



## 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.

<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 blackets 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* [mpʰ], *nt* [ntʰ], *nk* [nkʰ], *mb* [mbʰ], *nd* [ndʰ], *ng* [ngʰ], *m* [m], *n* [n], *ny* [ny], *ng* [ŋ], *b* [b], *f* [f], *s* [s], *rh* [x], *v*, [v], *z* [z], *h* [h], *mv* [mv], *mf* [mf], *dl* [ɬ], *hl* [hl], *dlh* [ɬʰ], *r* [r], *l* [l], *w* [w], *y* [j], *c* [kʰ], *q* [kʰ], *x* [kʰ], *ch* [kʰ], *qh* [kʰ], *gc* [gʰ], *gq* [gʰ], *gx* [gʰ], *nc* [ŋ], *nq* [ŋʰ], *nx* [ŋʰ], *ts* [tsʰ], *tj* [tʰ], *kg* [kx], *tsh* [tsʰ], *tjh* [tʰ], *kgh* [kxʰ], *tl* [tʰ], *tlh* [tʰ], *dz* [dz], *j* [dʒ], *nj* [ndʒ].

**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>x5</sub> *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 \*-yánà 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* [baŋgirárile]  
 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* [enyayeni oꞑulileꞑo]  
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!'
- 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!'
- ii) *iza* vs. *izani*  
i-z-a i-z-a=ni  
15-come-FV 15-come-FV=PL  
'come!'
- iii) *za* (X) vs. *\*zani*  
z-a z-a=ni  
come-FV come-FV=PL  
'come!'

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’

### NEG of Ø-subjunctive

e.g. *ngingakhambi*  
ngi-nga-khamb-i  
SM<sub>1SG</sub>-NEG-go-NEG  
‘Let me not go’

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

V. yes

« in Past and Present »

e.g. *abafundi*  
a-ba-fund-i  
NEG-SM<sub>2</sub>-read-NEG  
‘They are not reading’

### Past

e.g. *angikafundi*  
a-ngi-ka-fund-i  
NEG-SM<sub>1SG</sub>-NEG-read-NEG  
‘I didn’t read’

### P081 Defective verbs: Are there ‘defective verbs’ which do not exhibit regular inflection?

V. null: unknown

« probably no »

i) *ngine*                      *madoro*  
ngi-**na**                      i-N-madoro  
SM<sub>1</sub>-with                      AUG-9-car  
‘I have a car’

ii) *bengine*                      *madoro*  
be-ngi-**na**                      i-N-madoro  
PST-SM<sub>1</sub>-with                      AUG-9-car  
‘I had a car’

iii) *ngizokuba*                      *nayo*                      *imadoro*  
ngi-zo ku-b-a                      **na**-yo                      i-N-madoro  
SM<sub>1sg</sub>-FUT-CERT-be-FV                      with-DEMr<sub>9</sub>                      AUG-9-car  
‘I will have a car’

- iv) ‘I know’            *ngiyazi*  
                               *ngi-ya-zi*  
                               SM<sub>1SG</sub>-PRS/PRG-know  
                               \**ngiyaza*
- ‘you know’            *wena uyazi* [we:ná ujǎ: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 wǎzǐ: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*