Northern Sotho / Sesotho sa Leboa (S32)[1]

Eleazar L. Mphasha

Sannah L. Baker

Leften M. Matheere

Yuko Abe

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$_5$-spear   CPx$_5$-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$_1$-worker   CPx$_1$-child

        'a worker'   'a child'

cl.1a) ***Ø**-mma*

        CPx$_{1a}$-mother

        'my/our mother'

cl.2)   ***ba**-šomi*

        CPx$_2$-worker

        'workers'

---

[1] Phonemic Inventory of this languages is as follows. Consonants: /b [β], d [dʲ], f, g [ɣ], h, j [ʒ], k [k'], kg [kxʰ], kh [kʰ], l, m, pš [pʃ], n, ng [ŋ], ny [ɲ], p [p'], r, s, š [ʃ], t [t'], th [tʰ], tl [tɬ], tlh [tɬʰ], ts [ts], tsh [tsʰ], tš [tʃ], tšh [tʃʰ], w, y [j] /. Vowels /a [ɑ], e [iː] [eː], i [ɪ], o [o] [oː], 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*

CPx$_{2a}$-mother

'my/our mothers'

cl.3) ***mo**-golo*

CPx$_3$-throat

'a throat'

cl.4) ***me**-golo*

CPx$_4$-throat

'throats'

cl.5) ***le**-gapu*   ***Ø**-lapa*

CPx$_5$-watermelon   CPx$_5$-household

'a watermelon'   'household'

cl.6) ***ma**-gapu*

CPx$_6$-watermelon

'watermelons'

cl.7) ***se**-atla*

CPx$_7$-hand

'a hand'

cl.8) ***di**-atla*

CPx$_8$-hand

'hands'

cl.9) ***(N-)**pudi*   ***n**-ko*

CPx$_9$-goat   CPx$_9$-nose

'a goat'   'a nose'

cl.10) ***di**-pudi*   ***din**-ko*

CPx$_{10}$-goat   CPx$_{10}$-nose

'goats'   'noses'

cl.14) ***bo**-phelo*

CPx$_{14}$-life

'a life'

cl.15) ***go**-ralok-a*

CPx$_{15}$-play-FV

'playing'

cl.16) ***fa**-se*

CPx$_{16}$-below

'below'

cl.17) ***go**-dimo*

CPx$_{17}$-top

'on top'

cl.18) **mo**-*rago*

CPx$_{18}$-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$_{2SG}$-like   15-read-FV   10-book

        'He likes reading books.'

N. The **go-** is made up from the infinitive/gerund marker of CPx$_{15}$ **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**-*kgoši-**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) ***fa**-se*	cl.17) ***go**-dimo*	cl.18) ***mo**-rago*
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.	*n-tlo-**ng***	*n-thabe-**ng***
	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.	*Fase go a fiša.*	*Godimo go a tonya.*
	fa-se ***go**-a-fiš-a*	*go-dimo* ***go**-a-tony-a*
	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. *Ke go bone Japane.*

*ke-**go**-bon-e* *Japane*

SM$_{1SG}$-OM$_{17}$-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$_{1SG}$　SM$_{1SG}$-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)　　　　　　　(connective-modifier-head)

　　　Senotlelo sa mma　　　　　　　　　　*Sa mma senotlelo*

　　　se-notlelo ***sa***　　*ø-mma*　　　　***sa***　　*ø-mma*　　*se-notlelo*

　　　7-key　　ASSC$_7$　1a-mother　　　ASSC$_7$　1a-mother　7-key

　　　'mother's key'　　　　　　　　　　'MOTHER'S key'

PL)　*Dinotlelo tša mma*　　　　　　　　　*Tša mma dinotlelo*

　　　di-notlelo ***tša***　　*Ø-mma*　　　　***tša***　　*Ø-mma*　　*di-notlelo*

　　　8-key　　ASSC$_8$　1a-mother　　　ASSC$_8$　1a-mother　8-key

　　　'mother's keys'　　　　　　　　　　'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$_9$　　POSS.1SG

　　　'my garden'

3SG)　*n-tšhengwana*　　　*ya*　　　***gagwe***

　　　9-garden　　　　　ASSC$_9$　　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$_4$ POSS.5   5-cheetah

      'footprints of the cheetah'

cl.6)   *me-hlala*   *ya*   ***ona***   *(ma-pogo)*

      4-footprint   ASSC$_4$ POSS.6   6-cheetah

      'footprints of the cheetahs'

cl.8)   *me-feng*   *ya*   ***tšona***   *(di-lepe)*

      4-handle   ASSC$_4$ POSS.8   (8-axe)

      'handles of them (axes)'

N. Possessive pronouns are same as absolute pronouns except for some cases, e.g. 1st person singular (***nna***), 2nd person singular (***wena***), and 3rd 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$_9$ 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   DEMn$_5$

'this watermelon (close to the speaker)'

ii)   *le-gapu*   **leno (~ lekhwi)**

5-watermelon   DEMx$_5$

'this watermelon (close or next to the speaker)'

iii)   *le-gapu*   **leo (~ leuwe)**

5-watermelon   DEMr$_5$

'that watermelon (near to the addressee)'

iv)   *le-gapu*   **lela**

5-watermelon   DEMd$_5$

'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)   **mo-*šomi* *yo***   cl.1a) **Ø-*mma*   *yo***

1-worker   DEMn$_1$ 1a-mother DEMn$_1$

'this worker'   'this mother'

cl.2)   **ba-*šomi*   *ba***   cl.2a) **bo-*mma*   *ba***

2-worker   DEMn$_2$ 2a-mother DEMn$_2$

'these workers'   'these mothers'

cl.3)   **mo-*golo*   *wo***

3-throat   DEMn$_3$

'this throat'

cl.4)   **me-*golo*   *ye***

4-throat   DEMn$_4$

'these throats'

cl.5)   **le-*gapu*   *le***

5-watermelon DEMn$_5$

'this watermelon'

cl.6) **ma**-*gapu*   ***a***

    6-watermelon DEMn_6

    'these watermelons'

cl.7) **se**-*atla*   ***se***

    7-hand DEMn_7

    'this hand'

cl.8) **di**-*atla*   ***tše***

    8-hand DEMn_8

    'these hands'

cl.9) ***(N-)pudi***   ***ye***

    9-goat DEMn_9

    'this goat'

cl.10) **di**-*pudi*   ***tše***

    10-goat DEMn_{10}

    'these goats'

cl.14) **bo**-*phelo*   ***bjo***

    14-life DEMn_{14}

    'this life'

cl.15) **go**-*ralok-a*   ***mo***

    15-play-FV DEMn_{15}

    'this playing'

cl.16) **fa**-*se*   ***fa***

    16-below DEMn_{16}

    'below here'

cl.17) **go**-*dimo*   ***mo***

    17-top $\text{DEMn}_{17/18}$

    'on top here'

cl.18) **mo**-*rago*   ***mo***

    18-back $\text{DEMn}_{17/18}$

    '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_{16}

    'Oh!' (interjection)

ii)   *O ile mola a sa dutše, a swarwa ke boroko.*

    o-ile   ***mola***   *a-sa-dutš-e*

    SM_1-AUX.PST $DEMd_{18}$ SM_1-PERS-sit-ANT

    a-swar-w-a   *ke bo-roko*

    SM_1-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_9 APx_9-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', ***-fsa*** '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-robetš-e-go*

        1-man $DEMn_1$ SM_1-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_9 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) *mosadi yo mogolo*   cl.2) *basadi ba bagolo*

      mo-sadi *yo*   ***mo-****golo*   *ba-sadi* *ba*   ***ba-****golo*

      1-woman LNK_1 CPx_1-big   2-woman LNK_2 CPx_2-big

      'a big woman'   'big women'

cl.1) *mosadi yo motee*

  mo-sadi *yo* **mo**-*tee*

  1-woman LNK_1 CPx_1-one

  'one woman'

cl.9) *ntlo ye tala*

  n-tlo *ye* **N**-*tala*

  9-house LNK_9 CPx_9-blue

  'a blue house'

cl.2) *basadi ba babedi*

  ba-sadi *ba* **ba**-*bedi*

  2-woman LNK_2 CPx_2-two

  'two women'

  ntlo ye kgolo

  n-tlo *ye* **N**-*kgolo*

  9-house LNK_9 CPx_9-one

  'one house'

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

cl.7) *senotlelo se setala*

  se-*notlelo* **se** *se-tala* (L-HL)

  7-key LNK_7 APx_7-old

  'an old key'

cf) **se**notlelo **se** **se**tala (L-LH)

  'a green key'

cl.8) *dinotlelo tše ditala*

  di-*notlelo* ***tše*** *di-tala*

  8-key LNK_8 APx_8-old

  'old keys'

Numeral   (inverted)

  dinotlelo tše pedi   *tše pedi dinotlelo*

  di-*notlelo* ***tše*** *pedi* ***tše*** *pedi* **di**-*notlelo*

  8-key LNK_8 two LNK_8 two 8-key

  'two keys'   'TWO keys'

  (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)   *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

      '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.   *mo-satš-**ana***   *ba-satš-**ana***

      1-woman-DIM   2-woman-DIM

      'a small woman'   'small women'

(2) Suffix *-gadi*

e.g.   *n-tlou-**gadi***   *Ø-kgoši-**gadi***

      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)   *mo-seped-**i***   *ba-seped-**i***

      1-go-NMLZ   2-go-NMLZ

      'a person who goes, a walker'   'people who go, walkers'

ii)   *mo-ape-**i***   *ba-ape-**i***

      1-cook-NMLZ   2-cook-NMLZ

      'a cook'   'cooks'

iii)   *mo-šom-**i***   *ba-šom-**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', *bophatlatši* '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.   *le-tsogo*   *ma-tsogo*

       5-arm   6-arm

       'an arm, a hand (SG)'   'arms, hands (PL)'

cf)   *se-atla*   *di-atla*

       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.   *mo-nwana*   *me-nwana*

       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.   *le-oto*   *ma-oto*

       5-leg   6-leg

       'a leg, a foot (SG)'   'legs, feet (PL)'

cf)   *le-nao*   *di-nao*

       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.   *(N-)teye*

       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-robetš-e

        1-child   SM$_1$-sleep-ANT

        'The child fell asleep and is asleep.' (ANT)   (cf.) *go robala* 'to sleep'

ii)   *Ke khoše.*

        ke-khoš-e

        SM$_{1SG}$-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$_6$-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$_{2PL}$-eat-FV 6-maize   9-PN   6-maize   SM$_6$-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-porrige SM$_{14}$-cook-PASS-FV by 1-woman

        'The porrige 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*

  SM₁ₚₗ-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*

  SM₁ₚₗ-lend-RECP-ANT   10-hynm.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   SM₁-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*

  SM₁ₛ₉-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$_{1SG}$-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$_{1SG}$-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$_1$-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$_1$-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$_2$-go_away-APPL-FV 6-home   ASSC$_6$-PRON$_{3PL}$ SM$_2$-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$_{2SG}$-OM$_1$-kill-APPL-FV   1-child

'No, Masemola, you are killing my child (I'm losing MY child)!'   *go bolaya* 'to kill'

N. Examples from Lombard, Van Wyk & Mokgokong (1985: 111-113)

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

e.g. *Ke remelela sehlare.*

    *ke-rem-**el-el**-a*   *se-hlare*

    SM$_{1SG}$-chop-APPL-APPL-FV   7-tree

    'I chop the tree many times with intensity.' (repetition)

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

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

« yes, the suffix ***-eg, -al, -agal*** »

(1) *-eg*

i) *Puku e a balega.*   *Dipatla di a robega.*

   N-puku   *e-a-bal-**eg**-a*   *di-patla*   *di-a-rob-**eg**-a*

   9-book   SM$_9$-DJ-read-NEUT-FV   10-stick   SM$_{10}$-DJ-break-NEUT-FV

   'The book is readable.'   *go bala* 'to read'   'The sticks are breakable/get broken.'

ii) *Nama e a apeega.*   *Dinamune di a ebolega.*

   Ø-nama   *e-a-ape-**eg**-a*   *di-namune di-a-ebol-**eg**-a*

   9-meat   SM$_9$-DJ-cook-NEUT-FV   10-orange SM$_{10}$-DJ-peel-NEUT-FV

   'The meat is cook-able.'   'The oranges are peelable.'

(2) *-al*

e.g. *Mongwalo o a bonala.*

   mo-ngwal-o   *o-a-bon-al-a*

   3-write-NMLZ   SM$_3$-DJ-see-NEUT-FV

   'The writing is visible.'

(3) *-agal* (intensive of *-al*)

e.g. *Mongwalo o a bonagala.*

   mo-ngwal-o   *o-a-bon-agal-a*

   3-write-NMLZ   SM$_3$-DJ-see-NEUT-FV

   'The writing is very clearly visible.'

N. The suffix ***-eg*** is quite productive and can be used together with different types of verbs, while ***-al, -agal*** (intensive) are less. Examples from Lombard, Van Wyk & Mokgokong (1985: 122-123).

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$_1$-OM$_1$-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$_2$-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$_{1PL}$-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$_1$-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$_1$-examine-APPL-PASS-FV   9-country   LNK$_9$ APx$_9$-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   DEMn$_1$ and   1-woman   DEMn$_1$ SM$_2$-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$_{17}$-DJ-confuse-**RECP-PASS-FV** 9-meeting-LOC   DEMn$_9$

   '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)

   Ga re reke.   *Ga se re reke.*   *Re ka se reke.*

   ga**-re-rek-**e   ***ga**-**se**-re-rek-**e***   *re-ka-**se**-rek-**e***

   NEG-SM$_{1PL}$-buy-NEG   NEG-NEG-SM$_{1PL}$-buy-NEG   SM$_{1PL}$-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) *mosadi yo a sa apeego*   *basadi ba ba sa apeego*

   *mo-sadi   yo   a-**sa**-ape-**e**=go*   *ba-sadi   ba ba-**sa**-ape-**e**=go*

   1-woman   REL$_1$ SM$_1$-NEG-cook-NEG=REL   2-woman REL$_2$ SM$_2$-NEG-cook-NEG=REL

   'the woman who is not cooking'   'the women who are not cooking'

cf)   *... yo **ga** a ape**e**go*   (=Present)

      *... yo **ga** se ape**e**go*   (=Past)

      Future is OK.   *Mosadi yo a **ka se** apeego*   'the woman who will not cook'

N. No construction from independent negative is attested.

ii) *mosadi yo a sa apeeng*   *basadi ba ba sa apeeng*

   *mo-sadi   yo   a-**sa**-ap**e**-**e**=ng*   *ba-sadi   ba   ba-**sa**-ape-**e**=ng*

   1-woman   REL$_1$ SM$_1$-NEG-cook-NEG=REL   2-woman REL$_2$ SM$_2$-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_1 SM_{1SG}-NEG-OM_1-like-NEG=REL 2-woman REL_2 SM_{1SG}-NEG-OM_2-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_1 SM_{1SG}-NEG-OM_1-like-NEG=REL 2-woman REL_2 SM_{1SG}-NEG-OM_2-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_{1SG}-want-FV   COMP SM_{2SG}-NEG-OM_{1SG}-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_{1SG}-want-FV   COMP SM_{2SG}-OM_{1SG}-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_{1SG}-say-ANT   NEG-SM_{1PL}-NEG-AUX.FUT   15-learn-FV   7-Sotho $ASSC_7$ 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 ithut**e** Sesotho sa Leboa.]*

      'I said that we are not learning Northern Sotho.'

cf)   ***Ga** re ithut**e** Sesotho sa Leboa.*

      'We are not learning Northern Sotho.'

iii)   *Ke rile [**ga se** re ithut**e** Sesotho sa Leboa].*

      'I said that we did not learn Northern Sotho.

cf)   ***Ga se** re ithut**e** Sesotho sa Leboa.*

      'We did not learn Northern Sotho.'

N. ***Ga se** re ithut**e** 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$_5$　SM$_1$-NEG-AUX.POT-REL　SM$_1$-OM$_{2SG}$-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$_{2SG}$-NEG-sit-NEG　　　　　if　SM$_{2SG}$-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.   *Ga ke leme.*   *Ke a lema.*

   ga-**ke**-*lem-e*   **ke**-*lem-a*

   NEG-SM₁SG-plough-NEG   SM₁SG-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.   *Se dule!*   *Se duleng!*

   se-*dul-**e***   **se**-*dul-**e**-ng*

   NEG-sit-NEG   NEG-sit-NEG-PL

   'Don't sit! (SG)'   'Don't sit! (PL)'

cf.   *Dula!* 'Sit! (SG)'   *Dulang!* 'Sit! (PL)'

N. Imperative uses the verb stem.

Polite Negative Imperative

e.g.   *O se ke wa dula hle!*   *Le se ke la dula hle!*

   o-**se-ke**   wa-dul-a   hle   le-**se-ke**   la-dul-a   hle

   SM₂SG-NEG-AUX.NEG   SM₂SG-sit-FV please   SM₂PL-NEG-AUX.NEG   SM₂PL-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.   *Pula e gana go na.*

   N-pula   e-**gana**   go-na

   9-rain   SM₉-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$_{1PL}$-POT-NEG-at.all   SM$_{1PL}$-help-NEUT-FV   by   PRON$_{3PL}$

     '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)	*Ke tla robala.*	'I will sleep.'
2SG)	*O tla robala.*	'You (SG) will sleep.'
3SG)	*Mokgekolo o tla robala.*	'An old woman will sleep.'
1PL)	*Re tla robala.*	'We will sleep.'
2PL)	*Le tla robala.*	'You (PL) will sleep.'
3PL)	*Banenyana ba tla robala.*	'The girls will sleep.'
cl.1a)	*Mma o tla robala*.	'Mother will sleep'
cl.2a)	*Bomma ba tla robala*.	'Mothers will sleep'
cl.3)	*Moago o tla wa.*	'A building will fall.'
cl.4)	*Meago e tla wa.*	'Buildings will fall.'
cl.5)	*Leeba le tla fofa.*	'A dove will fly.'
cl.6)	*Maeba a tla fofa.*	'Doves will fly.'
cl.7)	*Sefatanaga se tla wa.*	'A car will fall.'
cl.8)	*Difatanaga di tla wa.*	'Cars will fall.'
cl.9)	*Komiki e tla wa.*	'A cup will fall.'
cl.10)	*Dikomoki di tla wa.*	'Cups will fall.'
cl.14)	*Bogobe bo tla wa.*	'Porridge will fall.'
cl.15)	*Go šoma go tla fela.*	'To work will finish.'
cl.16)	*Fase go tla oma.*	'Down place will get dry.'
cl.17)	*Godimo go tla hlweka.*	'Upper (area) will get clean.'
cl.18)	*Morago go tla hlweka.*	'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$_9$-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	*rena*	*re-*
2PL	*lena*	*le-*

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$_{2PL}$-OM$_{1PL}$-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$_2$-walk-FV   together

   'A herdboy 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$_{8/10}$-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$_{8/10}$-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$_{8/10}$-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$_{8/10}$-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$_{8/10}$-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$_{1SG}$-buy-ANT

   'I bought.'   (Past)

ii)   *Ke be ke reka.*

    ke-be   *ke-rek-a*

    SM_{1SG}-AUX.IMPF   SM_{1SG}-buy-FV

    'I was buying.'   (Past progressive : *ba-ile > *be*)

iii)   *Ke šetše ke rekile.*

    ke-šetše   *ke-rek-ile*

    SM_{1SG}-AUX.PST   SM_{1SG}-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_{1PL}-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_{1SG}-OM₁-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_{1SG}-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-robal-a.*

     SM_{1SG}-go-FV 15-eat-FV SM_{1SG}-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 (CPx_{15}) *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_{1SG}-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_1-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   SM₂-PERS-write-FV

      'Students are still writing.'

2 slots (PERS-FUT)

e.g.   *Re sa tlo reka.*

      *re-**sa-tlo**-rek-a*

      SM₁PL-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

	Conjoint	**Disjoint**
i)	*Mosadi o ja bogobe.*	*Mosadi o a ja.*
	mo-sadi o-j-a bo-gobe	*mo-sadi o-**a**-j-a.*
	1-woman SM₁-eat-FV 14-porridge	1-woman SM₁-DJ-eat-FV
	'A woman is eating porridge.'	'A woman is eating.'
		Mosadi o a bo ja.
		*mo-sadi o-**a-bo**-j-a*
		1-woman SM₁-DJ-OM₁₄-eat-FV
		'A woman is eating it.'
ii)	*Ke ngwala lengwalo.*	*Ke a ngwala.*
	ke-ngwal-a le-ngwalo	*ke-**a**-ngwal-a*
	SM₁SG-write-FV 5-letter	SM₁SG-DJ-write-FV
	'I write a letter.'	'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   SM₁-SM₁-love-FV   much

      'The teacher loves her a lot.'

ii) *Mokgalabje o se hweditše.*

*mo-kgalabje   o-**se**-hweditš-e.*

1-old_man   SM$_1$-OM$_7$-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$_{1SG}$-OM$_9$-get-ANT   LOC-1-mother-in-law   ASSC$_1$ 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$_{1SG}$-OM$_1$-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$_{1SG}$-OM$_9$-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$_{1SG}$-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$_{1SG}$-DJ-REFL-know-FV   SM$_{1PL}$-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$_{1SG}$-OM$_1$-see-ANT   PN

    'I saw MPHO.'

ii) *Ke se bone senotlolo.*   cf) *Ke bone senotlolo.* 'I saw the key.' (Default)

    ke-se-bon-e   *se-notlolo*

    SM$_{1SG}$-OM$_7$-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$_{1SG}$-want-FV   COMP   SM$_{2SG}$-OM$_{1SG}$-help-SBJV

    'I want you to help me.'   (Desire)

ii) *Mo thuše gore a fetše!*

    *mo-thuš-**e***   **gore**   *a-fetš-**e***

    OM$_1$-help-SBJV   COMP   SM$_1$-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$_{2SG}$-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 (stabillizer *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$_{1SG}$-want-FV   COMP   SM$_{2SG}$-NEG-OM$_{1SG}$-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	di-nonyana
1-boy	SM$_2$-AUX.ANT	SM$_2$-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$_1$-see-FV	COMP	2-child	ASSC$_2$	POSS.3SG	SM$_2$-AUX.PST

ba-thom-ile	go-nw-a	bj-alwa.
SM$_2$-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	DEMn$_9$	SM$_9$-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$_9$-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$_2$-AUX.ANT   SM$_2$-AUX.PST   SM$_2$-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$_2$-AUX.ANT SM$_2$-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

-be (Perfective) + Situative (in finite form)

e.g.   *Bašemane ba be ba tanya dinonyana.*

    ba-šemane   *ba-**be***   *ba-tany-a*   *di-nonyana*

    1-boy   SM$_2$-AUX.ANT   SM$_2$-catch-FV   10-bird

    'The boys were catching birds.'

N. ***be*** is an anterior form of Copulative verb ***ba***.

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

V. yes

Subject relative (Direct relative)

i)   *mosadi yo a apeago*   *basadi ba ba apeago*

      mo-sadi   ***yo***   *a-ape-a=go*   *ba-sadi*   ***ba***   *ba-ape-a=go*

      1-woman   REL$_1$ SM$_1$-cook-FV=REL   2-woman   REL$_2$ SM$_2$-cook-FV=REL

      'the woman who is cooking'   'the women who are cooking'

ii)   *mosadi yo a apeang*   *basadi ba ba apeang*

      mo-sadi   ***yo***   *a-ape-a=ng*   *ba-sadi*   ***ba***   *ba-ape-a=ng*

      1-woman   REL$_1$ SM$_1$-cook-FV=REL   2-woman   REL$_2$ SM$_2$-cook-FV=REL

      'the woman who is cooking'   'the women who are cooking'

Object relative (Indirect relative)

i)   *mosadi yo ke mo ratago*   *basadi ba ke ba ratang*

      mo-sadi   ***yo***   *ke-**mo**-rat-a=go*   *ba-sadi*   ***ba***   *ke-**ba**-rat-a=ng*

      1-woman   REL$_1$ SM$_{1SG}$-OM$_1$-like-FV=REL   2-woman   REL$_2$ SM$_{1SG}$-OM$_2$-like-FV=REL

      'the woman whom I like'   'the women whom I like'

ii)   *mosadi yo ke mo ratang*

      mo-sadi   ***yo***   *ke-**mo**-rat-a=ng*

      1-woman   REL$_1$ SM$_{1SG}$-OM$_1$-like-FV=REL

      'the woman whom I like'

iii)   *badišana ba mosetsana a ba tsebago*

      ba-dišana ***ba***   *mo-setsana*   *a-**ba**-tseb-a=go*

      2-herdboy REL$_2$ 1-girl   SM$_1$-OM$_2$-know-FV=REL

      'the herdboys whom the girl knows'

N. OM in the relative clause is obligatory. Relative construction: Head Noun [REL SM-(OM)-stem=*go/=ng*]. Relative markers are (probably) originated from demonstrative forms (near and there, i.e. Position 1 and 2).

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

V. yes

« by a form derived from a demonstrative marker (Approximate demonstratives) »

i)   *monna yo mafolofolo*   *banna ba mafolofolo*

     mo-nna **yo** *ma-folofolo*   *ba-nna* **ba** *ma-folofolo*

     1-man REL_1 6-be_energetic   2-man REL_2 6-be_energetic

     'a man who is energetic / an energetic man' 'men who are energetic / energetic men'

ii)   *leswika le boima*   *maswika a boima*

     le-swika **le** *bo-ima*   *ma-swika* **a** *bo-ima*

     5-stone REL_5 14-heavy   6-stone REL_6 14-heavy

     'a stone which is heavy / a heavy stone' 'stones which are heavy / heavy stones'

cf) Adjective stem (-*telele*) needs class agreement.

     lesogana le letelele

     le-sogana **le** *le-telele*

     5-young.man LNK_5 APx_5-tall

     'a tall young man'

N. Independent relative markers (of class agreement) are same as demonstratives (approximate) and attributive linkers.

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

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

cl.1: *yo*, cl.2: *ba*, cl.3: *wo*, cl.4: *ye*, cl.5: *le*, cl.6: *a*, cl.7: *se*, cl.8: *tše*, cl.9: *ye*, cl.10: *tše*, cl.14: *bjo*

N. Same as the demonstratives of first position (DEMn).

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

V. yes

i)   *badišana ba mosetsana a ba tsebago*

     ba-dišana *ba* **mo-setsana** *a-**ba**-tseb-a=go*

     2-herdboy REL_2 1-girl SM_1-OM_2-know-FV=REL

     'the herdboys whom the girl knows'

ii)   *puku ye Thembi a e rekilego*

     N-puku *ye* **Thembi** *a-e-rek-ile=go*

     9-book REL_9 PN SM_1-OM_9-buy-ANT=REL

     'the book which Thembi bought'

N. *mosetsana* or *Thembi* can be located at Post-verbal position, too.

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$_1$ SM$_{1SG}$-OM$_1$-like-FV=REL   2-woman   REL$_2$ SM$_{1SG}$-OM$_2$-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$_1$ SM$_{1SG}$-OM$_1$-like-FV=REL   2-woman   REL$_2$ SM$_{1SG}$-OM$_2$-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$_2$ 1-girl   SM$_1$-OM$_2$-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$_{10}$ SM$_{10}$-graze-FV=REL   at   PRON$_9$ (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$_{1SG}$-know-FV   9-time   REL$_9$ SM$_1$-leave-REL   with   PRON$_9$

    '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$_1$-know-FV   REL$_{18}$ SM$_{1PL}$-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$_{1PL}$-know-FV by 3-way   REL$_3$ SM$_2$-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-kgoši*

    10-news   ASSC$_{10}$ 15-die-FV   ASSC$_{15}$ 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$_3$ SM$_3$-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.' (Persistive)

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$_1$	SM$_1$-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$_1$	SM$_{1SG}$-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$_1$	SM$_{1SG}$-OM$_1$-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$_{18}$	SM$_{1SG}$-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$_9$-COP-ANT	SM$_9$-COP	PN	REL$_1$	SM$_1$-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$_9$-COP-ANT	SM$_9$-COP	yesterday	REL$_{18}$	SM$_{1SG}$-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**?*　　　　　　　　SM₁-DJ-OM₁-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*

SM₂ₛ𝒢-OM₂-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*

SM₂ₛ𝒢-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***

SM₂ₛ𝒢-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***

SM₂ₛ𝒢-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)   *Ke moithuti.*   *Ke moithuti.*

       ke (H)   *mo-ithuti*   *ke* (L)   *mo-ithuti*

       COP   1-student   COP$_{1SG}$ 1-student

       'S/he is a student.'   'I am a student.'

ii)   *O moithuti.*

       'You (SG) are a student.'

iii)   *Re baithuti.*

       'We are students.'

iv)   *Le baithuti.*

       'You (PL) are students.'

v)   *Ke baithuti.*   (ke in H tone)

       'They are students.

vi)   *Lesedi ke moithuti.*   *Yo ke moithuti.*

       Lesedi ke (H) *mo-ithuti*   *yo*   *ke* (H) *mo-ithuti*

       PN   COP   1-student   DEMn$_1$ COP   1-student

       'Lesedi is a student.'   'This is a student.'

vii)   *Legapu ke seenywa.*

       le-gapu   *ke* (H) *se-enywa*

       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.   *Monna o bogale.*   *Legapu le bose.*

       mo-nna   ***o***   *bo-gale*   *le-gapu*   ***le***   *bo-se*

       1-man   REL$_1$ 14-brave   5-watermelon REL$_5$ 14-good

       'The man is brave.'   'The watermelon is delicious.'

Existential copula (Location, =Nominal relative)

e.g.   *Lesedi o sekolong.*   *Legapu le tafoleng.*

       Lesedi   ***o***   *se-kolo-ng*   *le-gapu*   ***le***   *N-tafole-ng*

       PN   REL$_1$ 7-school-LOC   5-watermelon REL$_5$ 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$_1$-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$_5$-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$_6$-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$_1$-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$_5$-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$_{1SG}$-sing-FV   9-song   SM$_{1SG}$-DJ-sing-FV

       'I sing a song.'   'I sing.'

ii)   *Ke opela sefela.*

       ke-opel-a   *se-fela*

       SM$_{1SG}$-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 lefsielo*   'to make sb. unpleasent'

        go betha phutiana 'to cover your tracks, dissapear'

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$_{10}$-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$_1$-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$_1$-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$_{1SG}$-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$_{1SG}$-OM$_1$-give-ANT   PN   9-book   SM$_{1SG}$-OM$_9$-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$_{1SG}$-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$_{1SG}$-OM$_9$-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.

   Ke mmadiša puku.   *Ke e badiša ngwana.*

   ke-m-mad-iš-a   *N-puku*   *ke-e-bad-iš-a*   *ngw-ana*

   SM$_{1SG}$-OM$_1$-read-CAUS-FV 9-book   SM$_{1SG}$-OM$_9$-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$_1$-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$_1$-OM$_{10}$-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   SM₁-OM₂-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.*   ***Nna** ke tla robala.*

   ke-tla-robal-a   *nna*   *ke-tla-robal-a*

   SM₁ₛ𝒼-FUT-sleep-FV   PRON₁ₛ𝒼 SM₁ₛ𝒼-FUT-sleep-FV

   'I will sleep.'   '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)   cl.5)

*mosadi **yo***	***yo** mosadi*	*legapu **le***	***le** legapu*
'this woman'	(marked, emphasized)	'this watermelon'	(marked, emphasized)
*mosadi **yoo***	***yoo** mosadi*	*legapu **leo***	***leo** legapu*
'that (yonder) woman'	(marked, emphasized)	'yonder watermelon'	(marked, emphasized)
*mosadi **yola***	***yola** mosadi*	*legapu **lela***	***lela** legapu*
'that woman'	(marked, emphasized)	'that watermelon'	(marked, emphasized)

N. see also **P020**

P113 Quant-Noun: Is there a prenominal quantifier?

V. yes

i) *Seripagare sa namune.*

   se-ripagare   ***sa***   *Ø-namune*

   7-half   ASSC₇   9-orange

   'half of the orange, half orange'

ii)   *Kotara ya borotho.*

N-kotara ya   *bo-rotho*

9-quarter   ASSC$_9$ 14-bread

'a quarter of bread'

cf)   *Letšatši le lengwe le le lengwe.*

letšatši   *le*   *le-ngwe*   *le*   *le*   *le-ngwe*

5-day   LNK$_5$ APx$_5$-some   LNK$_5$ LNK$_5$ APx$_5$-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$_9$ COP   9-book   ASSC$_9$ POSS.2SG   REL$_9$ 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$_9$ COP   9-book   REL$_9$ 14-good   ASSC$_9$ 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 file puku Kopanelo.*

ke-f-ile   **Kopanelo** **N-puku**   *ke-f-ile*   **N-puku**   **Kopanelo**

SM$_{1SG}$-give-ANT PN   9-book   SM$_{1SG}$-give-ANT 9-book   PN

'I gave Kopanelo a book.'

ii)   *Ke file moeng kolobe.*   **Ke file kolobe moeng.*

ke-f-ile	**mo-eng**	**N-kolobe**	*ke-f-ile*	**N-kolobe**	**mo-eng**
SM$_{1SG}$-give-ANT	1-visitor	9-pig	SM$_{1SG}$-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$_{1SG}$-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$_{1}$-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$_{1SG}$-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$_{1SG}$-give-ANT	PN	9-book	SM$_{1SG}$-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_{1SG}-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_{1PL}-AUX.PST SM_{1PL}-OM_{3SG}-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$_{17}$-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$_{17}$-love-PASS-FV by 2-person PN   SM$_9$-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$_6$-drink-FV 2-child   2-child   SM$_2$-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$_9$-cut-FV 9-meat   SM$_{1SG}$-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$_{10}$-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$_{1SG}$-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 apara.*

      ke-a-tsog-a   ***ka-hlap-a***   *di-atla*   ***ka-apar-a***

      SM$_{1SG}$-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$_{1SG}$-say-ANT PRON$_{1PL}$ all   SM$_{1PL}$-FUT-learn-FV 7-PN   ASSC$_7$ 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*
SM1SG-like-FV	PRON1PL	all	SM1PL-learn-FV	7-PN	ASSC7	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*
SM1SG-say-ANT	COMP	PRON1PL	all	SM1PL-POT-learn-FV	7-PN	ASSC7	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*
SM1SG-think-FV	COMP	PN	COP	APx9-big

'I think that Thohoyandou is large.' (IRR)

iii) *Ke rata **gore** ka moka re ithut**e** Sesotho sa Leboa.*

ke-rat-a	*gore*	*ka*	*moka*	*re-ithut-e*	*Se-sotho*	*sa*	*Leboa*
SM1SG-like-FV	COMP	PRON1PL	all	SM1PL-learn-SBJV	7-PN	ASSC7	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 ithut**e** Sesotho sa Leboa.*

ke-rat-a	*gore*	*ka*	*moka*	*re-ithut-e*	*Se-sotho*	*sa*	*Leboa*
SM1SG-live-FV	COMP	PRON1PL	all	SM1PL-learn-SBJV	7-PN	ASSC7	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_{2SG}-NEG-know-NEG   9-answer OM_{1SG}-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_7-come-FV SM_{1PL}-FUT-see-FV   6-flower LNK_6 APx_6-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_{1SG}-POT-AUX.IMPF SM_{1SG}-COP   9-bird SM_{1SG}-AUX.IMPF

    ke-tla-fof-el-a   *go-wena*

    SM_{1SG}-FUT-fly-APPL-FV LOC-$PRON_{2SG}$

    '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$_{1SG}$-POT-AUX.IMPF SM$_{1SG}$-visit-ANT 2-parent   ASSC$_2$ POSS.1SG

ba-be   *ba-tla-thaba*

SM$_2$-AUX.IMPF   SM$_2$-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$_1$ APx$_1$-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$_9$	COP	APx$_9$-big-DIM	than	DEMd$_9$

'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$_{15}$	PN	14-porridge	SM$_{15}$-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$_{17}$-see-STAT-FV	PN	SM$_1$-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$_1$-see-STAT-FV	SM$_1$-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$_{1SG}$-drink-FV	only	with	9-coffee

'I drink coffee, too.'

ii)   *Le nna ke nwa kofi.*

le   *nna*   *ke-nw-a*   *N-kofi*

and   PRON₁SG   SM₁SG-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*

SM₁SG-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*

SM₁SG-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**

SM₁SG-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   REL₁   SM₁-go-FV=REL   14-porridge

'Who is eating the porridge?'

A)   *Lekau o ja bogobe.*

Lekau *o-j-a*   *bo-gobe*

PN   SM₁-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   REL₁   SM₁-go-FV=REL   14-porridge

'It is Lekau who eats the porridge.'