



## Siswati (S43)

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

V. 2: V and CV shape

cl.14) *e-bu-sika* ‘winter’

cl.6) *e-ma-kati* ‘cats’

cl.9) *i-ndlu* ‘house’

cl.9) *i-nyama* ‘meat’

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

1σ) *li-so* ‘eye’

2σ) *li-dvolo* ‘knee’

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

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

V. 18: 18 classes

« (this includes classes 1a and 2a) »

cl.1) *u-mu-ntfu*

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

‘a person, a man’

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

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

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

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

V. yes

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

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

V. no: another strategy is used

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

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

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

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

V. no: another strategy is used

i) *i-n-ja-kati*

AUG-9-dog-AGMT

‘a big dog’

ii) *i-n-ja*

AUG-9-dog

‘a dog’

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

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

V. no

i) *u-m-fula*     *mu-nye*

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

‘one river’

ii) *\*fula*     *mu-nye*

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

‘one river (intended)’

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

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

N. Prefixes for noun classes 16, 17 and 18, *pha-*, *ku-*, and *m-* respectively, are neither productively used with other stems nor used as derivational suffixes. The agreement of locative nouns (productively derived by circumfixation of *e-NOUN-ini*) follows the noun class of the root noun. *Ku-* appears to function as a default agreement class (cf. P64)

cf) *e-n-dl-ini*

LOC-9-house-LOC

‘in the house’

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

V. yes

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

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

V. yes

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

**P014 Independent subject pronouns: Are independent subject pronouns obligatory?**

V. no

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

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

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

V. no: not in all contexts

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

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

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

V. no: only for speech act participants

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

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

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

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

V. yes

N. See examples in P016

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

V. no: possessive pronouns do not display variation

i) *make*      *w-ami*

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

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

ii) *li-so*      *l-ami*

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

‘my eye’ [inalienable]

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

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

V. ?

« (Yes? See example 4 below) »

i) *u-m-tfwana*    *u-phul-e*                      *u-m-khono*    *we*    *m-ngani*    *w-akhe*

AUG-1-child    SM<sub>1</sub>-break-PST    AUG-3-arm    POSS<sub>3</sub> 1-friend    PP<sub>X3</sub>-POSS<sub>3SG</sub>

‘The child broke his friend’s arm’

ii) *\*u-m-tfwana*    *u-phul-e*                      *u-m-khono*    *w-akhe*                      *we*    *m-ngani*

AUG-1-child    SM<sub>1</sub>-break-PST    AUG-3-arm    PP<sub>X3</sub>-POSS<sub>3SG</sub>    POSS<sub>3</sub> 1-friend

‘The child broke his friend’s arm’

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

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

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

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

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

V. 1: yes, always

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



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

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

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

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

V. no: only spatial-deictic functions

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

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

V. yes

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

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

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

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

V. ?

« yes/no »

Adnominal construction

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

*moto+le+i-n-cane*

car+DEM+AUG-small

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

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

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

V. yes

« *l-* is widespread »

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

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

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

V. no: such compounding is not attested

« not at the first member »

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

AUG-6-water-DIM

‘little water’

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

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

V. 1: yes, for diminutive meaning only

« (cf. P026) »

i) *i-n-ja-nyana*

AUG-9-dog-DIM

‘a small dog’

ii) *si-n-ja-nyana*

7-9-dog-DIM

‘a small dog’

cf) *i-n-ja*

AUG-9-dog

‘a dog’

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

- size

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

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

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

- amount

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

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

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

- negative meaning

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

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

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

- positive, ameliorative, spoiling

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

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

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

*in-ja*

9-dog

‘a dog’

*in-ja-kati*

9-dog-AGMT

‘a big dog’

*indvodza* ‘man’

*indvodzakati* ‘daughter’

- feminine gender

*salukati* ‘old woman’

*umkhwekati* ‘mother in law’

*saliwakati* ‘disliked wife’

*intsandvokati* ‘best beloved wife’

*inkhomati* ‘cow’

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

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

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

- size

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

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

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

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

*buso* ‘face’ > *busokati* ‘big face’

*in-khomati le-mhlophe-kati*

‘a very white cow’

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

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

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

*(u)malukatana* ‘daughter-in-law’

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

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

*inyamatana* ‘buck’ < *inyama* ‘meat’

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

V. ?

« yes »

(1) noun class 1: person

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

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

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

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

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

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

V. ?

« yes »

*sihlalo* ‘seat’ < *-hlala* ‘sit’

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

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

*sono* ‘sin’ < *-ona* ‘do wrong’

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

*libito* ‘name’ < *-bita* ‘call’

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

V. no

1 *kunye*

2 *kubili*

3 *kutsatfu*

4 *kune*

5 *sihlanu*

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

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

V. no: two different words

*sandla* ‘hand’

*umkhono* ‘arm’

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

V. no: two different words

*sandla* ‘hand’

*umunwe* ‘a finger’

*iminwe* ‘fingers’

*siphanga* ‘shoulder’

*tiphanga* ‘shoulders’

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

V. no: two different words

*lunyawo* ‘foot’

*tinyawo* ‘feet’

*umbala* ‘leg’ [knee to ankle]

*litsanga* ‘thigh’ [hip to knee]

*licakala* ‘ankle’

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

V. no

*litiya* ‘tea’

N. Borrowed from English.

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

V. yes

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

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

V. yes

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



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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

V. 3: by another preposition

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

**P042 Causative: How is causative meaning expressed?**

V. 1: through the use of verbal affixation only

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

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

V. yes

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

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

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

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

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

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

V. yes

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

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

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

V. ?

« yes »

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

N. Limited doubling of applicative markers – fossilised forms?

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

*-bambelela* 'hold fast' < *-bamba* 'hold'

*-phumelela* 'be all out' < *-phuma* 'go out'

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

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

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

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

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

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

‘The children are likeable’

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

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

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

‘This subject is learnable’

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

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

‘Maths is learnable’

-valeka ‘closable’ < *-vala* ‘close’

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

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

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

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

Some verbs take both these suffixes:

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Causative-Applicative-Reciprocal-Passive

*is-el-an-w*

**-is-el-**

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

**-is-an-**

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

**-el-an-**

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

**-el-w-**

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

**-an-w-**

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

**-is-el-an-**

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

**-is-el-w-**

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

**-is-an-w**

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

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

V. 1: by morphological modification of the verb

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

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

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

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

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

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

**Past tense**

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

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

#### Future tense

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

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

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

V. 1: by morphological modification of the verb

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



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

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

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

V. 2: yes, as in independent tenses

**Noun phrase**

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

**Present tense**

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

**Past tense.**

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

**Future tense**

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

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

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

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

V. 5: two (or more)

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

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

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

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

V. 5: two (or more)

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

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

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

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

V. 3: obligatory double marking in the clause

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

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

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

V. 3: obligatory double marking in the clause

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

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

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

V. no: not attested in the language

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

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

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

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

(cf. examples in P049)

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

V. no

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

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

- V. no: all tense/aspect/mood constructions are negated by a negative prefix and/or a negative particle
- N. Negation in independent tenses is formed through the obligatory presence *a-* + *i* and negation in dependent tenses is expressed by means of two morphemes, *nga-* and *-i*. cf. (see (49)))

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

V. yes

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

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

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

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

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

**1PL**

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

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

## 2PL

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

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

V. no

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

**Recent past (Hodiernal?)**

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

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

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

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

N. There is recent past (today, yesterday) and a distant past (day before yesterday onwards) marked by the suffix *-a* and *-e*. However, in the perfective there is no distinction between recent and distant past (both are marked with *-ile*).

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

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

- i) *Ngitawubona tinkhomo entsambama*  
‘I will see the cattle this afternoon’
- ii) *Ngitawubona tinkhomo kusasa*  
‘I will see the cattle tomorrow’
- iii) *Ngitawubona tinkhomo leliviki lelitako*  
‘I will see the cattle next week’
- iv) *Ngitawubona tinkhomo lomnyaka lotako*  
‘I will see the cattle next year’

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

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

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

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

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

V. yes

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

V. no

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

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

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



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

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

V. yes

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

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

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

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

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

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

**future**

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

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

**aspect (progressive, perfect)**

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

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

V. yes

- CJ) *Ngi-bona Thembi*  
 SM<sub>1SG</sub>-see-FV Thembi  
 ‘I see Thembi’
- DJ) *Ngi-ya-m-bon-a*  
 SM<sub>1SG</sub>-DJ-see-OM<sub>1</sub>-FV  
 ‘I see him/her’
- cf) *\*Ngimbona Thembi*  
 SM<sub>1SG</sub>.CJ-see-OM<sub>1</sub>-FV Thembi  
 ‘I see him/her’

N. It appears that the morphological marking of CJ/DJ is restricted to the present tense where the disjunctive form is marked with *-ya-*. In other TAM combinations the distinction does not seem to be active, at least morphologically.

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

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

- i) *Ngi-ya-m-bon-a*  
 SM<sub>1SG</sub>-DJ-see-OM<sub>1</sub>-FV  
 ‘I see him/her’
- ii) *Umfana lo-nga-ka-si-sit-i*  
 1.boy REL-NEG-PST-OM<sub>1PL</sub>-help-FV  
 ‘The boy who did not help us’
- iii) *Ngi-ya-s-ati si-khatsi la-tawu-fik-a ngaso Thembi*  
 SM<sub>1SG</sub>-PROG-OM<sub>7</sub>-know 7-time REL-FUT-arrive-FV when Thembi  
 ‘I know the time when Thembi will arrive’

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

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

- i) *Ngi-fundz-el-a ba-ntfwana tin-cwadzi*  
SM<sub>1SG</sub>-read-APPL-FV 2-child 10-book

‘I’m reading books to/for the children’

- cf) *\*Ngi-tin-fundz-el-a ba-ntfwana*  
SM<sub>1SG</sub>-OM<sub>10</sub>-read-APPL-FV 2-child

Intd: ‘I’m reading (them) to/for the children’

- ii) *Ngi-ba-fundz-el-a tin-cwadzi*  
SM<sub>1SG</sub>-OM<sub>2</sub>-read-APPL-FV 10-book

‘I’m reading (them to/for the children)’

- cf) *Ngi-ta-ba-fundz-el-a*  
*\*Ngi-tin-ba-fundz-el-a*  
*\*Ngi-ba-tin-fundz-el-a*

N. Object marking without the overt inanimate object appears to be unacceptable.

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

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

- i) *Ngi-ya-ti-gez-is-a*  
‘I wash myself’

- ii) *Ngi-ya-ti-phek-el-a*  
‘I am cooking for myself/me’

- iii) *U-ya-ti-fundz-el-a*  
‘She is reading for herself’

- iv) *Ngi-ti-fundz-el-a tin-cwadzi*  
‘I am reading books to/for myself’

N. The reflexive marker is *ti-*

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

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

- i) *Ngi-bon-a Thembi*  
SM<sub>1SG</sub>.CJ-see-FV Thembi  
‘I see Thembi’

- ii) *Ngi-ya-m-bon-a*  
SM<sub>1SG</sub>-DJ-OM<sub>1</sub>-see-FV  
‘I see him/her’

- iii) \**Ngi-m-bon-a*                      *Thembi*  
 SM<sub>1SG</sub>.CJ-OM<sub>1</sub>-see-FV    *Thembi*  
 Intd: ‘I see him/her’
- iv) *Ngi-ta-m-bon-a*                      *Thembi*    *kusasa*  
 SM<sub>1SG</sub>.CJ-FUT-OM<sub>1</sub>-see-FV    *Thembi*    *tomorrow*  
 ‘I will see Thembi tomorrow’
- v) *Ngi-ta-m-bon-a*                      *kusasa*    *Thembi*  
 SM<sub>1SG</sub>.CJ-FUT-OM<sub>1</sub>-see-FV    *tomorrow*    *Thembi*  
 ‘I will see Thembi tomorrow’

N. Co-occurrence is possible in certain contexts (cannot be used in tenses where there is a CJ/DJ form). Not sure about the contexts in which it may be obligatory but doesn't seem to be triggered by animacy for example.

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

V. yes

**Singular**

- i) *Ake ngihambe*  
 ‘Let me go’
- ii) *Ake ngihambe ngiyolima*  
 ‘Let me go and farm’
- iii) *Ake ngilime*  
 ‘Let me farm’
- iv) *Ake sihambe siyolima*  
 ‘Let us go and farm’  
 \**Ake ngihambe ngilime*
- v) *Ake uhambe*  
 ‘Let you go’

N. Suffix -e is added to verb stem and the form *ake* is also used (‘leave’?). Plural subjunctive is also possible with -e-ni

**Plural**

- i) *A-si-phek-e-ni*  
 SBJV-SM<sub>1PL</sub>-cook-SBJV-PL  
 ‘Let’s cook’
- ii) *Asidlaleni*  
 ‘Let’s play’

- iii) *Asifundzeni*  
'Let's read'
- iv) *Asibalekeni*  
'Let's run away'

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

V. yes

e.g. *Umfana lo-nga-si-sit-i*  
 1.boy REL<sub>1</sub>-NEG-OM<sub>1PL</sub>-help-NEG.PST  
 'The boy who does not help us'

N. (Cf. P049)

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

V. 2: yes, a subset of (non-borrowed) verbs

« specifically -know' or 'say' and 'have' »

-tsi 'say'

-ati 'know'

- i) *Ngi-yati*  
'I know'  
*Bengati*  
'I knew'
- ii) *Ngi-tsi*  
'I say'  
*Ngi-tse*  
'I said'
- iii) *ngi-ne* 'I have'  
*u-ne* 'you have'  
*u-ne* 's/he has'  
*si-ne* 'we have'  
*ni-ne* 'you (pl) have'  
*ba-ne* 'they have'

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

V. ?

« yes »

- i) *Ngi-tawu-buye*      *ngi-phek-e*  
 SM<sub>1SG</sub>-FUT-return    SM<sub>1SG</sub>-cook-SBJV  
 'I will come and cook'

- ii) *Nga-buya nga-phek-a*  
 SM<sub>1SG</sub>.PST-return SM<sub>1SG</sub>-cook  
 ‘I came back and cooked’
- iii) *Nga-phindze nga-m-funa*  
 ‘I looked for him again’

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

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

- i) *Nga-buya nga-phindze nga-pheka*  
 SM<sub>1SG</sub>.PST-return SM<sub>1SG</sub>.PST-repeat SM<sub>1SG</sub>.PST-cook  
 ‘I came back and cooked again’
- ii) *Ngi-hlala ngi-fundza tin-cwadzi*  
 SM<sub>1SG</sub>-remain SM<sub>1SG</sub>-read 10-books  
 ‘I’m always reading books’
- iii) *Li-lalanga li-hlala li-sheshe li-shone e-bu-sika*  
 5-sun SM<sub>5</sub>-remain SM<sub>5</sub>-do\_quickly SM<sub>5</sub>-set AUG-14-winter  
 ‘The Sun always sets quickly in winter’
- iv) *Tin-gulube ti-sheshe tin-atse e-ma-nti*  
 10-pig SM<sub>10</sub>-do\_quickly SM<sub>10</sub>-drink AUG-6-water  
 ‘Pigs drink water quickly’

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

V. 1: yes, agreement on both forms in all contexts

- i) *Li-lalanga li-hlala li-sheshe li-shone e-bu-sika*  
 5-sun SM<sub>5</sub>-remain SM<sub>5</sub>-do\_quickly SM<sub>5</sub>-set AUG-14-winter  
 ‘The Sun always sets quickly in winter’
- ii) *Tin-gulube ti-sheshe tin-atse e-ma-nti*  
 10-pig SM<sub>10</sub>-do\_quickly SM<sub>10</sub>-drink AUG-6-water  
 ‘Pigs drink water quickly’

N. Actually, here it doesn’t seem to vary according to TAM but to verb forms. At least some of the so-called ‘defective’ verbs are described as always taking infinitive, i.e., lacking subject agreement, verbal complements.

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

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

- i) *Tin-gulube ti-sheshe tin-atse e-ma-nti*  
 10-pig SM<sub>10</sub>-do\_quickly SM<sub>10</sub>-drink AUG-6-water  
 ‘Pigs drink water quickly’
- ii) *Tin-gulube ti-natsa e-ma-nti nge-ku-shesha*  
 10-pig SM<sub>10</sub>-drink AUG-6-water COP-15-do\_quickly  
 ‘Pigs drink water quickly’
- iii) *Ba-ntfu laba-dzala ba-hlala ba-dziniwe*  
 2-old\_man REL<sub>2</sub>-always SM<sub>2</sub>-remain SM<sub>2</sub>-be\_tired  
 ‘Old men are always tired’
- iv) *Li-lalanga li-sheshe li-shone e-bu-sika*  
 5-sun SM<sub>5</sub>-do\_quickly SM<sub>5</sub>-set AUG-14-winter  
 ‘The Sun always sets quickly in winter’
- v) *Li-lalanga li-hlala li-sheshe li-shone e-bu-sika*  
 5-sun SM<sub>5</sub>-remain SM<sub>5</sub>-do\_quickly SM<sub>5</sub>-set AUG-14-winter  
 ‘The Sun always sets quickly in winter’

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

V. no

N. It depends on how the form *le-ngi-ng-aka* is analysed in the example below. I wonder if this is a negative copula form being used as an auxiliary.

e.g. *Ngidle li-phalishi kuphela, le-ngi-ng-aka li-phek-i*  
 SM<sub>1SG</sub>-eat.PST 5-porridge only REL<sub>5</sub>-SM<sub>1SG</sub>-COP?-NEG 5-cook-NEG.PST  
 ‘I only ate porridge, I did not cook it.’

N. Any usage of copula as an Aux has not been attested so far (but confirmation of ungrammaticality needed?)

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

V. yes

- i) *Umfana lo-wa-si-sit-a*  
 1.boy REL<sub>1</sub>-SM<sub>1</sub>-OM<sub>1PL</sub>-help-FV  
 ‘The boy who helped us’
- ii) *Bafana le-ba-si-sit-a*  
 2.boy REL<sub>2</sub>-SM<sub>2</sub>-OM<sub>1PL</sub>-help-FV  
 ‘The boys who helped us’

- iii) *Umfana lo-nga-ka-si-sit-i*  
 1.boy REL<sub>1</sub>-NEG-PST-OM<sub>1PL</sub>-help-NEG  
 ‘The boy who did not help us’
- iv) *Umfana lo-nga-si-sit-i*  
 1.boy REL<sub>1</sub>-NEG-OM<sub>1PL</sub>-help-NEG  
 ‘The boy who does not help us’
- v) *Bafana la-ba-nga-ka-si-sit-i*  
 2.boy REL<sub>2</sub>-SM<sub>2</sub>-NEG-PST-OM<sub>1PL</sub>-help-NEG  
 ‘The boys who did not help us’
- vi) *Bafana la-ba-nga-ka-ku-sit-i*  
 2.boy REL<sub>2</sub>-SM<sub>2</sub>-NEG-PST-OM<sub>2SG</sub>-help-NEG  
 ‘The boys who did not help you’
- vii) *Umfana lo-tawu-phek-a*  
 1.boy REL<sub>1</sub>-FUT-cook-FV  
 ‘The boy who will cook’
- viii) *Umfana lo-nge-ke-a-phek-e*  
 1.boy REL<sub>1</sub>-NEG-NEG.FUT-TAM-cook-NEG  
 ‘The boy who will not cook’
- ix) *Umntfu lo-yo-si-sit-a*  
 1.person REL<sub>1</sub>-REL-OM<sub>1PL</sub>-help-FV  
 ‘The person who will help us’
- x) *Bantfu laba-yo-si-sit-a*  
 2.person REL<sub>2</sub>-REL-OM<sub>1PL</sub>-help-FV  
 ‘the people who will help us’
- xi) *Umfana lo-yo-si-sit-a*  
 1.boy REL<sub>1</sub>-REL-OM<sub>1PL</sub>-help-FV  
 ‘The boy who will help us’
- xii) *Bafana laba-yo-si-sit-a*  
 2.boy REL<sub>2</sub>-REL-OM<sub>1PL</sub>-help-FV  
 ‘The boys who will help us’
- xiii) *U-si-sit-ile*  
 SM<sub>1</sub>-OM<sub>1PL</sub>-help-PRF  
 ‘She has helped us’
- xiv) *Wa-si-sit-a*  
 SM<sub>1</sub>.PST-OM<sub>1PL</sub>-help-FV  
 ‘S/he helped us’

N. verbal relative marker can be used in affirmative only. In negative contexts it appears to be prohibited in negative.



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

V. no: there is no dedicated relative marker, or relativisation is only marked through verbal morphology (P087)

« a verbal marker is used instead »

- i) *Umuntfu le-sa-m-bon-a*  
1.person REL<sub>1</sub>-SM<sub>1PL</sub>-OM<sub>1</sub>-see-FV  
'The person we saw'
- ii) *Umuntfu le-nga-m-bon-a*  
1.person REL<sub>1</sub>-SM<sub>1SG</sub>-OM<sub>1</sub>-see-FV  
'The person I saw'
- iii) *Umuntfu le-si-yo-m-bon-a*  
1.person REL<sub>1</sub>-SM<sub>1PL</sub>-REL-OM<sub>1</sub>-see-FV  
The person we will see
- iv) *Umuntfu le-ka-m-bon-a*  
1.person REL<sub>1</sub>-SM<sub>1</sub>-OM<sub>1</sub>-see-FV  
'The person who s/he saw'
- v) *Umuntfu lowa-bon-w-a ngu-Thembi*  
1.person REL-see-PASS-FV COP-Thembi  
'The person who was seen by Thembi'
- vi) *Indlu leya-bon-w-a ngu-Thembi*  
9.house REL<sub>9</sub>-see-PASS-FV COP-Thembi  
'The house that was seen by Thembi'
- vii) *Bantfu le-sa-ba-bon-a*  
2.person REL<sub>2</sub>-SM<sub>1PL</sub>-OM<sub>2</sub>-see-FV  
'the people who we saw'

N. See also the examples in P087.

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

V. n.a.: there is no dedicated relative marker, or relativisation is only marked through verbal morphology (P087)

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

V. n.a.: there is no dedicated relative marker, or relativisation is only marked through verbal morphology (P087)

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

V. 2: the subject

- i) *In-cwandzi leya-tseng-w-a ngu-Thembi*  
 9-book REL<sub>9</sub>-buy-PASS-FV COP-Thembi  
 ‘The book that Thembi bought’
- ii) *Sitja lesa-tseng-w-a ngu-Thembi*  
 7.plate REL<sub>7</sub>-buy-PASS-FV COP-Thembi  
 ‘The plate that was bought by Thembi’

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

V. null: unknown

- cf) *In-cwandzi leya-tseng-w-a ngu-Thembi*  
 9-book REL<sub>9</sub>-buy-PASS-FV COP-Thembi  
 ‘The book that Thembi bought’

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

V. 2: yes, it is always required

« (an object marker or an independent pronoun are possible, and always required) »

- i) *Incwandzi leya-tseng-w-a ngu-Thembi*  
 9.book REL<sub>9</sub>-REL-buy-PASS-FV COP-Thembi  
 ‘The book that Thembi bought’
- ii) *Indvodza ya-hlangana ne-m-fana lo-wa-sit-w-a ngu-Thembi*  
 9.man SM<sub>9</sub>-meet-RECP COP-1-boy REL-SM<sub>1</sub>-help-PASS-FV COP-Thembi  
 ‘The man met the boy who Thembi helped’
- iii) *Indvodza leya-bon-a i-moto leya-tseng-w-a ngu-Thembi*  
 9-man REL<sub>9</sub>-see-FV 9-car REL<sub>9</sub>-buy-PASS-FV COP-Thembi  
 ‘The man who saw a car that Thembi bought’
- iv) *Indvodza ya-hlangana ne-m-fana lo-wa-sit-w-a ngu-Thembi*  
 9-man SM<sub>9</sub>-meet-FV COP-1-boy REL<sub>1</sub>-SM<sub>1</sub>-help-PASS-FV COP-Thembi  
 ‘The man met the boy who Thembi helped’
- v) *Indvodza leya-bona i-moto leya-tseng-w-a ngu-Thembi*  
 9-man REL<sub>9</sub>-see-FV 9-car REL<sub>9</sub>-buy-PASS-FV COP-Thembi  
 ‘The man who saw a car that Thembi bought’
- vi) *Imoto le-nga-yi-bon-a*  
 9-car REL<sub>9</sub>-SM<sub>1SG</sub>-OM<sub>9</sub>-see-FV  
 ‘The car that I saw’

- vii) *I-ndvodza le-nga-yi-bon-a*  
 9-man REL<sub>9</sub>-SM<sub>1</sub>SG-OM<sub>9</sub>-see-FV  
 ‘The man that I saw’

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

V. yes

**Temporal (“when”)**

- i) *Uma Thembi afika ngi-tawu-ya e-sikolweni*  
 ‘When Thembi arrives, I will go to school’
- ii) *Uma ngicedza kufundza ngitawupheka*  
 ‘When I finish reading, I will cook’
- iii) *Ngi-ya-s-ati si-khatsi la-tawu-fik-a ngaso Thembi*  
 SM<sub>1</sub>SG-OM<sub>7</sub>-know 7-time REL-FUT-arrive-FV when Thembi  
 ‘I know the time when Thembi will arrive’
- iv) *Be-ngi-s-ati si-khatsi lebe-ka-tawu-fika ngaso Thembi*  
 TAM?-SM<sub>1</sub>SG-OM<sub>7</sub>-know 7-time REL-SM<sub>1</sub>-FUT-arrive when Thembi  
 ‘I knew the time when Thembi will arrive’
- v) *Be-ngi-s-ati lebe-ka-tawu-fika ngaso Thembi*  
 TAM?-SM<sub>1</sub>SG-OM<sub>7</sub>-know REL-SM<sub>1</sub>-FUT-arrive when Thembi  
 ‘I knew (the time) when Thembi will arrive’

**Locative (“where”)**

- i) *Ngi-ya-y-ati le-ndzawo la-lim-a ku-yo Thembi*  
 SM<sub>1</sub>SG-PRS-OM<sub>9</sub>-know DEM-9.place REL-farm-FV DEM-9 Thembi  
 ‘I know the place that Thembi is farming’
- ii) *Ngi-ya-t-ati le-tindzawo la-lim-a ku-to Thembi*  
 SM<sub>1</sub>SG-PRS-OM<sub>10</sub>-know DEM-10.place REL-farm-FV DEM-10 Thembi  
 ‘I know the places that Thembi is farming’
- iii) *Ngi-ya-t-ati le-tindzawo la-ba-lim-a ku-to la-ba-fana*  
 SM<sub>1</sub>SG-PRS-OM<sub>10</sub>-know DEM-10.place REL-SM<sub>2</sub>-farm-FV DEM-10 DEM-2-boy  
 ‘I know the places that the boys are farming’
- iv) *Ngi-ya-y-ati le-ndzawo lebe-ka-lim-a ku-yo Thembi*  
 SM<sub>1</sub>SG-PRS-OM<sub>9</sub>-know DEM-9.place REL-SM<sub>1</sub>.PST-farm-FV DEM-9 Thembi  
 ‘I know the place that Thembi farmed’
- v) *Be-ngi-y-ati le-ndzawo lebe-ka-lima ku-yo Thembi*  
 TAM?-SM<sub>1</sub>SG-OM<sub>9</sub>-know DEM-9.place REL-SM<sub>1</sub>.PST-farm DEM-9 Thembi  
 ‘I knew the place that Thembi farmed’

- vi) *Ngi-ta-y-ati le-ndzawo la-tawu-lim-a ku-yo Thembi*  
 SM<sub>1SG</sub>-FUT-OM<sub>9</sub>-know DEM-9.place REL-FUT-farm-FV DEM-9 Thembi  
 ‘I will know the place that Thembi will farm.’
- vii) *Ngi-ya-y-ati le-ndzawo la-tawu-lim-a kuyo Thembi*  
 SM<sub>1SG</sub>-PRS-OM<sub>9</sub>-know DEM-9.place REL-FUT-farm-FV DEM-9 Thembi  
 ‘I know the place that Thembi will farm.’

N. These examples seem to suggest that you can omit the words *sikhatsi* ‘time’ and the clause will still be well-formed.

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

V. ?

« no? »

N. We couldn’t get these through elicitation but it’s true that it’s quite difficult to achieve it through the English translation since it’s not really possible in English.

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

V. null: unknown

**P097 Clefts: How are clefts formed?**

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

- i) *kute bani*  
 ‘Who came?’
- ii) *Kufike bani?*  
 ‘Who arrived?’
- iii) *Ngu-bani lo-fik-ile*  
 COP-who REL<sub>1</sub>-arrive-PRF  
 ‘Who arrived?’
- iv) *Ngu-bani lo-tseng-e in-cwadzi*  
 COP-who REL-buy-PST 9-book  
 ‘Who bought the book?’
- v) *Ngu-Thembi lo-fik-ile*  
 ‘It is Thembi who arrived’
- vi) *Kufike Thembi*  
 ‘There arrived Thembi’
- vii) *Kukusasa lapho ngi-ta-kuya khona enyuvesi*  
 Tomorrow 16.DEM SM<sub>1SG</sub>-FUT-go where University  
 ‘It is tomorrow I will go to University’

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

V. no

- cf) \**Nge-itolo Thembi lo-fik-ile*  
COP-yesterday Thembi REL-arrive-PST  
Intd. 'It is yesterday that Thembi arrived'
- cf) \**Ngu-kukusasa Thembi lo-fik-ile*  
\**Nge-kushesha Thembi ugijima*  
*Thembi ugijima nge-kushesha*

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

V. yes

« question word 'ná' »

- i) *U-ya-fundza na?*  
SM<sub>2SG</sub>-DJ-study QP  
'Do you study?'
- ii) *U-fundz-ile itolo na?*  
SM<sub>2SG</sub>-study-PRF yesterday QP  
'Did you study yesterday?'
- iii) *U-ya-dla inyama na?*  
'Do you eat meat?'
- iv) *U-ya-dla na?*  
'Do you eat?'

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

V. 3: immediately after the verb (IAV)

- i) *U-fundz-a-ni?*  
SM<sub>2SG</sub>-study-FV-what  
'What do you study?'
- ii) *U-fundz-a ini?*  
SM<sub>2SG</sub>-study-FV what  
'What do you study?'
- iii) *Uya kuphi*  
SM<sub>2SG</sub> where
- iv) *Uyaphi*  
'Where are you going?'

- v) *Uhamba njani?*  
‘How are you going?’
- vi) *Ngi-ya-hamba*  
SM<sub>1SG</sub>-DJ-go  
‘I’m going’
- vii) *Ngi-hamba nge-tin-yawo*  
SM<sub>1SG</sub>-go COP-10-foot  
‘I’m going by foot’
- viii) *U-ba-tseng-el-e ini ba-ntfwana*  
SM<sub>2SG</sub>-OM<sub>2</sub>-buy-APPL-PST what 2-child  
‘What did you buy for the children?’
- ix) *Ngi-ba-tseng-el-e kudla ba-ntfwana*  
SM<sub>1SG</sub>-OM<sub>2</sub>-buy-APPL-PST food 2-child  
‘I bought food for the children’
- x) *U-ba-dl-is-e njani ba-ntfwana?*  
SM<sub>2SG</sub>-OM<sub>2</sub>-eat-CAUS-PST how 2-child  
‘How did you feed the children?’
- xi) *U-ba-dl-is-e nini ba-ntfwana?*  
SM<sub>2SG</sub>-OM<sub>2</sub>-eat-CAUS-PST when 2-child  
‘When did you feed the children?’
- xii) *Ngi-ba-dl-is-e itolo ba-ntfwana?*  
SM<sub>1SG</sub>-OM<sub>2</sub>-eat-CAUS-PST yesterday 2-child  
‘I fed the children yesterday’
- xiii) *U-ya-ku-fun-a ku-dl-a na?*  
SM<sub>2SG</sub>-DJ-INF-want-FV INF-eat-FV QP  
‘Do you want to eat?’

N. Question words: *ini* ‘what’, *bani* ‘who’, *kuphi* ‘where’, *njani* ‘how’, *kungani* ‘why’

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

V. yes

- i) *U-khal-el-a-ni?*  
SM<sub>2SG</sub>-cry-APPL-FV-what  
‘Why are you crying?’
- ii) *U-khal-el-a ini?*  
SM<sub>2SG</sub>-cry-APPL-FV what  
‘Why are you crying?’

**cf. Independent “why” word**

- i) *Yini a-balek-a lo-m-fana?*  
 why SM<sub>1</sub>.PRS-run-FV REL-1-boy  
 ‘why is this boy running away?’
- ii) *Yini u-nga-hlal-i?*  
 why SM<sub>2SG</sub>-NEG-sit-NEG  
 ‘Why are you not sitting/staying?’

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

V. 2: variable (class-inflected) copulas only

- i) *Ngu-mfundzi*  
 SM<sub>1SG</sub>-student  
 ‘S/he is a student’
- ii) *Ungumfundzi*  
 SM<sub>1</sub>-student  
 ‘S/he is a student’
- iii) *Babafundzi*  
 ‘They are students’
- iv) *Thembi ungumfundzi*  
 ‘Thembi is a student’

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

V. 6: multiple strategy

- i) *Ngi-ngu-m-fundzi*  
 SM<sub>1SG</sub>-COP-1-student  
 ‘I am a student’
- ii) *U-ngu-m-fundzi*  
 SM<sub>2SG</sub>-COP-1-student  
 ‘You are a student’
- iii) *a-ngi-su-ye-umfundzi*  
 NEG-SM<sub>1SG</sub>-NEG-?-1-student  
 ‘I’m not a student’

Predicative lowering: The tone of the penultimate syllable of the noun is lowered: *umuntú* vs *umúntu*  
 Nouns from all classes other than 9 can drop the augment and the tone of the penultimate syllable is lowered: *muntfú* ‘It is a person’

In class 4 and 9, the prefix *y-* is added: *y-inja* ‘it is a dog’

Nouns which begin with the prefixes *e-* or *u* add the prefix *ng*’

- e.g. *ngu-mfati* ‘it is a woman’  
*ngu-mfula* ‘it is a river’  
*nge-bafati* ‘it is women’

Locatives prefix *ngu*: *ngu-phandle* ‘it is outside’

- N. There are multiple copulas in the language – predicative lowering occurs, also the prefix *y-* (but this may well be regarded as an allomorph of (the regular copula) *ngV*, appeared only before class 4 and 9 whose augment form is *i-*)

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

V. yes

- N. The copula is used in the formation of the passive, it is also used in the formation of clefts (to convey focus).

**P105 ‘to have’: How is possession (‘to have’) expressed?**

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

*Ngine* ‘I have’

*Sine* ‘We have’

*Une* ‘You have’

*Nine* ‘You (pl) have’

*Une* ‘S/he’ [distinguished tonally]

*Bane* ‘They have’

i) *U-ne lusiba*

SM<sub>1</sub>-with pen

‘S/he has a pen’

ii) *Beka ne-lusiba*

SM<sub>1</sub>.PST with-pen

‘She had a pen’

iii) *Beka ne-li-pulazi*

SM<sub>1</sub>.PST with-5-big.farm

‘S/he had a large farm’

iv) *U-tawu-ba ne-ba-ntfwana*

SM<sub>2SG</sub>-FUT-COP with-2-child

‘S/he will have children’

- N. Both the defective verb forms are used, along with the *ba* construction which can be inflected for temporal information and occurs alongside the conjunction/preposition *ne*

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

V. null: unknown

« There are examples of cognate objects but it is not clear whether any of these are obligatory? »



- i) *Iyana im-vula*  
SM<sub>9</sub>-rain 9-rain  
'It's raining'
- ii) *Ngi-phuphe li-phuph-o*  
SM<sub>1SG</sub>-dream 5-dream-NMLZ  
'I dream a dream'
- iii) *Ngi-hambe lu-hamb-o*  
SM<sub>1SG</sub>-go 11-go-NMLZ  
'I'm going on a journey'
- iv) *Ngi-khulum-a in-khulum-o*  
SM<sub>1SG</sub>-talk-FV 9-talk-NMLZ  
'I'm talking a talk'

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

V. no

« [these examples all involve simple reduplication of finite verb forms. Non-finite forms do not appear to be permitted] »

- i) *Ngi-hamb-a hamb-ile umhlaba wonkhe*  
SM<sub>1SG</sub>-go-FV go-PRF world whole  
'I travelled around the world'
- ii) *Ngi-fundz-a fundz-ile itolo*  
SM<sub>1SG</sub>-read-FV read-PRF yesterday  
'I read yesterday'
- iii) *Ngi-ya-hamb-a hamb-a*  
SM<sub>1SG</sub>-DJ-go-FV go-FV  
*\*Kuhamba ngiyahamba*

N. Second verb form cannot appear with subject marking but takes suffix *-(il)e* (subjunctive rather than perfect?)

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

V. yes

« (*kushaya* 'to hit') »

- i) *Shay-a tim-bongolo*  
hit-FV 10-donkey  
'beat the donkeys'



- iv) *Thembi u-yi-nika kudla*  
Thembi SM<sub>1</sub>-OM<sub>9</sub>-give-FV food  
'Thembi gives it (class 9) food'
- v) *Thembi u-yi-nik-a u-m-ntfwana*  
Thembi SM<sub>1</sub>-OM<sub>9</sub>-give-FV AUG-1-child  
'Thembi gives it (class 9) to the child'
- vi) *Thembi u-li-nik-a u-m-ntfwana*  
Thembi SM<sub>1</sub>-OM<sub>5</sub>-give-FV AUG-1-child  
'Thembi gives it (class 5) to the child'
- vii) *Thembi u-ti-nika tona e-m-tfwan-eni*  
Thembi SM<sub>1</sub>-OM<sub>10</sub>-give-FV 10.PRO LOC-1-child-LOC  
'Thembi gives them (class 10) to a child'
- viii) *Nga-tseng-el-a inja kudla*  
SM<sub>1SG</sub>.PST-buy-APPL-FV 9.dog 15.food  
'I bought food for the dog'
- ix) *Nga-ku-tseng-el-a inja*  
SM<sub>1SG</sub>.PST-OM<sub>15</sub>-buy-APPL-FV 9.dog  
'I bought it (food) for the dog'
- x) *Nga-yi-tseng-el-a kudla*  
SM<sub>1SG</sub>.PST-OM<sub>9</sub>-buy-APPL-FV 15.food  
'I bought (the dog) it food'

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

V. yes

N. see the examples in P060?

- i) *Tinkhomo tiyagijima*  
'The cows are running'  
*Tiyagijima tinkhomo*
- ii) *Tiyagijima*  
'(they) are running'

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

V. no

- i) *Le-tinkhomo leti*  
'These cows'  
*\*Leti letinkhomo*
- ii) *Leti tinkhomo*  
'these are cows'  
*\*Leti letinkhomo leti*

N. Dem-Noun construction is only used as a copulative sentence, thus e.g. *Leti tinkhomo* means ‘these are cows’ but not ‘these cows’.

**P113 Quant-Noun: Is there a prenominal quantifier?**

V. no

- cf) *Umfundzi ngamunye une ncwadzi*  
*Ngamunye umfundzi une ncwadzi*  
‘Each student has a book’

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

V. yes

- i) *Incwadzi yami lenkhulu*  
9.book 9.my big  
‘My big book’  
*\*Incwadzi lenkhulu yami<sup>2</sup>*
- ii) *Incwadzi yami lenkhulu lebovu*  
9.book 9.my big red  
‘My big red book’
- iii) *Incwadzi yami lenkhulu lebovu lensha*  
9.book 9.my big red new  
‘My big red new book’

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

V. yes

- e.g. *Ngi-fundz-el-a bantfwana tincwadzi*  
SM<sub>ISG</sub>-read-APPL-FV 2.child 10.book  
‘I’m reading books to/for the children’

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

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

« the highest in terms of animacy appears first »

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<sup>2</sup> This sentence is judged to be acceptable by an expert consultant. We defer an explanation to future studies.

- i) *Thembi u-nik-a sivakashi ingulube*  
 PN SM<sub>1</sub>-give-FV visitor pig  
 ‘Thembi gives a pig to a visitor’
- ii) *#\*Thembi unika ingulube sivakashi*  
 Intended: ‘Thembi gives a visitor a pig’  
 Meaning: ‘Thembi gives a visitor to the pig!’
- iii) *Ngatsenga tinkinobho te lijazi*  
 SM<sub>1SG</sub>.PST-buy 10.buttons 10.ASSC 5.jacket  
 ‘I bought buttons for the jacket’
- iv) *Nga-tseng-el-a gogo tinkinobho*  
 SM<sub>1SG</sub>.PST-buy-APPL-FV 1a.grandmother 10.buttons  
 ‘I bought buttons for grandmother’  
 \* *Nga-tseng-el-a tin-kinobho gogo*<sup>3</sup>

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

V. yes

- i) *Thishela ufundz-is-a umfundzi indzaba* [normal, neutral, unmarked]  
 1a.teacher SM<sub>1</sub>-read-CAUS-FV 1.student 9.story  
 ‘The teacher makes the student read the story’
- ii) *Thishela ufundz-is-a indzaba umfundzi* [marked order]  
 1a.teacher SM<sub>1</sub>-read-CAUS-FV 9.story 1.student  
 ‘The teacher makes the student read the story’
- iii) *Ngaphekela umtfwana kudla* [normal, neutral, unmarked]  
 ‘I cooked food for the child’
- iv) *Ngaphekela kudla umtfwana* [marked order]  
 ‘I cooked the child food’
- v) *Nga-tfula ba-fundzi e-m-ngani-ni wami*  
 SM<sub>1</sub>.PST-introduce 2-student LOC-1-friend-LOC my  
 ‘I introduced the students to my friend’
- vi) *Nga-tfula um-ngani wami ku-ba-fundzi*  
 SM<sub>1</sub>.PST-introduce 1-friend my LOC-2-student  
 ‘I introduced my friend to the students’

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

V. 1: immediately after the verb (IAV)

<sup>3</sup> This sentence is judged to be acceptable by an expert consultant. We defer an explanation to future studies.

- i) *Watinikani Thembi tivakashi?*  
*Wa-ti-nika            ini    Thembi    tivakashi?*  
 SM<sub>1</sub>-PST-give        what    Thembi    10.guests  
 ‘What did Thembi give to the visitors?’
- ii) *Thembi watinika ingulube tivakashi*  
 ‘Thembi gave A PIG to the visitors.’
- iii) *Ngu-bani Thembi la-m-nika ingulube?*  
 ‘Who did Thembi give the pig to?’
- iv) *Wanika bani Thembi ingulube?*  
 ‘Who did Thembi give the pig to?’
- v) *Thembi wa-nika            Sibonelo    ingulube*  
 Thembi    SM<sub>1</sub>.PST-give    Sibonelo    9.pig  
 ‘Thembi gave the pig TO SIBONELO’

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

V. no

- i) *Tin-gulube    ti-sheshe        tin-atse        ema-nti*  
 10-pig            SM<sub>10</sub>-quickly    SM<sub>10</sub>-drink    6-water  
 ‘Pigs drink water quickly’
- ii) *\*Tin-gulube    ti-sheshe        ema-nti        tin-atse*  
 10-pig            SM<sub>10</sub>-quickly    6-water        SM<sub>10</sub>-drink  
 ‘Pigs drink water quickly’
- iii) *\*Tin-gulube    ti-sheshe        la                tin-atse*  
 10-pig            SM<sub>10</sub>-quickly    6.DEM        SM<sub>10</sub>-drink  
 ‘Pigs drink water quickly’

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

V. no

- i) *Ngiyakufuna    kudla*  
 I want            to eat  
 ‘I want to eat’
- ii) *\*Kudla        ngiyakufuna*  
 to eat            I want  
 ‘I want to eat’

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

V. null: unknown

« probably 1: yes, and the verb agrees with the postverbal subject »

- i) *Kufike Thembi na Sibonelo*  
‘There arrived Thembi and Sibonelo’
- ii) *Ku-pheka ku-hle*  
15-cooking 15-good  
‘Cooking is good’
- iii) *Ku-phek-a ku-yingoti*  
15-cook 15-dangerous  
‘Cooking is dangerous’
- iv) *Kupheka kuyashisana*  
‘Cooking burns’
- v) *Bantswana bayashisana*  
‘The children are burning each other’
- vi) *Bantswana bebashayana*  
‘the children were hitting each other’

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

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

« formal locative inversion »

- i) *Tinyoni ti-ya-hlabelel-a e-si-hlahl-eni*  
10.bird SM<sub>10</sub>-PRS-sing-FV LOC-8-tree  
‘Birds are singing in the trees’
- ii) *E-si-hlahl-eni ku-hlabelel-a tinyoni* [locative inversion]  
LOC-8-tree-LOC SM<sub>17</sub>-sing-FV 10.bird  
‘In the trees the birds are singing’
- iii) *E-si-hlahl-eni ti-nyoni ti-ya-hlabe-le-la*  
LOC-10-trees-LOC 10-birds SM<sub>1</sub>-PROG-sing-APPL-FV  
‘In the trees the birds are singing’
- iv) *Kune-ti-nyoni e-ti-hlahl-eni*  
*ku-na i-ti-nyoni e-ti-hlahl-eni*  
18-with AUG-10-bird LOC-8-tree-LOC  
‘In the trees there are birds’
- v) *E-tihlahl-eni ku-ne-ti-nyoni*  
LOC-10-trees-LOC 18-with-10-birds  
‘In the trees there are birds’
- vi) *Balimi ba-hlala e-Malalane*  
2-farmer SM<sub>2</sub>-stay LOC-Malalane  
‘Farmers live in Malalane’

- vii) *E-malalane ku-hlala balimi*  
 LOC-Malalane SM<sub>17</sub>-stay 2.farmer  
 ‘In Malalane live farmers’

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

V. no

- i) *Um-ntfwana wa-phul-a li-bhodo*  
 1-child SM<sub>1</sub>.PST-break-FV 5-pot  
 ‘The child broke the pot’
- ii) *Li-bhodo laphula umntfwana*  
 ‘The pot broke the child’ (\*The child broke the pot)

N. Reversal of subject and object results in personification.

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

V. no

- i) *Si-punu sipheka inyama*  
 7-spoon SM<sub>7</sub>-cook-FV 9.meat  
 ‘The spoon is cooking the meat’
- ii) *Si-punu si-phek-EL/ESH-a inyama*  
 7-spoon SM<sub>7</sub>-cook-APPL/CAUS-FV 9.meat  
 ‘The spoon is cooking the meat (s.o. is cooking the meat with the spoon)’
- iii) *Ngiphek-EL/ESH-a sipunu inyama*  
 ‘I am cooking the meat with the spoon’
- iv) *\*Inyama ipheka sipunu*  
 ‘The meat is cooking the spoon’
- v) *Sipunu sibondza liphalishi*  
 ‘The spoon is stirring the porridge’
- vi) *\*Liphalishi libondza sipunu*  
 ‘The spoon is stirring the porridge’

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

V. no

- i) *Ngitsandza ku-dla inyama ne-liphalishi*  
 SM<sub>1SG</sub>-like 15-eat 9.meat and-6.porridge  
 ‘I like eating meat and porridge’
- ii) *Imfene ne-nja ti-ya-balek-a*  
 9.baboon and-9.dog SM<sub>10</sub>-PRS-run.away-FV  
 ‘The baboon and the dog are running away’



- iii) *Imfene ne-nja ti-ya-balek-a futsi ti-ya-lwa*  
 9.baboon and-9.dog SM<sub>10</sub>-PRS-run.away-FV and SM<sub>10</sub>-PROG-fight  
 ‘The baboon and the dog are running away and fighting each other’
- iv) *Batfwana ba-ya-dlal-a futsi ba-ya-hleka*  
 2-child SM<sub>2</sub>-PRS-play-FV and SM<sub>2</sub>-PRS-laugh  
 ‘The children are playing and laughing’
- v) *Ku-fike Thembi na Sibonelo*  
 17-arrive.PST Thembi and Sibonelo  
 ‘There arrived Thembi and Sibonelo’
- vi) *Thembi wa-phek-a liphalishi (\*na) Sibonelo wapheka inyama*  
 Thembi SM<sub>1</sub>.PST-cook-FV 5-porridge Sibonelo SM<sub>1</sub>-cook 9.meat  
 ‘Thembi cooked porridge and Sibonelo cooked meat’

N. *na* cannot be used to combine sentences. Instead a pause is used to combine sentences.

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

V. yes

- i) *U-vuk-e, w-a-gez-a, w-a-gcok-a,*  
 SM<sub>1</sub>-wake.up-PST SM<sub>1</sub>-CONS-bathe.-FV SM<sub>1</sub>-CONS-get.dressed.-FV  
*w-a-dl-a w-a-y-a e-sikolw-eni*  
 SM<sub>1</sub>-CONS-eat-FV SM<sub>1</sub>-CONS-go-FV LOC-school-LOC  
 ‘He woke up, bathed, got dressed, ate, and went to school’
- ii) *Ngiya esikoleni nangicedza ngiya emsebentini*  
 ‘I’m going to school and after that I go to work’

N. The narrative past form (SM-*a-a*) is used.

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

V. 1: yes, optionally

- i) *Ngicabanga kutsi iMalalane y-inkhulu*  
 SM<sub>1SG</sub>.think that Malalane 9-big  
 ‘I think that Malalane is big’
- ii) *Ngi-ya-cabanga iMalalane y-inkhulu*  
 SM<sub>1SG</sub>-PRS-think Malalane 9-big  
 ‘I think Malalane is big’

- iii) \**Ngicabanga iMalalane y-inkhulu*<sup>4</sup>  
 SM<sub>1SG</sub>.think Malalane 9-big  
 ‘I think Malalane is big’
- iv) *Ngicabanga kutsi ku-pheka ku-yingoti*  
 SM<sub>1SG</sub>.think that 15-cooking 15-be\_dangerous  
 ‘I think that cooking is dangerous!’
- v) *Ngi-ya-cabanga kupheka ku-yingoti*  
 SM<sub>1SG</sub>-PRS-think 15-cooking 15-be\_dangerous  
 ‘I think that cooking is dangerous!’
- vi) *Ngi-ya-tsemba kutsi iyana*  
 SM<sub>1SG</sub>-PRS-believe that SM<sub>9</sub>.raining  
 ‘I believe that it is raining’

N. The complementiser *kutsi* is optional. However, with omission of the complementiser the verb appears in the long form.

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

V. 1: in front of the clause

- e.g. *Ngi-ya-tsemba kutsi [Thembi ungu-thishela]*  
 SM<sub>1SG</sub>-PRS-believe that Thembi COP-teacher  
 ‘I believe that Thembi is a teacher’

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

V. no

N. The following verbs are identified: *-khuluma* ‘say’, *-tjela* ‘tell’

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

V. no

- i) *Ngicabanga kutsi iThohoyandou yi-nkhulu*  
 SM<sub>1SG</sub>.think that Thohoyandou 9-big  
 ‘I think that Thohoyandou is large.’
- ii) *Ngi-ya-tsemba kutsi [Thembi ungu-thishela]*  
 SM<sub>1SG</sub>-PRS-believe that Thembi COP-teacher  
 ‘I believe that Thembi is a teacher’

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<sup>4</sup> This sentence is judged to be acceptable by an expert consultant. We defer an explanation to future studies.

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

V. 3: both 1 or 2 are possible, but not in the same clause (1: only by means of a conjunction semantically equivalent to English ‘if’; 2: only by means of a specific tense/aspect/mood)

e.g. *Uma ina imvula ti-mbali ti-ya-chakata*  
If SM<sub>9</sub>.rain 9.rain 10-flower SM<sub>10</sub>-PRS-bloom  
‘If it rains, flowers will bloom’

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

V. no

i) *Uma ina imvula ti-mbali ti-ya-chakata*  
If SM<sub>9</sub>.rain 9.rain 10-flower SM<sub>10</sub>-PRS-bloom  
‘If it rains, flowers will bloom’

ii) *Ti-mbali ti-ya-chakata uma ina imvula*  
10-flower SM<sub>10</sub>-PRS-bloom if SM<sub>9</sub>.rain 9.rain  
‘If it rains, flowers will bloom’

iii) *Ti-mbali ti-ya-chakata uma imvula ina*  
10-flower SM<sub>10</sub>-PRS-bloom if 9.rain SM<sub>9</sub>.rain  
‘If it rains, flowers will bloom’

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

V. no

i) *Uma imvula i-n-a ti-mbali ti-tawu-chakata*  
if 9.rain SM<sub>9</sub>-rain-FV 10-flower SM<sub>10</sub>-FUT-bloom  
If it rains, flowers will bloom

ii) *Ti-mbali ti-ya-chakat-a uma imvula i-n-a*  
10-flower SM<sub>10</sub>-PRS-bloom-FV if 9.rain SM<sub>9</sub>-rain-FV  
‘Flowers will bloom, if it rains’

N. If clauses can also marked with *la, lapha, lapho* (Ziervogel 1951: 157)

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

V. yes

i) *Kube in-ile ti-mbali nga-be ti-chakat-ile*  
If SM<sub>9</sub>.rain-PST 10-flower SM-HAVE/COP SM<sub>10</sub>-bloom-PST  
‘If it rained, the flowers would have bloomed’

ii) *Kube be-ngi-fundzil-e nga-be ngi-sebent-a kahle*  
If TAM-SM<sub>1SG</sub>-study-PST SM<sub>1SG</sub>HAVE/COP SM<sub>1SG</sub>-work-FV good  
‘If I had studied, I would have a good job’

- iii) *Kube nga-fundz-a nga-be ngi-sebent-a kahle*  
 If SM<sub>1SG</sub>-study-FV SM<sub>1SG</sub>-HAVE/COP SM<sub>1SG</sub>-work-FV good  
 ‘If I had studied, I would have a good job’
- iv) *Kube ngi-yinyoni nga-be ngi-ndiz-el-a kuwe*  
 if COP-bird SM<sub>1SG</sub>-HAVE/COP SM<sub>1SG</sub>-fly-APPL-FV you  
 ‘If I were a bird, I would fly to you.’

N. They are similar since both introduced by *kube* but the they used different tense-aspect combinations.

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

V. 1: by the use of a specific adverbial conjunction

- i) *Ngi-ya-tsandz-a uma si-khatsi se-ku-dla si-fika*  
 SM<sub>1SG</sub>-like-FV if 7-time 7.of-15-eat SM<sub>7</sub>-arrive  
 ‘I like it when the lunch time arrives.’
- ii) *Ngi-ya-tsandz-a uma ku-fika si-khatsi se-ku-dla*  
 SM<sub>1SG</sub>-like-FV if 15-arrive 7-time 7.of-15-eat  
 ‘I like it when the lunch time arrives.’
- iii) *Uma ngi-cedz-a ku-fundza ngi-tawu-ya e-khaya*  
 if SM<sub>1SG</sub>-finish-FV 15-study-FV SM<sub>1SG</sub>-FUT-go LOC-home  
 ‘Once I finish my classes, I will go home.’
- iv) *Uma ngi-cedz-a ti-fundvo ta-mi ngi-tawu-sebent-a e-nyuvesi*  
 if SM<sub>1SG</sub>-finish-FV 10-lessons 10-my SM<sub>1SG</sub>-FUT-work-FV LOC-university  
 ‘After completing my study, I will work at a university.’
- v) *Ngi-tawu-geza nge-mva kwe-kutsi ngi-dl-e*  
 SM<sub>1SG</sub>-FUT-wash COP-after ?-that SM<sub>1SG</sub>-eat-SBJV  
 ‘I will take a bath after I eat’
- vi) *Ngi-tawu-gez-a nge-mva kwe-kudla*  
 ‘I will take a bath after I eat’
- vii) *Ngi-tawu-gez-a nge-mpi kwe-kutsi ngi-lal-e*  
 SM<sub>1SG</sub>-FUT-wash-FV COP-before ?-that SM<sub>1SG</sub>-sleep-SBJV  
 ‘I will take a bath before I sleep.’

**P136 Locative adverbial clauses: How are locative adverbial clauses (‘where’-clauses) formed?**

V. 3: by a specific locative relative construction

- i) *A-nga-ti lapho ba-ngani ba-mi ba-y-e khona*  
 NEG-SM<sub>1SG</sub>-know REL<sub>16</sub> 2-friend 2-my SM<sub>2</sub>-go-PST where  
 ‘I don’t know where my friends went’

- ii) *A-ng-ati kutsi ba-ngani ba-mi ba-y-e kuphi*  
 NEG-SM<sub>1SG</sub>-know that 2-friend 2-my SM<sub>2</sub>-go-PST where  
 ‘I don’t know where my friends went.’
- iii) *Ngi-phek-e kudla lapho ku-hlala khona ba-tali ba-mi*  
 SM<sub>1SG</sub>-cook-FV 15.food REL<sub>16</sub> 15-stay where 2-parents 2-my  
 ‘I cook food where my parents live.’
- iv) *Ba-lima ummbila lapho ina khona invula*  
 SM<sub>2</sub>-plant maize REL<sub>16</sub> 9.rain where 9.rain  
 ‘They plant maize where it rains’
- v) *Ngi-ya-kw-ati lo-ko lo-kwente ba-fundzi kutsi ba-fey-ile*  
 SM<sub>1SG</sub>-OM17-know DEM-17 ATTRIB.REL-17 2-students that SM<sub>2</sub>-fail-PST  
 ‘I know what made the students fail’
- vi) *Ngiyati kutsi bafundzi bafeyile kuphi*  
 ‘I know where the students failed’
- N. Locative constructions involving the class 16 or class 17 locative relative demonstratives can be used to form where-clauses. (Ziervogel 1951: 157)

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

V. 5: several of the above strategies are attested (1: by the verb ‘surpass/exceed’; 2: by a particular lexical device (e.g. the ‘comparator’ *kuliko* in Swahili); 3: by a verbal enclitic (with a locative morphology))

- i) *Ngi-mudze kuna bhuti w-ami*  
 SM<sub>1SG</sub>-be tall than 1a.brother 1-my  
 ‘I am taller than my brother’
- ii) *Ngi-mudze kw-endlula bhuti w-ami*  
 SM<sub>1SG</sub>-be tall 15-compare 1a.brother 1-my  
 ‘I am taller than my brother’
- iii) *Ngi-mfisha kuna bhuti w-ami*  
 SM<sub>1SG</sub>-be short than 1a.brother 1-my  
 ‘I am shorter than my brother’
- iv) *Inja incane kun-emphisi*  
 9.dog SM<sub>9</sub>.be\_small than-hyena  
 ‘the dog is smaller than the hyena’
- v) *Ngi-mudze kubobonkhe e-sikolw-eni sa-mi*  
 SM1-tall LOC-school-LOC 9-my  
 ‘I am the tallest in my school’

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

V. yes

- i) *Le-tinye tivakashi beti-l-el-e le-tinye ti-jayiva*  
REL?-some 8-visitor SM<sub>2</sub>-sleep-PST REL?-some SM<sub>8</sub>-dance  
'Some visitors slept and others danced'
- ii) *Ku-Thembi ku-dla li-phalishi ku-balulekile*  
17-Thembi 15-eat 5-porridge 15-important  
'For Thembi to eat porridge is important'
- iii) *Ku-Sibonelo ku-jayiv-a ku-ya-mangalis-a*  
17-Sibonelo 15-dance-FV SM<sub>15</sub>-PRS-surprise-FV  
'For Sibonelo to dance is surprising'
- iv) *U-m-ntfwana u-mangalis-e thishela*  
AUG-1-child SM<sub>1</sub>-surprise-PST 1.teacher  
'The child surprised the teacher'

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

V. yes

- i) *Ku-bon-akal-a ngatsi Thembi w-ent-a Sibonelo a-fundz-e*  
SM<sub>17</sub>-see-NEUT-FV that Thembi SM<sub>1</sub>-do-FV Sibonelo SM<sub>1</sub>-read-SBJV  
'It seems that Thembi is making Sibonelo read'
- ii) *Thembi ku-bon-akal-a ngatsi w-ent-a Sibonelo a-fundz-e*  
Thembi SM<sub>17</sub>-see-NEUT-FV that SM<sub>1</sub>-do-FV Sibonelo SM<sub>1</sub>-read-SBJV  
'Thembi seems to be making Sibonelo read'
- iii) *Ku-bon-akal-a ngatsi Sibonelo u-fundz-is-a Thembi*  
SM<sub>17</sub>-see-NEUT-FV that Sibonelo SM<sub>1</sub>-read-CAUS-FV Thembi  
'It seems that Sibonelo is teaching Thembi'
- iv) *\*Ku-bon-akal-a kutsi Sibonelo u-fundz-is-a Thembi*  
SM<sub>17</sub>-see-NEUT-FV that Sibonelo SM<sub>1</sub>-read-CAUS-FV Thembi  
'It seems that Sibonelo is teaching Thembi'
- v) *Ku-bon-akal-a ngatsi ba-ntfwana ba-phek-a li-phalishi*  
SM<sub>17</sub>-see-NEUT-FV that 2-child SM<sub>2</sub>-cook-FV 5-porridge  
'The children appear to be cooking porridge/It appeared the children to cook porridge'

N. The subordinator *kutsi* cannot be used with such constructions (cf. parameters on subordinate clauses). *-akal* is described as the neuter suffix (Ziervogel 1952: 77)

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

V. no: focalisation is rendered by another strategy

N. The copula is used to form a cleft construction which conveys focus.

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

V. yes

**“only”**

- i) *Ngu-Sibonelo yedvwa lo-pheka-ko*  
 COP-Sibonelo only REL-cook-17  
 ‘Only Sibonelo is cooking’  
 ‘lit. the one who is cooking is Sibonelo’
- ii) *Ngi-tsandz-a li-phalishi kuphela a-ngi-wa-tsandz-i e-ma-zambane*  
 SM<sub>1SG</sub>-like-FV 5-porridge only NEG-SM<sub>1SG</sub>-NEG-like-NEG AUG-6-potato  
 ‘I only like porridge. I do not like potatoes’
- iii) *Ngi-tsandza tin-ja kuphela a-ngi-wa-tsandz-i e-ma-kati*  
 SM<sub>1SG</sub>-like 10-dog only NEG-SM<sub>1SG</sub>-NEG-like-NEG AUG-6-cat  
 ‘I only like dogs. I don’t like cats’
- iv) *Ngi-dl-e li-phalishi kuphela, le-ngi-ng-aka li-phek-i*  
 SM<sub>1SG</sub>-eat-PST 5-porridge only REL.5-SM<sub>1SG</sub>-COP-NEG SM<sub>5</sub>-cook-PST.NEG  
 ‘I only ate porridge, I did not cook it.’
- v) *Ngi-dl-e li-phalishi kuphela, a-ngi-ka-dl-i inyama*  
 SM<sub>1SG</sub>1sg-eat-.PST 5-porridge only NEG-SM<sub>1SG</sub>-NEG-eat-NEG 9.meat  
 ‘I ate only porridge. I didn’t eat meat’

**“even” [no lexical item identified, na can be used]**

- i) *Na-Thembi ung-um-hlabelel-i lo-muhle*  
 CONJ-Thembi COP<sub>1</sub>-1-sing-AGENT REL-good  
 ‘Even Thembi is a good singer’
- ii) *Na-nobe ute imali u-nge-ta e-sikole-ni*  
 ? SM<sub>2SG</sub>-NEG.have 9.money SM<sub>2SG</sub>-?-come LOC-school-LOC  
 ‘Even if you don’t have money, you can come to school’
- iii) *Na-nome ute imali u-nge-ta esi-kole-ni*  
 ? SM<sub>2SG</sub>-NEG.have 9.money SM<sub>2SG</sub>-?-come LOC-school-LOC  
 ‘Even if you don’t have money, you can come to school’

**“too”**

- e.g. *Ngi-tsandz-a e-ma-kati futsi ngi-tsandz-a ne-tinja*  
 SM<sub>1SG</sub>-like-FV AUG-6-cat and SM<sub>1SG</sub>-like-FV COP-10.dog  
 ‘I like cats and I like dogs, too’

N. Only ‘only’ seems to be attested as a lexical item. ‘even’ and ‘too’ appear to be indicated through *na* or a copula.

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

V. yes

- i) *Ku-tseng-e bani ingulube?*  
 SM<sub>17</sub>-buy-PST who 9.pig  
 ‘Who bought a pig?’
- ii) *Ku-fik-e bani ekhaya?*  
 SM<sub>17</sub>-arrive-PST who home  
 ‘Who arrived at home?’
- iii) *Ngu-bani lo-fik-e ekhaya?*  
 COP-who REL-arrive-PST 9.home  
 ‘Who arrived at home?’
- iv) \**Bani lofike ekhaya?*  
 ‘Who arrived at home?’
- v) *Ngu-bani lo-tseng-e le-ngulube*  
 COP-who REL-buy-PST REL-10.pig  
 ‘Who bought the pig?’
- vi) *Ngu-bani lo-dl-a le-li-phalishi*  
 COP-who REL-eat-FV REL-5-porridge  
 ‘Who is eating the porridge?’
- vii) *Ngu-bani lo-dl-a li-phalishi*  
 COP-who REL-eat-FV 5-porridge  
 ‘Who is eating the porridge?’
- viii) *U-tseng-e ingulube na?*  
 SM<sub>2SG</sub>-buy-PST 9.pig Q  
 ‘You bought a pig?’
- ix) *Ingulube lo-yi-tseng-ile na?*  
 9.pig RELSM<sub>2SG</sub>-OM<sub>9</sub>-buy-PST Q  
 ‘You bought a pig?’