *botlolo*    *ho-nw-el-a*                      *metsi.*                      (instrument)  
SM<sub>1SG</sub>-buy-APPL-FV    9.bottle    INF-drink-APPL-FV    6.water

‘I buy the bottle for drinking water with.’

iii) *Mo-nna*    *o-math-el-a*                      *se-fate-ng.*    (location)  
1-man    SM<sub>1</sub>-run-APPL-FV    7-tree-LOC

‘The man runs to the tree.’

iv) *Le-eba*    *le-fof-el-a*                      *hodimo.*    (direction)  
5-dove    SM<sub>5</sub>-fly-APPL-FV    up

‘The dove is flying up.’

**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

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

V. 2: yes, another form

« (-eh-, -ahal-) »

i) *Di-nomoro*    *di-a-bal-eh-a.*  
10-number    SM<sub>10</sub>-DJ-read-STAT-FV

‘The numbers are readable.’

- ii) *Se-kipa se-a-hlatsw-eh-a.*  
 7-shirt SM<sub>7</sub>-DJ-wash-STAT-FV  
 ‘The shirt is washable.’
- iii) *Le-tsatsi le-a-bon-ahal-a.*  
 5-sun SM<sub>5</sub>-DJ-see-STAT-FV  
 ‘The sun is visible.’

**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

- i) causative-applicative  
*Ke-mo-ngod-is-ets-a ba-na.*  
 SM<sub>1SG</sub>-OM<sub>1</sub>-write-CAUS-APPL-FV 2-child  
 ‘I register the children for him/her.’
- ii) applicative-causative  
 \**Ke-mo-ngol-ed-is-a ba-na.*  
 SM<sub>1SG</sub>-OM<sub>1</sub>-write-APPL-CAUS-FV 2.child  
 Int: ‘I register the children for him/her.’
- iii) applicative-passive  
*Ntate o-pheh-el-w-a di-jo ke mme.*  
 1a.father SM<sub>1</sub>-cook-APPL-PASS-FV 10-food by 1a.mother  
 ‘Father is cooked food by mother.’
- iv) passive-applicative  
 \**Ntate o-pheh-w-el-a di-jo ke mme.*  
 1a.father SM<sub>1</sub>-cook-PASS-APPL-FV 10-food by 1a.mother  
 Int: ‘Father is cooked food for by mother.’
- v) causative-reciprocal  
*Ba-tsama-is-an-a le ntate.*  
 SM<sub>2</sub>-walk-CAUS-RECP-FV with 1a.father  
 ‘They are walking together with the father.’
- vi) reciprocal-causative  
 \**Ba tsam-an-is-a le ntate.*  
 SM<sub>2</sub>-walk-RECP-CAUS-FV with 1a.father  
 Int: ‘They are walking together with the father.’
- vii) applicative-reciprocal  
*Ba-na ba-pheh-el-an-a di-jo.*  
 2-child SM<sub>2</sub>-cook-APPL-RECP-FV 10-food  
 ‘The children cook food for each other.’

- viii) reciprocal-applicative  
*\*Ba-na ba-pheh-an-el-a di-jo.*  
 2-child SM<sub>2</sub>-cook-RECP-APPL-FV 10-food  
 Int: 'The children cook food for each other.'
- ix) causative-reciprocal-passive  
*Di-jo di-pheh-is-an-w-a ke ba-na.*  
 10-food SM<sub>10</sub>-cook-CAUS-RECP-PASS-FV COP 2-child  
 'The food is caused to be cooked for each other by the children.'
- x) causative-applicative-reciprocal-passive  
*Di-jo di-pheh-is-ets-an-w-a ke bana*  
 10-food SM<sub>10</sub>-cook-CAUS-APPL-RECP-PASS-FV COP 2.child  
 'The food is caused to be cooked for each other by the children.'
- N. In general, the Sesotho suffixes follow the CARP order.

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

V. 1: by morphological modification of a verb

- i) *Ke-a-j-a.*  
 SM<sub>1SG</sub>-DJ-eat-FV  
 'I eat.'
- ii) *Ha-ke-j-e.*  
 NEG-SM<sub>1SG</sub>-eat-FV  
 'I don't eat.'
- iii) *Ha-ke-sa-j-a*  
 NEG-SM<sub>1SG</sub>-NEG-eat-FV  
 'I don't eat anymore.'
- iv) *Ke-bon-a John.*  
 SM<sub>1SG</sub>-see-FV 1a.John  
 'I see John.'
- v) *Ha-ke-bon-e John.*  
 NEG-SM<sub>1SG</sub>-see-FV 1a.John  
 'I don't see John.'
- vi) *Ha-ke-sa-bon-a John.*  
 NEG-SM<sub>1SG</sub>-NEG-see-FV 1a.John  
 'I don't see John anymore.'
- vii) *Ke-rek-ile nama.*  
 SM<sub>1SG</sub>-buy-PFV 9.meat  
 'I bought meat.'

- viii) *Ha-ke-so-rek-e*                      *nama*  
 NEG-SM<sub>1SG</sub>-NEG-buy-FV    9.meat  
 ‘I have not bought meat yet.’

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

V. 1: by morphological modification of a verb

- i) *Ke-nahan-a*      *hore*    *ke-se-bu-e*  
 SM<sub>1SG</sub>-think.FV    that    SM<sub>1SG</sub>-NEG-speak-FV  
 ‘I think I should not speak.’
- ii) *Ke-nahan-a*      *hore*    *ke-se-ka*                      *ka-bu-a*  
 SM<sub>1SG</sub>-think-FV    that    SM<sub>1SG</sub>-NEG-NEG    SM<sub>1</sub>-speak-FV  
 ‘I think I should not speak.’

**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

- e.g. *mo-sadi*    *eo*      *ke-sa-mo-rate-ng*  
 1-woman    REL    SM<sub>1SG</sub>-NEG-OM<sub>1</sub>-like-REL  
 ‘the woman that I don’t like’

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

V. 5: two (or more) of the above (either 1 or 2 + 3) (1: in the pre-initial position only (NEG-SM-...); 2: in the post-initial position only (SM-NEG-...); 3: in the final vowel position of the inflected verb (see P080))

N. See examples in P049.

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

V. 5: two (or more) of the above (either 1 or 2 + 3) (1: in the pre-initial position only (NEG-SM-...); 2: in the post-initial position only (SM-NEG-...); 3: in the final vowel position of the inflected verb)

N. See examples in P050.

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

V. 6: it varies depending on the tense

N. See examples in P049.

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

V. 6: it varies depending on the tense

N. See examples in 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) *Ke-a-hlap-a.*

SM<sub>1SG</sub>-DJ-bathe-FV

‘I bathe.’

ii) *Ha-ke-hlap-e*

NEG-SM<sub>1SG</sub>-bathe-NEG

‘I don’t bathe.’

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

V. yes

i) *Se-sebets-e!*

(Imperative)

NEG-work-FV

‘Don’t work!’

ii) *Ba-itse*

*re-se-ka*

*ra-sebets-a.*

(Subjunctive)

SM<sub>2</sub>-say.PFV SM<sub>1PL</sub>-NEG-NEG SM<sub>1PL</sub>-work-FV

‘They said we should not work.’

N. Imperatives can take negative prefixes and end in final vowel *-a* or *-e* (depending on the prefixes) but have no subject marking. Subjunctives have subject marking.

**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

e.g. *Mo-nna o-j-a apole.*  
 1-man SM<sub>1</sub>-eat-FV 9.apple  
 ‘The man eats an apple.’

**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) *Se-bu-i se-lapile.*  
 7-speak-NMLZ SM<sub>7</sub>-get hungry.PFV  
 ‘The speaker is hungry.’
- ii) *\*Se-bu-i o-lapile.*  
 7-speak-NMLZ SM<sub>1</sub>-get hungry.PFV  
 Int: ‘The speaker is hungry.’
- iii) *Le-kwala le-jele.*  
 5-coward SM<sub>5</sub>-eat.PFV  
 ‘A coward has eaten.’
- iv) *\*Le-kwala o-jele*  
 5-coward SM<sub>1</sub>-eat.PFV  
 Int: ‘A coward has eaten.’
- v) *Ngwetsi e-jele.*  
 9.daughter in law SM<sub>9</sub>-eat.PFV  
 ‘The daughter in law has eaten.’
- vi) *\*Ngwetsi o-jele.*  
 9.daughter in law SM<sub>1</sub>-eat.PFV  
 Int: ‘The daughter in law has eaten.’

**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 first and the second person plural subject prefixes are *re-* and *le-*, respectively.

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

V. no

**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

N. See Mitchley (2015).

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

V. 2: past time is divided into two

« (e.g. immediate and remote) »

- i) *Ke-rek-ile nama hoseng.* (immediate)  
SM<sub>1SG</sub>-buy-PFV 9.meat in the morning  
'I bought meat in the morning'
- ii) *Ke-ne ke-rek-ile nama maobane hoseng.* (remote)  
SM<sub>1SG</sub>-PST SM<sub>1</sub>-buy-PFV 9.meat yesterday morning  
'I had bought meat yesterday morning.'

N. Many compound tense express past meanings. While there seems to be some general distinction between immediate and remote, this is not strictly divided along temporal lines. Morolong considers *-ile* and *-tsoa* to be immediate past tenses and *-ne + -ile* to be remote (Morolong 1978:51-55)

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

V. 3: future time is divided in to three

- i) *Ke-tlo-y-a se-petlele mantsiboya.* (hodiernal)  
SM<sub>1SG</sub>-FUT-go-FV 7-hospital in the evening  
'I will be going to the hospital in the evening.'
- ii) *Ke-tla-y-a se-petlele hosane.* (post-hodiernal)  
SM<sub>1SG</sub>-FUT-go-FV 7-hospital tomorrow  
'I will go to the hospital tomorrow.'
- iii) *Ke-tlo-tla ke-y-a se-petlele hona jwale.*  
SM<sub>1SG</sub>-FUT-FUT SM<sub>1SG</sub>-go-FV 7-hospital right now  
'I am about to go to the hospital right now.'

N. That only *-tlo* (i) and *-tla* (ii) are simple prefixes, in (iii) *-tla* functions as an auxiliary inflected with *-tlo*.

**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. yes

- e.g. *Mo-sadi wa-tsamay-ak-a.*  
1-woman SM<sub>1</sub>-go-HAB-FV  
'The woman is always walking.'

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

V. yes

e.g. *Ke-pheh-ile.*  
SM<sub>1SG</sub>-cook-PFV  
'I have cooked.'

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

V. no

i) *Ke-ya ho-ngwath-el-a ba-tho.*  
SM<sub>1SG</sub>-go INF-dish-APPL-FV 2-person  
'I go to dish out (food) for people.'

ii) *Ke-ilo ngwath-el-a ba-tho.*  
SM<sub>1SG</sub>-AUX dish-APPL-FV 2-person  
'I am going to dish out (food) for people.'

N. There are lexical motion verbs which can be used with an infinitive verb, and there are no grammaticalized itive markers.

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

V. no

e.g. *O-tla ho-ngwath-el-a ba-tho.*  
SM<sub>1</sub>-come INF-dish-APPL-FV 2-person  
'S/he comes to dish(food) for people.'

N. There are lexical motion verbs which can be used with an infinitive and TAM markers grammaticalized from these but there are no grammaticalized ventive markers.

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

V. yes

i) *Tsamay-a!*  
go-FV  
'Go!'

**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) *Tsamay-a-ng!*  
go-FV-PL  
'Go!'

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

V. yes: there is typically only one preverbal slot for tense/aspect/mood marking

e.g. *Ke-tla-tsamay-a.*  
SM<sub>1SG</sub>-FUT-go-FV  
'I will go.'

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

V. yes

i) *Ke-a-j-a.* (Disjoint)

SM<sub>1SG</sub>-DJ-eat-FV

'I eat'

ii) *Ke-j-a nama.* (Conjoint)

SM<sub>1SG</sub>-eat-FV 9.meat

'I eat meat.'

N. Only the present tense exhibits a morphological distinction. The present conjoint form is unmarked while the disjoint form is marked with *a-*.

**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) *Ke-ba-pheh-el-a di-jo.*

SM<sub>1SG</sub>-OM<sub>2</sub>-cook-APPL-FV 10-food

'I cook food for them (children).'

ii) *Ke-di-pheh-el-a ba-na.*

SM<sub>1SG</sub>-OM<sub>10</sub>-cook-APPL-FV 2-children

'I cook it (food) for the children.'

iii) *Ke-mo-bone Mpho hoseng.*

SM<sub>1SG</sub>-OM<sub>1</sub>-see.PFV 1a.Mpho in the morning

'I saw her (Mpho) in the morning.'

**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

**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. *Ke-i-kam-a mo-riri.*

SM<sub>1SG</sub>-REFL-comb-FV 3-hair

'I comb my hair.'

**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) *Ke-(mo-)bone Mpho hoseng.*  
SM<sub>1SG</sub>-OM<sub>1</sub>-see.PFV 1a.Mpho in the morning  
‘I saw Mpho in the morning.’
- ii) *Ke-mo-bone hoseng.*  
SM<sub>1SG</sub>-OM<sub>1</sub>-see.PFV in the morning  
‘I saw her in the morning.’

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

V. yes

- e.g. *Ke-batl-a hore o-ngol-e le-ngolo.*  
SM<sub>1SG</sub>-want-FV that SM<sub>2</sub>-write-SBJV 5-letter  
‘I want you to write a letter.’

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

V. yes

- e.g. *Ha-ke-j-e.*  
NEG-SM<sub>1SG</sub>-eat-FV  
‘I don’t eat.’

**P081 Defective verbs: Are there ‘defective verbs’ which do not exhibit regular inflection?**

V. 2: yes, a subset of (non-borrowed) verbs

- i) *Ke-na le buka.*  
SM<sub>1SG</sub>-have with 9.book  
‘I have a book.’
- ii) *Ke-tla-ba le buka*  
SM<sub>1SG</sub>-FUT-be with 9.book  
‘I will have a book.’
- iii) *Ke-tla-re nama e-fedile.*  
SM<sub>1SG</sub>-FUT-say 9.meat SM<sub>9</sub>-finish.PFV  
‘I will say the meat is finished.’

N. Non-conjugating *na* + *le* ‘and’ is used for present tense only (i) and cannot take any TAM inflections. For past and future, the copula *ba* is used (*SM-b-ile...* for the past) and (*SM-tla-ba le...* for the future). The verb *-re* ‘say’ cannot be used with the perfective suffix but it can be used with TAM prefixes (e.g. the future in iii). There are a large number of auxiliaries which are treated

as ‘deficient’ verbs in Doke and Mofokeng (1957, see pp 245) that we treat as auxiliaries here since they are followed by another inflected verb (see P082-085).

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

V. 1: yes, each auxiliary used with a specific tense/aspect/mood

- i) *Ke-ile ka-tsamay-a.*  
SM<sub>1SG</sub>-AUX SM<sub>1SG</sub>.NP-go-FV  
‘I went.’
- ii) *Ke-ntse ke-tsamay-a.*  
SM<sub>1SG</sub>-AUX SM<sub>1SG</sub>-go-FV  
‘I am still going.’
- iii) *Mpho a-kanna a-tsamay-a hosane.*  
1a.Mpho SM<sub>1</sub>-AUX SM<sub>1</sub>-go-FV tomorrow  
‘Mpho might go tomorrow’

**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. *Ke-ntse ke-ile ka-tsamay-a.*  
SM<sub>1SG</sub>-AUX SM<sub>1SG</sub>-AUX SM<sub>1SG</sub>.NP-go-FV  
‘I have been travelling.’

**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. *Amina o-ile a-math-a.*  
1a.Amina SM<sub>1</sub>-AUX SM<sub>1</sub>-ran-FV  
‘Amina ran.’

N. See examples in P082 and P083 as well.

**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) *Ke-tshwanetse ho-j-a.* (modality)  
SM<sub>1SG</sub>-AUX INF-eat-FV  
‘I ought to eat.’

- ii) *Ke-atisa ho-rek-a nama.* (verbal aspect)  
 SM<sub>1SG</sub>-AUX INF-buy-FV 9.meat  
 ‘I buy meat frequently.’
- iii) *Ke-dutse ke-kgathetse.* (verbal aspect)  
 SM<sub>1SG</sub>-AUX SM<sub>1SG</sub>-become\_tired.PFV  
 ‘I am always tired.’
- iv) *Ke-hlotse ke-lapile.* (verbal aspect)  
 SM<sub>1SG</sub>-AUX SM<sub>1SG</sub>-become\_hungry.PFV  
 ‘I stay hungry.’

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

V. yes

- e.g. *Ba-na ba-be ba-lapile hoseng.*  
 2-child SM<sub>2</sub>-AUX SM<sub>2</sub>-become\_hungry.PFV in the morning  
 ‘Children are normally hungry in the morning.’

N. The copula *ba-* ‘be’ or its variant *be-* can be used as auxiliary.

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

V. yes

« post-final clitic (-ng) »

- i) *Mo-nna (eo) a-re-thusitse-ng o-tsama-ile.*  
 1-man REL<sub>1</sub> SM<sub>1</sub>-OM<sub>1PL</sub>-help.APPL.PFV-REL SM<sub>1</sub>-go-PFV  
 ‘The man that helped us has left.’
- ii) *Mo-nna eo re-mo-bon-e-ng o-tsama-ile.*  
 1-man REL<sub>1</sub> SM<sub>1PL</sub>-OM<sub>1</sub>-see-PFV-REL SM<sub>1</sub>-go-PFV  
 ‘The man that we saw left.’

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

V. yes

« by a form derived from the demonstrative marker »

N. Demonstrative-derived relative markers such as *eo* are optional when the subject is relativised, but they are obligatorily when an object is relativised, as can be seen in the examples in P087.

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

V. 1: yes

N. See P087.

**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

- i) *buka eo Amina a-e-rek-ile-ng*  
9.book REL<sub>9</sub> 1a.Amina SM<sub>1</sub>-OM<sub>9</sub>-buy-PFV-REL  
'the book that Amina bought'
- ii) *\*buka Amina eo a-e-rek-ile-ng*  
9.book 1a.Amina REL<sub>9</sub> SM<sub>1</sub>-OM<sub>9</sub>-buy-PFV-REL  
Int: 'the book that Amina bought'

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

V. 2: subject

- e.g. *buka eo Amina a-e-rek-ile-ng*  
9.book REL<sub>9</sub> 1.Amina SM<sub>1</sub>-OM<sub>9</sub>-buy-PFV-REL  
'a book that Amina bought'

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

V. yes

N. see P091.

**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. 2: yes, it is always required

- i) *buka eo Amina a-e-rek-ile-ng*  
9.book REL<sub>9</sub> 1a.Amina SM<sub>1</sub>-OM<sub>9</sub>-buy-PFV-REL  
'the book that Amina bought.'
- ii) *\*buka eo Amina a-rek-ile-ng*  
9.book REL<sub>9</sub> 1a.Amina SM<sub>1</sub>-buy-PFV-REL  
Int: 'the book that Amina bought.'

**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

- e.g. *Moo a-dula-ng ke Maseru.*  
where SM<sub>1</sub>-arrive-REL COP Maseru  
'Where she stays, it is Maseru.'

N. Adverbial clauses with locative meaning can be realized as headless relatives.

**P095 Gapless relative clause**

V. yes

e.g. *se-tori sa hore Mpho o-rek-ile di-banana*  
7-story ASSC<sub>7</sub> COMPL 1a.Mpho SM<sub>1</sub>-buy-PFV 10-banana  
'the story that Mpho bought bananas'

N. In the above example, which is a noun modifying clause but not a relative clause, the associative marker agrees with the head noun and the complementizer is used.

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

V. yes

- i) *nama eo ke-e-reka-ng* (Present)  
9.meat REL<sub>9</sub> SM<sub>1SG</sub>-OM<sub>9</sub>-buy-REL  
'the meat which I buy'
- ii) *nama eo ke-e-rek-ile-ng hoseng* (Past)  
9.meat REL<sub>9</sub> SM<sub>1SG</sub>-OM<sub>9</sub>-buy-PFV-REL in the morning  
'the meat which I bought in the morning'
- iii) *nama eo ke-tla-e-rek-a hosane* (Future)  
9.meat REL<sub>9</sub> SM<sub>1SG</sub>-FUT-OM<sub>9</sub>-buy-FV tomorrow  
'the meat which I will buy tomorrow'
- iv) *nama eo ke-ntseng ke-e-rek-a* (Progressive)  
9.meat REL<sub>9</sub> SM<sub>1SG</sub>-AUX SM<sub>1SG</sub>-OM<sub>9</sub>-buy-FV  
'the meat that I am buying'

N. Though not thoroughly confirmed, it seems there is no tense or aspect restriction on relative clauses.

**P097 Clefts: How are clefts formed?**

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

e.g. *Ke mang a-tlileng?*  
COP who SM<sub>1</sub>-come.PFV.REL  
'Who came?'

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

V. no

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

V. yes

e.g. *U-batl-a metsi na?*  
 SM<sub>1</sub>-want-FV 6.water QP  
 ‘Do you want water?’

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

V. 3: immediately after the verb (IAV)

- i) *U-ba-bone neng ba-na?*  
 SM<sub>1</sub>-OM<sub>2</sub>-see.PFV when 2-child  
 ‘When did you see the children?’
- ii) *U-ba-rutile jwang ba-na?*  
 SM<sub>1</sub>-OM<sub>2</sub>-teach.PFV how 2-child  
 ‘How did you teach the children?’
- iii) *U-ba-reketse eng ba-na?*  
 SM<sub>1</sub>-OM<sub>2</sub>-buy.APPL.PFV what 2-child  
 ‘What did you buy for the children?’

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

V. yes

e.g. *O-ll-el-a eng?*  
 SM<sub>1</sub>-cry-APPL-FV what  
 ‘Why are you crying?’

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

V. 1: an invariable copula only

e.g. *Lerato ke tichere.*  
 1a.Lerato COP 9.teacher  
 ‘Lerato is a teacher.’

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

V. 2: derived from verbal subject markers

N. The invariable copula *ke* is formally identical to the first person singular subject marker, meaning that the copula is possibly derived from a subject marker.

N. See P102.

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

V. yes

i) *Pene e-rek-w-a ke Amina*  
9.pen SM<sub>9</sub>-buy-PASS-FV by 1a.Amina  
'Pen is bought by Amina.'

ii) *Amina ke enwa*  
1a.Amina COP DEM<sub>1</sub>  
'Amina is here.'

N. *ke* is used to introduce agent nouns of passive sentences as in i), and it can express a location of the subject as in ii). For location, only locative demonstratives can co-occur with *ke*. Other locative noun phrases co-occur with a subject prefix.

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

V. 2: the verb 'be' + preposition 'with' only

e.g. *Ke-na le se-notlolo.*  
SM<sub>1SG</sub>-have with 7-key  
'I have a key.'

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

V. no

i) *Ke-bin-a pina.*  
SM<sub>1SG</sub>-sing-FV 9.song  
'I sing a song.'

ii) *Ke-a-bin-a*  
SM<sub>1SG</sub>-DJ-sing-FV  
'I sing.'

N. Some verbs can co-occur with their cognate objects, but not obligatorily.

**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

e.g. *Ho-bin-a ke-binne.*  
INF-sing-FV SM<sub>1SG</sub>-sing.PFV  
'To sing I sang.'

N. Verb doubling constructions are used to indicate emphasis.

**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. no

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

V. yes

« except for causatives for some speakers/varieties »

- i) *Di-jo di-phehetswe ba-na.*  
 10-food SM<sub>10</sub>-cook.APPL.PASS.PFV 2-child  
 ‘Food was cooked for children.’
- ii) *Ba-na ba-phehetswe di-jo.*  
 2-child SM<sub>2</sub>-cook.APPL.PASS.PFV 10-food  
 ‘The children were cooked food.’
- iii) *Di-f-w-e ba-na.*  
 OM<sub>10</sub>-give-PASS-PFV 2-child  
 ‘I give it (food) to the children.’
- iv) *Ke-ba-fa di-jo.*  
 SM<sub>1SG</sub>-OM<sub>2</sub>-give 10-food  
 ‘I give them (children) food.’
- v) *Ba-na ba-bad-is-w-a buka ke ntate.*  
 2-child SM<sub>2</sub>-read-CAUS-PASS-FV 9.book by father  
 ‘The children are made to read the book by my father’ (Machobane 1989:31<sup>2</sup>)
- vi) *\*Buka e-bad-is-w-a ba-na ke ntate.*  
 9.book SM<sub>9</sub>-read-CAUS-PASS-FV 2-child by 1a.father  
 ‘The book is made to be read by the children by my father’ (Machobane 1989:31)

N. Applicatives (i and ii) and lexical ditransitives (iii and iv) allow either object to be passivized but for some speakers/varieties (not including the first author) causatives (v and vi) only allow the causee to be passivized (v), not the theme (vi). See Machobane (1989) for more discussion.

**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

« except for causatives for some speakers/varieties »

- i) *Ke-di-phehetse ba-na (applicative)*  
 SM<sub>1SG</sub>-OM<sub>10</sub>-cook.APPL.PFV 2-child  
 ‘I cooked (food) for the children.’
- ii) *Ke-ba-phehetse di-jo*  
 SM<sub>1SG</sub>-OM<sub>2</sub>-cook.APPL.PFV 10-food  
 ‘I cooked them food.’

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<sup>2</sup> Glosses added by the authors. The examples from Machobane have been modified to match South African Sesotho orthography.

- iii) *Ke-di-f-a*                      *ba-na*                      (lexical ditransitive)  
 SM<sub>1SG</sub>-OM<sub>10</sub>-give-FV    2-child  
 ‘I give it (food) to the children.’
- iv) *Ke-ba-fa*                      *di-jo*                      (lexical ditransitive)  
 SM<sub>1SG</sub>-OM<sub>2</sub>-give 10-food  
 ‘I give them (children) food.’
- v) *Ntate*    *o-ba-bad-is-a*                      *buka.*    (causative)  
 1a.father SM<sub>1</sub>-OM<sub>2</sub>-read-CAUS-FV    9.book  
 ‘My father makes them read the book.’ (Machobane 1989:31)
- vi) *\*Ntate*    *o-e-bad-is-a*                      *ba-na.*    (causative)  
 1a.father SM<sub>1</sub>-OM<sub>9</sub>-read-CAUS-FV    2-child  
 Int. ‘My father makes the children read it.’ (Machobane 1989:31)

N. Applicatives (i and ii) and lexical ditransitives (iii and iv) allow either object to be object-marked (at least when the lexical object noun phrase is deleted) though for some speakers, not including the first author, causatives (v and vi) only allow the causee to be object-marked (v), not the theme (vi). See Machobane (1989) for further discussion.

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

V. yes

- e.g. *(Amina) o-j-a*                      *nama.*  
 1a.Amina SM<sub>1</sub>-eat-FV    9.meat  
 ‘Amina/she eats meat.’

N. The subject can be omitted as the parentheses suggest in the above example.

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

V. 2: Dem-Noun order is attested

- e.g. *enwa mo-nna*  
 DEM<sub>1</sub> 1-man  
 ‘this man’

**P113 Quant-Noun: Is there a pronominal quantifier?**

V. yes

- e.g. *tse-ngata*                      *di-buka*  
 AP<sub>X10</sub>-many 10-book  
 ‘many books’

N. While pronominal quantifiers follow nouns by default, they can occur in pre-nominal position in order to emphasize the quantity (e.g. ‘only two’, ‘many, not a few’).

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

V. no

« not always »

- i) *Buka ena ea-k e-ntle.*  
 9.book DEM<sub>9</sub> PP<sub>X9</sub>-POSS<sub>1SG</sub> AP<sub>X9</sub>-nice  
 ‘This book of mine is nice.’
- ii) *\*Buka ea-ka ena e-ntle*  
 9.book PP<sub>X9</sub>-POSS<sub>1SG</sub> DEM<sub>9</sub> AP<sub>X9</sub>-nice  
 Int.: ‘This book of mine is nice’
- iii) *Buka ea-ka, e-ntso, e-kholo e-lahlehile.*  
 9.book PP<sub>X9</sub>-POSS AP<sub>X9</sub>-black AP<sub>X9</sub>-big SM<sub>9</sub>-lose.PFV  
 ‘My black, big book is lost.’

N. The possessive occurs after the demonstrative and before the adjectives.

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

V. yes

- e.g. *Amina o-hlatsw-a di-jana.*  
 1a.Amina SM<sub>1</sub>-wash-FV 10-dish  
 ‘Amina washes dishes.’

**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) *Ke-balla ba-na buka.*  
 SM<sub>1SG</sub>-read.APPL 2-child 9.book  
 ‘I read the book for the children.’
- ii) *\*Ke-balla buka ba-na.*  
 SM<sub>1SG</sub>-read.APPL 9.book 2-child  
 Int: ‘I read the book for the children.’
- iii) *Ke-tsebisa Amina ntja.*  
 SM<sub>1SG</sub>-know.CAUS 1a.Amina 9.dog  
 ‘I introduce the dog to Amina.’
- iv) *\*Ke-tsebisa ntja Amina*  
 SM<sub>1SG</sub>-know.CAUS 9.dog 1a.Amina  
 Int.: ‘I introduce Amina to the dog.’

v) *Ke-reketse jakete ma-konopo.*  
 SM<sub>1SG</sub>-buy.APPL.PFV 9.jacket 6-button  
 ‘I bought buttons for the jacket.’

vi) *Ke-reketse ma-konopo jakete.*  
 SM<sub>1SG</sub>-buy.APPL.PFV 6-button 9.jacket  
 ‘I bought buttons for the jacket.’

N. The order of multiple objects is determined by animacy (see Morolong and Hyman 1977; Demuth et al. 2005). The order is flexible only when the animacy status of the objects is equal.

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

V. yes

i) *Ke-beh-a buka tafoleng.*  
 SM<sub>1SG</sub>-put-FV 9.book 9.table.LOC  
 ‘I put the book on the table.’

ii) *Ke-beh-a tafoleng buka.*  
 SM<sub>1SG</sub>-put-FV 9.table.LOC 9.book  
 ‘I put on the table the book.’

N. For examples of possible orders with applicative and causative verbs see P116.

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

V. 1: immediately after the verb (IAV)

i) *Mpho o-phehetse eng ba-na?*  
 1a.Mpho SM<sub>1</sub>-cook.APPL.PFV what 2-child  
 ‘What did Mpho cook for the children?’

ii) *Mpho o-phehetse nama ba-na.*  
 1a.Mpho SM<sub>1</sub>-cook.APPL.PFV 9.meat 2-child  
 ‘Mpho cooked meat for the children.’

N. Note the preferred word order difference to double object constructions that do not appear in question-answer pairs as shown in P115 and P116.

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

V. no

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

V. no

- i) *ho-j-a ntse ke-tsamay-a ho-monate*  
 INF-eat-FV AUX SM<sub>1SG</sub>-walk-FV APx<sub>15</sub>-nice  
 ‘to eat while I am still walking is nice.’

N. Infinitives before the auxiliary (i) are not part of the same clause.

**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) *O-lapile mo-nna.*  
 SM<sub>1</sub>-hungry.PFV 1-man  
 ‘A man is hungry.’

- ii) *Mo-nna o-lapile.*  
 1-man SM<sub>1</sub>-hungry.PFV  
 ‘A man is hungry.’

**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) *Lesotho ho-dul-a Basotho.*  
 Lesotho SM<sub>17</sub>-stay-FV Basotho  
 ‘In Lesotho stay Basotho.’

- ii) *Thabeng ho-dul-a di-tshwene.*  
 9.mountain.LOC SM<sub>17</sub>-stay-FV 10-monkey  
 ‘On the mountain stay monkeys.’

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

V. no

**P124 Instrument inversion: Is instrument inversion attested?**

V. no

**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) *ntate le mme*  
 1a.father and 1a.mother  
 ‘father and mother’

- ii) *Amina o-tla-y-a hae le Thembi o-tla-y-a mo-long*  
 1a.Amina SM<sub>1</sub>-FUT-go-FV home and 1a.Thembi SM<sub>1</sub>-FUT-go-FV 3.mall.LOC  
 ‘Amina will go home and Thembi will go to the mall.’

N. The conjunction *le* can coordinate clauses as well as noun phrases.

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

V. yes

- e.g. *Ke-phehile di-jo, ka-fiel-a ntlo, ka-hlatsw-a di-jana*  
 SM<sub>1SG</sub>-cook.PFV 10-food SM<sub>1SG</sub>.NP-sweep-FV 9.house SM<sub>1SG</sub>.NP-wash-FV 8-dish  
 ‘I cooked food, then swept the house, then washed the dishes.’

N. See Riedel, Sarvasy and Demuth (2019) for discussion of this tense.

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

V. 1: yes, optionally

- e.g. *Ke-nahan-a (hore) Thohoyandou e-ntle.*  
 SM<sub>1SG</sub>-think-FV COMP 9.Thohoyandou AP<sub>X9</sub>-beautiful  
 ‘I think Thohoyandou is beautiful.’

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

V. 1: in front of the clause

N. See P127.

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

V. yes

N. The complementiser *hore* is derived from *-re* ‘say’ prefixed with infinitive *ho-*. See also P127.

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

V. no

N. See P127.

**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 verb

- i) *Ha pula e-ka-na di-palesa di-tla-thuny-a.*  
 If 9.rain SM<sub>9</sub>-POT-fall 10-flower SM<sub>10</sub>-FUT-bloom-FV  
 ‘If it rains, the flowers will bloom.’
- ii) *Pula ha e-ka-na di-palesa di-tla-thuny-a.*  
 9.rain if SM<sub>9</sub>-POT-fall 10-flower SM<sub>10</sub>-FUT-bloom-FV  
 ‘If it rains, the flowers will bloom.’
- iii) *Ha pula e-na di-palesa di-tla-thuny-a.*  
 If 9.rain SM<sub>9</sub>-fall 10-flower SM<sub>10</sub>-FUT-bloom-FV  
 ‘If it rains, the flowers will bloom.’

N. *ha* ‘if’ is obligatory, but can occur before and after the subject. In contrast, the potential prefix *ka-* is optional.

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

V. no

« both orders are possible »

- i) *Di-palesa di-tla-thunya ha pula e-ka-na.*  
 10-flower SM<sub>10</sub>-FUT-bloom if 9.rain SM<sub>9</sub>-POT-fall  
 ‘Flowers will bloom if it rains.’
- ii) *Ha pula e-ka-na di-palesa di-tla-thunya*  
 if 9.rain SM<sub>9</sub>-POT-fall 10-flower SM<sub>10</sub>-FUT-bloom  
 ‘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

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

V. yes

« similar but not identical. »

- i) Counterfactual:  
*Ha ba-ne ba-i-thut-ile ba-ne ba-tla-ba le mo-sebetsi*  
 If SM<sub>2</sub>-POT SM<sub>2</sub>-REFL-study-PFV SM<sub>2</sub>-POT SM<sub>2</sub>-FUT-be with 3-job  
*o-hantle*  
 APX<sub>3</sub>-nice  
 ‘If they had studied, they would have got a good job.’

ii) Hypothetical:

*Ha ba-i-thutile ba-ka-fuman-a mo-sebetsi o-hantle*  
if SM<sub>2</sub>-REFL-study.PFV SM<sub>2</sub>-POT-find-FV 3-job AP<sub>x3</sub>-nice  
'If they studied they could get a good job.'

iii) Hypothetical:

*Ha ba-i-thut-a ba-ka-fuman-a mo-sebetsi o-hantle*  
if SM<sub>2</sub>-REFL-study-FV SM<sub>2</sub>-POT-find-FV 3-job AP<sub>x3</sub>-nice  
'If I study I can get a good job'

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

V. 1: by the use of a specific adverbial conjunction

i) *Ke-rat-a ha nako ea-ho-j-a e-fihlile*  
SM<sub>1SG</sub>-like-FV when 9.time SM<sub>9</sub>-INF-eat-FV SM<sub>9</sub>-arrive.PFV  
'I like when it is time to eat.'

ii) *Ha ke-get-a se-kolo ke-tla-y-a Lesotho*  
When SM<sub>1SG</sub>-finish-FV 7-school SM<sub>1SG</sub>-FUT-go-FV Lesotho  
'When I finish school I will go to Lesotho.'

iii) *Ke-tla-hlap-a pele ke-j-a*  
SM<sub>1SG</sub>-FUT-bath-FV before SM<sub>1SG</sub>-eat-FV  
'I will bath before I eat.'

N. When-clauses are formed with *ha*, while before-clauses are formed with *pele*.

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

V. 3: by a specific locative relative construction

e.g. *Ha ke-tseb-e moo me-tswalle ea-ka e-ile-ng*  
NEG SM<sub>1SG</sub>-know-PFV where 4-friend PP<sub>x4</sub>-POSS1SG SM<sub>4</sub>-go.PFV-REL  
'I don't know where my friends went.'

N. As shown in the above example, where-clauses are formed with the relative pronoun *moo* and *-ng*.

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

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

i) *Ntlo ena e-kholo ho-fet-a eane*  
9.house DEM<sub>9</sub> AP<sub>x9</sub>-big INF-surpass-FV DEM<sub>9</sub>  
'This house is bigger than that one.'

ii) *Amina o-mo-telele ho-fet-a bohle.*  
1a.Amina SM<sub>1</sub>-AP<sub>x1</sub>-tall INF-surpass-FV 2.everyone  
'Amina is the tallest.'

**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. *Ho Amina ho-j-a papa hwa-thab-is-a*  
 LOC 1a.Amina INF-eat-FV 9.porridge SM<sub>17</sub>.DJ-fun-CAUS-FV  
 ‘For Amina to eat porridge is fun.’

**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) *Amina o-sheb-ahal-a a-kgathetse*  
 1a.Amina SM<sub>1</sub>-look-STAT-FV SM<sub>1</sub>-tired.PFV  
 ‘Amina seems to be tired’

**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) *Ke-rat-a di-perekisi hape le di-banana.*  
 SM<sub>1SG</sub>-like-FV 10-peach too and 10-banana  
 ‘I like peaches and bananas too’

ii) *Ho-fihl-ile Amina feela*  
 SM<sub>17</sub>-arrive-PFV 1a.Amina only  
 ‘It is only Amina who arrived.’

iii) *Amina le eena o-tlile*  
 1a.Amina and PRON<sub>1</sub> SM<sub>1</sub>-come.PFV  
 ‘Even Amina came.’

N. In Sesotho, the focus-sensitive particles *hape le* ‘too’ in (i) and *feela* ‘only’ in (ii) are used. The independent pronoun like *eena* in (iii) express ‘even’ when combined with *le*.

**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) *Ke mang a-bone-ng kolobe?*  
 COP who SM<sub>1</sub>-see.PFV-REL 9.pig  
 ‘Who is it that saw the pig?’

ii) \**Mang o-bon-a kolobe?*

Who SM<sub>1</sub>-see-FV 9.pig

‘Who sees the pig?’

iii) *Ho-fihl-ile mang?*

SM<sub>17</sub>-arrive-PFV who

‘Who arrived?’

N. Clefts and expletive subject with post-verbal wh-subject are used to question subjects.

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