

NEGATION IN SESOTHO

BY

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DECLARATION

I, the undersigned, hereby declare that the work contained in this dissertation is my own original work and that I have not previously in its entirety or in part submitted it at any University for a degree.

Signature

Date

ABSTRACT

This research project examines the syntax of negative sentence constructions in Sesotho and explores implications of the empirical data on negation within the framework of the Minimalist Program. According to Minimalist Program, language consists of a lexicon and Computational System where the operations Merge and Move generate sets of structural descriptions, it is driven by the principle of economy, which entails that movement should take place only when necessary for the purpose of Case feature checking. It is also concerned with the expansion of syntactic structures in terms of X-bar theoretic properties, where functional category gives full categorial status.

This project further considered the morphology of negation in Sesotho where Sesotho data is refined within the Lexeme-morpheme base morphology, where bound grammatical morphemes such as the negative morphemes in Sesotho are defined in terms of morphological spelling operations.

Within these two theoretical frameworks, sentence constructions which realize negation by means of negative morphemes over a full range of tense, aspect and mood distinctions were examined, including sentence construction that realize negation in subordinate clauses as well as those that entail issues of topic and focus, and scope of negation.

Constituent negation, with constituents such as subjects, objects and adjuncts is also investigated. Various ways of negating constituents in Sesotho were examined: they are cleft sentences, pseudo-cleft sentences, sentence construction with locative AgrS [ho] and sentence constructions with subject inversion as well as sentences where constituents are negated within the VP. All these methods were considered with regard to non-copulative and copulative verbs.

The issue of focus which entails plain focus, restrictive and contrastive foci, the issue of topic, which entails stage topics, modified topics and multiple topics are investigated and interpreted within the Focus Structure theory, a theory which assigns focus structures to sentences of the language. Negative sentences are assigned two focus structure *viz.* main focus structure and the subordinate focus structure.

Finally, this study also looks into the scope of negation in Sesotho, where negative criterion (Neg-criterion) stipulates various positions of negative morphemes or words which in turn determines the scope of negation. Scope of negation is also examined in terms of focus, with constituents such as NP's, NP Loc's and NP's in subordinate clauses.

OPSOMMING

Hierdie navorsingsprojek ondersoek die sintaksis van konstruksies met negatiewe sinne in Sesotho en gaan die implikasies na van die empiriese data oor ontkenning binne die raamwerk van die Minimalistiese Program. Volgens die Minimalistiese Program, bestaan taal uit 'n leksikon en 'n rekenaarsisteem waar die bewerkinge Saamsmelt en Skuif versamelings strukturele beskrywings genereer, dit word aangedryf deur die beginsel van ekonomie wat inhou dat Skuif slegs plaasvind wanneer dit nodig is vir die doel van die nagaan van die Kasus kenmerk: dit het ook te doen met die uitbreiding van sintaktiese strukture in terme van die teoretiese kenmerke van die X-balk, waar die funksionele kategorie volle kategoriale status verkry.

Dié projek het ook verder die morfologie van ontkenning in Sesotho oorweeg waar die Sesotho data verfyn is binne die Lekseem-Morfeem Basis Morfologie, waar grammatikale morfeme soos die negatiewe morfeme in Sesotho gedefinieer word in terme van morfologiese spellingsbewerkings. Binne hierdie twee teoretiese raamwerke, is daar ondersoek ingestel na sinskonstruksies wat negatief realiseer deur middel van negatiewe morfeme binne 'n volledige reeks van onderskeidings van tyd, aspek en modus, insluitende sinskonstruksies waar die negatief realiseer in die bysin, asook daardie negatiewe wat gaan oor sake soos Topiek en Fokus, en die omvang van ontkenning.

Konstituent ontkenning is ondersoek waaronder konstituente soos onderwerpe, voorwerpe en adjunkte. Verskeie wyses om konstituente in Sesotho te ontken is ondersoek, naamlik: klef en pseudo-klef sinne, sinskonstruksie met die lokatiewe kongruensie [ho] en sinskonstruksies met subjeksinversie asook sinne waar konstituente ontken word binne 'n werkwoordfrase. Al hierdie wyses is nagegaan met nie-kopulatiewe en kopulatiewe werkwoorde.

Die probleem van fokus is ondersoek wat insluit eenvoudige fokus, beperkende en kontrastiewe fokus, asook die probleem van topiek wat verskeie soorte topiek insluit. Hierdie ondersoek is gedoen en uiteindelik geïnterpreteer binne die Fokus Sruktuur teorie, 'n teorie wat fokusstrukture toeken aan sinne van 'n taal. Negatiewe sinne word twee fokusstrukture toegeken, naamlik: die hoof fokus struktuur en die onderskikkende fokus struktuur.

Laastens het die studie ook gekyk na die omvang ('scope') van ontkenning in Sesotho waar die negatiewe kriterium verskeie posisies van negatiewe morfeme of woorde stipuleer wat dan weer die omvang van ontkenning bepaal. Die omvang van ontkenning is ook ondersoek in terme van fokus waar kontrastiewe fokus die uitbreiding van omvang bepaal oor konstituente soos naamwoordfrases, lokatiewe naamwoordfrases en naamwoordfrases in onderskikkende klouse.

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

1.1 AIM

This study on negation in Sesotho has two interrelated goals:

- (i) to examine the syntax of constructions that realize negation in Sesotho in a comprehensive and systematic manner;
- (ii) to explore the consequences and implications of the empirical data on negation in Sesotho within the framework of syntax, the current developmental stage in generative syntax, the Minimalist Program (Chomsky 1993) and the morphological theory of lexeme-morpheme-base morphology (Beard 1995).

Within the Minimalist Program syntax is driven by principles of economy. The properties of one such principle, the "last resort" principle of syntactic movement, which entails that movement should take place only when necessary for purposes of Case feature checking will be investigated taking into account Sesotho evidence relating to functional categories, including negative. Other issues within the current debate on the Minimalist Program concern the expansion and projection of syntactic structures in terms of X-bar theoretic properties, and the operation of a range of syntactic constraints and principles relating to Case, agreement and predicate argument structure at the levels of representation associated with the representation of meaning, i.e. Logical Form level and the phonetic representation, i.e. Phonetic Form (PF), respectively. Both these issues will be explored with respect to the empirical data on negation in Sesotho in order to determine the nature of the properties of both X-bar projections and of syntactic constraints and principles obtaining at the levels of LF and PF, respectively for Sesotho syntax. In this regard recent proposals on radical Minimalism are explored which posit an enriched syntactic representation from which morphological spell-out and Logical Form representation are read of simultaneously. According to these proposals the Spell-out/S-structure representation thus occurs as the only level of representation and instances of LF movement are dispensed with. The evidence of negation constructions in Sesotho will be considered to establish the support or otherwise for this theoretical representation.

In order to explore the above-mentioned theoretical issues negation constructions in Sesotho will be considered comprehensively over the entire tense-aspect-mood system of the language. These sentence constructions of negation include the following:

- (i) sentence constructions which realize negation by means of negative morphemes over the full range of tense, aspect and mood distinctions exemplified in Sesotho;
- (ii) sentence constructions that realize negation in subordinate clauses of the full range of tense-mood distinctions in Sesotho;
- (iii) sentence constructions that pose problems as regards the issues of topic and focus and scope of negation and the extension of this scope over subordinate clauses;
- (iv) sentence constructions that pose problems as regards the issue of negation of sentence constituents of various categorical types and negative polarity items.

The investigation of syntactic issues of negation in Sesotho within the general framework of the Minimalist Program will focus on the theoretical implications of Sesotho evidence for the split-Inflection hypothesis which holds that inflectional categories occur as heads of functional phrasal projections. Functional categories realized for Sesotho include T(tense) Phrase, Neg(ative) Phrase, M(ood) Phrase, Asp(ect) Phrase, S(ubject) Agr(eement) Phrase and O(bject) Agr(eement) Phrase. Within this proliferated inflectional system a negative clause has a functional projection Neg. Phrase. The issue of the relationship of Neg. Phrase with respect to other functional categories posited for Sesotho will be explored in the study. In particular, the theoretical implications are examined of the assumption made in the Minimalist Program that verbs are generated with inflectional affixes as regards the feature checking devices which require that feature checking be done by adjoining an inflected head to a matching functional head. The role and properties of the V-related functional projection S(ubject) Agr(eement) Phrase and T(ense) Phrase for Sesotho syntax will be investigated.

In addition to problems as regards the syntax of negation in Sesotho, this study will explore data from Sesotho that necessitate a more detailed and refined morphological framework. For this purpose the model of lexeme-morpheme-base morphology of Beard (1995) will be assumed. Within this model of morphology lexemes and morphemes are

assigned to discrete components within the grammar. Bound grammatical morphemes such as the negative morphemes in Sesotho are defined in terms of morphological spelling operations and can be dealt with only after the representations with inflectional derivation and movement has been established.

1.2 REVIEW OF LITERATURE ON NEGATIONS

1.2.1 Klima (1964)

Klima (1964) describes negation as part of grammatical analysis of languages consisting of grammar rules that are involved in sentences associated with negation as well as other parts of grammar common to negatives e.g. interrogatives, restrictives and certain subordinate constructions. Further more, different parts of speech such as adverbs, nouns, adjectives and verbs can be described as negatives.

1.2.1.1 Types of negation

Klima (1964) gives two major types of negation, namely:
Sentence negation and constituent negation.

Sentence negation

According to Klima (1964) sentence negation includes structures that permit the occurrence of the either-clause, the negative appositive tag and the question tag without [not]. It is characterized by the presence of the pre-verbal particle [neg] in the sentence as part of the auxiliary.

Sentence negation occurs when negative pre-verbal adverbs such as [hardly, rarely, seldom and never] and pre-verbal particle negative [not] are present in the sentence. It also occurs when the negative particle appears before the nominal quantifiers in the subject position as in (1):

(1) [Not much] rain fell

Sentence negation occurs through the use of special negatives such as [nobody, nothing, nowhere] not preceded by [not]:

(2) *[Nobody] rejects suggestions.*

Constituent negation

Constituent negation is characterized by the use of negative affixes such as [un-] where the particle negative [neg] is treated as part of certain constituents, which are optional like [un-happy] and those that are obligatory like [doubt].

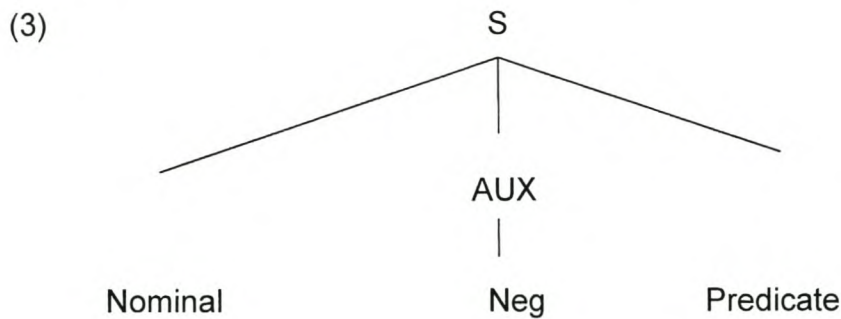
1.2.1.2 Structural position of negative particle [not]

Klima (1964) gives five possible positions of the negative particle [not] within the major constituents of the sentence.

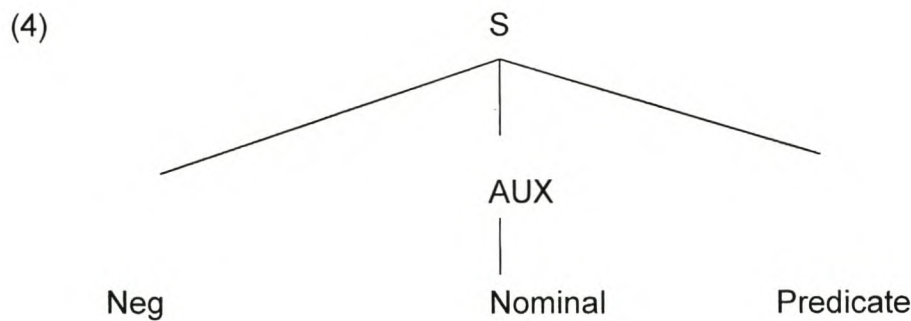
- (a) Within the auxiliary in the sentence
Writers have not been accepting invitation
- (b) As part of the subject nominal
Not much rain fell
- (c) As part of the adverb of place
They went nowhere
- (d) Within the prepositional modifier
The writers of none of the reports thought so
- (e) Within an infinitival complement
I will force you to marry no one

Despite the five possible reflexes of the negative [not], Klima (1964) states that the original position of Negative [not] is found in two positions: Before the predicate and refers to it as Pre-predicate position; before the whole sentence and calls it Pre-sentential position.

When the pre-verbal particle negative does not have other constituents incorporated into it, the negative [not] assumes its position within the auxiliary as in (3) below:



With pre-sentential negative position, the negative [not] have certain constituents of the sentence incorporated in it and it assumes the position outside the auxiliary as in (4):



The occurrence of negative [not] outside the auxiliary is accounted for by the rule of preliminary neg-placement:

Nominal - Neg + [TENSE ...] AUX

According to Klima (1964), pre-sentential position of the negative [not] characterize sentence negation and is directly dominated by the s-node as illustrated in the structure in (4) above.

1.2.1.3 The scope of negation

The scope of sentence negation is determined by the occurrence of the negative [not] in various types of sentence constructions. The scope of negation in indefinite constructions extend beyond the clause in which Negative [not] appears into subordinate clauses as in (5):

(5) *He didn't know that anything has happened*

If the negative [NOT] may be incorporated into a secondary modifier, the negative in one clause cannot be incorporated into indefinite in another clause even if the latter clause is subordinate to the former:

(6) *He didn't know that anything had happened and neither did she*

In both the infinitival complements and participial complements, the indefiniteness is motivated by the negative [NOT] in the base sentence and the negative {NOT} may be incorporated into elements in the embedded complements as indicated by the sentence below:

(7) *I won't force you [to marry anyone]*

In embedded sentences, the pre-verbal particle negative, which ultimately occurs in embedded structure, may also originate in the sentence that served as the source of the embedded structure. However, the scope of negation is restricted to the clause in which negative appears and to the substructures subordinate to that clause:

(8) *I will force you [not to marry anyone]*

The scope of negation is also determined by the use of words with negative affixes. Klima (1964) states that sentences having negative prefix instead of the pre-verbal particle [NEG] do not provide a favourable environment for the indefinite quantifiers, and as a result there is no grammatical relationship between negative pre-verb [not] and negative prefixes. Klima (1964) observes however, that with complementary structures such as [that clauses, infinitives], negative prefix does have some of the same consequences with respect to the shape of a sentence as does [not]. This is illustrated in the two sentences below:

(9) (a) *He won't be able to find any time for that*
 (b) *He is unable to find any time for that*

In these examples above, the negative affix has the same effect as the pre-verbal particle [NEG], but the scope of the affix is restricted to the sentence-like complement, subordinated to the constituent containing the affix. On the other hand, the scope of pre-verbal [NEG] in 9 (a) extends over the whole sentence, including the constituent of the complement.

Klima (1964) further indicates that the negative particle [not] may occur in a sentence but with limited negative scope, meaning that it occurs without sentence negation.

In subordinate clauses, the negative [not] is always a constituent of the sentence from which the clause is derived but on the other hand, the occurrence of [NOT] in subordinate clauses never entails sentence negation. This is illustrated by two instances in (10) :

- 10 (a) *I would force her [not to marry anyone]*
(b) *He says that [there will not be any rain]*

It is assumed that the reason for the absence of sentence negation as in the above sentences is that [not] does not represent the pre-verbal negative of the base sentence. However, the structure underlying [not] in subordinate clauses and phrases is the same as that of negative [not].

1.2.1.4 Negative absorption

Negative absorption is a grammatical process assumed to account for certain special characteristics of the sentence. It occurs when the negative element is missing in the sentence-like complements of certain classes of adjectives and verbs. Both the negative affix and the pre-verbal negative particle function in the same way in providing the necessary environment for the occurrence of negative absorption in the embedded sentences as shown in (11):

- 11 (a) *It isn't likely that [he will get there this time until after the game]*
(b) *It is un-likely that [he will get there this time until after the game]*

The absorption of the pre-verbal particle negative from within the complement might be due to the fact that the negative particle in the complement of certain verbs and adjectives

is relocated either as a negative affix in the complement or as pre-verbal particle negative in the main clause. Another explanation for negative absorption in the subordinate sentences arises from the fact that base sentences contain complements with governors like [think] or the base sentences contain favourable negative environment such as negative pre-verbal particle, negative affix or inherently negative constituents.

1.2.2 Lasnik (1974)

Lasnik (1974) describes negation as involving the distribution of the lexical [not] in the surface structure and the implications of the base rules and transformations involved in sentences containing [not]. He basically shares the same view with Klima (1964) about the position of the negative [not] in the sentence, but with him both the sentence-initial position and the auxiliary position of [not] require Auxiliary base position.

According to Lasnik (1974), the distribution of the lexical [not] is explained in terms of two theories: (a) The Determiner Theory, which states that [not] is generated on NP's and adverbs and is transformationally relocated into the auxiliary, and the (b) Pre-sentential Theory which states that [not] is generated in the complementizer node.

1.2.2.1 Determiner Theory

In the case of determiner theory, the lexical [not] is generated optionally in the determiner of noun phrases and certain types of adverbials:

(12) ([not] many people) arrived

The NP's with [not] can only appear in the subject position of both active and passive sentences and not appear in the object position of the active and the by-phrase of the passive. This is illustrated by the following sentences in (13) and (14):

(13) (a) ([not] many people) passed the test
(b) *The test was passed by ([not] many people)

(14) (a) ([not] many people) were killed by soldiers
(b) *The soldiers killed ([not] many people)

In Lasnik's (1974) view, the determiner theory has the explanation for this occurrence through the NOT shift transformation rule which is applied after passive. The NOT shift transformational rule states as follows:

*"Shift [not] occurring in the determiner of an NP to the
sight of the auxiliary into the auxiliary"*

The NOT shift transformation operates in two steps after the sentence have been transformed into passive. The sentence in (15) is transformed into passive where [not] is in the subject position:

(15) *([not] many people) were killed by the soldiers*

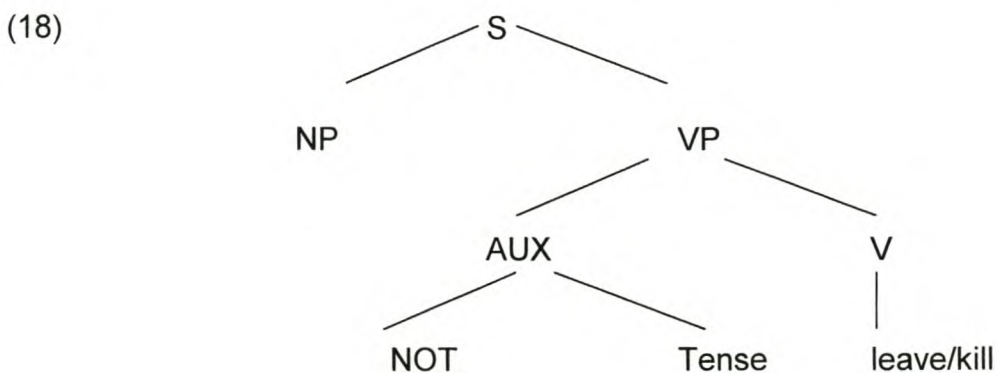
The first step of [not] shift moves the phrase with [not] to the right of the auxiliary as in the example in (16)*:

(16) **The soldiers were killed by ([not] many people)*

The above sentence is ungrammatical, and to correct it, Lasnik (1974) suggests that Auxiliary Adjustment is applied and this is the second step. The auxiliary adjustment as the second step gives rise to the sentence in (17); where [not] is moved into the auxiliary:

(17) *The soldiers were [not] killed by many people*

After this NOT shift operation, the determiner [not] becomes the first element of the auxiliary, a position which is a possible deep structure position for it. It moves to this position for structure preservation purposes as illustrated in (18):



With this transformational rule, both sentences where [not] is generated in the auxiliary and the determiner of the subject NP will have the same structure above.

[not] is also generated in the specifier of certain adverbial phrases as in the sentence below:

(19) *(Not often) do I cut astronomy class*

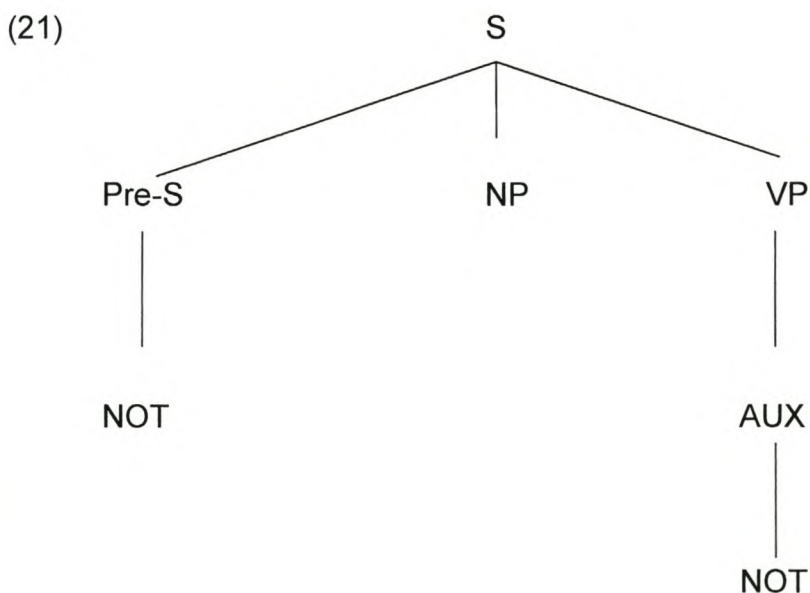
If NOT shift is applied after adverb fronting as in the sentence above, [not] is moved into the auxiliary and yield the following sentence in (20):

(20) *I don't cut astronomy class often*

This movement where the determiner [not] is moved into the auxiliary is called **Subject Auxiliary inversion**.

1.2.2.2 The Pre-sentence theory

According to Lasnik (1974)'s Pre-sentence theory, [not] is generated in the auxiliary but on the other hand [not] occurs in the auxiliary only when it is there in the base of the sentence. The second base position of [not] is in the pre-sentence position. The structure below demonstrates two structural positions of [not]:



The structure above accommodates the following type of sentences in (22):

(22) *Not many of the arrows did not hit the target.*

According to the structure in (21) above, no special transformation is required to account for the non-occurrence of sentences with not-phrases other than initial position because [not] occurring on quantifiers or adverbials is generated sentence initial and is never transformationally relocated.

Further more, according to this theory, the not-adverbials that are generated whole such as [not long after, not long ago] can occur freely throughout the sentence and do not trigger subject auxiliary inversion. On the other hand, [not] adverbial constructions such as [not often] occur only sentence-initially and require inversion.

According to the Pre-Sentence theory, the lexical item [not] is generated in sentence-initial position, and this initial position is the complementizer node. Lasnik (1974) states that the (wh) question displays behaviour parallel to that of negative sentence where the Question morpheme (wh) is generated in the Pre-Sentence position. If this is the case, then [not] is also generated in the complementizer node. Pre-Sentence is not an independent node but a part of the complementizer node because it can co-occur with certain complementizers such as [that].

1.2.2.3 The scope of negation

On the issue of the scope of negation, Lasnik (1974) agrees with Klima (1964) that the scope of negation is determined by the occurrence of [not] in various positions of the sentence. Lasnik (1974) develops this issue further by explaining the scope of negation through the principle of c-command and precedence and instead of using terms such as sentence negation and local negation, he analyses the scope of negation through the Determiner theory and Pre-Sentence theory.

There are several ways in which Lasnik (1974) analyzes the scope of negation and they are summarized as follows:-

- a) When the quantifier is within the scope of [not], the NP quantified by it cannot be referential. It means if [not] immediately precedes a quantifier, the quantifier must be within the scope of negation. The quantifier is obligatorily negated but the NP it qualifies is not referential as in the example in (23):

(23) *[Not many] people saw the fire*

- b) Secondly, a quantifier within [that] island will not be subject to the influence of [not] if [not] is outside it. When [not] commands and precedes [often] but is separated from it by intervening material, [often] escapes from the scope of negation. The sentence in (24) below illustrates:

(24) *I don't attend classes, often*

- c) Thirdly, the scope of [not] depends crucially upon precedence and command relationships. An element can only be in the scope of negation if it is commanded by a negative morpheme. If [not] commands a quantifier and precedes it, that quantifier can be within the scope of [not]. The quantifier [many] in the example below falls within the scope of [not] because of command and precedence principles:

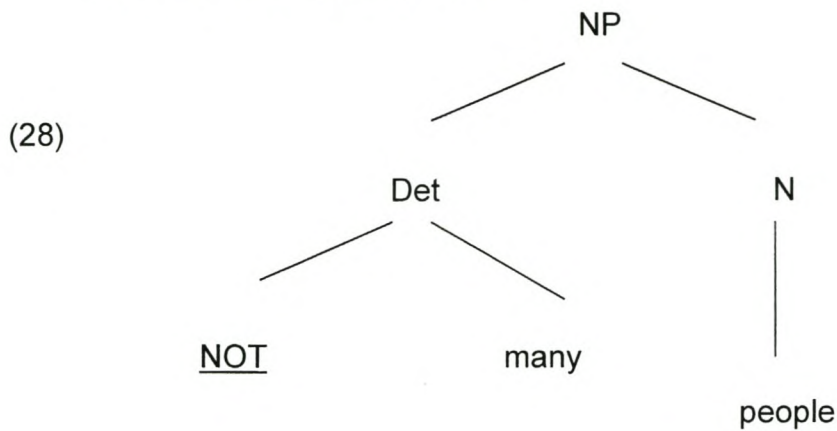
(25) *The man did not eat many oranges*

- d) According to the determiner theory, one possible scope of negation is that an adverb or quantifier negated by [not] in the auxiliary, can allow [not] to occur in its determiner position as illustrated below in (26):

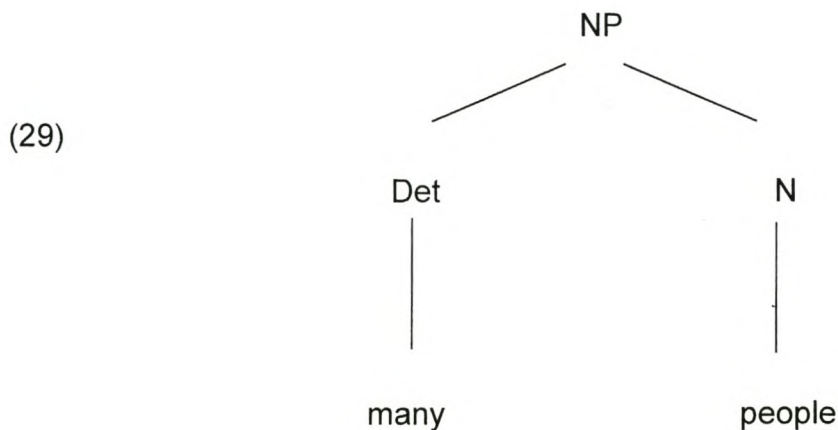
(26) (a) *They could not solve [many of the problems]*
 (b) *[Not many] of the problems were solved*

The determiner theory further stipulates that an element is negated if and only if [not] is present in its determiner in deep structure. The example in (27) with its structure in (28) illustrates this:

(27) *[Not many people] left*



According to the structure in (28) above, [many] is negated since [not] is present in its deep structure. But on the other hand, [many] is not negated in the structure in (29) because [not] is absent in the determiner:



- e) Lasnik (1974), in his Pre-Sentence theory, states that [not] occurring on the quantifiers and some adverbials, is generated only in sentence initial position, and [not] occurring in the auxiliary, is generated only in the auxiliary and transformations involved will affect the scope relations.

The scope of negation [not] depends on intonation where the quantifier can be inside or outside the scope of negation. When [many] is within the same intonational phrase as [not], [many] will be negated as below:

(30) *I could not solve many of the problems*

The scope rule for [not] consists of two rules:

(a) Quantifier [+ negated] / not – →

This rule states that [not] negation is in line or contact with the quantifier as below:

(31) *[not many] people showed up*

(a) Quantifier [+ negated] / not x – →

This rule states that [not] is separated from the quantifier but both are in the same intonational phrase as illustrated by the sentence in (32) below:

(32) *I could not solve many of the problems*

1.2.3 Laka (1994)

With the introduction of functional heads, where inflectional categories attained the status of categories, Laka (1994) argued that sentence negation is based on Tense C-Command Condition, where Tense must c-command all propositional operators of the clause. He maintained that there is parametric choice regarding the placement of negation at D-structure, where negation in other languages is generated above Tense Phrase and in other languages it is generated under Tense Phrase. With regard to the pre-sentential negative words, Laka (1994) introduced the Abstract Category headed by the negative head, basing his argument on the similarities between Chomsky (1957)'s Affirmation Phrase and the Negative Phrase. Finally, on the question of Negative Polarity Items licensing, he argued that they are licensed by Negative complementizer as opposed to Klima (1964)'s inherent negative verbs.

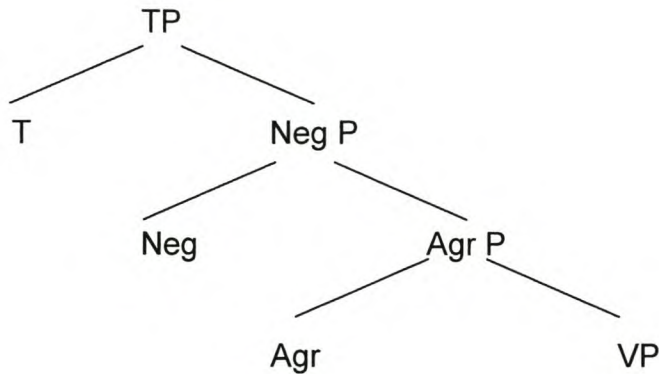
1.2.3.1 Tense C-Command Condition

Tense C-Command Condition is stated as follows:

Tense must C-Command at S-Structure all propositional operators of the clause.

The Tense C-Command Condition as stated above, regards Tense as the highest functional head among the inflectional projections. Other modals such as negation and agreement occurs generally as lower functional heads or as particles adjoined to inflection as illustrated in the diagram in (33):

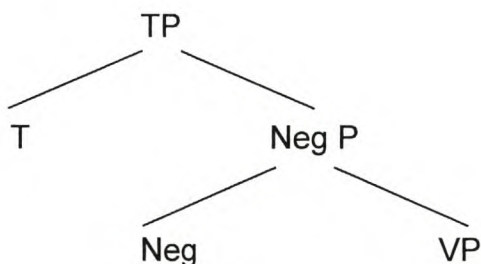
(33)



Tense C-Command Condition ensures that all inflectional elements that operate on a given clause are dominated by the element that saturates the event position of that clause, and that element is Tense. As the structure in (33) demonstrates, the negative is c-commanded by Tense, where Tense Phrase dominates the Negative Phrase.

Laka (1994) goes on to say that there is parametric choice with regard to the placement of negation at D-Structure. This means that the position of negation differs from language to languages: In English negation is generated TP internal, where NegP is dominated by Tense Phrase as illustrated in (34):

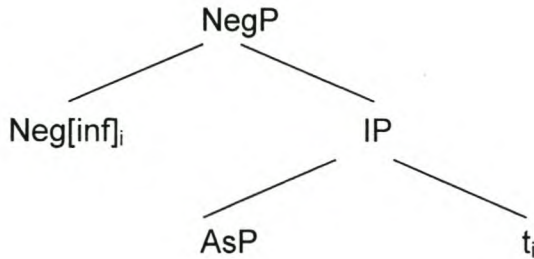
(34)



In Basque, negation is TP external, meaning NegP is generated above Tense and dominates it. Negation is generated above inflectional Phrase (IP); it does not lower to inflection at S-Structure but stays in the position where it c-commands the external argument or specifier of IP. To satisfy the C-Command Condition, inflection is raised to

the head of NegP immediately dominating it, and the trace left behind is governed by its antecedent. The structure in (35) illustrates the position of NegP:

(35)

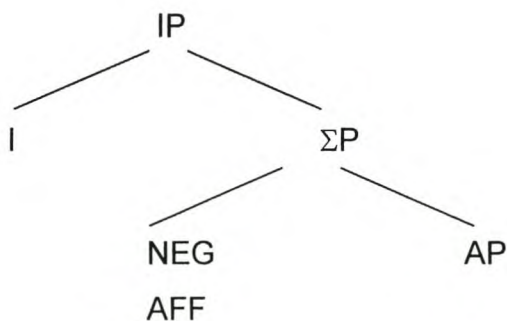


In infinitival clauses, Tense- C-Command condition does not apply since the infinitival marker [to], lacks temporal specification. Furthermore, it is not a Tense head and it does not c-command the negative markers in negative infinitival clauses. Laka (1994) observes that there is however, one functional head that does not appear to obey the Tense C-Command condition, and that head is the complementizer, the reason being that it does not modify the event in inflection but it establishes a relationship between the clauses.

1.2.3.2 Abstract Category and Negative Element

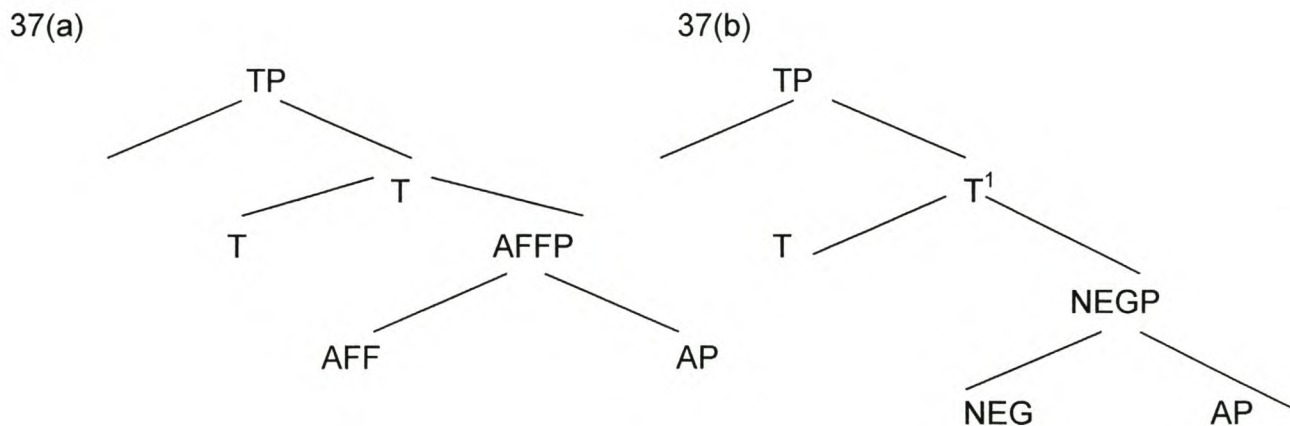
The negative head and the affirmation head belong to the same syntactic category called Abstract projection. They are identical operations with opposite semantic values: The affirmation morpheme affirms the sentences and the negative morpheme negates them. The structure in (36) indicates their structural position under the abstract projection:

(36)



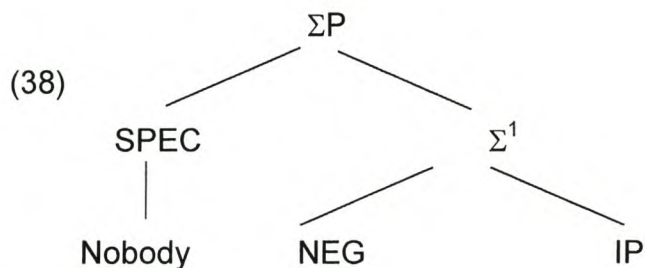
In terms of x-bar theory, the positive morpheme affirmation, is a functional head and projects a functional phrase [AFFP], and in exactly the same way, the negative morpheme [not] is a functional head and projects a functional phrase [NegP]. Both the [AFFP] and

[NegP] are generated below Tense and Modals to satisfy the Tense-c-command condition as illustrated in the structure in (37) below:



The two functional heads are in complementary distribution meaning that where the negative head is present, the affirmation head cannot apply. If they do, the scope of negation is affected.

Laka (1974) places the emphatic [so] and the n-word polarity items under the Abstract phrase as well. When n-words are preposed, they move to the specifier of the Abstract phrase [Σ]. In Spanish the Σ P is generated above the IP. The Σ P is headed by a phonologically empty negative morpheme, which licenses the polarity item [nobody] via a Spec-head agreement. The position of n-words as polarity items is demonstrated in the structure below:



In short, the Abstract Category introduced by Laka (1974) accommodates three functional heads: The Affirmation head, the Negative head and the Emphatic [so].

1.2.3.3 Negative Complementizer

According to Klima (1964), it is the inherently negative verbs such as [deny] and [doubt] of the main clause that makes the embedded clause a Negative Polarity Item licensing domain. Progovac (1991) later argued that NPI's in the object position are not licensed. The NPI's are licensed by the clausal complements of inherent negative verbs. It is only in the clausal arguments that NPI's are licensed by negation. On the other hand, Negative Polarity items are not licensed in non-clausal argument as the sentence in (39) indicates:

(39) * *The witness denied anything*

Progovac (1991) quoted by Laka (1974), argues that it is the complementizer projection which is responsible for the Negative Polarity Items licensing inside the embedded clauses. The NPI must be in the Tense c-command domain of triggers at S-Structure, and the complementizer that heads the subordinate clause will license the NPI. It is not the inherently negative verb in the upstairs that provides licensing of NPI's.

In Laka (1974)'s view, the negative is an active syntactic feature that causes movement and it is affective element. The negative Complementizer is selected in negative environments where the matrix verb is inherently negative as in the sentence in (40):

(40) *John denied that anybody hated her*

When the matrix sentence involves an overt negation, the [NEG] Complementizer can be selected and interclausal NPI licensing is possible in the matrix sentence involving overt negation. The example in (41) illustrates:

(41) *John has not said that anybody will come*

In Spanish, the Negative Complementizer affects the moods of the sentence it heads. One such mood is the subjunctive mood, which is required in sentences headed by a negative complementizer. At the same time, the complementizer is not required when the sentence is inflected for subjunctive mood. Laka (1974) argues that clauses headed by negative complementizer are inflected for subjunctive mood because the clauses under the scope of negation are irrealis.

1.2.4 Haegeman, L_(1995)

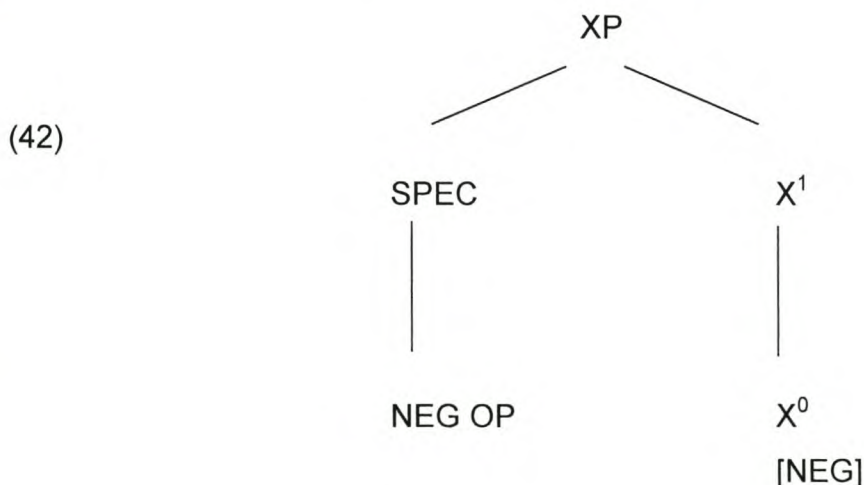
1.2.4.1 Introduction

In analysing sentence negation, Haegeman (1995) follows the views of Klima (1964), Lasnik (1972) and Laka (1974), where she relates negative sentences to interrogative sentences. Both the negative and the interrogative elements are generated from a general term referred to as AFFECTIVE – CRITERION, which requires that the affective operators, [NEG] and [WH] must be in a Spec-head configuration with a head marked with the relevant affective feature. In the case where the affective feature is the negative, we shall have the NEG-CRITERION and where the affective feature is the interrogative [WH] we shall have WH-CRITERION.

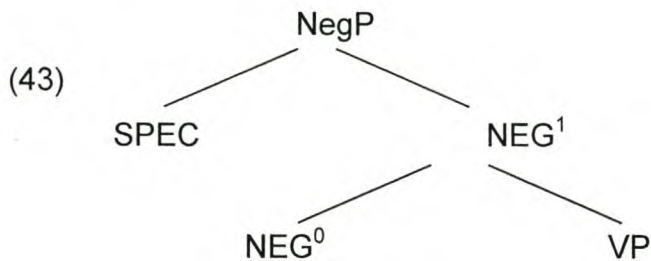
Haegeman (1995)'s analysis of sentence negation is based on the NEG-CRITERION, the well formedness condition that determines the distribution and interpretation of negative elements. It requires the Spec-head relations between the negative operator and the negative head in terms of X-bar schema. NEG-CRITERION is defined as follows:

- a) A Neg-operator must be in a Spec-head configuration with an X^0 [NEG]
- b) An X^0 [neg] must be in a Spec-head configuration with a Neg-operator
- c) Neg-operator: A negative phrase in a scope position
- d) Scope position: A left-peripheral A'-position [Spec-XP]

The requirements stated above by the Neg-criterion are illustrated in the structure in (42) below:



Based on the Neg-Criterion, negative sentences are constructions, which minimally have Neg-feature, associated with a functional head of the extended projection of the verb. This implies that negative elements are identified as Negative Phrases headed by a negative head, where the head is in geometrical position with its specifier as indicated in (43):



With the application of the Neg-criterion, Haegeman (1995) establishes ways of analysing the distribution and interpretation of negative elements. Neg-criterion causes negative movement, which determines different positions of negative elements in the sentence:

- a) Before negative inversion, the negative element occupies the [Spec, NegP]
- b) With preposed negative constituents, the negative element occupies the {Spec, CP}
- c) With extraposed negative constituents where there is lack of movement, the non-overt operator occupies the [Spec, NegP]
- d) Where there is multiple negation with movement, negative elements occupy the extended projection of the negative Phrase.

Further more, Haegeman (1995) gives a clear-cut distinction between Argument positions and non-argument positions. A-position is thematic positions occupied by arguments of the verb and A'-positions are operator positions occupied by negative operators. Finally, Haegeman (1995) also give a description of negative operators and non-negative operators.

1.2.4.2 Distribution of Negative elements in a sentence

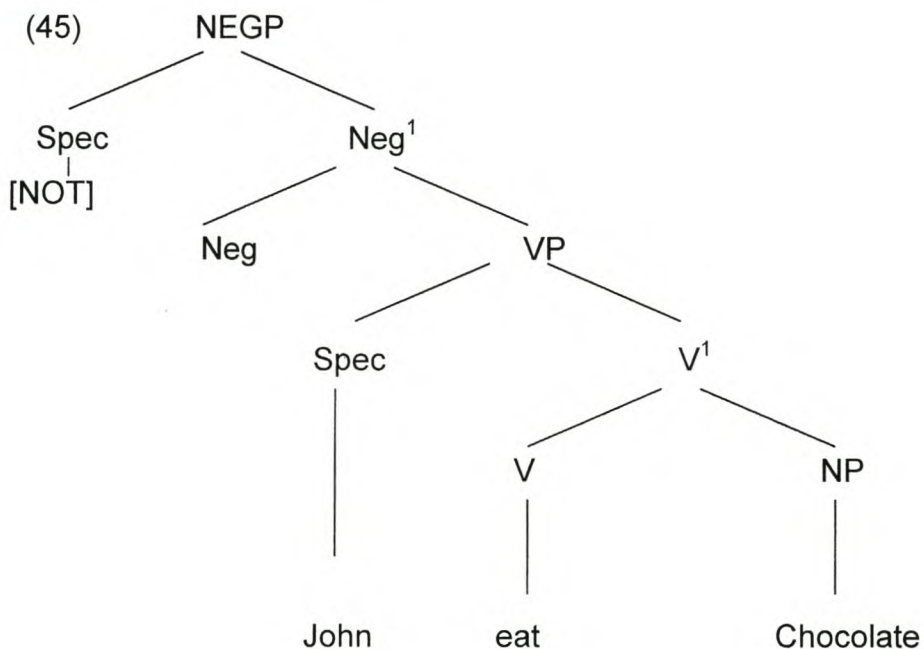
Sentence negation is expressed in terms of a NegP category, which consists of a head element and the specifier, but languages vary when it comes to the lexical realization of the negative head. In some languages, the head is lexically realized but not the specifier, in other languages the specifier is overt and not the head, while in some, both the head and the specifier are lexically realized. On the other hand, negative-criterion give rises to

movement, but in some languages there is lack of movement or partial movement of certain negative elements. These two observations lead to different structural positions of negative elements and different interpretations.

Preposed Negative Constituents

(44) *John does [not] eat chocolate*

The sentence in (44) is the negative sentence and [NOT] occupies the specifier of NegP. The neg-criterion is satisfied at S-Structure. [NOT] is the required negative operator in [Spec, NegP]. The structure in (45) illustrates:



The neg-criterion causes movement of preposed negative constituents as in the sentence in (46):

(46) *[On no account] will I go there*

English sentences with preposed negation and in subject-auxiliary inversion are negative sentences, and if all negative sentences have NegP, meaning that sentential negation is encoded by the projection Neg⁰, then the sentence in (46) will have NegP but with no overt Neg head. The preposed negative operator [on no account] will occupy the specifier of complementizer, and the auxiliary on its way to the Comp, goes through the Neg⁰ and picks up the negative feature.

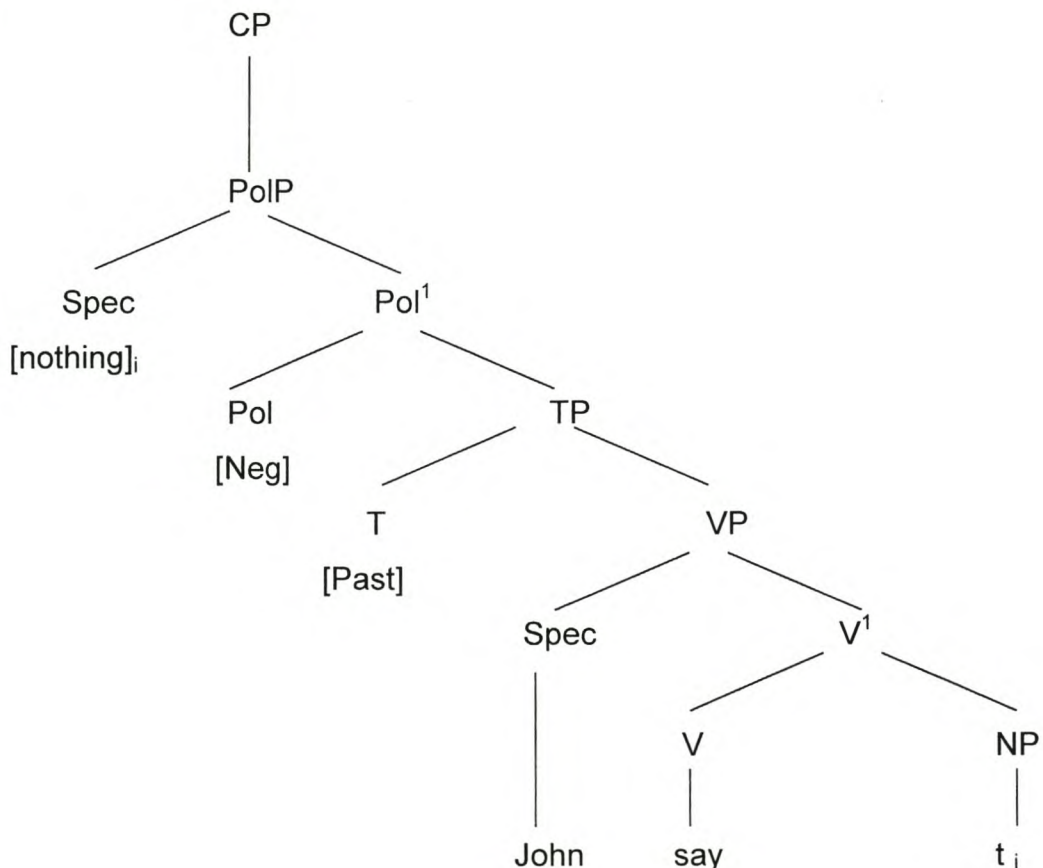
Post Verbal Negative Constituents

In analysing the extraposed negative constituents, Haegeman (1995) proposes two ways in which the negative criterion can be satisfied. The sentence in (47) will serve as an example to illustrate Haegeman's proposals.

(47) *John said [nothing]*

In the example above, [nothing] is a post-verbal negative constituent and it occupies the VP-internal position. It cannot satisfy the neg-criterion, which requires negative operators to be at Spec-head relation with their heads. Haegeman (1995) suggests that English have a Functional Projection, which is underspecified for the feature [Neg] or Polarity of the sentence. The functional projection will therefore be called PolP, where [not] will fill the [Spec, PolP]. This applies to negative sentences where negative operators remain in the non-operator positions as in (47) above. To satisfy the neg-criterion, [nothing] will move to the [Spec, PolP] for Spec-head relations and assign Pol the neg-feature turning the PolP into NegP. The structure in (48) demonstrates:

(48)



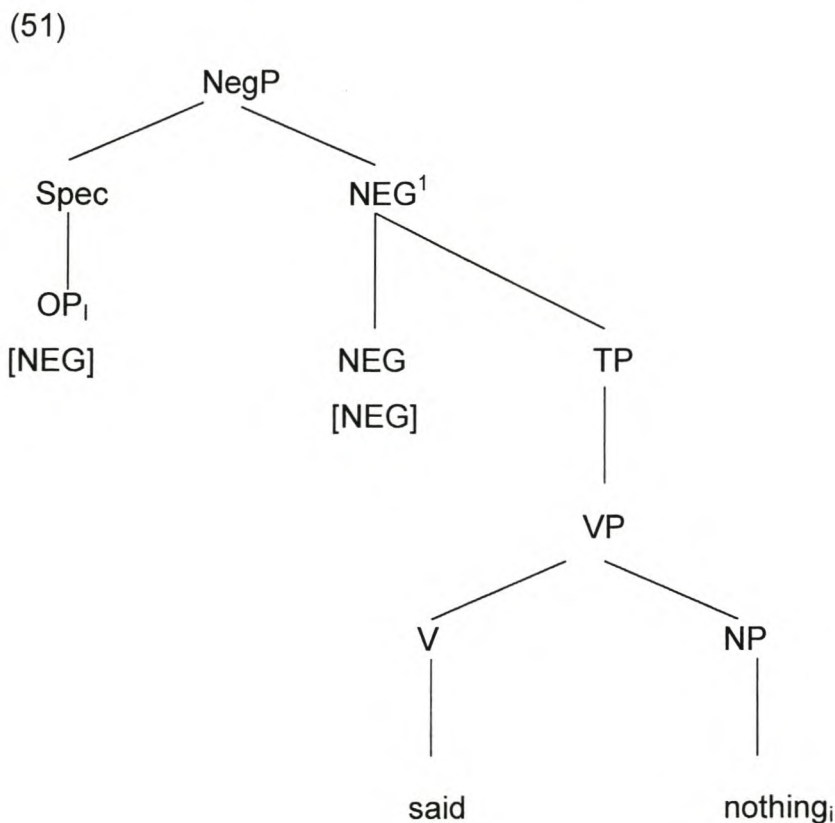
In the second proposal, Haegeman (1995) established a non-overt operator which will satisfy the Spec-head relation, and the example in (47) repeated here will illustrate:

(49) *John said [nothing]*

In the sentence above [nothing] does not satisfy the neg-criterion, because it is in the VP-internal position, which is a non-operator position. Haegeman (1995) proposes that there is a non-overt operator, which has to be identified by association with overt material. It is a scope marker for the negative constituent [nothing], an expletive operator which forms a CHAIN with negative constituent in the base position. The negative constituent [nothing] is coindexed with the non-overt negative operator as shown in (50):

(50) $\langle OP_i, NOTHING_i \rangle$

In this way the neg-criterion is satisfied by Spec-head relation between the negative head and the negative operator CHAIN. The sentence in (49) will therefore have the structure in (51):

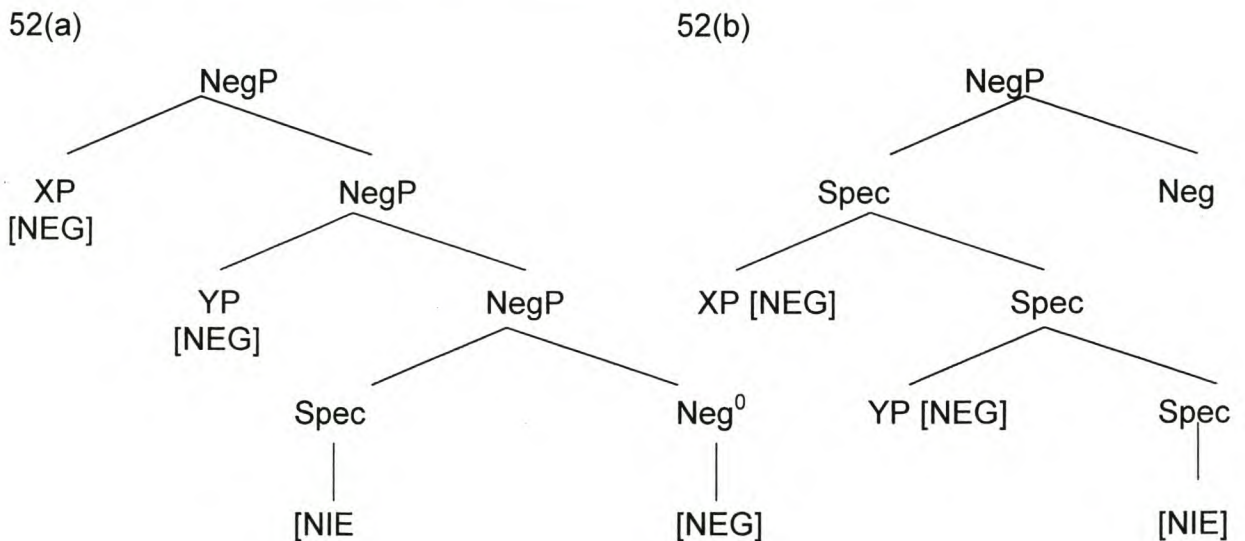


The sentence in (49) is therefore a negative sentence, where the functional category NEGP encodes sentential negation. The negative constituent [NOTHING] is therefore a

negative operator and the negative criterion will be satisfied. The non-overt expletive negative operator is identifiable through an operator Chain as in (50), containing the overt identifier or contentive element. In this case, [NOTHING] is the contentive element and is co-indexed with the non-overt expletive negative operator forming a chain.

Multiple Negation and the Extended Projection of NEG^P

In languages with multiple negative constituents such as West Flemish and Afrikaans, there is obligatory multiple negative movement and the neg-criterion are satisfied by an operator chain where the head is non-overt operator in the [Spec, NegP]. On the other hand neg-criterion can be satisfied by multiple adjunction to [NegP] or multiple adjunction to the [Spec-NegP]. The structures in (52) demonstrate multiple adjunction:



In Haegeman (1995) 's view, the structures in (52) above are less satisfying as there are intervening constituents between negative words. The intervening constituents might be NP's or PP's as demonstrated by the sentence in (53):

(53) *That [Jan] never [Valerie] [that book] not given*

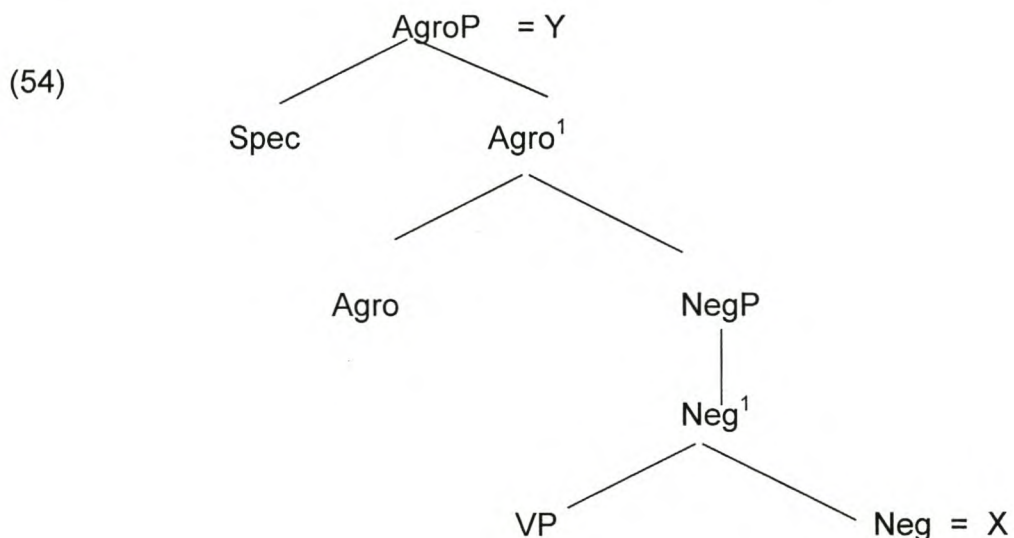
According to the above sentence in (53), negative constituents [never] and [NOT] do not have any effect on movement. Non-negative constituents can move to any position and interplay with negative constituents. Two negative constituents may be separated by two arguments NP's as in (53). To account for such sentences as in (53), where NP's separate negative constituents, Haegeman (1995) proposes that in such sentences the

negative criterion is satisfied in the extended projection of NegP, which is equated to functional projection [FP].

X is the extended head of Y, and Y is the extended projection of X if:

- (a) Y dominates X
- (b) Y and X share all categorical features
- (c) All nodes intervening share all categorical features
- (d) The F value of Y is higher than the F values of X

The structure in (54) below illustrates the extended projection defined above:



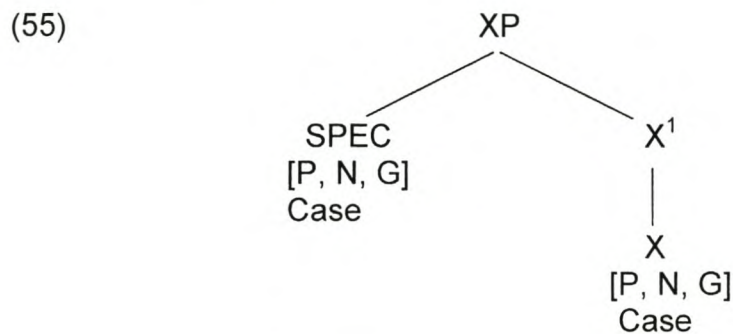
According to the Extended projection, there is an extended Spec-head relation between the negative head and the negative moved constituent, which satisfies the neg-criterion. The extended projection is recursive depending on the number of negative constituents. In this way, the domain of the negative head is upwardly extended to the level of the clause, assuming that Spec-head relation can be attained between the head and its local specifier and between the head and the specifiers of the dominating projections.

NEGP and Infinitival Clauses

Infinitival negative clauses contain NegP but its negative head is not overt. The distribution and interpretation of negatives in infinitival clauses is parallel to that of the finite clause.

1.2.4.3 Argument and non-argument positionsArgument Positions

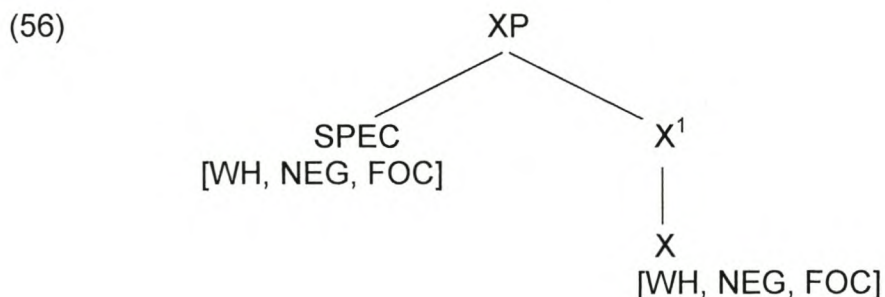
Haegeman (1995) describes A-positions as thematic positions in the VP-internal base position, occupied by the subject NP's and the object NP's. A-positions are also defined in terms of intrinsic Content, where the element in the specifier positions shares Agreement or Case feature with [Agr]. A-positions are theta-positions or specifiers of AgrP. The intrinsic content is explained through the structure in (55)



The specifier of Agr_oP and Agr_sP are both argument positions, where arguments are identified and licensed. The Spec-head relation is bi-unique, meaning that there is one specifier to one head, and in multiple specifiers, multiple specifiers undergo absorption.

Non-Argument Position

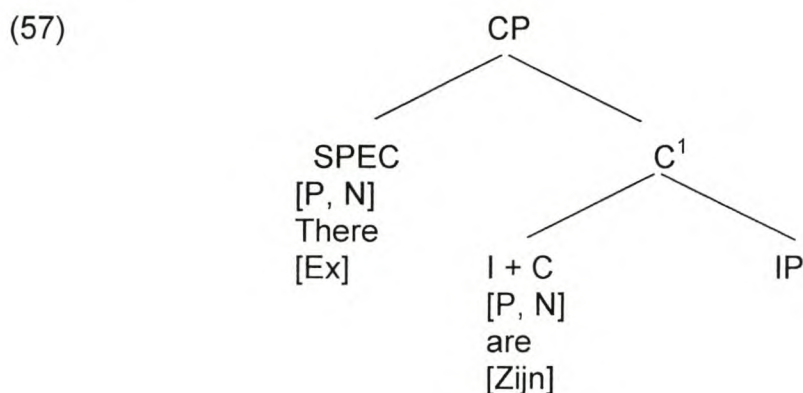
Haegeman (1995) describes a non-argument position as a position that shares operator features with a head, where the operator features are [WH], [NEG] and [FOC] as demonstrated below in (56):



Like the A-position, A¹-position is defined in terms of agreement A¹-position agrees with a head in terms of operator features as shown in (56) above. In the A¹-system the operator feature of the specifier is licensed locally by the operator feature on the head and the operator feature itself, [WH] for instance, takes scope over a larger domain, and the [NEG] feature selects the VP domain or a complete functional complex.

Mixed Positions

Haegeman (1995) argues that the complementizer may have an A-specifier under special circumstances. This is observed with the expletives in Dutch, where they are assumed to occupy A-positions. The [Spec, CP] is occupied by a NP, which agrees to its Agr features with the verb under the Complementizer. The structure in (57) illustrates:



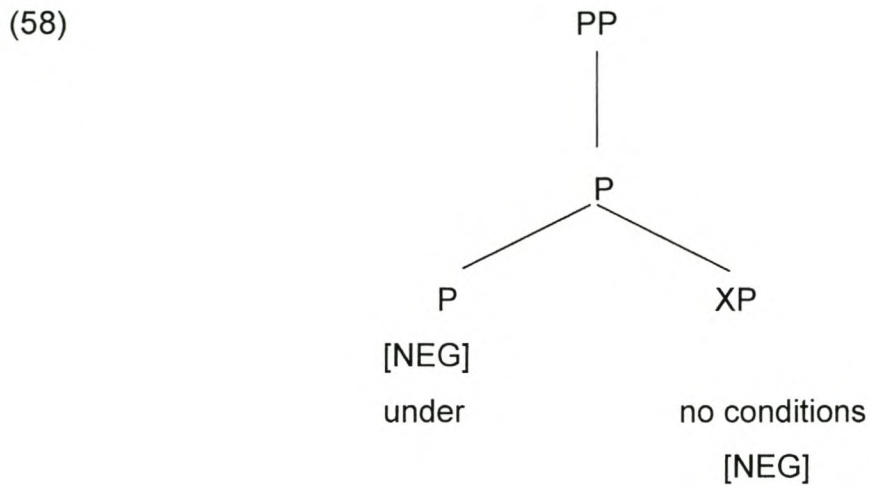
In French the specifier position of CP is an A¹-position but it acquires a-status by intrinsic features of the content of the position and the relevant head.

1.2.4.4 Negative operators

Haegeman (1995) describes negative operators as negative constituents that trigger inversion because they need to attain a Spec-head relation with a negative head when preposed. According to Rudanks, quoted by Haegeman (1995), operator elements seem to be composed of adverbials with an overt or inherent quantifiers and motivational adverbs. They are also not referential.

Haegeman (1995), proposes that the operator status of negated constituent be explained in terms of percolation. Percolation of the negative feature is related to semantic properties, where it is only available with quantificational PP's. For negative to percolate,

the higher projection has to share an operator feature with the projection containing negative:



In the structure in (58), the neg-feature of [NOT] percolate to the PP node. Haegeman (1995) give few instances of negative operators in (59):

- (59)
- a) Not often
 - b) Not always
 - c) Not many times
 - d) Not until
 - e) Not because

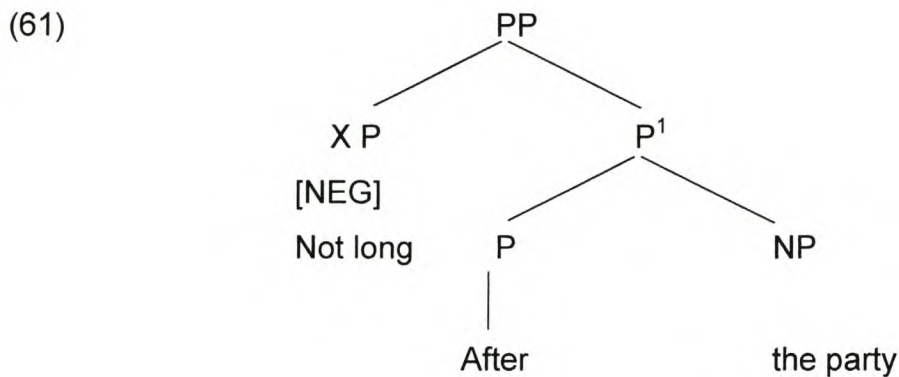
When the negative-criterion is not satisfied within a constituent, the neg-feature percolates to the maximal projection and is turned into a negative operator. Negative operators give sentential negation.

1.2.4.5 Non-negative operators

Haegeman (1995) describes non-negative operators as negative constituents, which do not trigger inversion when preposed since they do not need to satisfy a Spec-head relation with the negative head. They are not negative because they can be paraphrased with non-negative phrases as in (60):

- (60) *Not long ago* > *A short while ago*

Percolation in referential PP's is not available and they do not qualify as operators. Negation is restricted to a lower projection as in the structure in (61):



Based on West Flemish, Haegeman (1995) argues that negative constituents which are not operators, neg-criterion is satisfied internally to the negated constituents. When negation ranges over a domain which is smaller than a clause, such as PP, the neg-criterion is satisfied internally to that domain.

1.2.4.6 Conclusion

NEG-criterion can also be used to determine the scope of negation. Sentential negation is marked by negative operators which satisfy the Spec-head relation, but when the Spec-head relation fails, percolation applies to cover up sentential negative scope. Constituent negation or local negation is marked by non-negative operators, which do not need to satisfy the Spec-head relation.

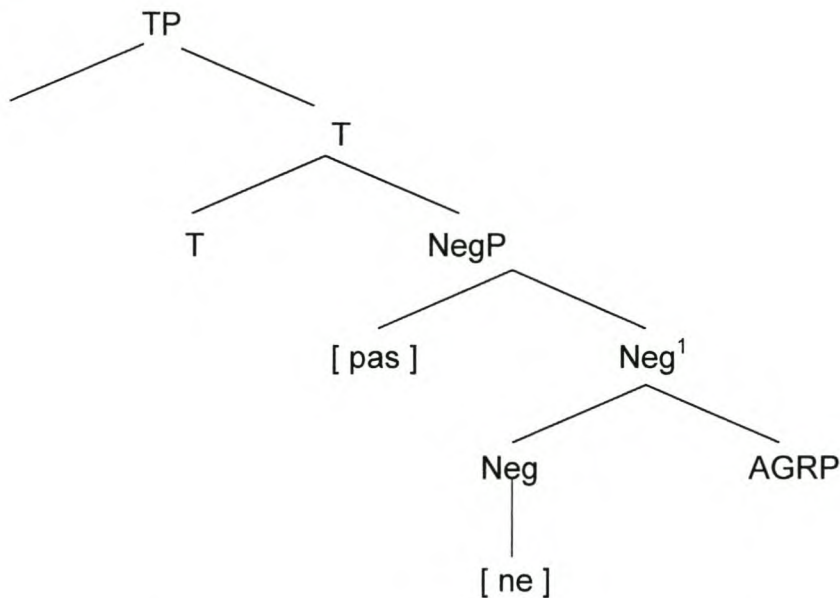
1.2.5 Zanuttini (1997)

1.2.5.1 Introduction

Zanuttini (1997) describes sentential negation as the syntactic process by which a language employ negative markers to negate a clause in order to express a negative proposition. Pollock (1989) analysed negative markers as functional elements that heads a Negative Phrase [NegP] and proposed that the French negative markers [ne] and [pa] are found between two inflectional categories, Tense and Agreement. He further argued

that [ne] is the head of a projection and [pas] the specifier of the Negative Phrase projection:

(62)



Zanuttini (1997), adopting Pollock's (1989) Split Inflection Hypothesis, elaborated on the position of negative markers by proposing that negative markers have more than two structural positions but at least four structural positions, namely [NegP-1]; [NegP-2]; [NegP-3] and [NegP-4]. This distribution of negative markers depends on whether a language expresses sentential negation by means of a negative marker in pre-verbal position which can negate a clause by its own or by means of a negative marker in post-verbal negative marker. (Zanuttini 1997)

In her analysis of negative markers, Zanuttini (1997) indicates that negative markers differ in terms of distribution and syntactic properties. She analysed the relative position and categorical status of negative markers with respect to verbs; pronominal (subject vocalic clitic and subject agreement clitic), certain classes of adverbs, Imperative clauses, Negative indefinites and Question formations. She distinguishes three types of negative markers: Pre-verbal negative marker, Post-verbal negative markers and those that use Post and Pre-verbal negative markers.

1.2.5.2 Distribution and Structural Position of Pre-Verbal Negative Markers

Pre-verbal negative markers are negative markers that obligatorily precede the finite verb. In this category, there are pre-verbal negative markers that can negate a clause by themselves and those that cannot negate a clause by themselves but co-occur with other negative element to negate a clause. These two types of pre-verbal negatives differ with respect to pronominals, verbs, adverbs, negative imperatives and negative indefinites.

Pronominals - Complement Clitics

In a language where the negative marker can negate a clause by itself, negative marker always precedes the pronominal clitics, and that negative marker cannot be found in the cluster of complement clitics. The Spanish language is a good example as indicated in (63) below:

(63) Maria no se lo dió
 | | |

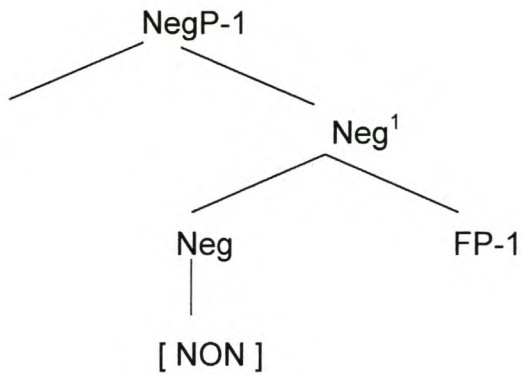
[Marie neg him it gave]

Maria didn't give it to him

The order of pronominals may differ from language to language but they always follow the negative marker. Pre-verbal negative markers that can negate a clause on their own head an independent functional projection which is higher than the head to which the complement clitics adjoin, and it is referred to as [NegP-1].

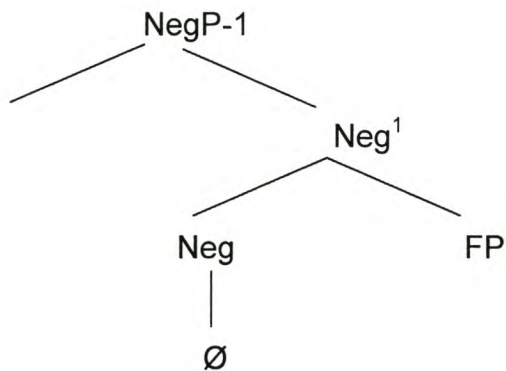
Zanuttini (1997) goes on to point out that the projection [NegP-1] has strong features in the languages that express sentential negation by means of a pre-verbal negative marker which can negate a clause on its own. When the features are strong, a negative clause must have a negative marker in [NegP-1] and the strong features need to be checked. The projection [NegP-1] has a special status that differentiate it from other projections where negative markers occur and it has the structure illustrated in (64) :

(64)



The head of [NegP-1] has weak features in the languages that express sentential negation by means of another kind. The negative clause need not have a negative marker in [NegP-1] or a negative constituent in a position c-commanding [NegP-1]. Both the negative marker and the negative constituent in a structurally lower position can rise to LF and check the features of NegP-1 at that level. The following structure illustrates the [NegP-1] which does have an overt negative marker in (65):

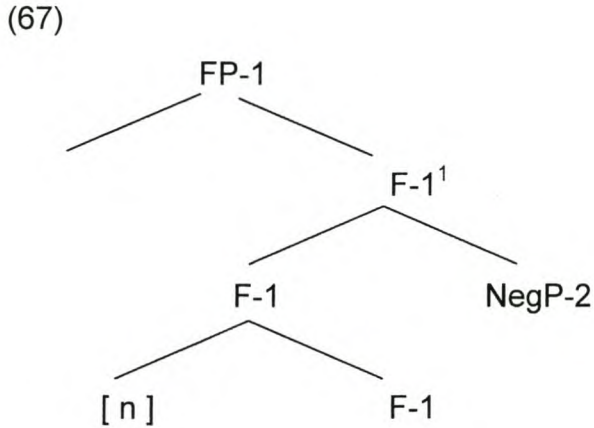
(65)



In languages where pre-verbal negative markers cannot negate a clause by themselves but co-exist with other negative elements, the negative marker fail to precede some of the complement clitics. Sentential negation is expressed by both negative element and a post-verbal element as indicated in (66):

- (66) U n li / la sent nent
 s.d neg him/her hear neg
 [*He doesn't hear him*]

Pre-verbal negative markers that cannot negate a clause on their own do not head [NegP -1] but they are left-adjoined to an independent existing functional head. This could be an abstract functional head or a contentful functional head. This functional head is referred to as [FP-1] and has the structure in (67):

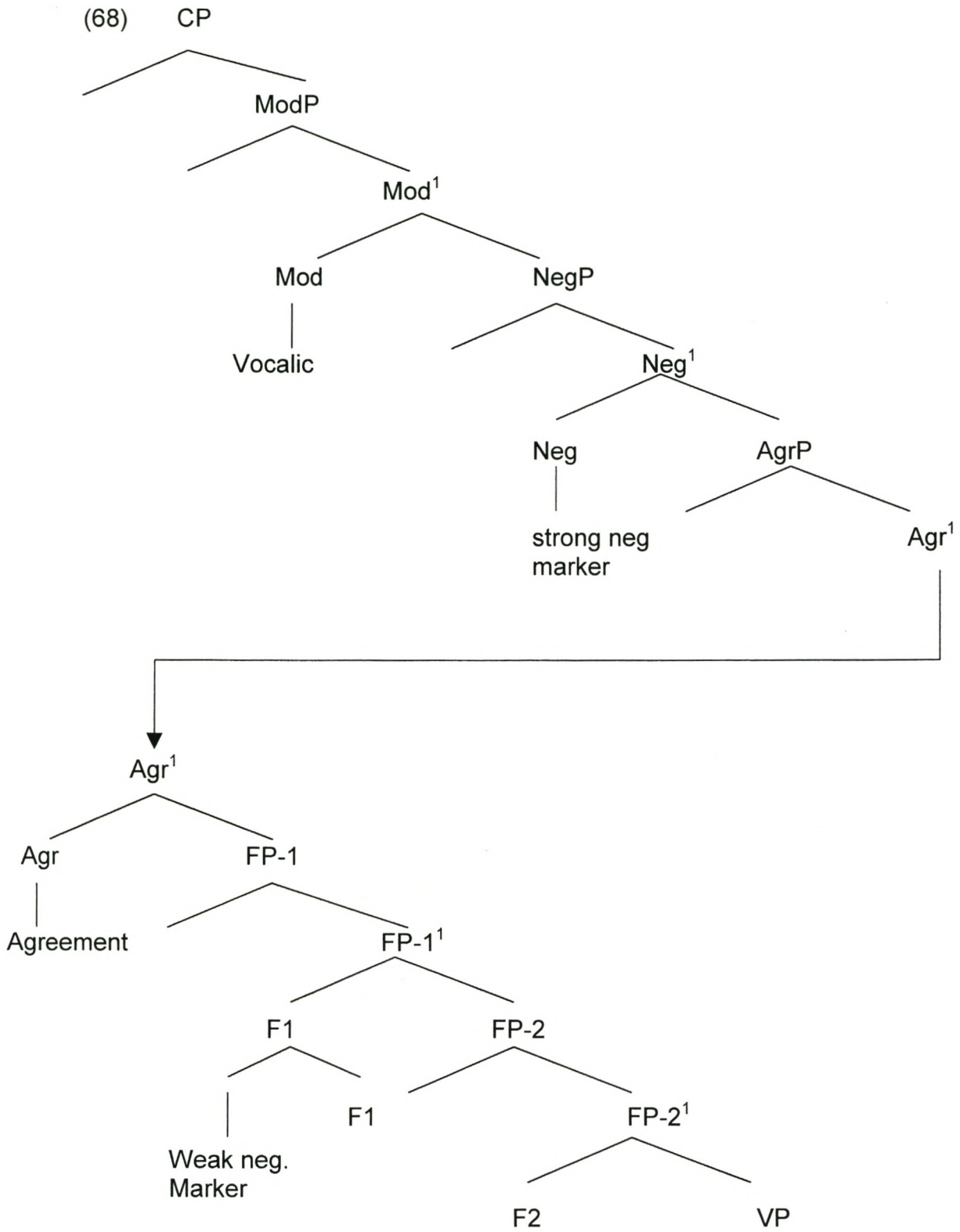


Pronominals: Subject Clitics

Zanuttini (1997) defines the subject clitics as pronominal elements which obligatorily co-occur with finite verbs. They may express person, number and gender feature of the subject. They may co-exist with overt subject and express agreement feature of the subject, and are called subject agreement clitics. There are those that cannot show agreement at all and are called vocalic clitics.

The position of pre-verbal negative markers with respect to subject clitics remain constant once the two classes of clitics are identified. Pre-verbal negative markers that cannot negate a clause on their own follow both classes of subject clitic- vocalic and agreement clitics. They are said to be weak negative markers and head the functional projection [FP -01] and [FP-2].

Pre-verbal negative markers that can negate a clause by themselves follow vocalic clitics and precede agreement clitics. They are said to be strong negative markers and head NegP projection. The structure in (68) shows structural positions of pre-verbal negative markers and subject clitics:



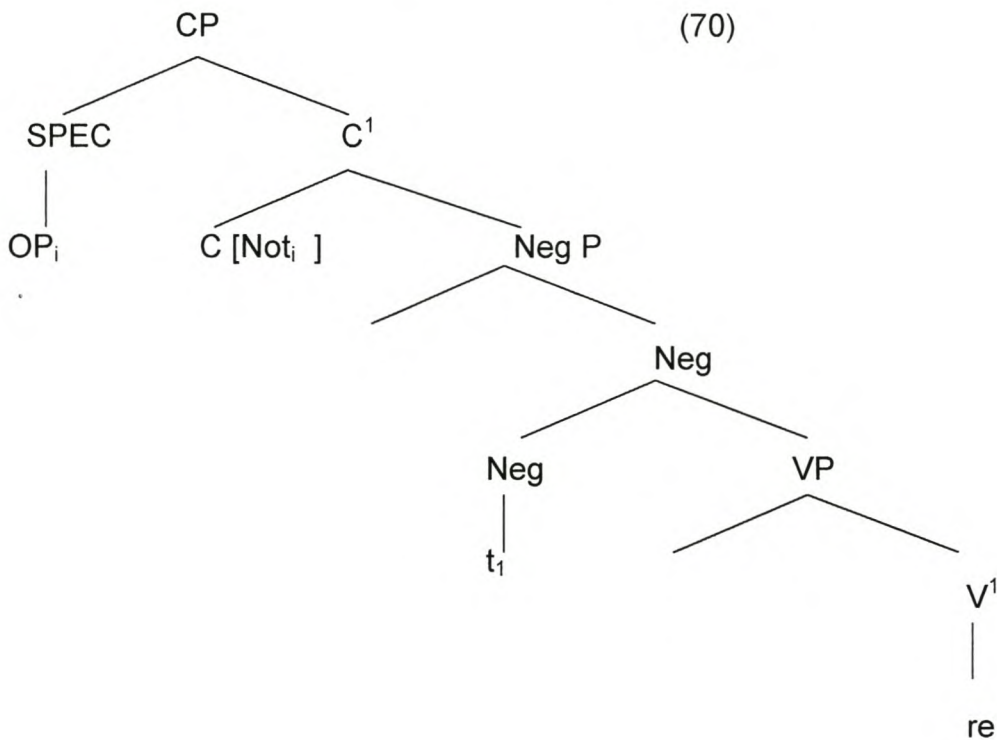
Pre-verbal Negative Markers and Verb Movement

Zanuttini (1997) observed that when pre-verbal negative markers that can negate a clause by themselves are present in interrogative clauses, there is no verb movement if the word

order is [Neg - subject - verb]. In other words the subject clitic precedes the verb, but when the verb precedes the subject clitic, there is verb movement. Italian Paduan language shows both characteristics.

When the verb movement is not obligatory, the pre-verbal negative marker contributes the ordinary meaning of negation to the clause. The negative marker is an independent head that itself or its features are attracted to the complementizer head C; which makes verb movement unnecessary. The Paduan examples illustrates this in (69) and (70):

- (69) No te re via?
 Neg S.cl go away
 [*Aren't you going away?*]



According to the diagram (70), the interrogative clauses contain abstract Yes / No operator which must occur in a specifier position of [CP], so that the moved negative marker will be in Spec-head relation with the abstract operator. The negative marker which heads the NegP has features similar to those of the abstract operator and it is therefore attracted and left-adjoined to the C⁰.

When the pre-verbal negative marker that can negate a clause on its own occurs in this word order [Neg + Verb + Subject clitic], where the verb precedes the subject clitic, verb movement is necessary. Here the negative marker behaves as a Focus sensitive particle, and it does not count as an independent head but is adjoined to the head that host the verb.

In the case of pre-verbal negative markers that cannot negate a clause by themselves, in languages such as French and Walloon, the negative markers are adjoined to the functional head other than the one to which the verb is attached. They are viewed as merely scope markers. They lack the relevant features which can make them attracted to the C⁰ because they cannot negate a clause on their own. The verb movement is viewed as LF.

Pre-Verbal Negative Markers and Imperatives

Zanuttini (1997) maintains that the distinction between imperative forms that are morphologically unique to this paradigm and forms that are used in sentences with imperative force but borrowed from other verbal paradigms is the basis for the description of the behaviour of negative markers.

There are two types of imperatives found in the Romance languages namely: True imperatives that have verbal forms that are unique to the paradigm of imperatives. They lack any kind of marking for Tense, aspect or mood and their general morphology is the verbal root and the thematic vowel [-a]:

(71) Parla ! (Italian)
[*Talk !*]

The second type of imperatives is the Suppletive imperatives; they have verbal forms that are used in imperatives but morphologically identical to a form used in another paradigm such as indicatives and subjunctives:

(72) a. Non fatelo ! (Italian - indicative form)
neg do - it
[*Don't do it*]

- b. No parlis (subjunctive)
 neg Talk
 [*Don't talk*]

Zanuttini (1997) points out that when a language has a pre-verbal negative marker that by itself can negate a clause, the negative marker does not co-exist with the main verb that is morphologically a true imperative as demonstrated in the sentence in (73):

- (73) * No Parla ! (Italian)
 neg talk

The pre-verbal negative marker that can negate a clause by its own can co-exist with one of the following verbal forms which are suppletive imperatives:

- The Indicative Verbal Form :

- (74) Non fatelo !
 neg do - t

- The Subjunctive Verbal Form:

- (75) No Parlis
 neg talk

- The Infinitive Verbal Form:

- (76) Non te movere
 neg you to - move

- The Gerund

- (77) Non facenno
 neg doing

The Syntax of Negative Imperative

Zanuttini (1997) maintains that true imperatives cannot co-exist with pre-verbal negative markers that negate a clause on their own because of the presence of a syntactic feature that marks the illocutionary force of imperatives, the presence of the requirement that mood be syntactically represented in the clause and because of the difference in the morphological makeup of true imperatives.

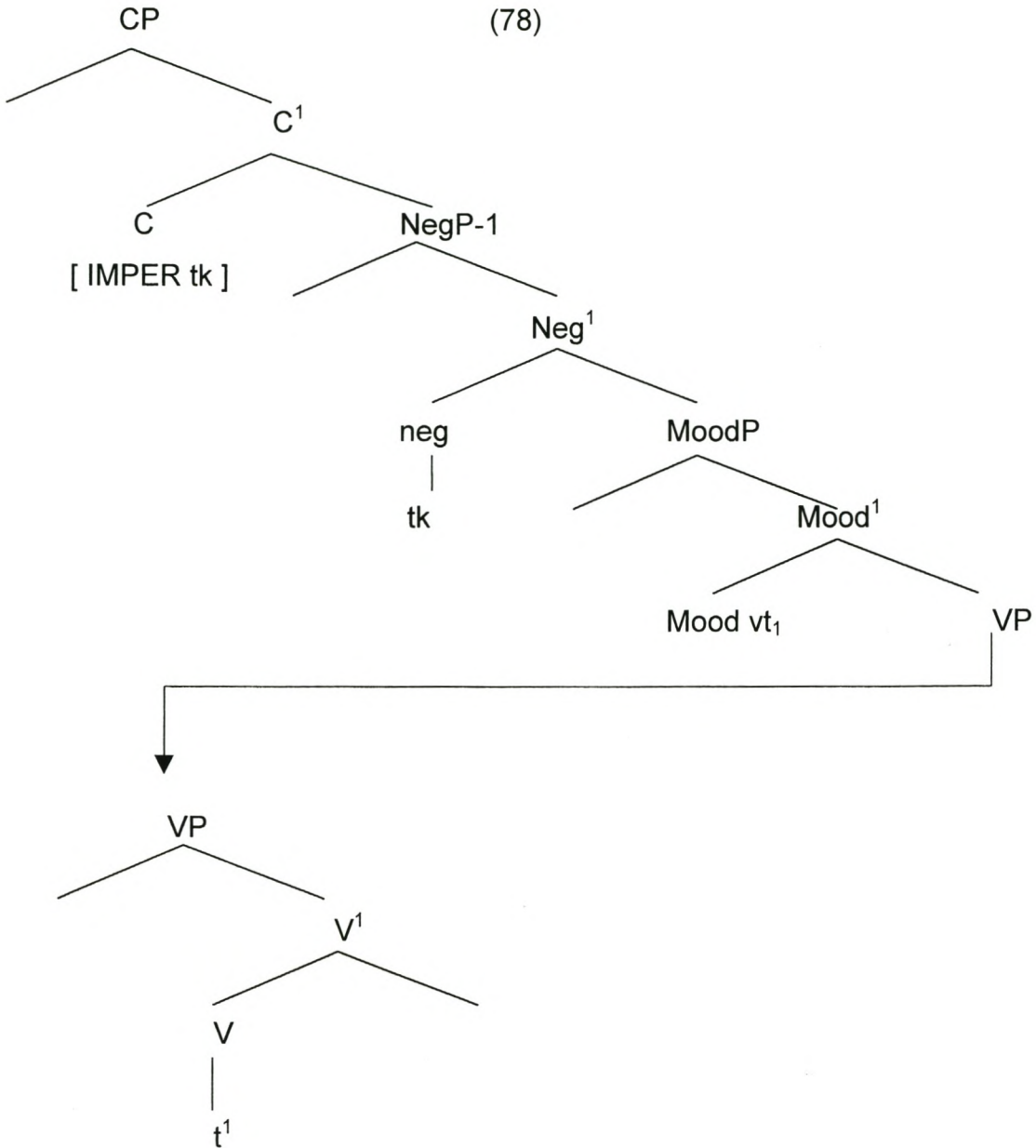
Illocutionary Force

The imperative clauses are subject to the syntactic requirement that the head of a functional projection CP be filled either in the LF or in the syntax. This requirement holds to all clauses with the illocutionary force of an imperative, whether they employ a true imperative or a suppletive imperative form, whether they are negative or not, the CP features must be checked. However, true imperative forms of the main verbs give rise to ungrammaticality in the presence of a pre-verbal negative marker, because while the main verb can check the features of C° it cannot check features of Mood, since they lack overt or abstract specification for mood. True imperative verbs have thematic role to discharge and therefore cannot move.

Specification for Mood

The negative imperative clauses are also determined by the common property that the features of CP be filled. Imperative clauses negated by pre-verbal negative marker are also constrained by the requirement that MoodP be filled. Whereas the mood projection can generally be present in the structural representation with inert features, when the negative marker is present, the features of mood must be checked by the corresponding morphological marking on a verb or by functional element such as the subjunctive or indicative markers. The negative marker that heads NegP-1 i.e. pre-verbal negative marker, raises to fill the head of CP and this happens because the negative is the closest to C° and therefore its features are attracted. The verb cannot move because the negative marker satisfied the features of C° . The suppletive imperatives can occur in the presence of the pre-verbal negative marker because they have a morphological marking for mood, their verbs will be attracted to the Mood which is closest to the verb. The structure in (78)

illustrates the movement of the negative marker to the CP and the movement of the verb to mood:



Morphological makeup

The preverbal negative markers cannot occur with true imperative because of the morphological makeup but can occur with the suppletive imperatives. True imperatives never exhibit morphological marking for Tense or aspect but suppletives can have overt or abstract morphological marking for Tense and Mood.

Imperatives and Adverbs

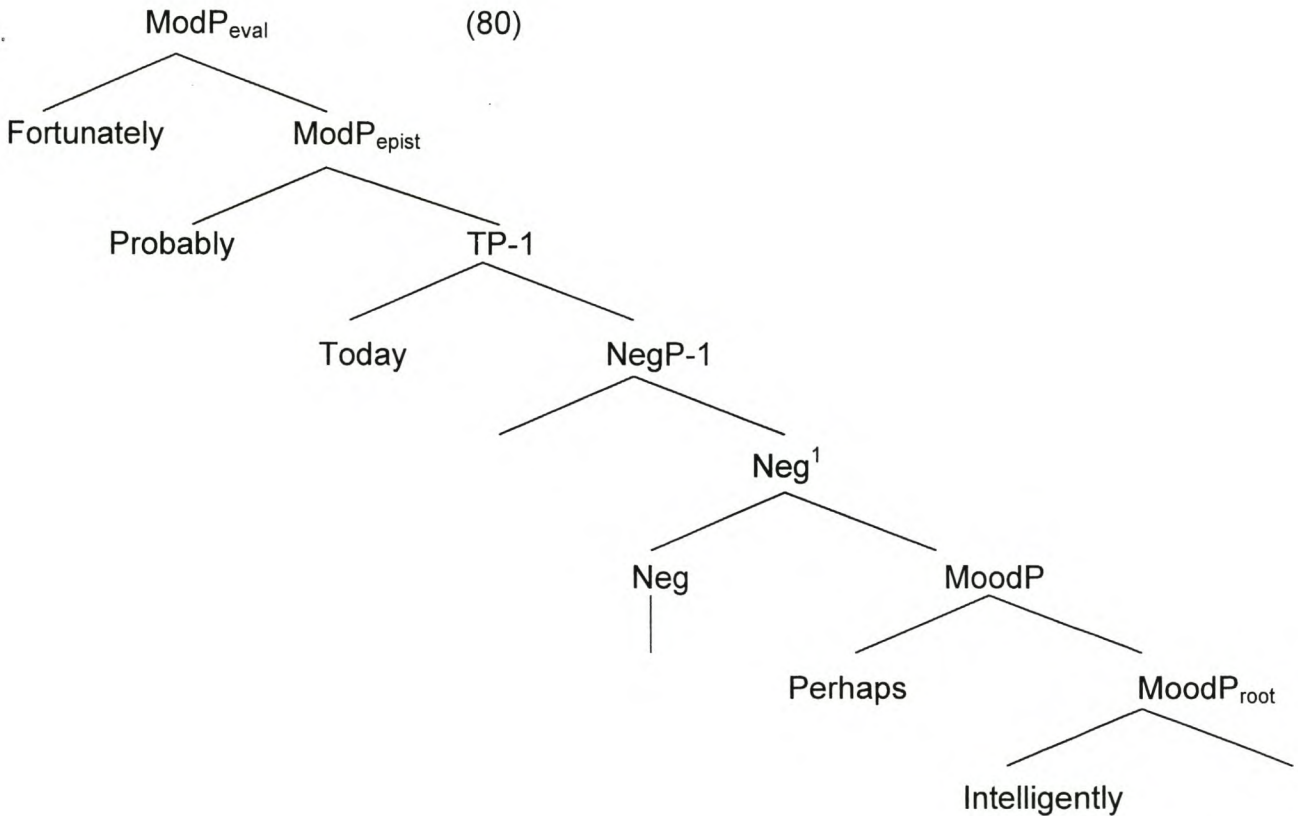
Zanuttini (1997) observes that True Imperatives and Suppletive imperatives do not differ in the extent to which they move when analysed with respect to the distribution of adverbs. They both move to head position higher than Mood and Tense. Adverbs are associated with a functional projection with which it is semantically related and they occur in the specifier of a functional head with which they share semantic content.

Zanuttini (1997) gives a summary of functional projections and adverbs occurring in the specifiers and the structure that illustrate the sequence of these projections with the NegP included in (79) and (80) respectively:

(79)

ModP Evaluative Fortunately	ModP Epistemic Probably	TP-1 Today	MoodP Perhaps	Mood P Root Intelligently
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(80)

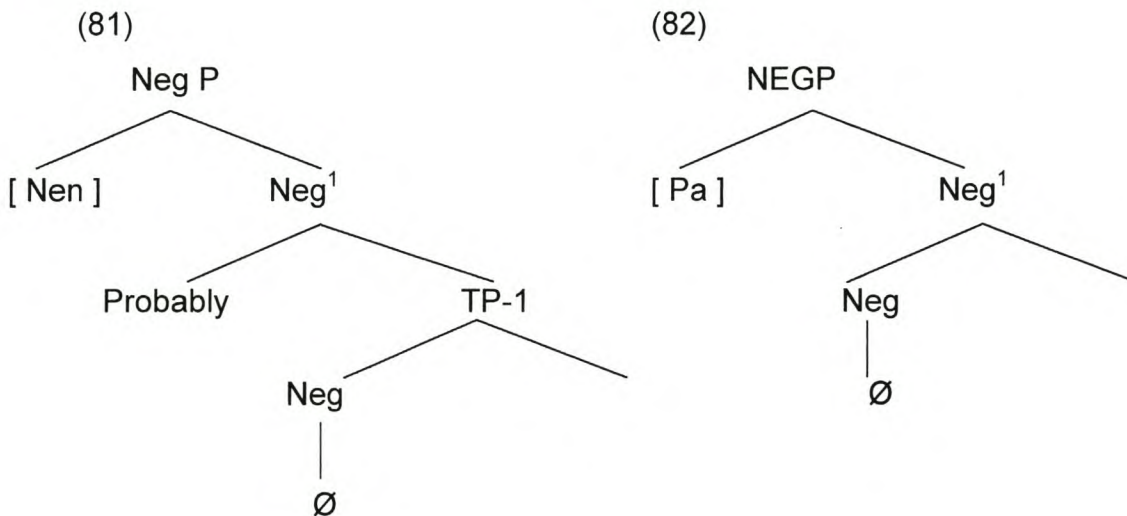


The functional projection headed by Pre-verbal negative marker that can negate a clause by itself is lower than TP-1 and higher than MoodP.

1.2.5.3 Distribution and structural position of post-verbal negative markers

Zanuttini (1997) describes Post-verbal negative markers as negative markers that negate a clause by following the finite verb and preceding VP-internal elements. They follow either the main verb when the verbal form is simple or they follow the auxiliary, when the verbal form consists of an auxiliary and a participle.

According to Zanuttini (1997), post-verbal negative markers are characteristically and systematically in configuration with an empty head as indicated in the structures in (81) and (82):

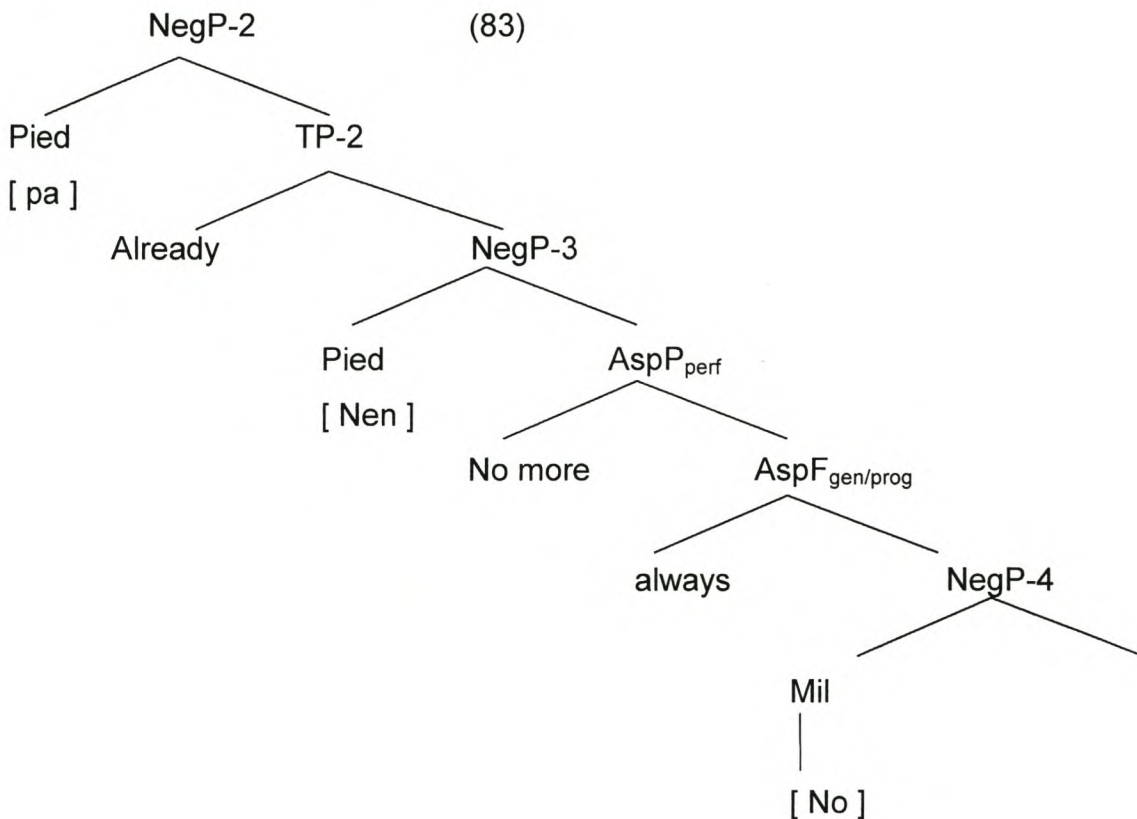


Zanuttini (1997) identifies three structural positions of post-verbal negative markers with respect to the distribution of adverbs. They can occur in a range of structural positions and the choice being determined within a single language.

1. NEGP-2: It is a position for negative markers with the presuppositional reading, a position higher than the adverb [already] which occupies the specifier of TP-2- Temporal Phrase.

2. NEGP-3: This is a position between the adverbs [already] and [no more] where the presuppositional [nen] is found. The adverb [no more] occupies the specifier of AspP perfectivity.
3. NEGP-4: It is a position lower than [always] which is occupied by Milanese [no]. The adverb [always] occupies the specifier of AspP genitive or progressive.

The relative order of post-verbal negative markers and lower adverbs are represented in the following structure in (83):



Zanuttini (1997) also distinguishes two types of post-verbal negative markers on the basis of their contribution to the interpretation of the clause.

1. Presuppositional Negative Markers: They negate a clause that is assumed in the discourse, e.g. :

(84) A lé pa gia parti

neg already left
 [*He hasn't already left*]

2. Non-presuppositional Negative Markers: They negate a proposition that does not have a special discourse status. Post-verbal non-presuppositional negative markers can occur in more than one structural position cross-linguistically. They occur immediately below [already] and immediately below [always].

(85) L'a no semper pagai tas
 [*He hasn't always paid taxes*]

When a language has two morphologically distinct negative markers, one is specialized as the presuppositional like [pa] in Piedmontese and the other as the non-presuppositional negative marker as in [nen] in Piedmontese.

1.2.5.4 Conclusion

Zanuttini (1997) maintains that if a language expresses sentential negation by means of a negative marker in post-verbal position, it does not exhibit any restrictions on the distribution of negative constituents. Negative constituents can occur in a position structurally lower than the finite verb without requiring the co-occurrence of another negative element. The structural position of the negative marker is the key element on constraints. If the negative marker is structurally higher than the finite verb, then that language exhibits constraints.

In the case of PRE-VERBAL NEGATIVE MARKERS, those that can negate the clause on their own shows different syntactic properties from negative markers that cannot negate a clause on their own. They are summarized as follows:

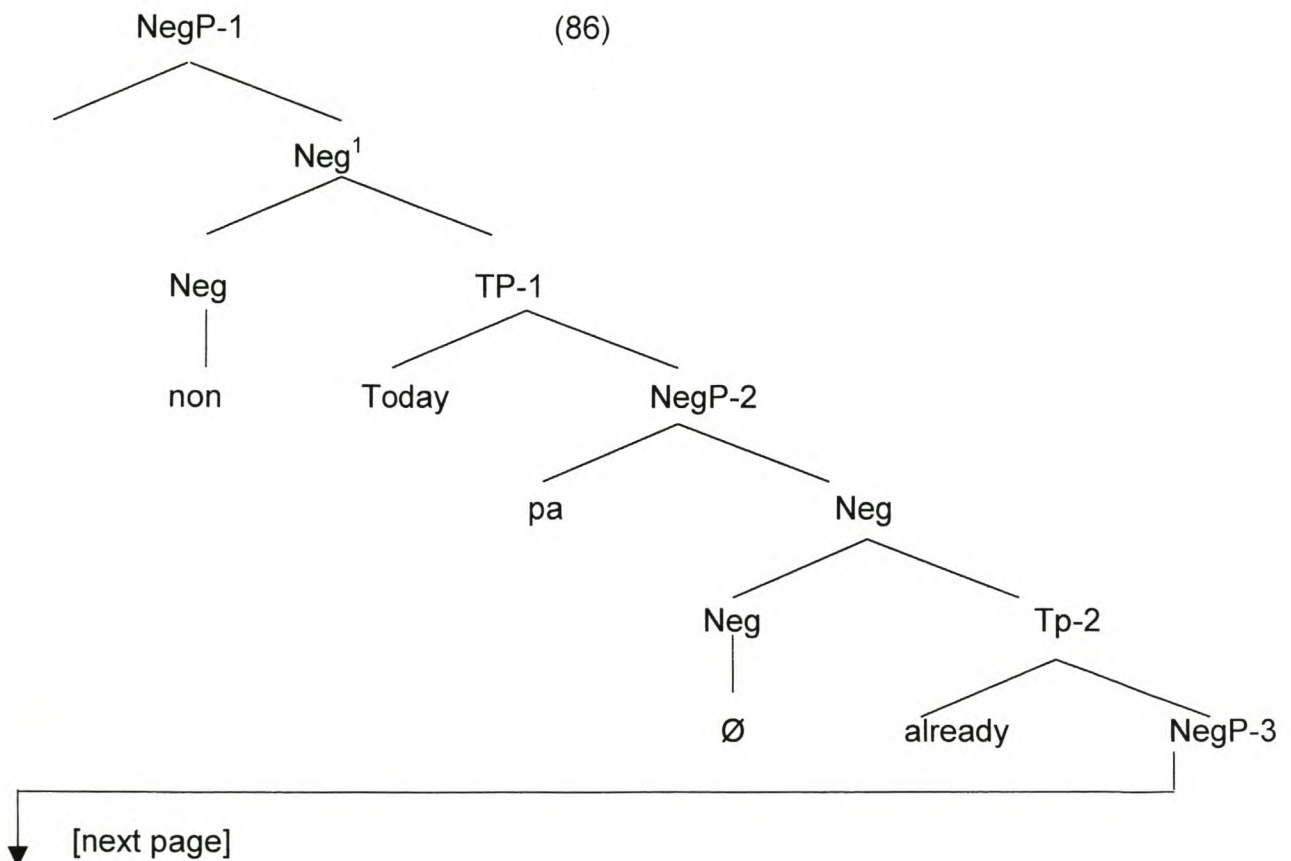
- A. THOSE THAT CAN NEGATE A CLAUSE ALONE:
- They head a NegP-1 and are closest to the CP.
 - They have strong negative features which need to be checked.
 - Structurally higher than the complement and subject clitics because they precede all the clitics.

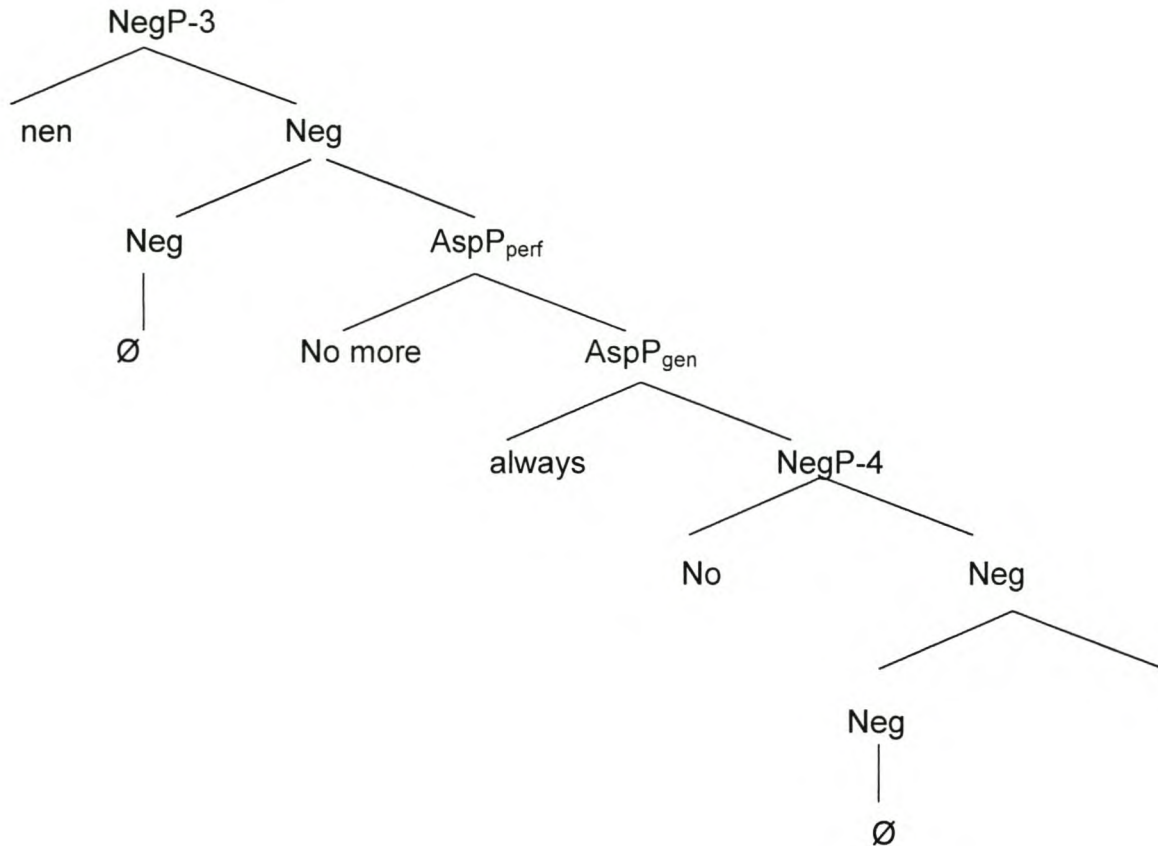
- They can be preceded by the verb where they are used for Focus and form a unit with the verb.
- They make verb movement unnecessary with the exception of few languages.
- They cannot co-exist with true imperatives but can co-exist with the suppletives.
- They co-exist with the upper or top adverbs in the structure such as Temporal adverbs.

B. THOSE THAT CANNOT NEGATE A CLAUSE ALONE:

- They are adjoined to the functional projection FP-1.
- They have weak negative features which are checked at LF
- Verb movement is obligatory to check C⁰ features.
- They can co-occur with true imperatives and do not show any constraints.
- Structurally, they occur with the lower like [always]; [no more] and [already].

Zanuttini (1997) gives an overall structure for both the pre-verbal negative markers and the post-verbal negative markers. There is only one structural position for pre-verbal negative markers which is [NegP-1]. The last three positions are occupied by the post-verbal negative markers. The structure in (86) demonstrates:





1.3 MINIMALIST PROGRAM

1.3.1 Introduction

Freidin (1995:571) describes Minimalist Program as the theory that reconstructs certain parts of linguistic theory which are based on speculations about language design and how it might accommodate the architecture of the mind. It seeks to limit the theory of language grammar to what is conceptually necessary. The phrase structure component is reduced to a fundamental part of transformational component and modular sub-components of Universal Grammar such as Government theory, Case theory, Binding theory and trace theory are eliminated or reduced in favour of Economy conditions and bare output conditions.

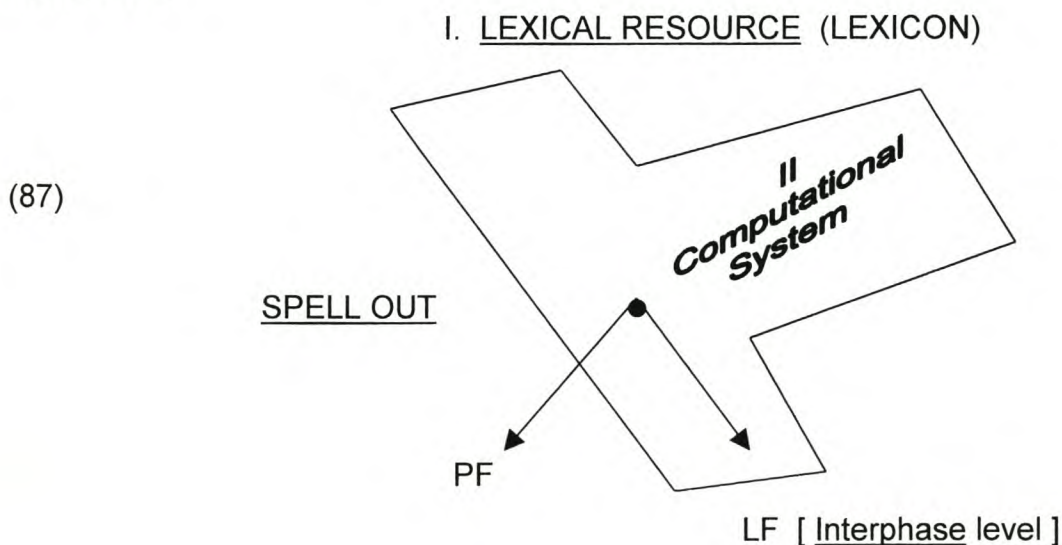
(Haegeman (1997:14) and Marantz (1995:351) go on to say that the static multi-level approach of syntactic representations such as D-structure and S-structure are eliminated and only two levels are included, namely PF and LF levels because they are conceptually relevant. Minimalist Program has abandoned specific grammatical rules and replaced them with general constraints on derivations and representations. In constructing a sentence, the first step is the basic form, consisting of items from the lexicon, then

modified through the process of movement, deletion and insertion until it reaches a final form through the mechanism of General Transformation of PF level and through Singular Transformation at LF level.

According to Stroik (1996:2), Minimalist Program is based on the following assumptions, which are also apparent in Haegeman (1997) Zwart (1995), Freidin (1995) and Marantz (1995).

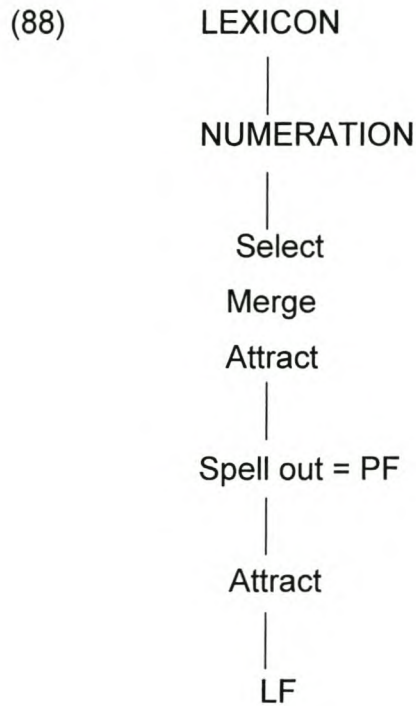
- Grammar is genetically determined and highly constrained representational systems and language universals govern both the form and the substance of grammar.
- Language consists of a LEXICON and COMPUTATIONAL SYSTEM.
- The Computational System is the work place where the operations Merge and Move generate sets of structural descriptions and it interacts with PF and LF interface levels which are external to the computational system.
- Derivations are representational pairs that must satisfy the interface conditions at PF and LF. The condition at this level is the Full Interpretation Principle. Derivations must also satisfy the well formedness conditions such as the Checking Theory the Copy Theory, and Control Theory. They must also satisfy the Economy conditions which are Greed, Procrastination and Shortest Move.

Marantz (1995:357) provides a diagram where the relations between the lexicon, computational system and interface levels as described by the MP assumptions above are demonstrated:



1.3.2 Derivation of basic clause structure

According to Marantz's (1995) linguistic Model of Grammar in the diagram in (87), grammar consists of the LEXICON and the computational System. The Lexicon provides lexical items and the computational system construct sentences through linguistic operations, or steps which Haegeman (1997:15) summarizes as the model of Grammar in Minimalist Program, illustrated here in (88):



Haegeman (1997:14) states that syntactic structures are built step by step, integrating new elements into the structure by a merger operation called MERGE or by rearranging the elements already in the structure by Move (Attract). Merge and Move are therefore the elementary operations which generate the clausal structure. The steps in the above diagram will be followed in building the basic clause structure.

a) LEXICON (LEXICAL RESOURCE)

Marantz (1995:360) describes the lexicon as the base, the lexical resource consisting of lexical items which are fully inflected for case, agreement and tense. Haegeman (1997) describes the lexical items as the building blocks of the sentence, the inventory of the morphemes of the language.

b) NUMERATION

Freiden (1995:577); Johnson and Lappin (1997:278) and Marantz (1995:360) describes Numeration as the working area consisting of a multi set of lexical items which are fully inflected for Case, Agreement and Tense and functional categories. Haegeman (1997:12) refers to these lexical items and functional categories as array of items. These items are numerated and ordered in terms of numbers needed for a derivation. The numeration might be as in (89):

(89) John, killed, the, rabbit I (+ Tense, + Agr)

c) SELECTION

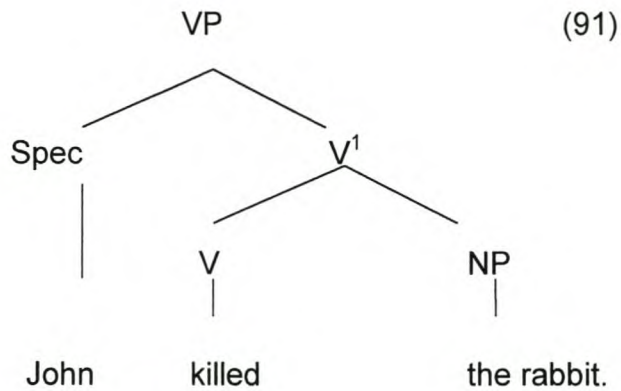
Marantz (1995) and Johnson & Lappin (1997:278) describes selection as an operation where lexical items and functional categories with minimal effort to construct a sentence are selected, removed from the numeration and inserted to their single trees, e.g.

(90) a. Select John
b. Select killed
c. Select Rabbit

d) MERGE

(Haegeman [1997:13]; Marantz [1995:366])

Merge constructs phrase structures bottom up and the operations that take place in this working area must expand the constituents structurally to create larger constituents. The target constituent is targeted and projected, then followed by transformational operation merge, where the subject and the object are inserted: - The fully inflected verb project V^1 with an empty complement position and immediately followed by the NP object [Rabbit]. The V^1 projects VP with an empty specifier of VP and immediately followed by NP subject [John]. The structure in (91) below illustrates:



THEMATIC LAYER

The structure in (91) is described by Haegeman (1997:24) as the lexical or thematic layer providing thematic information of the clause. It contains the lexical head that assigns theta roles and arguments to which the theta roles are assigned. All the arguments that are assigned theta roles are base generated within the VP domain including the subject. All thematic roles are assigned in the domain of the theta role assignor which is the verb. Therefore the verb [killed] will assign the DP (NP) [John] the theta role of [Agent] and the DP [The rabbit] the theta role of [patient].

e) ATTRACTION

According to Johnson and Lappin (1997:278), attraction is the working area which transform a phrase structure by copying and raising a constituent to a position of a functional head or the specifier. Copying and Attraction are explained through the Copy theory of movement and Checking theory which both result from movement of lexical items from the lexical domain to the functional categories.

FUNCTIONAL LAYER

Haegeman (1997:5) states that an important feature that determines the properties and distribution of clauses is the nature of the verb inflection. The inflection properties of a sentence are represented by inflection, a functional head that encodes inflectional features such as Agreement, Tense and Mood.

In recent developments of the linguistic theory, inflectional features are separated and turned into fully phrasal categories, where their morphemes become heads of such

phrases. For instance, the phrases AGRP, TP and MP will have Agr, Tense and Mood morphemes as heads. All the inflectional categories are above the VP lexical domain and they are referred to as Functional Categories and their heads as Functional Heads. The expansion of Inflection is called split inflection and is attributed to Pollock (1989). This split Inflection resulted into other functional projections such as NegP for the expression of sentential negation, the AgrP was separated into AgrsP for the subject agreement and AgroP for object agreement. The aspect features also have their own projection as ASPP.

The explosion of split functional categories brought concerns about the order and nature of these functional categories. Thrainsson (1996:258) maintains that the order of functional categories is determined by LEXICAL Mirror Principle which is based on the morphological order of morphemes i.e. the sequence of functional categories vary from language to language on the basis of their morphological distinctions. In terms of the Limited Diversity Hypothesis, Thrainsson (1996:256) says not all functional categories will exist in all languages and they may not be present in all clause types of one language. The difference in verb movement is also determined by different verbal morphology i.e. Languages with rich morphology have independent V-Inflection movement and languages with poor verbal morphology will not.

On the nature of functional categories, Thrainsson (1996:278) maintains that there are languages with Positive Split Inflection Phrase and such languages have split morphology where for instance Tense and Agr morphemes are clearly separated, such that they are both visible for checking separately.

CHECKING THEORY is concerned with the matching of the morphological features of lexical categories with the features represented by Functional heads in the functional domain. If the features of both categories match, lexical categories are attracted from the lexical domain into the functional domain where their features are going to be checked off or eliminated.

According to Johnson & Lappin (1997:279), lexical items are treated as sets of categorical, phonological, semantic and morphological features. The morphological features include person, number, gender, case and tense. Haegemann (1997:165) further states that morphological features are abstractly represented in the functional domain by functional

heads that dominate bundles of abstract features whose role is to check the morphological features of lexical items.

Marantz (1995:363) maintains that morphological features play a role in the computational system of the language, but play no role at the interface levels, LF and PF. They should therefore not be visible at interface levels but be checked off or deleted. The strength of inflectional categories determine the type of movement of lexical items. i.e. overt or covert movement.

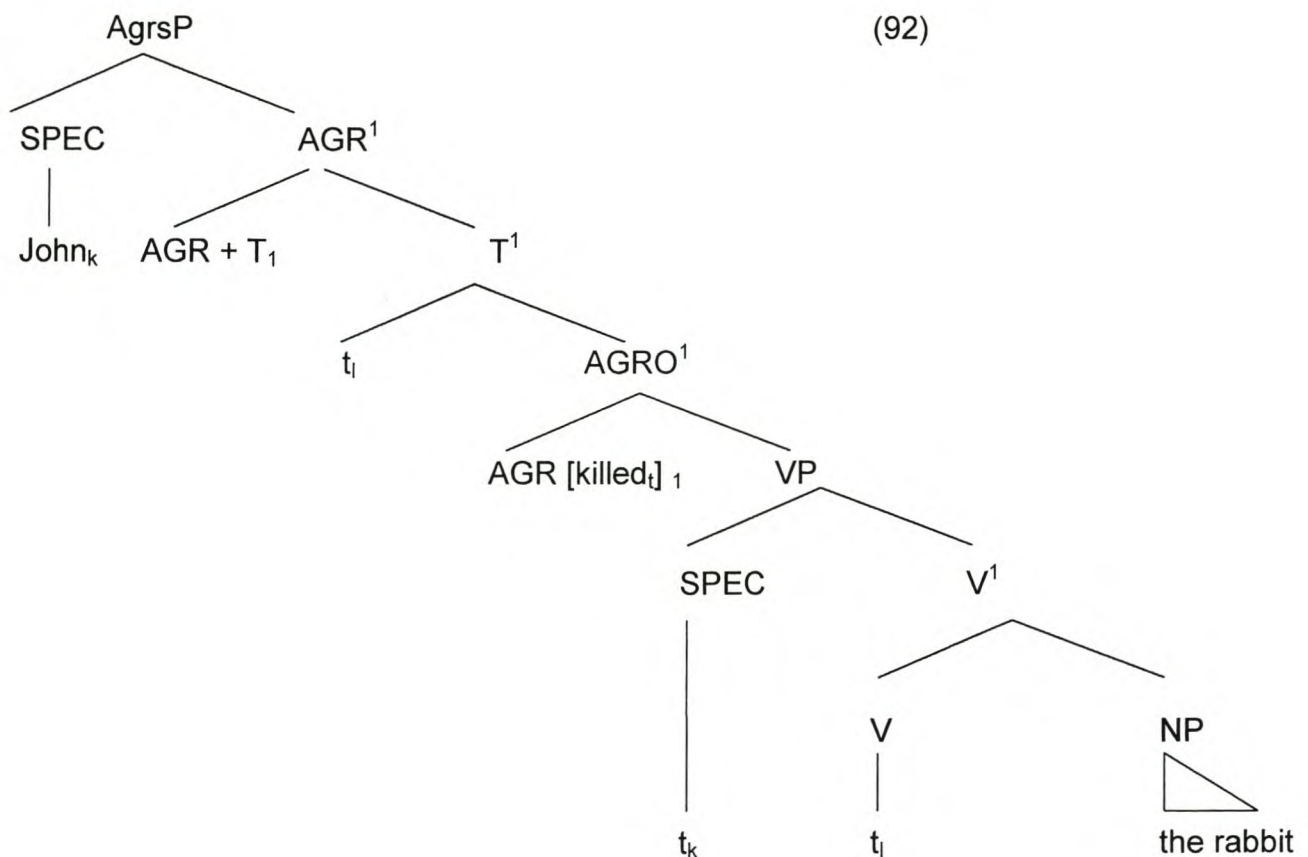
According to Johnson & Lappin (1997:280) strong morphological features are phonologically visible, non-intrinsic categorial features and uninterpretable features at LF and PF. Haegeman (1997:19) describes the strength of features in terms of affixal nature of heads. Bound morphemes have strong features and free morphemes have weak features. The strong morphological features attract features of the lexical items. The distribution of strong features on functional heads in the lexicon, determine the pattern of overt and covert movement of the language. In languages where inflectional heads are affixes, the verb moves overtly before Spell out and in languages where the inflectional head is not an affix, the verb moves covertly after Spell out.

Johnson & Lappin (1997:280) and Thrainsson (1996:258), claim that morphological features are deleted or checked off in a morphological sequence or cyclic fashion. Features that are closest to the verb stem are the first to be checked off.

In Copy theory, Haegeman (1997:20) states that traces are not interpreted as copies of the moved constituents, but movement of a constituent to a higher position leaves a copy in the extracted site. Chains created by movement consist of copies with all the properties of the moved element. Copy theory of movement entails that the derivation of a clause is traced back by inspecting the structure of the clause.

As explained earlier on, attraction is the movement of lexical items [verbs and nouns] with strong or visible morphological features to their relevant functional heads or specifiers in the functional domain. This movement of lexical items involves copying of moved constituents and checking of their features.

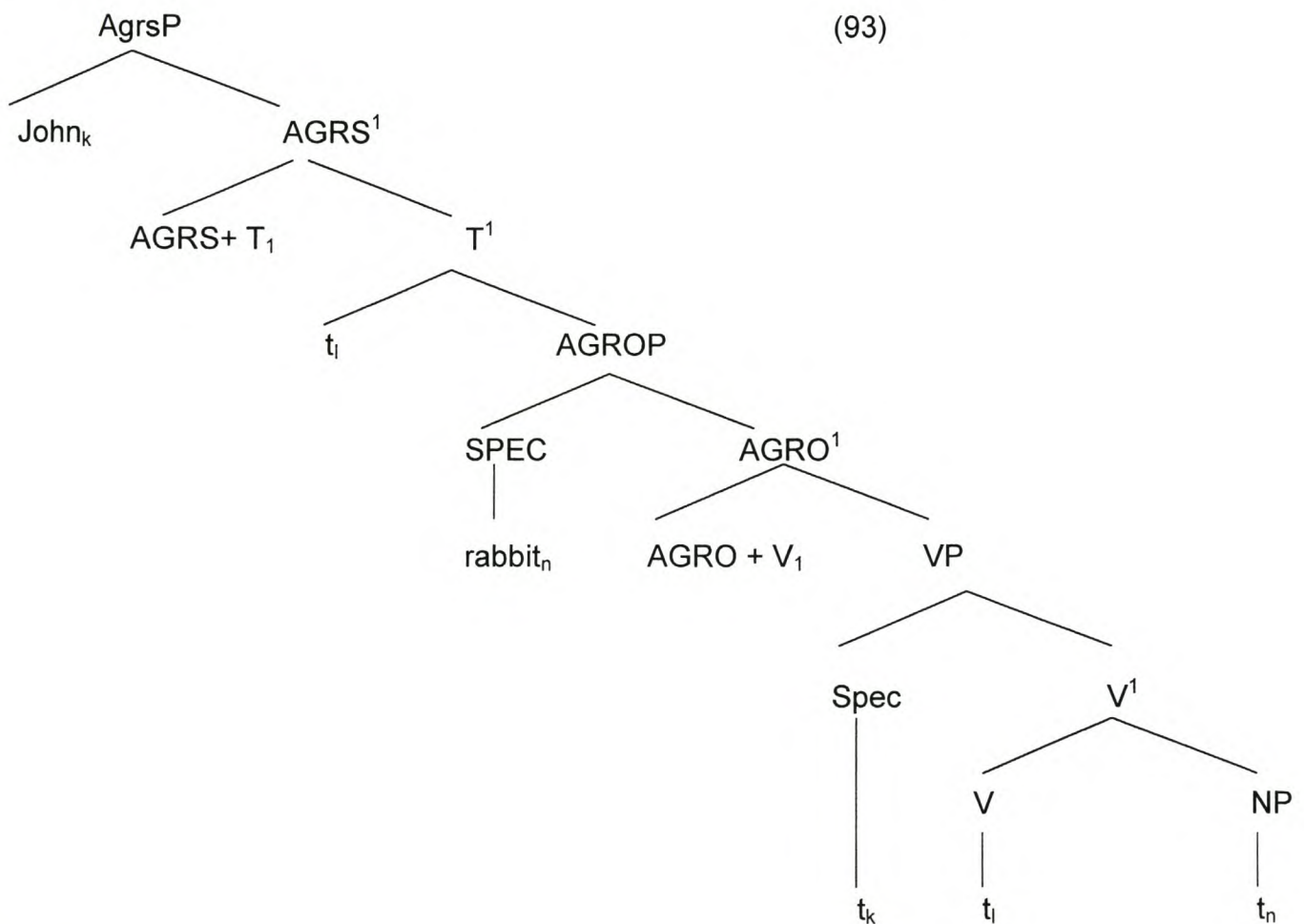
The lexical layer illustrated in (91) is now expanded by the functional layer through the operations of Merge and Move. The verb [killed] contains the accusative features for the NP object [rabbit], it contains Tense features as well as the agreement features for both the NP object and the NP subject. All these morphological features need to be checked. Firstly, Agr¹ is projected to accommodate the verb for agreement checking. Secondly, Tense is projected and the AgrsP is projected. Tense is raised to the [agrs] so that both [T, AGR] attract the NP subject for nominative case licensing. The N-feature of G-tense are strong and NP subject [John] is attracted to the [Spec, AgroP] before Spell out. The verb has also moved before Spell out. The structure in (92) clarifies what has been said above:



The structure in (92) clearly illustrates the functional layer. The functional categories included are only those that need to check the strong features of lexical items for minimal construction. The functional categories are the mirror image of the lexical items or the verb inflection. The structure in (92) has been submitted to the Spell out point for feature checking and is rendered overt.

SPELL OUT POINT, is where a derivation is submitted to meet the interface conditions at LF and PF. The principle of Full interpretation applies here and states that if a derivation is interpretable, that derivation is said to have converged, if not interpretable, it is said to have crashed. Movement before Spell out is overt movement and after Spell out is covert movement.

The NP object in (92) has not yet checked its features due to the principle of Procrastination. It is according to Marantz (1995:) a principle that prefers derivations that wait until Spell out to allow movements of constituents so that such movements do not affect PF. The NP object with the weak morphological features, moves after Spell out. It will be attracted to the specifier of the AgroP to check its case and phi-features. The accusative case features are checked by the combination of [V, Agro]. The structure in (93) illustrates:



According to the above structure in (93), the object originates in the [v¹, NP] and moves covertly or overtly to the specifier position of AGROP for case features after receiving the

theta role. The subject originates in the specifier of the verb phrase and moves overtly to the [Spec, AgrsP].

1.4 LEXEME - MORPHEME BASE MORPHOLOGY

According to Beard (1995:1), morphology is the sum of all the phonological means of expressing the relations of constituents in words, of words in phrases and of phrasal constituents of sentences. Lexeme-morpheme base morphology according to Beard (1995:44), comprises of theories of morphology that distinguishes LEXEMES from bound grammatical morphemes.

1.4.1 Lexemes

Beard (1995:44), defines lexemes as signs which appear in open classes, as direct specified sequences of phonemes, grammatical features and semantic intentions. The open classes, according to Blake and Moorhead (1993:5), have large membership and have more words added to them as the language grows and changes. They have definable meaning and are also called lexical words. Lexemes are nouns, verbs and adjectives found in the lexicon.

Beard (1995:46) further postulate that lexemes are the only minimal grammatical elements in the language and each lexeme has a set of three representations. They are **phonological representation [p]**, **grammatical representation [g]** and the **semantic representation [r]**. Lexemes also allow four types of operations:

- A lexical representation which modifies grammar in the lexicon
- A inflectional operation which modifies grammar in the syntax
- A Spelling operation which modifies phonological representation
- A Semantic operation which modifies meaning

Du Plessis (1997:11), gives lexical entry of lexemes which consists of grammatical representation, phonological representation and the semantic representation. In this a Sesotho verb [kena] will serve as an example.

- (94) g = [+Verb, Agent/Theme - Location]
 p = / ken /
 r = [GO (x) TO (y) in (z)]

According to the lexical entry in (94) above, the grammatical representation of [kena] implies that it is a verb, which has a subject argument as either an agent or theme with the internal argument of location as in [Bana ba kena sekolong]. The semantic representation refers to its lexical conceptual structure.

1.4.2 Morphemes

Blake and Moorhead (1993:5), define a morpheme as the smallest unit of language which has an independent function and which signals identifiable meaning, while Du Plessis (1997:3) defines it as a linguistic form which cannot be divided. Beard (1995:44) distinguishes between bound grammatical morphemes and free grammatical morphemes. Bound grammatical morphemes are morphological spelling operations with modifications that mark, express or spell closed grammatical categories, lexical and syntactic. Free grammatical morphemes are morphological spelling operations that mark modifications in inflectional categories. Free grammatical morphemes include articles, prepositions and pronouns and together with bound morphemes are stored in an autonomous morphological component.

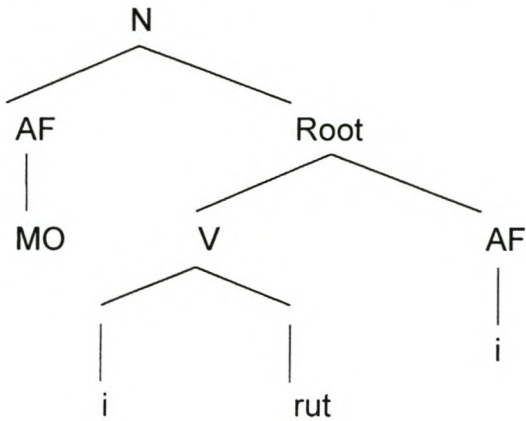
According to Du Plessis (1997:5), morphemes in African languages are arranged into a structure that illustrates four morphological categories:

- a) Syntactic Category : [Verb, Noun]
- b) Affixes : Prefixes and Suffixes
- c) Roots : Which appear with an affix
- d) Stems : Which appear with roots and affixes

The following structures will illustrate four morphological categories with the noun and the verb as syntactic categories.

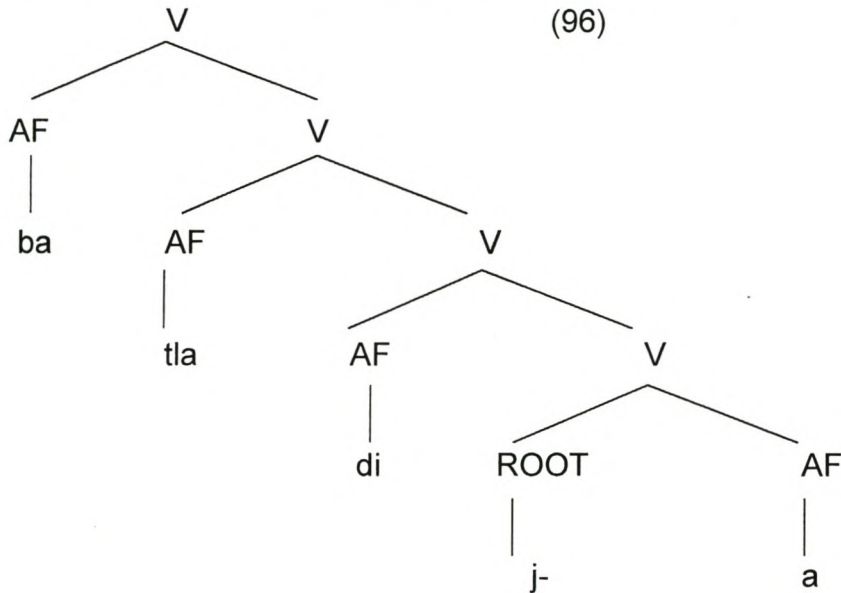
NOUN : [Moithuti = Student]

(95)



VERB : [ba - tla - di - j - a = they will eat them]

(96)



1.4.3 Bound Morphology

According to Beard (1995:46), bound morphology is described in terms of two independent processes which he refers to as DERIVATION and MORPHOLOGICAL SPELLING:

1.4.3.1 Derivation

The domains of derivational operations are the lexicon and syntax. The process of derivation involves both lexemes and morphemes as grammatical categories. The derivation on lexemes is called lexical derivation and is found in the lexicon. The lexemes are also referred to as morphological categories of the lexicon such as nouns and verbs.

The derivation on morphemes is called inflectional derivation and is found in syntax. Morphemes are also called morphosyntactic inflectional categories of syntax.

1.4.3.2 Morphological spelling

According to Beard (1995:46), morphological spelling does not determine the grammatical representation of lexemes, but it marks them by modifying the phonological representation of the lexeme. Spelling operations are responsible for bound morphemes such as affixes and are found in the morphological component. They are limited to lexical word and the functional categories of syntax i.e. morphological spelling modifies the phonological representation of the lexeme, e.g. [sebet-, work], is a lexeme and if this verb is changed into a noun [mo - sebet - i, worker] it means morphological spelling operations have applied in the lexicon, changing the phonological representation of [sebet-] and this results into lexical derivation. According to Du Plessis (1997) if the verb such as /ken / as a lexeme is inflected by categories such as [indicative], [present] , [singular] and [1st person], then the phonological spelling of the lexeme [ken] changes into [Ke - a - ken - a, I come in]. In this way the morphological spelling operation has applied in syntax and this is referred to as inflectional derivation.

In summary, lexemes combine with morphemes through the morphological operations in the lexicon to form nouns out of verbs for instance, and the derivation is the lexical derivation. The lexeme combines with morphemes through morphological operation outside the lexicon to change phonological spelling of lexemes which still remain as verbs for instance and the derivation is inflectional derivation. The derivational and spelling operations are organised as in the diagram in (97) below:

(97)

LEXEME	OPERATIONS ON LEXEMES	GRAMMATICAL COMPONENT
R	Semantic operation	Semantics
◆		
G	Lexical operations	Lexicon
	Inflectional operations	Syntax
◆		
P	Spelling operations	Morphology
	Phonological operations	Phonology

1.4.4 Nominal inflectional derivation

According to Du Plessis (1997), nominal inflectional derivation is concerned with nominal inflectional categories with features such as Case, Agreement, Number and Gender or Noun class.

Case

Du Plessis (1997:21) describes case as a nominal category which is controlled by syntax. It expresses relations between nouns and between nouns and verbs. It is marked by free adpositions and is never expressed by affixation in African languages. The following cases are recognised in Sesotho: Nominative, accusative, dative, instrumental, genitive and locative and they are indicated in the sentence in (98) below:

(98)

[Thabo]	o - ngoletse	[ntate]	[lengolo]	ka	[pene]	ya	[Tselane]	[kamoreng]
Nominative		Dative	Accusative		Instrumental		Genitive	Locative

Noun Class

According to Du Plessis (1997:21), grammatical gender is the category which is usually referred to as noun class, or inflectional class or declension class. It is an arbitrary lexical subclass of nouns which provides the basis for agreement and for assigning nouns to declensions in languages which possess declension. All nouns in African languages are specified for a certain noun class and these noun classes are recognised through prefixes which are also known as noun class prefixes.

AGREEMENT

According to Du Plessis (1997:65), agreement is a derived category which is determined by a noun class and Gender. It is an inflectional syntactic category rather than lexical category which interprets lexical categories for syntactic morphology. In African languages, agreement can be found as a category viz. AGRS, AGRO, prepositional agreement and agreement with nominal modifiers:

AGRS (99) [Batho_i] ba_i - fihlile
[People have arrived]

AGRO (100) Ke - a ba_i - bona [basadi_i]
[I see them the women]

NUMBER

Du Plessis (1997:65) states that number is a grammatical category generally taken to be inflectional and its functions are singular, dual or plural:

Singular (101) Ha ke mamele
[Let me listen]

Dual (102) Ha re mamele
[Let us listen]

Plural (103) Ha re mameleng
[Let's listen]

1.4.5 Verbal inflectional derivation

According to Du Plessis (1997), verbal inflectional derivation is concerned with verbal inflectional categories with grammatical features such as Tense, Mood, Agreement, Negative and Aspect. The inflectional categories are also known as functional categories and they play a role in establishing dependencies between parts of a sentence. They are represented as heads projecting X-bar phrases: MP, TP, AGRSP, AGROP, NEGp and ASPP.

Mood

Blake and Moorhead (1993:13) state that modals do not themselves have lexical meaning, their presence in the verb phrase modify the meaning of the lexical verb by including in the meaning features such as possibility, intention and obligation. Du Plessis (1997) lists moods in Sesotho such as indicative, relative, subjunctive, potential, Habitual, participial, imperative, consecutive and hortative.

Tense

According to Blake and Moorhead (1993:13), tense is the reference made by the verb to the time when an action occurs. Du Plessis (1997:71) states that Sesotho have three tenses: Present, Future and Perfect Tense.

Aspect

According to Blake and Moorhead (1993:13), aspect is the distinction indicated by the verb phrase between actions which are in progress and actions which are complete. Du Plessis (1997:73) mention some aspects of Sesotho. They are progressive morpheme [sa] and the necessity morpheme [-no-].

Negative

Du Plessis (1997:75) states that in Sesotho a verb may be negated by a number of negative morphemes such as [ha-], [-sa-] or [-se-]. The negative verbs are marked by negative morphemes whereas positive verbs are unmarked.

Agreement

The agreement is derived from the noun class of the subject noun and it is found i.a. subjectival agreement phrase [AGRSP], where the subjectival agreement is the head of the phrase. Examples have been provided above where agreement is discussed under nominal inflectional categories.

1.4.6 Types of lexical derivations

According to Du Plessis (1997:109), the lexeme - morpheme base morphology distinguishes lexical from inflectional derivation as already mentioned above. There are four types of lexical derivations. They are Feature value switches, Expressive derivations, Transposition and Functional lexical derivations.

1.4.6.1 Feature value switches and Gender

Feature value switches according to Du Plessis (1997:109), resets the [±] or other values of grammatical features and operates both in syntax and the lexicon. They determine the values on the features of the inflectional categories and values of inherent lexical features. For instance, feature value switches and gender has derivational rules that distinguish

1.4.6.3 Transposition

According to Du Plessis (1997:133), transposition is a semantic reclassification rule that changes a category to another category. The lexicon may transpose any member of any major lexical category *viz.* noun, verb or adjective to any other major lexical class by providing it with the lexical grammatical features of the target class and neutralizing the inherent grammatical features of the base. There are lexical derivations which reflect a change in lexical class only:

(106) A → N
 tle → botle [beauty]

There are also other lexical derivations which reflect a change in lexical class and a change in grammatical function (see par. 1.4.6.4. below):

(107) V → N
 aha → se - ah - i [builder]

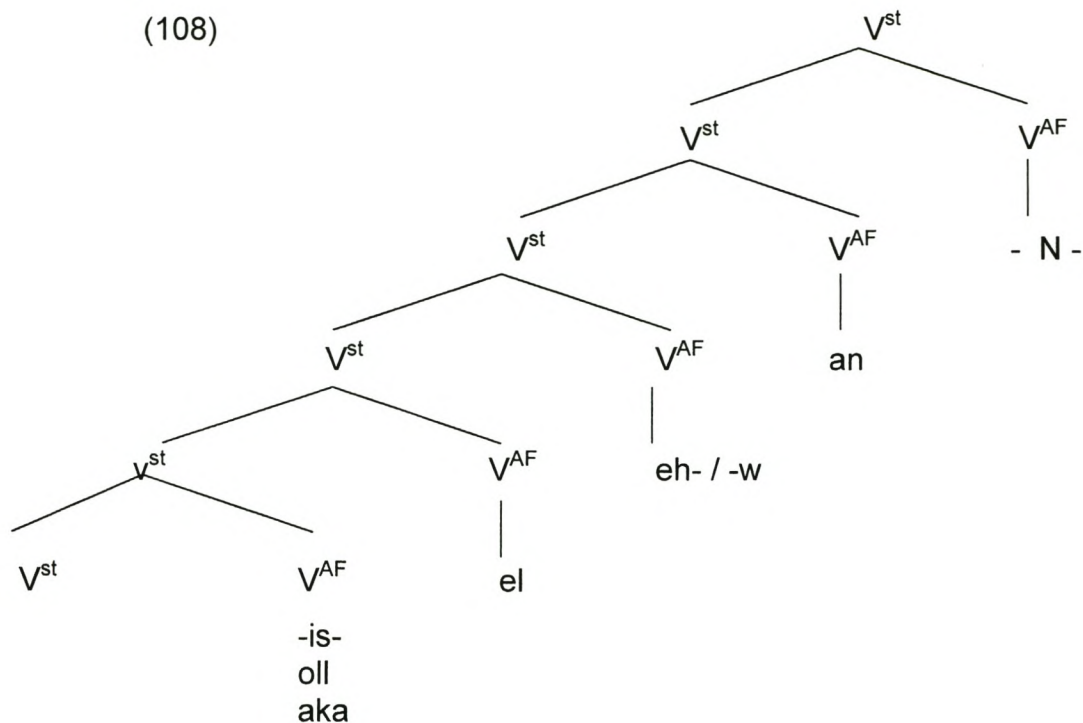
1.4.6.4 Functional derivations

Du Plessis (1997:139), states that functional lexical derivations are concerned with the effect of affixes on the argument structure of lexical items. They include verbal and nominal functional derivations.

a. Verbal Functional Derivations

According to Du Plessis (1997), there are functional derivations which have affixes affecting both the grammatical and semantic features of verbs. They are the applicative affix [-el-], the causative [-is-], the passive [-w-], the reciprocal [-an-] in Sesotho. There are also those which only affect the semantic features of verbs *viz.* there duplicated affixes [is-is-], the extensive [ak-], and the reversive [ol-ol]. The morphological structure in (108) illustrates this:

(108)

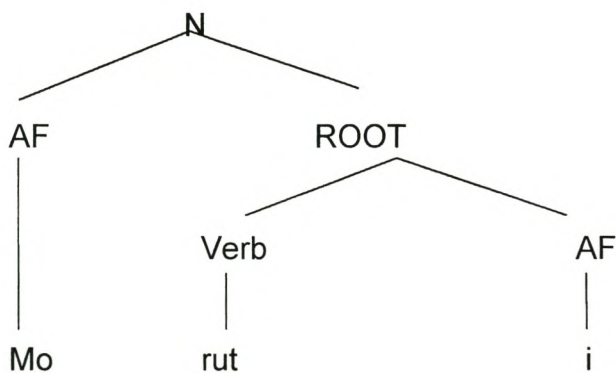


b. Nominal Functional Derivations

According to Du Plessis (1997:157), there are nouns derived from verbs which are distinguished by two suffixes [i] and [o]. These suffixes specify control of an argument of the predicate. The following nouns in (109) with a morphological structure in (110) showing the suffix [i] will illustrate:

- (110) Ruta [teach] → Moruti - i
 → Thut - o

(112)



In summary, the lexeme-morpheme based morphology distinguishes lexemes or lexical words from morphemes. Lexical derivation is concerned with lexemes found in the lexicon, where word formation is achieved through feature value switches, expressive derivation, transposition and functional lexical derivation. Inflectional derivation is concerned with morphemes which are bound and they are found in syntax, and it is further divided into nominal inflectional derivation and verbal inflectional derivation.

1.5 METHOD AND ORGANIZATION

The dissertation is concerned with three areas of inquiry. In the first place the descriptive data on sentence constructions realizing negation in Sesotho will be collected. This will be obtained from existing grammatical studies on Sesotho, a variety of published works in Sesotho, as well as extensive work with speakers of Sesotho as consultants.

In the second place evidence from negation in Sesotho will be explored comprehensively within the Minimalist Program framework of syntax with focus on issues as regards functional categories. Thirdly, since the negative morphemes in Sesotho are mostly circumfixes, morphological issues as regards negation in Sesotho are addressed within the framework of lexeme-morpheme-base morphology.

The dissertation will thus have the following organization:

Chapter 1

- Purpose and aims of study
- Review of literature on negation
- The Minimalist Program of syntax
- Lexeme-morpheme-base morphology
- Method and organisation of study

Chapter 2

- The Negative Morphemes

Chapters 3 to 5

- Negation of Constituents

Chapter 6

- Topic, Focus and Scope of Negation

Chapter 7

- Conclusion and summary of main findings

CHAPTER 2

NEGATIVE MORPHEMES

2.1 AIM

The aim of this section is to look at the distribution of the negative morphemes in Sesotho within the various predicate forms and aspect morphemes. The predicate will include non-copulative verbs, deficient verbs and copulative verbs. The distribution of these negative morphemes will be investigated with regard to various moods and tenses within which these predicate forms appear. There are only three negative morphemes which negate various predicate forms in Sesotho and they are the negative morphemes [ha]; [sa] and [se]. All these negative morphemes are pre-verbal morphemes and normally co-occur with the negative suffixes such as [-e] and the negative perfect prefix [-a-].

2.2 NEGATIVE MORPHEME [HA]

The negative morpheme [ha] only appears in the indicative mood and its distribution will therefore be investigated within this mood only. Within the morphological structure of the verb, the prefix [ha] will occupy the position, which is furthest from the verb. This morpheme frequently appears as a circumfix with another negative morpheme, namely the suffix [-e]. As indicated above, the distribution of the negative [ha] will be investigated with regard to non-copulative verbs, copulative verbs, deficient verbs and aspect morphemes:

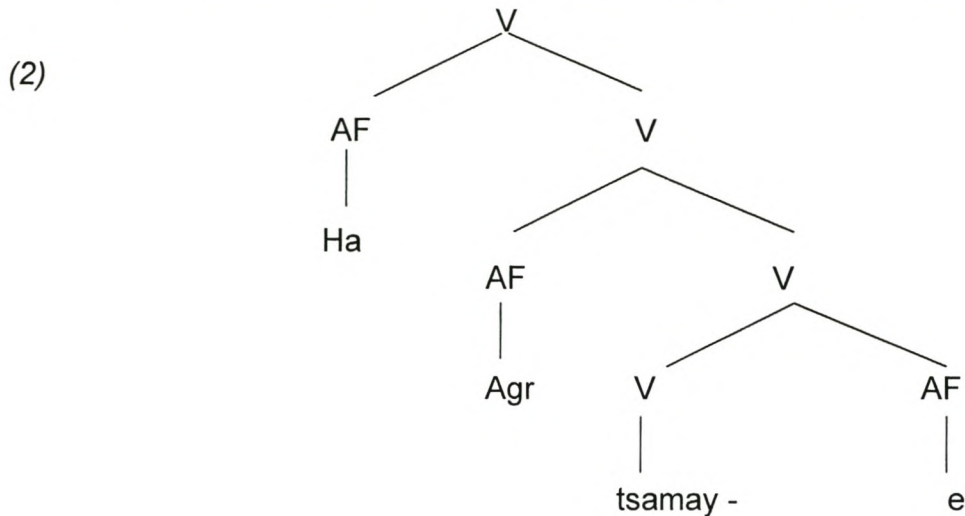
2.2.1 Non-copulative verbs

With the non-copulative verbs, the negative morpheme [ha] appears only in the indicative mood with all its tenses i.e. present tense, perfect tense and future tense:

In the present tense, the negative morpheme [ha] appears with the negative suffix [-e] as indicated in (1) below:

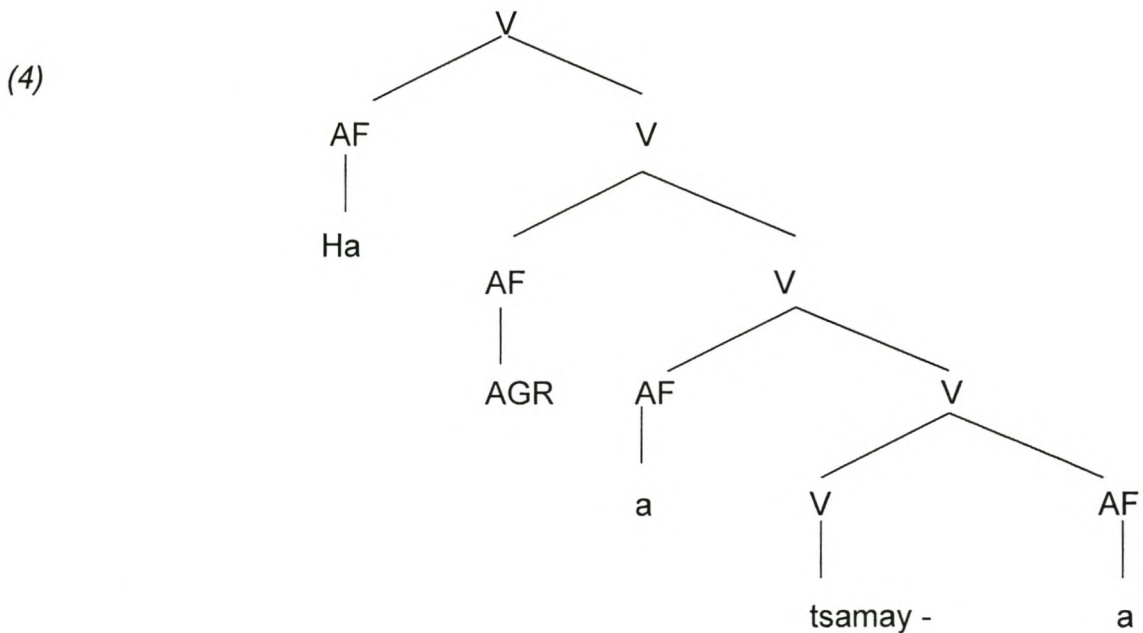
- (1) Ha - ke - tsamay - e
[I am not going]

The morphological structure of the present indicative form will be as shown in (2) below:



In the perfect tense, the negative morpheme [ha] appears with the perfect negative morpheme [-a-] and the verb retains the suffix [-a] of the positive as illustrated by (3) and (4) below:

- (3) Ha - ke - a - tsamay - a
[I did not go]



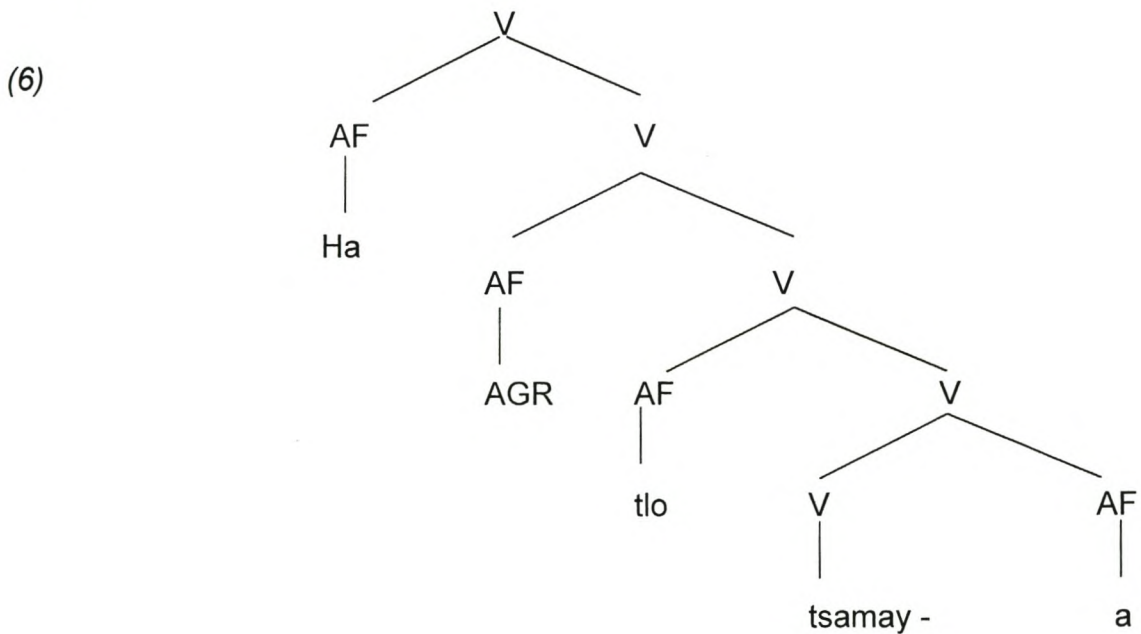
In the future tense, the negative morpheme [ha] appears with future tense morphemes [tlo] and [yo] and the verb will retain the suffix [-a] of the positive. The future tense morphemes

[tla] and [ya] originally appeared with an infinitive morpheme [ho]. When they appear with the negative morpheme [ha], they change to [tlo] and [yo], a coalesced form from the present tense negative with the infinitive. The sentences in (5) illustrate the coalesced process:

(5) a. [Ha – ke – tle [ho – tsamaya] →
 Ha – ke – tlo – tsamaya
 [I will not go]

b. [Ha – ke – ye [ho – tsamaya] →
 Ha – ke – yo – tsamaya
 [I am not going to leave]

The future tense with the negative morpheme [ha] will have the following morphological structure in (6):



In the future perfect tense, the negative morpheme [ha] appears with the perfect tense morphemes [tlile] and [ile]. When these morphemes appear with the negative morpheme [ha], they change into a coalesced form [tliilo] and [ilo] as demonstrated in (7) below:

- (7) a. [Ha – ke – tlile [ho – tsamaya] →
 Ha – ke – tlilo – tsamaya
 [*I am not going to leave*]
- b. [Ha – ke – ile [ho – tsamaya] →
 Ha – ke – ilo – tsamaya
 [*I am not going to leave*]

The morphological structure of the sentences in (7) will have the same structure as those in (5) above illustrated in (6). As observed in the sentences in (1), (3), (5) and (7) above, the verbs in the indicative mood are negated by the morpheme [ha] in all three tenses. The negative morpheme [ha] co-occurs with the suffix [-e] and the prefix [-a-] in the present and perfect tense respectively. In all cases, the negative morpheme [ha] precedes all other morphemes viz: the subject agreement [AGRS]; the perfect negative morphemes [-a-] and the future tense morphemes [tlo] and [yo] as well as the future perfect tense morphemes [tlilo] and [ilo].

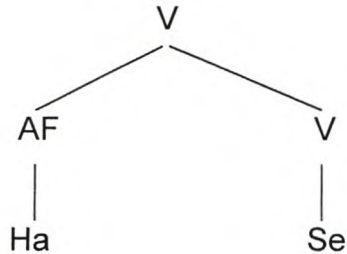
2.2.2 Copulative verbs

The negative morpheme [ha] can also appear with the copulative verbs. It obligatorily appears with the negative copulative verb [se] as [Ha – se], to negate the copulative verb [ke], where the syntactic categories such as noun phrases [NP], locative noun phrases [NP Loc] and complementizer phrases [CP] appear as complements. The sentences in (8) below illustrate:

- (8) a. Motlengoa [ha – se [Morena] [Ha – se NP]
 [*Motlengoa is not the chief*]
- b. [Ha – se [naheng ya Basotho mona] [Ha – se NP Loc]
 [*It is not at Basotho's country here*]
- c. Ho – tsamaya [ha – se [ho – bona] [Ha – se CP]
 [*To travel is not to see*]

The morphological structure of the negative morpheme [ha] where the negative [se] appears as the verb is shown in the structure in (9) below. It will also be noted that the negative morpheme [ha] does not appear with any agreement morpheme:

(9)



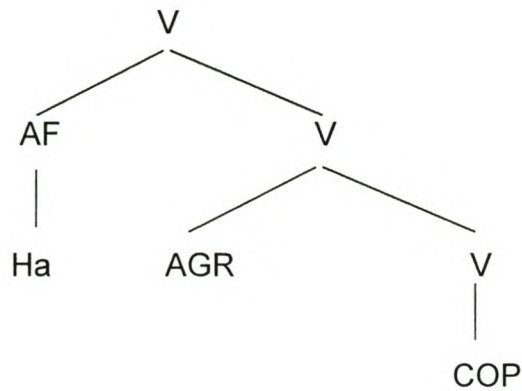
The negative morpheme [ha] may also appear with the abstract copulative verb [LI] where it precedes the subject agreement. The copulative verb [LI] takes the following syntactic categories as complements: Noun phrases [NP], Adjectival Phrases [AP], nominal relatives [NP Rel], locative noun phrases [NP Loc] and prepositional phrases [PP]. The abstract copulative verb is preceded by the subject agreement, which might be the first, or second singular or plural or the agreement of any noun class. The sentences below illustrate the syntactic categories with which the copulative verb may appear:

- (10) a. [Ha – Agrs – LI [NP]
 Nna ha – ke – [morena]
 [I am not the chief]
- b. [Ha – Agrs – LI [AP]
 Ngwana enwa ha – a [motle]
 [This child is not beautiful]
- c. [Ha – Agrs – LI NP Rel]
 Basadi ha – ba [botswa]
 [Women are not lazy]
- d. [Ha – Agrs – LI NP Loc]
 Bana ha – ba [sekolong]
 [Children are not at school]

- e. [Ha – Agrs – LI PP]
 Bana ha – ba [ka [tlung]
 [Children are not in the house]

The above sentences in (10) will have the morphological structure in (11) below:

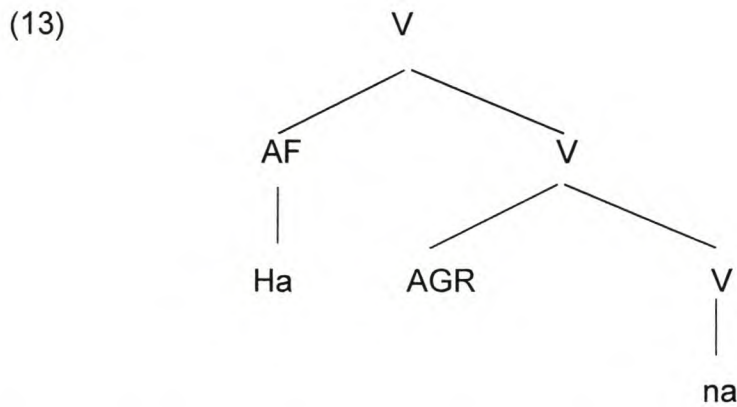
(11)



The negative morpheme [ha] can also appear with the copulative verb [na], where the negative morpheme will precede the subject agreement [AGRS] and the verb. The copulative verb [na] will only take noun phrases [NP's] and prepositional phrases [PP] as complements. The sentences in (12) demonstrate:

- (12) a. [Ha – Agrs – na NP]
 Mosadi ha – a – na [bana]
 [The woman does not have children]
- b. [Ha – Agrs – na PP]
 Bana ha – ba – na [le mosadi]
 [Children are not with the woman]

The sentences in (12) will have the following morphological structure in (13):



As observed in the examples in (8), (10) and (12) above, the negative morpheme [ha] appears with copulative verbs where it negates the copulative verb [ke] which does not have subject agreement, it also negates the abstract copulative verb which has subject agreement and finally, it negates the copulative verb [na] which also has subject agreement. In all the copulatives, the negative morpheme [ha] precedes the verbs and the subject agreement, and it appears with the following syntactic categories as complements of the copulative verbs: NP, Np Rel, NP Loc, AP, PP and CP.

2.2.3 Deficient verbs

According to Guma [1991: 187], deficient verbs are verbs that cannot be used by themselves to have a complete verbal predicate, but need another verbal complement for a complete meaning. He distinguishes two types of deficient verbs namely permanent deficient verbs and non-deficient verbs which are deficiently used. He further divides deficient verbs into influencing and non-influencing verbs. There are however some deficient verbs, which may play a specific role in negative sentences:

The negative of the compound tense with [-ile]

There is a compound tense in Sesotho, which is related to the motion verb [ya]. This verb appears as [ile] in the perfect tense as a deficient verb and is forced to appear with a consecutive clause. The sentence in (14) illustrates:

- (14) [Ke – ile [ka – kgutla]
 [I did come back]

In (14) above the consecutive clause is [ka – kɡutla], which is marked by the presence of the consecutive morpheme [-a-] on [ka] = [ke + a] above. In the negative of this compound tense, the deficient verb [ile] disappears. The negative of this compound tense may only be formed with the aid of the deficient verb [ka]:

- (15) [Ha – ke – a – ka [ka – kɡutla]
 [I did not come back]

In (15) above, the deficient verb [ka] appears in the negative of the perfect tense, which can clearly be seen by the presence of the negative prefix [- a -] before [ka]. The complement of this deficient verb is still a consecutive clause [ka – kɡutla].

The negative of the potential mood

The negative of the potential mood may have various forms as indicated by the sentences in (16) below:

- (16) a. [Re – ka – se – bin – e]
 [We cannot sing]
- b. [Re – ke – ke [ra – bina]]
 [We cannot sing]
- c. [Ha – re – ka – ke [ra – bina]]
 [We cannot sing]

In (a) above, a negative morpheme [se] appears with the potential morpheme [ka]. (See the negative morpheme [se] below). In (16) (b) and (c) a deficient verb [ka] can be discerned. This deficient verb is the same one, which appears in the negative of the compound tense in (15) above. In (16) (b) above, the potential morpheme [ka] is changed to [ke] and the deficient verb takes the negative suffix [- e] as in (a) above. In (16) (c) above, the deficient verb [ka] appears with the negative morpheme [ha] which precedes the potential morpheme [ka]. The deficient verb [ka] will also have the negative suffix [- e] as in (a) and (b) above. In both (b) and (c) above, the deficient verb [ka] has to appear with a consecutive clause as was indicated in (15) above.

The negative of the habitual mood

Nowadays, the habitual mood in Sesotho appears with deficient verbs [ye] and [hle]. The complement clause of these deficient verbs is still a habitual clause which is marked by the habitual suffix [- e]:

- (17) a. [O – ye [a – ll – e]]
 [He/She usually cries]
- b. [O – hle [a – ll – e]]
 [He/She definitely cries]

The negative of these habitual sentences may be formed in two ways as shown in (18):

- (18) a. (i) O – ye [a – se – ll – e]
 [He/She usually does not cry]
- (ii) O – hle [a – se – ll – e]
 [He/She definitely does not cry]
- b. (i) [Ha – a – ye [a – ll – e]]
 [He/She usually does not cry]
- (ii) [Ha – a – hle [a – ll – e]]
 [He/She definitely does not cry]

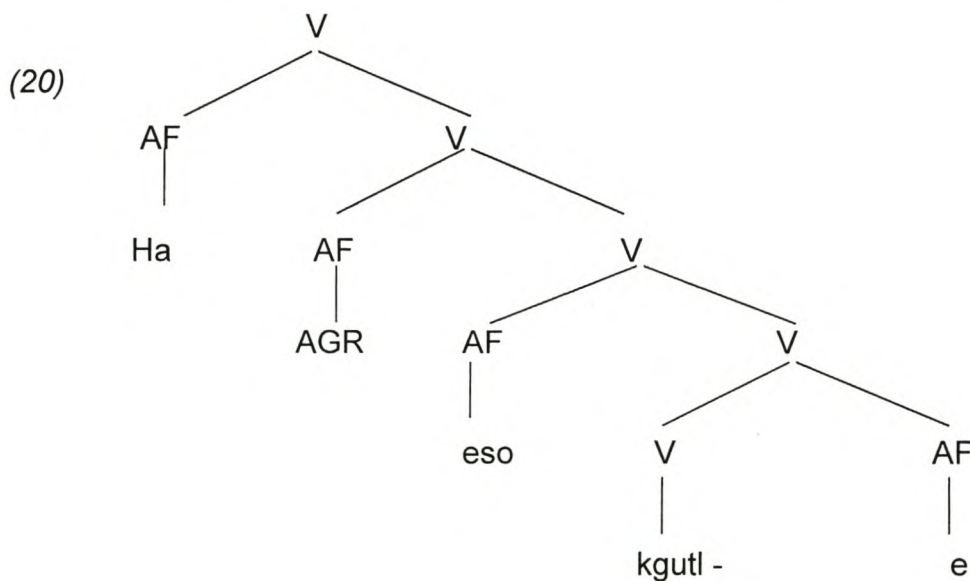
In 18 (a) above, the negative morpheme [se] appears with the complement clause. (See the negative morpheme [se] below). In 18 (b) above, the deficient verbs [ye] and [hle] appear with negative morpheme [ha]. The complement clause in both instances remains a habitual clause.

The negative deficient verb [- ESO]

The negative morpheme [ha] may appear with the inherent negative deficient verb [- eso -] in the indicative mood, where the complement of [- eso -] has a verb ending with the morpheme [- e]:

- (19) Ha – ba – eso – kgutl - e
 [They have not yet came back]

The above sentence in (19) will have the following morphological structure in (20):



In this case the deficient verb [- eso -] may be regarded as a morpheme in the same way as in the case of the future tense where the future tense morpheme [tla] or [ya] may alternate and still function as a verb, eg. In the relative clause, the morpheme [tla] may function as the verb:

- (21) [Ba – tlang [ho sebeta]]
 [Those who will come to work]

The negative morpheme [ha] may also appear with the deficient verb [-eso -], where it is followed by the infinitive complement with the verb of the complement ending with the suffix [- e]:

- (22) Ha – ba – eso [ho – kgutle – e]
 [*They have not yet come back*]

From the above sentence in (22) it is probable that the deficient verb [-eso-] comes from the combination [ese ho] to form [- eso -]. The infinitive can also be used with [-eso -] as the meaning is the same.

The negative morpheme [ha] may also appear with the deficient verb [-eso -] together with a deficient verb [ka] with the verb of the complement clause in the consecutive mood as shown in (23) below:

- (23) Ha – ba – eso – ka [ba – kgutla – a]
 [*They have not yet come back*]

From the above sentences in (15), (16-c), (18-b), (19), (22) and (23), it is clear that the negative morpheme [ha] can appear with deficient verbs such as [ile], [ka] and [-eso-]. It is also clear that [-eso] can alternate as a deficient verb or a morpheme in the same way that [ile] and [tla] can do.

2.2.4 Aspect morphemes

The aspectual morphemes identified in Sesotho are the progressive aspect morpheme [sa], the necessity aspect morpheme [- no -], the consecutive aspect morpheme [-nto -] and the temporal aspect morpheme [tswa]. The negative morpheme [ha] can appear with the progressive morpheme [sa] in the indicative mood with three tenses, namely the present, the future and the perfect tenses. It can also appear with the temporal [tswa] in the indicative mood with the immediate past tense. Finally it can appear with the necessity aspect morpheme [- no] in the indicative mood.

The negative of the progressive morpheme [sa]

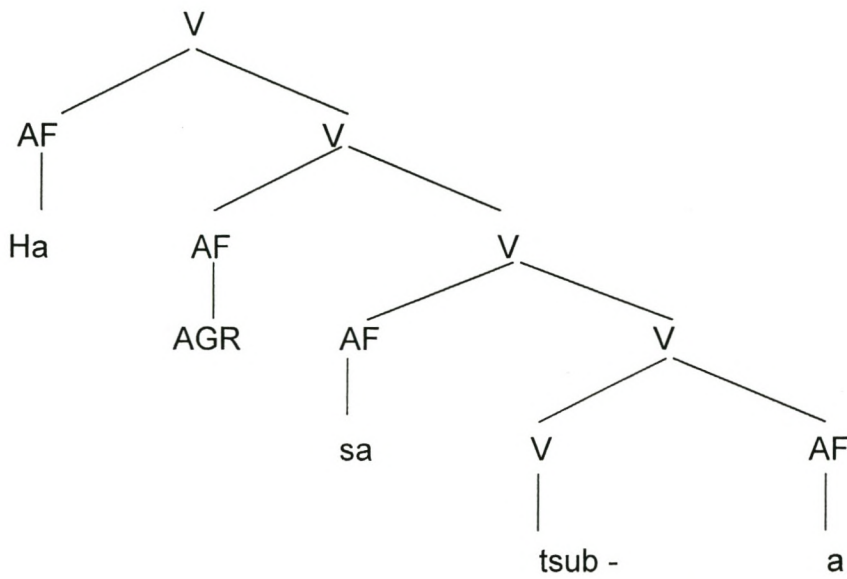
As indicated above, the negative morpheme [ha] can appear with the progressive aspect morpheme [sa] in the indicative mood with the present, perfect and future tenses. In the present tense, the verb retains its suffix [- a] when the negative [ha] appears with the progressive morpheme [sa] , but this is not the case when the negative morpheme [ha]

appears without [sa]. In such a case it has a circumfix with the negative affix [- e]: See the sentences in (24) with their morphological structures in (25):

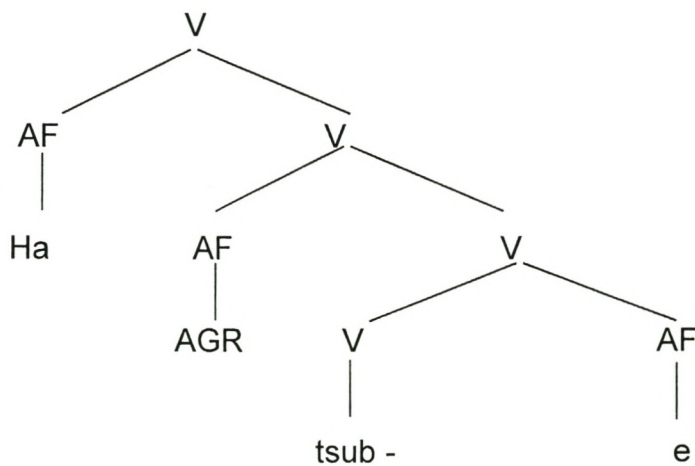
(24) a. Ha – a – sa – tsub – a
 [He / She no longer smokes]

b. Ha – a – tsub – e
 [He/ She doesn't smoke]

(25) a. With progressive morpheme [sa]



b. Without progressive morpheme [sa]

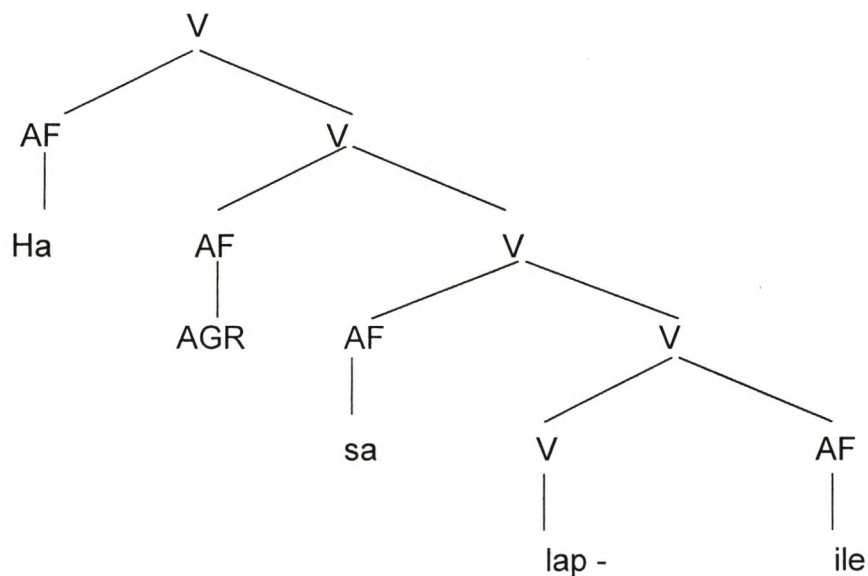


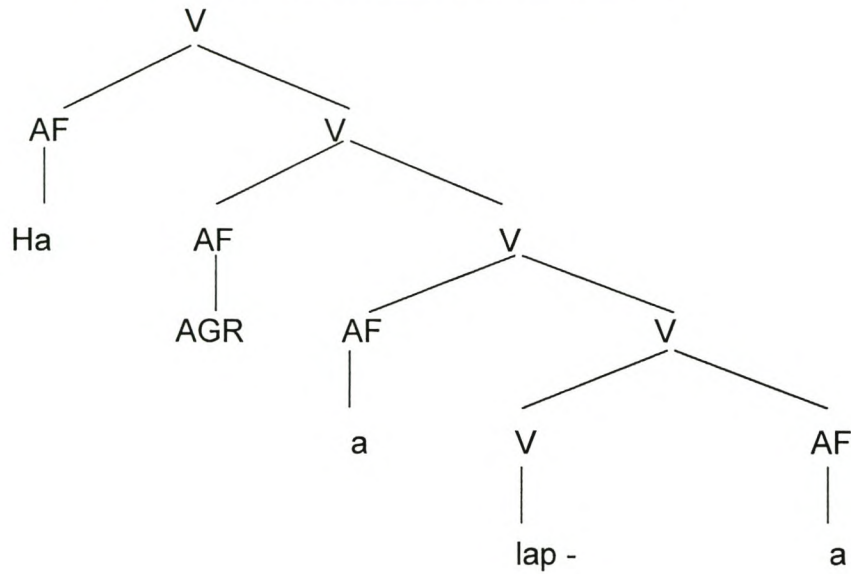
In the perfect tense, the negative morpheme [ha] appears with the progressive aspect morpheme [sa], but the verb does not employ the negative perfect morpheme [- a -]: It appears with the perfect suffix [- ile]. On the other hand, when the negative morpheme [ha] appears without the progressive morpheme [sa], the verb employs the negative perfect morpheme [- a -] and it retains the suffix which is [- a]. The sentences in (26) and their morphological structures in (27) illustrate these differences between tense and aspect when compared with (24) and (25) above:

(26) a. Ha – ba – sa – lap – ile
[They are no longer hungry]

b. Ha – ba – a – lap – a
[They are not hungry]

(27) a. With progressive morpheme [sa]

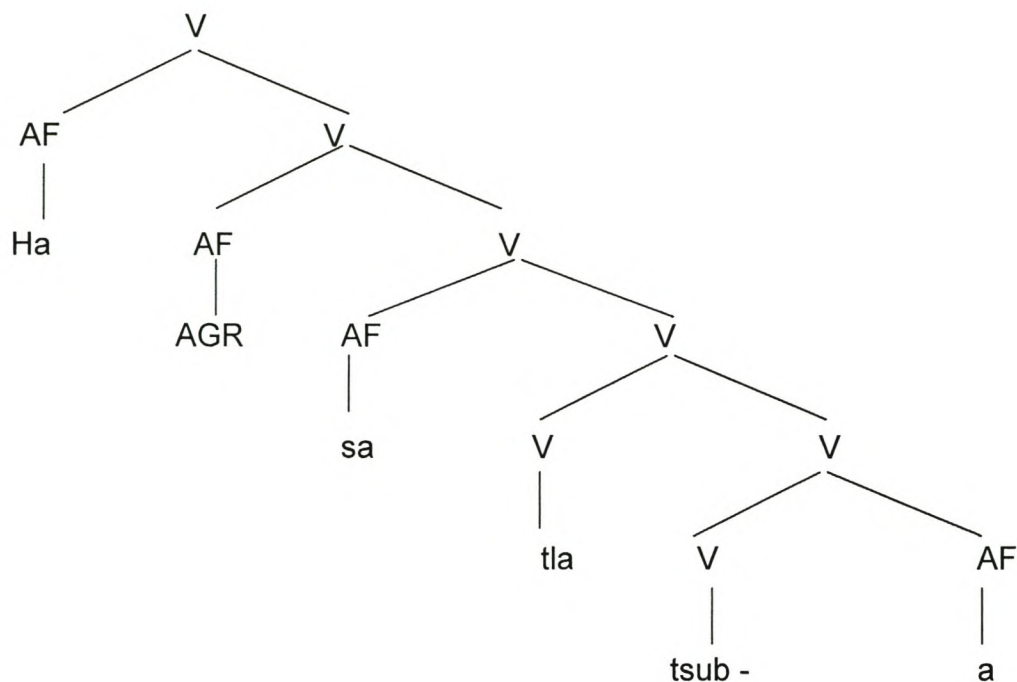


b. Without progressive morpheme [sa]

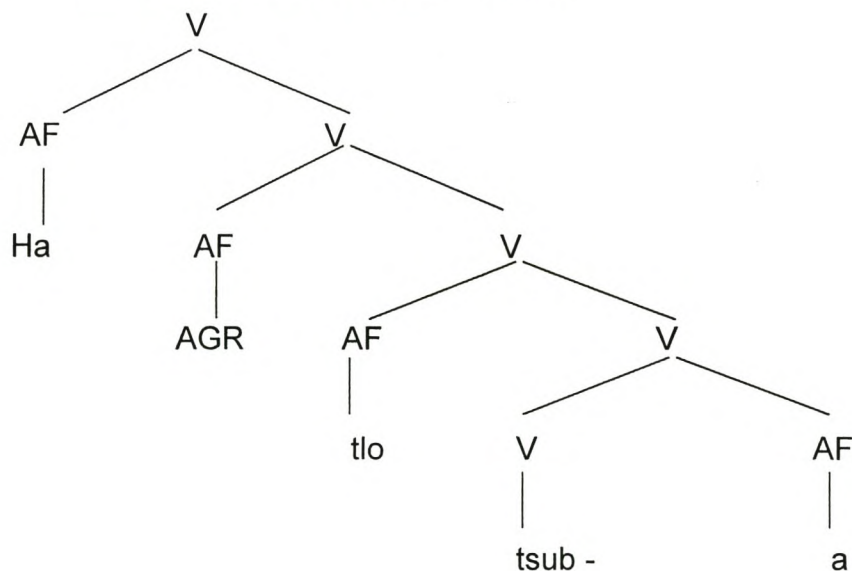
In the future tense, the difference between tense and aspect is also clear. When the negative morpheme [ha] appears with the progressive aspect morpheme [sa], the verb employs the future tense morpheme [tla] indicating future tense and it precedes the verb which retains its affix [- a]. But when the negative morpheme [ha] appears without the progressive morpheme [sa], the verb employs the future tense morpheme [tlo], coalesced form of [tla] and the infinitive: See the sentences in (28) and their morphological structures in (29):

- (28) a. Ha – ba – sa – tla – tsub – a
 [*They will no longer smoke*]
- b. Ha – ba – tlo – tsub – a
 [*They will not smoke*]

(29) a. With the aspect morpheme [sa]



b. Without the aspect morpheme [sa]



The difference between (28 a,b) and (29 a,b) can be explained as follows: The future tense in Sesotho, as indicated above, is a result of the coalescence of the motion verb [tla] and [ya] with an infinitival clause. These motion verbs then appear in the negative as illustrated in (5) above. With the aspect morpheme [sa], this way of forming the negative is repeated. Thus, the motion verbs [tla] and [ya] will have the negative of the present tense as in (24 a) above:

(30) [Ha – AGRS – sa – tl – a]

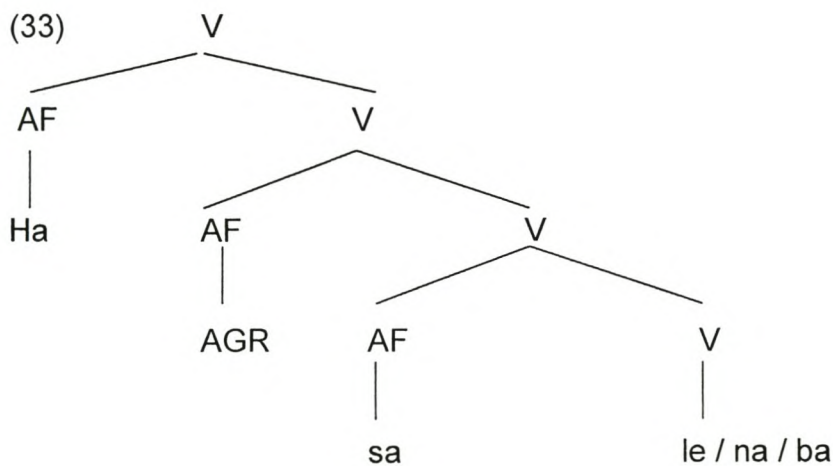
With this negative verb, the morpheme [ho] of the infinitive will be elided as illustrated in (31):

(31) a. [Ha – AGRS – sa – tl – a ho – v] →
 b. [Ha – AGRS – sa – tl – a – v]

The negative morpheme [ha] can appear with the progressive aspect morpheme [sa] in conjunction with the copulative verbs [le], [na] and [ba] as demonstrated in the sentences in (32) below:

(32) a. Basadi [ha – ba – sa – le] batle
 [*Women are no longer beautiful*]
 b. Banna [ha – ba – sa – na] tjhelete
 [*Men no longer have money*]
 c. Bana [ha – ba – sa – ba] botswa
 [*Children no longer become lazy*]

The above copulative verbs will have the same morphological structure shown in (33):

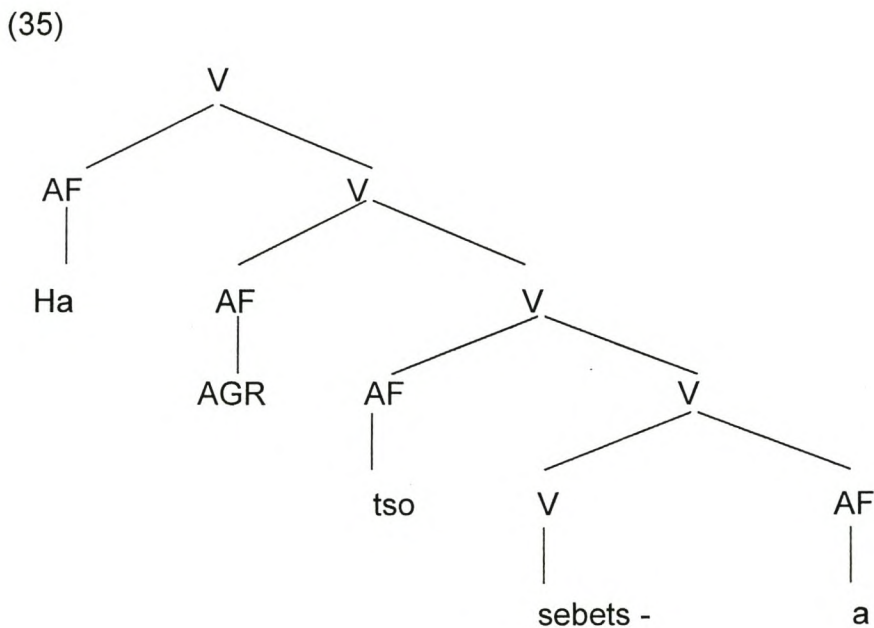


The negative of the temporal aspect [tswa]

The negative morpheme [ha] may also appear with the temporal morpheme [tswa] in a coalesced form as [tso]. The sentences in (34) illustrate:

- (34) a. Ha – ke – tswa [ho – sebetsa] →
 b. Ha ke – tso – sebetsa
 [*I am not from work*]

The sentence in (34 b) will have the following morphological structure in (35):

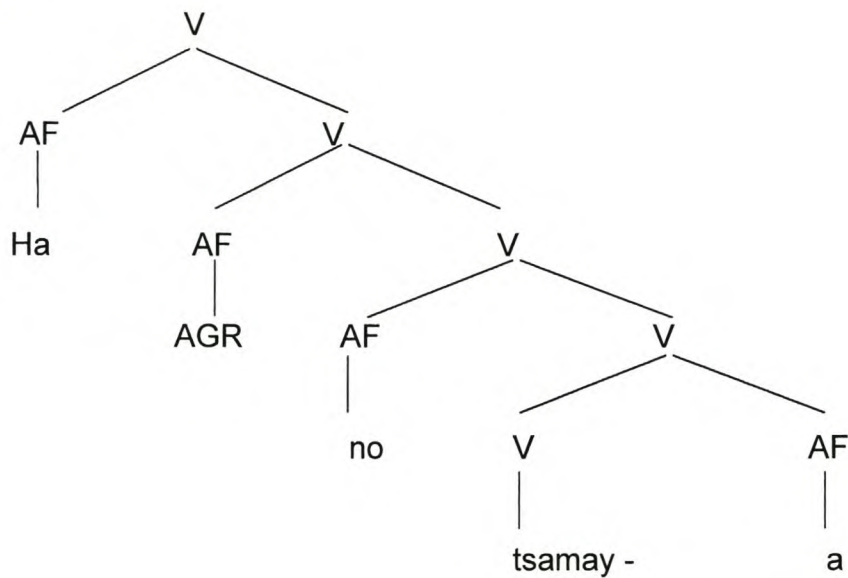
The Negative of Necessity Morpheme [no]

The negative morpheme [ha] may appear with the necessity morpheme [no] in the indicative mood of the present tense as illustrated by the sentence in (36):

- (36) Bana ha – ba – no – tsamaya
 [*Children won't leave*]

The sentence in (36) above will have the following morphological structure in (37):

(37)



From the above observations, it is clear that there is a difference between tense and aspect in the indicative mood. Tense and aspect morpheme [sa] affect the structure of verbs when both appear with the prefix [ha] and when the prefix [ha] appears with tense without aspect morpheme [sa]. The other aspect morphemes i.e. [tswa] and [no] have a limited appearance with the negative morpheme [ha]. In all the cases, the negative morpheme [ha] precedes all other verbal morphemes.

2.3 NEGATIVE MORPHEME [SA]

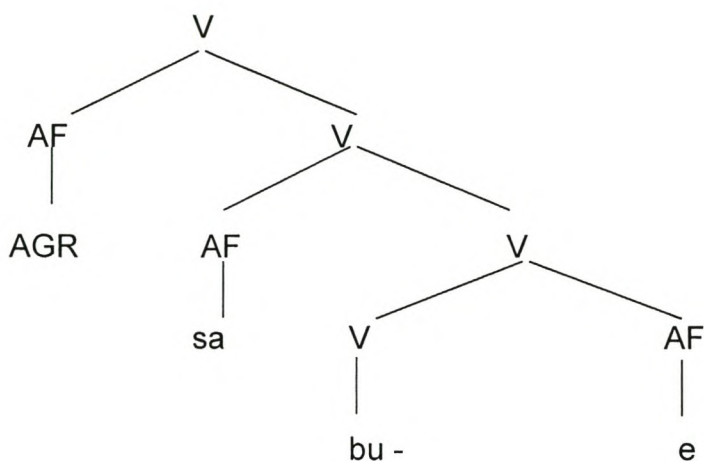
The second negative morpheme in Sesotho is the negative [sa]. It occupies the third position in the linear order of the verbal prefixes of Sesotho. The negative morpheme [sa] only appears in the participle and the relative moods. Its distribution will therefore be investigated within these two moods and predicate forms such as non-copulative verbs, copulative verbs and deficient verbs as well as aspect morphemes.

2.3.1 Non-copulative verbs

With the non-copulative verbs, the negative morpheme [sa] appears in the participial mood within three tenses, namely the present, perfect and future tenses. In the present tense, the negative morpheme [sa] appears with the negative suffix [-e] as shown in (38) and (39) below:

- (38) Ba – tsamaya [ba – sa – bu – e]
[They walk while not talking]

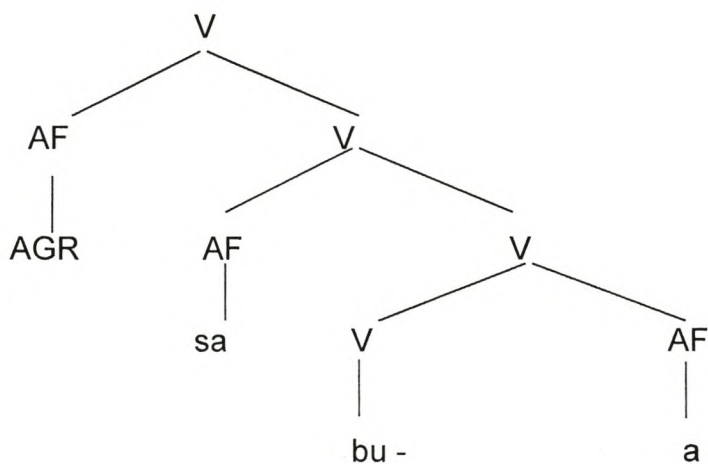
(39)



In the perfect tense, the negative morpheme [sa] appears with the suffix [- a] and the perfect negative morpheme [- a] does not appear. The sentence in (40) with the morphological structure of the participial complement in (41) illustrate the above observation:

- (40) Ba tsama – ile [ba – sa -bu – a]
[They left without speaking]

(41)

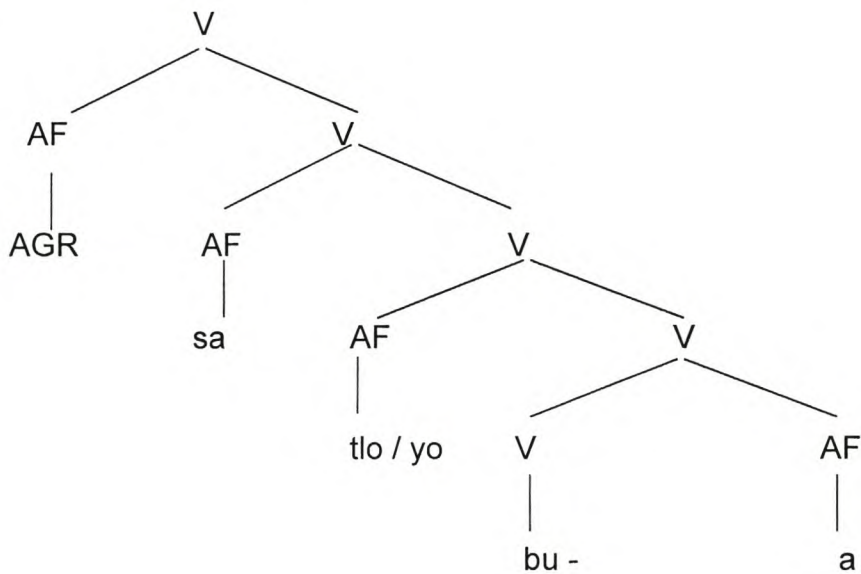


In the future tense, the negative morpheme [sa] still appears with the suffix [- a] and the future tense morpheme [tla] in the complement clause. The future tense morpheme [tla] of the present tense coalesces with the infinitive to form [tlo] as illustrated in (42. a). The

motion verb [ya] may also coalesce with the infinitive to form [yo] and appears with the negative [sa] where it replaces [tlo] as shown in (42.b). The morphological structure of (42.a-b) will be the same as illustrated in (43) below:

- (42) a. Ba – tla – tsamaya [ba – sa – tlo – bu – a]
 [They shall leave without going to speak]
- b. Ba – tla – tsamaya [ba – sa – yo – bu – a]
 [They shall leave without going to speak]

(43)



It is observed from the above sentences that the negative morpheme [sa] appears with different morphemes in the participial mood depending on various tenses. In the present tense, the verb employs the negative suffix [- e], in the perfect tense, the verb retains the suffix [- a] and in the future tense, the verbs employ the future tense morpheme [tla].

The negative morpheme [sa] may also appear in the relative mood with three tenses, namely, the present, future and perfect tenses. It should be noted that the relative in Sesotho appears in two different forms. In the first case, when the antecedent of the relative clause is also the subject of the relative clause, the subjectival agreement [AGRS] in the relative clause coalesces with the complementizer of the relative clause. See the illustration in (44) below:

- (44) a. [Batho - ba [ba - kгутlang] →
 b. [Batho [ba - kгутlang]]
 [*People who are coming back*]

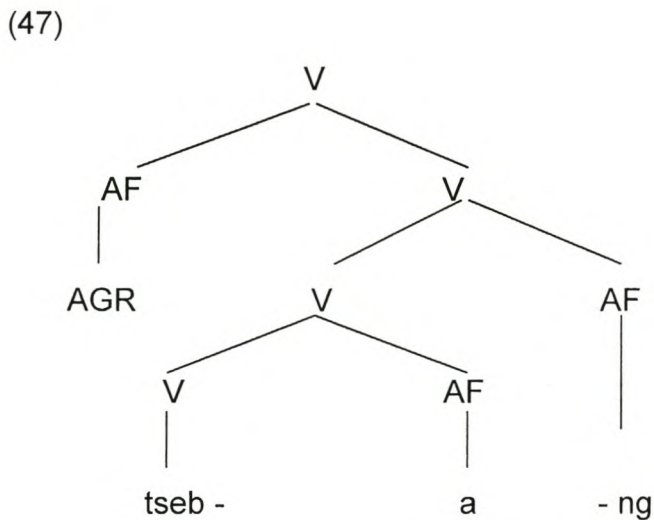
In this case as in (44 b) above, an empty [pro] coindexed with the antecedent and the complementizer appears:

- (45) Batho_i ba_i pro_i - kгутlang
 [*People who are coming back*]

In the second case, the subject of the relative clause is not the antecedent and the subjectival agreement is retained as indicated in (46) below:

- (46) Batho bao [ke - ba - tsebang]
 [*Those people whom I know*]

The morphological structure of the sentence in (46) above will be as in (47) below:



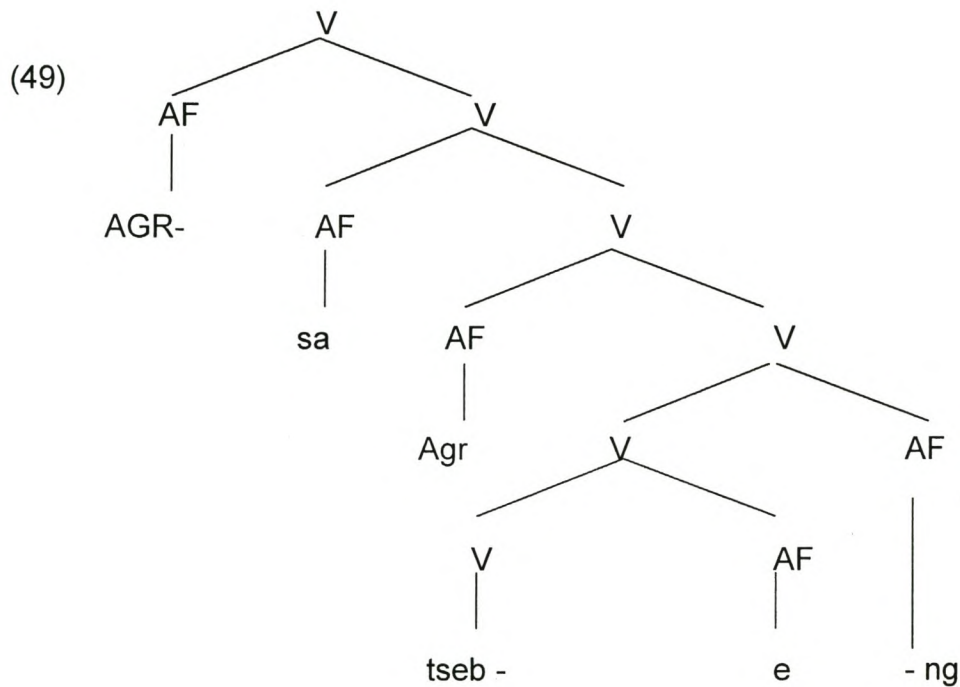
The relative sentences such as those in (45) and (46) are negated by the negative morpheme [sa]. In the present tense, the negative morpheme [sa] will appear with the negative suffix [- e] and the relative marker [- ng]:

- (48) a. Batho [ba - sa - kгутl - e - ng]
 [*People who don't come back*]

- b. Batho bao [ke - sa - ba - tseb - e - ng]
[People whom I don't know]

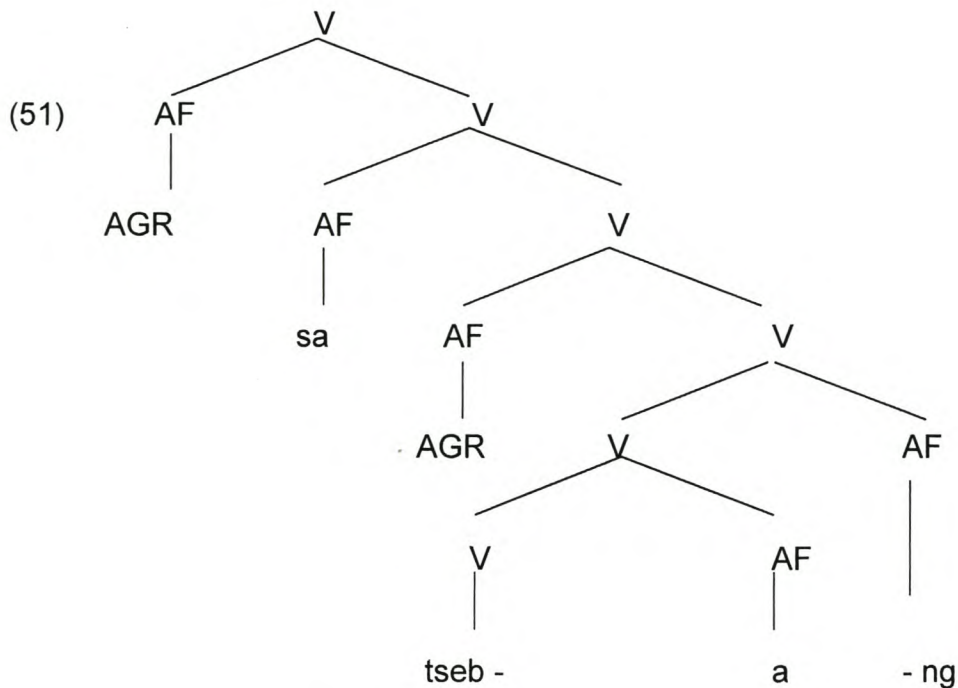
The morphological structures of the sentences in (48) will be as in (49) below indicating the negative morphemes [sa] and [- e -] as well as the relative suffix [- ng]:

- b. bao [ke - sa - ba - tsebeng]



In the case of the perfect tense, the negative morpheme [sa] will appear with the suffix [- a -] together with the relative marker [- ng]. The perfect negative affix [- a -] does not appear with the negative [sa]. This is illustrated by the sentence in (50) with its morphological structure in (51):

- (50) Batho bao [ke - sa - ba - tseb - a - ng]
[People whom I didn't know]



In the future tense, the negative morpheme will appear with the future tense morpheme [tlo], the verb will retain its suffix [- a -] and have the relative marker [ng]. The future tense morpheme [tlo] is the coalesced form of the present tense and the infinitive. The motion verb [ya] will also appear with the negative [sa] in a coalesced form as [yo]. The sentences in (52) will illustrate:

- (52) a. Ditaba tseo [ba - sa - tlo - di - bu - a - ng]
 [*The news that they will not tell*]
- b. Ditaba tseo [ba - sa - yo - di - bu - a - ng]
 [*The news that they are not going to tell*]

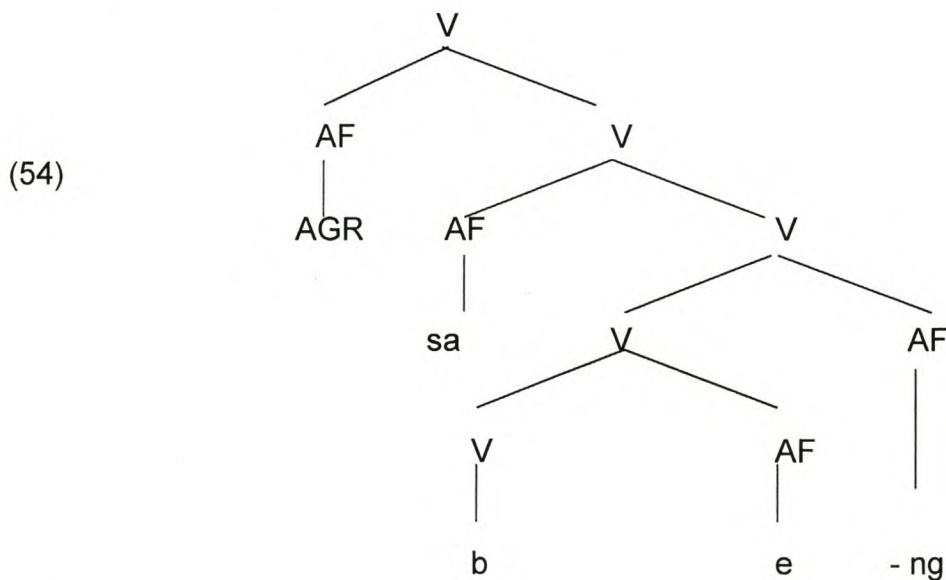
From the above observations, it is clear that the negative morpheme [sa] in the relative mood appears with different morphemes depending on different tenses. In the present tense, it appears with the negative suffix [e], in the perfect tense the perfect negative prefix disappears while the verb retains the suffix [- a -]. In the future tense it appears with the future tense morpheme [tlo].

2.3.2 Copulative verbs

In the case of copulative verbs, the negative morpheme [sa] appears only with the copulative verb [ba] in both the relative and participial moods with all tenses. In the relative mood of the present tense, the negative morpheme [sa] appears with the negative suffix [-e] and the relative marker [-ng]:

- (53) a. Mosadi [ya - sa - b - e - ng [le bana]
 [*The woman who does not have children*]
- b. Batho bao [a - sa - b - e - ng [le bona kamehla]
 [*People whom he is not with them always*]

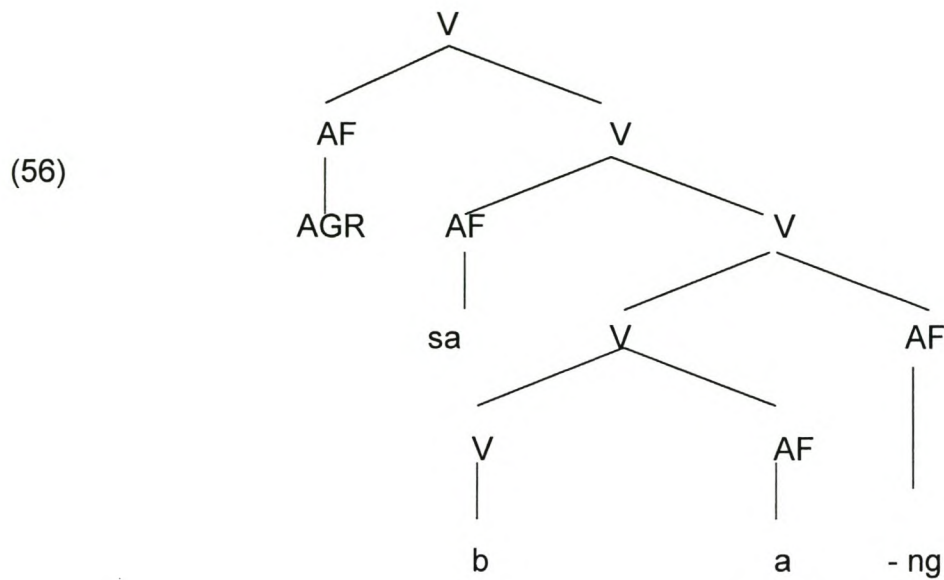
The morphological structure of the negative predicates in (53) will be the same as in (54) below:



In the perfect tense, the negative morpheme [sa] will appear with the relative marker [-ng] but retain the suffix [-a] as demonstrated by the sentences in (55) below:

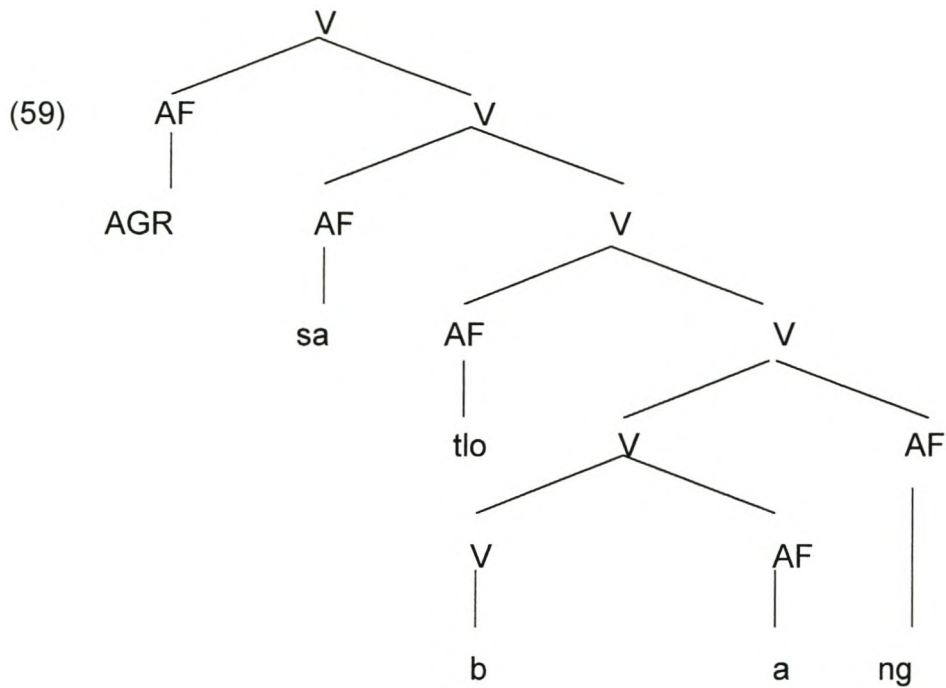
- (55) a. Mosadi [ya - sa - b - a - ng [le bana]
 [*The woman who did not have children*]
- b. Batho bao [a - sa - b - a - ng [le bona]
 [*People whom he was not with*]

The above sentences in (55) will have the morphological structure in (56) below:



In the future tense, the negative morpheme [sa] will appear with the future tense morpheme [tlo] and the deficient motion verb [yo], coalesced forms of the present tense [tla] and the verb [ya] with the infinitive. The sentences in (57) and (58) with their morphological structure in (59) will illustrate:

- (57) a. Mosadi [ya - sa - tlo - b - a - ng [le bana]
 [*The woman who will not have children*]
- b. Mosadi [ya - sa - yo - b - a - ng [le bana]
 [*The woman who will not have child*]
- (58) a. Batho bao [a - sa - tlo - b - a ng [le bona]
 [*People whom he will not be with*]
- b. Batho bao [a - sa - yo - b - a - ng [le bona]
 [*People whom he will not be with*]

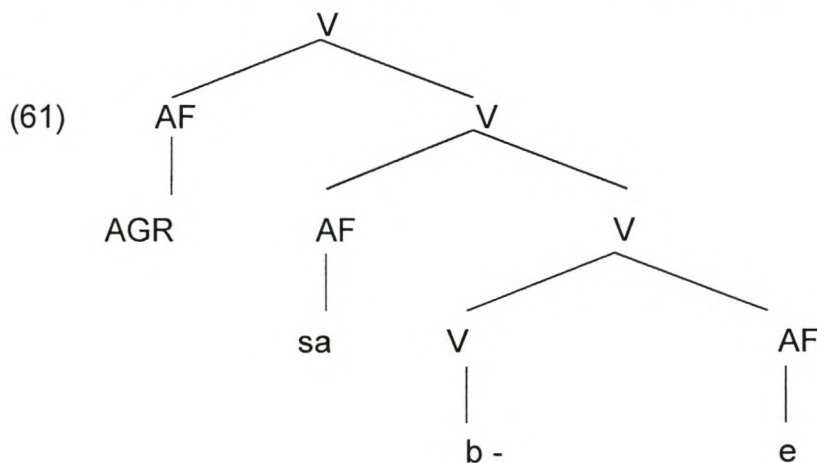


From the above sentences, it is clear that in the relative mood, the negative morpheme [sa] appears with the suffix [- e] in the present tense, with the suffix [- a] and the relative marker in the perfect tense, and with the future tense morpheme [tlo] , in the future tense.

The negative morpheme [sa] may also appear with the copulative verb [ba] in the participial mood with all the three tenses, namely: present, perfect and future tenses. In the present tense, the negative morpheme [sa] appears with the negative suffix [- e] as shown in (60) below:

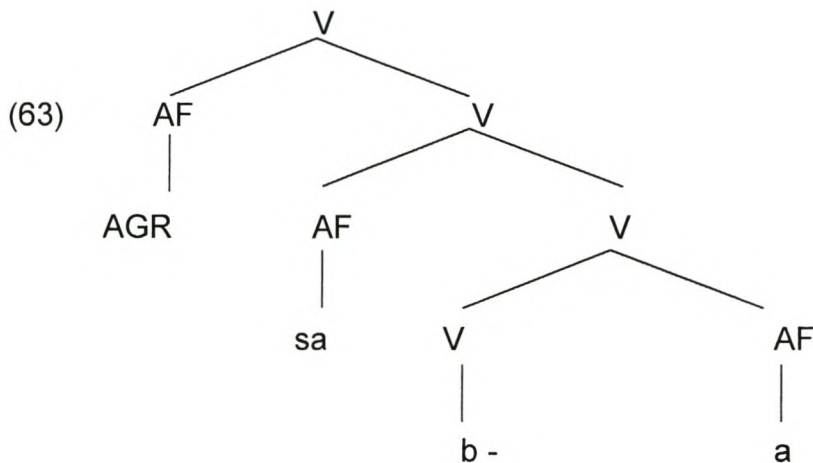
- (60) O - dula [a - sa - b - e [le tjhelete]
 [He stays without having money]

The morphological structure of the above sentence in (60) will be as in (61) below:



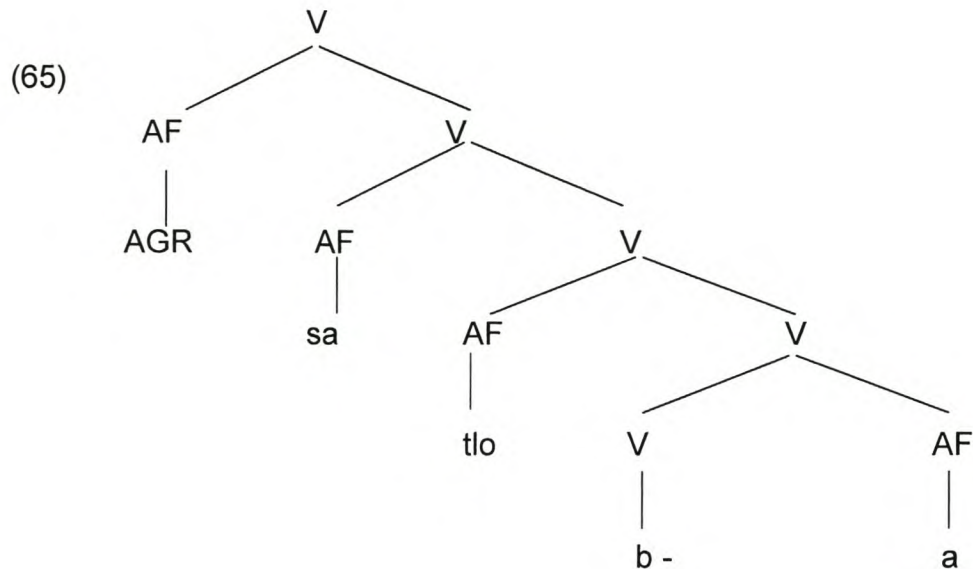
In the perfect tense, the negative morpheme [sa] appears with the suffix [- a], the negative perfect morpheme [- a -] disappears as the sentence in (62) with its morphological structure in (63) will show:

- (62) O - tsama - ile [a - sa - b - a [le tjhelete]
 [He left without having money]



In the future tense, the negative morpheme [sa] appears with the future tense morpheme [tlo] and the motion verb [yo] in the complement of the participial clause. The morpheme [tlo] and the verb [yo] are the coalesced forms of the present tense [tla] and the verb [ya] and the infinitive. The sentences in (64) with the morphological structure of the participial complement in (65) illustrate:

- (64) a. O - tla - tsamaya [a - sa - tlo - b - a [le tjhelete]
 [He will leave without going to have money]
- b. O - tla - tsamaya [a - sa - yo - b - a [le tjhelete]
 [He will leave without going to have money]



From the above observation, it is clear that the negative morpheme [sa] also appears with the negative suffix [- e] in the present tense. In the perfect tense, it appears with the suffix [- a] where the perfect negative morpheme [- a -] does not appear. In the future tense the negative [sa] appears with the coalesced [tlo].

2.3.3 Deficient verbs

In the case of deficient verbs, the negative morpheme [sa] only appears with the deficient verb [ka] in the compound tense of the consecutive mood and the negative of the potential mood. The negative morpheme [sa] does not appear with the deficient verb [- eso] as in the case of the negative morpheme [ha].

The negative of the compound tense with [- ile]

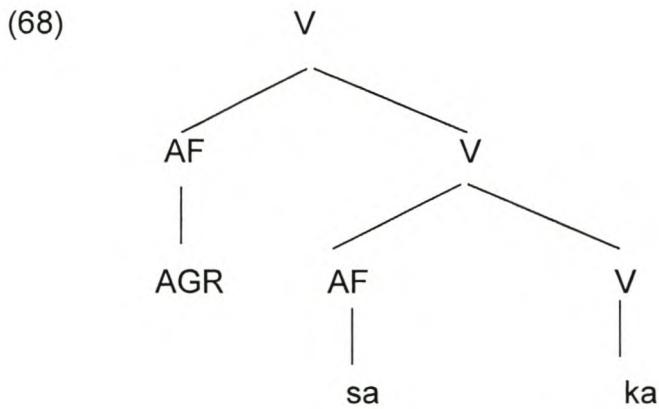
The deficient verb [- ile] appears with the consecutive clause to form a compound tense as illustrated by the sentence in (66) below:

- (66) Leha ke – ile [ka – baleha]
 [Even if I did run away]

In the negative of the compound tense, the deficient verb [- ile] disappears as in the case of the negative morpheme [ha] in (15) above. The negative of the clause in (66) will be formed by the negative morpheme [sa] and the deficient verb [ka]. The negative prefix [-a]

of the perfect tense does not appear. The negative sentence of the above sentence in (66) will be as in (67) with its morphological structure in (68):

- (67) Leha ke – sa – ka [ka – baleha]
 [Even if I did not run away]



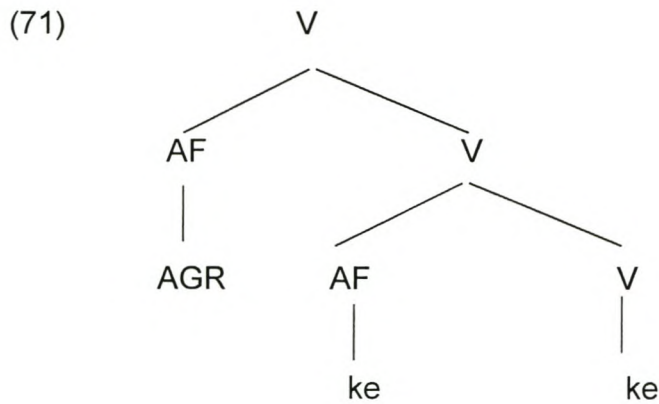
The negative of the potential mood

The sentence constructions in potential mood are recognized by the potential morpheme [ka], which appears before the verb stems as shown in (69) below:

- (69) Leha [re – ka [baleha]]
 [Even if we can run away]

The negative of the potential mood has various forms as indicated in (16 a-c) above. There is however no negative construction of the potential mood with the negative morpheme [sa]. The only negative construction with the potential mood with the exception of the negative morpheme [se], is with the deficient verb [ka], where the potential morpheme [ka] is changed to [ke] and the suffix of the deficient verb [ka] is also changed into [- e] to form [k – e]. The sentence in (70) with the morphological structure in (71) illustrates:

- (70) Leha re – ke – ke [ra – baleha]
 [Even if we cannot run away]

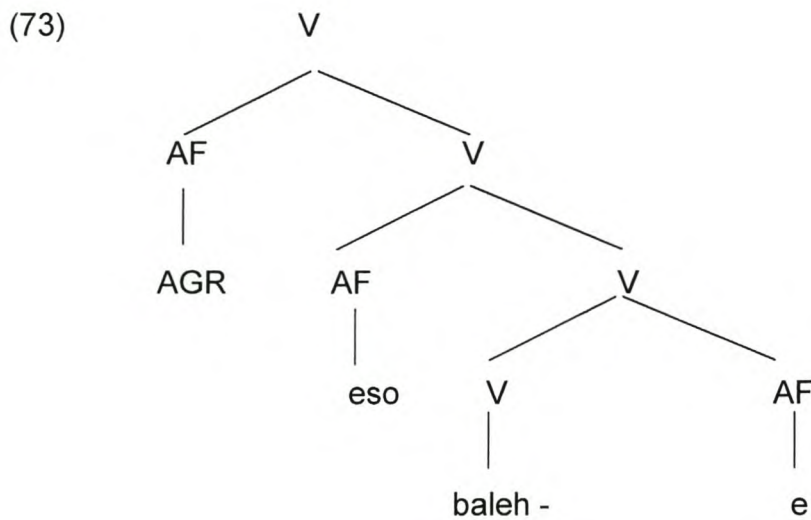


The deficient verb [- eso -]

The verb [- eso -] is an inherent negative verb. It may appear in the participial mood where its complement verb has the suffix [- e] as in the case of the negative with [ha] in (19) and (22) above. The sentence in (72) illustrates:

- (72) a. Leha [ba – eso – baleh – e]
 [*Even though they haven't ran away*]
- b. Leha [ba – eso [ho – baleh – e]]
 [*Even though they haven't ran away*]

As observed from the sentences in (72) above, there is no negative morpheme that appears with the deficient verb [- eso -]. The negative morpheme [sa] also, cannot appear with the deficient verb [- eso -]. It would seem this deficient verb only appears as the negative verb with the negative morpheme [ha]. Where there is no negative morpheme as in (72) above, the verb [- eso -] becomes the negative morpheme as illustrated by the structure in (73) below:



From the above observation, it is clear that the negative morpheme [sa] has a very limited appearance with deficient verbs. In the negative of the potential mood, the negative morpheme [sa] is replaced by the deficient verb [ka] and it does not appear at all with the deficient verb [- eso]. In other words, where the negative morpheme [sa] is not used, the deficient verb [ka] is used. It appears mainly with the compound tense with [ile].

2.3.4 Aspect morpheme

In the case of aspect morphemes, the negative morpheme [sa] may not appear with the progressive aspect morpheme [sa] in both the participial and the relative moods, because their negative morpheme is also [sa]. The progressive morpheme [sa] can appear with the temporal aspect morpheme [tswa] but there is no negative in such construction with the negative morpheme [sa].

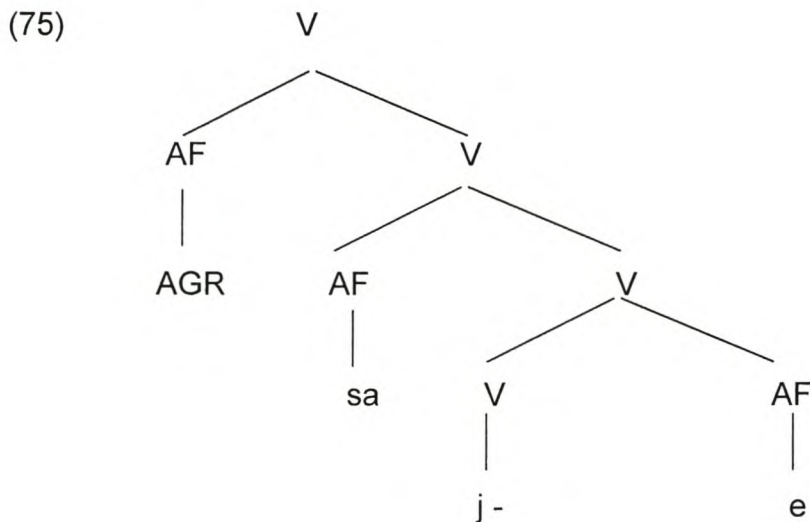
The negative with progressive morpheme [sa]

The negative morpheme [sa] may be forced to appear with the progressive morpheme [sa] in the participial mood as indicated in (73) below:

- (73) *O – fumane [a – sa – sa – je]
 [He found him no longer eating]

The sentence in (73) above is problematic in that the negative morpheme of this mood is also [sa]. It is therefore not a readily acceptable construction. To force an acceptable negative, the deficient verb [se] is used and is followed by the negative complement with [sa] and the negative suffix [-e] as indicated by (74) and (75) below:

- (74) O – fumane [a – se [a – sa - j – e]]
 [*He found that he was no longer eating*]

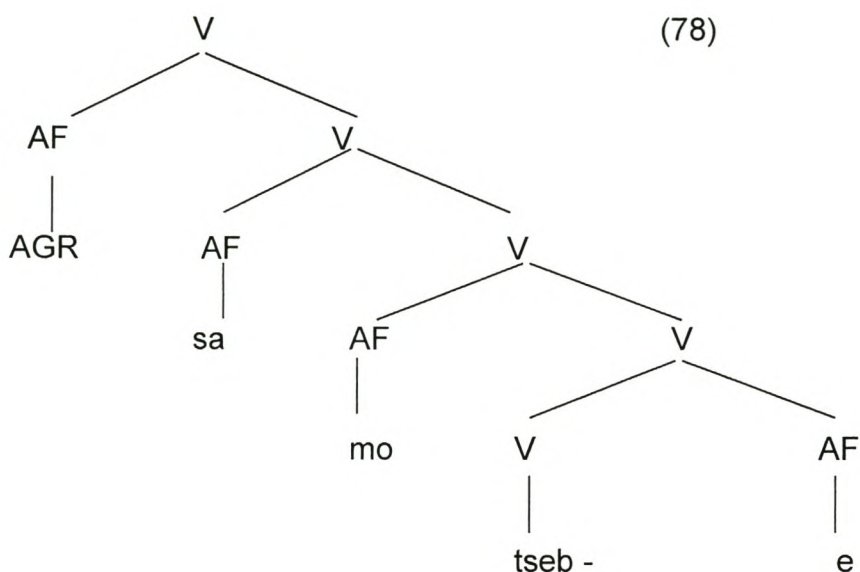


The negative morpheme [sa] may also be forced to appear with the aspect morpheme [sa] in the relative mood as shown in (76) below:

- (76) *Motho [ya – sa –sa – jeng]
 [*A person who no longer eats*]

As in the case of the participial mood, the sentence in (76) is also not acceptable. To force the negative, the deficient verb [se] will appear with the relative marker [-ng] and be followed by the negative complement with the negative morphemes [se] and [-e] as illustrated by (77) and (78) below :

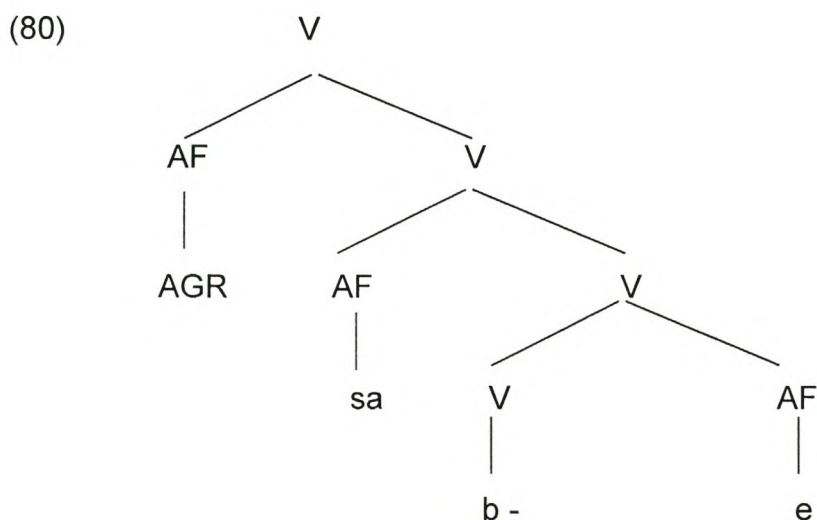
- (77) a. Motho [ya seng [a – sa – j –e]]
 [*A person who no longer eats*]
- b. Motho eo [ke seng [ke – sa –mo –tseb – e]]
 [*A person whom I no longer know*]



The morphological structure for the negative complement in (77a) will be the same as the structure in (78) above. The deficient verb [se] may also be used to help in negating the copulative verb [ba], where the negative morpheme [sa] appears with the negative suffix [-e]:

- (79) Tjhelete [e – se [e – sa – b – e [ngata]]
 [Money was no longer enough]

The morphological structure of the negative complement in (79) will be as in (80) below:



The aspect morphemes [sa] and [tswa] can appear together in the participial mood and the relative mood in the positive:

- (81) a. A- fihla [ba – sa – tswa- bua]
 [*He arrived immediately after they have spoken*]
- b. Motho eo ke- fumaneng [a – sa – tswa- bua]
 [*A person whom I found immediately after she has spoken*]

It is however not possible to have a negative construction with the negative morpheme [sa] in the above sentences.

From the above observation, it is clear that when the negative morpheme [sa] has to appear with the aspect morpheme [sa], the latter is dropped to be replaced by the deficient verb [se], so that the negative [sa] becomes the complement of [se]. The negative morpheme [sa] cannot appear with the temporal morpheme [tswa], but the progressive [sa] can only appear with [tswa] in the positive.

2.4 NEGATIVE MORPHEME [se]

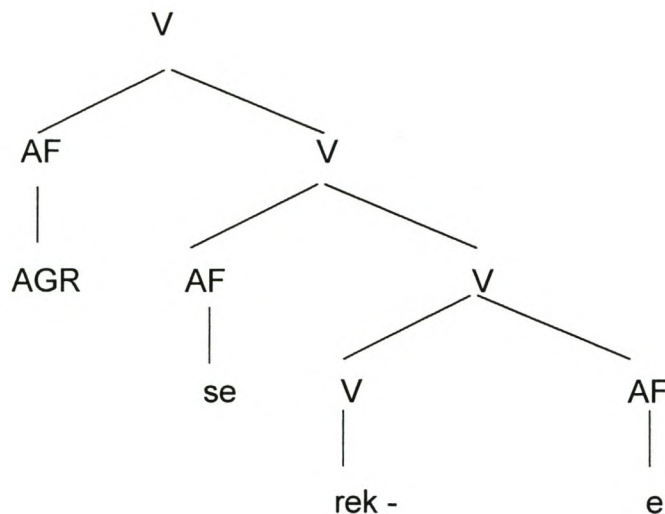
The third negative morpheme in Sesotho is the negative [se]. It occupies the fifth position in the linear order of the verbal prefixes of Sesotho. The negative morpheme [se] appears in a wide variety of moods, which are normally not distinguishable into tenses. Its distribution will be investigated within the following moods: subjunctive, consecutive, hortative, potential, habitual, and the imperative. The distribution of this negative morpheme will also be investigated within the non-copulative verbs, the copulative verbs, deficient verbs and aspect morphemes. This morpheme frequently appears as a circumfix with the negative suffix [- e].

2.4.1 Non-copulative verbs

With non-copulative verbs, the negative morpheme [se] can appear in the subjunctive mood with the negative suffix [- e] which is a different morpheme from the positive morpheme of the subjunctive. The sentence in (82) with the morphological structure of the subjunctive complement illustrates:

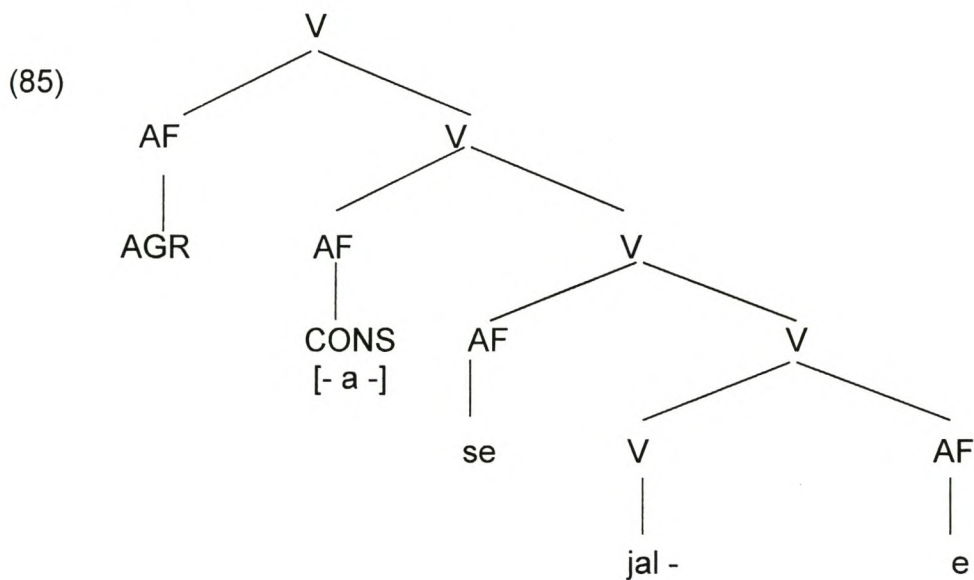
- (82) Ke - batla hore [le – se – rek – e]
 [*I want that you don't buy*]

(83)



The negative morpheme [se] may also appear in the consecutive mood with the negative suffix [-e] as shown in the sentence in (84) and the morphological structure in (85):

(84) Ke – lemme [ka – se – jal – e]
 [I ploughed and did not plant]

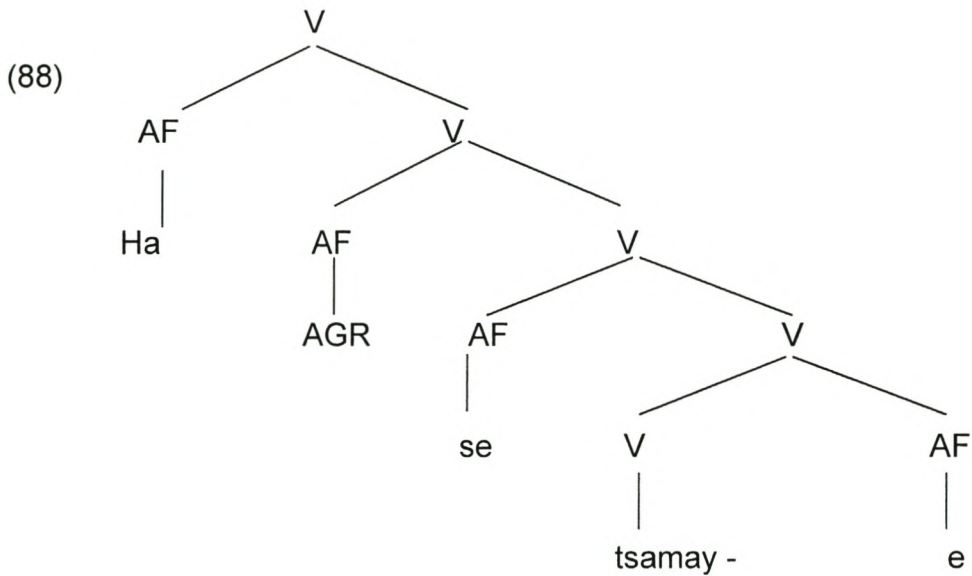


In this structure in (85) above, the consecutive morpheme [- a -] which always coalesces with the subject agreement (AGRS) is retained. The coalescing process is illustrated in (86) below:

(86) [Ke + a – [se – jal – e]
 Ka – se – jale
 [I did not plant]

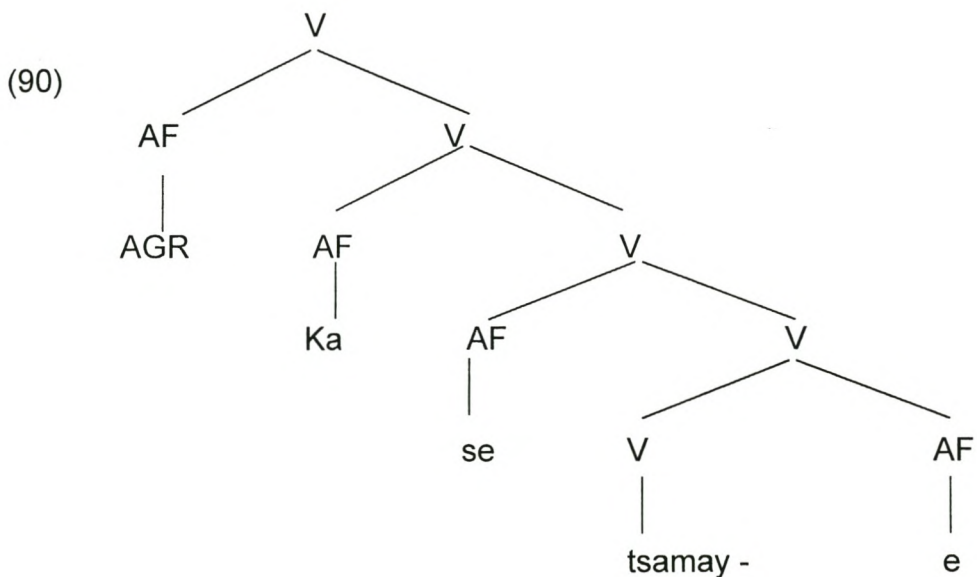
The morpheme [se] may also appear in the hortative mood with the negative suffix [-e] as illustrated in the sentence in (87) with the morphological structure in (88):

- (87) Ha – re – se – tsamay – e
[Let us not go]



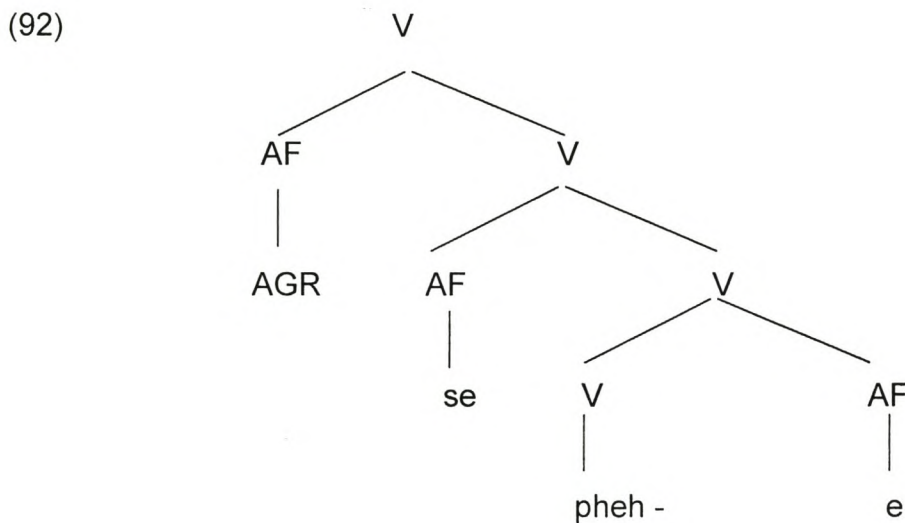
The negative morpheme [se] may appear in the potential mood with the negative suffix [-e] as illustrated by the sentence in (89) with its morphological structure in (90):

- (89) N – ka – se – tsamay - e
[I cannot go]



The negative morpheme [se] may also appear in the habitual mood with the negative suffix [-e]. The sentences in (91) with their morphological structure in (92) illustrate:

- (91) a. O – ye [a – se – pheh – e]
 [He / She usually doesn't cook]
- b. O – hle [a – se – pheh – e]
 [He/She usually doesn't cook]

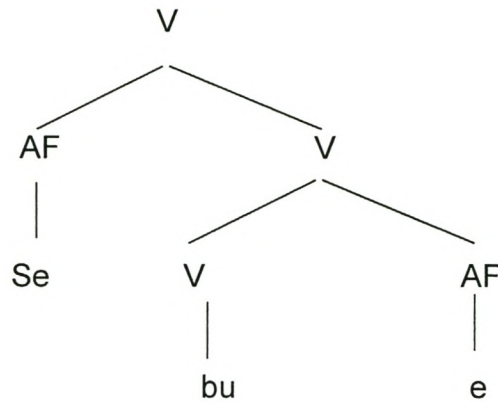


As indicated in (91) above, the habitual meaning has to be indicated by a deficient verb such as [ye] or [hle] and the complement clause of these deficient verbs may then appear in the negative with the morpheme [se].

The negative morpheme [se] may appear in the imperative mood with the negative suffix [-e] as illustrated by the sentence in (93) and the morphological structure in (94) below:

- (93) Se – bu – e !
 [Don't speak!]

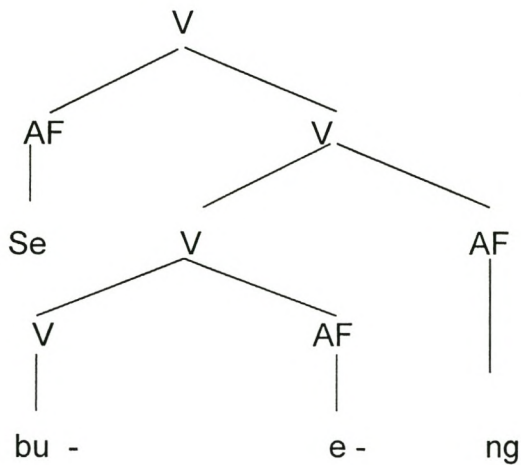
(94)



It should be noted that the plural of the imperative mood is formed by the suffix [- ng]. This is illustrated by the sentence in (95) with the morphological structure in (96) below:

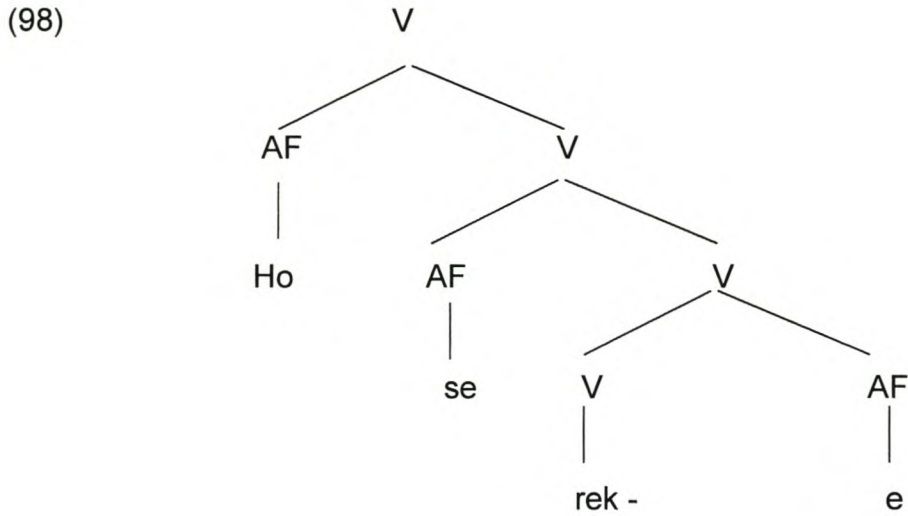
(95) Se – bu – e – ng !
 [Don't speak!]

(96)



Finally, the negative morpheme [se] can also appear in the infinitive with the negative suffix [- e] as shown in (97) and (98) below:

(97) Ho – se – rek – e
 [Not to buy]



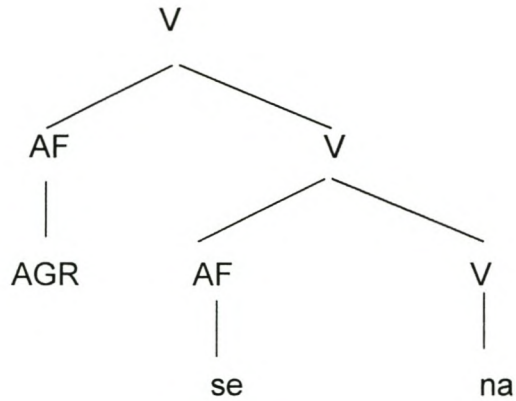
As observed in all the sentences above, the negative morpheme [se] obligatorily appears with the negative suffix [-e] in all the moods in which it appears. It is also observed that in the subjunctive, consecutive, potential and habitual moods, the subject agreement precedes the morpheme [se], and where there are other intervening morphemes such as the potential [ka] and the hortative [ha], the negative morpheme [se] is still preceded by these morphemes. It is however only in the hortative mood that the AGRS is preceded by the hortative mood [ha].

2.4.2 Copulative verbs

The negative morpheme [se] can appear with copulative verbs. It appears with the copulative verb [na] and [ba] as a morpheme. In the case of the copulative [na], the negative morpheme [se] appears in the participial mood as indicated in the sentence in (99) with the morphological structure in (100):

- (99) Ha [ba –se – na] tjhelete, ba utswa
 [If they have no money, they steal]

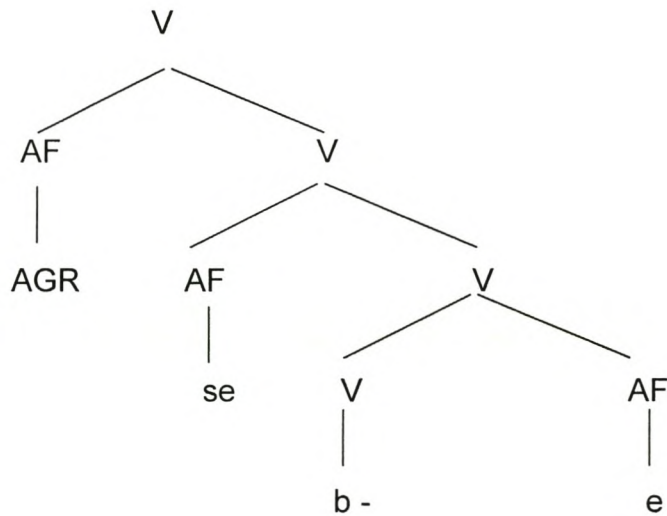
(100)



In the case of the copulative verb [ba] the negative morpheme [se] appears in the subjunctive mood with the negative suffix [- e] as illustrated by the sentence in (101) and the morphological structure in (102) below:

(101) Ke – batla hore [a – se – b – e teng]
 [I want him not to be here]

(102)



In all other cases, the negative morpheme [se] functions as the copulative verb where it replaces the copulative verb [ke] in the negative. It appears with [ha] in [ha – se].

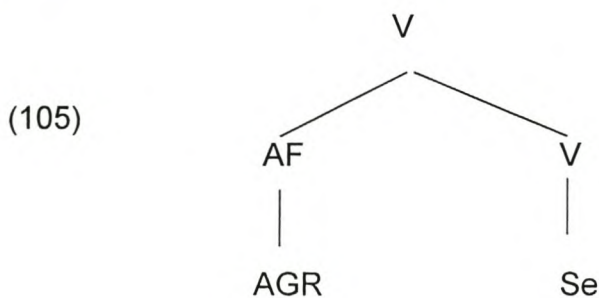
(103) a. Thabo ke morena
 [Thabo is the chief]

b. Thabo ha – se morena
 [Thabo is not the chief]

It also functions as the copulative verb where it replaces the copulative verb [le] in the negative. In this case, the negative [se] appears with various syntactic categories such as NP, AP, NP Rel, NPLoc and PP. It normally appears with these categories in the participial mood as the sentences in (104) will indicate:

- (104) a. Ha Motlengoa [e – se [morena] ...
 [If Motlengoa is not the chief]
- b. Ha ngwana [a – se [motle] ...
 [If the child is not beautiful]
- c. Ha ngwana [a – se [botswa] ...
 [If the child is not lazy]
- d. Ha mosuwe [a – se [sekolong] ...
 [If the teacher is not at school]
- e. Ha bana [ba – se [ka tlung] ...
 [If children are not in the house]

All the sentences in (104) will have the same morphological structure illustrated in (105) below:

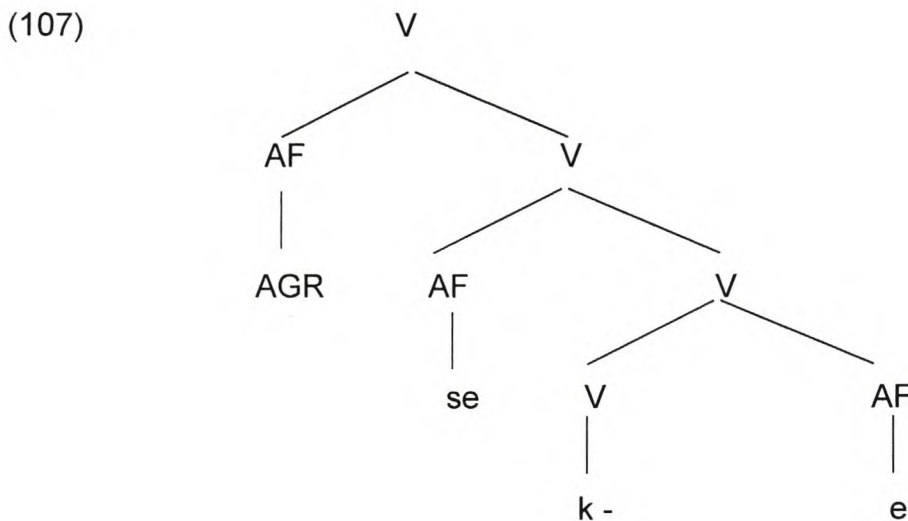


As observed from above, the negative morpheme [se] only appears with two copulative verbs, namely: [na] and [ba]. In other instances it appears as the negative copulative verb. As indicated in (100), (102) and (105) above, the negative morpheme [se] appears with the AGRS, which always precedes [se].

2.4.3 Deficient verbs

With the deficient verbs, the negative morpheme [se] only appears with the deficient verb [ka] in the subjunctive, imperative and consecutive moods. In the subjunctive mood, the negative morpheme [se] appears with the negative suffix [- e] changing [ka] into [ke]. The subjunctive will then be followed by consecutive complement as the sentence in (106) with the morphological structure in (107) illustrate:

- (106) [O – se – k – e [wa – dula]
 [*You don't have to stay*]



In the consecutive mood, the deficient verb [ka] appears in the negative of the consecutive clause where its suffix changes into the negative suffix [- e], and this suffix appears as a circumfix with the morpheme [se]. The consecutive clause is followed by another consecutive clause:

- (108) [Ka – se – k – e [ka – dula]
 [*I did not stay*]

The morphological structure of the consecutive clause in (108) will be as in (107) above. In the imperative mood, the negative morpheme [se] also appears with the deficient verb [ka], where its suffix changes into the negative suffix [- e]. The deficient verb will then be followed by the consecutive complement as illustrated in (109):

(109) [O – se – k – e [wa – kena]
[Don't come in]

In plural form, the deficient verb [ke] will appear with the suffix [- ng] as shown in (110):

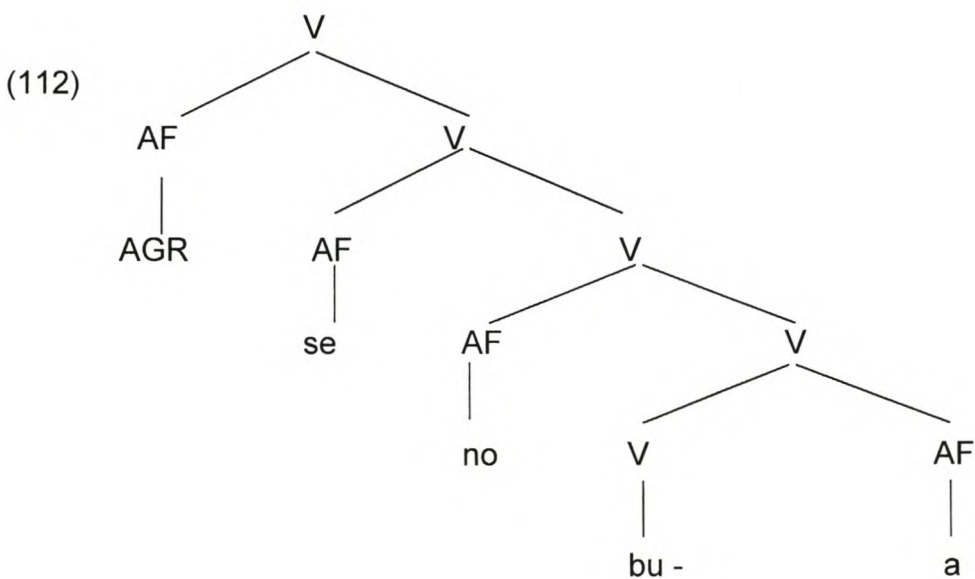
(110) [Le – se – k – e – ng [la – kena]
[Don't come in]

As observed from above, the negative morpheme [se] appears as a circumfix with the negative suffix [- e]. It only appears with the deficient verb [ka] in the case of deficient verbs. The subject agreement always precedes the negative morpheme [se].

2.4.4 Aspect morphemes

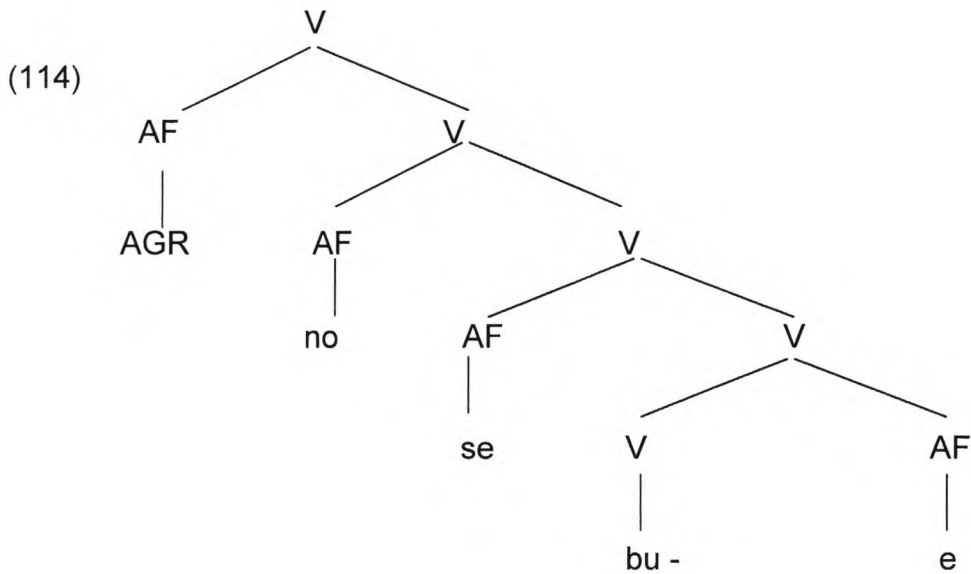
With the aspect morphemes, the negative morpheme [se] appears only with the necessity aspect morpheme [no]. In this case, the negative morpheme [se] is also preceded by the subject agreement but it precedes the morpheme [no] and the suffix of the verb is retained. The sentence in (111) with the morphological structure in (112) will illustrate:

(111) Bana ba – se – no – bu – a
[Children should not speak]



However, the necessity morpheme [no] may also precede the negative morpheme [se]. In that case, the negative morpheme [se] will appear as a circumfix with the suffix [- e] as indicated in (113) and (114) below:

(113) O – no – se – bu –e
 [You should not speak]



As observed from above, the negative morpheme [se] appears with the negative suffix [- e] in sentence constructions with the necessity morpheme [no]. Where the [se] precedes the morpheme [no], the verb retains its suffix [- a] as in (112) above, and where [no] precedes the morpheme [se], the verb appears with the negative suffix [- e] as in (114) above. In both cases, the subject agreement dominates.

2.5 SUMMARY

In this section, the distribution of Sesotho negative morphemes was investigated. They are the negative morphemes [HA], [SA] and [SE]. The investigation concerned non-copulative verbs, copulate verbs, deficient verbs and aspect morphemes.

It is observed from the above investigations that the negative morphemes in Sesotho are unevenly distributed within various sentence types and moods. The table in (115) will illustrate:

(115)

	INDICATIVE	PARTICIPIAL	RELATIVE
PRESENT	Ha – agrs – V – e	Agrs – sa – V – e	Agrs – sa – V – e – ng
PERFECT	Ha – agrs – a – V – a	Agrs – sa – V – a	Agrs – sa – V – a – ng
FUTURE	Ha – agrs – tlo – V – a	Agr – sa – tlo – V – a	Agrs – sa – tlo – V – a – ng

The table in (115) above indicates that the negative morphemes [ha] and [sa] appear in three tenses, namely the present tense, perfect tense and future tense. However, it appears that these two negative morphemes are in complementary distribution to each other. Where the negative morpheme [ha] appears, the negative morpheme [sa] doesn't and where the morpheme [sa] appears, the negative morpheme [ha] does not appear. Further more, the negative morpheme [ha] appears only in the indicative mood and not in the relative and the participial mood. It is the same with the negative morpheme [sa]. It only appears in two moods, which are the relative, and the participial moods. It is also noticed that the negative morpheme [ha] appears in matrix clauses while the negative [sa] appears in subordinate clauses.

In the case of the negative morpheme [se], it is observed that this morpheme appears in non-tensed sentence constructions of non-copulative verbs. It appears within the remaining moods such as the imperative, hortative, potential, subjunctive and the consecutive mood. This morpheme appears only with the copulative verbs [ba] and [na] as a morpheme, but with the other copulative verbs such as [ke] and [le], it becomes a negative copulative verb.

All three negative morphemes: [ha] , [sa], and [se] appear as circumfixes with the negative suffix [- e]:

- (116) a. Ha – Agrs – V – e
 Ha – ke – sebets – e
 [*I am not working*]
- b. Agrs – sa – V – e
 Ke – sa – sebets – e
 [*Not even working*]

- c. Agrs ka – se – V – e
Ba – ka – se – bu e
[*They can't speak*]

It is also observed that the deficient verb [ka] has an influence on the negative morpheme in Sesotho. In the case of the negative morpheme [ha], the deficient verb [ka] appears in the negative of perfect compound tense replacing the deficient verb [ile]:

- (117) a. POSITIVE: [ke – ile ka – tsamaya]
[*I did go*]
- b. NEGATIVE: [Ha – ke – a – ka [ka tsamaya]
[*I did not go*]

The deficient verb [ka] also appears in the sentences with potential mood with the negative suffix [- e] as [ke]:

- (118) a. POSITIVE: Re – ka – bina
[*We can sing*]
- b. NEGATIVE: [Ha-re-ka – ke [ra bina]
[*We cannot sing*]

In the case of the negative morpheme [sa], the deficient verb [ka] also appears in the negative of perfect compound tense to replace the deficient verb [ile]:

- (119) a. POSITIVE: Leha [ke - ile [ka baleha]
[*Even if I did run away*]
- b. NEGATIVE: Leha [ke - sa - ka [ka - baleha]
[*Even if I did not run away*]

The deficient verb [ka] appears in the negative of the potential mood with the negative suffix [- e -] where the negative morpheme [sa] does not appear:

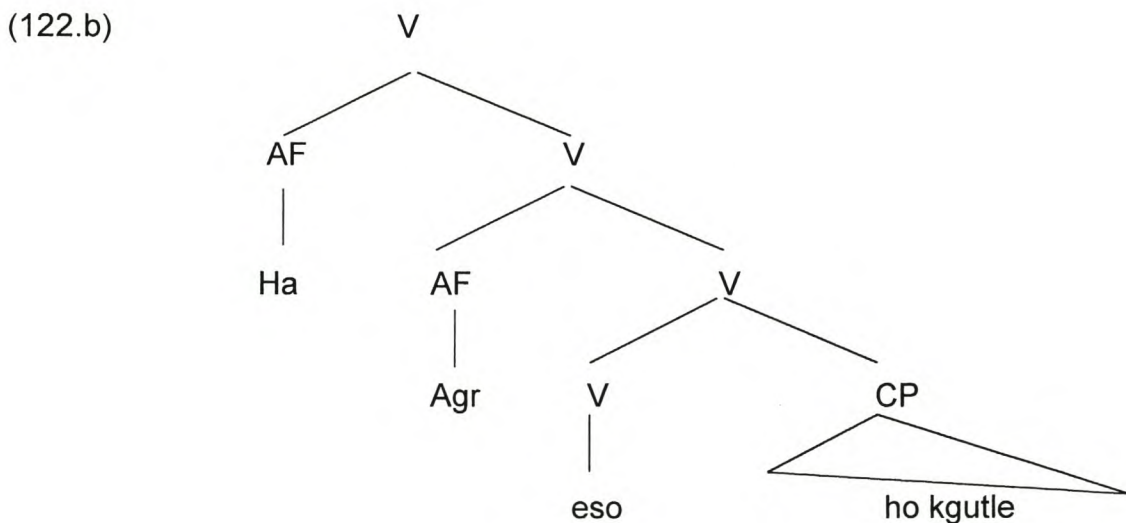
- (120) a. Leha [re - ka bina] POSITIVE
 [Even if we can sing]
- b. Leha [re - ke - ke [ra bina] NEGATIVE
 [Even if we cannot sing]

With regard to the negative morpheme [se], the deficient verb [ka] appears in the negative of the subjunctive, consecutive and imperative moods with the negative suffix [- e] as [ke]:

- (121) a. SUBJUNCTIVE: Agrs - se - ke [wa dula]
 b. CONSECUTIVE: Agrs - se - ke [ka dula]
 c. IMPERATIVE: Agrs - se - ke [wa tsamaya]

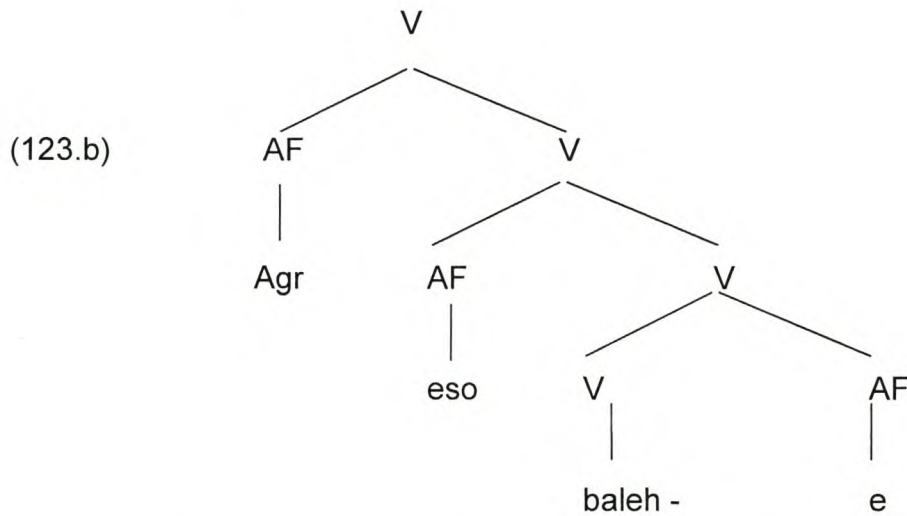
It is again observed that the category [- eso -] has a dual categorical status. It is both the morpheme and the verb. When [- eso] appears with the negative morpheme, it acts as a deficient verb:

- (122) a. Ha - ba - eso [ho kgutle]
 [They have not yet come back]



The structure in (122.b) indicates that the category [eso] appears as the verb. On the other hand, when [- eso -] appears in sentence construction with no negative morpheme, the category [eso] becomes the negative morpheme:

- (123) a. Leha ba - eso - balehe
 [Even if they haven't ran away]



The structure in (123) clearly shows that [eso] is the negative morpheme. The category [eso] is therefore an inherently negative deficient verb and a negative morpheme.

It's also noticed that there is an infinitive morpheme [ho] which likes to appear with the negatives. It seems that this infinitive morpheme is specifically meant to appear and coalesce with other categories to effect the negative meaning in sentences. The table in (124) illustrates:

- (124) a. NEGATIVE MORPHEME [HA]

	CATEGORY	INFINITIVE HO	COALESCED FORM	NEGATIVES
1.	ese +	Ho	eso	Ha- ba - eso - kgutle
2.	tswa +	Ho	tso	Ha - ba - tso - ithuta
3.	ile +	Ho	ilo	Ha - ke - ilo - bua
4.	tle +	Ho	tlo	Ha - ba - tlo - bua
5.	tlile +	Ho	tlilo	Ha - ba - tlilo - bua
6.	ya +	Ho	yo	Ha - ba - yo - bua

b. NEGATIVE MORPHEME [SA]

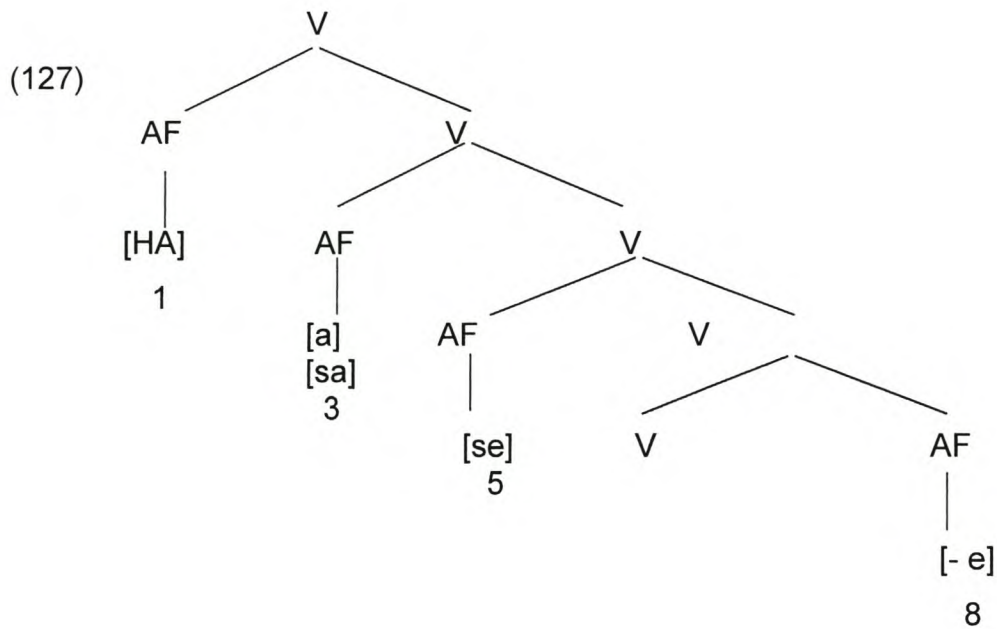
	CATEGORY	INFINITIVE HO	COALESCED FORM	NEGATIVES
1.	ile +	Ho	ilo - ng	Ba - sa - ilong ho bua
2.	tlile +	Ho	tlilo - ng	Ba - sa - tlilong ho bua
3.	tle +	Ho	tlo / tlo - ng	Ba - sa - tlong ho bua
4.	ya +	Ho	yo - ng	Ba - sa - yong ho di ja

According to the table in (124 a,b) the coalesced forms [-eso -] and [tso] do not appear with the negative [sa], and the negative [se] does not appear with all coalesced forms as they appear only in the indicative, relative and participial moods. In the case of the participial mood, they appear in the matrix clauses where the negative [sa] does not appear.

On the other hand, it is only the inchoative copulative verb [ba] which allows all three negative morphemes:

- (125) a. Ha - ba - sekolong
 [*They are not at school*]
- b. Mosadi [ya - sa - beng le bana]
 [*The woman who doesn't have children*]
- c. Ke - batla hore a - se - be teng
 [*I want him not to be here*]

It is also evident from the investigations above that there are only three negative morphemes in Sesotho. They are the negative [HA], [SA], and [SE] and they appear in different positions within the verbal affixes: The negative morpheme [HA] occupies the first position, [SA] occupies the third position together with the negative perfect prefix, [SE] occupies the fifth position and they are pre-verbal negative morphemes. All the three negative morphemes appear with the negative suffix [- e], The structure in (127) illustrates:



Finally, Sesotho does not employ negative words in negative sentence constructions like English, which make use of the negative word [not]. Instead, it makes use of bound morphemes, which appear, only in certain restricted areas as illustrated by the table in (128) below:

(128)

NEG MORPHEME	TENSE	PLACE OF APPEARANCE
HA	+	Matrix clause
SA	+	Subordinate clauses
SE	-	Subordinate clauses

The table in (128) indicates that the negative morpheme [ha] appears in tensed matrix clause. As a bound morpheme it is restricted only to matrix clauses. The negative [sa] appears in tensed subordinate clauses and is restricted to such clauses. The negative [se] does not appear in tensed clauses but is restricted to subordinate clauses. For these reasons, Sesotho will only have three negative morphemes with three specific functions to perform: to negate tensed matrix clauses, tensed subordinate clauses and non-tensed subordinate clauses.

CHAPTER 3

NEGATION OF THE SUBJECT

3.1 AIM

The aim of this section is to investigate negation of animate and inanimate subject arguments in matrix and subordinate clauses with non-copulative and copulative verbs. This subject negation will be investigated with various types of clauses *viz.* cleft sentences, pseudo-cleft sentences, sentences with locative [ho] and sentences with subject inversion. Sesotho has no direct means of negating any clausal constituent as is the case in languages such as English, which has the use of negative constituents such as [no], which may appear with subject arguments as illustrated in (1) below:

- (1) a. [Children] have eaten
b. [No children] have eaten

It will thus be necessary to establish whether Sesotho has alternative ways to negate the subject argument and it is for this reason that the above mentioned clauses will be investigated. The subject argument will be investigated with copulative and non-copulative predicates.

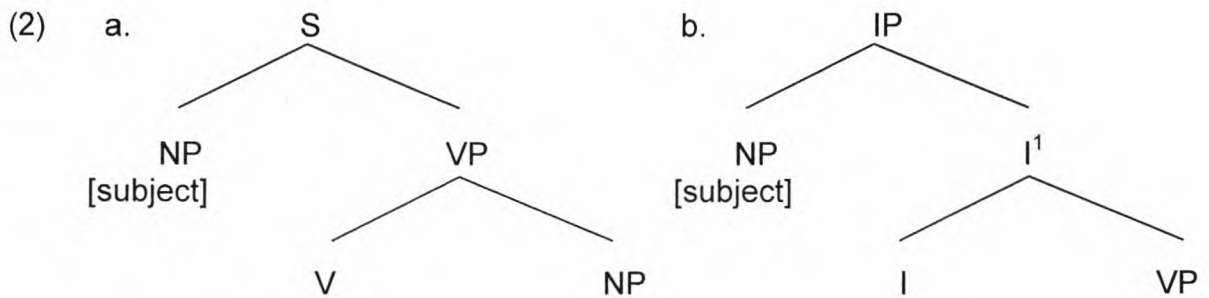
3.2 THE NOTION SUBJECT

The subject is defined by Richards (1985) as the nominal entity performing the action described by the verb. Haegeman (1997) and McCloskey (1997) regard subjecthood as central because there is a broad range of reference to it. These references can be considered as properties and functions of the subject, which can help to give a clear description of the subject.

According to McCloskey (1997) and Haegeman (1997), the subject has categorial information which specifies that subjects are nominal, a thematic information which specifies that the subject is a prototypical bearer of the AGENT theta - role and to a lesser extent, that of theme and experiencer. It has hierarchical information which states the subject as the prominent DP / NP argument of the verb in that it takes a wider scope. It

may bind other arguments like the reflexive and the reciprocal pronouns and can license some of the negative polarity items. They further point out that the subject is obligatorily present in the clause whether it be a contentive or null subject, and the subject has the morphological information which describes the subject as the nominal that has the nominative case and the agreement morphology.

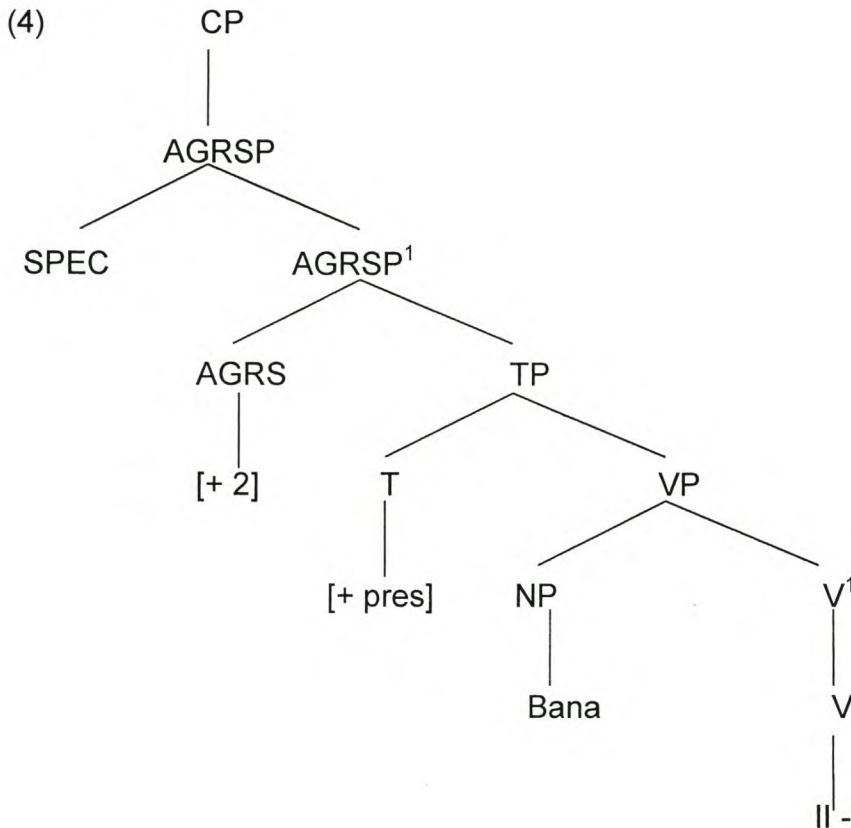
McCloskey (1997) observes that in the earlier stages of Generative grammar, all these properties and functions of the subject argument were implicated on a single unitary subject position: It was the canonical subject position which was regarded as the nominative position, a position reserved for agreement morphology, a position where certain semantic roles were realized, a topic position, a position targeted for movement and it was the position projected by the Extended Projection Principle, which requires that every predicate must have a subject. This subject position is illustrated by the structures in (2) below:



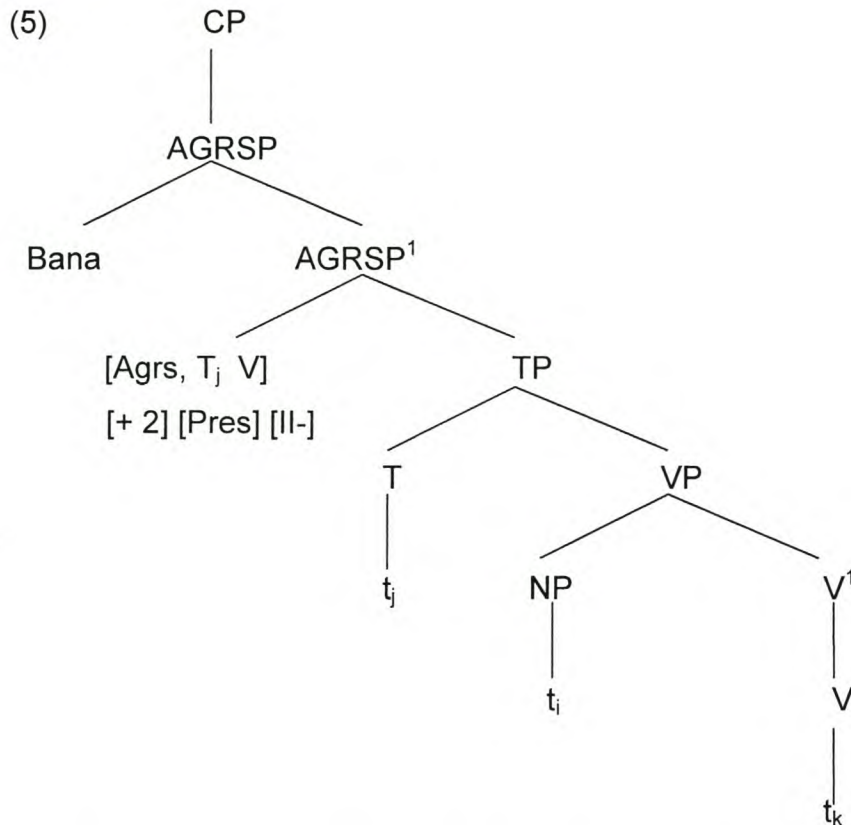
McCloskey (1997), further points out that the unitary subject position was abandoned and two subject positions were proposed through the influence of Pollock's (1989) split inflection hypothesis. The separation of the functional layer from the lexical layer brought about the idea of VP - internal subject position. According to Haegemen (1997), McCloskey (1997), Horrocks (1997) and Radford (1997), the subject originates in the [Spec, VP], the lexical layer that assigns argument with theta - roles. The complements of the verb are theta - marked directly by the verb, and the subject argument is theta - marked by V -bar. In this way all the arguments have uniformly assigned theta - roles by the verbal complex. The subject is then raised to the [Spec, IP] or [Spec, ArgsP] to satisfy the predication principle which requires that syntactic predicates should have subjects, to check on its strong specifier features and to check its strong nominative case and agreement features. Radford (1997) argues that the subjects of infinitives and expletives do not raise because they have weak case, argument and specifier features.

The idea of two structural subject positions can be clearly illustrated by intransitive Sesotho sentences as adopted by Du Plessis (1995) for African Languages in (3) and (4) below:

- (3) Bana ba – a - lla
 [*Children are crying*]



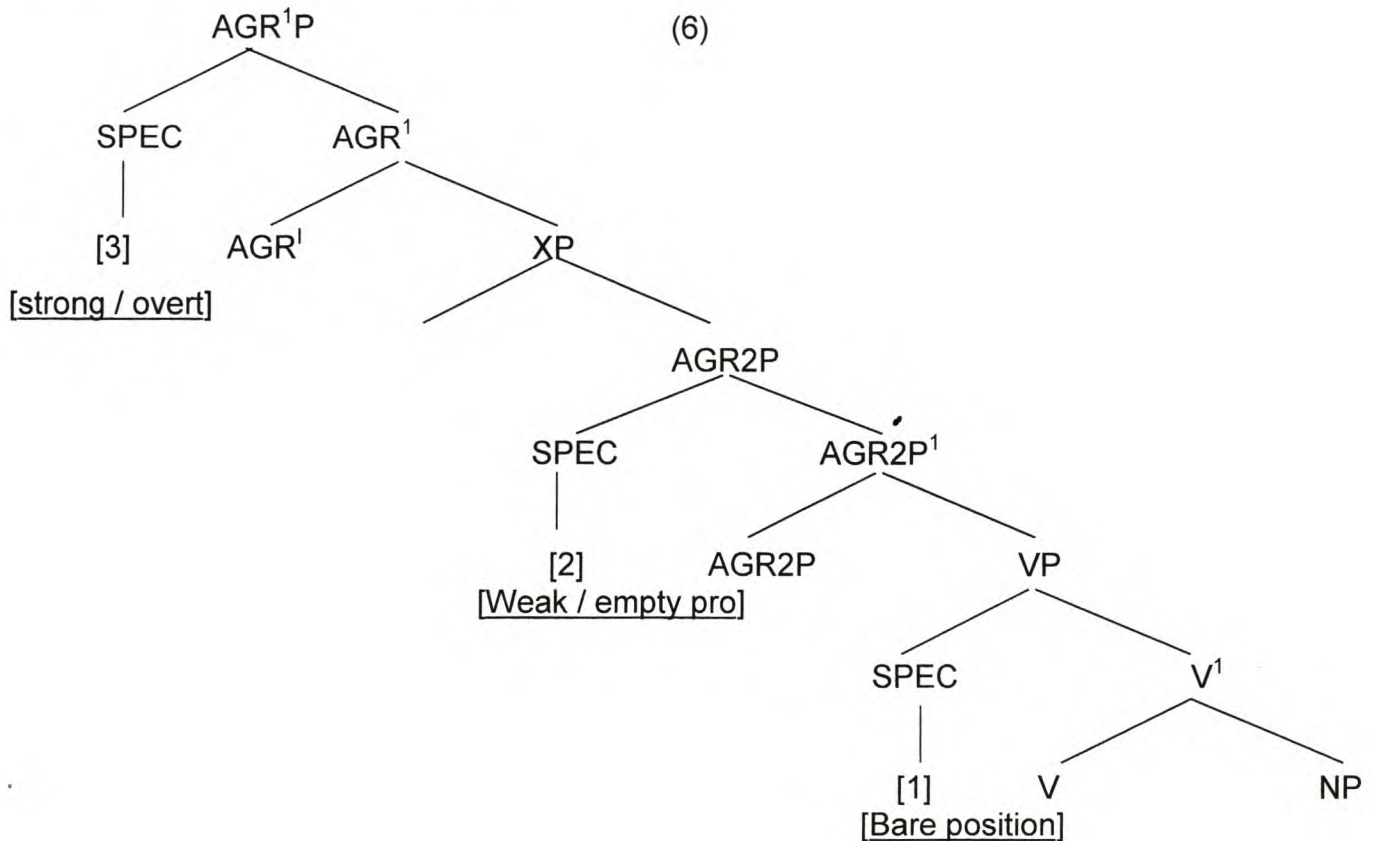
In the structure in (4) above, the subject [Bana] originates within the VP. It is assigned the theta - role of Agent or Theme. There are two functional categories in the structure above: Tense and subjectival agreement. The specifier of AGRSP is left empty so that the NP subject can occupy it when it moves. In our case the subject is [Bana] and it will have to move to the [Spec, AgrsP] for agreement and case checking, leaving behind its trace. Trace as described by Radford (1997:156) is a silent copy of the relevant moved constituent, which has the same syntactic and semantic properties as its antecedent. Tense will also have to move to AgrsP, both Tense and agreement will assign nominative case to the NP subject. The verb will also move to form surface structure verb. The movements explained here are illustrated by the structure in (5) below:



According to Horrocks (1997), the specifier positions of functional projections are available as open landing sites for constituents. The specifier position of AGRSP is exclusively a subject position, because it is the only position to which nominative case can be assigned. McCloskey (1997) states that the canonical subject position has a derivational connection with a lower position and subject properties are distributional over a sequence of derivationally linked position.

There are however different opinions with regard to the structural positions of the subject. Bobaljik and Jonas (1996) argue that there are two structural positions of the subject *viz.*, the specifier of Tense Phrase [TP] and the specifier of agreement phrase [AGRSP]. The specifier of Tense is VP external and it is meant for transitive expletive constructions. Cardinaletti (1996) proposes two subject positions. *i.e.* [Spec, AGRSP], which is the canonical subject position. Null subjects occupy the lowest subject position, which is [Spec AgrSP], it is occupied by weak and empty subjects. McCloskey (1997), considering the views of Bobaljik and Jonas (1996), and Cardinaletti (1996), gives three structural subject positions. The first position is the lowest position, which is either within VP or immediately above VP, where the semantic roles are assigned. The other two subject positions are in higher positions within the inflectional projections. McCloskey's (1997) three positions include both Cardinaletti (1996) and Bobaljik and Jonas' (1996) different

positions. A subject, as McCloskey (1997) argues, is therefore a nominal, which has passed through all three positions in its derivational career. The structure in (6) can clearly illustrate McCloskey's (1997) proposal:



All the subject positions discussed above, are argument subject positions. There are non-argument subject positions. Rizzi (1997) states that non-argument elements are accommodated by the specifier of the complementizer phrase [Spec, C]. They are topicalized subjects and focalized subjects and such elements move to the specifier of the CP to satisfy certain morphological requirements and these requirements are referred to as *Criteria*. Cardinaletti (1997) also gives a distinction between post-verbal and preverbal subjects. The preverbal subjects can either be realized as overt subjects or null subjects. Null subjects are deficient pronouns as opposed to strong pronouns and are represented by [pro], which is used in expletives, quasi - argument and as impersonal. This [pro] can have both [+ human] and [- human] referents. According to Cardinaletti (1997), preverbal subjects who are overt, are ordinary subjects, which do not co-occur with null subjects, because they are in competition. Preverbal subjects always agree in number and have rich agreement morphology, which legitimizes [pro] through the spec-head agreement.

3.3 THE SUBJECT IN SESOTHO

The subject in Sesotho also conforms to the structure proposed by McCloskey (1997) in that there are strong overt subjects in Sesotho, which may further be classified as unspecified subjects or specified subjects. There are also empty or null subjects in Sesotho, which are phonologically not represented but syntactically present due to strong verbal morphology of Sesotho.

3.3.1 Overt subjects

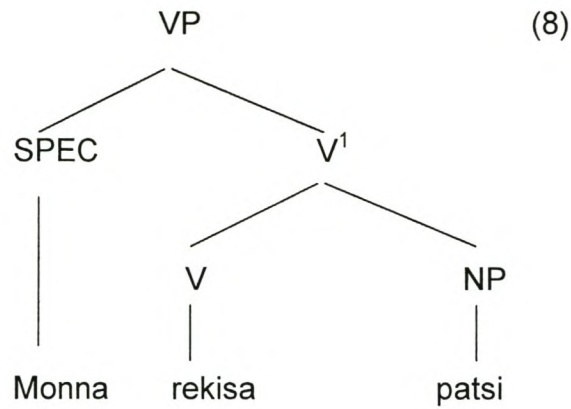
The overt subjects are noun phrases, which are phonologically represented in a sentence. Young (1984), describes noun phrases [NP's] as expressions in which a noun form the major component, and functionally noun phrases are defined as categories which bear grammatical relations in sentences as subjects or objects, a lexical category that bears inflection for number, gender and the ability to appear with modifiers.

NP WITH NOUN ONLY AS HEAD

According to Malete (1996: 27), a noun phrase may be a group of words or even one word only that can appear as the subject of the sentence located outside the verb phrase as indicated in (7) below:

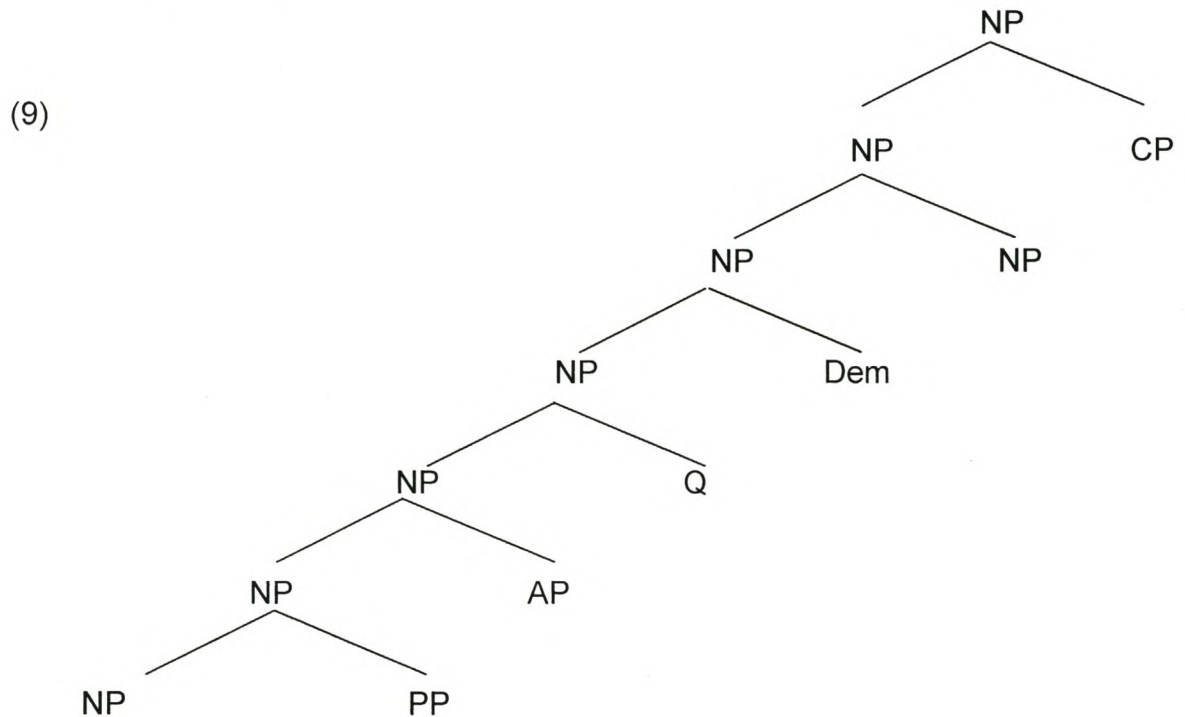
- (7) [Monna] o rekisa patsi
 [Man is selling wood]

In (7) above, the subject [Monna] is a noun phrase with only a noun as its lexical head. It is an overt subject in that it is phonologically represented, strong in that it has inflectional prefix [o -] indicating class 1 singular. However, according to the VP-internal subject hypothesis, the base position of the NP subject is within the verb phrase. The structure in (8) demonstrates:



NP WITH NOMINAL MODIFIERS

According to Malete (1996:29), nominal modifiers modify heads of noun phrases. Modifiers are grouped as non-clausal nominal modifiers and clausal modifiers illustrated in the structure in (9) below:



The structure in (9) above demonstrates that a noun phrase may be modified by a clause [CP] such as relative clauses, or by non-clausal modifiers such as descriptive noun phrases, demonstratives, quantifiers, adjectival phrases and prepositional phrases.

NON-CLAUSAL NOMINAL MODIFIERSNoun & Demonstrative

- (10) [Monna [enwa] o - tsamaya butle
 [*This man walks slowly*]

Noun & Quantifier [ohle], [sele], [fe]

- (11) a. Dira di-hapile [motse [ohle]
 [*Enemies have conquered the whole village*]
- b. Mapolesa a - tshwere [motho [o sele]
 [*The police have arrested the wrong person*]
- c. O - tsamaya le [mosadi [o fe] kajeno
 [*Which woman is he walking with today*]

Noun & Noun Phrase [Descriptive or possessive]

- (12) a. Bashemane ba - bapala [bolo ya maoto]
 [*The boys are playing football*]
- b. [Mosadi [wa morena] o - fihlile
 [*The chief's wife has arrived*]

Noun & Adjectival Phase

- (13) Matshediso ke [ngwanana [e motle]
 [*Matshediso is a beautiful girl*]

Noun & prepositional Phrase

- (14) O - thabela [nama [ka [boyona]
 [*He likes meat itself*]

CLAUSAL NOMINAL MODIFIERS

Noun & Nominal Relative

- (15) Ditau ke [diphoofolo tse hlaha]
 [*Lions are wild animals*]

Noun & Verbal Relative

- (16) Mosuwe o - rata [bana [ba sebetsang ka thata]
 [*The teacher likes children who work hard*]

Noun & Infinitive Clause

- 17) Ntate o - thabela [nako ya [ho tsamaya hoseng]
 [*Father likes the time of leaving in the morning*]

Noun & Hore Clause

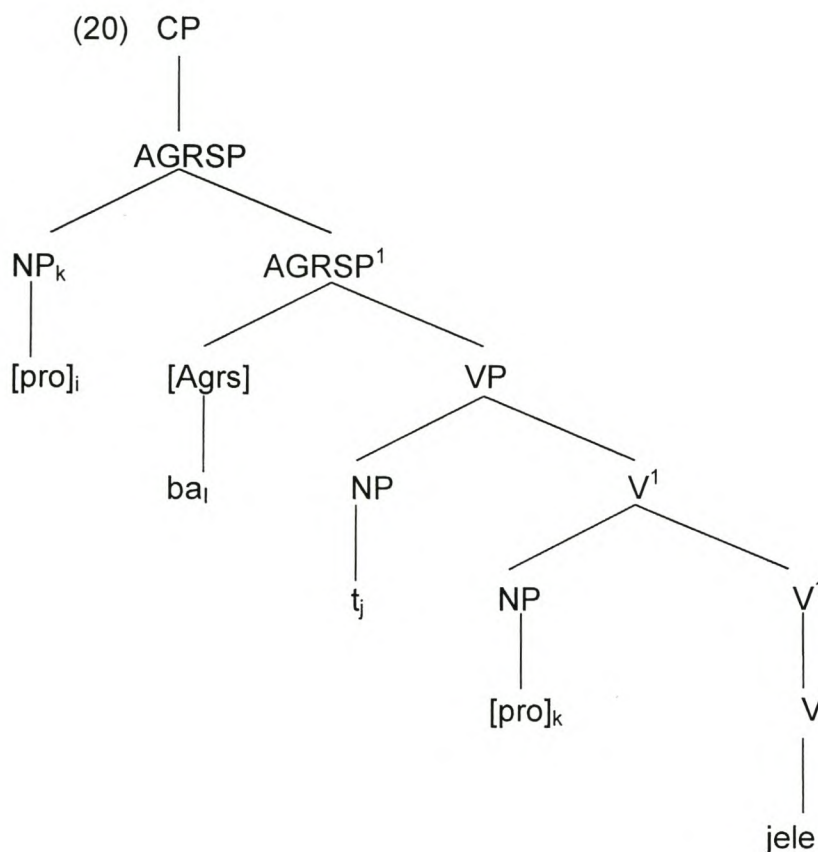
- 18) Ke - utlwile [leshano la [hore mashodu a tshwerwe]
 [*I heard lies that the thieves have been arrested*]

3.3.2 Empty subject

According to Du Plessis and Visser (1995: 28) empty subjects are common in Sesotho. They are referred to as null subjects and are represented by the phonologically empty pronominals indicated as [pro]. This empty [pro] contains grammatical features of a pronoun, namely:- person, number and gender and they appear as subjects:

- (19) [pro]_i; Ba_i jele
 [*They have eaten*]

The missing surface structure subjects are recovered by the richness of the verbal morphology in Sesotho. The empty noun phrase, indicated as [pro] is co-indexed with the subjectival agreement as shown in (19) above and in (20) below:



3.3.3 Specified and unspecified subjects

According to Du Plessis and Visser (1992: 48), specified NP subjects are noun phrases that have identifiable referents based on semantic interpretation of the sentence. Identifiability of referents is determined by semantic markers called modal operators such as the negative, future and question. The specified subject has identifiable referents as in the sentence in (21):

- (21) a. [Monna] o - ja - nama
 [*The man eats meat*]
- b. [Thipa] e - bohale
 [*The knife is sharp*]

In (21) above, the NP subjects [monna] and [thipa] are specified subjects because they are identifiable as the male human being and as an instrument respectively. On the other hand, unspecified NP subjects are non-specific, with no identifiable referents. They are indefinite noun phrases such as [nothing], [nobody] and [no one]. In Sesotho such NP subjects will include [Ha ho motho], [Ha ho letho], [mang le mang] and [ofe kapa ofe]. See the sentences in (22) below:

- (22) a. [Ha ho motho] ya tsebang ka yena
 [*Nobody knows about him*]
- b. [Mang le mang] a ka kena mona
 [*Anyone can come in here*]
- c. [Ha ho letho] leo re ka le etsang
 [*There is nothing that we can do*]

3.4 COPULATIVE AND NON-COPULATIVE PREDICATES

3.4.1 Copulative predicates

In the case of copulative verbs, attention will be focused on how the subject arguments of these verbs are negated. Copulative verbs, as described by Du Plessis and Visser (1995: 217), are verbs, which take special or exclusive complements such as the adjectives, nominal relatives, comparative elements and quantifiers. There are six copulative verbs that are recognized in Sesotho. They are the copulatives [le], [ke], [li], [na], [se] and [ba]. In their distribution, they take AP, NP Rel, comparative elements and quantifiers as complements. They may also appear with other complements, which are not exclusive to copulatives. Such complements are NP, NP Loc, PP and CP.

THE COPULATIVE [LE]

Du Plessis and Visser (1995: 217), state that the copulative [le] has the same form as the hypothetical proto-Bantu verb [li] and may only appear in two cases. It may appear in matrix clauses with agreement of inflection and in most cases with the indefinite

agreement morpheme [e]. In the embedded clauses it takes the situative mood as shown in (23) below:

- (23) Matlo ana a - ne [a - le [matle]
 [*These houses were beautiful*]

In the matrix clauses, the copulative [le] also appears when the inflection of the sentence shows the progressive [sa] as in (24):

- (24) Mose o - sa - le metsi
 [*The dress is still wet*]

THE COPULATIVE [KE]

Du Plessis and Visser (1995: 220), observes that the copulative [ke] mostly take NP's as its complements and may never appear with any agreement of inflection:

- (25) Ngwana eo e - leng morutuwa [ke wa ka]
 [*The child who is the student is mine*]

THE COPULATIVE [SE]

Du Plessis and Visser (1995: 220), describe the copulative verb [se] as the negative copulative that replaces other copulatives in negative constructions. It can also be used to negate non-copulative verbs. Where [le] is replaced by the copulative [se] in negative constructions, the copulative [- se] appears with the agreement of inflection as illustrated in (26):

- (26) a. Ha morwetsana [a - le motle]
 [*If the girl is beautiful*]
- b. Ha morwetsana [a - se motle]
 [*If the girl is not beautiful*]

When the copulative verb [se] replaces the copulative verb [ke], the copulative [se] co-occurs with the negative [ha] as double negative and it does not take agreement of inflection as it is the case with [le]. The sentences in (27) below illustrate:

- (27) a. Ngwana enwa [ke wa ka]
 [*This child is mine*]
- b. Ngwana enwa [ha - se wa ka]
 [*This child is not mine*]

The copulative verb [se] can appear with the relative sentence as in (28) below:

- (28) a. Ngwana [eo [e - seng wa ka]
 [*The child that is not mine*]

It can also appear as the negative prefixal morpheme with the copulative [na]:

- (29) Ha mosadi [a - se - na bana]
 [*If the woman does not have children*]

The negative [se] may also be used to negate non-copulative verbs in the subjunctive moods as in (30):

- (30) Ke - batla [hore [bana [ba - se - nthuse]
 [*I want that children should not help me*]

THE COPULATIVE [BA]

Du Plessis and Visser (1995: 221) describe the copulative verb [ba] as the inchoative verb, which may take any complement. The sentences in (31) will demonstrate:

- (31) a. Batho ba - tlang [ba - tla - ba [bangata]
 [*People who are coming will be many*]

- b. Dipelo tsa bona di bile [bohloko]
[*Their hearts were hurt*]
- c. Koloji ena e - tla - ba [ya ka]
[*This car will be mine*]

The copulative verb [ba] may appear in the relative sentence as in (32):

- (32) Batho ba - bileng teng [ke bana]
[*People who were present are these*]

This copulative can also replace the copulative verb [na] as illustrated by the sentence in (33):

- (33) a. Mosadi enwa [o - na [le [bana ba bangata]
[*This woman has many children*]
- b. Mosadi enwa [o - tla - ba [le bana ba bangata]
[*This woman will have many children*]

Du Plessis and Visser (1995: 226), go further to point out that the above mentioned copulatives, namely:- the copulatives [le], [ke], [se] and [ba] may take complements which are not exclusive to copulatives. Some of these complements include the NP, NP Loc, PP and CP. Their distribution will be illustrated through the sentences below:

Noun Phrase as complement

- (34) a. Bana bao [e - leng [ba ka]
[*The children who are mine*]
- b. Bana [ke [ba ka]
[*The children are mine*]

- c. Bana [ha - se [ba ka]
[*The children are not mine*]
- d. Koi ena [e - tla - ba [ya ka]
[*This car will be mine*]

NP Locatives as complements with reference of time

- (35) a. E - ne e - le [nakong eo dikgomo di - fihlang ho - tswa
naheng
[*It was at the time the cattle arrived from the veld*]
- b. [Ke [nakong eo dikgomo di - fihlang ho -tswa naheng]
[*It is the time at which the cattle arrived from the veld*]
- c. [Ha - se [nakong eo dikgomo di - fihlang ho tswa
naheng]
[*It is not the time at which the cattle arrived from the
veld*]
- d. [E - tla - ba [nakong eo dikgomo di fihlang ho tswa
naheng]
[*It will be the time at which the cattle arrived from the
veld*]

The Infinitive as complements

- (36) a. Taba [e - le [ho - pheisana kang]
[*The thing was to argue*]
- b. Taba [ke [ho - pheisana kang]
[*The thing is to argue*]
- c. Taba [ha - se [ho - pheisana kang]
[*The thing is not to argue*]

- d. Taba [ya - eba [ho - pheisana kgang]
[*The thing was to argue*]

The hore-clause as complement

- (37) a. Kgopolo ya hae e - ne [e - le [hore [o - se a - qetile]
[*His thought was that he has already finished*]
- b. Kgopolo ya hae [ke [hore [o - qetile]
[*His thought is that he has finished*]
- c. Kgopolo ya hae [ha - se [hore [o - se a - qetile]
[*His thought is not that he has already finished*]
- d. Kgopolo ya hae [ya - eba [hore [o - se a - qetile]
[*His thought was that he has already finished*]

PP as complement with [ka] as head

- (38) a. E - ne [e - le [ka [madungwadungwane a tsatsi
la Moqebelo]
[*It was at early dawn of Saturday*]
- b. [Ke [ka [madungwadungwane a tsatsi la Moqebelo]
[*It is at early dawn of Saturday*]
- c. [Ha - se [ka [madungwadungwane a tsatsi la
Moqebelo]
[*It is not at early dawn of Saturday*]
- d. [E - tla - ba [ka [madungwadungwane a tsatsi
la Moqebelo]
[*It will be at early dawn of Saturday*]
- e. The Abstract copulative [LI]

Du Plessis and Visser (1995: 219) describe the abstract copulative verb as the abstract verb represented in the lexicon as Cop. It appears in sentences with indicative mood mainly taking the adjectives, nominal relatives and noun phrase locatives as its complements. It also appears with the agreement of inflection as the sentences in (39) demonstrates:

- (39) a. Barwetsana [ba [batle]
[*Girls are beautiful*]
- b. Banna [ba [thata]
[*Men are hard*]
- c. Bana [ba [sekolong]
[*Children are at school*]

However, as Du Plessis and Visser (1995: 241) observe, the abstract copulative may express the notion of existence when it appears in existential sentences with an existential empty [pro] as the subject. This copulative may then appear with a noun phrase, which is not exclusive to copulatives. The sentence in (40) illustrates:

- (40) [Ho [teng [Modimo]
[*There is present a God*]

The copulative [na]

According to Du Plessis and Visser (1995: 221), the copulative verb [na] may only appear with one type of complement which is the prepositional phrase with [le] as head. It also has to appear with agreement of inflection as the sentence in (41) will demonstrate:

- (41) Bana [ba – na [le [tjhelete]
[*Children have money*]

The copulative verb [na] may also appear in existential sentences with the existential empty [pro] with the meaning of existence as illustrated in (42) below:

- (42) [Ho – na [le morena]
[*There is a chief*]

It may also appear with the negative copulative verb [se] in negative constructions as in (43):

- (43) [Ho – se – na [le phophi feela ya lebese]
[*There being not even a drop of milk*]

3.4.2 Non-copulative predicates

Du Plessis and Visser (1992: 1) define a predicate as a term, which is used in combination with a name to provide information about the Individual that the name refers to. Non-copulative predicates are verbs that denote actions done by the subjects or individuals. Van Valin and La Polla (1997: 91) classify verbs and other predicating elements in terms of their inherent temporal properties:

- (44) a. Stative verbs : [sick, tall, love, know]
b. Achievement verbs : [explode, collapse]
c. Accomplishment verbs : [freeze, melt, learn]
d. Activity verbs : [March, walk, roll]

Maletse (1996: 49), gives a classification of verbs according to the type of actions verbs denote:

- (45) a. Experiencer verbs : [rata : love], hloya : hate]
b. Sensory verbs : [utlwa: hear; bona: see]
c. Concrete verbs : [lema : plough; kganna:
drive]
d. Rejecting and accepting verbs: [hana : refuse; amohela:
accept]
e. Asking and Answering verbs: [botsa: ask; Araba: answer]
f. Verbs of advice : [eletsa; lemosa: advise;
aware]

Du Plessis and Visser (1992: 1) classify verbs according to the number of arguments upon which a predicate operates. They are described as one-place predicates (intransitive), two-place predicates (transitive) and three-place predicates (ditransitive).

In our discussion which is to follow, our focus will be on the last type of classification namely: Intransitive verbs, transitive verbs and ditransitive verbs.

INTRANSITIVE VERBS

According to Du Plessis and Visser (1995: 9), intransitive verbs are one-place predicates, they do not take direct objects. One-place predicates assign only one theta role to the NP or a clause which might be a subject argument:

- (46) [Monna] o – robetse
[*Man is asleep*]

There are however intransitive verbs which assign two arguments, where an agent argument in the subject position and an internal argument which is a locative noun are found, but the NP locative not being necessarily an object:

- (47) [Mosadi o kena [tlung]
[*The woman comes in the house*]

Du Plessis and Visser further divides intransitive verbs into non-motion verbs: [sebetsa, lla, kgonya, bososela] and motion verbs: [ya, tla, tswa, kena, tloha, fihla]. The lexical entry for intransitive verbs such as [kena] will be as (48) below:

- (48)
- | | |
|-------------------------|------------|
| Morphophonological form | ken – |
| Categorial type | [+V, – N] |
| Subcategorial feature | [_____ #] |
| Theta grid | ø1 |

TRANSITIVE VERBS

Transitive verbs are regarded as two-place predicates (Du Plessis and Visser – 1995: 26). They have two arguments which are the subject and the object. Two-place predicates assign two theta-roles, one to the NP subject and the other to the object. The sentence in (49) indicates a transitive verb and its lexical entry will be shown in (50) below:

- (49) [Monna] o – ja [nama]
 [*Man eats meat*]

(50)

Morphophonological form	j –		
Categorial type	[+V, – N]		
Subcategorial feature	[— NP]		
Theta grid	<table border="1"> <tr> <td>ø1</td> <td>ø2</td> </tr> </table>	ø1	ø2
ø1	ø2		

There are also intransitive verbs that are transitivized by suffixes such as the causative suffix [-is -] and the applicative suffix [-el -] as indicated by the sentences in (51):

- (51) a. Thabo o – kgutlisa [koloji]
 [*Thabo returns the car*]
- b. Mme o – phehela [bana]
 [*Mother cooks for children*]

DITRANSITIVE VERBS

According to Du Plessis and Visser (1995: 40), ditransitive verbs are three-place predicates. They have two internal arguments which are functionally direct object and indirect object. The third is the subject argument. The sentence in (52) illustrates:

- (52) [Banka] e – adima [batho] [tjhelete]
 [*The bank lends money to people*]

Ditransitive, non-derived verbs in Sesotho are verbs like [adima], [fa], [lefa], [tima] and [neha] and may have the following lexical entry:

(53)	
Morphophonological form	f –
Categorial feature	[+V, – N]
Subcategorization	[- NP NP]
Theta grid	∅1 ∅2 ∅3

There are ditransitive verbs which may be found with one internal argument where the other internal argument have undergone argument reduction as in (54):

- (54) a. Banka e – adima [tjhelete]
 [*The bank borrows money*]
- b. Ke – lefa [basebetsi]
 [*I am paying the workers*]

Transitive verbs may also be di-transitivized by the applicative suffix [- el -] as illustrated in (55):

- (55) a. Ke – kgannela [ntate] [koloji]
 [*I am driving a car for my father*]
- b. Ke – batlela [mokganni] [koloji]
 [*I want a driver for the car*]

Up to this stage, we have only given a brief survey on the notion subject and the subject in Sesotho, where overt and empty subjects exist. We have also looked into different types of copulative verbs and non-copulative verbs. In the sub-sections which are to follow, we shall now begin to look at how the argument subjects of copulative verbs and non-copulative verbs are negated. Under non-copulative verbs, three types of verbs will be considered: Intransitive, transitive and ditransitive verbs. As indicated earlier, four clauses

will be investigated, to see if it is possible to employ them in negating the argument subject.

3.5 SUBJECT NEGATION IN MATRIX CLAUSES

3.5.1 Specified subject with a head noun only

Specified subjects are nouns with identifiable referents based on the semantic interpretation of the sentence. Specified NP subjects may appear with a noun only as head or may appear with nominal modifiers. In this sub-section, the aim is to investigate how specified subject arguments of non-copulative predicates and copulative predicate are negated.

3.5.1.1 Non-copulative predicates

In the case of non-copulative predicates, negation of the specified subject argument will be investigated within three types of verbs: Intransitive verbs, transitive verbs and ditransitive verbs. With these verbs, four different clauses will be examined in trying to establish how subject arguments are negated in Sesotho. They are cleft sentences, pseudo-cleft sentences, sentences with ARGS [ho] and sentences with subject inversion.

INTRANSITIVE VERBS

CLEFTING

According to Madadzhe (1997: 309), cleft sentences are the identifying constructions expressing a relationship of identity between the element realized as the highlighted element and the relative clause. They are characterized by the phrase [*it is / was*] constructed from a simple or any underlying sentence.

In form the cleft sentences have two clauses that originate from the underlying sentence: They are the clause of focus, which is the identifying clause with the phrase [*it is / was*] and the relative clause, which put more emphasis and specificity on the clause of focus:

In the sentences below, the subject argument will appear with a feature of animacy:

- (56) a. [Bana] ba - robetse
[*Children have slept*]
- b. [Koloji] e - wele
[*The car has fallen*]

In (56.a) above, the subject argument is [bana] with the feature [+ animate] and in (56.b), the subject argument is [koloji], with the feature [- animate]. The purpose of the cleft constructions is to put focus on this subject argument i.e. to highlight this argument by means of a clause of focus. In Sesotho this focus can be effected by means of a copulative clause with the copula [ke]. The sentences in (57) will illustrate:

- (57) a. [Ke [bana].
[*It is the children*]
- b. [Ke [koloji]
[*It is the car*]

In both (57.a) and (57.b) above we now have the clause of focus which is the identifying clause. In the cleft construction this clause will not appear with an overt subject but only with an empty [pro] as demonstrated by the sentences in (58):

- (58) a. [(pro) [ke [bana]
[*It is the children*]
- b. [(pro) [ke [koloji]
[*It is the car*]

All the sentences such as those in (58.a) and (58.b) above, may however appear with overt subjects, i.e. the presence of an empty [pro] is not compulsory. The sentences in (59) will illustrate:

- (59) a. [Batho bana] ke bana
[*These people are children*]

- b. [Ntho ena] ke koloji
[*This thing is a car*]

As indicated above, the cleft construction will only accept an empty [[pro] as subject because it wants to put focus on the subject argument. Such focus will not be possible if an additional subject is forced onto the clefted subject as in the sentences in (58) above. For this reason, the clefted subject will then be [bana] and [koloji] in (59) above.

In the second place the verbs in (59) above will be forced to appear in a relative clause which will further highlight and focus on the clefted subject in (58) resulting in the following sentences in (60):

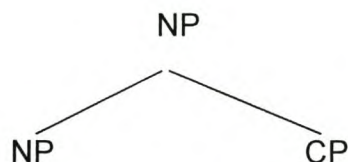
- (60) a. Ke bana [ba - jeleng]
[*It is the children who have eaten*]
- b. Ke koloji [e - weleng]
[*It is the car which has fallen*]

In (60) above, the relative clauses are [ba - jeleng] and [e - weleng]. Lesoetsa (1991: 47), states that there are two types of relatives in Sesotho: The nominal relative and the verbal relative. The verbal relative may be divided further into the direct and indirect relative. According to Lesoetsa (1991: 48), the nominal relative is composed of the initial element which he refers to as the complementizer which is with the complement. The complements of such initial elements might be NP, AP or NP Rel indicated in the sentences in (61) below:

- (61) a. Dijo [tse [monate]
[*Delicious food*]
- b. Dijo [tse [ngata]
[*Much food*]
- c. Dijo [tse [bodila]
[*Sour food*]

The sentences in (61) above are nominal relatives and they have the structure in (62) below:

(62)



The second type of relative is the verbal relative. In its form, it has the initial element [complementizer], the stem or root and the compulsory relative marker [-ng]. As Lesoetsa (1991) observes, in the case of direct relatives, when the antecedent of the relative clause is also the subject of the relative clause, the subjectival agreement of the relative clause will coalesce with the complementizer. The complementizer is related in form to the base form of the first position demonstrative with the root [-a]. This is illustrated in the table below with complementizers:

Class	AGRS	+	Dem. Root	Comp
1	e	+	a	E
2	ba	+	a	Ba
3	o	+	a	O
4	e	+	a	E
5	le	+	a	Le
6	a	+	a	A
7	se	+	a	Se
8	di	+	a	Tse
9	e	+	a	E
10	di	+	a	Tse
14	bo	+	a	Bo
15	ho	+	a	Ho

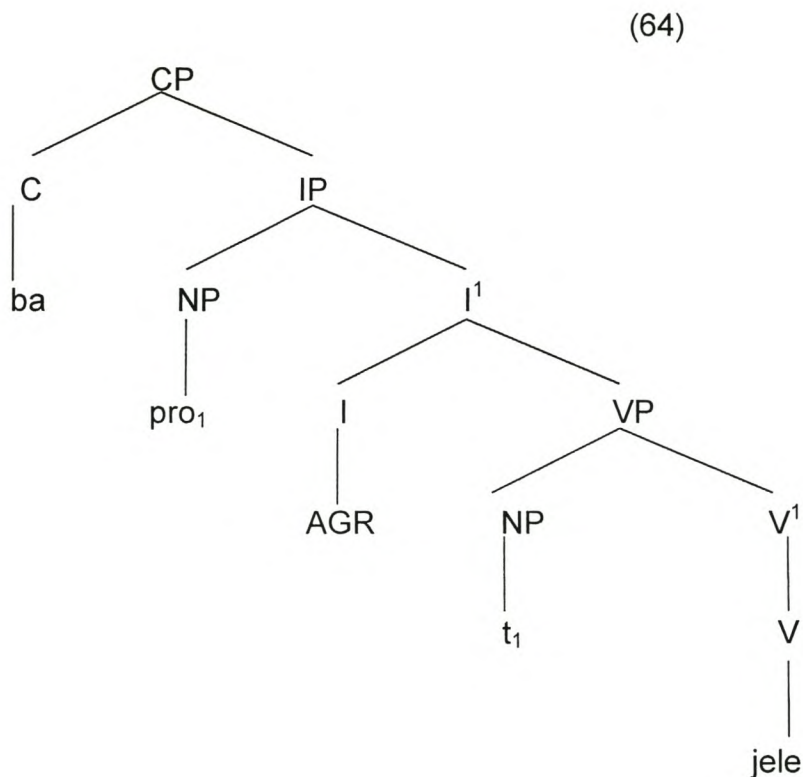
The demonstrative root will then coalesce with the subjectival agreement of the relative clause. In this case the subjectival agreement disappears and only the tone will be retained on the complementizers, giving it a double tone. The table below will illustrate the coalescence of the two morphemes:

Class	DETS	+ AGRS	Comp
1	ê	a	yâ
2	ba	ba	bâ
3	ô	o	ô
4	ê	e	ê
5	lê	le	lê
6	a	a	â
7	sê	se	sê
8	tsê	di	tsê
9	ê	e	ê
10	tsê	di	tsê
14	bô	bo	bô
15	hô	ho	hô

In Sesotho, as Lesoetsa (1991: 51) observes, there is no agreement in inflection but [pro] will retain its tone. In the case of the indirect relatives, the second position demonstrative with the suffix [- o] as in [bao] is used as illustrated in (63):

- (63) Bana [bao [batho ba ba ratang [ba a ja]
 [Children whom people love are eating]

The structure of the verbal relative will be as in (64) below:



If one looks at the result of cleft constructions in Sesotho as indicated in (60), we do find a clause of focus and a relative clause, but what we have in reality is a totally new clause, where the copulative clause now appears with an empty subject [pro] and a complement of the copula [ke], which is a noun phrase. This new phrase is now a new noun phrase which is comprised of the head noun of an NP, with a relative clause as the modifier. If we try to negate this clause, we will be negating the new NP which includes the relative clause as the sentences in (65) demonstrate:

- (65) a. [Hase [bana [ba – jeleng]
 [It is not children who have eaten]
- b. [Ha – se [koloji [e – weleng]
 [It is not a car which has fallen]

In (65) above the new NP is [bana ba jeleng] and the copula [ke] has been replaced by a negative verb [se] which appears with a negative morpheme [ha] above. Thus, it does not seem possible to use a cleft construction as above to try and negate the subject argument only. There are two possibilities to reflect in with regard to the negative clause in (65) above:

Firstly, the context of this clause should be taken into account, i.e. it is not possible to concentrate only on these clauses in isolation. If we then discard the process of cleft formation above and concentrate only on the copulative clause, we should expect a further clause of contrast:

- (66) a. Hase [bana] ba – jeleng, ke [basadi]
 [It is not children who have eaten, it is women]
- b. Hase [koloji] e – weleng, ke [sethuthuthu]
 [It is not a car which has fallen, it is a bike]

In this context as demonstrated by the sentences in (66) above, it is now clear that the subject arguments [bana] and [koloji] have been put in focus and we may then deduce that these coordinated clauses with clauses of contrast i.e. [ke basadi] and [ke sethuthuthu] above, will in effect be enough to negate the subject argument.

In the second place, the relative clause with an empty [pro] may appear as clefted subject of the copulative clause as illustrated by the sentences in (67):

- (67) a. [pro] ba – jeleng hase [bana]
 [*Who have eaten are not children*]
- b. [pro] e weleng hase [koloji]
 [*What has fallen is not the car*]

The clauses in (67) above give the impression that [bana] and [koloji] have now been highlighted in the negative, but in reality this type of clause will still need a clause of contrast as in (68) below:

- (68) a. Ba – jeleng hase bana, ke basadi
 [*Who have eaten are not children, it is women*]
- b. E – weleng hase koloji, ke sethuthuthu
 [*What has fallen is not the car, it is a bike*]

Thus the two types of clauses in (66) and (68) above, which both appear with clauses of contrast [ke basadi] and [ke sethuthuthu], will give the same interpretation of negation of the subject argument. The second type in (68) above is only a syntactic variation of the first type in (66). It should however be noticed that when the subject argument of the copulative clause is clefted, the subject is replaced by empty [pro] with subjectival agreement.

From the above observation, it is clear that the cleft sentences can be used to negate both animate and inanimate subject arguments.

PSEUDO-CLEFT

Madadzhe (1997: 316) describes the pseudo-cleft sentences as the copulative sentences where the subject clause is introduced by a wh-word. Pseudo-cleft sentences are characterized by a nominal relative clause introduced by [wh] serving as the subject or theme as illustrated by the sentences in (69):

- (69) a. What he bought was a donkey
 b. Who told me about it was Jane
 c. Where he spends his summer is Chester

The above sentences in (69) are the examples of the *wh*-clefts, which are part of the pseudo-clefts. Other types of the pseudo-cleft are the [All-clefts] and the [the-clefts]. Madadzhe (1997: 319) goes on to say that pseudo-cleft sentences and the cleft sentences have the same semantic relationship because they both have a bipartite form. The bipartite form is brought about by breaking a simple sentence into a focal constituent and the relative sentence. The only difference according to Madadzhe (1997) between the cleft sentence and pseudo-cleft sentence is the position of the focal constituent. In the cleft-sentence, the focal constituent is in the initial position whereas in pseudo-cleft, the focal constituent is on the latter part of the sentence. The following sentences in (70) will demonstrate:

- (70) a. [Ke buka] eo Thabo a e fileng Mpho
[It is the book that Thabo gave to Mpho]
 b. Seo Thabo a se fileng Mpho [ke buka]
[What Thabo gave to Mpho is the book]

The sentence in (70.a) is the cleft sentence because the focal constituent [ke buka] is in the beginning of the sentence. The sentence in (70.b) is the pseudo-cleft sentence because the focal constituent is on the latter part of the sentence and it has [wh-word] as one of the characteristics of pseudo-clefts.

The purpose with pseudo-cleft constructions is to establish whether it is possible to use these sentence constructions in negating the subject argument. For this purpose two types of subject arguments will be considered, namely: animate subject argument and inanimate subject argument.

In the case of animate subjects, the argument subject of class 1 will appear in a simple sentence as in (71):

- (71) [Ngwana] o – fihlile
 [*The child has arrived*]

Then this subject will be made to appear with the copulative verb [ke] in order to be focalized:

- (72) Ke [ngwana]
 [*It is the child*]

The verb [fihla] above will then be forced into a relative clause:

- (73) [ya – fihlileng]
 [*Who has arrived*]

The relative clause in (72) above will then be made to appear as the subject of the copulative clause. This will result into a sentence in (74) below:

- (74) Ya – fihlileng [ke ngwana]
 [*Who has arrived is the child*]

The relative clause above appears with an empty [pro] in the NP subject position as illustrated by the clause in (75):

- (75) [pro]_{NP} [ya – fihlileng]_{CP}

To establish negation of the animate subject argument, the copula [ke] will be replaced by a negative copulative verb [se] with a negative morpheme [ha]:

- (76) [ya – fihlileng] [ha – se [ngwana]]
 [*Who has arrived is not the child*]

In this way, as in (76) above, one may find a possible way of negating the subject argument only because its predicate is divorced from it through a relative clause in the new subject position of the copulative clause. This relative clause need not refer to the old subject argument at all as the sentences in (77) will illustrate:

- (77) a. [Sebini] se – fihlile
[The singer has arrived]
- b. [ya – fihlileng [ke sebini]
[Who has arrived is the singer]
- c. [Se – fihlileng [ke sebini]
[Who has arrived is the singer]

The empty [pro] in (77.b) of the relative clause, belongs to class 1 while the subject of the copulative [ke], belongs to class 7. If the copula [ke] is replaced by the negative morpheme [ha] and the negative copulative [se], it becomes evident that what is negated is the subject argument [sebini] which does not belong to the same class as the empty [pro] in the relative clause:

- (78) [pro] ya – fihlileng [Ha – se sebini]
[Who has arrived is not the singer]

On the other hand, in (77.c), the relative determiner [se] and the subject of the copulative clause, belong to the same class which is class 7. If the copulative [ke] is replaced by [Ha – se] as in [Ha – se sebini], the subject is properly negated because the relative determiner [se] in the relative clause may be filled by any class 7 noun which may not be [sebini].

To establish negation of the inanimate subject argument, the same procedure is followed. The copulative verb [ke] will be replaced by a negative copulative [se] and a negative morpheme [ha] as illustrated by sentences in (79.a) and (79.b):

- (79) a. [e – weleng [ke kolo]]
[What has fallen is the car]
- b. [e – weleng [ha – se [kolo]]]
[What has fallen is not the car]

In (79.b) above, the relative clause [e – weleng] does not need to refer to the old subject argument at all, and the subject argument [koloji] is properly negated. If the empty subject of the relative clause and the subject of the copulative belong to the same class, the determiner in the relative [e], may not refer to the subject [koloji]. Such a relative clause may on the other hand appear with an expletive [ho] with empty [pro]:

- (80) [pro] ho – weleng [ha – se koloji]
 [*What has fallen is not the car*]

In (80) above, the expletive [ho] is indefinite, it is not specific but refers to something unknown and definitely not the car. As in the case of (79.b), it is only the subject [koloji] which is negated.

As in the case of cleft sentences, it is also clear with pseudo-clefts that both animate and inanimate subject arguments can be negated in isolation from the rest of the sentence, by pseudo-cleft constructions.

THE LOCATIVE AGRS [HO]

Lombard (1985: 166) describes locatives as basic nouns which indicate locality or place. Du Plessis and Visser describe the locative as a noun phrase which has all the features of any noun phrase, like combining with specifiers and complements or appearing in argument position as subject or object of a sentence. According to Ramone (1997: 475), locatives in Sesotho are of two major types. There are noun phrase locatives [NP Loc] and prepositional locatives.

The noun phrase locatives may be expressed by the locative suffix [eng] as in (81):

- (81) a. Thaba > Thab – eng
 [*Mountain > At the mountain*]
- b. Motse > Mots – eng
 [*Village > At the village*]

The noun phrase locatives can appear as names of places as in (82):

- (82) Ke - tswa [Mafeteng]
[*I am from Mafeteng*]

They may appear as nouns of old locative class:

- (83) a. Thabo o – wetse [fatshe]
[*Thabo has fallen down*]
- b. Bashanyana ba – dula [Morao]
[*Boys stay at the back*]

Locatives may also appear as locative nominal modifiers where quantifiers and demonstratives are used as locatives:

- (84) a. Re – tsamaya [hohle]
[*We walk everywhere*]
- b. Re – dula [mona]
[*We stay here*]

The locative can be expressed by the locative preposition [ho] and [ha] where the nouns of class (1a) appear in their complements:

- (85) a. Ba – tla – ya [ho [ntate]
[*They will go to father's place*]
- b. Ba – robetse [ha [malome]
[*They have slept at uncle's place*]

The locative can appear with the preposition [ka] where NP Loc's are its complements to indicate precise location:

- (86) a. Bana ba – bone noha [ka [tlung]
[*Children have seen the snake in the house*]

- b. Ba mmone [ka [thabeng]
[*They saw him at the mountain*]

Malete (1996: 44) states that the locatives appear in various positions in the sentence and with a number of other lexical categories. They may appear at the beginning of the sentence:

- (87) [Sefahlehong] o – ne a - le motle
[*On the face she was beautiful*]

They may also appear after nouns as illustrated in (88) below:

- (88) Mosebetsi o moholo [mapolasing] e – ne e – le temo
[*The big job on the farms was ploughing*]

They may appear immediately after verbs and after direct objects of transitive verbs:

- (89) a. Baruti ba – fihla [phuthehong]
[*Reverends arrived at the congregation*]
b. Ntate o – lemme poone [masimong]
[*Father ploughed maize in the fields*]

The locative may appear with the conjunct [le]:

- (90) a. [Le [ho [Mathabo]]] ho – ne ho - ntse ho – le jwalo
[*Even to Mathabo it was still likes that*]
b. [Le [polasing] ho – a – tjhesa
[*Even on the farm it is hot*]

The locative may also appear with copulative verbs as illustrated by the sentences in (91):

- (91) a. Ba [naheng ya dithaba]
[*They are at the mountainous country*]

- b. Ha ba – le [naheng]
[When they are in the veld]
- c. Ha ba – se [naheng]
[When they are not in the veld]
- d. Maseru ke [toropong]
[Maseru is in town]
- e. Ba – tla – ba [sekolong]
[They shall be at school]
- f. Motse wa Mafeteng o [thabeng]
[Mafeteng village is on the mountain]

The purpose of the constructions with the locative subjectival agreement morpheme [ho] (henceforth locative AGRS [ho]), is to establish whether it is possible to use such sentence constructions to negate the subject argument. For this purpose, subject arguments with animate features and with inanimate features will be considered. The locative AGRS [ho] will appear with an empty [pro] together with copulative verbs [na] and [LI].

THE LOCATIVE AGRS [HO] WITH THE COPULATIVE VERB [LI]

The subject arguments to be negated are indicated in sentences in (92) below:

- (92) a. [Monna] o - tsamaile
[The man is gone]
- b. [Tafole] e - robehile
[The table is broken]

From the sentences in (92) above, it is possible for the locative AGRS [ho] to appear with the empty category [pro] in the subject position, but first the verbs will appear in relative clauses as in (93):

- (93) a. Monna [ya - tsamaileng]
[*The man who has gone*]
- b. Tafole [e - robehileng]
[*The table that has broken*]

The animate subject [monna] and the inanimate subject [tafole], are now new noun phrases with the relative clauses [ya - tsamaileng] and [e - robehileng]. These new NP's will now be the complements of the copulative verb [LI], which appears with the empty category [pro] coindexed with the AGRS [ho]:

- (94) a. pro_i Ho_i [monna ya - tsamaileng]
[*There is a man who has gone*]
- b. pro_i Ho_i [tafole e - robehileng]
[*There is a table which has broken*]

However, the sentences in (94) have to be contextualised. They need to be put in a locative context. It seems to be necessary to include a locative phrase as context in such sentence constructions as illustrated in (95) and (96):

- (95) a. [Motseng_i] [ho_i monna ya - fihlileng]
[*In the village there's a man who has arrived*]
- b. pro_i Ho_i [monna ya - fihlileng [motseng_i]]
- (96) a. Mona_i] [ho_i tafole e - robehileng]
[*Here there is a table which has broken*]
- b. pro_i Ho_i [tafole e - robehileng [mona_i]]
[*There is a table which has broken here*]

The locative NP's [Motseng] in (95) and [mona] in (96) are now the subjects of the sentences. The overt subjects now appear in the place of the empty [pro] in (94).

However, as in all subjects in Sesotho, they may be moved to other positions in the sentence for stylistic reasons as it is the case in (95.b) and (96.b).

In order to establish negation of the subject argument in (92), for both animate and inanimate subjects, the negative morpheme [ha] is employed to appear with the locative AGRS [ho] and the copulative verb [LI].

- (97) a. [Motseng_i] ha - ho_i [monna ya - tsamaileng]
 [*In the village there is no man who has gone*]
- b. [pro_i] [ha - ho_i [monna ya - tsamaileng [motseng_i]
 [*There is no man who has gone in the village*]
- (98) a. [Mona_i] ha - ho_i [tafole e - robehileng]
 [*Here there is no table which has broken*]
- b. [pro_i] [Ha - ho_i [tafole e - robehileng [mona_i]
 [*There is no table which has broken here*]

Another way to contextualize the sentences in (94), is to put the NP's which are the subjects in (92) in a focus position by forcing a contrastive clause together with these NP's as shown in (99) below:

- (99) a. [pro_i] Ha - ho_i [monna ya - tsamaileng], [ke mosadi]
 [*There is no man who has gone, it is the woman*]
- b. [pro_i] Ha - ho_i [tafole e - robehileng], [ke setulo]
 [*There is no table which has broken, it is the chair*]

The contrasting clause is introduced by the copula [ke] but on the other hand, a contrasting clause with the AGRS [ho] is also possible. The sentences in (100) below will illustrate:

- (100) a. pro_i Ha - ho_i [monna ya - tsamaileng], ho mosadi ya –
tsamaileng
[*There is no man who has gone, there is a woman
who has gone*]
- b. pro_i Ha - ho_i [tafole e - robehileng], ho setulo se -
robehileng
[*There is no table which has broken, there is a chair
which has broken*]

The negative constructions with the locative AGRS [ho] can appear with an NP with conjunct [le] to strengthen the negative:

- (101) a. pro_i Ha - ho_i [le [monna ya - tsamaileng]]
[*There is not even a man who has gone*]
- b. pro_i Ha - ho_i [le [tafole e - robehileng]]
[*There is not even a table which has broken*]

The negative meaning can also be found where the sentential prepositional phrase with [Leha] as head appears as complement of the copulative verb [LI], with the locative AGRS [ho] with empty [pro]:

- (102) a. pro_i Ha - ho_i [leha [e - le [monna ya - tsamaileng]]
[*There is not even a man who has gone*]
- b. pro_i Ha - ho_i [leha [e - le [tafole e - robehileng]]
[*There is not even a table which has broken*]

THE LOCATIVE AGRS [HO] WITH THE COPULATIVE VERB [NA]

The copulative verb [na] may appear in the place of the abstract copulative verb [LI] above. In all those instances with [LI] above, the locative AGRS [ho] with an empty [pro] or with overt locative phrase may appear as subject of the copulative verb [na]. The

negative of such copulatives may then be used to effect the negative of the subject constituents [monna] and [tafole] in (92):

In the first place, the copulative verb [na] may appear with a locative NP or an empty [pro] as subject indicated in the sentences in (103) and (104) below:

- (103) a. [Motseng_i] [ho_i na le monna ya - tsamaileng]
[*In the village there is a man who has gone*]
- b. [pro_i Ho_i na le monna ya - tsamaileng [motseng_i]
[*There is a man who has gone in the village*]
- (104) a. [Mona_i] [ho_i na le tafole e - robehileng]
[*Here there is a table which has broken*]
- b. [pro_i Ho_i na le tafole e - robehileng [mona_i]
[*There is a table which has broken here*]

Secondly, to establish negation of the subject arguments [monna] and [tafole], the copulative verb [na] will appear with the negative morpheme [ha]:

- (105) a. [Motseng_i] ha - ho_i na monna ya - tsamaileng
[*In the village there is no man who has gone*]
- b. pro_i Ha - ho_i na monna ya - tsamaileng [motseng_i]
[*There is no man who has left in the village*]
- (106) a. [Mona_i] Ha ho_i na tafole e - robehileng
[*Here there is no table which has broken*]
- b. pro_i Ha ho_i na tafole e - robehileng [mona_i]
[*There is no table which has broken here*]

To effect focus, the copulative verb [na] will appear with the contrasting clause as in (107) below:

- (107) a. pro_i Ha ho_i na monna ya - tsamaileng, ke mosadi
 [*There is no man who has left, it is the woman*]
- b. pro_i Ha ho_i na tafole e - robehileng, ke setulo
 [*There is no table which has broken, it is the chair*]

The copulative verb [na] may also appear with a NP with the conjunct [le] to strengthen the negative:

- (108) a. pro_i Ha ho_i na [le [monna ya - tsamaileng [motseng_i]]
 [*There is no man who has left in the village*]
- b. pro_i Ha ho_i na [le [tafole e - robehileng [mona_i]]
 [*There is no table which has broken here*]

Finally, the copulative verb [na] with the locative AGRS [ho] may appear with the prepositional phrase with [leha] as head to strengthen the negative:

- (109) a. pro_i Ha ho_i na [leha] e - le [monna ya - tsamaileng
 [motseng_i]
 [*There is not even a man who has left in the village*]
- b. pro_i Ha ho_i na [leha] [e - le [tafole e - robehileng
 [mona_i]]
 [*There is not even a table which has broken here*]

From the above observations, it is clear that negative constructions with the locative AGRS [ho], where it appears with the copulative verbs [LI] and [na], can also negate the subject. However, the negated subject is the NP which is focalized by the relative clause.

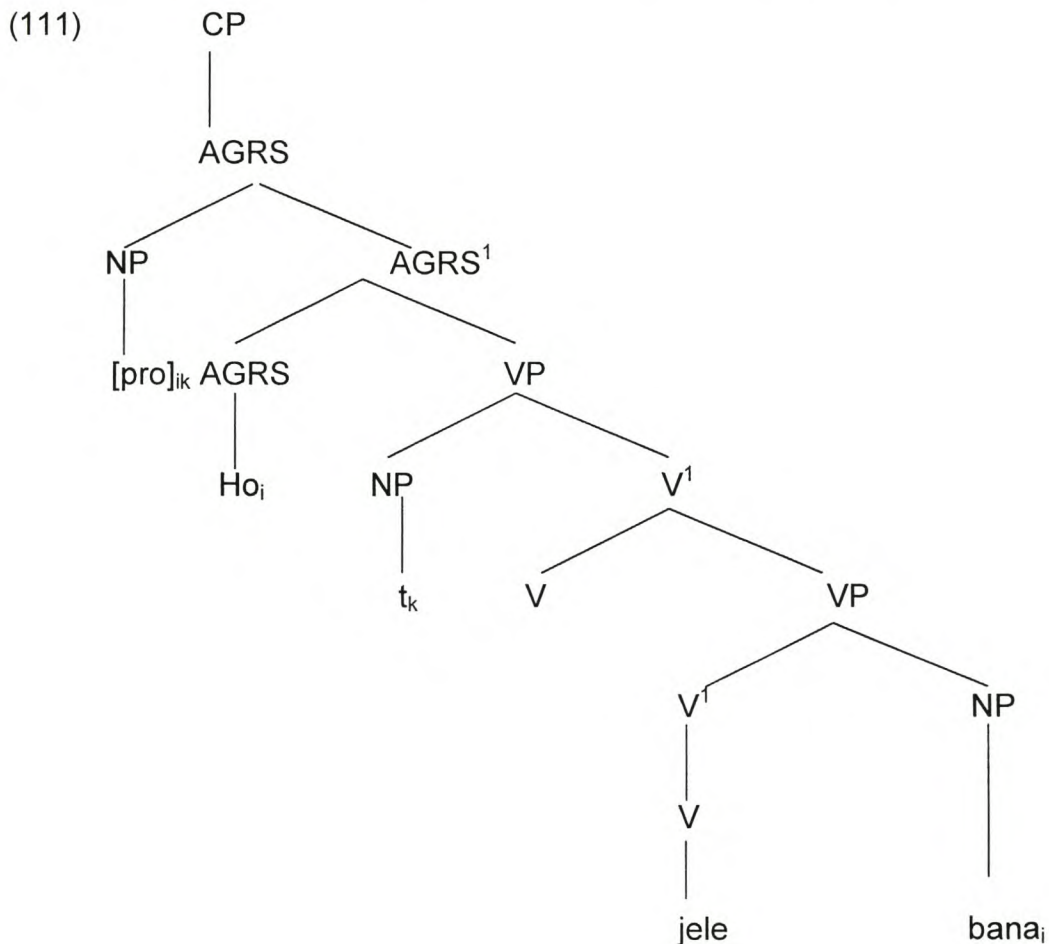
SUBJECT INVERSION

The aim with subject inversion constructions is to establish whether it is possible to use such constructions to negate the subject argument. As in the case of the locative AGRS [ho], the subject arguments with animate and inanimate feature will be considered.

Du Plessis and Visser (1995: 115) describe subject inversion as the application of the transformational rules where the subject is moved to post-verbal adjunct position leaving behind an empty NP category. The empty NP category is filled by the existential [ho] with the empty [pro]. In (110.a) below, the subject argument is in its original subject position and in (110.b), the subject has moved to an adjunct position:

- (110) a. [Bana] ba - jele
[*Children have eaten*]
- b. pro_i Ho_i - jele [bana_i]
[*There are children who have eaten*]

According to Du Plessis and Visser (1995: 184), both the NP's [bana] in (110.a) and (b) above, have the same semantic role of Agent. The adjunct NP [bana] has the same argument as the old NP [bana]. It has not lost its argument but it is no longer the subject. In such a case, the adjunct [bana], the empty [pro] and the existential [ho], which is inserted under agreement of inflection share the same index. The structure in (111) below illustrates:



Du Plessis and Visser (1995: 185) state that the movement of the subject to the post-verbal adjunct position has a semantic effect. It has a definite emphasis of focus as illustrated by the sentence in (112):

- (112) Ho - sebetsa banna, e - seng basadi
 [*It is the men who are working, not women*]

The subject arguments to be negated in our investigation are [sebini] and [koloji] as shown in (113):

- (113) a. [Sebini] se - fihlile
 [*The singer has arrived*]
- b. [Koloji] e - wele
 [*The car has fallen*]

In the sentences in (113), the subject arguments will be moved to the post-verbal adjunct position, they will leave behind an empty NP category which will be filled by [pro] which is co-indexed with the existential [ho]. The adjunct NP's, the empty [pro] and the existential [ho] will be co-indexed as in (114) below:

- (114) a. pro_i Ho_i - fihlile [sebini]_i
 [*There has arrived a singer*]
- b. pro_i Ho_i - wele [koloji]_i
 [*There has fallen a car*]

To establish negation of the subject arguments in (114) above, the negative morpheme [ha] will be employed as in (115) below:

- (115) a. pro_i Ha - ho_i - a - fihla [sebini]_i
 [*There hasn't arrived the singer*]
- b. pro_i Ha - ho_i - a - wa [koloji]_i
 [*There hasn't fallen a car*]

In (115) above, the verb is in the perfect tense negative and the moved NP's are now within the scope of the negative. It will also be necessary to allow a contrasting clause with (115) in order to see whether the focus on the moved NP's will be strengthened. The following sentences will illustrate:

- (116) a. pro_i Ha - ho_i - a - fihla [sebini_i], ho - fihlile [bente]
 [*There hasn't arrived the singer, it is the band which
 has arrived*]
- b. pro_i Ha - ho_i - a - wa [kolo_i], ho - wele [baesekele]
 [*There hasn't fallen the car, it is the bicycle which has
 fallen*]

From the above observations, it is also possible to negate the subject argument by subject inversion constructions. However, it is not only the subject which is negated, the whole sentence is negated including the moved NP. The contrasting clause strengthens the negative of the whole sentence.

MONOTRANSITIVE VERBS

Monotransitive verbs are two-place predicates. They subcategorize for one NP as their direct object. The sentences in (117) are examples of sentences with monotransitive verbs:

- (117) a. [Bana] ba bapala bolo
 [*Children are playing football*]
- b. [Thipa] e seha bohobe
 [*A knife cuts bread*]

As in the case of intransitive verbs, four types of clauses will be employed to effect negation on the animate subject [Bana] and the inanimate subject [Thipa]. They are cleft sentences, pseudo-cleft sentences, sentences with AGRS [ho] and sentences with subject inversion.

CLEFTING

The negative of cleft sentences can be used to effect negation on the subject argument of monotransitive verbs. As in the case of intransitive verbs, the clefted sentences are introduced by the copula [ke] and the relative clause as the modifier of the NP subject:

- (118) a. Ke [bana ba bapalang bolo]
 [*It is children who are playing football*]
- b. Ke [thipa e sehang bohobe]
 [*It is a knife that cuts bread*]

To effect negative in the above sentences, the copula [ke] is replaced by the negative morpheme [Ha] and the negative copulative verb [se]:

- (119) a. Ha - se bana ba bapalang bolo
 [*It is not children who are playing football*]
- b. Ha - se thipa e sehang bohobe
 [*It is not a knife that cuts bread*]

To clarify negation of the subject, it is also necessary to use the contrasting clause as in the case of intransitive verbs:

- (120) a. Ha - se bana ba bapalang bolo, ke banna
 [*It is not children who are playing football, it is men*]
- b. Ha - se thipa e sehang bohobe, ke kgaba
 [*It is not the knife which cuts bread, it is the spoon*]

PSEUDO-CLEFT

The negative of pseudo-cleft sentences can also be used to effect negation on the subject argument. The NP subject appears with the copula [ke] and the relative clause as in (121)

below. In the negative, the copulative [ke] is replaced by the negative [Ha] and [se] as indicated by the sentences in (122):

- (121) a. Ba - bapalang bolo [ke bana]
[*Those who are playing football are children*]
- b. E - sehang bohobe [ke thipa]
[*That which cuts bread is a knife*]
- c. Ho - sehang bohobe [ke thipa]
[*What cuts bread is a knife*]
- (122) a. Ba - bapalang bolo [Ha se bana]
[*Those who are playing football are not children*]
- b. E - sehang bohobe [ha se thipa]
[*That which cuts bread is not a knife*]
- c. Ho - sehang bohobe [ha - se thipa]
[*What cuts bread is not a knife*]

LOCATIVE AGRS [HO] WITH [LI] & [NA]

The negative of sentences with locative AGRS [ho] with the abstract copulative verb [LI], and the sentences with locative AGRS [ho] with the copulative verb [na] may be used to effect negation on the subject argument of monotransitive verbs. Both the animate and inanimate subject can appear with AGRS [ho] as in (123) and (124) below:

- (123) a. Ho bana ba bapalang bolo
[*There are children who are playing football*]
- b. Ho thipa e sehang bohobe
[*There is a knife that cuts bread*]

- (124) a. Ho na le bana ba bapalang bolo
[*There are children who are playing football*]
- b. Ho na le thipa e sehang bohobe
[*There is a knife that cuts bread*]

In (123) above, the AGRS [ho] appeared with abstract copulative [LI] and in (124), it appeared with the copulative verb [na]. In the negative of both (123) and (124), the AGRS [ho] appears with the negative morpheme [ha]:

- (125) a. Ha ho bana ba - bapalang bolo
[*There are no children who are playing football*]
- b. Ha ho thipa e - sehang bohobe
[*There is no knife that cuts bread*]
- (126) a. Ha ho na thipa e - sehang bohobe
[*There is no knife that cuts bread*]
- b. Ha ho na bana ba bapalang bolo
[*There are no children who are playing football*]

SUBJECT INVERSION

The negative of subject inversion in monotransitive verbs can also be used to negate the subject argument [bana] and [thipa] in (117) above. Firstly, with subject inversion in monotransitive verbs, the subject argument appears adjacent to the verb and the direct object on the periphery of the sentence as shown in (127):

- (127) a. Ho bapala [bana] bolo
[*There play children football*]
- b. Ho seha thipa bohobe
[*There cuts a knife bread*]

According to Du Plessis and Visser (1995: 187), monotransitive verbs may appear without any internal argument in the long-form tense as in (128):

- (128) a. Ho - bapala bana
[*There play the children*]
- b. Ho - seha thipa
[*There cuts a knife*]

The negative of the sentences in (127) and in (128) will be as in (129) and (130) below, where the negative morpheme [ha] is employed.

- (129) a. Ha - ho - a - bapala bana bolo
[*There hasn't played children football*]
- b. Ha - ho - a - seha thipa bohobe
[*There hasn't cut a knife bread*]
- (130) a. Ha - ho - a - bapala bana
[*There hasn't played children*]
- b. Ha - ho - a - seha thipa
[*There hasn't cut the knife*]

As in the case of intransitive verbs, the contrasting clause can be used to strengthen the negative:

- (131) a. Ha - ho - a - bapala bana bolo, ho - bapetse banna
[*There has not played children football, there played men*]
- b. Ha - ho - a - seha thipa bohobe, ho - sehile lehare
[*There hasn't cut a knife bread, there has cut a razor*]

Negation of subject arguments in monotransitive verbs is the same as that of intransitive verbs. All negative clauses such as cleft sentences, pseudo-clefts, and subject inversion can be used to negate the subject arguments.

DITRANSITIVE VERBS

Ditransitive verbs are three-place predicates, i.e. they subcategorize for two NP's as their internal arguments. The sentences in (132) are examples of ditransitive verbs:

- (132) a. [Mosuwe] o - botsa [bana] [dipotso]
 [*The teacher asks children questions*]
- b. [Banka] e - adima [batho] [tjhelete]
 [*The bank lends people money*]

The subject arguments to be negated are the NP subjects [mosuwe] and [banka] in (132) above. As it was the case with the intransitive and monotransitive verbs, four types of clauses are going to be used to negate animate and inanimate subjects in (132) above. The cleft sentences, pseudo-cleft sentences, sentences with AGRS [ho] and sentences with subject inversion, all negate the subject argument of intransitive, monotransitive and ditransitive verbs in the same way. The cleft and pseudo-cleft sentences both employ [Ha - se] in their negative constructions and sentences with AGRS [ho] and subject inversion employ [ha] in their negative. In the case of ditransitive verbs, the other internal argument may be reduced.

CLEFTING

The negative of cleft sentences can also be used to negate the subject argument of ditransitive verbs. The clefted sentences are characterized by the focalized NP subject, which is introduced by the copula [ke] and followed by the relative clause. In the negative, the copula [ke] will be replaced by [Ha - se] as in (133) and (134) below:

- (133) a. Ke mosuwe ya - botsang bana dipotso
 [*It is the teacher who ask children questions*]

- b. Ke banka e - adimang batho tjelete
[*It is the bank which is lending people money*]
- (134) a. Ha - se mosuwe ya botsang bana dipotso
[*It is not the teacher who is asking children questions*]
- b. Ha - se banka e - adimang batho tjelete
[*It is not the bank that lends people money*]

As in the case of intransitive and monotransitive verbs, the clause of contrast is also necessary to focus the subject arguments [mosuwe] and [banka] as demonstrated by the sentences in (135):

- (135) a. Ha - se mosuwe ya - botsang bana dipotso, ke
mosuwehlooho
[*It is not the teacher who is asking children questions, it
is the principal*]
- b. Ha - se banka e adimang batho tjelete, ke mmuso
[*It is not the bank which lends people money, it is the
government*]

PSEUDO-CLEFT

The negative of pseudo-cleft sentences may also be used to effect negative meaning on the subject argument. The NP subject of the clefted sentence will be put in focus by the copula [ke] with the relative clause as the nominal modifier. To establish negation, the negative morpheme [ha] and the negative verb [se] will replace the copula [ke]. The sentences in (136) and (137) will illustrate:

- (136) a. Ya - botsang bana dipotso [ke mosuwe]
[*Who is asking children questions is the teacher*]
- b. E - adimang batho tjelete [ke banka]
[*That which is lending people money is the bank*]

- (137) a. Ya - botsang bana dipotso [ha - se mosuwe]
 [*Who is asking children questions is not the teacher*]
- b. E - adimang batho tjhelete [ha - se banka]
 [*That which is lending people money is not the bank*]

LOCATIVE AGRS [HO] WITH COPULATIVE VERBS [LI] & [NA]

The negative of sentences with locative AGRS [Ho] with abstract copulative verb [LI], and the sentences with locative AGRS [Ho] with the copulative verb [na] may also be used to negate animate and inanimate subjects of ditransitive verbs. Firstly, the sentences in (138) and (139) below will show the locative AGRS [Ho] with copulative verbs [LI] and [na] in the positive:

- (138) a. Ho - mosuwe ya - botsang bana dipotso
 [*There is a teacher who ask children questions*]
- b. Ho - banka e - adimang batho tjhelete
 [*There is a bank which lends people money*]
- (139) a. Ho - na le mosuwe ya - botsang bana dipotso
 [*There is a teacher who ask children questions*]
- b. Ho - na le banka e - adimang batho tjhelete
 [*There is a bank which lends people money*]

In the negative, the AGRS [Ho] will appear with the negative morpheme [Ha]. The contrasting clause is also necessary to strengthen the negative. The sentences in (140) and (141) will illustrate:

- (140) a. Ha - ho mosuwe ya - botsang bana dipotso, ke lepolesa
 [*There is no teacher who ask children questions, it is the policeman*]

- b. Ha - ho banka e - adimang batho tjelete, ke mmuso
[*There is no bank that lends people money, it is the government*]
- (141) a. Ha - ho - na mosuwe ya - botsang bana dipotso, ke lepolesa
[*There is no teacher who ask children questions, it is the policeman*]
- b. Ha - ho - na banka e - adimang batho tjelete, ke mmuso
[*There is no bank which lends people money, it is the government*]

SUBJECT INVERSION

As in the case of intransitive and monotransitive, the negative sentences of subject inversion in ditransitive verbs may also be used to negate the subject arguments [mosuwe] and [banka] in (132) above. According to Du Plessis and Visser (1995: 187), ditransitive verbs can have their internal arguments reduced as indicated in (142).

- (142) a. Ho - botsa mosuwe
[*It is the teacher who asks*]
- b. Ho - adima banka
[*It is the bank which lends*]

On the other hand, only the indirect object may be left out as in (143) below:

- (143) a. Ho - botsa mosuwe dipotso
[*It is the teacher who ask questions*]
- b. Ho - adima banka tjelete
[*It is the bank which lends money*]

The negative of the sentences in (142) and (143) will be as in (144) and (145) where the negative morpheme [ha] is employed.

- (144) a. Ha - ho - a - botsa mosuwe
[*It is not the teacher who asked*]
- b. Ha - ho - a adima banka
[*It is not the bank that lent*]
- (145) a. Ha - ho - a - botsa mosuwe dipotso
[*It is not the teacher who asked questions*]
- b. Ha - ho - a - adima banka tjhelete
[*It is not the bank which lent money*]

As in the case of intransitive and monotransitive verbs, the contrasting clause is also necessary to put focus on the negated subject:

- (146) a. Ha - ho - a - botsa mosuwe dipotso, ho botsitse leposa
[*It is not the teacher who asked questions, it is the policeman who asked*]
- b. Ha - ho - a - adima banka tjhelete, ho adimme mmuso
[*It is not the bank that lent money, it is the government that lent*]

Negation of subject argument in intransitive, monotransitive and ditransitive verbs is the same. All the negative clauses such as cleft sentences, sentences with locative AGRS [Ho] and subject inversion constructions can negate the subject. It is only with ditransitives where subject inversion seems to reject two internal arguments to appear at the same time.

3.5.1.2 Copulative verbs

In this sub-section, attention will be focused on how the subject arguments of the copulative verb [LI] and the copulative verb [na] are negated. The adjectival phrase [AP], nominal relative [NP Rel] and locative noun phrase [NP Loc] will appear as complements of the copulative verb [LI], and the prepositional phrase with [le] as head will appear as complement of the copulative verb [na]. With these verbs, four types of sentences will be investigated: They are cleft sentences, pseudo-cleft sentences, sentences with locative AGRS [Ho] and sentences with subject inversion.

CLEFTING

The following complements of the copulative verbs *viz.* AP, NP Rel and NP Loc and the PP will be given attention below to ascertain whether any of them will make a difference with regard to the negation of the subject argument of copulatives.

THE COPULATIVE VERBS [LI] + AP

Du Plessis and Visser (1995: 222) state that the adjectival phrase has a head adjective. The adjectives form a closed system and are morphologically marked with the class prefix of the subject of the sentence. Adjectives are distinguished as three separate semantic categories: The descriptive adjectives, quantitative adjectives and colour adjectives. These adjectival phrases may appear as complements of the copulative verbs [LI], [le], [se] and [ba]:

- (147) a. Bana [ba batle]
[*Children are beautiful*]
- b. Ha bana [ba - le batle] ...
[*If children are beautiful*]
- c. Ha bana [ba - se batle] ...
[*If children are not beautiful*]

- d. Bana bana [ba - tla - ba batle]
[*These children will be beautiful*]

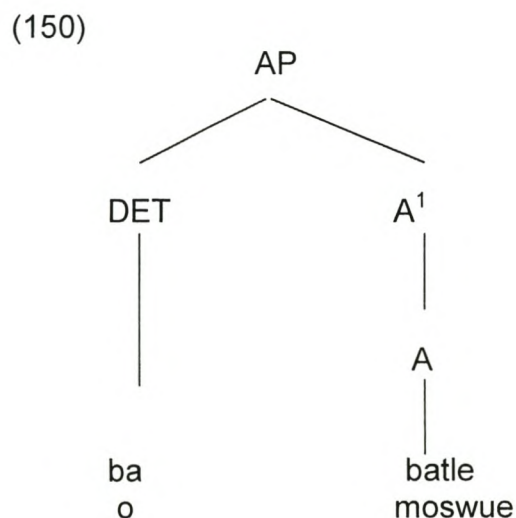
The subject arguments below appear with the feature animacy as in (148) below:

- (148) a. Bana [ba batle]
[*Children are beautiful*]
- b. Mose [o mosweu]
[*The dress is white*]

The sentences in (148) above will now be clefted to find a possible negation of the subjects [bana] and [Mose]. The subject argument will be forced into a clause of focus with the copula [ke] as in (149):

- (149) a. Ke bana
[*It is the children*]
- b. Ke mose
[*It is a dress*]

The copulative clauses [ba batle] and [o mosweu] will now be changed to an adjectival phrase, which appears with a determiner [DET] as illustrated by the structure in (150):



The determiner in (150) above is the same demonstrative base which has appeared with a relative clause in comp: the subjectival agreement with a demonstrative root [a]. Lesoetsa (1991: 34), states that both the initial elements in adjectives and the demonstrative are the determiners in the sentence - based grammar and as determiners, they give definiteness meaning to the adjective they precede. This adjectival phrase will now appear with a noun as head in a new NP as in (151):

- (151) a. Ke [bana ba batle]
[*It is the beautiful children*]
- b. Ke [mose a mosweu]
[*It is a white dress*]

These new NP's [bana ba batle] and [mose ô mosweu] now appear as complements of the copula [ke] as it is the case with non-copulative verbs above. The copula [ke] may be replaced by a negative morpheme [ha] and the negative copulative verb [se] as demonstrated by the sentences in (152) below:

- (152) a. Ha se [bana ba batle]
[*It is not the beautiful children*]
- b. Ha se [mose ô mosweu]
[*It is not the white dress*]

To effect a possible negation of the subject argument, it will be necessary to put the sentences in (152) above in context, i.e. to put them in context with a clause of contrast in a coordinated clause as in (153):

- (153) a. Ha se bana ba batle, ke batswadi
[*It is not the beautiful children, it is the parents*]
- b. Ha se mose o mosweu, ke hempe
[*It is not the white dress, it is the shirt*]

In such a case as in (153) above, one may then deduce that the subject argument will be properly negated. Without the clause of contrast, it will not be clear what the sentences in (152) may be referring to. The contrasting clause put focus on the subject, which is negated.

THE COPULATIVE VERB [LI] + THE NOMINAL RELATIVE

The second complement of the copulative verbs is the nominal relative. Du Plessis and Visser (1995: 223) describe the nominal relative as the noun phrase that does not function syntactically as a noun i.e. it never takes any nominal modifiers like nouns and they are known as relative stems. To distinguish them from other noun phrases, they are described by the relative feature as noun phrase relatives [NP Rel]. These nominal relative stems occur in an open class as compared to adjectives, which form a closed system. Like the adjectives, nominal relatives appear with the copulative verb such as [LI], [le], [se] and [ba]:

- (154) a. Batho [ba botswa]
 [*People are lazy*]
- b. Ha basadi [ba le botswa] ...
 [*If women are lazy*]
- c. Ha basadi [ba se botswa] ...
 [*If women are not lazy*]
- d. Banna ba - tla - ba [botswa]
 [*Men will be lazy*]

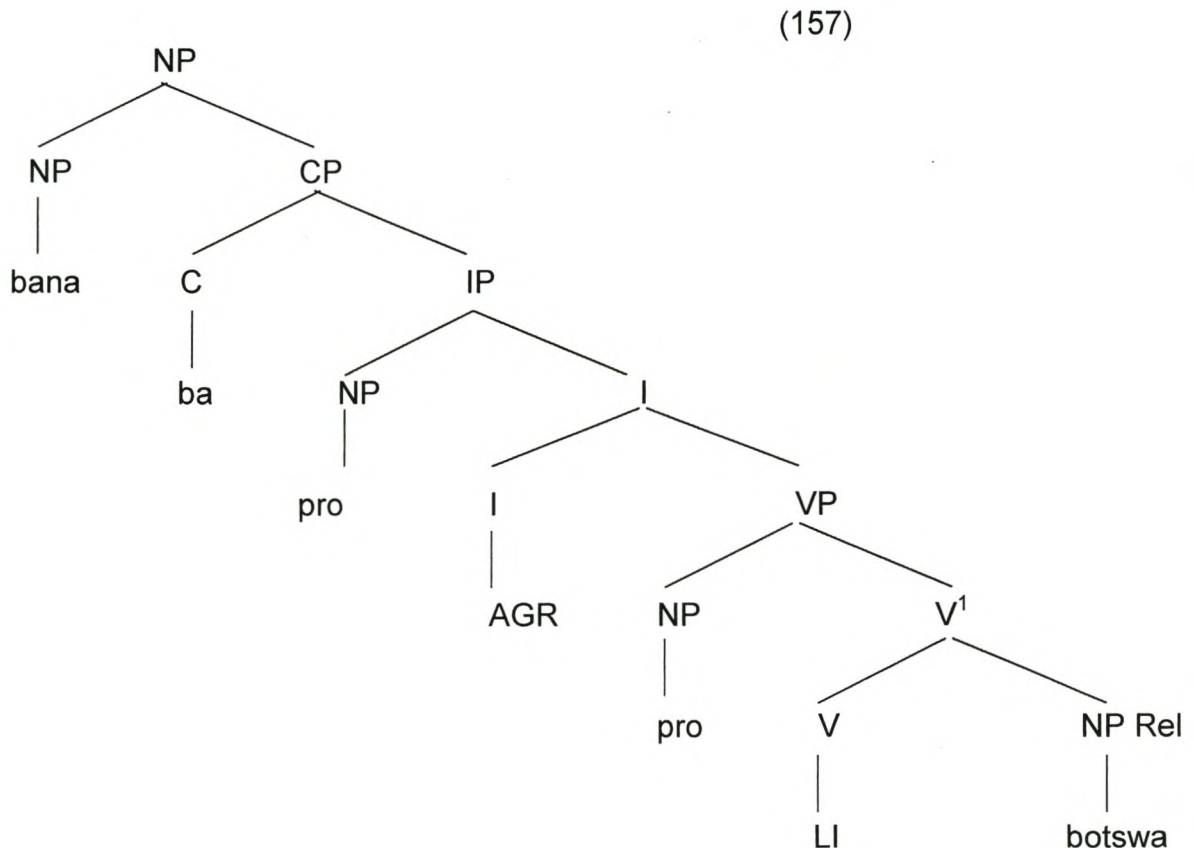
The subject argument below will appear with the feature animacy as shown in (155) below:

- (155) a. [Bana] ba botswa
 [*Children are lazy*]
- b. [Nama] e thata
 [*Meat is hard*]

The sentences in (155) above will be clefted to find a possible negation of the subjects [bana] and [nama]. The subject argument will then be moved into a clause of focus with the copulative verb [ke] as in (156):

- (156) a. Ke bana
[*It is the children*]
- b. Ke nama
[*It is meat*]

The copulative clauses [ba botswa] and [e thata] in (155) above will now be changed to a relative clause. As relative clauses, they will have in their form the complementizers which are double toned and the relative stems which do not take the relative marker [-ng]. These relative clauses will have the structure in (157) below:



The relative clause will now appear with a noun as head in a new NP as in (158) below:

- (158) a. Ke [bana ba botswa]
 [*It is the lazy children*]
- b. Ke [nama e thata]
 [*It is the hard meat*]

The new NP's [bana ba botswa] and [nama e thata] will now appear as complements of the copulative verb [ke] as in the case of adjective above. The copula [ke] may be replaced by a negative verb [se] with a negative morpheme [ha] as in (159):

- (159) a. Ha se bana ba botswa
 [*It is not the lazy children*]
- b. Ha se nama e thata
 [*It is not the hard meat*]

As in the case of adjectives, to effect negation of the subject argument, it will be necessary to put the sentences in (159) above in context. This can be achieved by putting a clause of contrast in a coordinated clause as demonstrated by the sentences in (160):

- (160) a. Ha se bana ba botswa, ke batswadi
 [*It is not the lazy children, it is the parents*]
- b. Ha se nama e thata, ke masapo
 [*It is not the hard meat, it is the bones*]

As in the case of adjectives, when the sentences in (160) are put in context, it is then possible to negate the subject arguments [bana] and [nama] because they are focused.

THE COPULATIVE VERB [LI] + THE NOUN PHRASE LOCATIVE

According to Du Plessis and Visser (1995: 66), the locative phrase may appear as complement of predicates with or without the applicative [- el -]. As complement of predicates, it can appear as the internal argument or as adjunct. It can also appear with the copulative verb [LI], [ke], [se], [le] and [ba] as indicated in (91.a-f) above. The locative

phrase appears in various ways e.g. with an affix [- eng], with the prepositions [ho] and [ha] as locatives demonstrated by the sentences in (161) below:

- (161) a. Monna o - tswa [thabeng]
[*A man comes from the mountain*]
- b. O – ile a - fihla [ho malome]
[*He has arrived at uncle's place*]
- c. O - ile a tloha [ha malome]
[*He has left at uncle's place*]

As adjuncts, locative phrases may appear with sentences such as the one in (162) below:

- (162) Mosuwe o - ruta bana [sekolong]
[*The teacher teaches children at school*]

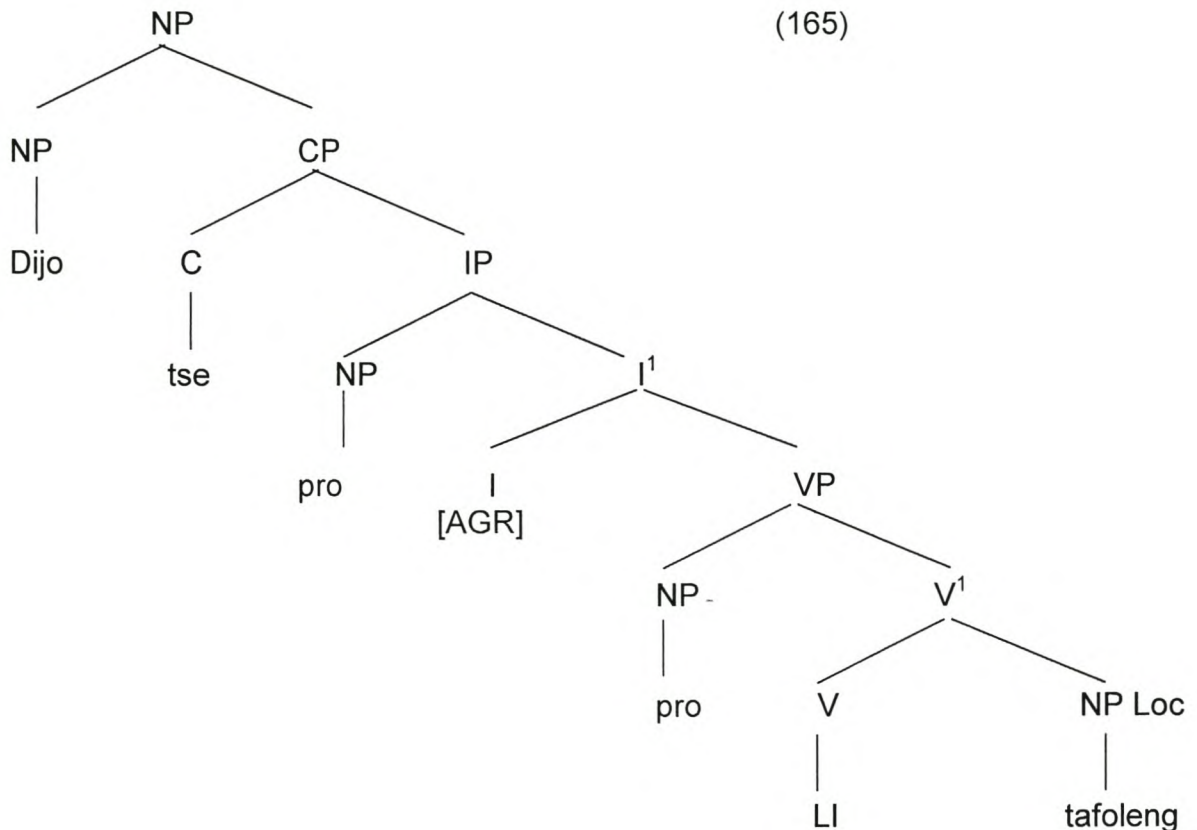
The subject argument below will appear with the feature animacy as in (163):

- (163) a. [Bana] ba sekolong
[*Children are at school*]
- b. [Dijo] di tafoleng
[*Food is on the table*]

In trying to negate the subject arguments of the sentences in (163) above, they shall have to be clefted. In doing so, the subject will be forced to move into a clause of focus with copulative verb [ke] as shown in (164):

- (164) a. Ke bana
[*It is the children*]
- b. Ke dijo
[*It is the food*]

The copulative clauses [ba sekolong] and [di tafoleng] in (163) above will now be changed into relative clauses as in the case of nominal relatives. As relative clauses, they will now attain the form of the relative clause where it will have the complementizer. It will also have the same structure as the nominal relative in (157) above. The only difference will be that the complement of the verb will be NP locative instead of the NP relative as the structure in (165) illustrates:



The relative clause will now appear with a noun as head in a new NP as demonstrated in (166) below:

- (166) a. Ke [bana [ba sekolong]
 [*It is the children who are at school*]
- b. Ke [dijo [tse tafoleng]
 [*It is the food which is on the table*]

The new NP [bana ba sekolong] and [dijo tse tafoleng] now appears as the complement of the copula [ke] as in the case of adjectives and nominal relatives above. The copulative

[ke] may be replaced by a negative copulative verb [se] with a negative morpheme [ha] as illustrated in (167):

- (167) a. Ha se bana ba sekolong
[*It is not children who are at school*]
- b. Ha se dijo tse tafoleng
[*It is not the food which is on the table*]

As in the case of adjectives and nominal relatives, to effect negation of the subject argument, it will also be necessary to put the sentences in (167) above in context. This can be done by putting a clause of contrast in a coordinated clause as in (168):

- (168) a. Ha se bana ba sekolong, [ke batswadi]
[*It is not children who are at school, it is the parents*]
- b. Ha se dijo tse tafoleng, [ke dijana]
[*It is not food which is on the table, it is the plates*]

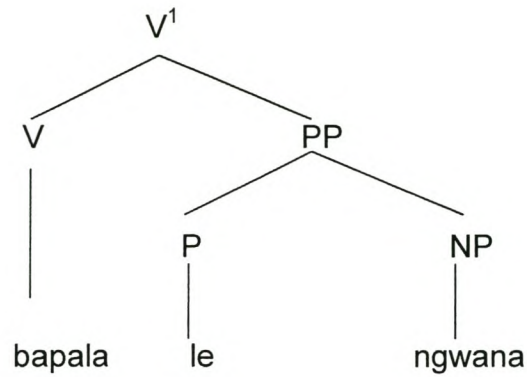
With the contrasting clauses, it is then possible to conclude that the subject arguments [bana] and [dijo] are properly negated.

THE COPULATIVE VERB [NA] + THE PREPOSITIONAL PHRASE WITH [LE]

Richards (1985: 34) defines the category preposition as a word that is used with nouns, pronouns and gerunds to link them grammatically to other words, and that the phrase so formed, consisting of a preposition and its complement, is a prepositional phrase. Such a phrase may appear as argument of the predicate or as an adjunct. As argument, it appears as complement of non-copulative verbs as illustrated in (169) and (170):

- (169) a. Mosadi o bapala [le ngwana]
[*The woman is playing with the child*]

(170)



According to Ramone (1996: 385), the prepositional phrase with [le] as head may appear as complement of reciprocal verbs:

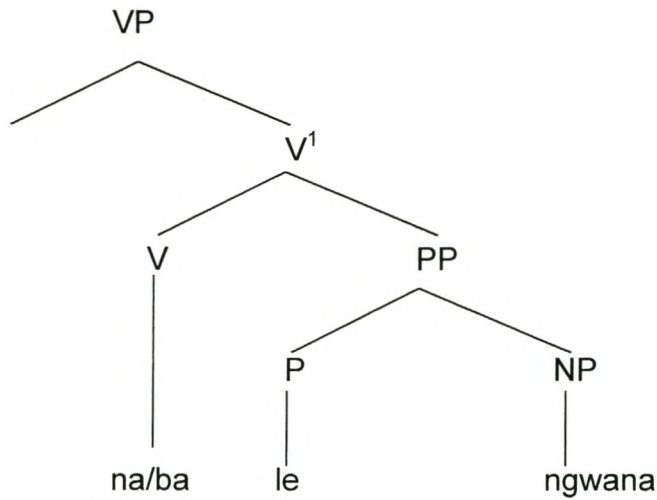
- (171) Theko o ratana [le Morwesi]
 [*Theko is in love with Morwesi*]

Ramone (1996: 386) further states that the propositional phrase with [le] as head may also appear as complements of the copulative verbs [na] and [ba]:

- (172) a. Thakane o - tla - ba [le ngwana]
 [*Thakane will have a child*]
- b. Sefate se - na [le metso]
 [*A tree has roots*]

The predicate structure in (173) demonstrates the position of the prepositional phrase with [le] as complement of the copulative verbs:

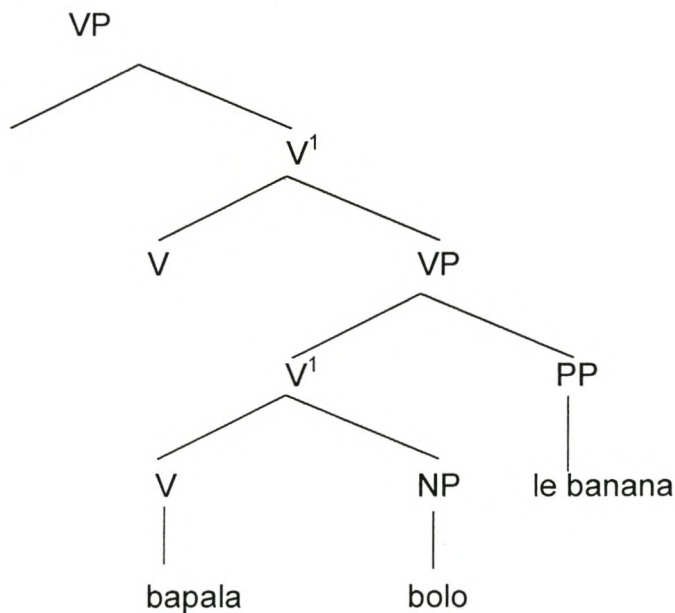
(173)



Ramone (1996: 387) points out that the prepositional phrase with [le] as head may also appear as an adjunct, illustrated in (174) and (175) below:

(174) Bashanyana ba - bapala bolo [le banana]
 [*Boys are playing football with girls*]

(175)



Du Plessis and Visser (1995: 220) state that the copulative verb [na] appears with only one type of complement which is the prepositional phrase with [le] as head. This is illustrated by the sentence in (172.b) above.

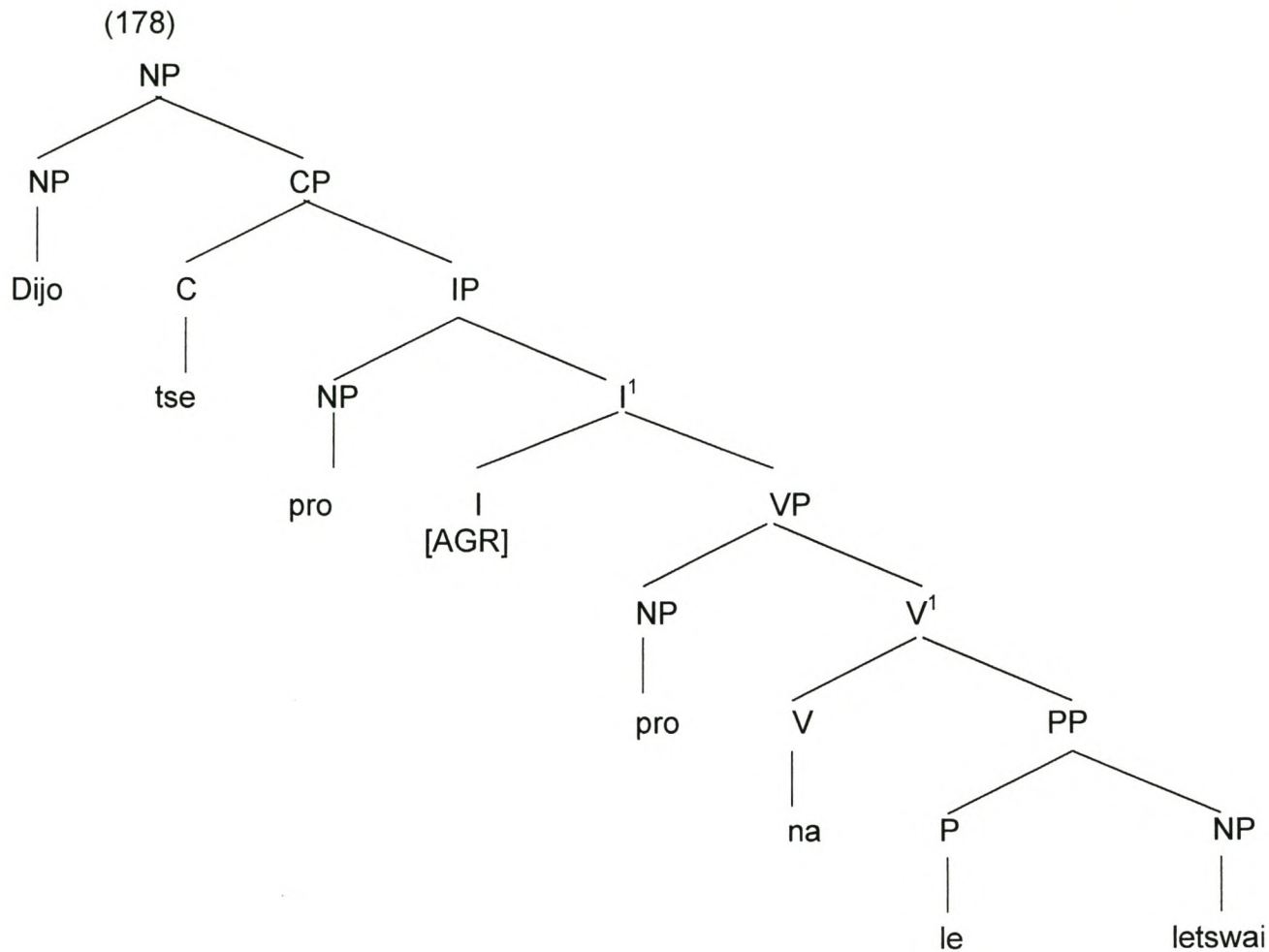
The subject argument below will appear with the feature animacy:

- (176) a. [Bana] ba - na le tjhelete
[*Children have money*]
- b. [Dijo] di - na le letswai
[*The food has salt*]

The sentences in (176) above will be clefted to find a possible negation of the subject [bana] and [Dijo]. The subject argument will be moved into a clause of focus with the copula [ke] as shown in (177) below:

- (177) a. Ke bana
[*It is the children*]
- b. Ke dijo
[*It is the food*]

The copulative clauses [ke bana] and [ke dijo] will be followed by another relativized copulative verb with the complementizer. The subjectival agreement as in other cases of relative clauses, has disappeared but retained its tone which is transferred to the complementizer. The structure of the relative clause will be as in (178):



This relative clause will now appear with a noun as head in a new NP as in (179):

- (179) a. Ke bana [ba nang le tjhelete]
 [*It is the children who have money*]
- b. Ke dijo [tse nang le letswai]
 [*It is the food which has salt*]

The new NPs [bana ba nang le tjhelete] and [Dijo tse nang le letswai] now appear as complements of the copula [ke]. The copula [ke] may be replaced by a negative verb [se] with a negative morpheme [ha] as in (180):

- (180) a. Ha se bana ba - nang le tjhelete
 [*It is not the children who have money*]

- b. Ha se dijo tse - nang le letswai
[*It is not the food which has salt*]

For possible negation of the subject argument, it will be necessary to put the sentence in (180) above in context. This can be done by putting a clause of contrast in a coordinated clause as in (181):

- (181) a. Ha se bana ba - nang le tjehelete, ke batswadi
[*It is not children who have money, it is the parents*]
- b. Ha se dijo tse - nang le letswai, ke metsi
[*It is not food which has salt, it is water*]

When these sentences in (181) are put in context, it is then possible to deduce that the subject argument is properly negated.

From what it is observed above, it is clear that clefted sentences can possibly negate the subject argument i.e. they can negate both animate and inanimate subject. In all the cases observed, where the copulative verb [LI] and [na] appeared with complements such as AP, NP Rel, NP Loc and PP, these negative cleft sentences need a contrasting clause to effect proper negation of the subject argument.

PSEUDO-CLEFTS

The aim here is to establish whether it is possible to use pseudo-cleft constructions to negate subject arguments. Two types of subjects will also be considered as in the case of cleft sentences *viz.* the subject with animate features and the subject with inanimate features. These subject arguments will appear with the abstract copulative verb [LI] and the copulative verb [na]. The copulative verb [LI] will appear with adjectives, nominal relatives and locative nouns as its complements while the copulative verb [na] will appear with the prepositional phrase with [le] as head.

THE COPULATIVE VERB [LI] + THE ADJECTIVAL PHRASE

The subject arguments below will appear with the feature animacy, where the animate subject is in class 7 and the inanimate subject in class 3:

- (182) a. [Sebini] se setle
[*The singer is beautiful*]
- b. [Mose] o mosweu
[*The dress is white*]

The subject arguments [sebini] and [mose] will be made to appear with the copulative verb [ke] as shown in (183) below:

- (183) a. Ke [sebini]
[*It is the singer*]
- b. Ke [mose]
[*It is the dress*]

The copulative clauses in (183) above will then be forced into an adjectival phrase as in (184):

- (184) a. E motle
[*Who is beautiful*]
- b. O mosweu
[*Which is white*]

The adjectival phrases in (184) above will then appear as the subject of the copulative clause as illustrated in (185) below:

- (185) a. E motle [ke sebini]
[*Who is beautiful is the singer*]

- b. O mosweu [ke mose]
[*What is white is the dress*]

The adjectival phrase appears with an empty [pro] in the subject position as shown here in (186):

- (186) a. [pro]_{NP} [e motle]_{AP}
b. [pro]_{NP} [o mosweu]_{AP}

To establish negation of the subject argument, the copulative verb [ke] will be replaced by a negative copulative verb [se] with a negative morpheme [ha] as in (187) below:

- (187) a. [pro] e motle [ha se sebini]
[*Who is beautiful is not the singer*]

b. [pro] o mosweu [ha se mose]
[*What is white is not the dress*]

In this way, one may have a possible way of negating the subject argument only, because the predicate is separated from the subject by an adjectival phrase in the new subject position of the copulative clause. The adjectival phrase need not refer to the old subject argument at all. The determiners [ê] and [ô] of the adjectival phrase in (187) above are therefore indefinite. In the case of animate subject arguments, the same thing is observed even when the determiner of the adjectival phrase and the subject belong to the same class as in (188) below:

- (188) [pro] se setle [ha se sebini]
[*Who is beautiful is not the singer*]

However, in the case of inanimate subject, the indefiniteness of the adjectival phrase is more evident when the determiner is the indefinite expletive [hô]. The expletive [hô] is a determiner formed from [ho] and the demonstrative base [a] [Ho + a] = [hô]. The sentence in (189) illustrate:

- (189) [pro] Ho hosweu ha se mose
[*What is white is not the dress*]

All in all, the adjectival determiners in (187), (188) and (189) are indefinite. In the case of (188) where the determiner and the subject belong to the same class, any noun of class 7 will precede that adjectival determiner [sê] and the noun [sebini] will still be properly negated. Both animate and inanimate subject arguments are negated by the pseudo-cleft sentence.

THE COPULATIVE VERBS [LI] + THE NOMINAL RELATIVE

The subject arguments below will appear with the feature animacy, where the animate subject is in class 7 and the inanimate subject is in class 9:

- (190) a. [Sebini] se botswa
[*The singer is lazy*]
- b. [Nama] e thata
[*The meat is hard*]

A possible way of negating the subject arguments [sebini] and [nama] in (190) above is to use pseudo-cleft sentences, where the relative clause appears as subject of the copulative clause with [ke] as head, indicated in (191) below. The copulative verb [ke] is replaced by the negative verb [se] with the negative morpheme [ha] to effect negation as illustrated by the sentences in (192) below:

- (191) a. [pro] ya botswa [ke sebini]
[*Who is lazy is the singer*]
- b. [pro] e thata [ke nama]
[*What is hard is the meat*]
- (192) a. [pro] ya botswa [ha se sebini]
[*Who is lazy is not the singer*]
- b. [pro] e thata [ha se nama]
[*What is hard is not the meat*]

In (192) above, the subject argument is properly negated because the predicate is separated from the subject by a relative clause in the new subject position. As in the case of adjectives, the relative clause need not refer to the old subject argument. The same thing is observed when the determiner of the relative clause and the subject of the copulative clause are in the same noun class, in this case class 7. The determiner might not necessarily refer to the subject [sebini] but may also refer to any other noun which belongs to class 7 as illustrated by the sentence in (193):

- (193) [pro] se botswa [ha se sebini]
[*Who is lazy is not the singer*]

The same thing applies with the inanimate subject. When the determiner is the expletive [hô], the subject is still negated because the expletive [hô] is indefinite as the sentence in (194) demonstrates :

- (194) [pro] Ho thata [ha se nama]
[*What is hard is not the meat*]

In this way both animate and inanimate subject arguments are properly negated by pseudo-cleft sentences, where the copulative verb [LI] appears with the nominal relatives as complements.

THE COPULATIVE VERB [LI] + LOCATIVE NOUN

The subject arguments in (195) below will appear with the feature animacy, the animate subject is in noun class 7 and the inanimate subject in class 8:

- (195) a. [Sebini] se holong
[*The singer is at the hall*]
- b. [Dijo] di tafoleng
[*The food is on the table*]

The subject arguments [sebini] and [dijo] may be negated by the pseudo-cleft sentence, where the relative clause appears as subject of the copulative clause with the copula [ke]

as head indicated in (196) below. In order to negate these subjects, the copulative verb [ke] is replaced by the negative copulative verb [se] with the negative morpheme [ha] as demonstrated by the sentences in (197) below:

- (196) a. [pro] ya holong [ke sebini]
[*Who is at the hall is the singer*]
- b. [pro] tse tafoleng [ke dijo]
[*What is on the table is food*]
- (197) a. [pro] ya holong [ha se sebini]
[*Who is at the hall is not the singer*]
- b. [pro] tse tafoleng [ha se dijo]
[*What is on the table is not food*]

As it is the case with adjectives and nominal relatives, the subject arguments in (197) above are also properly negated in that the predicate is also separated from the subject by a relative clause in the new subject position of the copulative clause. The relative clause need not refer to the old subject argument. When the determiner of the relative clause is in the same noun class with the subject of the copulative clause, the same thing applies: the determiner becomes indefinite in the sense that it can refer to any noun of class 7 other than the subject [sebini]. This is illustrated by the sentence in (198):

- (198) [pro] se holong [ha se sebini]
[*Who is at the hall is not the singer*]

In the case of inanimate subject as well, the expletive [hô] appears as the determiner of the relative clause and this relative clause does not refer to the subject [dijo] but to any other noun of any class as illustrated in (199) below:

- (199) [pro] ho tafoleng [ha se dijo]
[*What is on the table is not the food*]

The subject argument, both animate and inanimate may be negated by pseudo-cleft sentences, where the copulative [LI] appears with locative nouns as complements.

COPULATIVE VERB [NA] + PP WITH [LE] AS HEAD

The copulative verb [na] as mentioned above, will appear with the prepositional phrase with [le] as head. The subject arguments with feature animacy will appear with this verb:

(200) a. [Sebini] se na le tjhelete
[*The singer has money*]

b. [Dijo] di na le letswai
[*The food has salt*]

As in the case of the copulative verb [LI], the subject arguments of the copulative verb [na] may also be negated by the negative pseudo-cleft sentence, where the relative clause appears as subject of the copulative clause with the copula [ke] as head indicated here in (201) below:

(201) a. [pro] ya nang le tjhelete [ke sebini]
[*Who has money is the singer*]

b. [pro] tse nang le letswai [ke dijo]
[*What has salt is the food*]

To effect negation on the subject arguments in (201) above, the copula [ke] will be replaced by the negative copulative verb [se] and the negative morpheme [ha] as illustrated in (202):

(202) a. [pro] ya nang le tjhelete [ha se sebini]
[*Who has money is not the singer*]

b. [pro] tse nang le letswai [ha se dijo]
[*What has salt is not the food*]

The subject arguments [sebini] and [Dijo] in (202) above are properly negated because the predicate is separated from the subject by a relative clause in the new subject position of the copulative clause. As in the case of the abstract copulative verb [LI] with adjectives, nominal relatives and locative nouns, the relative clauses [ya nang le tjhelete] and [tse nang le letswai] need not refer to the old subject. In the case of animate subjects, the relative clause may refer to any noun in class 1, whereas the subject in the copulative clause is in class 7. When the determiner of the relative clause is in the same class as the subject of the copulative, what seems to be negated is the subject alone because the determiner [se] might not refer to [sebini] but to any noun of class 7 as illustrated by the sentence in (203) below:

- (203) [pro] se nang le tjhelete [ha se sebini]
 [*Who has money is not the singer*]

In the case of inanimate subject, when the determiner is the expletive [hô], the subject is still negated because the expletive [hô] is indefinite and does not refer to the subject argument as illustrated by the sentence in (204) below:

- (204) [pro] ho nang le letswai [ha se dijo]
 [*What has salt is not the food*]

In summary, the animate and inanimate subject arguments of the copulative verb [LI] with adjectives, nominal relatives and locative nouns as complements, can be negated by means of pseudo-cleft sentences. Further more, both animate and inanimate subject of the copulative verb [na] with the prepositional phrase with [le] as head, can also be negated by pseudo-cleft sentences.

THE LOCATIVE AGRS [HO] WITH COPULATIVE VERBS [LI] & [NA]

The aim with constructions with locative AGRS [ho] with empty [pro], is to establish whether it is possible to use them to negate the subject argument with animate and inanimate features. The AGRS [ho] will appear with copulative verb [na] and as the abstract copulative verb [LI]. The copulative verb [LI] will appear with AP, NP Rel and NP Loc as complements. The copulative verb [na] will take the prepositional phrase with [le] as its complement.

LOCATIVE AGRS [HO] WITH COPULATIVE VERBS [LI] & [NA] + THE [AP] AS COMPLEMENT

The subject arguments to be negated are indicated in the following sentences in (205):

- (205) a. [Dibini] di ntle
[*Singers are beautiful*]
- b. [Mese] e mesweu
[*Dresses are white*]

It is possible for the AGRS [ho] to appear in the subject position of the sentences in (205) above. When this happens, the subject argument [Dibini] and [Mese] become the new NP's which are modified by the phrases [tse ntle] and [e mesweu]. The sentences in (206) illustrate:

- (206) a. [pro]_i Ho_i [dibini tse ntle]
[*There are beautiful singers*]
- b. [pro]_i Ho_i [Mese e mesweu]
[*There are white dresses*]

It is also possible for the AGRS [ho] to appear in the subject position with the copulative verb [na]. The sentences in (207) illustrate:

- (207) a. [pro]_i Ho_i na le [dibini tse ntle]
[*There are beautiful singers*]
- b. [pro]_i Ho_i na le [Mese e mesweu]
[*There are white dresses*]

The sentences in (206) and (207) will be given context by including the locative adjuncts so that the empty [pro], the locative AGRS [ho] and the adjunct are coindexed as shown in (208) below:

- (208) a. [pro]_i Ho_i dibini tse ntle [Motseng]_i
 [*There are beautiful singers in the village*]
- b. [pro]_i Ho_i mese e mesweu [ka tlung]_i
 c. [*There are white dresses in the house*]
- c. [pro]_i Ho_i na le dibini tse ntle [Motseng]_i
 [*There are beautiful singers in the village*]
- d. [pro]_i ho_i na le [mese e mesweu [ka tlung]_i]
 [*There are no white dresses in the house*]

The adjuncts in (208) may also appear in the subject position:

- (209) a. [Motseng] Ho dibini tse ntle
 [*In the village there are beautiful singers*]
- b. [Ka tlung] Ho mese e mesweu
 [*In the house there are white dresses*]
- c. [Motseng] Ho na le dibini tse ntle
 [*In the village there are beautiful singers*]
- d. [Ka tlung] Ho na le mese e mesweu
 [*In the house there are white dresses*]

To establish negation of the subject argument, the negative morpheme [Ha] is allowed to appear with these sentence constructions as demonstrated in (210) below:

- (210) a. pro_i Ha ho_i [dibini tse ntle [Motseng_i]]
 [*There are no beautiful singers in the village*]
- b. pro_i Ha ho_i [mese e mesweu [ka tlung_i]]
 [*There are no white dresses in the house*]

- c. pro_i Ha ho_i na [dibini tse ntle [Motseng_i]]
 [*There are no beautiful singers in the village*]
- d. pro_i Ha ho_i na [mese e mesweu [Motseng_i]]
 [*There are no white dresses in the village*]

Negation is also possible in these sentence constructions with the adjunct categories occupying the subject position as illustrated here in (211) below:

- (211) a. [Motseng] Ha ho [dibini tse ntle]
 [*In the village there are no beautiful singers*]
- b. [Ka tlung] Ha ho [mese e mesweu]
 [*In the house there are no white dresses*]
- c. [Maseru] Ha ho na [dibini tse ntle]
 [*At Maseru there are no beautiful singers*]
- d. [Ka tlung] Ha ho na [mese e mesweu]
 [*In the house there are no white dresses*]

In the sentences in (210) and (211) above, negation is established. The whole sentence is negated by the negative morpheme [Ha]. It seems necessary therefore to focus negation on one constituent by putting a contrasting clause as illustrated in (212) below:

- (212) a. pro_i Ha ho_i [dibini tse ntle], ke diroki
 [*There are no beautiful singers, it is the praise singers*]
- b. pro_i Ha ho_i [mese e mesweu], ke dihempe
 [*There are no white dresses, it is the shirts*]
- c. pro_i Ha ho_i na [dibini tse ntle], ke diroki
 [*There are no beautiful singers, it is the praise singers*]

- d. pro_i Ha ho_i na [mese e mesweu], ke dihempe
 [*There are no white dresses, it is the shirts*]

From the above sentences in (212), it is clear that the contrasting clause put focus on the NP's [dibini] and [mese], and they appear to be the arguments on which negation is directed. In this way one may conclude that it is possible to employ negative constructions with AGRS [Ho] to negate both animate and inanimate subjects.

LOCATIVE AGRS [HO] WITH COPULATIVE VERBS [LI] & [NA] AND THE NOMINAL RELATIVE AS COMPLEMENT

The subject arguments to be negated are indicated in the sentences in (213):

- (213) a. [Dibini] di botswa
 [*Singers are lazy*]
- b. [Masapo] a thata
 [*Bones are hard*]

As in the case of adjectives, it is also possible with the sentences in (213) for the locative AGRS [Ho] with empty [pro] to appear in the subject position of the copulative verb [LI] as shown in (214), and can also appear in the subject position of the copulative verb [na] as indicated in (215) below. In both cases, the subject arguments will then become the new NP's, where they are modified by the relative clauses:

- (214) a. pro_i Ho_i [dibini tse botswa]
 [*There are lazy singers*]
- b. pro_i Ho_i [masapo a thata]
 [*There are hard bones*]
- (215) a. pro_i Ho_i na le [dibini tse botswa]
 [*There are lazy singers*]

- b. $pro_i Ho_i na le [masapo a thata]$
 [*There are hard bones*]

The sentences in (214) and (215) will be contextualized by including the locative adjuncts. These locative adjuncts may also occupy the subject position as in (209) above. The following sentences in (216) will only show locative adjuncts in the postverbal position:

- (216) a. $pro_i Ho_i [dibini tse botswa [ka tlung]]_i$
 [*There are lazy singers in the house*]
- b. $pro_i Ho_i [masapo a thata [ka mona]]_i$
 [*There are hard bone in here*]
- c. $pro_i Ho_i na le [dibini tse botswa [ka tlung]]_i$
 [*There are lazy singers in the house*]
- d. $pro_i Ho_i na le [masapo a thata [ka mona]]_i$
 [*There are hard bones in here*]

To establish negation of the subject argument, the negative morpheme will be allowed to appear with locative AGRS [Ho] as in (217):

- (217) a. $pro_i Ha ho_i [dibini tse botswa [ka tlung]]_i$
 [*There are no lazy singers in the house*]
- b. $pro_i Ha ho_i [masapo a thata [ka mona]]_i$
 [*There are no hard bones in here*]
- c. $pro_i Ha ho_i na [dibini tse botswa [ka tlung]]_i$
 [*There are no lazy singers in the house*]
- d. $pro_i Ha ho_i na [masapo a thata [ka mona]]_i$
 [*There are no hard bones in here*]

Another way of contextualizing the sentences in (217), is to put the NP's which are the subjects in a focus position by forcing a contrastive clause as shown in (218):

- (218) a. pro_i Ha ho_i [dibini tse botswa [ka tlung_i], ke diroki
 [*There are no lazy singers in the house, it is the praise singers*]
- b. pro_i Ha ho_i [masapo a thata [ka mona_i], ke majwe
 [*There are no hard bones in here, it is the stones*]
- c. pro_i Ha ho_i na [dibini tse botswa [ka tlung_i], ke diroki
 [*There are no lazy singers in the house, it is the praise singers*]
- d. pro_i Ha ho_i na [masapo a thata [ka mona_i], ke majwe
 [*There are no hard bones in here, it is stones*]

A contrasting clause, which is introduced by the locative AGRS [Ho] can also be used in the place of a copulative clause:

- (219) a. pro_i Ha ho_i [dibini tse botswa [ka tlung_i], ho diroki tse
 botswa
 [*There are no lazy singers in the house, there are lazy praise singers*]
- b. pro_i Ha ho_i na [dibini tse botswa [ka tlung_i], ho diroki tse
 botswa
 [*There are no lazy singers in the house, there are lazy praise singers*]

From the above sentences in (218) and (219) it is possible to negate the animate and inanimate subject arguments by using sentences with locative AGRS [Ho] with empty [pro].

LOCATIVE AGRS [HO] WITH COPULATIVE VERBS [LI] & [NA] AND THE LOCATIVE NOUN PHRASE

The subject arguments to be negated are indicated in the following sentences in (220):

- (220) a. [Dibini] di holong
 [*The singers are in the hall*]
- b. [Dijo] di tafoleng
 [*The food is on the table*]

When the locative AGRS [Ho] with empty [pro] appears in the subject position of the copulative verbs [LI] and [na], the subject arguments [Dibini] and [Dijo] become new NP's. They are forced to appear with the relative clauses as nominal modifiers:

- (221) a. pro_i Ho_i[dibini tse holong]
 [*There are singers in the hall*]
- b. pro_i Ho_i [dijo tse tafoleng]
 [*There is food on the table*]
- c. pro_i Ho_i na le [dibini tse sekolong]
 [*There are singers at school*]
- d. pro_i Ho_i na le [dijo tse tafoleng]
 [*There is food on the table*]

The sentences in (221) need to be contextualized. This can be achieved by adding the locative adjuncts which can either appear in post-verbal or pre-verbal positions. The locative adjunct will therefore be coindexed with the locative AGRS [Ho] and the empty [pro] as indicated in (222) below:

- (222) a. pro_i Ho_i [dibini tse holong [mane_i]
 [*There are singers there in the hall*]

- b. $pro_i Ho_i$ [dijo tse tafoleng [ka tlung_i]
[*There is food on the table in the house*]
- c. $pro_i Ho_i na le$ [dibini tse sekolong [mona_i]
[*There are singers here at school*]
- d. $pro_i Ho_i na le$ [dijo tse tafoleng [ka tlung_i]
[*There is food on the table in the house*]

To establish negation of the subject arguments, the negative morpheme [Ha] will be allowed to appear with the locative AGRS [Ho] as demonstrated in (223) below:

- (223) a. $pro_i Ha ho_i$ [dibini tse holong [mane_i]
[*There are no singers there at the hall*]
- b. $pro_i Ha ho_i$ [dijo tse tafoleng [ka tlung_i]
[*There is no food on the table in the house*]
- c. $pro_i Ha ho_i na$ [dibini tse sekolong [mona_i]
[*There are no singers here at school*]
- d. $pro_i Ha ho_i na$ [dijo tse tafoleng [ka tlung_i]
[*There is no food on the table in the house*]

The above sentences in (223) can also be put into context by forcing a contrasting clause in order to put the subject into focus. The sentences in (224) demonstrate:

- (224) a. $pro_i Ha ho_i$ [dibini tse holong], ke diroki
[*There are no singers at the hall there, it is the praise singers*]
- b. $pro_i Ha ho_i$ [dijo tse tafoleng], ke dino
[*There is no food on the table, it is the drinks*]

- c. pro_i Ha ho_i na [dibini tse sekolong] , ke dibapadi
 [*There are no singers at school, it is the players*]
- d. pro_i Ha ho_i na [dijo tse tafoleng], ke metsi
 [*There is no food on the table, it is water*]

A contrastive clause which is introduced by the locative AGRS [Ho] can be employed to replace the copulative clause as in (225):

- (225) a. pro_i Ha ho_i [dibini tse holong], ho diroki tse holong
 [*There are no singers at the hall, there are praise
 singers at the hall*]
- b. pro_i Ha ho_i na [dijo tse tafoleng], ho metsi a tafoleng
 [*There is no food on the table, there is water on the
 table*]

From the above sentences in (223), (224) and (225), it is clear that it is possible to negate the subject arguments of the copulative verbs [LI] and [na] with NP Rel as complement, with sentence constructions with locative AGRS [Ho] with empty [pro].

LOCATIVE AGRS [HO] WITH COPULATIVE VERBS [LI] & [NA] AND PREPOSITIONAL PHRASE WITH [LE] AS COMPLEMENT

The subject arguments to be negated are indicated in the following sentences in (226):

- (226) a. [Batho] ba na le tjelete
 [*People have money*]
- b. [Matlo] a na le mabota
 [*Houses have walls*]

It is also possible for the locative AGRS [Ho] with [pro] to appear in the subject position with the copulative verb [na]. When the locative AGRS [Ho] appears in the subject position, the subject arguments [Batho] and [Matlo] become new NP's. The locative AGRS

[Ho] may appear with the abstract copulative verb [LI] as in (227) and it may also appear with copulative verb [NA] as in (228). In both cases the new NP's are modified by relative clauses:

- (227) a. pro_i Ho_i [batho ba nang le tjhelete]
 [*There are people who have money*]
- b. pro_i Ho_i [matlo a nang le mabota]
 [*There are houses which have walls*]
- (228) a. pro_i Ho_i na le [batho ba nang le tjhelete]
 [*There are people who have money*]
- b. pro_i Ho_i na le [matlo a nang le mabota]
 [*There are houses which have walls*]

It is also necessary to put the sentences in (227) and (228) into context. This can be done by including the locative adjuncts, which can either appear in preverbal or postverbal positions. The empty [pro], the locative AGRS [Ho] and the locative adjuncts will be coindexed as illustrated in (229) below :

- (229) a. pro_i Ho_i [batho ba nang le tjhelete [lefatsheng_i]
 [*There are people who have money in the world*]
- b. pro_i Ho_i [matlo a nang le mabota [mona_i]
 [*There are houses which have walls here*]
- c. pro_i Ho_i na le [batho ba nang le tjhelete [lefatsheng_i]
 [*There are people who have money in the world*]
- d. pro_i Ho_i na le [matlo a nang le mabota [mona_i]
 [*There are houses which have walls here*]

To establish negation, the negative morpheme [Ha] will be allowed to appear with the locative AGRS [Ho] as indicated in the following sentences in (230) below:

- (230) a. pro_i Ha ho_i [batho ba nang le tjhelete [lefatsheng_i]
 [*There are no people who have money in the world*]
- b. pro_i Ha ho_i [matlo a nang le mabota [mona_i]
 [*There are no houses which have walls here*]
- c. pro_i Ha ho_i na [batho ba nang le tjhelete [lefatsheng_i]
 [*There are no people who have money in the world*]
- d. pro_i Ha ho_i na [matlo a nang le mabota [mona_i]
 [*There are no houses which have walls here*]

The sentences in (230) can be put into context by forcing a contrasting clause in order to put the subject into focus as illustrated in (231) below:

- (231) a. pro_i Ha ho_i [banna ba nang le tjhelete], ke basadi
 [*There are no men who have money, it is women*]
- b. pro_i Ha ho_i [matlo a nang le mabota], ke masaka
 [*There are no houses with walls, it is kraals*]
- c. pro_i Ha ho_i na [banna ba nang le tjhelete], ke basebetsi
 [*There are no men who have money, it is the workers*]
- d. pro_i Ha ho_i na [matlo a nang le majwe], ke masaka
 [*There are no houses which have stones, it is the kraals*]

A contrasting clause can be used in the sentences in (231) to replace the copulative clause as in (232) below:

- (232) a. pro_i Ha ho_i [banna ba nang le tjhelete], ho basadi
 ba nang le tjhelete
 [*There are no men who have money, there are women
 who have money*]

- b. pro_i Ha ho_i [matlo a nang le mabota], ho masaka a nang
 le mabota
 [*There are no houses which have walls, there are kraals
 which have walls*]

From the sentences observed in (230), (231) and (232) it is clear that the subject arguments can be negated by sentence constructions with AGRS [Ho]. In all cases where the copulative verb [LI] appears with the prepositional phrase with [le] as head, the preposition [le] disappear in negative constructions.

SUBJECT INVERSION

The purpose here is to establish whether it is possible to use the sentence constructions with subject inversions to negate the subject arguments. The abstract copulative verb will appear with animate and inanimate subject arguments and with AP, NP Rel and NP Loc as complements. The copulative verb [na] will appear with the prepositional phrase with [le] as complement.

COPULATIVE VERB [LI] + ADJECTIVAL PHRASE

The subjects to be negated are indicated in the following sentences in (233) below:

- (233) a. [Dibini] di ntle
 [*The singers are beautiful*]
- b. [Mose] o mosweu
 [*The dress is white*]

The subject arguments in (233) above will be moved to the postverbal positions. They leave behind an empty NP category which will be filled by existential [ho] with empty [pro]. The adjectival phrase will now take the indefinite prefix [ho] to form [ho - tle] and [ho - sweu]. The adjunct NP's, the empty category [pro] and the existential [ho] will be coindexed. This is illustrated by the sentences in (234):

- (234) a. pro_i Ho_i ho -tle [dibini_i]
 [*It is beautiful the singers*]
- b. pro_i Ho_i ho - sweu [Mose_i]
 [*It is white the dress*]

To establish negation of the subject arguments in (233) above, the negative morpheme [ha] will be allowed to appear with the existential [ho] as shown in (235) below:

- (235) a. pro_i Ha ho_i [ho - tle [dibini_i]
 [*It is not beautiful the singers*]
- b. pro_i Ha ho_i [ho - sweu [Mose_i]
 [*It is not white the dress*]

The sentences in (235) need to be put into context. This can be done by employing a contrasting clause so that negation focuses on the NP adjuncts [dibini] and [Mose]. The sentences in (236) illustrate:

- (236) a. pro_i Ha ho_i ho - tle [dibini_i], ho ho-tle bangodi
 [*It is not beautiful the singers, it is beautiful the writers*]
- b. pro_i Ha ho_i ho - sweu [Mose_i], ho ho - sweu hempe
 [*It is not white the dress, it is white the shirt*]

In this way, it is possible for sentence constructions with subject inversion to negate both animate and inanimate subject arguments.

COPULATIVE VERB [LI] + NOMINAL RELATIVE

The subject arguments to be negated are indicated in (237) below:

- (237) a. [Banna] ba botswa
 [*Men are lazy*]

- b. [Nama] e thata
[*The meat is hard*]

The subject arguments as in the case of adjectives, will be moved to the postverbal positions, leaving behind an empty NP category. This empty category will be filled by existential [ho] with empty [pro]. The NP adjuncts, empty [pro] and the existential [ho] will be coindexed as demonstrated by the sentences in (238):

- (238) a. pro_i Ho_i botswa [banna_i]
[*It is men who are lazy*]
- b. pro_i Ho_i thata [nama_i]
[*It is meat which is hard*]

To establish negation of the subject arguments, the negative morpheme [ha] will be allowed to appear with the existential [ho] as in (239) below:

- (239) a. pro_i Ha ho_i botswa [banna_i]
[*It is not men who are lazy*]
- b. pro_i Ha ho_i thata [nama_i]
[*It is not meat which is hard*]

The above sentences in (239) will be put in context by using a contrasting clause so that negation focuses on the NP adjuncts as illustrated by the sentences in (240):

- (240) a. pro_i Ha ho_i botswa [banna_i], ho botswa basadi
[*It is not men who care lazy, it is women who are lazy*]
- b. pro_i Ha ho_i thata [nama_i], ho thata masapo
[*It is not meat which is hard, it is the bones which are hard*]

From the sentences in (240) above, one may conclude that the subject arguments of copulative verb [LI], where nominal relatives are its complement, can be negated by the sentence constructions with subject inversion.

COPULATIVE VERB [LI] + NOUN PHRASE LOCATIVE

The subject arguments to be negated are indicated in the following sentences in (241):

- (241) a. [Bana] ba sekolong
[*Children are at school*]
- b. [Dijo] di tafoleng
[*The food is on the table*]

As in the case of adjectives and nominal relatives, the subject arguments will be moved to the postverbal position, leaving behind an empty NP category. The empty category will be filled by the existential [ho] with empty [pro] as will be indicated by the sentences in (242):

- (242) a. * pro_i Ho_i sekolong [bana]
[*There are at school the children*]
- b. * pro_i Ho_i tafoleng [dijo]
[*There are on the table the food*]

The sentences in (242) are ungrammatical, the locative noun phrase cannot appear with the existential [ho] with empty [pro] in subject inversion constructions. As a result, one may conclude that subject arguments that appear with the copulative [LI], with locative noun phrase as its complement, may not be negated by the sentence constructions with subject inversion. This is illustrated in (243) below:

- (243) a. *pro Ha ho sekolong [bana]
[*It is not at school the children*]
- b. *pro Ha ho tafoleng [dijo]
[*It is not on the table the food*]

COPULATIVE VERB [NA] + PREPOSITIONAL PHRASE WITH [LE]

The subject arguments to be negated are indicated in the following sentences in (244):

- (244) a. [Dibini] di na le tjhelete
[Singers have money]
- b. [Dijo] di na le letswai
[The food has salt]

The subject arguments in (244) will be moved to the postverbal position, where they will leave behind an empty NP category. The empty NP category will be filled by the existential [ho] as illustrated in (245) below:

- (245) a. * pro_i Ho_i na le tjhelete [dibini]
[There was money the singer]
- b. * pro_i Ho_i na le letswai [dijo]
[There has salt the food]

As observed in (245) above, these sentences are ungrammatical. As in the case of locative noun phrase, the copulative verb [na] cannot allow subject inversion where the existential [ho] occupies the subject position. Negation of such constructions will also not be applicable as illustrated in (246):

- (246) a. * pro_i Ha ho_i na tjhelete [dibini]
[There has no money the singer]
- b. * pro_i Ha ho_i na letswai [dijo]
[There has no salt the food]

From the observation above, it is clear that subject arguments, both animate and inanimate, that appear with the abstract copulative verb [LI] with adjectival phrase and nominal relatives as its complements, can be negated by the sentence constructions with subject inversion. It is only the locative noun phrase that does not allow negative

constructions with subject inversion. The same thing applies in the case of the copulative [na] with prepositional phrase [le]. Negative constructions with subject inversion is not allowed.

3.5.2 Specified subject with nominal modifiers

The aim of this sub-section is to look into negation of specified subject arguments with nominal modifiers. Negation with nominal modifiers will be investigated with modifiers such as adjectival phrases, relative clauses and prepositional phrases with possessive [-a] as head. The subject arguments with nominal modifiers may be negated in the same way as subject NP which consists only of a noun as head as above, i.e. by means of clefting, pseudo-cleft, clauses with locative AGRS [HO] and subject inversion. These four ways of negating the subject arguments will not be repeated here as they have already been dealt with in section 3.5.1. above. In addition to these four ways, a fifth method will be employed, where the nominal modifiers will be negated to see whether such negation will also force the negation of the subject. However, the focus will be on modifiers only without considering types of verbs with which the subject will appear, i.e. non-copulative and copulative verbs.

The AP as nominal modifier

The subject with feature animacy will appear with the verbs indicated below:

Subject of Intransitive Verb

- (247) a. [Bana ba baholo] ba - ile
[*The elder children have left*]
- b. [Koloi e kgolo] e - wele
[*The big car has fallen*]

Subject of Monotransitive Verb

- (248) a. [Monna e molelele] o - kganna koloi
[*The tall man drives a car*]

- b. [Koloi e kgubedu] e - tjhaisitse motho
[*A red car knocked down a man*]

Subject of Ditransitive Verb

- (249) a. [Banka e kgolo] e - adima batho tjhelete
[*A big bank lends people money*]
- b. [Mosadi e motle] o - fa bana dijo
[*A beautiful woman gives children food*]

In each of the above sentences, only the adjectival phrase will be negated:

- (250) a. [Bana ba seng baholo] ba ile
[*Children who are not old have left*]
- b. [Koloi e seng kgolo] e wele
[*A car which is not big has fallen*]
- (251) a. [Monna ya seng molelele] o kganna koloi
[*A man who is not tall drives a car*]
- b. [Koloi e seng kgubedu] e tjhaisitse motho
[*A car which is not red knocked down a man*]
- (252) a. [Banka e seng kgolo] e - adima batho tjhelete
[*A bank which is not big borrows people money*]
- b. [Mosadi ya seng motle] o - fa bana dijo
[*A woman who is not beautiful gives children food*]

From the sentences in (250), (251) and (252), it is observed that the relativized negative verb [seng] focuses only on the nominal modifier, in this case the adjectival phrase. The subject argument falls outside the scope of negation and therefore does not form part of negation. As a result one may deduce that the subject argument is not negated in such

sentence constructions, where constituent negation only applies to nominal modifiers. It will therefore be not possible to use this method to negate the subject argument. With regard to the other four methods mentioned above, it is possible to use them in negating the subject argument because the subject falls within the scope of negation as observed in the previous section.

With regard to the other nominal modifiers *viz.* the relative clause and the prepositional phrase with possessive [- a] as head, the same thing applies: Negation of nominal modifiers cannot be forced to negate the subject argument. We may have a look at the following sentences below:

The relative clause as the nominal modifier

- (253) a. [Bana ba sa bapaleng] ba - tsamaile
[*Children who are not playing have left*]
- b. [Thipa e sa seheng] e - robehile
[*A knife which is not cutting is broken*]
- (254) a. [Motho ya sa kuleng] o - rata dijo
[*A person who is not ill likes food*]
- b. [Koloi e sa matheng] e - tjhaisitse sefate
[*A car which does not speed knocked a tree*]
- (255) a. [Motho ya sa tsebeng] o - botsa bana dipotso
[*A person who does not know asks children questions*]
- b. [Banka e sa tsejweng] e - adima batho tjhelete
[*A bank which is not known lends people money*]

The prepositional phrase (possessive)

- (256) a. [Mosadi eo e seng wa morena] o - robetse
[*The woman who is not the chief's, is asleep*]

- b. [Koloi eo e seng ya morena] e - wele
[*A car which is not the chief's, has fallen*]
- (257) a. [Mosadi eo e seng wa morena] o - pheha dijo
[*The woman who is not the chief's, cooks food*]
- b. [Koloi eo e seng ya morena] e - tjhaisitse motho
[*A car which is not the chief's, knocked a person*]
- (258) a. [Mosadi eo e seng wa morena] o - fa batho dijo
[*The woman who is not the chief's, gives people food*]
- b. [Banka eo e seng ya setjhaba] e - adima batho tjhelete
[*A bank which is not the people's, lends people money*]

3.5.3 Unspecified subjects

The aim in this sub-section is to look at how unspecified subjects with feature animacy are negated. The investigation will be carried within non-copulative and copulative verbs. As indicated earlier, the unspecified subjects are non-specific subjects with no identifiable referents, they are indefinite NP subjects in negative constructions such as [nobody] and [nothing] and their counter part constituents in the positive such as [anybody] and [anything]. In Sesotho such indefinite NP's will be clauses and phrases such as [Ha ho motho], [Ha ho letho], [motho e mong le e mong] and [ntho e nngwe le e nngwe].

Non-copulative verbs

The subject arguments with feature animacy are indicated in (259) below:

- (259) a. [Motho e mong le e mong] a - ka - kena
[*Anybody can come in*]
- b. [Ntho e nngwe le e nngwe] e - ka - jewa
[*Anything can be eaten*]

There are two possible ways in which the above indefinite subjects can be negated. In the first place, a cleft sentence can be used to negate the subject argument where the copula [ke] is replaced by the negative morpheme [Ha] and the negative copulative verb [se] as in (260) below:

- (260) a. [Ha se motho e mong le e mong] ya ka kenang
 [*It is not anybody who can come in*]
- b. [Ha se ntho e nngwe le e nngwe] e ka jewang
 [*It is not anything which can be eaten*]

Secondly, a negative clause with the AGRS [Ho] with empty [pro] can be used to negate the subject argument in (261) below:

- (261) a. pro_i [Ha ho_i motho e mong le e mong] ya ka kenang
 [*There is nobody who can come in*]
- b. pro_i [Ha ho_i ntho e nngwe le e nngwe] e ka jewang
 [*There is nothing which can be eaten*]

However, the sentences in (261) above usually appear in a reduced form, where the phrase [e mong le e mong] and [e nngwe le e nngwe] are omitted as illustrated in (262) below:

- (262) a. [Ha ho motho] ya - ka kenang
 [*There is nobody who can come in*]
- b. [Ha ho ntho] e - ka jewang
 [*There is nothing which can be eaten*]

In the case of animate subject arguments, [mang] can be used in the place of [motho] while in the case of inanimate subject, [letho] can replace [ntho] as the sentences in (263) indicate:

- (263) a. [Ha - ho mang] ya - ka kenang
[*There is nobody who can come in*]
- b. [Ha - ho letho] le - ka jewang
[*There is nothing which can be eaten*]

Furthermore, in both animate and inanimate subject arguments, the empty [pro] may appear as subject where [mang] and [letho] are omitted as illustrated in (264):

- (264) a. [Ha - ho [pro]_i ya_i ka kenang
[*There is nobody who can come in*]
- b. [Ha - ho [pro]_i le_i ka jewang
[*There is nothing which can be eaten*]

The unspecified subjects [mang] and [eng] may also appear with the sentential preposition [le ha] in the negative as in (265) below:

- (265) a. Ha - ho [leha e - le [mang [ya tsebang]]
[*There is not even anyone who knows*]
- b. Ha - ho [leha e - le [eng [e setseng]]
[*There is not even anything which remained*]

Copulative verbs

In the case of copulative verbs, there is also two possible ways in which the indefinite subjects can be negated. The negative cleft sentences with the negatives [Ha] and [se] can be used as in (266):

- (266) a. [Ha - se motho e mong le e mong] ya botswa
[*It is not everybody who is lazy*]

- b. [Ha - se ntho e nngwe le e nngwe] e bonolo
[*It is not everything which is easy*]

The clause with the AGRS [ho] introduced by the negative morpheme [ha] can be used to negate the indefinite subjects of copulative verbs [LI] and [na]:

- (267) a. [Ha - ho motho] e motle
[*There is nobody who is beautiful*]
- b. [Ha - ho motho] ya nang le tjelete
[*There is nobody who is having money*]
- c. [Ha - ho ntho] e ntle
[*There is nothing beautiful*]
- d. [Ha - ho ntho] e nang le mathata
[*There is nothing which is having problems*]

As in the case of non-copulative verbs, the empty [pro] may also appear in the place of indefinite subject [mang] and [eng]:

- (268) a. [Ha - ho [pro]_i e_i motle
[*There is nobody who is beautiful*]
- b. [Ha - ho [pro]_i e_i ntle
[*There is nothing beautiful*]

The unspecified subjects may also appear with [leha] with the meaning of not even in the negative constructions:

- (269) a. [Ha - ho [leha e - le [mang ya botswa]
[*There is not even anyone who is lazy*]
- b. [Ha - ho [leha e - le [eng e ntle]
[*There is not even anything which is beautiful*]

In summary, the indefinite subjects arguments of non-copulative and copulative verbs can be negated by cleft sentences and clauses with locative AGRS [ho].

3.6 SUBJECT NEGATION IN SUBORDINATE CLAUSES

3.6.1 Aim

The aim of this section is to investigate negation of animate and inanimate subject arguments in subordinate clauses with regard to non-copulative and copulative predicates. Only three types of subordinate clauses will be considered in this investigation, *viz.* the hore - clause with the subjunctive, the hore - clause with the indicative and the participial complement clause. The same possible ways of negating the subject which have been explored with the subject in the matrix clause above will be considered here, specifically, clefting, focus with locative agreement and subject inversion. The subject argument will furthermore be considered in two ways: in the first place it will be considered in exactly the same way as the matrix clause and secondly, the subject argument will be deliberately moved to a focus position within the matrix clause. Furthermore, the investigation will be based on specified subject with head noun only and on specified subject with nominal modifiers.

3.6.2 Specified subject with head noun only

3.6.1.1 Non-copulative predicates

With regard to non-copulative verbs, three types of subordinate clauses will be considered. They are the hore - clause in the subjunctive mood, the hore - clause in the indicative mood and the complement clause in the participial mood. The cleft sentences, clauses with locative agreement and clauses with subject inversion will be employed to negate the subject argument in these subordinate clauses and in matrix clauses where the subject have been moved out of subordinate clauses for focus.

THE NP SUBJECT IN THE HORE-CLAUSE WITH THE SUBJUNCTIVE

According to Du Plessis (1997: 77) the complementizer phrase refers to a sentence or a clause where the head is a complementizer. Du Plessis and Visser (1995: 134) stipulate these contents of the Comp as the Wh-phrase with interrogative [NA], the relative markers

with [DET] and the complementizer [hore]. Mokgethi (1992: 08) further states that the complementizer [COMP] [hore] marks an embedded clause of a complement type or marks a zero level category whose maximal projection is [C]. The embedded clause may be introduced by the complementizer [hore] or null element as demonstrated by the sentences in (270) below:

- (270) a. Modiehi o - dutse [hore re - bue ditaba]
 [*Modiehi stayed so that we discuss news*]
- b. Kena [re - bue ditaba]
 [*Come in and let's discuss news*]

According to Du Plessis and Visser (1995: 134), the embedded hore - clause may be in the subjunctive mood where it expresses necessity and purpose as in (270.a) and (270.b) respectively, or expresses statement in the indicative mood as in (271) below:

- (271) Ngwana o - tseba [taba ya [hore o - a - tsamaya]
 [*A child knows a thing that he is going*]

In the subjunctive, the suffix of the verb [- a] changes to [- e] as in [re-bu-e], and in the indicative mood the suffix will remain as [- a] as in [o - a - tsamaya - a].

The subject arguments with feature animacy which are to be negated, are indicated in the following sentences in (272), where they appear in a subordinate clause after the complementizer hore:

- (272) a. Ke - batla [hore [mosadi] a - phehe
 [*I want that the woman should cook*]
- b. Ke - batla [hore [koloji] e - tsamaye
 [*I want that the car should move*]

The subject arguments above will not be moved and they may be negated by clefting, locative AGRS [ho] and subject inversion constructions.

CLEFTING

It is possible for the copulative verb [ba] with the indefinite [e] to appear as complement of the complementizer [hore]. The subject argument becomes the new NP in that it is now modified by the relative clause even though it still remains in the subordinate clause:

- (273) a. Ke - batla [hore e - be [mosadi ya phehang]
[*I want that it should be a woman who cooks*]
- b. Ke - batla [hore e - be [koloi e - tsamayang]
[*I want that it should be a car which leaves*]

To establish negation of the subject argument, the negative morpheme [se] will be employed as indicated by the sentences in (274) below:

- (274) a. Ke - batla [hore e - se - be [mosadi ya phehang]
[*I want that it should not be a woman who cooks*]
- b. Ke - batla [hore e - se - be [koloi e - tsamayang]
[*I want that it should not be a car which leaves*]

The above sentences need to be put into context by a contrasting clause in order that the subject argument should be properly negated as indicated by the sentences in (275):

- (275) a. Ke - batla hore e - se - be mosadi ya phehang, [e - be monna]
[*I want that it should not be a woman who cooks, it should be a man*]
- b. Ke - batla hore e - se - be koloi e - tsamayang, [e - be mabidi]
[*I want that it should not be a car which moves, it should be the wheels*]

[pro] WITH LOCATIVE AGRS [HO]

It is also possible for the locative AGRS [Ho] to appear as complement of the complementizer [hore] followed by the copulative verb [ba] with the prepositional phrase with [le] as head. The subject argument will become the NP which is now modified by the relative clause:

- (276) a. Ke - batla [hore ho - be le [mosadi ya phehang]
 [*I want that there should be a woman who cooks*]
- b. Ke - batla [hore ho - be le [koloji e - tsamayang]
 [*I want that there should be a car which leaves*]

To establish negation, the negative morpheme [se] will be employed as indicated in (277) below:

- (277) a. Ke - batla [hore ho - se - be le [mosadi ya phehang]
 [*I want that there shouldn't be a woman who cooks*]
- b. Ke - batla [hore ho - se - be le [koloji e - tsamayang]
 [*I want that there shouldn't be a car which leaves*]

In the negative construction as in (277) above, the preposition [le] may be omitted:

- (278) a. Ke - batla [hore ho - se - be [mosadi ya phehang]
 [*I want that there shouldn't be a woman who cooks*]
- b. [Ke - batla [hore ho - se - be [koloji e - tsamayang]
 [*I want that there shouldn't be a car which leaves*]

A contrasting clause will also be necessary to put the subject argument in focus as indicated in (279):

- (279) a. Ke - batla [hore ho se - be Mosadi ya phehang [ebe monna]

[*I want that there should not be a woman who cooks, it should be a man*]

- b. Ke - batla [hore ho - se - be koloi e tsamayang [e be baesekele]

[*I want that there shouldn't be a car which leaves, it should be a bicycle*]

SUBJECT INVERSION

With regard to subject inversion, the subject argument to be negated is moved into postverbal position within the subordinate clause. The subject position is then occupied by the existential [ho] and together they are coindexed as shown by the sentences in (280) below:

- (280) a. Ke - batla [hore pro_i ho_i phehe [Mosadi]
[*I want that there should cook the woman*]

- b. Ke - batla [hore pro_i ho_i tsamaye [koloi]
[*I want that there should leave the car*]

In the negative, the negative morpheme [se] is employed as indicated in (281):

- (281) a. Ke - batla [hore ho se phehe mosadi]
[*I want that there should not cook the woman*]

- b. Ke - batla [hore ho se tsamaye koloi]
[*I want that there should not leave the car*]

To strengthen negation, the contrasting clause may be employed as in (282) below:

- (282) a. Ke - batla hore ho se phehe mosadi, [ho phehe monna]
[*I want that there shouldn't cook the woman but a man*]

- b. Ke - batla hore ho se tsamaye koloi, ho tsamaye
baesekele]
[*I want that there shouldn't leave a car but the bicycle*]

The subject argument in the embedded clause may be moved to a focus position within the matrix clause. In such a case the moved subject argument then appears as head of a NP with a relative clause as complement. The empty subject position in the embedded clause will now be filled by a resumptive pronoun which is coindexed with the head of the NP as shown in (283):

- (283) a. [Mosadi_i] [eo_i ke - batlang [hore [pro_i a_i - phehe]]]
[*The woman who I want that she should cook*]
- b. [Koloi_i] [eo_i ke - batlang [hore [pro_i e_i - tsamaye]]]
[*The car which I want that it should leave*]

Such noun phrases as above may then be negated as in the case of the subject of a matrix clause, i.e. by forcing this NP into the complement of a negative copulative clause as demonstrated by the sentences in (284):

- (284) a. [Ha - se [mosadi_i] [eo_i ke - batlang [hore [pro_i a_i - phehe]]]
[*It is not the woman who I want that she should cook*]
- b. [Ha - se [koloi_i] [eo_i ke - batlang [hore [pro_i e_i - tsamaye]]]
[*It is not the car which I want that it should leave*]

The noun phrases as in (283) above may also be negated as in the case of the subject of a matrix clause by appearing as complement of the negative morpheme [Ha] and the locative AGRS [Ho] as indicated in (285) below:

- (285) a. [Ha ho [mosadi_i] [eo_i ke - batlang [hore [pro_i a_i - phehe]]]
[*There is no woman who I want that she should cook*]

- b. [Ha ho [koloji] [eo_i ke - batlang [hore [pro_i e_i -
tsamaye]]
[*There is no car which I want that it should leave*]

A contrasting clause will also be necessary as in the case of negation of the subject argument in the matrix clause:

- (286) a. [Ha se [mosadi eo ke - batlang [hore a - phehe], [ke
monna]
[*It is not the woman who I want that she should cook, it
is the man*]
- b. [Ha ho [mosadi eo ke - batlang [hore a -phehe], [ke
monna]
[*There is no woman who I want that she should cook,
it is a man*]

From the sentences above, it is observed that the subject argument with feature animacy in the hore-clause with the subjunctive, can be negated by the cleft sentences, sentences with locative AGRS [Ho] and sentences with subject inversion. The subject is negated within the subordinate clause because the negative morphemes are located within the subordinate clause, in other words, it is a local negation. In the case where the subject is moved into the matrix clause, negation of the subject is still possible but it is within a larger scope in that the negative morphemes are located at the beginning of the sentence. Secondly, the moved NP is represented by the empty [pro] and the AGRS in the subordinate clause with all its features as they are coindexed. In that way the subject is negated together with the whole sentence and this is sentential negation. When the NP subject is negated within the subordinate clause, it is local negation, when the NP subject is moved to the matrix clause, it is sentential negation. In both cases the subject argument is negated.

THE NP SUBJECT IN THE HORE - CLAUSE WITH THE INDICATIVE

The embedded clause of the complementizer [hore] may be in the indicative mood if its matrix clause has a verb whose reference is a statement. The subject argument with

feature animacy which are to be negated, are indicated in (287), where they appear in subordinate clauses after the complementizer [hore]:

- (287) a. Ke - a - tseba [hore [bana] ba - fihlile]
 [*I know that children have arrived*]
- b. Ke - a - tseba [hore [koloji] e - wele]
 [*I know that the car has fallen*]

As in the case of the hore-clause with the subjunctive, the subject arguments in (287) above will not be moved. They can be negated by cleft sentences, sentences with locative AGRS [Ho] and with subject inversion.

CLEFTING

The copulative verb [ke] will appear with the complementizer [hore], where the subject becomes the new NP with the relative clause as its modifier. The copula [ke] puts the subject in focus while still in the subordinate clause as shown in (288) below:

- (288) a. Ke - a tseba [hore ke bana ba - fihlileng]
 [*I know that it is the children who have arrived*]
- b. Ke - a - tseba [hore ke matlo a - weleng]
 [*I know that it is the houses which have collapsed*]

In negating the subject argument, the negative morpheme [ha] and the negative copulative verb [se] will replace the copula [ke] as demonstrated by the sentences in (289):

- (289) a. Ke - a - tseba [hore [ha - se bana ba - fihlileng]]
 [*I know that it is not the children who have arrived*]
- b. Ke - a - tseba [hore [ha - se matlo a - weleng]]
 [*I know that it is not the houses which have collapsed*]

It will also be necessary to put a contrasting clause on the above sentences in order to highlight the subject arguments:

- (290) a. Ke - a - tseba hore ha - se bana ba - fihlileng, [ke
batswadi]
*[I know that it is not the children who have arrived, it is
the parents]*
- b. Ke - a - tseba hore ha - se matlo a - weleng, [ke
masaka]
*[I know that it is not the houses which have collapsed, it
is the kraals]*

[pro] WITH LOCATIVES AGRS [Ho]

The locative AGRS [Ho] may appear with the abstract copulative verb [LI] and the copulative verb [na] as complements of the complementizer [hore]. The subject argument will now be modified by the relative clause as indicated in (291) and (292) below:

- (291) a. Ke - a - tseba [hore [ho bana ba - fihlileng]
[I know that there are children who have arrived]
- b. Ke - a - tseba [hore [ho matlo a - weleng]
[I know that there are houses which have collapsed]
- (292) a. Ke - a - tseba [hore [ho - na le bana ba - fihlileng]
[I know that there are children who have arrived]
- b. Ke - a - tseba [hore [ho - na le matlo a - weleng]
[I know that there are houses which have collapsed]

To establish negation, the negative morpheme [ha] will appear with the locative AGRS [Ho] in the subordinate clause. In the case where the negative morpheme [ha] will appear with [na], the preposition [le] will disappear. In both (291) and (292) above, the contrasting

clause will also be necessary to highlight the subject argument as demonstrated by the sentences in (293) and (294):

- (293) a. Ke - a - tseba hore [ha - ho [bana ba - fihlileng], [ke
batswadi]
[*I know that there are no children who have arrived, it is
the parents*]
- b. Ke - a - tseba hore [ha - ho [matlo a - weleng], [ke
masaka]
[*I know that there are no houses which have collapsed,
it is the kraals*]
- (294) a. Ke - a tseba hore [ha - ho - na [bana ba - fhlileng], [ke
batswadi]
[*I know that there are no children who have arrived, it is
the parents*]
- b. Ke - a - tseba hore [ha - ho - na [matlo a - weleng], ke
masaka
[*I know that there are no houses which have collapsed,
it is the kraals*]

SUBJECT INVERSION

With subject inversion, the existential [ho] will appear in the subject position of the subordinate clause and the NP subject will be moved into postverbal position of the subordinate clause as indicated in (295) below:

- (295) a. Ke - a - tseba [hore [pro_i ho_i - fihlile [bana]]
[*I know that there have arrived the children*]
- b. Ke - a - tseba [hore [pro_i ho_i - wele [koloji]
[*I know that there has fallen a car*]

To establish negation, the negative morpheme [ha] will appear with the existential [ho] and the negative perfect [a]. To strengthen negation, a clause of contrast will also be included in the negative constructions as illustrated by the sentences in (296) below:

- (296) a. Ke - a - tseba [hore [ha - ho - a - fihla bana], [ho - fihlile batswadi]
 [*I know that there have not arrived children, there have arrived parents*]
- b. Ke - a - tseba [hore [ha - ho - a - wa koloj] [ho - wele matlo]
 [*I know that there has not fallen a car, there have collapsed the houses*]

The subject argument in the embedded clause may be moved to a focus position within the matrix clause. The moved NP subject then appears as head of an NP with the relative clause as the modifier:

- (297) a. [Bana_i] [bao_i ke - tsebang [hore pro_i ba_i - fihlile]]
 [*Children who I know that they have arrived*]
- b. [Matlo_i] [ao_i ke - tsebang [hore pro_i a_i - wele]]
 [*The houses which I know that they have collapsed*]

The moved subject argument may then be negated as in the case of the subject in the matrix clause by the negative morpheme [ha] and the negative copulative verb [se]:

- (298) a. [Ha - se [bana bao ke - tsebang hore ba - fihlile], [ke batswadi]
 [*It is not the children who I know that they have arrived, it is the parents*]

- b. [Ha- se [matlo ao ke - tsebang hore a - wele], [ke masaka]
 [*It is not the houses which I know that they have collapsed, it is the kraals*]

The subject argument may also be negated in the matrix clause where it is the complement of the negative morpheme [ha] and the locative AGRS [Ho]:

- (299) a. Ha - ho [bana bao ke - tsebang hore ba fihlile], [ke batswadi]
 [*There are no children whom I know they have arrived, it is the parents*]
- b. [Ha - ho [matlo ao ke - tsebang hore a - wele], [ke masaka]
 [*There are no houses which I know that they have collapsed, it is the kraals*]

As in the case of the hore-clause with the subjunctive, the subject argument with feature animacy in subordinate clauses with the indicative, can be negated by cleft sentences, clauses with locative AGRS [Ho] and subject inversion. In the case where the subject has been moved into the matrix clause, negation of the subject is still possible but is within the whole sentence and not the subordinate clause. As a result negation of the subject argument in subordinate clauses only occurs when the subject is not moved.

THE NP SUBJECT IN THE PARTICIPIAL CLAUSE

The participial clause appears as a subordinate clause indicating progressive or completed aspect in the participial mood. It is characterized by the agreement morpheme [a] of class 1 and it takes the negative morpheme [sa] in the negative as indicated by the sentences in (300) below:

- (300) a. Monna o - sebetsa [a - bina]
 [*A man works while singing*]

- b. Monna o - sebetsa [a - sa - bine]
[*A man works while not singing*]

The subject argument with feature animacy which are to be negated are indicated in (301) below:

- (301) a. Ke - fihlile [basadi [ba - pheha]
[*I arrived while women were cooking*]
- b. Ke - fihlile [makoloi [a - duma]
[*I arrived while cars were idling*]

The subject arguments in (301) above will not be moved and they may be negated by cleft sentences, locative AGRS [Ho] and subject inversion construction:

CLEFTING

It is possible to negate the subject arguments in (301) above through the use of cleft sentences within the participial clause. The copulative [le] with the indefinite [e] will appear before the NP subjects. The subjects become the new NP's with the relative clause as modifier:

- (302) a. Ke - fihlile e - le [basadi ba - phehang]
[*I arrived while it was women who cook*]
- b. Ke - fihlile e - le [makoloi a - dumang]
[*I arrived while it was the cars which idle*]

To negate the subject arguments [basadi] and [makoloi], the negative copulative verb [se] with the indefinite [e] will be used in the place of [- le] as shown in (303) below:

- (303) a. Ke - fihlile e - se [basadi ba - phehang]
[*I arrived while it was not women who cook*]
- b. Ke - fihlile e - se [makoloi a - dumang]
[*I arrived while it was not the cars which idle*]

As in the case of the subjunctive and the indicative clauses, it will also be necessary to put the above sentences in (303) in context by using the contrasting clauses in order to highlight the negated subjects:

- (304) a. Ke - fihlile e - se basadi ba - phehang [e - le banna]
 [*I arrived while it was not women who cook but men*]
- b. Ke - fihlile e - se makoloi a - weleng [e - le matlo]
 [*I arrived while it was not the cars which fall but the houses*]

[pro] WITH LOCATIVE AGRS [HO]

It is possible for locative AGRS [Ho] to appear in the participial clause with the abstract copulative verb [LI] and the copulative verb [na]. The prepositional phrase with [le] as head will appear with both copulative verbs where the NP subject will be the head noun of the relative clause:

- (305) a. Ke fihlile [ho - le [basadi ba - phehang]
 [*I arrived while there were women who cook*]
- b. Ke - fihlile [ho - le [makoloi a - tsamayang]
 [*I arrived while there were cars which leave*]
- (306) a. Ke - fihlile [ho - na le [basadi ba - phehang]
 [*I arrived while there were women who cook*]
- b. Ke - fihlile [ho - na le [makoloi a - tsamayang]
 [*I arrived while there were cars which leave*]

To establish negation of the subject argument, the negative morpheme [se] will appear with the locative AGRS [Ho] and the prepositional phrase with [le] as head disappears: as demonstrated by the sentences in (307) and (308):

- (307) a. Ke - fihlile [ho - se [basadi ba - phehang]
[*I arrived while there were no women who cook*]
- b. Ke - fihlile [ho - se [makoloi a - tsamayang]
[*I arrived while there were no cars leaving*]
- (308) a. Ke - fihlile [ho - se - na [basadi ba - phehang]
[*I arrived while there were no women who cook*]
- b. Ke - fihlile [ho - se - na [makoloi a - tsamayang]
[*I arrived while there were no cars leaving*]

To strengthen negation of the subject, a contrasting clause may be used as indicated in (309):

- (309) a. Ke - fihlile [ho - se [basadi ba - phehang], e - le banna
[*I arrived while there were no women cooking, it was men*]
- b. Ke - fihlile [ho - se - na [makoloi a - tsamayang], e - le di-baesekele]
[*I arrived while there were no cars leaving, it was the bicycles*]

When the prepositional phrase with [le] as head is retained in these negative constructions, the meaning of [not even] is realized as demonstrated by the sentences in (310):

- (310) a. Ke - fihlile [ho - se le [basadi ba - phehang]
[*I arrived while there were not even women who cook*]
- b. Ke - fihlile [ho - se - na le [makoloi a - tsamayang]
[*I arrived while there were not even cars which leave*]

SUBJECT INVERSION

The subject argument to be negated is moved into post verbal position within the subordinate clause. The subject position will then be occupied by the existential [ho] as shown in (311) below:

- (311) a. Ke - fihlile [pro_i [ho_i - pheha [basadi]
[*I arrived while women were cooking*]
- b. Ke - fihlile [pro_i [ho_i - tsamaya [makoloi]
[*I arrived while cars were leaving*]

To establish negation of the above sentences, the negative morpheme [sa] is employed as indicated in (312) below:

- (312) a. Ke - fihlile [ho - sa - phehe basadi]
[*I arrived while women were not cooking*]
- b. Ke - fihlile [ho - sa - tsamaye makoloi]
[*I arrived while cars were not leaving*]

In order to highlight negation of the subject, it will be necessary to put a contrasting clause as in (313):

- (313) a. Ke - fihlile [ho - sa - phehe basadi], [ho pheha banna]
[*I arrived while women were not cooking but men cooking*]
- b. Ke - fihlile [ho - sa - tsamaye makoloi], [ho tsamaya dibaesekele]
[*I arrived while cars were not leaving but bicycles leaving*]

From the above sentences in (304), (309) and (313), it is observed that the subject argument can be negated in sentence constructions such as clefting, locative AGRS [Ho]

and subject inversion, where the subject is within the subordinate clauses. However, the subject argument in the embedded clauses may be moved to a focus position within the matrix clause. The moved subject argument will then appear as head of a NP with a relative clause as complement. The empty subject position in the subordinate clause will now be filled by a resumptive pronoun which is coindexed with the head of the NP as indicated in (314):

- (314) a. [Basadi] [bao_i ke - fihlileng [pro_i ba_i - pheha]
[*The women whom I arrived while they were cooking*]
- b. [Makoloi] [ao_i ke - fihlileng [pro_i a_i - tsamaya]
[*The cars which I arrived while they were leaving*]

The NP's [basadi] and [makoloi] may be negated as in the case of the subject of a matrix clause, where these NP's are forced into the complement of a negative copulative clause as in (315) below:

- (315) a. [Ha - se [basadi_i] [bao_i ke - fihlileng [pro_i ba_i -
pheha]
[*It is not the women whom I arrived while they were
cooking*]
- b. [Ha - se [makoloi_i [ao_i ke - fihlileng [pro_i a_i - tsamaya]
[*It is not the cars which I arrived while they were leaving*]

In the same way, their NP's may also be negated by appearing as complement of the negative morpheme [ha] and the locative AGRS [Ho] as indicated by the sentences in (316) below:

- (316) a. [Ha - ho [basadi_i] [bao_i ke - fihlileng [pro_i ba_i -
pheha]
[*There are no women whom I arrived while cooking*]
- b. [Ha – ho [makoloi_i [ao ke – fihlileng [pro_i a_i -
tsamaya]

[*There are no cars which I arrived while they were leaving*]

In both cases, i.e. the sentences in (315) and (316) above, a contrasting clause will be necessary to put the NP subjects in focus:

- (317) a. [Ha – se [basadi bao ke – fihlileng ba pheha], [ke banna]
[*It is not women whom I arrived while cooking, it is the men*]
- b. [Ha – ho [makoloi ao ke – fihlileng a – tsamaya], [ke dibaesekele]
[*There are no cars which I arrived while leaving, it is the bicycles*]

From the sentences above, it is observed that the subject arguments with feature animacy in the participial clause, may be negated by cleft sentences, the sentences with locative AGRS [Ho] and the sentences with subject inversion. As in the case of the subjunctive and the indicative subordinate clauses, the NP subjects are negated within the subordinate clause. In the case where the subject is moved into matrix clause, negation of the subject is also possible but the subject is negated within the larger scope of the whole sentence.

3.6.2.2 Copulative verbs

With regard to copulative verbs, the same procedure as above with non-copulative verbs will be followed with the copulative constructions. The various complements of copulative verbs will not be considered but attention will only be focused on the adjectival phrase as a complement of the copulative verb [ba] in an embedded hore – clause. Other possible complements such as locative phrases, nominal phrases and prepositional phrases will not give rise to new insights into the possible negation of such an embedded subject argument. The other two embedded clauses which have been considered above, i.e. hore – clause with the indicative and participial clauses will also not be considered because no new insights on the negative have been found with them. The subject argument will still

be considered in two ways: The NP subject within the embedded clauses and when the NP subject is deliberately moved to a focus position in the matrix clause.

THE EMBEDDED SUBJECT ARGUMENT IS NOT MOVED

As indicated above, only the subject argument of the hore – clause with the subjunctive mood will be considered. As in the case of the non-copulative verbs, three types of sentence constructions will be employed to see if it is possible to negate the subject argument. They are the cleft sentences, the clauses with AGRS [Ho] and clauses with subject inversion.

The subject arguments with feature animacy, which are to be negated are indicated in the following sentences in (318) below:

- (318) a. Ke – batla hore [mose] o – be mosweu
 [*I want that the dress should be white*]
- b. Ke – batla hore [mosadi] a – be motle
 [*I want that the woman should be beautiful*]

CLEFTING

In the case of clefting, the subject argument [mose] and [mosadi] in (318) above will be put into focus by the copulative verb [ba] which appears with the indefinite [e]. This noun will now become the head of a NP with an AP as demonstrated in (319):

- (319) a. Ke – batla hore [e – be mose o mosweu]
 [*I want that it should be white dress*]
- b. Ke – batla hore [e – be mosadi e motle]
 [*I want that it should be a beautiful woman*]

To establish negation of the subject argument, the negative morpheme [se] will be used as in (320) below:

- (320) a. Ke – batla hore [e – se – be mose o mosweu]
[*I want that it should not be a white dress*]
- b. Ke – batla hore [e – se – be mosadi e motle]
[*I want that it should not be a beautiful woman*]

However, it will also be necessary to put the above sentences in (320) in context so that negation is focused on the subject:

- (321) a. Ke – batla hore [e – se – be mose o mosweu], [e – be
dieta]
[*I want that it should not be the white dress but the
shoes*]
- b. Ke – batla hore [e – se – be mosadi e motle], [e – be
ngwana]
[*I want that it should not be a beautiful woman but the
child*]

In (320) the subject argument is negated within the subordinate clause as part of the negative clause. With the use of the contrasting clause, negation is focused on the subject argument. In this way one may deduce that the subject argument in the embedded clause may be negated by cleft sentences:

[pro] WITH LOCATIVE AGRS [Ho]

In the case of the locative AGRS [Ho], the subject argument [mose] and [mosadi] will be put into focus by the copulative verb [ba] which appears with the locative AGRS [Ho] and the prepositional phrase with [le] as head. As with clefting, the subjects become head nouns with an AP as illustrated by the sentences in (322):

- (322) a. Ke – batla hore [ho – be le [mose o mosweu]
[*I want that there should be a white dress*]

- b. Ke – batla hore [ho – be le [mosadi e motle]
[*I want that there should be a beautiful woman*]

In the negative, the negative morpheme [se] will appear with the copulative verb [ba] and the prepositional phrase with [le] as head as in (323) below:

- (323) a. Ke – batla hore [ho – se – be le [mose a mosweu]
[*I want that there shouldn't be a white dress*]
- b. Ke – batla hore [ho – se – be le [mosadi e motle]
[*I want that there shouldn't be a beautiful woman*]

It is also possible that in the negative, the negative morpheme [se] appears with the copulative verb [ba] where the prepositional phrase with [le] as head is omitted:

- (324) a. Ke – batla hore [ho – se – be [mosadi e motle]
[*I want that there shouldn't be a beautiful woman*]
- b. Ke – batla hore [ho – se – be [mose o mosweu]
[*I want that there shouldn't be a beautiful dress*]

As in the case of clefting, it is necessary to put the sentences in (324) above in context. A contrasting clause will put focus on the subject argument as illustrated in (325) below:

- (325) a. Ke – batla hore [ho – se – be mose o mosweu], [e – be
dieta]
[*I want that there shouldn't be a white dress, it should
be shoes*]
- b. Ke – batla hore [ho – se – be mosadi e motle] e – be
ngwana
[*I want that there shouldn't be a beautiful woman, it
should be a child*]

In (324) the subject argument is negated within the embedded clause as part of the embedded clause. In (325), negation is focused on the subject argument through the use of the contrasting clause. One may therefore conclude that the subject argument in embedded clauses may be negated in sentence constructions with the locative AGRS [Ho].

SUBJECT INVERSION

With subject inversion, the subject arguments [mosadi] and [mose] are put into focus by being moved to the periphery of the sentence. The empty subject position will then be occupied by the existential [ho] with empty [pro] as illustrated in (326) below:

- (326) a. Ke – batla hore [ho – be ho - tle [mosadi]
 [*I want that it should be a woman who is beautiful*]
- b. Ke – batla hore [ho – be ho – sweu [mose]
 [*I want that it should be the dress which is white*]

To establish negation, the negative morpheme [se] will appear with the existential [ho] and the copulative verb [ba]:

- (327) a. Ke – batla hore [ho – se – be ho – sweu mose]
 [*I want that it should not be the dress which is white*]
- b. Ke – batla hore [ho – se – be ho – tle mosadi]
 [*I want that it should not be the woman who is beautiful*]

In (327) above, it is noticed that the negative is focused more on the adjective [ho – sweu] and [ho – tle] than on the shifted subject. If a contrasting clause is used, the focus is still on the adjective. One may therefore conclude that sentences with subject inversion, where the verb is the copulative, the subject argument is not negated but the adjective is negated. It is not possible to use such constructions to negate the subject.

In summary, only two types of sentences can be used to negate the subject argument in subordinate clauses with regard to copulative verbs. They are the negative cleft

sentences and the sentences with locative AGRS [Ho]. In the case of sentences with subject inversion, only the complements of the copulative verbs are directly negated.

THE EMBEDDED SUBJECT ARGUMENT IS MOVED

The subject argument in the embedded clause may be moved to a focus position within the matrix clause. The moved subject argument will then appear as head of an NP with a relative clause as complement. As it is the case with non-copulative verbs, the empty subject position in the embedded clause will be filled by a resumptive pronoun which is coindexed with the head of the NP as illustrated in (328) below:

- (328) a. [Mose_i [oo_i ke – batlang [hore pro_i o_i - be mosweu]]
 [*The dress which I want it to be white*]
- b. [Mosadi_i] [eo_i ke – batlang [hore pro_i a_i - be motle]]
 [*The woman whom I want her to be beautiful*]

The moved subject argument may then be negated as in the case of the subject in the matrix clause where it becomes the complement of the negative copulative clause [Ha – se]:

- (329) a. [Ha – se [mose oo ke – batlang [hore o – be mosweu]]
 [*It is not the dress which I want it to be white*]
- b. [Ha – se [mosadi eo ke – batlang [hore a – be motle]]
 [*It is not the woman whom I want her to be beautiful*]

The subject argument may also be negated by the negative copulative clause [Ha – ho] as illustrated in (330):

- (330) a. [Ha – ho [mose oo ke – batlang [hore o – be mosweu]]
 [*There is no dress which I want it to be white*]
- b. [Ha – ho [mosadi eo ke – batlang hore a – be motle]]
 [*There is no woman whom I want her to be beautiful*]

A contrasting clause is also necessary to strengthen negation of the subject:

- (331) a. Ha – ho [mosadi eo ke – batlang hore a – be motle],
 [ke ngwana]
 [*There is no woman whom I want her to be beautiful, it is the child*]
- b. Ha – se [mose oo ke – batlang hore o – be mosweu],
 [ke dieta]
 [*It is not the dress which I want it to be white, it is the shoes*]

From the sentences in (331) above, it is clear that the subject argument in the matrix clause is negated by cleft sentences and sentences with AGRS [Ho]. The only difference is that in the matrix clause, the subject argument is negated within the sentential scope of negation whereas in the subordinate clauses, the subject argument is negated locally within the embedded clause.

3.6.3 Specified subjects with nominal modifiers

Subject arguments which appear with nominal modifiers in subordinate clauses will not change the format of possible negation as indicated above. A few examples from an embedded hore – clause will suffice to show this:

- (332) a. Ke – batla hore [mosadi e moholo] a – phehe
 [*I want that the older woman should cook*]

In the case where the subject argument is not moved, the three possible negative constructions will still be the same as in the case of subjects with head nouns only:

a. CLEFTING

- (333) Ke – batla hore – e – se – be [mosadi e moholo ya phehang] [e – be monna e moholo]
 [*I want that it should not be the old woman who cooks, but the older man*]

b. [pro] WITH LOCATIVE [HO]

- (334) Ke batla hore [ho – se – be [mosadi e moholo ya phehang]
 [e – be monna]
 [*I want that there shouldn't be an old woman who cooks but it
 should be a man*]

c. SUBJECT INVERSION

- (335) Ke – batla hore [ho – se – phehe mosadi e moholo] , ho –
 phehe monna]
 [*I want that there shouldn't cook the old woman but man*]

In the case where the subject argument is moved into the matrix clause as in (336) below:

- (336) [Mosadi e moholo_i] [eo_i - ke – batlang hore pro_i a_i - phehe]
 [*The old woman whom I want her to cook*]

The cleft sentence and the clause with locative AGRS [Ho] will still negate the subject in the same way as in subject with head nouns only:

- (337) a. [Ha – se [mosadi e moholo eo ke – batlang hore a – phehe] ke
 monna]
 [*It is not the old woman whom I want her to cook, it is man*]
- b. [Ha – ho [mosadi e moholo eo ke – batlang hore a – phehe] ke
 monna]
 [*There is no old woman whom I want her to cook, it is man*]

3.7 CONCLUSION

From the investigation above, one may conclude that with both subject with head nouns only and with nominal modifiers, the subject argument may be negated by cleft sentences, clauses with locative AGRS [Ho] in both non-copulatives and copulatives in subordinate

clauses. It is only with sentences with subject inversion in copulatives that the subject argument is possibly not negated. It is also evident that the subject argument with the feature animacy can be negated in matrix clauses and in subordinate clauses. In the case of matrix clauses, the negative morphemes and verbs are found at the beginning of the sentence and this constitutes sentential negation. In the case of subordinate clauses, where the subject is not moved, the negative morphemes are located within the embedded clauses and this constitute local negation.

CHAPTER 4

NEGATION OF THE OBJECT

4.1 AIM

The aim of this section is to investigate negation of the object argument with feature animacy in clauses with non-copulative and copulative verbs. In the case of non-copulative verbs, transitive and ditransitive constructions will be considered. As in the case of subject negation, cleft sentences and sentences with locative AGRS [Ho] will also be considered in trying to find out whether it is possible to use them in object negation, where the object is put into focus position. The NP object can also be negated in its original postverbal position without being moved into focus position. It will however, be necessary to look into the notion object and other related aspects before investigating object negation.

4.2 THE NOTION OBJECT

Anderson (1984: 34) defines an object as a noun or pronoun denoting a person or a thing affected by the action expressed by the verb, where a verb becomes transitive because its action goes over to an object. The notion object also refers to that NP which is immediately dominated by VP. Anderson (1984: 47) goes on to state that objects are a variable subset of the non-subjective absolute phrases and there may be more than one object in a simple sentence. According to Moravcsik (1984: 74), objects refer to some controlling participants of a two-participant event that constitutes in its entirety the primary target for the event.

According to Collinge (1984: 12), objects are identified through their categorical operators, semantic diagnostics and control properties. With regard to categorical operations, an NP is a simple operand noun and it can be placed in second highest position. They can be controlled by three semantic features such as definite, affectedness and animacy, and control properties are considered to be accessibility, omission and deletion.

Moravcsik (1984: 60) argues that direct objects have features that are general NP properties. These general properties include internal composition, head constituent

relations and pragmatic function. In the case of internal composition, the head of a direct object NP may be a noun, adjective, quantifier, pronoun, infinitive or a clause. An object phrase with a nominal head can accommodate a wider range of satellites such as determiners and quantifiers. Objects may also be represented by pronominals. With regard to constituent relations, Moravcsik (1984: 61), maintains that the semantic relation between verbs and objects is a head – modifier relation in that the verb – object construction is a subtype of the predicate expressed by the verb itself, where there is a unidirectional relation between the verb and the object. e.g. a verb may require the presence of an object complement for semantic – syntactic well – formedness. Finally, objects may take basic pragmatic functions of topic, focus and pragmatic neutrality. NP objects are however unique NP's on the basis of specific argument function they fulfill, coupled with association with a particular case marker.

On the other hand, Gil (1984: 98) stipulates specific characteristic properties of direct objects in a basic sentence:

- a) NP object must have a thematic role property of patienthood.
- b) An NP object should have pragmatic reference property of lesser referential strength, i.e. direct objects are of low referentiality, they occur at the bottom of a grammatical relation quantifier scope hierarchy.
- c) An NP object must have pragmatic reference property of indefiniteness. Direct object position is a preferred position for introducing indefinite arguments. According to Lazard (1984: 276), nominal categories of objects are variations such as humanness or animacy and definite. There are three grammatical persons which are not logically symmetrical *viz.* Third person may be anybody or anything but mostly non-human, first and second persons rank higher in the hierarchy of humanness and are mostly human.
- d) Direct objects occur to the right of subjects in the basic word order of almost all languages. In other languages, the relative word order of the NP's in a clause is quite free.

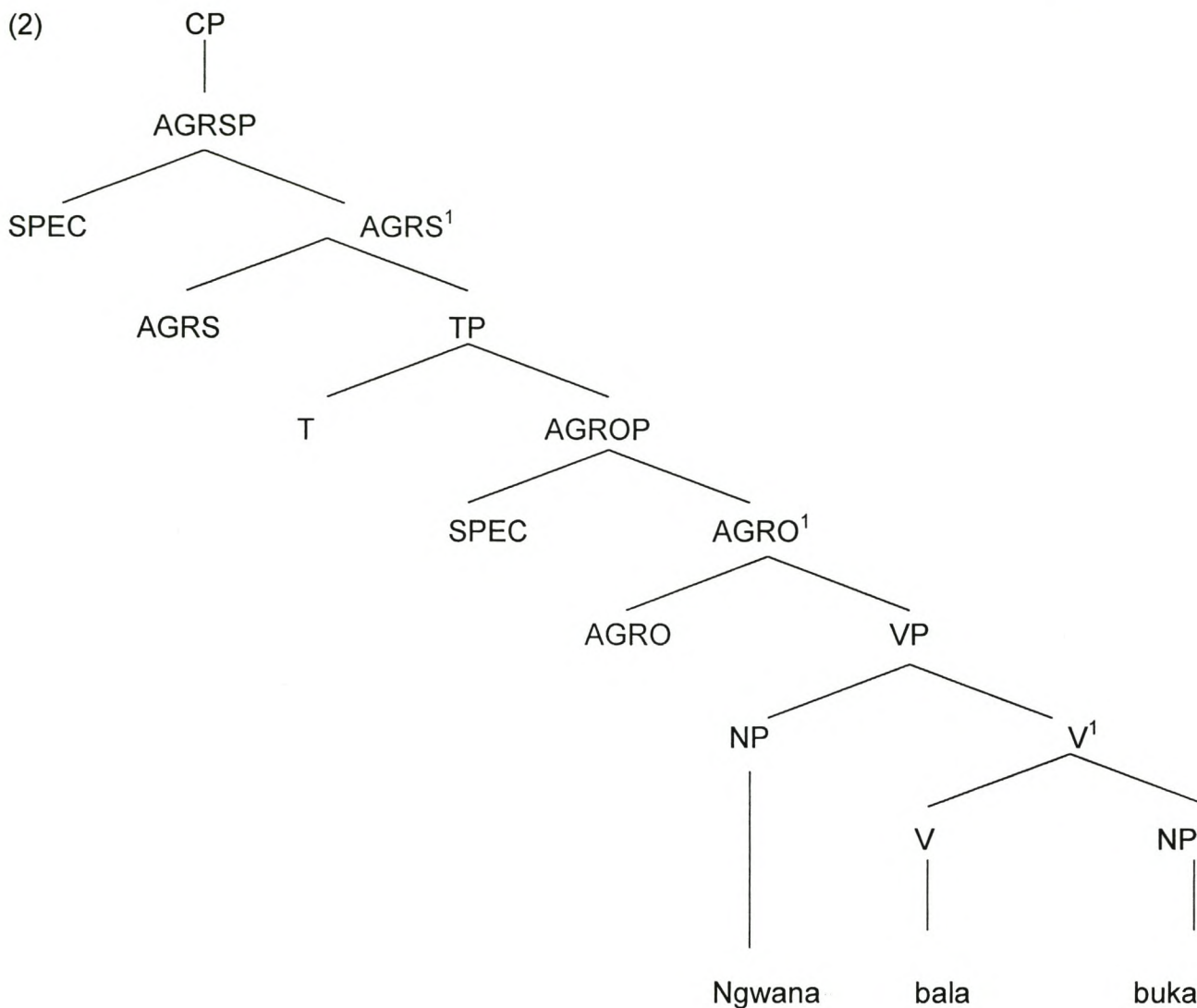
- e) Direct objects must have a clausal property of transitivity, which serve as a diagnostic for direct – objecthood, since the presence of a direct object is a characteristic feature of transitive clauses.

On the issue of null objecthood, Ouhalla (1999: 317) group null objects into three categories, *viz.* identified null objects, which are common in languages which have overt or rich object agreement inflection. According to Ouhalla (1999: 318), the NP object can be dropped but it has a pronominal interpretation, meaning that it is structurally present in the form of [pro] in the direct object position. The [pro] is present to satisfy projection principle and the theta – criterion. The Agr element on the verb is sufficiently rich to make the features of the direct object [pro] recoverable and when the Agr morpheme is present, an overt object is free to appear in positions other than the canonical direct object position. The second type Ouhalla (1999: 319) refers to it as Arbitrary null object, where the interpretation of the null object is due to the absence of restrictions on the reference of [pro] because there is no overt Agr morpheme in a language. The third type Ouhalla (1999: 321) refers to it as Null operator object, where [pro] is considered to refer to an individual or entity understood in a discourse context.

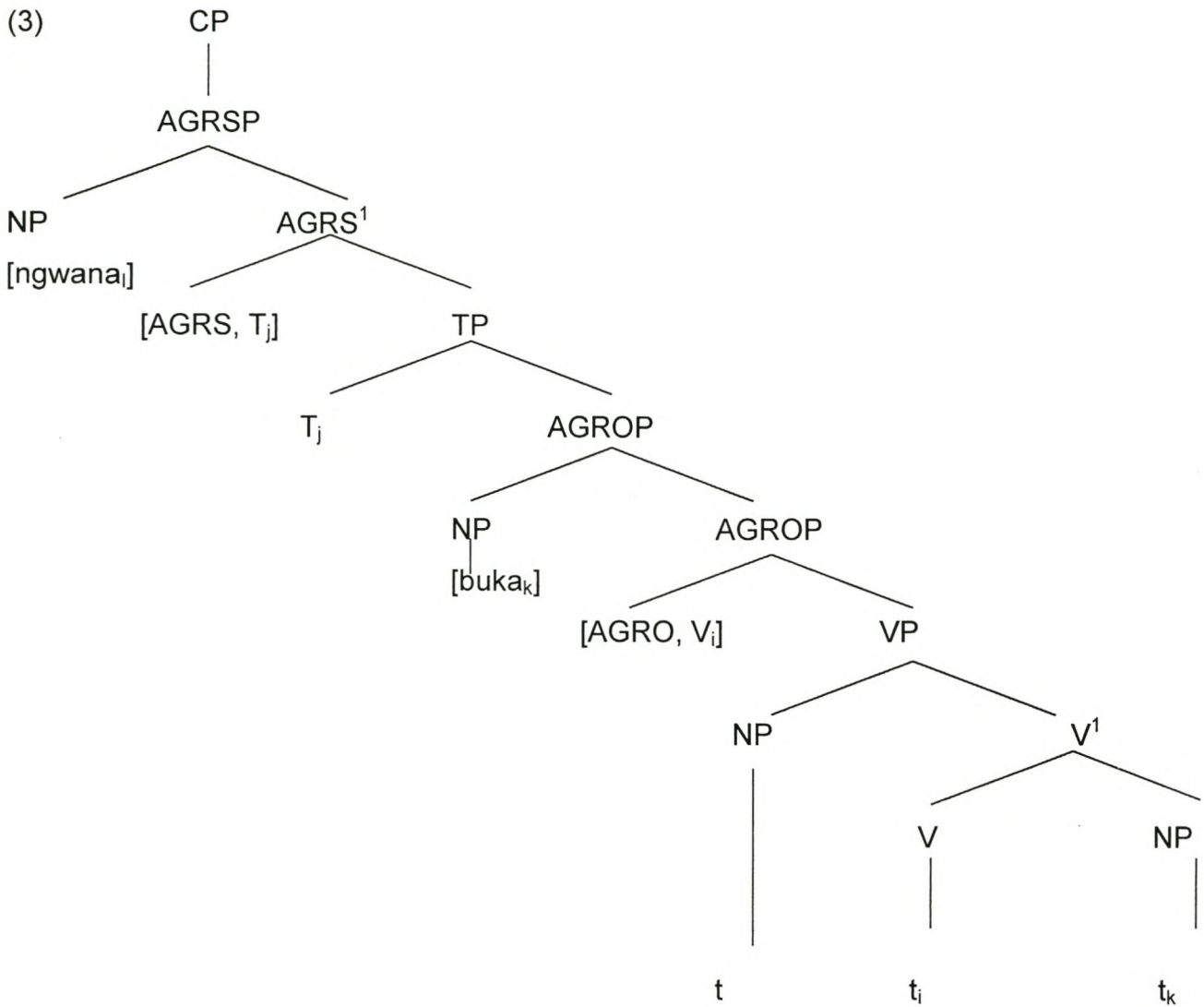
With regard to the structural position of the object and case licensing, Haegeman (1999: 38) states that there is an agreement projection responsible for checking agreement features and accusative case of the object which is Agr0P. The agreement features of objects are licensed at LF if the features are weak and before spell out if they are strong. The object argument has two structural positions; *viz.* the base position within the VP where it obtains its theta – role and the derived object position above the VP, the [Spec, Agr0P], the landing site of the object after movement responsible for accusative case licensing. According to Ouhalla (1999: 397), accusative case is assigned under Spec – head agreement with a complex [Agr0 [V] Agr0].

The idea of two structural object position can be clearly illustrated by transitive Sesotho sentence as adopted by Du Plessis (1995) for African languages as shown in (1) and (2) below :

- (1) Ngwana o bala buka
[*The child reads a book*]



According to the structure in (2) above, the NP object [buka] originates within the VP. The subject [ngwana] is raised to [Spec, AgrSP] for agreement purposes. Tense is also raised to adjoin [AGRS] for licensing of nominative case. The verb [bala] is raised to [AGRO]. Finally the object is then raised covertly to the specifier position of [AGRO]. The verb together with [AGRO] license the NP object's accusative case. If the object clitic is present, which is possible in Sesotho, the object will raise overtly before spell out. After all the categories have been raised, the structure will be as in (3) below:



4.3 THE OBJECT IN SESOTHO

Sesotho is a SVO language where the object always follows the verb. It has both direct objects and indirect objects which may appear as overt categories or as null objects in the sentence.

4.3.1 Overt objects

Overt objects are lexical NP objects which are phonologically represented in post verbal positions. As nominals, objects in Sesotho appear with nominal modifiers and they are closely associated with verbs. It will therefore be proper to deal with them in relation to various kinds of verbs such as intransitive, monotransitive and ditransitive verbs.

Intransitive verbs

While objects normally appear with transitive verbs, in Sesotho there are certain NP objects which appear with intransitive verbs as non-arguments. Such NP's according to Du Plessis and Visser (1995) are cognate objects and idiomatic objects. Cognate objects may be non-argument NP's which are referred to as adjuncts:

- (4) Ke – nyetse [sethepu]
[*I married a polygamous marriage*]

There are however cognate objects which are full arguments as indicated by a sentence in (5) below:

- (5) Ka lora [toro]
[*I dreamt a dream*]

With regard to idiomatic objects, Du Plessis and Visser (1995: 23) state that there are also intransitive verbs which appear with adjunct phrases that give rise to idiosyncratic meaning. These verb phrases are usually found in idiomatic expressions as in (6) below:

- (6) Ke tswile [kotsi]
[*I had an accident*]

Transitive verbs

According to Du Plessis and Visser (1995), transitive verbs subcategorize for one internal argument which is a direct object. These NP objects may have theta roles of patient, theme or experiencer:

- (7) a. Meutlwa e – tabola [mose] = patient
[*Thorns tear the dress*]
- b. Bana ba – utlwa [ditaba] = Theme
[*Children hear news*]

- c. Monna o – lefa [banka] = Recipient
[*A man pays the bank*]

Du Plessis and Visser (1995) identifies various types of objects in Sesotho:

a) Coordinated Objects

- (8) Ke – batla [bohobe le nama]
[*I want bread and meat*]

b) NP Locative Objects

According to Du Plessis and Visser (1995: 34) locative NP's cannot appear as objects of the verb in Sesotho but as adjuncts in the object position:

- (9) Ke – a – tseba [Kapa]
[*I know Cape Town*]

c) Sentential Pronoun as Objects

- (10) Bana ba – entse [hoo] hobane ba lapa
[*Children have done that because they starve*]

d) Ideophone Objects

- (11) O itse tjhwabo [molamu]
[*He snatched the kerie*]

Ditransitive verbs

According to Du Plessis and Visser (1995), ditransitive verbs subcategorize for two internal arguments *viz.* the indirect object and the direct object. According to Ramone (1992: 22), these two objects are grammatically and semantically dissimilar. Structurally

they both occur after the verb, i.e. one immediately after the verb and the other in the position further away from the verb.

a) Direct Objects

According to Ramone (1992), in double object constructions, direct objects appear on the periphery of the sentence and they mostly have the semantic interpretation of theme:

- (12) Monna o adima mora [pere]
[*A man lends the son a horse*]

b) Indirect Objects

Mokete (1997 : IV) states that indirect NP objects with feature [+ human] always appear adjacent to the verb carrying either the meaning of beneficiary, recipient or malefactive:

- (13) Mosadi o fa [ngwana] kobo
[*A woman gives a child a blanket*]

c) Applied objects

Ramone (1992: 34) describes applied object as the extra argument of the applied form of the verb. The applied object is dependent on the affix [- el -]. It is adjacent to the verb and has theta roles of beneficiary, purpose or cause:

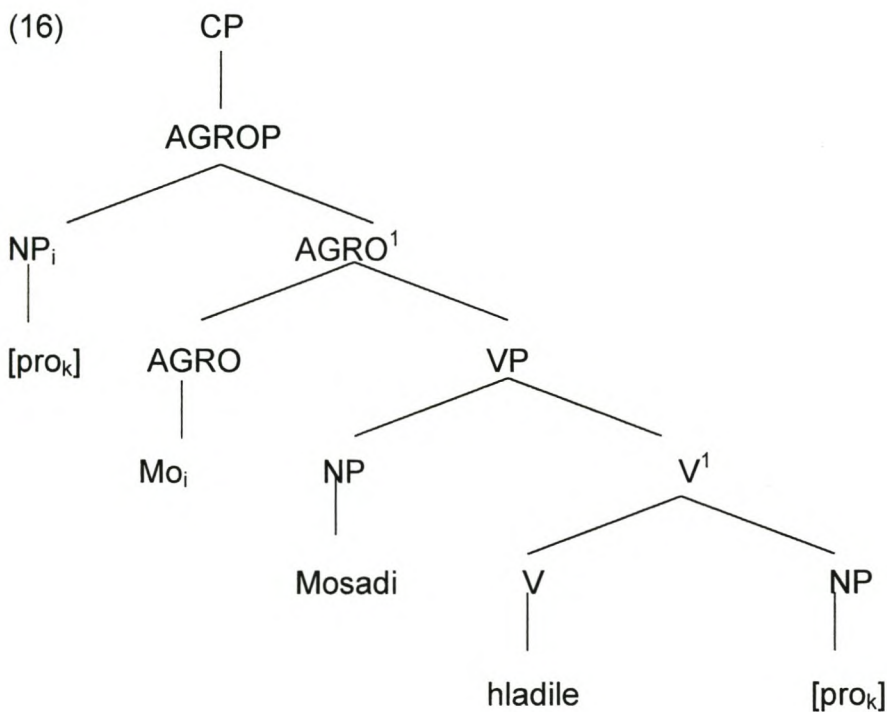
- (14) a. Mme o – kopela [ngwana] bohobe = Beneficiary
[*Mother asks bread for the child*]
- b. Mme o – phehela [ngwana] dijo = Beneficiary
[*Mother cooks food for the child*]

4.3.2 The Null object

According to Du Plessis and Visser (1995: 28) objectival concords occur as prefixes of the verb in morphology without lexical NP objects. In such cases the objects are referred to as null or empty NP objects and they are represented by phonologically empty pronominals indicated as [pro]. Idiophones can also appear with an empty [pro]. The sentences in (15) with the structure in (16) will illustrate:

(15) a. Mosadi o – mo_i - hladile [pro]
[*The woman divorced him*]

b. Monna a – mo_i - re jaa [pro_i]
[*The man smacked him / her*]



4.3.3 Properties of Sesotho objects

Du Plessis and Visser (1995: 27) state that there are three obvious Sesotho object properties: In terms of the word order Sesotho is SVO language as the sentence in (17) will indicate:

- (17) [Ngwana] [o – batla] [dipompong]
 s v o
 [The child wants sweets]

In transitive verbs the objectival agreement may appear on the verb:

- (18) Re – ka – mo_i - bona [morwetsana_i]
 [We can see her the girl]

The objectival agreement may also be found with ditransitive verbs:

- (19) Ke - ba_i - ruta Sesotho [bana_i]
 [I teach them Sesotho the children]

In passive sentences, the object may be moved to the subject position as indicated in (20) below:

- (20) [Batho bana] ba – a – bitswa
 [These people are being called]

4.3.4 NP Object with nominal modifiers

Du Plessis and Visser (1992: 357) state that nominal modifiers may appear with objects of verbs in phrases with either an overt head or an empty head. The following nominal modifiers may i.a. appear with the NP object: Demonstratives, Adjectival phrases, nominal relatives, numerals and clausal nominal modifiers:

a. NP + DEM

- (21) Ke – rata [ngwana [enwa]
 [I love this child]

b. NP + AP

- (22) Ke – rata [morwetsana [e motle]
 [I love the beautiful girl]

c. NP + NP Rel

(23) Ke – batla [nama [e bonolo]
[*I want soft meat*]

d. NP + PP

(24) Ke – bona [buka [ya morena]
[*I see the chief's book*]

e. NP + CP

(25) Ke – rata [batho [ba kgothetseng]
[*I like diligent people*]

4.4 NEGATION OF THE OBJECT WITH NON-COPULATIVE VERBS

Negation of the object argument will be considered within transitive and ditransitive verbs. Three possible ways of negating the NP object will be employed, viz. negation of the object in postverbal position, negation of the object by cleft sentences and sentences with the locative AGRS [Ho].

4.4.1 Negation of the object in transitive verbs

As indicated above, the object argument may be negated in its original postverbal position in transitive constructions. It's also possible for the object to be moved into a preverbal position for focus, where it will be introduced by the copula [ke] and the locative AGRS [Ho] before it can be negated.

POSTVERBAL NEGATION

The object arguments with feature animacy, which are to be negated, are indicated in (26) below:

- (26) a. Banna ba – batla [jwala]
[*Men want beer*]
- b. Mosuwe o – shapa [bana]
[*The teacher beats the children*]

In (26) above, the object arguments appear next to their verbs and they are not moved. To establish negation of such NP object, the negative morpheme [ha] is employed and it will appear with the negative suffix [- e.] A contrastive clause is also necessary to highlight negation of the object as shown in (27) below:

- (27) a. Banna ha – ba – batle [jwala], [ba – batla
senomaphodi]
[*Men don't want beer, they want cold drink*]
- b. Mosuwe ha – a – shape [bana], [o – shapa
ditlokotsebe]
[*The teacher doesn't beat children, he beats
delinquents*]

In (27), the object arguments are negated within the verb phrase as the objects form part of the transitive verb. i.e. the negation of the verb also affects its arguments, which in this case are the objects [jwala] and [bana].

CLEFTING

The object argument may be moved to the subject position through clefting, where it will be introduced by the copula [ke]:

- (28) a. Ke [jwala [boo banna ba – bo – batlang]]
[*It is the beer which men want*]
- b. Ke [bana [bao mosuwe a – ba – shapang]]
[*It is the children whom the teacher is thrashing*]

To establish negation of the object arguments, the negative morpheme [ha] and the negative copulative verb [se] will be made to appear with the NP object with clausal modifier:

- (29) a. Ha – se [jwala [boo banna ba – bo – batlang]]
 [*It is not beer which men want*]
- b. Ha – se [bana [bao mosuwe a – ba – shapang]]
 [*It is not children whom the teacher is thrashing*]

It is also necessary to put the above sentences in (29) in context by adding a contrasting clause in order to strengthen negation of the object:

- (30) a. Ha – se [jwala boo banna ba – bo – batlang], [ke senomaphodi]
 [*It is not beer which men want, it is the cold drink*]
- b. Ha – se [bana bao mosuwe a – ba – shapang], [ke ditlokotsebe]
 [*It is not children whom the teacher is thrashing, it is delinquents*]

From the sentences in (29) and (30), one may deduce that it is possible to use cleft sentences in negating the object arguments with feature animacy.

LOCATIVE AGRS [HO]

The object arguments with feature animacy may be moved to the sentence initial position where they are introduced by the locative AGRS [Ho] with the copulative verb [LI] and [na]:

- (31) a. [pro_i], Ho_i [jwala boo banna ba – bo – batlang]
 [*There is beer which men want*]
- b. [pro_i], Ho_i [bana bao mosuwe a – ba – shapang]
 [*There are children whom the teacher is thrashing*]

- c. [pro_i], Ho_i na le [jwala boo banna ba – bo – batlang]
[*There is beer which men want*]
- d. [pro_i], Ho_i na le [bana bao mosuwe a – ba – shapang]
[*There are children whom the teacher is thrashing*]

In establishing negation of the objects in (31) above, the negative morpheme [ha] will appear with the locative AGRS [Ho] with the NP objects as heads of the relative clause:

- (32) a. [pro_i], Ha - ho_i [jwala boo banna ba – bo – batlang]
[*There is no beer which men want*]
- b. [pro_i], Ha - ho_i [bana bao mosuwe a – ba – shapang]
[*There are no children whom the teacher is thrashing*]
- c. [pro_i], Ha - ho_i na [jwala boo banna ba – bo – batlang]
[*There is no beer which men want*]
- d. [pro_i], Ha - ho_i na [bana bao mosuwe a – ba – shapang]
[*There are no children whom the teacher is thrashing*]

To strengthen negation of the object argument, a contrasting clause is added as indicated in (33) below:

- (33) a. Ha ho [jwala boo banna ba – bo – batlang], [ke senomaphodi]
[*There is no beer which men want, it is the cold drink*]
- b. Ha – ho na [bana bao mosuwe a – ba – shapang [ke ditlokotsebe]
[*There are no children whom the teacher is thrashing, it is delinquents*]

From the sentences in (32) and (33) above, one may conclude that it is also possible to negate the object arguments in transitive constructions by means of locative AGRS [Ho] clauses.

In summary, the animate and inanimate NP objects may be negated by cleft sentences and sentences with locative AGRS [Ho], where the object is negated within a larger sentence scope. It is also possible to negate the NP object within the VP.

4.4.2 Negation of the object in ditransitive verbs

As in the case of transitive verbs, the object arguments i.e. direct and indirect objects, may be negated in their original postverbal position in ditransitive constructions. It is also possible to use cleft sentences and clauses with locative AGRS [Ho] to negate objects of ditransitive verbs in sentence initial positions.

POSTVERBAL NEGATION

The object arguments to be negated are indicated in the sentences in (34) below:

- (34) a. Ntate o fa [bana] [tjhelete]
[*The father gives children money*]
- b. Ntate o fa [banka] [tjhelete]
[*The father gives a bank money*]

In (34) above, the indirect object [bana] is animate and the indirect object [banka] is inanimate. In both (34 a,b) the direct object is inanimate. To negate the objects above, the negative morpheme [ha] will be employed and it will appear with the negative suffix [-e]:

- (35) a. Ntate ha – a – f – e [bana] [tjhelete]
[*The father doesn't give children money*]
- b. Ntate ha – a – f – e [banka] [tjhelete]
[*The father doesn't give the bank money*]

In (35) above, the indirect and the direct objects are negated within the verb phrase as they are subcategorized by a ditransitive verb. To isolate negation on these objects, a contrasting clause is necessary either to put emphasis on the direct or the indirect object. To negate indirect animate object [bana], a contrasting clause with animate NP will be employed as indicated in (36) below:

- (36) a. Ntate ha – a – fe [bana] tjhelete, [o – fa – mme]
 [*Father doesn't give children money, he give the mother*]

In this way as in (36) above, only the indirect object is negated. To negate the direct object [tjhelete], a contrasting clause with the features [- human] and [- animate] will be employed:

- (37) a. Ntate ha – a – fe bana [tjhelete], [o – ba – fa dijo]
 [*The father doesn't give children money, he gives them food*]

In the case where the indirect object is not human, a contrasting clause will also be non-human as illustrated in (38):

- (38) Ntate ha – a – fe [banka] tjhelete, [o – fa kereke]
 [*The father doesn't give a bank money, he gives the church*]

From the above sentences, one may conclude that both indirect and direct objects are negated within verbal complex. The indirect object is mostly affected by negation whereas the direct object as [theme] is less affected. To isolate them in negation, a contrasting clause play an important role in determining which one is negated.

CLEFTING

The object argument may be moved to the sentence initial position through clefting. In the case of ditransitive constructions, only the moved NP object will be negated. In (39) below, the indirect object is moved to appear in a focus position:

- (39) a. Ke [mme [eo ntate a – mo – fang tjhelete]]
[*It's the mother whom the father is giving her money*]
- b. Ke [banka [eo ntate a – e – fang tjhelete]]
[*It is a bank which the father gives it money*]
- c. Ke [batswadi [bao ke – ba – fang bana]]
[*It is the parents whom I give them children*]

To establish negation of the moved indirect object, the negative morpheme [ha] and the negative copulative verb [se] will be employed as in (40) below:

- (40) a. Ha – se [mme [eo ntate a – mo – fang tjhelete]]
[*It is not mother whom father gives her money*]
- b. Ha – se [banka [eo ntate a – e – fang tjhelete]]
[*It is not the bank which father gives it money*]
- c. Ha – se [batswadi [bao ke – ba – fang bana]]
[*It is not the parents whom I give them children*]

To strengthen negation on the moved indirect object, it is also acceptable to add a contrasting clause as illustrated in (41) below:

- (41) a. Ha – se [mme [eo ntate a – mo – fang tjhelete], [ke
ngwana]]
[*It is not the mother whom the father gives her money,
it is the child*]
- b. Ha – se [banka [eo ntate a – e – fang tjhelete], [ke
kereke]]
[*It is not the bank which the father gives it money, it
is the church*]

- c. Ha – se [batswadi [bao ke – ba – fang bana], [ke mesuwe]
 [*It is not the parents whom I give them children, it is the teachers*]

When the animate direct object is moved to appear in a focus position, the sentence becomes ambiguous as in (42) below:

- (42) Ha – se [bana [bao ke – ba – fang batswadi]
 [*It is not children whom I give them parents*]
 [*It is not children whom I give them to parents*]

From the sentences in (41) and (42) above, it would seem that only indirect objects can appear in a focus position and therefore only indirect objects can be negated by means of cleft sentences in double object constructions.

LOCATIVE AGRS [HO]

It is possible for the indirect object argument to be moved to the sentence initial position where it will be introduced by the locative AGRS [Ho] with the copulative verbs [LI] and [na]. The direct object will then appear at the periphery of the sentence:

- (43) a. [pro_i], Ho_i [mme [eo ntate a – mo – fang tjhelete]
 [*There is a mother whom father is giving her money*]
- b. [pro_i], Ho_i [banka [eo ntate a – e – fang tjhelete]
 [*There is a bank which father is giving it money*]
- c. [pro_i], Ho_i na le [mme [eo ntate a – mo – fang tjhelete]]
 [*There is the mother whom father is giving her money*]
- d. [pro_i], Ho_i na le [banka [eo ntate a – e – fang tjhelete]]
 [*There is a bank which father is giving it money*]

In negating the object argument, the negative morpheme [ha] will appear with the locative AGRS [Ho] with the object as the head of the relative clause. In the case of the copulative verb [na], the preposition [le] disappears as demonstrated by the sentences in (44) below:

- (44) a. [pro_i], Ha - ho_i [mme [eo ntate a – mo – fang tjhelete]
[*There is no mother whom the father is giving her money*]
- b. [pro_i], Ha - ho_i [banka [eo ntate a – e – fang tjhelete]]
[*There is no bank which the father is giving it money*]
- c. [pro_i], Ha - ho_i na [mme [eo ntate a – mo – fang tjhelete]
[*There is no mother whom the father is giving her money*]
- d. [pro_i], Ha - ho_i na [banka [eo ntate a – e – fang tjhelete]]
[*There is no bank which the father is giving it money*]

A contrasting clause may be added to put focus on the indirect object:

- (45) a. Ha – ho [mme [eo ntate a – mo – fang tjhelete], [ke bana]
[*There is no mother whom the father is giving her money, it is the children*]
- b. Ha – ho [banka [eo ntate a – e – fang tjhelete], [ke kereke]
[*There is no bank which the father is giving it money, it is the church*]

As in the case of cleft sentences, when the animate direct object is moved to appear in a focus position, the sentence becomes ambiguous as in (46) below:

- (46) Ha – ho [bana [bao ke – ba – fang batswadi]
 [*There are no children whom I give them to parents*]
 [*There are no children whom I give them the parents*]

From the sentences in (45) and (46) above, it would seem that only indirect object may appear in a focus position and as a result, only indirect objects may be negated by clauses with locative AGRS [Ho].

In summary, both the direct and the indirect objects can be negated within the verbal complex, where they are both affected by the ditransitive verb. In the case of cleft sentences and clauses with locative AGRS [Ho], only the moved NP object is negated and in both constructions, only the indirect object appears in the focus position.

4.5 NEGATION OF THE OBJECT WITH COPULATIVE VERBS

The aim here is to look into negation of various complements of the copulative verbs, *viz.* copulative noun phrases, locative noun phrases, nominal relatives, adjectival phrases and prepositional phrases. As in the case of non-copulative verbs, three possible ways of negating copulative complements will be considered, *viz.* negation of the complements within the verb phrase, negation by cleft sentences and negation by clauses with locative AGRS [Ho].

4.5.1 Negation of copulative NP

With regard to NP complements, only two possible methods may be employed to negate the NP complements of copulatives. They may be negated locally within the verb phrase, where it is not moved from its basic complement position and it can be negated by cleft sentences, where complements are moved to sentence initial positions.

NEGATION WITHIN VP

The copulative NP complements with feature animacy to be negated are indicated in (47) below:

- (47) a. Ngwana enwa ke [moithuti]
 [*This child is a student*]

- b. Thipa ena ke [sesebediswa]
[*This knife is an instrument*]

To establish negation, the negative morpheme [ha] and the copulative verb [se] will be employed as in (48) below:

- (48) a. Ngwana enwa [ha – se moithuti]
[*This child is not a student*]

- b. Thipa ena [ha – se sesebediswa]
[*This knife is not an instrument*]

It is possible to add a contrasting clause in order to highlight negation of the NP complements as in (49) below:

- (49) a. Ngwana enwa [ha – se moithuti], [ke mosuwe]
[*This child is not a student, she is a teacher*]

- b. Thipa ena [ha – se sesebediswa], [ke sebetsa]
[*This knife is not an instrument, it is a weapon*]

It is also possible to use a clause of emphasis [ho – hang] to stress negation as indicated in (50):

- (50) a. Ngwana enwa ha – se moithuti [ho hang]
[*This child is not a student at all*]

- b. Thipa ena ha – se sesebediswa [ho hang]
[*This knife is not an instrument at all*]

From the sentences in (49) and (50) above, one may conclude that the copulative NP complement may be negated within the verb phrase. When the verb as head is affected, in this case by negation, the NP complement will also be affected, i.e. it will be negated.

CLEFTING

The copulative NP complements may be moved to the sentence initial position through clefting, where they are introduced by the copula [ke], and the NP will now become the head of the relative clause as in (51):

- (51) a. Ke [moithuti [eo ngwana enwa e – leng yena]
[*It is a student who this child is*]
- b. Ke [thipa [hoo sesebediswa sena se leng sona]
[*It is a knife what this instrument is*]

To negate the NP complement, the negative morpheme [ha] and the negative morpheme [se] will replace the copulative verb [ke]:

- (52) a. [Ha – se [moithuti [eo ngwana enwa e leng yena]
[*It is not a student who this child is*]
- b. [Ha – se [thipa [hoo sesebediswa sena se – leng
sona]
[*It is not a knife what this instrument is*]

It is also possible to strengthen negation of the NP complement by a constricting clause:

- (53) a. Ha – se [moithuti eo ngwana enwa e leng yena], [ke
titjhere]
[*It is not a student who this child is, it is a teacher*]
- b. Ha – se [thipa hoo sesebediswa sena se leng sona],
[ke sebetsa]
[*It is not a knife what this instrument is, it is a weapon*]

From the sentences in (52) and (53) , one may conclude that it is possible to negate the NP complements of copulatives by means of cleft sentences. The NP as complement of copulatives, can therefore be negated by clefting and within the verb phrase.

4.5.2 Negation of locative NP

As in the case of NP complements, NP Loc's can be negated by two methods only, viz. negation within the VP and negation by cleft sentences.

NEGATION WITHIN VP

The locative noun phrase to be negated is indicated in (54) below, where it appears with the copulative verb [LI]:

- (54) Modisana o [sekolong]
[*The shepherd is at school*]

To negate the locative noun phrase, the negative morpheme [ha] will be employed as illustrated in (55) below:

- (55) Modisana [ha – a sekolong]
[*The shepherd is not at school*]

To strengthen negation, a contrasting clause may be employed as in (56):

- (56) Modisana [ha – a sekolong], [o sakeng]
[*The shepherd is not at school, he is at the kraal*]

It is possible to add a clause of emphasis [ho hang] to put stress on negation as in (57) below:

- (57) Modisana [ha – a sekolong [ho hang]
[*The shepherd is not at school at all*]

From the sentences in (55), (56) and (57), it is clear that the NP Loc can be negated within the verb phrase. The negation of the verb also affects its complement.

CLEFTING

The locative NP may be moved to appear in the sentence initial position through clefting, where it will also be introduced by the copula [ke]. The locative noun phrase will then be followed by a locative demonstrative [moo] as head of the relative clause:

- (58) Ke [sekolong [moo [modisana a leng teng]
[*It is at school where the shepherd is*]

To establish negation in the sentence above, the negative morpheme [ha] and the negative copulative verb [se] will appear in the place of the copula [ke] as in (59) below:

- (59) [Ha – se [sekolong moo modisana a leng teng]
[*It is not at school where the shepherd is*]

It is also possible to employ a contrasting clause in order to put more focus on the negated NP Loc:

- (60) [Ha – se [sekolong moo modisana a leng teng],
[ke sakeng]
[*It is not at school where the shepherd is, it is at the kraal*]

From these sentences in (59) and (60), it is evident that clefting is another possible way of negating the locative noun phrases. The locative NP can therefore as in the case of NP complements, be negated by clefting and within the VP.

4.5.3 Negation of nominal relatives

As in the case of NP complements and locative noun phrases, the nominal relatives can also be negated in two ways. They can be negated within the verb phrase and by cleft sentences.

NEGATION WITHIN THE VP

The nominal relative to be negated will appear with the abstract copulative verb [LI] as indicated in (61):

- (61) Bana bana ba [bohlale]
 [*These children are brilliant*]

To negate the nominal relative, the negative morpheme [ha] will be employed as indicated in (62) below:

- (62) Bana bana [ha – ba bohlale]
 [*These children are not brilliant*]

It is possible to employ a contrasting clause to highlight negation:

- (63) Bana bana [ha – ba bohlale], [ba makgethe]
 [*These children are not brilliant, they are neat*]

It is also possible to employ a clause of emphasis in order to put more stress on the negated complement as in (64) below:

- (64) Bana bana ha – ba bohlale [ho hang]
 [*These children are not brilliant at all*]

From the sentences in (62), (63) and (64) it is evident that the nominal relative can also be negated from within the verb phrase.

CLEFTING

It is possible to move the nominal relative to appear in the sentence initial position where it is introduced by the copulative [ke] as indicated in (65) below:

- (65) Ke [bohlale [hoo bana bana ba leng hona]
 [*It is brilliance what these children are*]

To negate the nominal relative in (65) above, the negative morpheme [ha] and negative copulative verb [se] will replace the copula [ke]:

- (66) [Ha – se [bohlale [hoo bana bana ba leng hona]
[It is not brilliance what these children are]

It is possible to employ a contrasting clause to put more focus on the negation of the nominal relative:

- (67) Ha – se [bohlale [hoo bana bana ba leng hona],
[ke matla]
[It is not brilliance what these children are, it is power]

From the sentences in (66) and (67) it is clear that the nominal relative like other noun phrases, can be negated by cleft sentences. Nominal relatives can therefore be negated by clefting and within the VP.

4.5.4 Negation of adjectival phrase

With regard to adjectival phrases, there is only one way of negating them. They can be negated within the verb phrase and they cannot be moved to appear as complements of the copulative [ke] or the locative AGRS [Ho].

NEGATION WITHIN THE VP

The adjectival phrase to be negated will appear with copulative verb [LI] as indicated in (68):

- (68) Ngwana enwa o [motle]
[This child is beautiful]

In negating the adjectival phrase, the negative morpheme [ha] will be employed as illustrated in (69):

- (69) Ngwana enwa [ha – a motle]
[*This child is not beautiful*]

It is also possible to focus negation on the adjectival phrase by adding a contrasting clause as in (70):

- (70) Ngwana enwa [ha – a motle], [o mobe]
[*This child is not beautiful, s/he is ugly*]

A clause of emphasis may be employed to put stress on the negated complement:

- (71) Ngwana enwa [ha – a motle [ho hang]
[*This child is not beautiful at all*]

From the sentences in (69), (70) and (71) it is clear that the adjectival phrases may be negated within the VP. They cannot be negated by cleft sentences or sentences with locative AGRS [Ho] because they refuse to accept the copula [ke] or locative AGRS [Ho] in order to be put in focus positions:

- (72) a. * Ke [motle [hoo [ngwana enwa a leng hona]
[*It is beautiful what this child is*]
- b. * Ho [motle [ntho eo ngwana enwa a leng yona]
[*There is beautiful what this child is*]

4.5.5 Negation of the PP with [LE] as head

As in the case of adjectives, there is only one way of negating the prepositional phrase as complement of the copulative verb [na]. The prepositional phrase with [le] as head can be negated within the verb phrase, where it is not moved to the focus position. It cannot be negated by clefting or by clauses with locative AGRS [Ho] because it cannot appear in focus position as in the case of adjectives.

NEGATION WITHIN THE VP

The prepositional phrase to be negated is indicated in (73) below:

- (73) a. Bana ba na [le [dibuka]]
 [*Children have books*]
- b. Mosadi o na [le [bana]]
 [*The woman has children*]

To negate the above prepositional phrase with [le] as head, the negative morpheme [ha] will be employed. In the case where the preposition [le] has the meaning of possession, it will fall away as indicated by the sentences in (74) below:

- (74) a. Bana ha – ba – na [dibuka]
 [*Children don't have books*]
- b. Mosadi ha – a – na [bana]
 [*The woman doesn't have children*]

It is possible to add a contrasting clause to strengthen negation as illustrated in (75) below:

- (75) a. Bana ha – ba – na [dibuka], [ba – na le dipene]
 [*Children don't have books, they have pens*]
- b. Mme ha – a – na [bana], [o – na le dikgomo]
 [*Mother doesn't have children, she has cattle*]

It is also possible to employ a clause of emphasis to put stress on negation of the noun phrases as in (76) below :

- (76) a. Bana ha – ba – na dibuka [ho hang]
 [*Children don't have books at all*]

- b. Mosadi ha – a na bana [ho hang]
 [*The woman doesn't have children at all*]

In the case where the preposition [le] has the meaning of association, the preposition [le] is retained in such constructions as in (77) below:

- (77) Mosadi ha – a na [le bana]
 [*The woman is not with the children*]

It is also possible to employ a contrasting clause in such sentence construction as in (78):

- (78) Mosadi ha – a na [le bana], [o – na le basadi]
 [*The mother is not with children, she is with women*]

From the sentences in (74), (75), (76), (77) and (78), one may conclude that the prepositional phrases with [le] as head, where they appear as complements of the copulative verb [na], may be negated within the verb phrases. As indicated above, they cannot be negated by means of cleft sentences and clauses with locative AGRS [ho] as they cannot be moved to appear in focus positions.

4.6 NEGATION OF UNSPECIFIED OBJECTS

The aim in this subsection is to look at how unspecified objects are negated with non-copulative and copulative verbs. As in the case of unspecified subjects, unspecified objects are non-specific objects with no identifiable referents. They are indefinite objects in negative constructions such as [nobody] and [nothing] with their positive counterparts such as [anybody] and [anything]. In Sesotho they are phrases such as [Ha ho motho] and [Ha ho letho] with their positive counterparts as [mang le mang / mang kapa mang / motho ofe kapa ofe] and [eng le eng / eng kapa eng / ntho efe kapa efe]. They are the same phrases as unspecified subjects, the only difference being that of grammatical and structural positions.

4.6.1 Negation of unspecified objects with non-copulative verbs

There are various ways in which negative unspecified objects are expressed. In the first place the indefinite NP [letho] in the case of inanimate object and the NP [motho] in the case of animate object may appear within the VP as in (79) below:

- (79) a. Banna ha – ba – batle [letho]
 [*Men don't want anything*]
- b. Bana ha – ba – bone [motho]
 [*Children don't see anybody*]

A cleft sentence may be employed to negate the unspecified NP objects where the copulative [ke] is replaced by the negative morpheme [ha] and the negative copulative verb [se] as in (80) below:

- (80) a. [Ha – se [mang le mang [eo bana ba – mo – ratang]
 [*It is not anybody whom the children like*]
- b. [Ha – se [eng le eng [eo bana ba – e – ratang]
 [*It is not anything which the children like*]

The unspecified NP objects may be moved to appear as complements of the locative AGRS [Ho], where these objects become heads of the relative clauses as indicated in (81):

- (81) a. [Ha – ho [motho ofe kapa ofe [eo bana ba – mo – ratang]
 [*There is nobody whom the children like*]
- b. [Ha – ho [ntho efe kapa efe [eo bana ba – e – ratang]
 [*There is nothing which the children like*]

However, as it is the case with indefinite subject arguments, the sentences in (81) above usually appear in a reduced form, where the phrases [ofe kapa ofe] and [efe kapa efe] are omitted as illustrated by the sentences in (82) below:

- (82) a. [Ha – ho [motho [eo bana ba – mo – ratang]
[*There is nobody whom the children like*]
- b. [Ha – ho [ntho [eo bana ba – e – ratang]
[*There is nothing which the children like*]

The noun phrase [ntho] and [motho] may be replaced by the interrogative noun phrase [eng] and [mang] respectively, which appear as indefinite noun phrases in negative constructions:

- (83) a. Ha – ho [mang [eo bana ba – mo – ratang]
[*There is nobody whom the children like*]
- b. Ha – ho [eng [eo bana ba – e – ratang]
[*There is nothing which the children like*]

The unspecified objects can appear as null objects where they are represented by the empty [pro] as in (84) below:

- (84) a. Ha – ho [pro_i] eo_i bana ba – mo_i - ratang
[*There is no one whom the children like*]
- b. Ha – ho [pro_i] eo_i bana ba – e_i - ratang
[*There is nothing which the children like*]

The unspecified NP objects [mang] and [eng] may also appear with the sentential preposition [leha] with the meaning of [not even] in negative constructions as illustrated in (85):

- (85) a. Ha – ho [leha e – le [mang [eo bana ba – mo – ratang]
[*There is not even one whom children like*]
- b. Ha – ho [leha e – le [eng [eo bana ba – e – ratang]
[*There is not even one thing which children like*]

4.6.2 Negation of unspecified objects with copulative verbs

With copulative verbs, the NP [letho] can appear as the unspecified NP object with the meaning of [nothing] referring to animate and inanimate subjects as in (86) below:

- (86) a. Leshodu [ha – se [letho [pela mmuso]
[*A thief is nothing before government*]
- b. Borena [ha – se [letho [matsatsing ana]
[*Chieftainship is nothing these days*]

Cleft sentences may be employed to negate the unspecified NP objects where the copula [ke] is replaced by the negative morpheme [ha] and the negative copulative verb [se] as in (87):

- (87) a. [Ha – se [mang le mang [eo e – leng leshodu]
[*It is not anybody who is a thief*]
- b. [Ha – se [eng le eng [eo e – leng sebetsa]
[*It is not anything which is a weapon*]

The unspecified NP objects may be moved to left periphery of the sentence to appear as complements of the locative AGRS [Ho] as illustrated in (88):

- (88) a. [Ha – ho [motho ofe kapa ofe [eo e – leng leshodu]
[*There is nobody who is a thief*]
- b. Ha – ho [ntho efe kapa efe [eo e – leng sebetsa]
[*There is nothing which is a weapon*]

As in the case of non-copulative verbs, the sentences in (88) may appear in a reduced form, where the phrases [ofe kapa ofe] and [efe kapa efe] are omitted as in (89) below:

- (89) a. [Ha – ho [motho [eo e – leng leshodu]
[*There is nobody who is a thief*]

- b. [Ha – ho [ntho [eo e – leng sebetsa]
 [*There is nothing which is a weapon*]

The NP's [motho] and [ntho] may be replaced by the interrogative [mang] and [eng] respectively, in this case appearing as indefinite NP's as shown in (90) below:

- (90) a. [Ho – ho [mang [eo e – leng leshodu]
 [*There is nobody who is a thief*]
- b. [Ha – ho [eng [eo e – leng sebetsa]
 [*There is nothing which is a weapon*]

The unspecified objects [mang] and [eng] may also appear with sentential preposition [leha] with the meaning of [not even] in the negative as illustrated in (91) below:

- (91) a. Ho – ho [leha e – le [mang [eo e – leng leshodu]
 [*There is not even one who is a thief*]
- b. Ha – ho [leha e – le [eng [eo e – leng sebetsa]
 [*There is not even one thing which is a weapon*]

As in the case of non-copulative verbs, the unspecified objects may appear as null objects where they are represented by the empty [pro] as in (92):

- (92) a. Ha – ho [pro_i] eo_i e_i - leng leshodu
 [*There is no one who is a thief*]
- b. Ha – ho [pro_i] eo_i e – leng sebetsa
 [*There is not one thing which is a weapon*]

From the above sentences of both non-copulative and copulative verbs, it is observed that indefinite objects appear as complements of their verbs with the meaning of [nobody] and [nothing]. In the case where cleft sentences were employed, NP objects are negated as [not anybody] and [not anything]. It is only with the locative AGRS [Ho] where the objects have been moved, that the indefinite objects have the meaning of [nobody] and [nothing]

as in VP's. The interrogative [mang] and [eng] appear as indefinite objects in negative constructions.

4.7 NEGATION OF CLAUSAL OBJECTS

The aim of this subsection is to look at how clausal objects such as the infinitive clauses and the hore – clauses are negated in non-copulative and copulative verbs. Two possible methods will be considered, namely: object negation within the verb phrase and negation by means of cleft sentences, where the clausal object will be moved to the sentence initial position.

Non-copulative verbs

As indicated above, negation of clausal objects will be based on only two types of clauses i.e. the infinitive clauses and the hore – clause with the subjunctive.

NEGATION OF THE INFINITIVE CLAUSE

The object clause to be negated is indicated in (93) below:

- (93) Ke – batla [ho sebetsa]
[*I want to work*]

The infinitive clause [ho sebetsa] in (93) above, may be negated in two possible ways. In the first place, it may be negated within the verbal phrase, where it is not moved from its object position. The negative morpheme [ha] will appear with the negative suffix [- e]:

- (94) [Ha – ke – batl – e [ho sebetsa]
[*I don't want to work*]

Secondly, the clausal object may be moved to the left periphery of the sentence to appear as complement of the copulative verb [ke] in a focus position:

- (95) Ke [ho sebetsa [hoo ke ho batlang]
[*It is to work what I want*]

To negate the clausal object, the negative morpheme [ha] and the copulative verb [se] will appear in the place of the copula [ke] as demonstrated by the sentence in (96) below:

- (96) [Ha – se [ho sebetsa [hoo ke ho batlang]
[*It is not to work what I want*]

A clause of contrast is necessary to highlight the negated clausal object as indicated in (97):

- (97) Ha – se [ho sebetsa hoo ke ho batlang], [ke ho bala]
[*It is not to work what I want, it is to study*]

NEGATION OF THE HORE – CLAUSE

The clausal object to be negated is indicated in the sentence in (98) below:

- (98) Ke – batla [hore ba – sebetse]
[*I want that they should work*]

As in the case of the infinitive clause, it is also possible to negate the object hore – clause within the verbal phrase, where the negative morpheme [ha] will appear with the negative suffix [- e] as illustrated in (99) below:

- (99) [Ha – ke – batl – e [hore ba – sebetse]
[*I don't want that they should work*]

Secondly, the clausal object [hore ba – sebetse] may also be moved to the left periphery of the sentence to appear as complement of the copula [ke] as demonstrated in (100) below:

- (100) Ke [hore ba – sebetse [hoo ke ho batlang]
[*It is that they should work what I want*]

It is possible to negate the sentence construction in (100) above by replacing the copula [ke] by the negative morpheme [ha] and the negative copulative [se] as shown in (101) below:

- (101) [Ha – se [hore ba – sebetse [hoo ke ho batlang]
[*It is not that they should work what I want*]

It is also possible to employ a contrasting clause to highlight the negated clausal object as indicated in (102) below:

- (102) Ha – se [hore ba – sebetse [hoo ke ho batlang],
[ke hore ba bale]
[*It is not that they should work what I want, it is that they should read*]

From the sentences in (99), (100), (101) and (102), one may conclude that it is possible to negate clausal objects within the verb phrase and by cleft sentences.

Copulative verbs

With regard to copulative verbs, only one method is possible in negation of clausal complements such as the infinitive and the hore – clause. These clausal complements can be negated within the verb phrases with copulative verbs [ke], [le] and [ba] as heads as well as the negative copulative [se] negating them.

NEGATION OF THE INFINITIVE CLAUSE

The infinitive clause can appear as clausal object of the following copulative verbs: [ke], [le] and [ba], indicated in (103) below:

- (103) a. Sepheo [ke [ho fumana tjhelete]]
[*The aim is to get money*]
- b. Mosebetsi o moholo [e-ne e-le [ho tsamaisa batho]]
[*The main job was to commute people*]
- c. Mosebetsi o moholo [ya eba [ho rekisa]]
[*The main job was to sell*]

In negating the sentence in (103.a), the copulative verb [ke] will be replaced by the negative morpheme [ha] and the negative copulative verb [se] as illustrated in (104) below:

- (104) Sepheo [ha – se [ho fumana tjhelete]
[*The aim is not to get money*]

It is possible to employ a contrasting clause to strengthen negation of object clause as demonstrated by the sentence in (105) below:

- (105) Sepheo [ha – se [ho fumana tjhelete], [ke ho bapala]
[*The aim is not to get money, it is to play*]

To negate the sentence in (103.b), the copulative verb [le] with the indefinite [e] will be replaced by the negative copulative verb [se] with the indefinite [e] as indicated by the sentence in (106) below:

- (106) Mosebetsi o moholo [e-ne e-se [ho tsamaisa batho]
[*The main work was not to commute people*]

It is also possible to add the clause of contrast to highlight the negated infinitive clause as in (107) below:

- (107) Mosebetsi o moholo [e-ne e-se [ho tsamaisa batho], [e-
le ho rekisa]
[*The main work was not to commute people, it was to sell*]

To negate the sentence in (103.c) above, the copulative verb [ba] will appear with the negative copulative verb [se] as indicated in (108) below:

- (108) Mosebetsi o moholo [ya se be [ho rekisa]
[*The main work was not to sell*]

To highlight the negated complement clause, a contrasting clause is necessary as shown in (109):

- (109) Mosebetsi o moholo [ya se be [ho rekisa], [ya eba
ho bina]
[*The main work was not to sell, it was to sing*]

From the sentences in (104), (106) and (108), one may conclude that the infinitive clause as complement of copulative verbs [ke], [le] and [ba] can be negated within the VP, with a clause of contrast to help strengthen its negation.

NEGATION OF HORE – CLAUSE

As in the case of infinitive clauses, the hore – clause may also appear as clausal complement of the copulative verbs [ke], [le] and [ba] as indicated in (110) below:

- (110) a. Qeto [ke [hore bana ba tsamaye]]
[*A decision is that children should leave*]
- b. Kgopolo ya hae [e ne e le [hore a – fihle pele]]
[*His thought was that he should arrive first*]
- c. Qeto ya ka [ya eba [hore ba tsamaye]]
[*My decision was that they should leave*]

To establish negation of the sentences in (110) above, the same procedure is followed. The copulative verb [ke] is replaced by the negative morpheme [ha] and the copulative verb [se]. The copulative verb [le] with indefinite [e] will be replaced by the negative verb [se] with indefinite [e], and the copulative verb [ba] will appear with the negative verb [se]. The following sentences in (111) below will illustrate:

- (111) a. Qeto [ha – se [hore bana ba – tsamaye], [ke hore ba
dule]
[*A decision is not that children should leave, it is that
they should stay*]
- b. Kgopolo ya hae [e ne-e se [hore a – fihle pele]
[*His thought was not that he should arrive first*]

- c. Qeto ya ka [ya[se be [hore ba tsamaye]
[*My decision was not that they should leave*]

From the sentences in (111) above, it is clear that hore – clauses as complement of the copulative verbs [ke], [le] and [ba] can be negated within the VP, and a contrasting clause is not a necessity.

In summary, infinitive clauses and hore – clauses with non-copulative verbs may be negated within the verb phrase and by cleft sentences, while with copulative verbs, they cannot be clefted but can only be negated within VP's.

CHAPTER 5

NEGATION OF ADJUNCTS

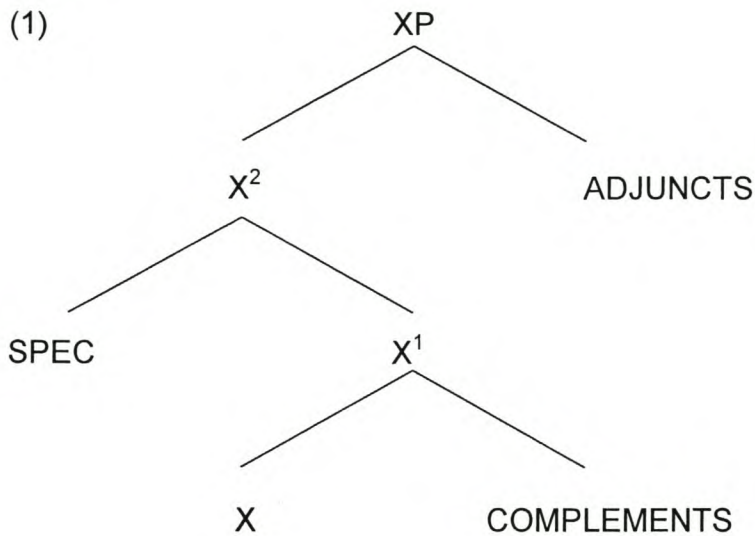
5.1 AIM

The aim of this section is to investigate negation of adjuncts in clauses with non-copulative and copulative verbs. Various types of adjunct categories such as adverbs, locative noun phrases, noun phrases denoting time and prepositional phrases with [ka], [le] and [ho] as heads will be considered. As in the case of object negation, negation of adjuncts within their canonical position will be taken into account. Negation of adjuncts will also be considered with regard to cleft sentences and clauses with locative AGRS [Ho], where these adjuncts are moved to appear at the beginning of the sentence.

5.2 THE NOTION ADJUNCT

According to Haegeman and Geuron (1999: 29), adjuncts are components which provide information about time, manner, reason, place, modality of the event or state of affairs expressed in the sentence. Crystal (1991) describes them as categories used in grammatical theory to refer to optional or secondary elements in a construction. They are constituents with the grammatical function of telling us about how, when, where or why of the situations expressed by the sentence. They are always optional and express peripheral information. They are not subcategorized by the verb and therefore not arguments of the verb, their relation to the verb is less direct than that of the arguments which have thematic link to the verb. Adjunct categories include adverb phrases, prepositional phrases, noun phrases, finite clauses, non-finite clauses and small clauses.

With regard to their structural position, adjunct categories occupy a specific position which is higher up in terms of X-bar scheme. Ouhalla (1999: 117) states that one distinguishing characteristic of adjuncts in terms of their structural position, is that they are sisters and daughters of phrasal categories at the same time. They are not complements of lexical categories they modify. The structure in (1) below illustrates:



5.3 ADJUNCTS IN SESOTHO

According to Malete (1996: 36), adjuncts are composed of lexical categories such as noun phrases [NP Loc, NPT], adverbs, prepositional phrases and clauses. Malete (1996) further distinguishes adjuncts into three types *viz.* adjuncts of time, adjuncts of manner and locative adjuncts.

5.3.1 Adverbs – adjuncts of manner

Adverbs are defined by Sanders (1984: 222) as those constructions which are neither nominal, verbal, adjectival nor adpositional in form and function. They are modifiers of either verbs or adjectives or other adverbials. According to Malete (1996: 40), adjuncts denoting manner include adverbs and prepositional phrases. Adverbs are lexical categories that form part of grammatical adjuncts of a verb and express the semantic notion of manner, instrument or circumstances. In Sesotho, adverbs are distinguished by the morpheme [ha -] which can combine with other lexical categories such as adjectives and relative stems as in (2) below:

- (2)
- a. Ha – holo > Haholo [greatly]
 - b. Ha – mpe > Hampe [badly]
 - c.

A prepositional phrase with [ka] as head may have this function:

- (3) Ba – tsamaile [ka [potlako]
[*They left quickly*]

There are also certain verbs which do not show any derivations viz. [feela , ruri, butle, jwang, tjena]:

- (4) Ba – tsamaile [feela]
[*They just left*]

According to Malete (1996: 41 – 42), adjuncts of manner can be found in various positions in the sentence and still serve to bring secondary information. They appear after intransitive, transitive verbs, with copulative [ke], adjectives and other adjuncts of manner.

5.3.2 Adjuncts of time

Du Plessis and Visser (1992: 126) indicate that the noun phrase denoting time have no theta role and is therefore not an argument of the verb. They denote time and some instances or periods of time are inherent in their meaning. They also include prepositional phrases in which [ka] is the head which have this function of time:

- (5) a. Ke – bone ngwana [motsheare]
[*I have seen a child at midday*]
- b. Ke – bone moloi [ka [meso]
[*I have seen a witch at dawn*]

Malete (1996: 37) indicates that there are noun phrases denoting:-

- time of the day: [Hoseng, thapama],
- time of days: [maobane, hosane],
- days in the week: [mantaha, labobedi],
- indicating time of the year: [monongwaha],
- indicating seasons: [selemo, mariha],
- and those indicating the past: [kgale, mohlamonene].

Adjuncts of time can appear in various positions in the sentence and still serve to bring only secondary information.

5.3.3 Locative adjuncts

According to Maletse (1996: 43) the locative adjuncts appear in sentences as NP's with inflected affix [eng] and as prepositional phrases with [ho], [ka], [ha] as heads:

- (6) a. Ntate o – lemme poone [masimong]
 [*Father have planted maize at the fields*]
- b. Ngwana o – sebetsa [ha [malome]
 [*A child works at uncle's place*]
- c. Ngwana o – sebetsa [ho [ntatae]
 [*A child works with his father*]

5.3.4 Prepositional phrases

According to Ramone (1997: 78), prepositions are lexical categories that subcategorize for NP's like verbs. They are heads of prepositional phrases and they c- command the NP's that they govern. They assign the oblique case to their NP complements. He (Ramone (1997)) maintains that Sesotho has only five prepositions viz. the prepositions [ka], [le], [ho], [ke] and [sa] indicated in the sentences in (7) below:

- (7) a. Monna o – lwana [ka [koto]
 [*Man fights with a kierie*]
- b. Monna o – tsamaya [le [mosadi]
 [*Man leaves with the wife*]
- c. Marabe o – jewa [ke [bana]
 [*The puff adder is eaten by its children*]
- d. Bana ba – dula [ho [ntate]
 [*Children are staying at father's place*]

- e. Monna o – lwana [sa [tau]
[*A man fights like a lion*]

Ramone (1997:576) goes further to state that prepositions have a variety of complements such as NP, NP Loc, pronoun, interrogatives and PP just to mention a few. The following sentences below will indicate some of the complements of the prepositions [ka], [le] and [ho]:

a. LOCATIVE NP

- (8) Batho ba – tsamaya [ka [tseleng]
[*People walk in the road*]

b. PRONOUNS

- (9) a. Ba – mpoleletse [ka [yena]
[*They told me about him*]
- b. Ba – tla – tsamaya [le [yena]
[*They will go with him*]
- c. Bana ba – tla – sala [ho [yena]
[*Children will remain at his place*]

c. INTERROGATIVE [MANG]

- (10) a. O – utlwile [ka [mang]
[*He heard by whom?*]
- b. O - eme [le [mang]
[*He is standing with whom*]
- c. O - sala [ho [mang]
[*He is staying at whose place*]

According to Ramone (1997: 578), prepositions have a wide distribution. They appear in different syntactic positions such as subject positions; complement positions and adjunct positions:

a. SUBJECT POSITION

- (11) [Ho [motho e moholo] ho hotle
[*To an older person it is nice*]

b. COMPLEMENT POSITION

- (12) Monna o – ya [ho [mosadi]
[*A man goes to the wife*]

c. ADJUNCT POSITION

- (13) a. Mosadi o – reka mose [ho [lekgowa]
[*A woman buys a dress from a white person*]
- b. Monna o – hlomoha pelo [ke mosadi]
[*A man's heart is sad because of a woman*]

5.4 NEGATION OF ADJUNCTS WITH NON-COPULATIVE VERBS

With regard to adjuncts as lexical categories, negation of four types of adjuncts will be explored. They are adverb phrases, noun phrases denoting time, locative noun phrases and prepositional phrases with [ka], [le] and [ho] as heads. Further more, negation of noun phrases as complements of prepositions [ka], [le] and [ho] will also be considered. Two possible ways of negating these adjunct categories are the cleft sentences, where the adjunct will be moved to the left periphery of the sentence and sentences where adjuncts are negated within the verb phrase i.e. in their adjunct positions. With regard to complements of the prepositional phrases, the clauses with locative AGRS [Ho] will be included as the third possible means of negation.

5.4.1 Adverb negation

The adverb as lexical adjunct category may be negated within the verb phrase, a position to the right periphery of the sentence. It is also possible to use cleft sentence, where the adverb is moved to the preverbal position:

Negation within VP

The adjunct category to be negated will appear on the right periphery of the sentence as indicated below:

- (14) Bana ba – hana dijo [hangata]
 [*The children deny food often*]

To establish negation, the negative morpheme [ha] will be employed and it will appear with the negative suffix [- e] as indicated by the sentence in (15):

- (15) Bana [ha – ba – han – e dijo [hangata]]
 [*Children don't deny food often*]

It is also necessary to use the contrasting clause to highlight negation of the adverb:

- (16) Bana [ha – ba – hane dijo [hangata], [ba di hana ha-
 nngwe]
 [*Children don't deny food often, they deny them once*]

Through the use of a contrasting clause, one may conclude that it is possible to negate the adverb within the verb phrase. Without it, negation affects the whole sentence.

CLEFTING

The adverb may be moved to appear in the left periphery of the sentence where it will be introduced by the copula [ke] as demonstrated by the sentence in (17) below:

- (17) Ke [hangata [bana ba – hanang dijo]]
[*It is often that children deny food*]

In negating the moved adverb, the copula [ke] will be replaced by the negative morpheme [ha] and the negative copulative verb [se]:

- (18) Ha – se [hangata [bana ba – hanang dijo]]
[*It is not often that children deny food*]

In (18) the adverb [hangata] is negated and the contrasting clause may only be added to strengthen negation of this adverb:

- (19) Ha – se [hangata [bana ba – hanang dijo], [ke ka
sewelo]]
[*It is not often that children deny food, it is seldom*]

From the above observation, one may conclude that the adverb may be negated within the verb phrase through the help of a contrasting clause. Without it negation affects the sentence as a whole. It is also possible to negate the adverb by means of a cleft sentence, while a contrasting clause only strengthens negation.

5.4.2 Negation of NP time

The noun phrase denoting time may be negated within the verbal complex. It may also be negated by the cleft sentence and a clause with locative AGRS [Ho], where it is moved to appear as complement of the copula [ke] and the locative AGRS [Ho].

NEGATION WITHIN VP

The adjunct category to be negated is indicated in the sentence below:

- (20) Banna ba – sebeditse [dihora tse pedi]
[*Men have worked for two hours*]

To negate the sentence in (20) above, the negative morpheme [ha] and negative perfect morpheme [a] will be employed as in (21):

- (21) Banna [ha – ba – a – sebetsa [dihora tse pedi]]
 [Men have not worked for two hours]

It will also be necessary to employ a contrasting clause in order to put focus on the adjunct as illustrated in (22) below:

- (22) Banna [ha – ba – a – tsebetsa [dihora tse pedi], [ba sebeditse matsatsi a mabedi]]
 [Men haven't worked for two hours, they worked for two days]

From the sentences in (21) and (22) it is clear that the adjunct of time [dihora tse pedi] can be negated within the verbal complex. In (21) the adjunct is negated as part of the verbal complex i.e. within the sentential scope. In (22), a contrasting clause helps to isolate negation on the adjunct.

CLEFTING

On the other hand, the adjunct of time may be moved to the left periphery of the sentence to appear as complement of the copulative verb [ke] as demonstrated here in (23):

- (23) Ke [dihora tse pedi [tseo banna ba – di – sebeditseng]]
 [It is two hours which men have worked]

To establish negation of the adjunct, the copulative verb [ke] will be replaced by the negative morpheme [ha] and the copulative verb [se] as indicated in (24) below:

- (24) [Ha – se [dihora tse pedi [tseo banna ba – di – sebeditseng]]]
 [It is not two hours which men have worked]

As in the case of adverbs, the clause of contrast might be added only to strengthen negation of the adjunct as illustrated by the sentence in (25) below:

- (25) [Ha – se [dihora tse pedi [tseo banna ba – di – sebeditseng], [ke matsatsi a mabedi]
[*It is not two hours which men have worked for, it is two days*]

From the observations in (24) and (25), it is clear that the cleft sentence can be used to negate the adjunct of time. In (24) above, the adjunct is negated and is put in focus position. In (25), the adjunct negation is only strengthened.

LOCATIVE AGRS [Ho]

It is also possible to move the adjunct of time to the preverbal position to appear with the locative AGRS [Ho] with the abstract copulative verb [LI] and [na] as illustrated in (26) below:

- (26) a. [pro_i] Ho_i [dihora tse pedi [tseo banna ba – di – sebeditseng]
[*There are two hours which men have worked*]
- b. [pro_i] Ho_i na le [dihora tse pedi [tseo banna ba – di – sebeditseng]
[*There are two hours which men have worked*]

To establish negation of the adjunct, the negative morpheme [ha] will be employed as demonstrated here in (27) below:

- (27) a. [pro_i] Ha - ho_i [dihora tse pedi [tseo banna ba – di – sebeditseng]
[*There are no two hours which men have worked*]
- b. [pro_i] Ha - ho_i - na [dihora tse pedi [tseo banna ba – di – sebeditseng]

It is also possible to employ a clause of contrast to strengthen negation of adjuncts of time as indicated in (28) below:

- (28) a. Ha – ho [dihora tse pedi tseo banna ba – di –
sebeditseng], [ke matsatsi a mabedi]
[*There are no two hours which men worked, it is
two days*]

As in the case of cleft sentences, it is also possible to use a clause with locative AGRS [Ho] to negate the adjuncts of time. A contrasting clause is merely used to strengthen negation.

5.4.3 Negation of locative NP

The locative noun phrase as adjunct may also be negated within the verbal complex where it occupies the adjunct position. It may also be negated by the cleft sentences, where the locative NP is moved to the sentence initial position.

NEGATION WITHIN VP

The locative NP to be negated is indicated in (29) below:

- (29) Mosuwe o – shapa bana [lapeng]
[*The teacher punishes children at home*]

To establish negation of the above sentence in (29), the negative morpheme [ha] will be employed:

- (30) Mosuwe [ha – a – shape bana [lapeng]]
[*The teacher does not punish children at home*]

It will be necessary to add a contrasting clause in order to put focus on the locative adjunct, so that negation is directed to it. The sentence in (31) illustrates:

- (31) Mosuwe ha – a – shape bana [lapeng], [o – ba – shapa sekolong]
 [*The teacher does not punish children at home, he punishes them at school*]

In this way, the locative noun phrase is negated within the verb phrase, and a contrasting clause merely strengthens negation of the locative adjuncts.

CLEFTING

The locative noun phrase may be moved to appear with the copulative verb [ke] as indicated in (32) below:

- (32) Ke [lapeng [moo mosuwe a- shapang bana teng]
 [*It is at home where the teacher punishes children*]

In negating the NP locative, the negative morpheme [ha] will appear with the negative copulative verb [se], replacing the copula [ke]:

- (33) [Ha – se [lapeng moo mosuwe a – shapang bana teng]
 [*It is not at home where the teacher punishes children*]

The clause of contrast may be added only to strengthen negation on the locative NP as in the case of adverbs and NP's of time. The sentence in (34) illustrates:

- (34) Ha – se [lapeng moo mosuwe a – shapang bana teng],
 [ke sekolong]
 [*It is not at home where the teacher punish children, it is at school*]

It is clear from the sentences in (33) and (34) that it is also possible to negate the locative NP's by means of cleft sentences, where the negated constituent is placed in focus position. A clause of contrast only strengthens negation. It should also be noted that there are locative noun phrases which are subcategorized by locative verbs i.e. they are

arguments to these verbs. Such NP locatives are also negated in the same way as locative adjuncts. The following sentences in (35) will demonstrate:

- (35) a. Bana ha – ba – dule [toropong], [ba – dula
mapolasing]
[*Children don't stay in town, they stay in farms*]
- b. Ha – se [toropong moo bana ba – dulang teng],
[ke mapolasing]
[*It is not in town where children stay, it is in the farms*]

5.4.4 Negation of prepositional phrases

Cleft sentences will be used to negate prepositional phrases to see whether it is possible to negate such phrases. The prepositional phrases with [ka], [ho] and [le] will be investigated.

THE PREPOSITIONAL PHRASE WITH [KA] AS HEAD

The prepositional phrase to be negated is indicated in the sentence in (36) below:

- (36) Banna ba – lwana ntwā [ka [melamu]
[*Men fight the battle with kieries*]

To put the prepositional phrase in (36) above in focus, it will be moved to the right periphery of the sentence, where it will be introduced by the copula [ke] as in (37) below:

- (37) Ke [ka [melamu [banna ba – lwanang ntwā]]
[*It is with kieries that men fight the battle*]

To establish negation, the negative morpheme [ha] and the negative copulative verb [se] will be employed to appear before the prepositional phrase as demonstrated in (38) below:

- (38) [Ha – se [ka melamu [banna ba lwanang ntwā]
[*It is not with kieres that men fight the battle*]

It is possible to use a clause of contrast to strengthen negation of the prepositional phrase as in (39) below:

- (39) Ha – se [ka melamu] banna ba lwanang ntwā, [ke ka
dithunya]
[*It is not with kieres that men fight the battle, it is with guns*]

THE PREPOSITIONAL PHRASE WITH [HO] AS HEAD

The sentence in (40) below indicates the prepositional phrase to be negated:

- (40) Bana bana ba – dula [ho [mme]
[*These children stay at mother's place*]

The prepositional phrase [ho mme] will be moved to appear to the left periphery of the sentence. It will then appear as complement of the copulative verb [ke] as indicated in (41):

- (41) Ke [ho mme [moo bana bana ba – dulang teng]]
[*It is at mother's place where these children stay*]

In negating the prepositional phrase in (41) above, the negative morpheme [ha] and the copulative verb [se] will appear in the place of the copulative verb [ke] as illustrated in (42) below:

- (42) [Ha – se [ho – mme [moo bana bana ba – dulang
teng]]
[*It is not at mother's place where these children stay*]

It is also possible to add a clause of contrast only to strengthen negation as demonstrated by the sentence in (43):

- (43) Ha – se [ho mme] moo bana bana ba – dulang teng,
 [ke ho ntate]
 [*It is not at mother's place where these children stay, it is at father's place*]

THE PREPOSITIONAL PHRASE WITH [LE] AS HEAD

The sentence in (44) below indicates the prepositional phrase which is to be negated:

- (44) Monna o – tsamaya [le [mosadi]
 [*A man walks with a woman*]

The prepositional phrase [le mosadi] will be moved to appear with the copulative verb [ke] in a focus position:

- (45) * Ke [le mosadi [eo manna a tsamayang le yena]]
 [*It is with the woman whom the man is walking with*]

The sentence in (45) is ungrammatical as the prepositional phrase with [le] as head cannot appear with the copulative verb [ke]. If the negative of such sentence construction is forced, the sentence will be grammatical, but it will have a different semantic interpretation. The prepositional phrase with [le] as head will have the meaning of [not even] with comma intonation:

- (46) Ha – se le mosadi, eo monna a tsamayang le yena
 [*It is not even his wife whom the man is walking with*]

From the observations made above, one may conclude that the cleft sentences may be used to negate the prepositional phrases with [ka] and [ho] as heads. They cannot be used to negate the prepositional phrase with [le] as head.

5.4.5 Negation of prepositional complements

Cleft sentences and clauses with locative AGRS [Ho] will be employed to see if it is possible to negate complements of prepositional phrases. Only noun phrase

complements of the prepositional phrases with [ka], [le] and [ho] as heads will be considered.

NP AS COMPLEMENT OF [LE]

The NP complement to be negated is indicated in (47) below:

- (47) Batswadi ba – sebeditse [le [bana]
 [*Parents worked with children*]

The NP complement will be moved to the left periphery to appear with the copula [ke]:

- (48) Ke [bana [bao batswadi ba – sebeditseng le bona]
 [*It is the children whom the parents have worked with
 them*]

To establish negation, the negative morpheme [ha] and the negative copulative verb [se] will appear before the NP which is now the head of the relative clause:

- (49) [Ha – se [bana [bao batswadi ba – sebeditseng le
 bona]
 [*It is not the children whom parents have worked with
 them*]

To strengthen negation of the NP complement, a clause of contrast will be employed as indicated in (50) below:

- (50) Ha – se [bana bao batswadi ba sebeditseng le bona],
 [ke matitjhere]
 [*It is not the children whom parents have worked with
 them, it is the teachers*]

On the other hand, the NP complement will be moved to the right periphery of the sentence to appear as complement of the locative AGRS [Ho]. The NP complement will

now appear as head of the relative clause. The NP will appear with the abstract copulative verb [LI] and the copulative [na]:

- (51) a. [pro_i] Ho_i bana [bao batswadi ba sebeditseng le bona]
 [*There are children whom parents worked with them*]
- b. [pro_i] Ho_i na le bana [bao batswadi ba – sebeditseng
 le bona]]
 [*There are children whom parents worked with them*]

In negating the NP, the negative morpheme [ha] will appear with the locative AGRS [Ho]:

- (52) a. [pro_i] Ha – ho_i [bana bao batswadi ba – sebeditseng
 le bona]
 [*There are no children whom parents worked with
 them*]
- b. [pro_i] Ha ho_i na [bana bao batswadi ba – sebeditseng
 le bona]
 [*There are no children whom parents worked with
 them*]

As in the case of cleft sentences, a clause of contrast may only be employed to strengthen negation of the NP as it will be indicated in (53) below:

- (53) a. Ha – ho [bana bao batswadi ba – sebeditseng le
 bona], [ke matitjhere]

 [*There are no children whom parents worked with
 them, it is the teachers*]
- b. Ha – ho – na [bana bao batswadi ba – sebeditseng le
 bona], [ke matitjhere]
 [*There are no children whom parents worked with them,
 it is the teachers*]

From the sentences in (49) and (52), it is clear that the NP as complement of the preposition [le] can be negated by cleft sentences and the clauses with AGRS [Ho]. A clause of contrast is not necessary but it can be employed to strengthen negation.

THE NP AS COMPLEMENT OF [KA]

The NP complement of the preposition [ka] will also be negated by cleft sentences and clauses with locative AGRS [Ho]. The NP to be negated is indicated in (54) below:

- (54) Banna ba – lwana [ka [melamu]
 [*Men fight with kieres*]

In the case of clefting, the NP complement will be moved to a focus position where it is introduced by the copulative [ke]:

- (55) Ke [melamu [eo banna ba – lwanang ka yona]]
 [*It is the kieres which men fight with*]

In the negative, the copula [ke] will be replaced by the negative morpheme [Ha] and negative copulative verb [se]:

- (56) [Ha – se [melamu [eo banna ba – lwanang ka yona]]
 [*It is not kieres which men fight with*]

It is also possible to use a contrasting clause to highlight negation of the NP as indicated in (57) below:

- (57) [Ha – se [melamu [eo banna ba – lwang ka yona],
 [ke dithunya]
 [*It is not kieres which men fight with, it is guns*]

In the case of locative AGRS [Ho], the NP complement will be moved to the left periphery of the sentence to appear as complement of the locative AGRS [Ho] with the abstract copulative verb [LI] and the copulative [na]:

- (58) a. [pro_i] Ho_i [melamu [eo banna ba – lwang ka yona]
[*There are kieres which men fight with*]
- b. [pro_i] Ho_i - na le [melamu [eo banna ba – lwanang ka
yona]
[*There are kieres which men fight with*]

To establish negation, the negative morpheme [ha] will appear with the locative AGRS [Ho] as shown in (59) below:

- (59) a. [pro_i] [Ha - ho_i [melamu eo banna ba – lwanang ka
yona]
[*There are no kieres which men fight with*]
- b. [pro_i] Ha – ho – na [melamu eo banna ba – lwanang
ka yona]
[*There are no kieres which men fight with*]

As in the case of cleft sentences, it is also possible to employ a clause of contrast to strengthen negation of the NP:

- (60) a. Ha – ho [melamu eo banna ba lwanang ka yona], [ke
dithunya]
[*There are no kieres which men fight with, it is the
guns*]
- b. Ha – ho na [melamu eo banna ba lwanang ka yona],
[ke dithunya]
[*There are no kieres with which men fight with, it is the
guns*]

From the sentences in (56) and (59) one may conclude that the NP complement of the preposition [ka] may also be negated by cleft sentences and by clauses with locative AGRS [Ho].

NP AS COMPLEMENT OF [HO]

The NP complement off the preposition [ho] will also be negated by means of cleft sentence and a clause with locative AGRS [Ho]. The NP complement to be negated is indicated in (61) below:

- (61) Bana ba – dula [ho [ntate]
[*Children are staying at father's place*]

With regard to clefting, the NP complement will be moved to the left periphery of the sentence where it appears with the copula [ke]:

- (62) Ke [ntate [eo bana ba – dulang ho yena]
[*It is the father whom the children are staying with*]

In negating the moved NP [ntate], the negative morpheme [ha] and the negative [se] will appear in the place of the copula [ke]:

- (63) [Ha – se [ntate [eo bana ba – dulang ho yena]
[*It is not the father whom the children are staying with*]

To strengthen negation of the NP [ntate], a clause of contrast will be employed as shown in (64) below:

- (64) Ha – se [ntate eo bana ba- dulang ho yena], [ke
mme]
[*It is not the father whom the children are staying with, it
is the mother*]

In the same way, the NP complement may be moved to the left periphery of the sentence to appear as complement of the locative AGRS [Ho] with the copulatives [LI] and [na]:

- (65) [pro_i] Ho_i [ntate [eo bana ba – dulang ho yena]
[*There is a father whom the children are staying with*]

In the negative, the locative AGRS [Ho] will appear with the negative morpheme [ha] as in (66) below:

- (66) a. [pro_i] Ha – ho [ntate [eo bana ba – dulang ho yena]
[*There is no father whom the children are staying with*]
- b. [pro_i] Ha – ho na [ntate [eo bana ba – dulang ho yena]
[*There is no father whom the children are staying with*]

A clause of contrast may also be employed as in the case of cleft sentence:

- (67) a. Ha –ho [ntate [eo bana ba – dulang ho yena], [ke mme]
[*There is no father whom the children are staying with, it is the mother*]
- b. Ha – ho na [ntate [eo bana ba – dulang ho yena], [ke mme]
[*There is no father whom the children are staying with, it is the mother*]

From the sentences in (63) and (66), it is observed that the NP complement of the preposition [ho] can also be negated by means of cleft sentence and a clause with locative AGRS [Ho]. The NP complements of the prepositions [le], [ka] and [ho] can therefore be negated as single constituents, where they first have to be put into focus position.

5.5 NEGATION OF ADJUNCTS WITH COPULATIVE VERBS

With regard to copulative verbs, the same procedures as above with non-copulative verbs will be followed with the copulative constructions. In the case of copulative verbs, only one type of adjunct category, the noun phrase denoting time will be considered as other categories do not bring any new insight into the possible negation of adjuncts. Also, only one complement of the copulative verb, the adjectival phrase will be considered as they

also don't bring new observations. However, examples of the other remaining adjuncts with the AP as complement of copulatives will be given for confirmation. Negation of adjuncts will be considered in two ways *viz.* negation within the VP and negation by means of cleft sentences.

5.5.1 Copulative + [AP] + [NP TIME]

The noun phrase denoting time which is to be negated is indicated in (68) below:

- (68) Batho [ba bangata [hoseng]]
 [*People are many in the morning*]

In the first place, the NPT [hoseng] may be negated within the verb phrase by employing the negative morpheme [ha] as illustrated by the sentences in (69) below:

- (69) Batho [ha – ba bangata [hoseng]]
 [*People are not many in the morning*]

It will be necessary to employ a contrasting clause in order to focus negation on the adjunct as shown in (70):

- (70) Batho [ha – ba bangata [hoseng], [ba bangata
 mantsiboya]
 [*People are not many in the morning, they are many in the
 evening*]

From the sentence in (69) above, the adjunct is not negated but falls within the scope of sentential negation. When a clause of contrast is implemented as in (70) above, the adjunct [hoseng] is put into focus with the result that negation falls directly on it. In this way one may conclude that adjuncts may be negated within the verbal complex.

Secondly, the adjunct [hoseng] may be moved to appear on the left periphery of the sentence, where it will be introduced by the copula [ke]:

- (71) Ke [hoseng [moo batho ba leng bangata]
[*It is in the morning when people are many*]

To establish negation, the negative morpheme [ha] and the copulative verb [se] will appear in the place of the copula [ke]:

- (72) [Ha – se [hoseng [moo batho ba leng bangata]
[*It is not in the morning when people are many*]

To strengthen negation of the adjunct, a clause of contrast may be added:

- (73) Ha – se [hoseng [moo batho ba leng bangata], [ke
mantsiboya]
[*It is not in the morning when people are many, it is in the
evening*]

From the sentences in (72) and (73) one may conclude that it is also possible to use cleft sentences in negating adjunct categories. With cleft sentences, a contrasting clause only serve to put emphasis on the adjunct, but within the verb phrase, it helps to focus negation on the adjunct. The same observation is realized with all other remaining adjunct categories. It is the cleft sentences that are possible means of adjunct negation as well as within the VP. Hereunder, are examples of sentences confirming the above observation.

5.5.2 Copulative + AP + [ADVERB]

- (74) a. Monna enwa ha – a molelele [haholo], [o molelele hantle]
[*This man is too tall but averagely tall*]
- b. [Ha – se [hahalo [monna a bang molelele], [ke hanyane]
[*It is not very much a man becomes tall, it is less much*]

5.5.3 Copulative + AP + [NP Loc]

- (75) a. Basadi [ha – ba bangata [jwaleng], [ba bangata lapeng]
[*Women are not many at drinking place, they are many at home*]
- b. Ha – se [jwaleng [moo banna ba leng bangata], [ke mosebetsing]
[*It is not at drinking place where men are many, it is at work*]

5.5.4 Copulative + AP + [PP]a) PREPOSITIONAL PHRASE WITH [KA] AS HEAD

- (76) [Ha – se [ka mona [moo banna ba leng bangata], [ke ka mane]
[*It is not here where men are many, it is there*]

b) PREPOSITIONAL PHRASE WITH [HO] AS HEAD

- (77) [Ha – se [ho mme [moo bana ba leng bangata], [ke ho ntate]
[*It is not at mother's place where children are many, it is at father's place*]

c) PREPOSITIONAL PHRASE WITH [LE] AS HEAD

- (78) * [Ha – se [le mme [ngwana a leng motle]
[*It is not with her mother that the child is beautiful*]

5.5.5 Complements of prepositions

a) Preposition [KA]

- (79) [Ha – se [mona moo bana ba leng bangata ka teng], [ke mane]
[It is not here where children are many, it is there]

b) Preposition [LE]

- (80) [Ha – se [mmae [eo ngwana a leng motle le yena], [ke ntatae]
[It is not her mother whom the child is beautiful with, it is her father]

c) Preposition [HO]

- (81) [Ha – se [mmae [eo bana ba leng bangata ho yena], [ke ntate]
[It is not the mother whom the children are many at her, it is the father]

5.6 UNSPECIFIED NP COMPLEMENTS OF PREPOSITIONAL PHRASES

The aim here is to look at how unspecified complements of the prepositional phrases with [ka], [le] and [ho] as heads are negated in non-copulative and copulative verbs. Two possible ways of expressing negative unspecified complements will be considered. They are cleft sentences and clauses with locative AGRS [Ho].

5.6.1 Non-copulative verbs

CLEFTING

Cleft sentences may be employed to negate unspecified NP complements of the prepositional phrases with [ka], [le] and [ho] as heads where these NP complements are moved to the left periphery of the sentence to appear as complements of the negative morpheme [ha] and the negative verb [se] as shown in the sentences below:

[KA]

- (82) a. [Ha – se mang le mang] eo basadi ba buang [ka yena]
 [*It is not anybody whom women talk about*]
 b. [Ha – se eng le eng] eo bana ba bapalang [ka yona]
 [*It is not anything which children play with*]

[LE]

- (83) [Ha – se mang le mang] eo basadi ba buang [le yena]
 [*It is not anybody whom women talk with her / him*]

[HO]

- (84) a. [Ha – se mang le mang] eo bana ba dulang [ho yena]
 [*It is not anybody whom children stay at his place*]
 b. [Ha – se eng le eng] eo bana ba dulang [ho yona]
 [*It is not anything which children sit on it*]

LOCATIVE AGRS [HO]

The sentences with locative AGRS [Ho] may also be employed to negate the complements of the prepositional phrases with [ka], [le] and [ho] as heads. These complements are moved to appear in the left periphery of the sentence where they become complements of the negative [ha] and the locative AGRS [Ho]: The following sentences below will demonstrate:

[KA], [LE] AND [HO]

- (85) a. [Ha – ho [motho ofe kapa ofe] eo basadi ba buang [ka yena]
[*There is nobody whom women talk about him / her*]
- b. [Ha – ho [ntho efe kapa efe] eo bana ba bapalang [ka yona]
[*There is nothing which children are playing with*]
- (86) [Ha – ho motho ofe kapa ofe] eo basadi ba buang [le yena]
[*There is nobody whom women talk with*]
- (87) a. [Ha – ho motho ofe kapa ofe] eo basadi ba dulang [ho yena]
[*There is nobody whom women are staying at his / her place*]
- b. [Ha – ho ntho efe kapa efe] eo basadi ba dulang [ho yona]
[*There is nothing which women sit on it*]

However, the phrases [ofe kapa ofe] and [efe kapa efe] are usually left out when indefinite NP's are expressed in the negative as shown in the following sentences below:

WITH [KA]

- (88) a. [Ha – ho motho] eo basadi ba – buang [ka yena]
[*There is nobody whom women are talking about*]
- b. [Ha – ho ntho] eo bana ba – bapalang [ka yona]
[*There is nothing which children are playing with*]

WITH [LE]

- (89) [Ha – ho motho] eo bana ba – bapalang [le yena]
[*There is nobody whom children are playing with*]

WITH [HO]

- (90) a. [Ha – ho motho] eo basadi ba – dulang [ho yena]
 [*There is nobody whom women are staying at her / his place*]
- b. [Ha – ho ntho] eo bana ba – dulang [ho yona]
 [*There is nothing which children are sitting on it*]

The noun phrases [motho] and [ntho] may be replaced by the interrogative nouns [mang] and [eng] respectively, which appear as indefinites noun phrases in negative constructions. The following sentences will indicate negative indefinites of preposition [ka], [le] and [ho].

WITH [KA]

- (91) a. [Ha – ho mang] eo basadi ba – buang [ka yena]
 [*There is nobody whom women are talking about*]
- b. [Ha – ho eng] eo bana ba – bapalang [ka yona]
 [*There is nothing which children are playing with*]

WITH [LE]

- (92) [Ha – ho mang] eo bana ba – bapalang [le yena]
 [*There is nobody whom children are playing with*]

WITH [HO]

- (93) a. [Ha – ho mang] eo bana ba – dulang [ho yena]
 [*There is nobody whom children are staying at his / her place*]
- b. [Ha – ho eng] eo bana ba – dulang [ho yona]
 [*There is nothing which children are sitting on it*]

In all the three prepositions, the indefinite [mang], [motho] or [eng] and [ntho] may be dropped to be represented by the empty [pro]. The sentences in (94) will illustrate:

- (94) a. [Ha – ho [pro_i] eo_i basadi ba – buang [ka yena_i]
 [There is no one whom women are talking about]
- b. [Ha – ho] [pro_i] eo_i bana ba – bapalang [ka yona_i]
 [There is not a thing which children are playing with]

The unspecified complement [mang] and [eng] may appear with the sentential preposition [leha] with the meaning of [not even] with all the three prepositions: [ka], [le] and [ho]. Only one example with the preposition [ka] will be given for illustration:

- (95) a. Ha – ho [leha e – le mang] eo basadi ba – buang [ka yena]
 [There is not even one whom women are talking about]
- b. Ha – ho [leha e – le eng] eo bana ba – bapalang [ka yona]
 [There is not even one which children are playing with]

5.6.2 Copulative verbs

In the case of copulative verbs, the unspecified NP complements of the prepositions [ka], [le] and [ho] are negated in the same way as those that appear with non-copulative verbs. They are negated by cleft sentences and clauses with locative AGRS [Ho]. As a result, only examples with negative unspecified complements with [ka] will be given:

WITH [KA]

- (96) a. [Ha – se ntho efe kapa efe] eo bana ba leng batle [ka yona]
 [It is not anything which children are good with]
- b. [Ha – ho ntho] eo bana ba leng batle [ka yona]
 [There is nothing which children are good with]

- c. [Ha – ho eng] eo bana ba leng batle [ka yona]
[*There is nothing which children are good with*]
- d. [Ha – ho [pro_i] eo_i bana ba leng batle [ka yona]
[*There is not a thing which children are good with*]
- e. [Ha – ho [leha e – le eng] eo bana ba leng batle [ka yona]
[*There is not even one which children are good with*]

From the sentences of non-copulative and copulative verbs above, it is observed that indefinite NP complements of prepositions [ka], [le] and [ho] may be negated by clefting, where they appear as [not anybody] and [not anything] , and by clauses with AGRS [Ho] where they appear as [nobody] and [nothing].

CHAPTER 6

FOCUS AND SCOPE OF NEGATION

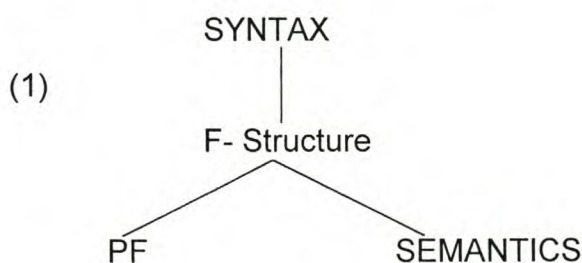
6.1 AIM

Negation is described by Zanuttini (1997) as the syntactic process by which a language employ negative markers to negate a clause in order to express a negative proposition. Klima (1964) describes negation as part of grammatical analysis of languages consisting of grammar rules that are involved in sentences associated with negation. Negation entails among other things, term or constituent negation and sentence negation which together serve as inferences to the scope of negation. It also entails focus, where constituents in negative sentences are focused. There are various ways proposed by different scholars in dealing with the scope of negation and focus. To mention but a few, we have Klima (1964), Lasnik (1974), Haegeman (1995), Zanuttini (1997) and Erteschik - shir (1997). The aim here is to investigate focus and scope of negation in Sesotho sentences.

6.2 FOCUS AND NEGATION

6.2.1 Focus - structure

On the issue of focus, Erteschik - shir (1997) proposed the focus structure theory to analyze both positive and negative sentences, where she argues that sentences may have the main focus structure or the subordinate focus structure. The focus structure theory explores the role of focus structure in grammar, the interface between focus structure and syntax. It also explores the semantics of focus structure and the intonation associated with it. According to Erteschik - shir (1997: 3), focus structure is a grammatical level with structural description in which topic and focus are marked. It feeds both Phonetic-form (PF) level and the semantic level as the diagram in (1) indicates:



Focus structure is the input to a semantic rule of Predication, it provides a natural account of quantifier scope, anaphors and subject-object asymmetries. According to focus structure, (henceforth F- structure), a sentence is viewed as a means of changing the information state of the interpreter or the hearer. The part of the information state which the hearer has in common with the speaker is the common ground. The common ground is viewed as having a set of file cards which represent existing discourse referents and this common ground information is ordered according to topics. A focused NP in a sentence results in positioning a new card on top of the file if that NP is indefinite, or positioning an existing card on top of the file if that NP is definite.

Focus structure theory is a pragmatic theory concerned with appropriate conditions on the relation between sentences and context i.e. topics are assigned only to constituents for which the file cards are available. It also affects truth-conditions, i.e. focus assignment may determine truth conditions: Topics are the pivot for assessing the truth and focus structures assigning Topic and Focus is required for interpretation. There is a predication rule which allows for assignment of truth-values. The predication rule is a relation between topic of a sentence and its predicate.

F-structure model assumes discourse rules which apply to both the main f-structure and the subordinate f-structure:

- a. Topic: Instructs the hearer to locate an existing card on top of the file with relevant heading and index.
- b. Focus: Instructs the hearer to open a new card or locate an existing card.
- c. Predication: Instructs the hearer to evaluate the main predicate with respect to the topic.
- d. Update: Instructs the hearer to enter the predicate on top of the card.

Basically, the f-structure theory implies that a sentence with focus structure has Topic and Focus. According to the discourse rules, when the hearer interprets a sentence uttered by the speaker, the former first identifies and locates the sentence topic from his background

information. What is said about the topic is focused, if what is said about the topic is true, through the update rule, the topic and the focused predicate are merged.

6.2.1.1 Topic

According to Erteschik-shir (1997: 9), a topic is what a statement is about where a statement is assessed as a supposed information about its topic. Topics have references and are used to summon knowledge in possession of the hearer. Every sentence must have a topic since topics are the pivots for assessment. Non-overt topics, referred to as stage-topics, are provided by spatio-temporal parameters of the sentences. Erteschik-shir (1997: 26) defines stage-topics as spatio-temporal arguments referring to a zone of time and space within which an event takes place or the time and place at which the event expressed by the sentence takes place. Erteschik-shir (1997: 38), further states that topics are strong noun phrases which include definites such as demonstratives, pronouns, universals [all, every], possessive determiners and generics. In the case of indefinites, only specific indefinites such as [a friend of mine] can be topics. According to Erteschik-shir (1997), indefinites cannot receive an existential interpretation as topics because for an NP to function as a topic, it must be represented by the existing card on top of the file, and indefinites are derived by making a new card and "there" cannot occur on top of the file. Topics are assigned only to constituents for which file cards are available on top of the file, being on top of the file means being available as the topic of the utterance which follows it.

6.2.1.2 Focus

Erteschik-shir (1997: 11) defines focus of the sentence as the constituent of a sentence which the speaker intends to direct the attention of his/her hearer to, a discourse property which is assigned to a constituent in a context of conversation. A sentence has only one main focus which is assigned to a syntactic constituent which may be an NP, a VP or even the whole sentence. The topic of a sentence is excluded as a focus because it is by definition already in the hearer's attention. The focus constituent is selected freely among the non-topic constituent of the sentence. Erteschik-shir (1997: 12) distinguishes three types of foci: Plain or non-contrastive focus, restrictive focus and contrastive focus.

a. Plain Focus

A plain focus is non-contrastive and non-restrictive in that contrastive or restrictive sets are not provided in the context as it is the case with the sentence in (2) below:

(2) *Janet [wants to marry John] Focus*

b. Contrastive Focus

It occurs only when contrast is contextually available as it is the case in (3) below ;

(3) a. *Who wants to marry John, Janet or Ann?*
b. *Janet wants to marry John*

In (3) above, a contrastive context is provided by (3a). The answer to (3a) will therefore have a contrastive focus which in this case will be Janet.

c. Restrictive Focus

A restrictive focus requires a context-specified set, where the focus is selected from the contextually specified or restrictive set, but not contrasted with any other particular individual:

(4) a. *Which one of your friends wants to marry John?*
b. *Janet wants to marry John*

If the sentence in (4b) is a response to (4a), Janet becomes a restrictive focus because among the friends, she is the only one who wants to marry John. According to Erteschikshir (1997: 13), a sentence may have three different context types and can be assigned three different f-structures, but it may have only one main focus which is non-restrictive or non-contrastive.

6.2.1.3 Properties of topics and Foci

- The assignment of f-structure to a sentence is free but restricted only in that overt topics and non-contrastive foci must be syntactic constituents.
- F-structures are interpreted by the proposed discourse theory.
- There are clauses which belong neither to the topic nor to the focus constituents, e.g. Matrix clauses in which only the subordinated clauses are focused.
- Topic and Predicate cover the whole sentence only when Focus and Predicate are coexistent.
- The main focus is contained in the predicate but it does not necessarily cover the whole sentence.
- Question - Answer pairs are useful in determining topic and focus:

- (5) a. *What did the children do?*
 b. [*The children*] _{TOP} ate [*the candy*] _{FOC}
- (6) a. *What did the children eat?*
 b. [*The children*] _{TOP} ate [*the candy*] _{FOC}
- (7) a. *Who ate the candy?*
 b. [*The children*] _{FOC} ate [*the candy*] _{TOP}

6.2.1.4 Subordinate focus structure

According to Erteschik-shir (1997: 42), a subordinate f-structure is assigned whenever a card is located on top of the file for topic which represents a phrase which is not analyzed as the main topic of the sentence. It is mainly concerned with complex or modified subjects, i.e. NP's modified by relative clauses, and adjectives; it is also concerned with

partitive topics and multiple topics. These topics are assigned subordinate f-structure because they don't involve predication rule but are interpreted by subordinate update which involves the application of Topic, Focus and Update rules.

a. Modified Topics

The head of the relative clause is the subordinate focus and the relative clause is assigned subordinate topic. Together they form the main topic which is predicated by the main focus. In this way, the subordinate f-structure and its associated update feed the main application of the rules, i.e. the application rules must apply to subordinate f-structures first, then to the main f-structure. The example below illustrates the subordinate f-structure of complex or modified topics:

- (8) [*The child*] _{FOC-SUB} [*who likes to play*] _{TOP SUB}] TOP [*is mine*] _{FOC}

b. Partitive Topics

According to Erteschik-shir (1997: 42), partitives can be subjects and qualify as topics, where words such as (two) or (some) are focused through stress and NP's following them are assigned subordinate topics as in (9) below:

- (9) [*Two*] _{FOC-SUB} [*of the students*] _{TOP-SUB}] TOP [*are intelligent*] _{FOC}

c. Multiple Topics

According to Erteschik-shir (1997: 44), with transitive predicates, both the subject and the object are candidates for topichood and would have two f-structures assigned to them as indicated in (10):

- (10) *John loves Mary*
 a. [*John*] TOP [*loves Mary*] FOC
 b. TOP₁ [*John loves Mary*₁] FOC

The f-structures in (10a.b) depend on whether it is John or Mary who is under discussion. If it is [*John*], the f-structure will be the one in (10.a) and if the topic is [*Mary*], the f-structure will be the one in (10.b). When both are on top of the file, i.e. when they are both candidates for topichood, subordinate f-structure will be assigned, where the subject is taken as the main topic by the Topic Constraint rule, which stipulates that the main topic cannot be c-commanded by a subordinate topic except where there is heavy contextual clues.

6.2.2 Focus structure and negation

In the case of focus structure on negative sentences, Erteschik-shir (1997: 101) states that the focus structure is complex because it includes both the main f-structure and subordinate f-structure. The reading of a negative sentence require an assumed yes/no question in the context represented on the card by two contradictory entries, and one of which is eliminated.

Erteschik-shir (1997) applies the f-structure on three types of negative sentences, *viz.* on sentences with term negation, on sentences with Predicate denial and on metalinguistic negation.

a. F-Structure of Term Negation

(11) *Peter is not bald*

In sentences such as (11) above, [*Peter*] is the subordinate TOPIC and the VP [*is bald*] is the subordinate Focus. On the other hand, the whole sentence functions as the main Topic and the negative element itself is the main Focus because of the yes/no context. The sentence in (11) will have the f-structure in (12) below:

(12) TOP [*Peter* TOP-SUB [*is* [not] FOC] *bald*] FOC-SUB

b. F-Structure of Predicate Denial

According to Erteschik-stir (1997: 102), predicate denial is also possible where there is an assumed restrictive context provided. In a sentence such as (13) below:

(13) *Peter didn't eat pizza*

A restrictive set will include [*pizza*] and other delicacies from which [*pizza*] will be eliminated by negation. In (13) above two f-structures will also apply: The main f-structure will have [*Peter*] as the main TOPIC with the VP as the Focus. The restrictive set will be the subordinate TOPIC and [*pizza*] will be the subordinate Focus. The structure in (14) will show the f-structure of (13):

(14) [*Peter*] TOP *did not eat* $\left[\begin{array}{l} \textit{pizza}_{\text{FOC-SUB}} \\ \textit{delicacy}_1 \\ \textit{delicacy}_2 \end{array} \right]_{\text{FOC}}$ TOP-SUB

c. F-Structure on Metalinguistic Negation

Erteschik-stir (1997: 119) states that restrictive foci are licensed under negation. Contrast is the metalinguistic equivalent of a restrictive focus, where two individuals are contrasted. The sentence in (15) below, if interpreted contrastively, will have the f-structure in (16) below:

(15) *A man is intelligent*

(16) $\left[\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \textit{a man}_{\text{FOC}} \\ \textit{a woman} \end{array} \right\} \right]_{\text{TOP-SUB}}$ TOP [*is intelligent*]_{FOC}

In (16) above, the constituents in the inner brackets are a contrastive set and [*a woman*] is a member of the contrastive set which is covert but plays a role in the discourse theory and must therefore be present in f-structure. A contrastive set is the subordinate Topic with the constituent [*a man*] as the subordinate focus. The constituent [*a man*] is the main TOPIC and the VP [*is intelligent*] the main Focus.

In summary, f-structure assigns Topic and Focus on simple positive sentences with single subjects. Subordinate f-structure applies to complex subject such as modified subjects and partitive topics as well as multiple topics where both the subject and objects are topics. It also applies obligatorily on negative sentences.

6.3 SCOPE AND NEGATION

Lasnik (1974), describes negation as involving the distribution of the lexical [*not*] in the surface structure and the implications of the base rules and transformations involved in sentences containing [*not*]. Du Plessis and Visser (1992) describe scope as that portion of the sentence within which the modal operator may affect claims about the identifiability of referents. The modal operator in negative sentences that determines the scope of negation will be negative modal operator. According to Klima (1964), the scope of negation is determined by the occurrence of the negative [*not*] in various types of sentence constructions and by the use of words with negative affixes. Lasnik (1974) maintains that the scope of negation depends crucially upon precedence and command relationship. An element can only be in the scope of negation if it is commanded by a negative morpheme. The scope of negation according to Lasnik (1974) also depends on intonation, where the quantifier can be inside or outside the scope of negation. Haegeman (1995) employs the negative-criterion in determining the scope of negation, where negative operators within various structural positions are used for sentential negation, and non-negative operators serve under local negation. The scope of negation can therefore be discussed under these two types of negation, *viz.* sentence negation and local or constituent negation.

6.3.1 Sentence negation

According to Klima (1964), sentence negation includes structures that permit the occurrence of the either-clause, the negative appositive tag and the question tag without [*not*]. It is characterized by the presence of the pre-verbal particle [*neg*] in the sentence as part of the auxiliary. He further points out that sentence negation occurs when pre-verbal adverbs such as [*hardly, rarely, seldom and never*] and pre-verbal particle negative [*not*] are present in the sentence. It also occurs when the negative particle appears before the nominal quantifiers in the subject position as in (17) below:

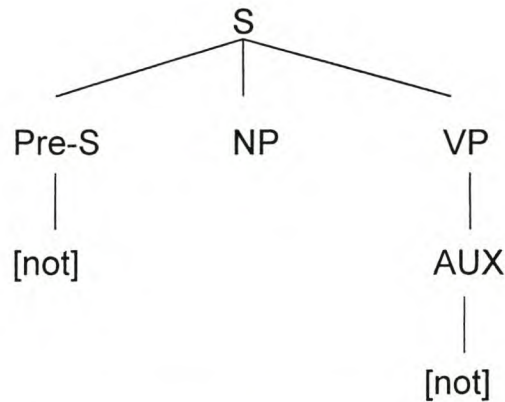
(17) [*Not much*] *rain fell*

Sentence negation also occurs through the use of special negatives such as [*nobody*, *nothing* and *nowhere* where they are not preceded by [*not*]:

(18) [*Nobody*] *rejects suggestions*

Lasnik (1974) employs Pre-sentence theory in analysing the scope of sentential negation. According to Pre-sentence theory [*not*] is generated in the auxiliary but its second base position is in the pre-sentence position. The structure below demonstrates two structural positions of [*not*]:

(19)



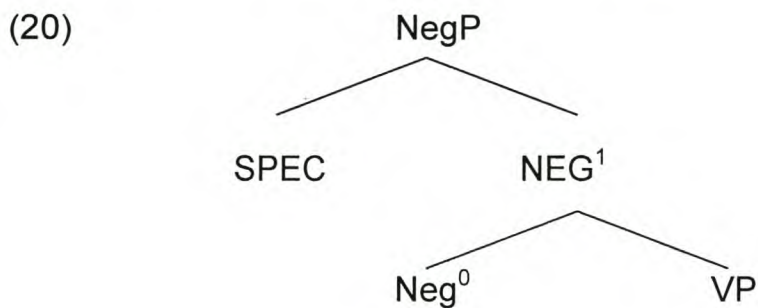
According to the structure in (19) above, no special transformation is required to account for the non-occurrence of sentences with not-phrases other than initial position, because [*not*] occurring on quantifiers or adverbials is generated sentence-initial and is never transformationally relocated. On the other hand, [*not*] adverbial constructions such as [*not often*] occur only in sentence-initial and require inversion.

Haegeman's (1995) analysis of sentence negation is based on the Neg-criterion, the well formedness condition which determines the distribution and interpretation of negative elements. It requires the Spec-head relations between the negative operator and the negative head in terms of x-bar scheme. The Neg-criterion is defined as follows:

- a) A Neg-operator must be in a Spec-head configuration with an X^0 [neg]
- b) An X^0 [neg] must be in a Spec-head configuration with a Neg-operator
- c) Neg-operator: A negative phrase in a scope position

- d) Scope position: A left-peripheral A-position [Spec, XP]

Based on the negative-criterion, negative sentences are constructions which minimally have Neg-feature associated with a functional head of the extended projection of the verb. Negative elements are identified as Negative Phrases headed by a negative head, where the head is in geometrical position with its specifier as in (20) below:



Neg-criterion causes movement which determines different positions of negative elements in the sentence. Negative elements occupies the [Spec, NegP] before negative inversion, they occupy the [Spec, CP] with preposed negative constituents and [Spec, NegP] with extraposed negative constituents. Neg-criterion also determines the scope of negation. Sentential negation is marked by negative operators which satisfy the Spec-head relation, but when the Spec-head relation fails, percolation applies to cover up scope of sentence negation. Haegeman (1995) describes negative operators as negative constituents that trigger inversion because they need to attain Spec-head relation with negative head. Sentence negation is realized therefore when the NegP appears as the negative operator in various positions of the sentence.

In indefinite constructions, according to Klima (1964), the scope of negation extends beyond the clause in which negative [*not*] appears into subordinate clauses as in (21) below:

- (21) *He didn't know that anything happened*

If the negative [*not*] may be incorporated into a secondary modifier, the negative in one clause cannot be incorporated into indefinite in another clause even if the latter clause is subordinate to the former as illustrated by the sentence in (22):

- (22) *He didn't know that anything had happened and neither did she*

In embedded sentences, the preverbal particle negative which ultimately occurs in embedded structure may also originate in the sentence that served as the source of the embedded structure. However, the scope of negation is restricted to the clause in which negative appears:

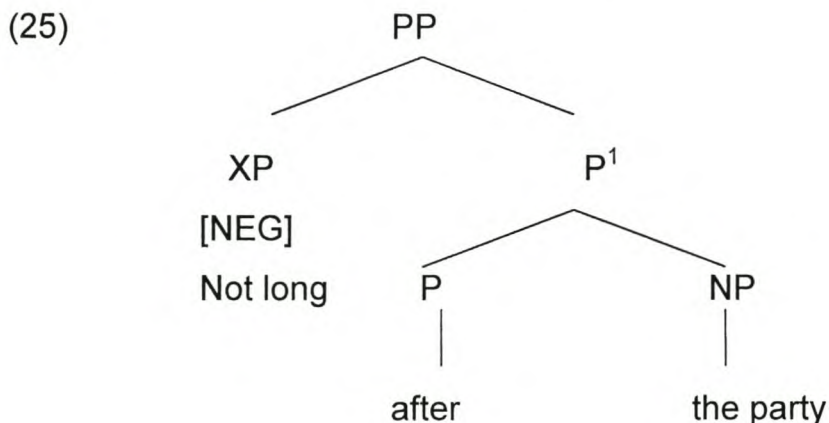
(23) *I'll force you [not to marry anyone]*

6.3.2 Constituent negation

According to Klima (1964) constituent negation is characterized by the use of negative affixes such as [un-], where the particle negative [Neg] is treated as part of certain constituents which are optional like [un-happy]. According to Lasnik (1974), when the quantifier is within the scope of [not], the NP quantified by it cannot be referential. If the negative [not] immediately precedes a quantifier, the quantifier is within the scope of negation and the quantifier is obligatorily negated but the NP it qualifies is not referential as in (24) below:

(24) *[Not many] people saw the fire*

Haegeman (1995) states that local negation or constituent negation occurs with non-negative operators. Non-negative operators are negative constituents which do not trigger inversion when preposed since they don't need to satisfy a Spec-head relation with the negative head. They are constituents such as [*not long after, not long ago*]. Percolation in referential PP's is not available and they do not qualify as operators. Negation is restricted to a lower projection as in the structure in (25)



Haegeman (1995) argues that with negative constituents which are not operators, the negative criterion is satisfied internally to the negated constituents. When negation ranges over a domain which is smaller than a clause, such as PP, the neg-criterion is satisfied internally to that domain.

In summary, when the scope of negation ranges over the whole sentence, we have sentence negation. In simple sentences, negative operators in sentence-initial positions or within the auxiliary will render sentence negation. In subordinate clauses, negation will be focused on the subordinate clause. If the scope of negation is within one constituent, we have constituent negation.

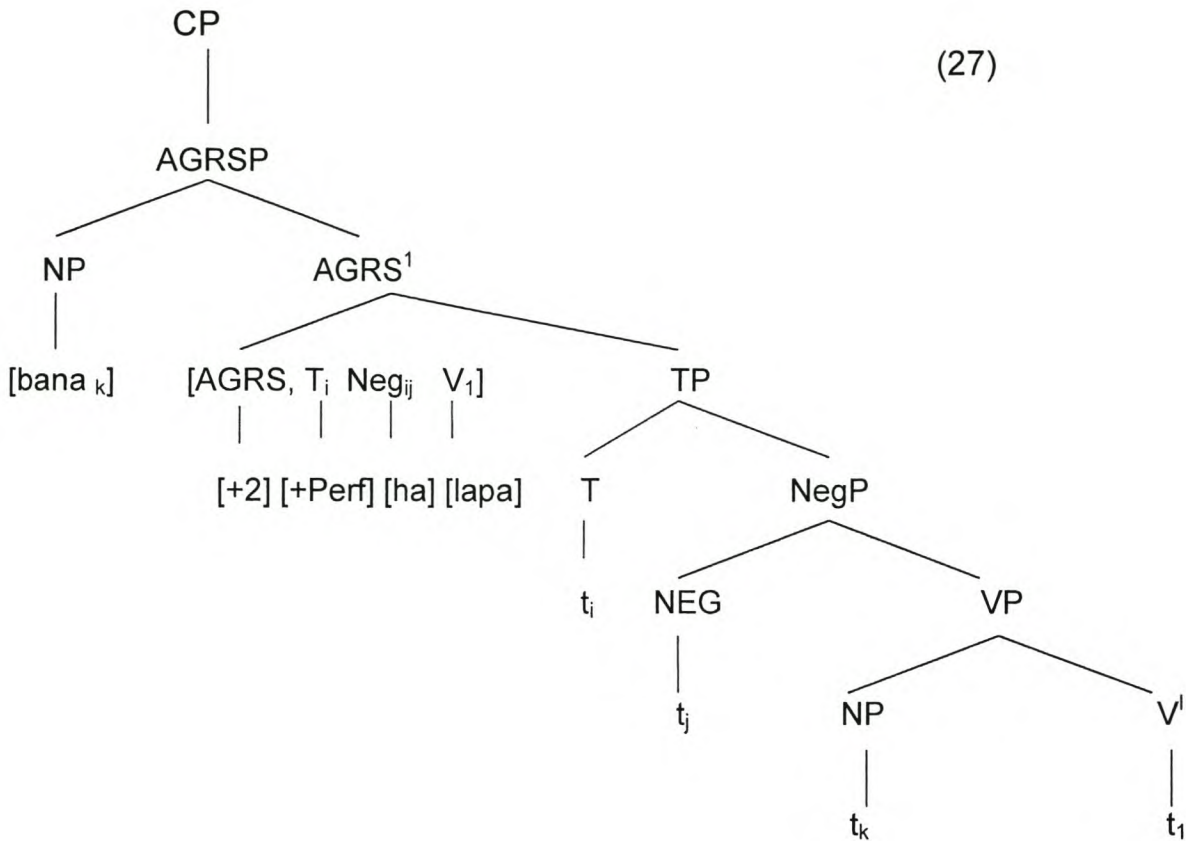
6.4 TOPIC AND FOCUS IN SESOTHO

The aim in this subsection is to look into the Focus Structures of negative sentences in Sesotho. Three types of negation will be considered. They are term negation, metalinguistic negation and predicate denial.

6.4.1 Focus structure of term negation

- (26) Bana ha - ba - a - lapa
[*Children are not hungry*]

The sentence in (26) above has an example of term negation and it will have the following structure in (27) below:



The sentence in (26) above is a negative sentence with intransitive verb [lapa] and this verb is negated by the negative morpheme [ha]. As the structure in (27) illustrates, the VP is the lexical layer from where the subject and verb originates. The lexical layer projects the functional layer which accommodates inflectional categories. Inflectional categories are separated and turned into fully phrasal categories where their morphemes become heads of such categories. The sentence in (26) as a negative sentence will therefore have a Negative Phrase [NegP] with the negative morpheme [ha] as its head. Because the negative [ha] has strong morphological features, it will attract the verb and the verb will move to check its negative feature as illustrated by the structure in (27). The term negated in this case is therefore the verb [lapa] which stays next to the negative morpheme after movement.

The focus structure of negative sentences has both the main focus structure and the subordinate focus structure. The sentence in (26) will therefore have the f-structure as in (28) below:

(28) TOP [Bana_{TOP-SUB} [ha] FOC] lapa]_{FOC-SUB}

The f-structure in (28) above implies that the main f-structure has the whole sentence as the main topic and the main focus as the negative morpheme [ha]. The predicate is characterized as a negative phrase due to the presence of the negative morpheme [ha], which contains the main focus. The subordinate f-structure applies to the normal structure of the sentence, where the subject [bana] becomes the subordinate topic and the verb [lapa] as predicate becomes the subordinate focus. What is negated in sentence (26) is in actual fact the predicate.

6.4.2 Metalinguistic negation

- (29) Bana ha - ba - a - lapa
 [*Children are not hungry*]

The sentence in (29) is the same as the sentence in (26) above, but in this case it will be interpreted under metalinguistic perspective. Metalinguistic negation involves contrastive negation where two individuals are contrasted. The sentence in (29) will therefore have the following f-structure in (30) below:

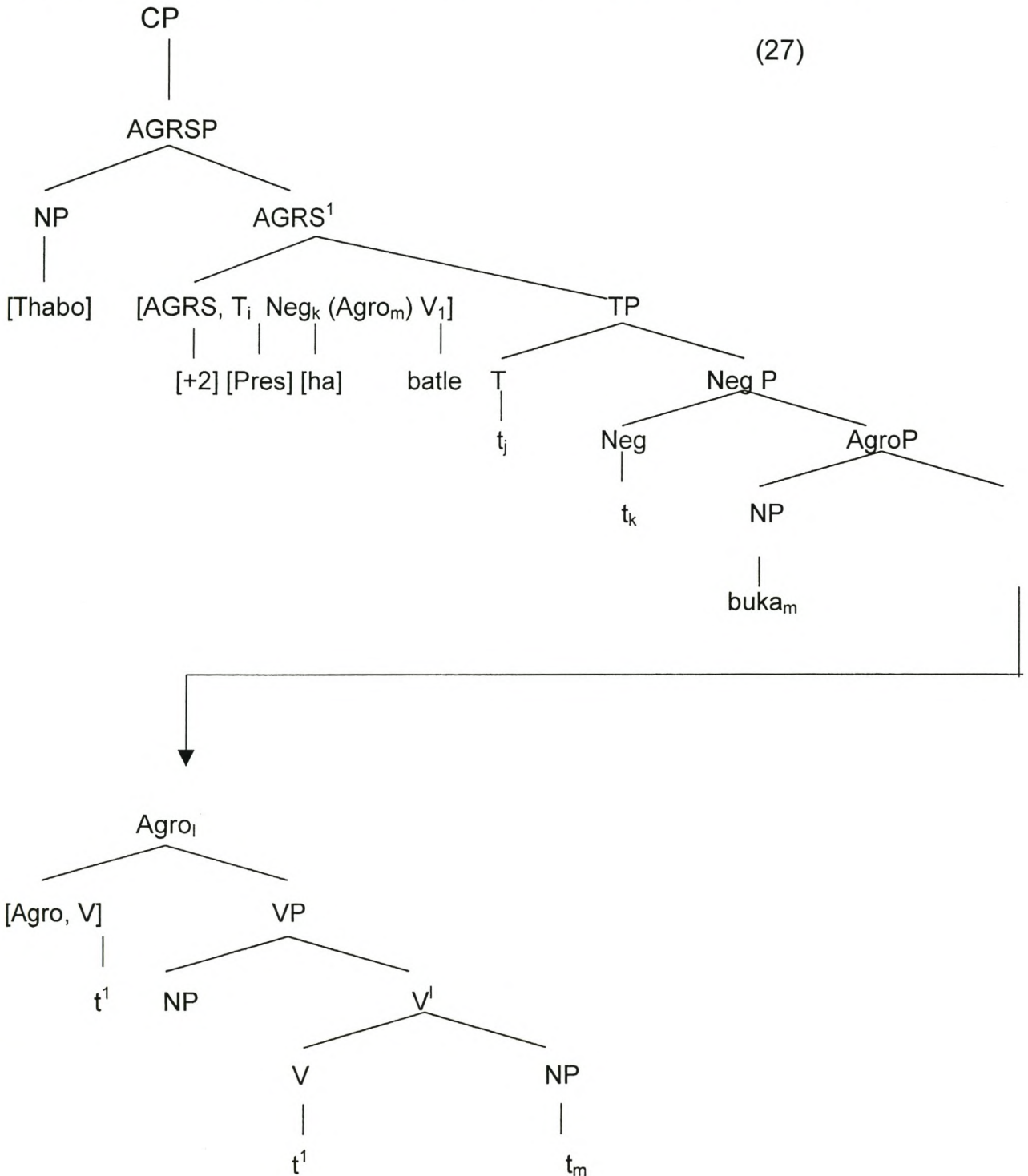
$$(30) \quad \left[\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{bana} \\ \text{basadi}_{\text{FOC}} \end{array} \right\} \right] \text{ TOP [ha] FOC [lapa] }_{\text{FOC-SUB}} \\ \text{TOP-SUB}$$

The sentence in (29) has a negative predicate and will therefore have two f-structures *viz.* the main f-structure and the subordinate structure. The main f-structure consists of the subject [bana] as the main topic and because the sentence is a negative sentence, the main focus will be the negative morpheme [ha]. The subordinate f-structure will consist of the subordinate topic which has a contrastive set [bana and basadi] and the subordinate focus which is the verb [lapa]. The constituent [basadi] is a covert contrastive element. Through contrastive focus, the constituent [basadi] is eliminated and only the topic [bana] remains. Any NP may be a subordinate topic in (30) depending on whether such an NP received focus through i.a. emphasis in intonation.

6.4.3 Focus structure of predicate denial

(31) Thabo ha - a - batle buka
 [Thabo doesn't want a book]

The above sentence in (31) is a sentence with a transitive verb, which subcategorizes for one internal argument which is the object. It will therefore have the following structure in (32) below, where the AGROP will be included as one of the functional categories.



In the case of predicate denial, a restrictive context is provided, where amongst the possible constituents affected by the verb only one constituent is chosen. The sentence in (31) will have the f-structure illustrated in (33) below:

$$(33) \quad [\text{Thabo}] \text{ TOP } \text{ ha - a - batle } \left[\begin{array}{l} \text{buka} \\ \text{pene} \\ \text{setulo}_{\text{FOC-SUB}} \end{array} \right] \text{ FOC} \\ \text{TOP-SUB}$$

As in the case of sentences in (26) and (29) above, the sentence in (31) is a negative sentence and will thus have two f-structure *viz.* the main f-structure and the subordinate f-structure. According to the analysis in (33), the sentence in (31) has the subject [*Thabo*] as the main topic and the predicate [*ha - a - batle*] as the main focus, where the negative morpheme [*ha*] forms part of the focus. The subordinate f-structure will consist of the restrictive set as the subordinate topic and the object [*buka*] as the subordinate focus. In the restrictive set, the constituents [*pene* and *setulo*] are covert, they are only provided in context and through restrictive focus, only the constituent [*buka*] is chosen. Any such NP may be chosen depending on the focus on it through i.a. emphasis in intonation.

6.4.4 Negation with subject inversion

$$(34) \quad \text{Ha - ho - a - lapa bana, ho lapile basadi} \\ [\textit{There are not hungry the children, there are hungry the women}]$$

With regard to subject inversion, the NP subject is shifted to the postverbal position which is a focus position. The subject position is invaded by the existential [*ho*] which is coindexed with the empty subject. In the negative, the negative morpheme [*ha*] appears with the verb. Negation with subject inversion takes place with an overt contrastive set, where the subject is contrasted with another NP. The focus structure of the sentence in (34) will be as in (35) below:

$$(35) \quad [\text{Ha}] \text{ FOC}] \text{ lapa}]_{\text{FOC-SUB}} \left[\begin{array}{l} \text{bana} \\ \text{basadi} \end{array} \right] \text{ FOC} \text{]TOP} \\ \text{TOP-SUB}$$

The f-structure in (35) above has the main f-structure and the subordinate f-structure. The main f-structure consists of the subject [bana] as the main topic which have been selected through a contrastive focus, and the negative morpheme [ha] as the main focus of the sentence. The subordinate f-structure consists of the contrastive set [bana and basadi] as the subordinate topic and the verb [lapa] as the subordinate focus. A contrastive set is a necessity with regard to negation in subject inversion and through contrastive focus, the subject is negated.

6.4.5 Negation of modified topics

Negation of modified topics will be considered with cleft sentences and clauses with locative AGRS [ho]. The modifiers in both cases will be the indirect and the direct relative clauses.

6.4.5.1 Modified topics in Cleft sentences

As in the case of subject inversion, negation of modified topics in cleft sentences needs a contrastive context, where a contrastive set with two constituents is provided. A contrastive element is also overt as in the case of subject inversion. The following sentences in (36) will serve as an example:

- (36) a. Ha - se bana ba - lapileng, ke basadi
 [*It is not children who are hungry, it is women*]
- b. ha -se buka eo Thabo a - e - batlang, ke pene
 [*It is not a book which Thabo wants, it is a pen*]

In (36a-b) above, the NP's [bana] and [buka] have been placed in a focus position through clefting and, an overt contrastive constituent is provided in both cases. The NP [bana] is modified by a direct relative clause [ba - lapileng] and the NP [buka] is modified by the indirect relative clause [eo Thabo a - e - batlang]. The f-structures of the above sentences in (36) will be as in (37) below:

- (37) a. [Ha - se] FOC $\left[\begin{array}{l} \text{bana} \\ \text{basadi} \end{array} \right]$ $\left[\begin{array}{l} \text{[ba - lapileng]}_{\text{TOP-SUB}} \\ \text{FOC-SUB} \end{array} \right]$ TOP
- b. [Ha - se] FOC $\left[\begin{array}{l} \text{buka} \\ \text{pene} \end{array} \right]$ $\left[\begin{array}{l} \text{[eo Thabo a - e - batlang]}_{\text{TOP-SUB}} \\ \text{FOC-SUB} \end{array} \right]$ TOP

The sentences in (36a-b) have the same f-structures. As negative constructions, they have the main f-structure and the subordinate f-structure. In the main f-structure, the main topic is the noun phrase [bana ba lapileng] in the case of (37a) and [buka eo Thabo a - e - batlang] in the case of (37b). In both cases, the main focus is the negative morpheme [ha] and the negative copulative verb [se]. They are the main focus in that both serve as the predicate of the main topic, and because the negative is the main focus that characterize negative sentences. The subordinate f-structure consists of subordinate topics which are the direct relative clause [ba - lapileng] and the indirect relative clause [eo Thabo a - e - batlang]. The subordinate focus will be a contrastive set [basadi and bana] in the case of (37a) and [buka and pene] in the case of (37b). Through contrastive focus, the NP's [bana] and [buka] are therefore negated.

6.4.5.2 Modified topics in locative AGRS [HO]

As in the case of subject inversion and clefting, negation of modified topics in clauses with locative AGRS [ho] also needs a contrastive context with overt contrastive constituent. The focus structures of sentences with locative AGRS [ho] will be the same as those of cleft sentences. As negative constructions, they will have the negative morpheme [ha] as the main focus and the contrastive set as the subordinate focus. They will also have modified topics as main topics and the relative clauses as subordinate topics. The following sentences in (38) with their f-structures in (39) will illustrate:

- (38) a. Ha - ho bana ba - lapileng, ho basadi ba - lapileng
 [*There are no children who are hungry, there are women who are hungry*]

- b. Ha - ho buka eo Thabo a - e -batlang, Ke pene eo a - e batlang
[*There is no book which Thabo wants, it is a pen which he wants*]

- (39) a. [Ha] FOC $\left[\begin{array}{c} \text{bana} \\ \text{basadi} \end{array} \right]_{\text{FOC-SUB}} \quad [\text{ba - lapileng}]_{\text{TOP-SUB}} \text{ TOP}$
- b. [Ha] FOC $\left[\begin{array}{c} \text{buka} \\ \text{pene} \end{array} \right]_{\text{FOC-SUB}} \quad [\text{eo Thabo a - e - batlang}]_{\text{TOP-SUB}} \text{ TOP}$

In summary, Sesotho negative constructions can be interpreted by means of f-structure proposed by Erteschik shir (1997) to determine topics and foci. In all the negative sentences analyzed here, the main focus is found with the negative morpheme. In the case of subject inversion, cleft sentences and clauses with locative AGRS [ho], a contrastive set is necessary where a contrasting constituent is overt in order to negate the postponed NP in the case of subject inversion, the preposed NP's in the case of cleft and locative AGRS constructions.

6.5 THE SCOPE OF NEGATION IN SESOTHO

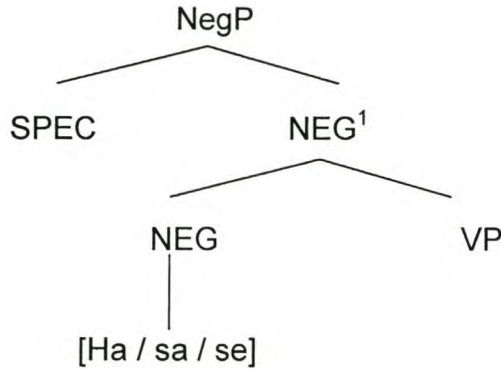
The aim of this subsection is to look at the influence of the negative morphemes in Sesotho on other constituents in a sentence, i.e. how far can their scope be extended in sentences and the interpretation of such constituents within their scope. There are only three negative morphemes in Sesotho *viz.* the negative morphemes [Ha], [se] and [sa]. In this subsection, only the negative morpheme [Ha] will be employed to illustrate the influence of negation on NP's , NP LOC's and subordinate clauses. It will also be necessary to give a brief survey on the negative phrase.

6.5.1 The functional category - NEGP

Through the split-inflection hypothesis, inflectional features are separated and turned into phrasal inflectional categories, where negative morphemes become heads of such phrases. All the inflectional categories are outside the VP lexical domain and are referred to as Functional categories and their heads as Functional heads. Within the negative

inflectional phase, the negative is the head of NegP. In Sesotho, the negative may either be [ha], [se] or [sa] as illustrated by the structure in (40) below:

(40)



6.5.2 Extension of the scope of negation

According to Mbatha (1997: 23), the scope of negation extends from the negative word itself to the end of a clause or to the final adjunct. Quirk *et al*, quoted by Mbatha (1997: 25), maintains that scope and focus are interrelated in that the scope includes focus. Placing information focus in a special position is a way of indicating that a special extension of scope of negation has been made. In Sesotho, the scope of negation extends to any constituent which appear after the negative morpheme:

It can extend to noun phrases which appear as complements of transitive verbs as illustrated by the sentence in (41) below:

- (41) Ha - ke - batle [pene], ke batla [buka]
 [I don't want a pen, I want a book]

In (41) above, the negative morpheme [ha] is in verb-initial position negating the verb and its complement. A contrastive constituent [buka] makes it clear that the NP [pene] is also negated by the negative [ha] and therefore falls within the scope of negation. The scope of negation can also be extended to locative noun phrases. Through the contrastive constituent, it becomes evident that the NP Loc is negated and as a result falls within the scope of negation as illustrated in (42) below :

- (42) Ha - ke - ye [sekolong], ke - ya mosebetsing
[*I'm not going to school, I'm going to work*]

The scope of negation may extend to an NP or NP Loc or to both, depending on where a contrasting focus will be placed. If placed on the NP, the NP will fall within the scope of negation. If placed on the locative, the scope will extend to the locative NP. On the other hand, if a contrasting constituent is not employed, both the NP and the NP Loc will fall within the scope of negation. The following sentences in (43) will illustrate:

- (43) a. Ha - ke - a - beha [setulo] kamoreng, ke beile tafole
[*I didn't put the chair in the room, I put the table*]
- b. Ha - ke - a - beha setulo [kamoreng], ke se behile sakeng
[*I didn't put the chair in the room, I put it at the kraal*]
- c. Ha - ke - a beha setulo kamoreng
[*I didn't put the chair in the room*]

The scope of negation may also extend to the NP with subject inversion. While the verb is negated, the subject is also negated and the contrasting focus helps to confirm that, the subject falls within the scope of negation:

- (44) Ha - ho - a lapa [bana], ho lapile basadi
[*there is not hungry the children, there is hungry the women*]

The same applies to the NP subject in cleft sentences. The focused NP falls within the scope of negation as demonstrated by the sentence in (45) below:

- (45) Hase [bana] ba - lapileng, ke basadi
[*It is not the children who are hungry, it is the women*]

Furthermore, the extension of the scope of the negative morphemes may have an influence on nominal modifiers:

- (46) Ha – ke – batle [pene [ya bana]
[I don't want children's pen]

The scope of the negative morpheme [ha] extends to the nominal modifier as the modifier forms part of the NP [pene] which is its head. A contrastive nominal modifier will help to put the NP [bana] in focus, placing it within scope as illustrated by the sentence in (47):

- (47) Ha – ke – batle [pene [ya bana], ke – batla [pene [ya titjhere]
[I don't want children's pen, I want a teacher's pen]

The extension of scope of negative morphemes may have an influence on embedded constituents, where the subject of the subordinate clause falls within the scope through contrastive focus as illustrated by the sentence in (48) below:

- (48) Ha – ke – batle hore [bana] ba – nthuse, ke – batla hore
[basadi] ba – nthuse
[I don't want that children should help me, I want that women
should help me]

6.5.3 Interpretation of constituents within scope of negation

According to Mbatha (1997: 161), the scope of negation can be extended to arguments with specific or nonspecific referents. The effect of negation on arguments is that it makes them to be indefinite. Indefiniteness can however be explained in terms of nonspecific or specific i.e. an argument can be indefinite but specific or be indefinite but non-specific. The following sentences in (49), (50) and (51) will illustrate:

- (49) a. Ha – ke – batle [pene]
[I don't want a pen]
- b. Ha – ke – batle [pene [ya hao]
[I don't want your pen]

In (49.a) above, the argument [pene] is indefinite but non-specific in that the speaker does not want any pen. In (49.b) the argument is specific in that the speaker does not want a particular pen.

- (50) a. Ha – ke – ye [sekolong]
 [*I'm not going at school*]
- b. Ha – ke – ye [sekolong [sa ditholo]
 [*I'm not going at the school of disabled*]

The NP Loc in (50.a) does not refer to a particular school but to any school and therefore it is non-specific, while the modified NP Loc in (50.b) refers to a particular school, and in that way it is specific even though it is indefinite.

- (51) a. Ha – ke – a beha [setulo] [kamoreng]
 [*I didn't put a chair in the room*]
- b. Ha – ke – a – beha [setulo [sa hao] kamoreng
 [*I didn't put your chair in the room*]
- c. Ha – ke – a beha setulo [kamoreng [ya hao]
 [*I didn't put a chair in your room*]

As in the case of (49) and (50), the issue of specificity and non-specificity in (51) above is determined by the employment of nominal modifiers. In (51.a) both the NP and the NP Loc are non-specific. In (51.b) the NP [setulo] is modified by a possessive nominal modifier and the NP Loc is not modified. The modified NP is specific and the NP Loc is non-specific. The same applies to (51.c) the NP is non-specific because it is not modified but the NP Loc is specific as it is modified.

In summary, negative morphemes in Sesotho can extend their scope over a number of constituents *viz.* NP arguments, adjuncts and subordinate clauses. Sesotho does not have a mechanism at hand to distinguish indefinites into specific and non-specific referent but employs nominal modifiers and various contrasting phrases or clauses.

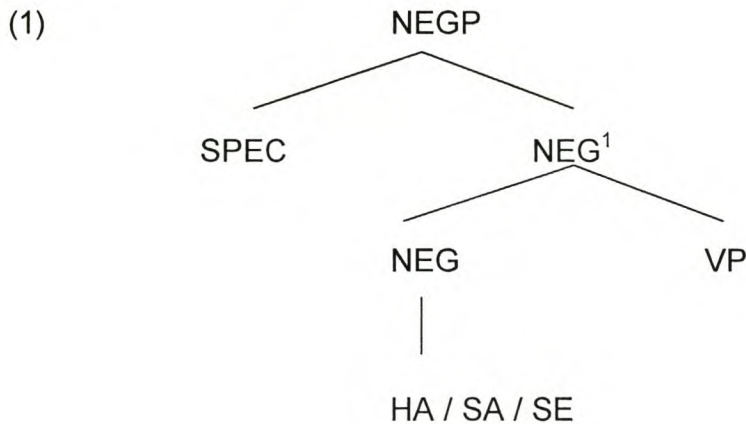
CHAPTER 7

CONCLUSION

In this study, negative constructions and negative morphemes in Sesotho were examined within the framework of generative syntax, i.e. the minimalist program and within the lexeme-morpheme base theory of morphology. Negation was also investigated within the Focus Structure Theory, which is concerned with topic, focus and scope.

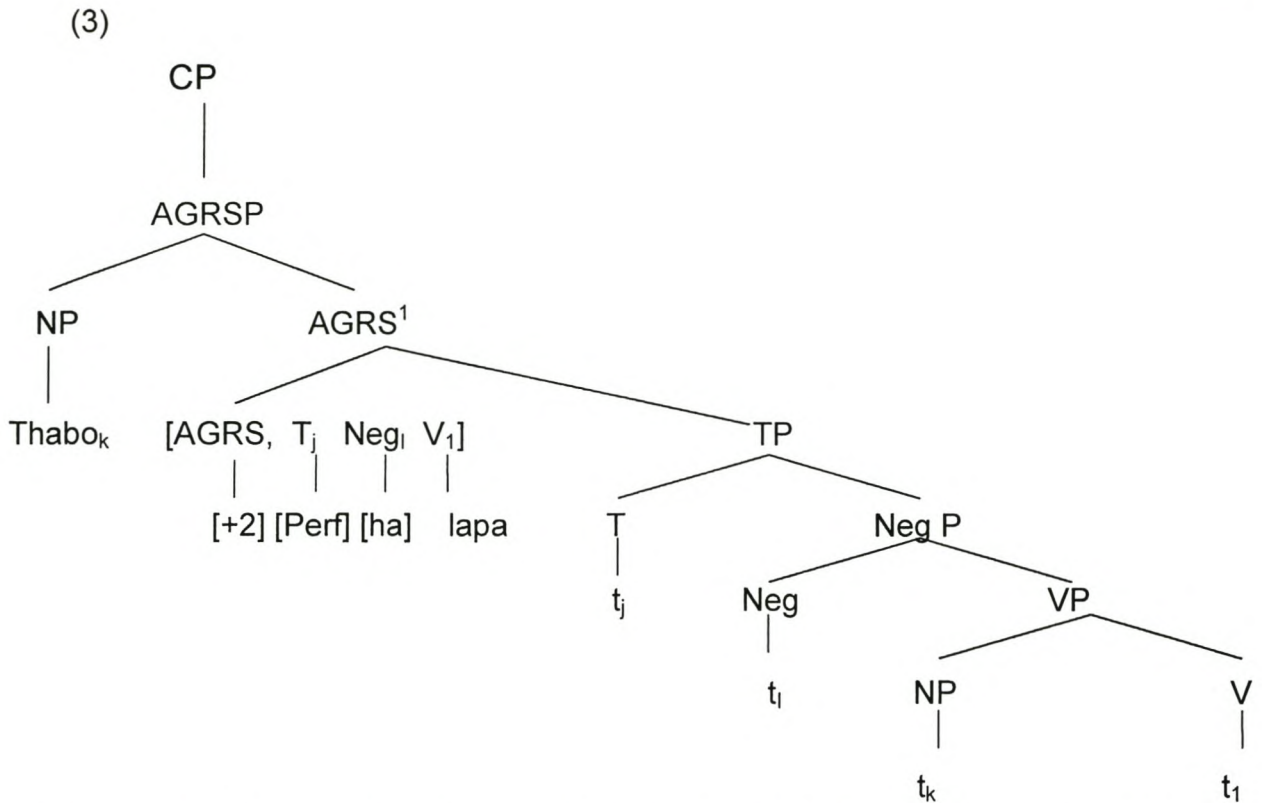
In Chapter Two, sentences, which realize negation by means of negative morphemes, were examined. The syntax, morphology and distribution of negative morphemes over a range of tense, aspect and mood were investigated. The following observations were made:

- a) Within syntax, negative sentences are constructions which have the negative feature associated with a functional head of the extended projection of the verb. Negative elements are heads of Negative Phrase [NegP]. In Sesotho, the category negative is represented by the morphemes [Ha], [sa] and [se]. They appear as heads of the NegP's as indicated in the structure in (1) below:



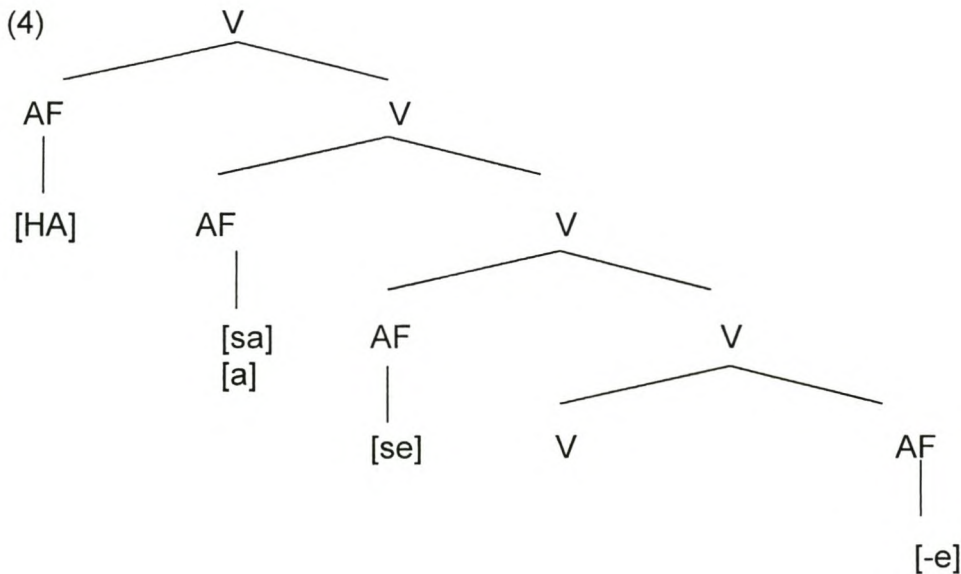
Any one of them can be the head of the NegP. These negative morphemes need to move to the verb so that the verb can check its negative feature as illustrated by the sentence in (2) with its structure in (3) below:

- (2) Thabo ha - a - a- lapa
 [*Thabo is not hungry*]



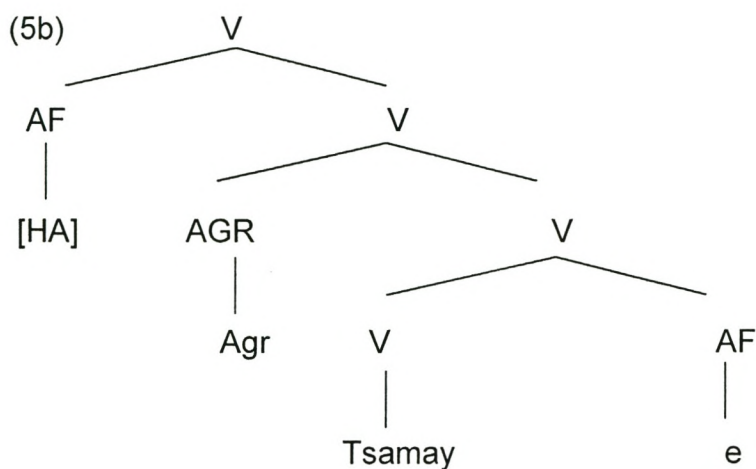
The structure in (3) above indicates that the negative morpheme [ha] has moved from its position to appear next to the verb, so that the verb [lapa] is negated.

- b) Within the morphological structure of a verb there is a negative morpheme. It can either be negative morpheme [ha] which occupies the first position within the linear order of verbal morphemes in that it always precedes the AGRSP, or the negative morpheme [sa] which occupies the third position, or the negative morpheme [se] which occupies the fifth position. The following structure in (4) is an abridged structure of verbal prefixes showing their morphological structural position:

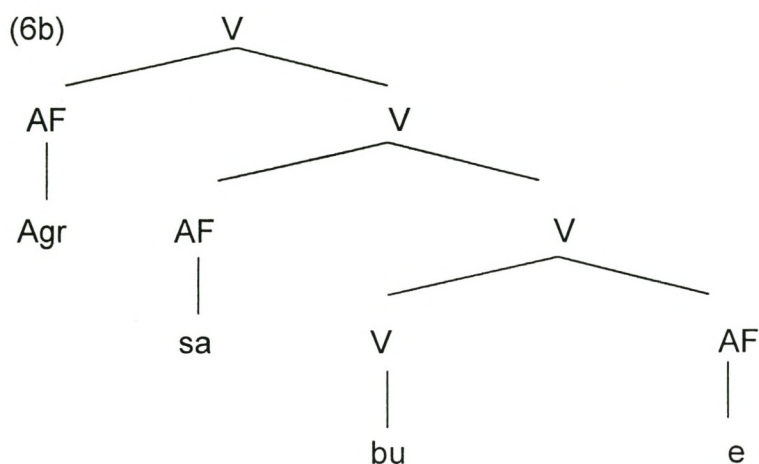


The following sentences with their morphological structures will clearly illustrate positions of Sesotho negative morphemes within a verb:

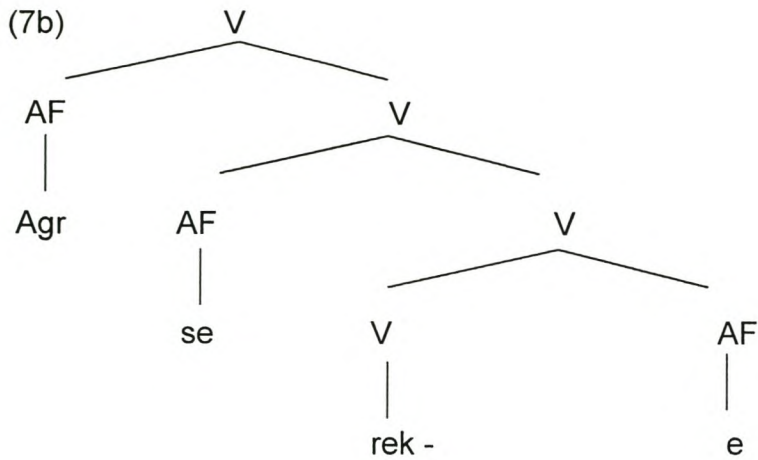
- (5) a. Ha - ke - tsamay - e
[I am not going]



- (6) a Ba - tsamaya [ba - sa - bu - e]
[They walk while not speaking]



- (7) a. Ke - batla hore [le - se - rek - e]
[I want that you should not buy]



From the structures in (5), (6) and (7) above, the negative morphemes in Sesotho are preverbal negative morphemes.

- c) All the three morphemes, [Ha], [sa] and [se], appear as circumfixes with the negative suffix [- e] and some negatives such as [ha] appear with the negative prefix [- a -]:

- (8) a. Ha - Agr - V - e
 Ha - ke - sebets - e
 [I am not working]
- b. Ha - Agr - a - : V - a
 Ha - ke - a - sebets - a
 [I did not work]
- c. Agr - sa - V - e
 Ba - sa - sebetse - e
 [They were not working]
- d. Agr ka - se - V - e
 Ba - ka - se - sebets - e
 [They cannot work]

- d) In Sesotho, the verb does not accept the negative suffix [-e] when it appears with the progressive morpheme [sa] in the present and future tenses as illustrated by the sentences in (9) below:

(9) a. Ha - ba - sa - sebets - a
[*They are no more working*]

b. Ha - ba - sa - tla - sebets - a
[*They are not going to work*]

e) Sesotho negative morphemes are unevenly distributed within various sentence types and moods. The negative morphemes [Ha] and [sa] appear in three tenses, viz. the present tense, perfect tense and future tense. They are in complementary distribution: The negative [Ha] appears only in the indicative mood and matrix clauses whereas the negative [sa] appears only in the participial and relative moods in subordinate clauses. The table in (10) demonstrates:

(10)

	INDICATIVE	PARTICIPIAL	RELATIVE
PRESENT	Ha - AGR - v - e	AGR - sa - v - e	AGR - sa - v - e - ng
PERFECT	Ha - AGR - a - V - a	AGR - sa - v - a	AGR - sa - v - a - ng
FUTURE	Ha - AGR - tlo - v - a	AGR - sa - tlo - v - a	AGR - sa - tlo - v - ng

f) The negative morpheme has an influence on the AGRS: In the first place, it affects the tone of the agreement morpheme of the first person singular. In positive constructions, [kéé] has a low tone whereas in negative constructions with [ha], [ké] has a high tone:

(11) a. Positive: Ké - a - sebetsa
[*I am working*]

b. Negative: Ha - ké - sebets - e
[*I am not working*]

Secondly, the agreement morpheme of class 1 is [o]. When the verb appears with the negative morpheme, the agreement morpheme changes to [a] as indicated in the sentences in (12) below:

(12) a. Positive: Ngwana o - raha bolo
[*A child kicks the ball*]

- b. Negative: Ngwana ha - a - rahe bolo
[A child is not kicking the ball]

g) There are double negatives employed in Sesotho negative constructions where constituents are negated. These negative categories are the negative morpheme [Ha] and the negative copulative verb [se]. They are two different negative categories but they appear together to negate constituents:

- (13) [Ha - se] bana ba - jang poone, ke batswadi
[It is not children who are eating maize, it is the parents]

h) The deficient verb [ka] has an influence on all three negative morphemes. In the case of the negative morpheme [ha], the deficient verb [ka] appears in the negative of a compound tense replacing the deficient verb [ile]:

- (14) a. Positive: Ke - ile ka - tsamaya
[I did go]
- b. Negative: Ha - ke - a - ka [ka - tsamaya]
[I did not go]

It appear as [ke] in sentences with potential mood:

- (15) a. Positive: Re - ka - bua
[We can talk]
- b. Negative: Ha - re - ka - ke ra - bua
[We can't talk]

In the case of the negative morpheme [sa], the deficient verb [ka] also appears in the negative of a compound tense to replace the deficient verb [ile]:

- (16) a. Positive: Leha [ke - ile [ka - baleha]
[Even though I did run away]

- b. Negative: Leha [ke - sa - ka [ka - baleha]
[*Even though I did not run away*]

The deficient verb [ka] appears in the negative of potential mood with the negative suffix [-e] where the negative morpheme [sa] does not appear:

- (17) a. Positive: Leha re - ka - bina
[*Even if we can sing*]
- b. Negative: Leha re - ke - ke ra - bina
[*Even if we cannot sing*]

With regard to the negative morpheme [sa], [ka] appears in the negative of the subjunctive, consecutive and imperative moods with the negative suffix [- e] as [ke]:

- (18) a. Subjunctive: O - se - ke wa - dula
[*You must not stay*]
- b. Consecutive: Ka - se - ke ka - dula
[*I did not stay*]
- c. Imperative: O - se - ke wa - tsamaya
[*You must not go*]

- i) The category [-eso] has a dual categorical status. It is both the morpheme and the verb. When it appears with the negative morpheme it acts as a deficient verb:

- (19) Ha - ba - eso [ho - kgutle]
[*They have not yet come back*]

When it appears in non-negative sentences, it becomes the negative morpheme:

- (20) Leha ba - eso - balehe
[*Even if they haven't yet run away*]

- j) There is an infinitive morpheme [ho] which appears with negatives. It is specifically meant to appear and coalesce with future tense morphemes such as [tla] and temporal morpheme [tswa]:

- (21) a. Ha - ke - tle ho - sebetsa → Ha - ke - tlo - sebetsa
[*I will not work*]
- b. Ha - ke - tswe ho - sebetsa → Ha - ke - tso - sebetsa
[*I have not just now been working*]

- k) It is only the inchoative copulative verb [ba] which appears with all the three morphemes:

- (22) a. [Ha] - ba sekolong
[*They are not at school*]
- b. Mosadi ya - [sa] - beng le bana
[*A woman who does not have children*]
- c. Ke - batla hore a - [se] - be teng
[*I want him not to be here*]

- l) Finally, Sesotho does not employ negative words in negative sentences like English, which make use of the negative word (not). Instead, it makes use of bound morphemes which appear only in certain restricted areas as demonstrated in table (23) below:

(23)

NEGATIVE	TENSE	PLACE OF APPEARANCE
HA	+	Matrix clauses
SA	+	Subordinate clauses
SE	-	Subordinate clauses

In Chapter Three to Five, negation of constituents such as subjects, objects and adjuncts [adverbs, NP Loc, NPT, PP] was examined. This investigation included unspecified subjects, unspecified objects, and unspecified NP's of prepositional phrases. All the

constituents were investigated with regard to non-copulative and copulative verbs. From this investigations the following observations were made:

- A. Sesotho does not have direct negation of constituents because there are no negative words as in English, where constituents are negated by the negative (not) as in (no water). It employs negative morphemes [ha, se, sa].
- B. For constituents to be negated, they have to appear in a focus position after the negative verb, so that these constituents may then fall within the scope of negation. To make this possible, the following constructions have to be used :

1. Cleft Sentences

(24) Hase [jwala] boo banna ba bo batlang
[It is not beer which men want]

2. Pseudo-cleft sentences

(25) E motle [Hase [ngwana]
[Who is beautiful is not the child]

3. Sentences with Locative AGRS [HO]

(26) Ha - ho [banna] ba - batlang jwala
[There are no men who want beer]

4. Sentences with Subject Inversion

(27) Ha - ho - a - lapa mme
[It is not hungry the mother]

- C. Contrastive context is also necessary in negating constituents in Sesotho. It is the ultimate means of putting focus on the constituents to be negated. In all the four negative constructions mentioned in (24 - 27) above, contrastive clauses are employed to negate constituents.

- (28) a. Ha - se [jwala] boo banna ba bo batlang [ke metsi]
[It is not beer which men want, it is water]
- b. E motle ha - se [ngwana], [ke mme]
[Who is not beautiful is not the child, it is the mother]
- c. Ha - ho [banna] ba batlang jwala, [ke basadi]
[There are no men who wants beer, it is women]
- d. Ha - ho - a - lapa [mme], [ho - lapile bana]
[There is not hungry the mother, there is hungry the children]

D. The subject arguments in the matrix clauses seems to be the only constituents which accepts all four possible means of negation. The following table in (29) illustrates:

(29)

	CLEFT	PSEUDO	S.I.	AGRS HO	V
SUBJECT	+	+	+	+	-
OBJECT	+	-	-	+	+
ADVP	+	-	-	-	+
NPT	+	-	-	+	+
NP Loc	+	-	-	-	+
PP	+	-	-	+	-

According to the table in (29) above, only the subject is negated by four negative constructions above and only cleft sentences can be employed to negate all the constituents investigated. Objects are negated within verb phrases, by cleft sentences and clauses with AGRS [Ho]. With cleft sentences and clauses with AGRS [Ho], only the indirect objects are negated. Adverbs are negated within the VP and by cleft sentences. NPT is negated by cleft sentences, clauses with AGRS [Ho] and within VP. NP Loc's are only negated by cleft sentences and within the VP. PP's are negated by cleft sentences and clauses with Locative AGRS [Ho].

E. The morpheme AGRS [Ho] which appears with the abstract copulative verb [LI] seems to be the locative morpheme which normally appears in locative context as illustrated in (30) below with negative sentences in (31):

- (30) a. [Motsengi_i] ho_i monna ya - fihlileng
[*In the village there is a man who has arrived*]
- b. pro_i Ho_i tafole e - robehileng [mona_i]
[*There is a table which has broken*]
- (31) a. [Motsengi_i] ha - ho monna ya - fihlileng
[*In the village there is no man who has arrived*]
- b. pro_i Ha ho_i tafole e – robehileng [mona_i]
[*There is no table which is broken here*]

F. The indefinites [anybody] and [anything] in the negative are expressed through negative cleft sentence as [Ha - se motho] and [Ha - se ntho] in Sesotho. The locative AGRS [Ho] is employed to express inherent negative words [nobody] and [nothing] as [Ha - ho motho] and [Ha - ho letho]. The interrogatives [mang] and [eng] are employed as indefinites in negative constructions:

- (32) a. Ha - se motho ofe le ofe ya tsebang
[*It is not anybody who knows*]
- b. Ha - ho motho ya tsebang
[*There is nobody who knows*]
- c. Ha - ho mang ya tsebang
[*There is no one who knows*]

In Chapter Six, topic, focus and scope of negation in Sesotho were examined within the Focus Structure framework and the following observations were made:

- A. Negation is realized through contrastive context which can be overt or non-overt. In Sesotho, the contrastive context should be provided with overt contrasting constituents in order to achieve negation of constituents:

- (33) Ha - se [mosadi] ya nwang [ke monna]
 [*It is not a woman who drinks, it is the man*]

B. The scope of negation is determined by the positions of the negative morphemes. The negative morpheme [ha] has a sentential scope if it appears on the left periphery of the sentence, which is a focus position, or it may have local / term negation if it appears within the verbal complex:

- (34) a. Ha - ke - batle dijo
 [*I don't want food*]
- b. Hase dijo tseo ke - di - batlang
 [*It is not food which I want*]

The negative morphemes [se] and [sa] have local scope of negation as they mainly appear in subordinate clauses:

- (35) a. Ba - tsamaile [ba - sa - bue]
 [*They left without speaking*]
- b. Ke - batla hore [le se reke]
 [*I want that you should not buy*]

Finally, indefinites in Sesotho are interpreted as specified or non-specific by means of nominal modifiers, clauses or contrasting phrases:

- (36) a. Non-specific: Ke - batla [pene]
 [*I want a pen*]
- b. Specific: Ke - batla [pene [ya hao]
 [*I want your pen*]

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