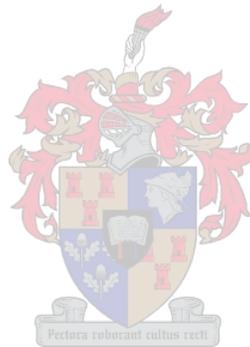


THE COMPOUND NOUN IN NORTHERN SOTHO

BY

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Dissertation presented for the Degree of Doctor of Literature at the University of Stellenbosch.

PROMOTOR: PROF. M. V. VISSER

DECEMBER 2006

DECLARATION

I, the undersigned, hereby declare that the work contained in this thesis 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 study explores the various elements which appear in compound nouns in Northern Sotho. The purpose of this study fill in an important gap in the Northern Sotho language studies as regards the morphological structure of compound nouns in Northern Sotho.

This study is organized as follows:

CHAPTER ONE presents an introduction to the study. The introductory sections which appear in this chapter include the aim of the study, the methodology and different views of researchers of other languages on compound nouns. Different categories which appear with the noun in the Northern Sotho compound are identified.

CHAPTER TWO deals with the different features of the noun in Northern Sotho. It examines the various class prefixes, nominal stems/roots and nominal suffixes which form nouns. Nouns appear in classes according to the form of their prefixes. The morphological structures of the nouns have been presented. It also reviews the meanings, sound/phonological changes and origins of nouns.

CHAPTER THREE is concerned with the nominal heads of compound nouns. It examines compounds that are formed through a combination of nouns, and compounds that are formed from nouns together with other syntactic categories. Arguments which defend the structure of different compounds with nominal heads are presented.

CHAPTER FOUR explores compound nouns with verbal heads. It examines various elements of compound nouns with a verb as one of its components. The entire chapter includes examples that illustrate that when a verbal form appears with a noun, it is adapted to a noun by the addition of the relevant prefixes and suffixes.

CHAPTER FIVE gives an overview of the findings, and presents the conclusions, of the research on compound nouns in Chapters Three and Four.

OPSOMMING

Hierdie studie ondersoek die verskillende morfologiese elemente wat in saamgestelde naamwoorde in Noord-Sotho verskyn. Die doel van die studie is dus om 'n belangrike gaping te vul in Noord-Sotho taalstudie rakende die morfologiese struktuur van saamgestelde naamwoorde in Noord-Sotho.

Die studie is soos volg georganiseer:

HOOFSTUK EEN bied die inleiding tot die studie. Die inleidende afdelings wat in hierdie hoofstuk verskyn, sluit in 'n uiteensetting van die doelwitte van die studie, die metodologie, en verskillende beskouings van navorsers oor saamgestelde naamwoorde in ander tale. Verskillende kategorieë wat verskyn in die Noord-Sotho samestelling word geïdentifiseer.

HOOFSTUK TWEE ondersoek die onderskeibare kenmerke van die naamwoord in Noord-Sotho. Dit gee 'n oorsig van die verskillende klasprefikse, naamwoordstamme en naamwoordelike suffikse waaruit naamwoorde gevorm word. Die morfologie van die Noord-Sotho naamwoorde word beskou, en dié hoofstuk gee ook 'n oorsig van die betekenis, klankveranderinge en oorspronge van naamwoorde.

HOOFSTUK DRIE ondersoek saamgestelde naamwoorde met naamwoordelike kerne ('heads'). Dit ondersoek saamgestelde naamwoorde wat gevorm word deur 'n kombinasie van naamwoorde, en saamgestelde naamwoorde wat gevorm word deur 'n kombinasie van naamwoorde en ander sintaktiese kategorieë. Argumente wat die strukture van die verskillende saamgestelde naamwoorde ondersteun, word aangebied.

HOOFSTUK VIER ondersoek saamgestelde naamwoorde met werkwoordelike kerne ('heads'). Dit ondersoek verskillende elemente van 'n saamgestelde naamwoord met 'n werkwoord as een van die komponente. Die volle hoofstuk sluit voorbeelde in wat

illustreer dat wanneer 'n werkwoordelike vorm met 'n naamwoord verskyn, dit aangepas word tot 'n naamwoord deur die byvoeging van relevante prefikse en suffikse.

HOOFSTUK VYF bied 'n oorskou van die bevindings en die gevolgtrekkings van die navorsing in hoofstukke Drie en Vier.

DEDICATION

This study is dedicated to the following people:

My late father : Ramomedi Abiel
My mother : Setishi Albina
My sister : Moyahabo Priscilla
My children : Phophi Selokela, Koketso, Moyahabo Priscilla and
Ramomedi Abigail
My nephews : Madjadji Catherine and Thothobela Rachel

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

A Northern Sotho proverb that says **ditau tša hloka seboka di šitwa le ke nare e hlotša** (unity is strength) means that one cannot do anything without the help of other people.

Different individuals have assisted me in a variety of ways to make this study a reality. I, therefore, would like to register my sincere gratitude to the following people:

Prof. M. W. Visser, my promoter, for her patience and scholarly guidance during my years of study. She was kind to refer me to additional references especially during the early stages of this research. I really want to thank her for her untiring efforts. Without her, my dream would not have come true.

Prof. J. A. Du Plessis, my guide who, with admirable diligence, carried the major part of the work load untiringly. His generous and constructive guidance encouraged me a great deal in developing an interest in this field.

Members of staff of the Department of African Languages at the University of Stellenbosch, among who are **Prof. N. S. Zulu**, **Drs. M. Dlali**, **P. N. Satyo** and **Mr. M. W. Jadezwi**, for making me feel at home in this department.

Prof. R. N. Madadzhe, senior lecturer in the School of Languages and Communication Studies at the University of Limpopo, for his invaluable assistance in solving many problems that at times confronted me.

Professional typist, **Mrs. C. R. Manaka**, for typing Chapter One of this dissertation.

Ms. Moorane Evelyn Moleleman, for typing Chapters Two, Three and Four of the dissertation.

Mr. Machaba Motheta, for typing Chapter Five.

My nephews, **Ms. Madjadji Catherine** and **Ms Thothobela Rachel Mphasha**, for their share in typing and rearranging this dissertation.

The Lord, for the strength and wisdom He gave me during my research.

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CHAPTER 1

1. INTRODUCTION

1.1 AIM

The central problem that will be investigated in this study relates to the various elements that may appear in compound nouns in Northern Sotho. A key question that will be explored in this study relates to whether a compound noun in Northern Sotho is a noun that consists of a combination of lexical categories and/or roots or stems, and what the possible position of the noun class prefix may be in the morphological structure of such compound nouns.

The study will investigate problems relating to the morpho-syntactic and semantic properties of the nominal compounds in Northern Sotho from the viewpoint of morphology and semantics. The part of the study dealing with the morphology of compounds in Northern Sotho will invoke views on morphology of researchers such as Anderson (1992), Carstairs-McCarthy (1992), Lieber (1992), Scalise (1984), and Spencer (1991). The study of the morphological structure of the noun in Northern Sotho will take into account the works of Selkirk (1982), Di Sciullo and Williams (1987) and particularly, the work of Beard (1995), in which he distinguishes between lexemes and morphemes. The works of Chomsky (1981, 1995) as well as Haegeman (1994) will be adopted as framework with regard to the study of problems relating to the X-bar theory.

The investigation of the semantic interpretation of the nominal compound in Northern Sotho will focus on the viewpoints of lexical semantics (see i.a. Pustejovsky, 1995). Problems of semantic drift in compounds and the semantic relation between the parts in a compound will be investigated.

The view will be assumed that the meaning of a compound is usually to some extent compositional, although it is often not predictable. For example, the nominal

compound with a nominal head **lebatla-badimo** (gods' place) is derived from **lebatla** (place) and **badimo** (gods). This noun denotes a kind of place. It is possible to understand how the individual parts of this compound contribute to the meaning of the whole. Specific problems with regard to the meaning of compounds will be investigated with regard to the following two questions: (i) Are compounds in Northern Sotho subject to a process of semantic drift which may include metonymy so that **motho-moso** (black person) (from **motho** (person) and **moso** (black)) is a person who is black; and (ii) What possible semantic relations can occur between the corresponding parts in a compound compared to the relations that obtain between the parts in a sentence. The semantic relations between the parts of a compound can often be understood in terms of modification as the examples above seem to indicate, i.e., modiffee-modifier.

A second issue that will be investigated in this study relates to the head of a compound, i.e., whether compounds in Northern Sotho are endocentric, with a head and/or whether they are exocentric, without a head.

Central to research on the compound in Northern Sotho is the issue of the morpho-syntactic nature of synthetic compounds, i.e., compounds that are characterized by the co-occurrence of particular formal characteristics with particular restrictions on interpretation. Such compounds that will be investigated for Northern Sotho include nouns derived from verbs, which appear only with a noun or other category as the second element of the compound.

Compounds in Northern Sotho seem to be only nominal in nature; hence this study on nominal compounds will focus on the following morphological issues:

- (i) The role of the noun class prefix of the compound: this prefix is crucial in the determination of the morphological structure of compound nouns in Northern Sotho;
- (ii) The head of a compound noun: the question is examined of whether it is possible to find only two compounds in Northern Sotho, i.e., a compound with

a noun as head, e.g., **thaba-mollo** (volcano, from **thaba** (mountain) and **mollo** (fire)) and a compound with a verb as head, e.g., **sešupa-nako** (watch, from **šupa** (show) and **nako** (time));

- (iii) Argument assignment in compounds, in particular verbal head compounds: the question of how the assignment of arguments in syntax differs from the assignment of arguments in morphology is examined. Of particular concern will be the issue of control in compounds, i.e., the nominal prefix may possibly control an argument assigned by the verb, e.g., the subject argument in **modira-dibe** (sinner), (from **dira** (do) and **dibe** (sins));
- (iv) The categories which may appear in the second part of the compound where the first element is a noun or a verb;
- (v) The presence or absence of the prefix of the nominal head and the prefix of the noun that occurs as the second part of the compound. The question is examined of whether the head noun retains its prefix, or whether it takes the prefix of the second noun, or whether it assumes a totally new prefix which is not the prefix of the head or the prefix of the second noun in the compound;
- (vi) Nominal suffixes such as the diminutive **-ana**, feminine and augmentative **-gadi** as well as locative **-eng**. The question is examined of which nominal affixes may appear with compounds and whether the nominal suffix appears with the first or second part of the compound;
- (vii) The role of derived nouns in a compound because most compounds appear with a non-derived verb in a compound.

1.2 METHODOLOGY

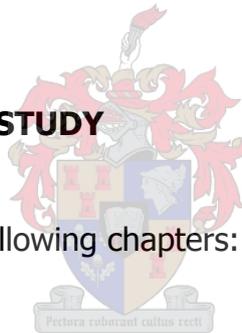
The methodology employed in the study is largely determined by the theoretical nature of the broad generative approach adopted, and the nature of evidence gathering and analysis.

The study firstly entailed the collection of a comprehensive set of data on nominal compounds in Northern Sotho. For the purpose of the investigation of endocentric compounds, the data will be classified according to the various semantic relations

that obtain between the head and the complement category of each compound. The various classes of compounds are then examined by applying a range of tests to determine the morpho-syntactic nature of the Northern Sotho compounds which in turn will be invoked to establish whether compounding can be accounted for partly/wholly by syntax, or whether compounding takes place exclusively in an autonomous morphological component. For this purpose, the problems referred to above will be investigated assuming the broad generative approach for determining the morphological structure and argument control properties of the lexical elements that occur as constituents of the compound (see Di Sciullo and Williams (1987)).

The nature of the semantic interpretation of the compound nouns will be examined following the approach of generative lexicon theory (Pustejovsky (1995)) in determining attributes or facets of word meaning of the compounds in Northern Sotho.

1.3 ORGANIZATION OF THE STUDY



The study is organized into the following chapters:

Chapter 1: Introduction and aims of the study with an overview of the literature on the morphology and semantics of the compound noun.

Chapter 2: The morphology and semantics of the noun in Northern Sotho.

Chapter 3: The compound noun with a nominal head in Northern Sotho.

Chapter 4: The compound noun with a verbal head in Northern Sotho.

Chapter 5: Summary and conclusions.

1.4 DIFFERENT VIEWS ON COMPOUND NOUNS

1.4.1 Fabb (1984)

Endocentric compounds are compounds that have a head. A head of a compound possesses identical features with the head of a phrase. It represents the core

meaning of the component, and it is also of the same word class. For instance, in **meat-pie**, **pie** is the head (a meat-pie is a type of pie; and **pie** and **meat-pie** are both nouns). Exocentric compounds are totally different from endocentric compounds because they do not have a head. In some cases the difference between these two types of compounds is based on interpretation, and is usually of little relevance, for instance, whether one regards **pillbox** as an endocentric or exocentric compound relies absolutely on whether one takes it as a type of box.

In coordinate compounds, both words in each compound seem to share equal head-like features as in **player-coach** (both a player and a coach) and **student-lecturer** (both a student and a lecturer). These coordinate compounds are also known as 'appositional' compounds. Two synonyms, however, can be combined in these types of compounds;

- | | | | | | |
|-----|----|-------|-----------------|--|-----------------|
| (1) | a. | (i) | (Hen-fowl) |  | 'female fowl' |
| | | (ii) | (Bull-cow) | | 'male cow' |
| | | (iii) | (Bull-elephant) | | 'male elephant' |

or a combination of antonyms;

- | | | | |
|----|------|--------------|-------------------------------------|
| b. | (i) | (Cold-heat) | 'it may refer to weather condition' |
| | (ii) | (Sour-sweet) | 'it may refer to taste' |

or a combination of parallel things:

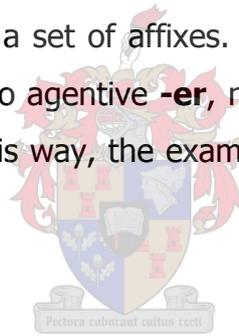
- | | | | |
|----|-------|------------------------------|-----------------------|
| c. | (i) | (King-queen-pl.) | 'traditional leaders' |
| | (ii) | (Grandson-granddaughter-pl.) | 'nephews' |
| | (iii) | (Father-mother-pl.) | 'parents' |

Modification usually plays a vital role in the understanding of the semantic relations between parts of a compound. This seems to be correct even for some exocentric compounds like **redhead**. There are many compounds that show plainly the relations that can be described as predicator-argument relations, as in **slaughterhouse** or **water-pump**. It is of great significance to know that in **water-pump**, **pump** can be described as an argument of **water**, and at the same time, **water** can be described as a modifier of **pump**.

The transparency and predictability of a compound, according to Fabb (1984), are at some stages correlated with its structural transparency. For instance, in languages with two different kinds of compounds where one is more interpretively transparent than the other, the less interpretively transparent kind will in most cases be subject to greater phonological or structural modification.

There are certain compounds that are found intermittently. They include synthetic compounds, incorporation compounds and reduplication compounds.

Synthetic compounds are also referred to as verbal compounds. Fabb states that each synthetic compound is distinguished by a co-occurrence of special formal features with particular limitations on explanations. Some languages like English have synthetic compounds while others such as French do not have them. The formal feature is that a synthetic compound has as its head a derived word comprising of a verb and one of a set of affixes. Most authors in English language have a tendency of limiting this to agentive **-er**, nominal and adjectival **-ing**, and the passive adjectival **-en**. In this way, the examples given below are distinguished as synthetic compounds:



- (2) a. Expert-test-ed
- b. Checker-play-ing (as an adjective: a checker-playing king)
- c. Window-clean-ing (as a noun)
- d. Grass-eat-er

From the morphological point of view, the compounds above are subject to different restrictions, most of which is that the left-hand member must be described as equivalent to a syntactic 'first sister' of the right-hand member.

Fabb (1984) maintains that incorporation words in some languages are similar to compounds: for instance, a verb and an incorporated noun may both exist as words that do not depend on others. The notable fact is that even if the two portions may exist as independent words, an incorporation word may vary from a compound in some respects. Phonological or structural variations between incorporated and free

forms of a word are also incorporated. In Pawnee language, for instance, words which refer to body parts can be incorporated on the one hand, whereas other different names like kinship terms, names of some special species of trees, personal names, etc., cannot be incorporated on the other hand. In this case, compounding is not limited. Fabb (1984:69) states that:

... semantic restrictions on compounding tend to be in terms of the relation between the parts rather than in terms of the individual meanings of the parts.

Fabb points out that the entire word can be repeated and this repetition is sometimes regarded as a compounding process on the basis that each portion of the resulting word agrees with an independently attested word. For instance, in Tamil, **vantu** 'coming' can be repeated as **vantu-vantu** 'coming time and again'. In another example of the Tamil language, there is a slightly modified reduplicated compound: **viyāparam** 'business' becomes **viyāparam-kiyāparam** 'business and such'. Here, all the sounds are reduplicated except the first sounds of the words whereby **v** is replaced by **k**. This type of reduplication is also applied in English compound words such as **higgledy-piggledy** and **hotchpotch**.

Compounds with bound words are, according to Fabb, independently attested as words in the original compounds. It is always possible to discover words that can be dissected according to the grammatical functions of their parts into an independently attested word plus another morpheme that is not an independently attested word but also does not look to be an affix. Few examples of the bolded unattested parts from the English words are the following:

- | | | | | | | |
|-----|----|------|----------------------|----|------|-------------------|
| (3) | a. | (i) | Gate- crasher | c. | (i) | Microphone |
| | | (ii) | Church- goer | | (ii) | Television |
| | b. | (i) | Peace maker | d. | (i) | Strawberry |
| | | (ii) | Iron monger | | (ii) | Cranberry |

The most important fact to know is, according to Fabb, that the part that is not attested as an isolated word is at some stages used with other words. The part may

be regarded as an attested word: for instance, **mike** (= microphone). It is of great significance to realize that these parts unsuccessfully look like affixes structurally and there is hardly any sufficient proof on phonological reasons for regarding them to be affixes.

The most important fact about the form of compounds is that they consist of two words, and the distinctness of these two components is clearly seen in different generally acceptable procedures. Discussion will be based on aspects such as directionality, the word classes of the component words and subconstituency in three (or more) word compounds.

Fabb states that there are two ways in which a compound can be 'directional'. The first way entails the position of the head: whether on the right or the left. The second way involves the direction of the relation between the parts of the compounds, i.e., the direction of modification in a noun-noun compound. In the compound such as **rain gauge**, modification is on the right. In a verb-based compound, the direction of complementation is also on the right as in, for instance, **light-house**. Fabb points out that the notable fact is that the two ways of directionality can be independent on the basis that a compound may contain internal modification or complementation with no head: **dustbin** does not have a head although it has a predicator-complement sequence. This descriptive argument is of great significance. In this argument, Fabb maintains, a considerable number of explanations suggest that a modifier-modifiee or predicator-argument relation inside a compound is itself an exhibit that part of the compound is a head. Due to the fact that there are some important assertions about directionality of the head to be established, it is presumably best to concentrate on the narrowest definition of head that includes a semantic connection between head and whole.

Fabb points out that the location of the head varies from one language to the other. In languages like English, the head of an endocentric word is always on the right. The location in English is different from French. The obvious difference is that in French, the head is always on the left as in, for instance, **bal masqué** 'masked ball'. Contributions made by scholars such as Di Sciullo and Williams (1987) state that the

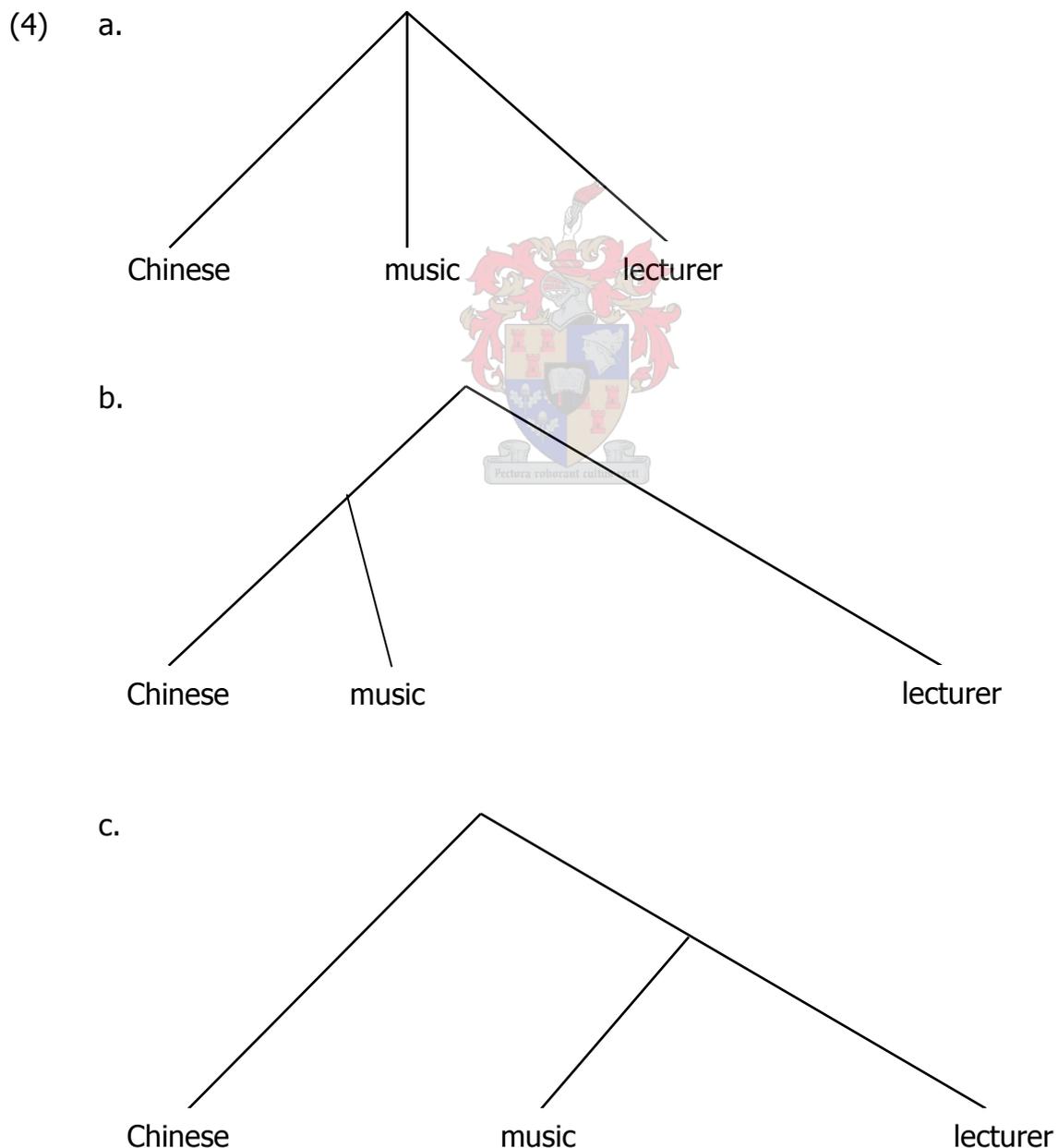
location of all the true heads of the endocentric compounds are on the right. The compounds that are left-headed can be regarded as exceptions. The latter idea is not generally accepted.

Fabb states that one of the questions that can be asked about the structure of compounds is whether the class of the component words is suitable, or whether word class is lost when the words are formed into a compound. In brief, the word 'suitable' would simply denote, for instance, the visibility of word class to a class sensitive rule that deals with the study of speech sound or the division of a word.

The structure-building rules for compounds can, according to Fabb, basically be differentiated with structure-building rules for phrases in various ways:

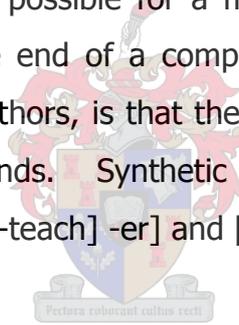
- a. As far as compound-building rules are concerned, there is no real equality of X-bar theory as a constraint. It goes without saying that compounds hardly need a head. In more general terms, it is difficult to get structural generalizations across compound structures similar to the generalizations laid down by X-bar theory for phrases.
- b. It should also be stressed that compound-building rules do not frequently occur. In English language, for instance, the NN%N combination is the only type that occurs frequently.
- c. Productivity is another factor that brings a problem. More productivity is visible in phrase-structure rules than in compound-structure rules. There might be another way of explaining the prevalence of some compound types in accordance with the way they operate rather than the way they are structured. The prevalence of NN%N and AN%N types in English language, for instance, may occur simply because of a functional need for compound nouns before other word classes, and also due to the fact that these have a modifier-modiffee structure which is easily described. In connection with the place of functional considerations and the meaning of productivity, this is a difficult problem that needs metatheoretical resolutions.

Fabb points out that some compounds can be made up of three or more words. These compounds can be described by dividing them into subconstituents, for instance, **ice-cream-cone**, which is interpreted by taking **ice-cream** as a subcompound within the larger compound. At some stages, more than one meaning may come to the fore from the possibility of two alternative groupings of words, as in **Chinese music lecturer** (a music lecturer who is Chinese or a lecturer of Chinese music). The question, which is raised about this interpretation, is whether three-or-more-word compounds may possibly have a subconstituent (hierarchical) structure like a phrase (i.e., (4b) or (4c) rather than the flat structure (4a)):



The important thing to note is, according to Fabb, that it is not simply that the interpretive facts alone indicate the presence of a structure consisting of many parts. The facts may easily take any pair of adjacent units and cause them to become a single unit, capturing a 'syntactic' structure such as (4a) and creating a 'semantic' structure such as (4b) or (4c). The phrase structure order can be demonstrated by the sensitivity of various syntactic stages to constituent structure. Compared to syntactic constituents, compounds are incapable of moving. For complex constituent structure, it is not easy to get reliable proof. There are also some compounds that are made up of four nouns as in **African-women-minors-association**.

According to Fabb, compounds can be arranged in an either ascending or descending order. It is incorrect to state that a three-member compound always consists of three words. For instance, it is possible for a morpheme to appear between two words in a compound or at one end of a compound. The argument, which was raised by some of the English authors, is that the suffix is a third constituent of the compound in synthetic compounds. Synthetic compounds in this case have a hierarchical form such as [[class-teach] -er] and [[law-break]-er].



Fabb points out that there are two interpretive gaps in English compounds. Important aspects to look at are the missing goal, synthetic compounds in English: the absence of 'subject' and ways of explaining interpretive gaps.

The NN%N kind is one of the ordinary types of compounds in English language. An extensive number of various relations can be interpreted as holding between the two members of such kind of a compound. The most important question that may arouse attention in these cases is whether there are some relationships that are not attested. Regarding general inspections of NN%N compounds, Fabb refers to linguists like Downing (1977) and Warren (1978) who discovered that, while source (a place or a thing from which something is moved or taken) was attested, goal (a place which something or someone moves towards) was only marginally attested. Out of 3,994 compounds, Warren managed to find only fourteen potential examples. The linguists later maintained that they might not be considered to be correct

examples of 'goal' compounds. Fabb points out that in her list of relations between the parts of nominal compounds, Levi (1978) has 'from' (e.g., **store-clothes**) but not 'to'.

In this regard, it is, according to Fabb, important to note that the same gap can be observed in other compounds; for instance, while VN%N compounds like **slaughter-house** (a place where animals are killed for market) can be found, there are no compounds like **go-room** (meaning a room to which someone goes). Synthetic compounds indicate this gap as well: the synthetic compound **God-given** can be described only as given **by** God, not given **to** God. It is very important to point out that apparent goal compounds such as **school-leaver** actually mean 'someone who stops from attending school' (not someone who moves away from school). In a similar pattern, **mountain-climbing** means 'climbing on the mountain' (not to the mountain).

According to Fabb, the critical interpretive limitation in a synthetic compound is that the left-hand word, which can be a noun, adverb or adjective, is compelled to be explainable as a complement of the right-hand word (and is not obliged to be explainable as an external argument or subject). In actual fact, synthetic compounds with **-ing** or **-er** are just the same as reversed active verb phrases with equivalent components (play checkers > checker-playing), whereas synthetic compounds with passive **-en** are similar to reversed passive verb phrases (tested by experts > expert tested). The undisputable fact is, according to Fabb, that synthetic compounds can be distinguished from other compounds that are sometimes regarded as 'root compounds'. In this case, while ***bird-singing** is not incorporated, there is a compound **bird-song** where the left-hand member is explainable as the subject of the right-hand member. In essence, synthetic compounds arouse curiosity on the basis that the rules for their interpretation are likely connected to rules for creating the meaning of sentences (e.g., the assignment of thematic roles to specific positions in a sentence, relying entirely on the active or passive nature of the verb). According to Fabb, it is important to note that the

assignment of thematic roles is governed by general principles such as projection principle and theta-criterion (which is similarly written as θ -criterion).

Fabb proposes that generally, description of interpretive gaps in compounds can be done in one of three following manners:

- (a) The compound-building rules are, to a certain extent, forced to make them sensitive to interpretation-relevant aspects like thematic relations. As regard compound nouns, Fabb refers to Levi (1978) who is one of the linguists who use this approach within a Generative Semantics framework. Fabb also refers to Roeper and Siegel (1978), who, although having adopted the same approach in an Extended Standard Theory framework, a very serious problem arose. Their approach creates a problem because they create synthetic compounds by a particular (transformational) rule that combines a verb and a subcategorized complement as input. In this case, Fabb states, there is a gap simply because there is hardly a way of building synthetic compounds in which a verb is combined with a non-subcategorized argument such as its subject. This becomes clear when considering that a compound **bird-singing** can in no way be built by the synthetic-compound-building rule. The reason behind this, Fabb states, is that it combines a verb with its subject, which is a non-subcategorized argument. The root-compound-building rule is the alternative rule of building the compound. This rule combines two nouns as in **bird + singing**. In this way, the rule is not subject to thematic constraints as it can be observed in subject-predicate compounds like **moonlight**. This is an indication that anything that rules out **bird-singing** as a root compound is obviously not connected with the compound-building rules.
- (b) The alternative way, according to Fabb, is that some filter that actually concentrates on the compound, and only if it possesses the form of a synthetic compound, applies some constraints on interpretation to it may rule out the subject. This will clearly distinguish root from synthetic compounds in their surface structure, but not in the way they are built.

(c) According to Fabb, Carter (1976) states that another manner would be to describe interpretive gaps in compounds in terms of general constraints on the ambiguity of a word. Specification of the compound-internal thematic relations is not necessarily needed in this approach because these relations are not clearly referred to. The description of the 'goal' gap may be given in this approach. It is important to note that this gap is also visible in non-compound word formation. Fabb also refers to the work of Hale and Keyser (1992), who clearly assert that while there is a doing word (verb) **shelve**, meaning 'put on a shelf', there is no verb **town**, meaning 'go to town'. The reason may be that a meaning of 'movement towards' is not compatible with some aspects of possible word meaning. In this regard, Fabb refers to Downing (1977), who makes an explanatory note that 'unambiguously fortuitous or temporary relationships' are excluded from further consideration in favour of generic or habitual relationships. Maybe 'movement towards' is generally excluded from further consideration due to the fact that it is not normally a generic or habitual relationship: in this case, the comparison of 'source' (movement from) with 'goal' (movement towards) is of great importance. For more elaboration, the source of something is left as a stable and permanent property of that thing; the goal of something is its goal only while it is moving towards it.

In some language (or language-family) — specific compound types possess an internal structure unblocked to syntactic manipulation and recognizable to syntactic processes. Here, good examples are incorporation compounds. Fabb (1988) argues that syntactic compounds have a structure similar to that of incorporation compounds. According to Fabb, the following two factors, when taking into account the 'syntactic' aspects of compounds, are important.

Firstly, compounds have a tendency of possessing fixed meanings so that it is not simple, for instance, to modify them. In this case, syntax versus morphology question may not be relevant. The ASL compound, for example, 'blue-spot' (=

bruise) can in no way be morphologically modified to `*darkblue-spot' (?= bad bruise).

Secondly, Fabb states, in some compounds, phrases are lexicalized. While it is obviously not possible to have **the** inside a compound in English, there is a word **middle of the building** that looks like a compound although it may best be analyzed as a lexicalized phrase. Compounds that consist of **and**, such as **foot-and-mouth disease**, may also be regarded as a lexicalized phrase, or it may be argued that coordination may include parts of words that do not deal with syntactic implications.

According to Fabb, compounds look like derived words and phrasal combinations in various ways. Phonological and morphological processes apply to compounds. For instance, compounds with derived words are put together by some phonological processes while others group compounds with phrases. However, there are others that isolate compounds as a different class.

Stress assignment is one of the most commonly mentioned compound-specific phonological rules. Fabb maintains that compounds may be subject to a rule that puts stress that has a considerable weight on a single word. In this analysis, for instance, the compound **big-foot** (the name of a monster) can easily be distinguished from the phrase **big foot** by the heavier stressing of **big** relative to **foot** in the compound. Thus, in English, the first word is stressed. Compounds may still indicate interesting stress characteristics even where there is not a compound-specific stress rule. Fabb refers to Anderson (1985), who states that in Mandarin, contrastive stress 'sees' a compound as one word. In this way, there is only one place in the compound where contrastive stress can be placed. For comparative purposes, a two-word phrase may possess contrastive stress on either word. It is generally accepted according to Anderson, that the stress pattern of English compounds has been the source of extensive analysis. Basically, this stress pattern is relevant in three spheres of operation:

- a. Firstly, the stress pattern of compounds may show the availability of hierarchical form inside the compound.
- b. Secondly, it is important to know that compounds should be treated by specific system of rules for stress assignment.
- c. Thirdly, the fact that initial stress is not available in English compounds cannot be disputed.

As stress is mostly considered compound-specific suprasegmental process, other such processes may distinguish compounds from derived words or phrasal combinations. Fabb refers to Anderson (1985) who cites most of Mandarin Chinese compounds in which the second element loses stress due to the fact that it first loses its tone. Fabb states that, according to Klima and Bellugi (1979), temporal rhythm is analogous to stress in American Sign Language. In this case, a compound word and a simple word take more or less the same amount of time to produce because in a compound word, the first word is made significantly more quickly. Fabb refers to Liddell and Johnson (1986), who posited a compound-specific temporal reduction rule.

Sometimes segmental phonological processes are present between two morphemes—either a word or an affix, or two words. These processes have a tendency of differentiating compounds from other combinations. Certain phonological rules in English apply within derived words but not within compounds. Fabb refers to Allen (1978), who indicates this for **beauty-parlour** versus **beauti-ful**.

According to Fabb, there are some languages that decrease their segments when their compounds are structured. One of these languages is the American sign language. Compounds of this language usually experience more radical formal restructuring than many spoken language compounds, with loss of segments being a common characteristic of compound formation. For instance, the compound translated as 'black-name' (meaning bad reputation) includes loss of one of the segments of the word for 'name' (which on its own contains chronological order of two segments that are similar). According to Liddell and Johnson (1986), as

discussed by Fabb, the average simple sign possesses the same number of segments as the average compound.

Fabb states that a morpheme may appear between the two words in some languages. Such a morpheme does not have an independent meaning. This morpheme may sometimes have a historical bearing to some affix although it is structurally found only in compounds. In German, for instance, **s** or **en** may be inserted:

(5) Schwan-en-gesang 'swan song'

Inflectional morpheme (e.g., marking plurality, case or tense) can appear on a component word inside a compound:

- a. Fabb states that the first approach, advanced by Kiparsky (1982), which focuses on the issue of level-ordering of morphological processes, pays attention to the difference between regular and irregular inflectional morphemes, and inquires if irregular morphology is more likely to be found on a compound-internal word (for the reason that it comes before the compounding process) than regular morphology (which comes later than the compounding process). In English, the proof is not clearly visible. As foretold, regular inflection is not present in some compounds such as **toolbox** (compare ***tools-boxes**), where irregular inflection is available in corresponding compounds like **teeth-marks**. Against these predictions, regular inflection is at some stages present as in **arms race** whereas irregular inflection is not available as in **out-putted**.
- b. The second approach, according to Fabb, pays attention on the implications of having any inflection on a portion of a compound, and whether this implies that the internal form of compounds is clearly seen by the syntax. The relevant answer to this solely relies on one's theory of inflection. Questions concerning the visibility of inflection are also connected to questions about the visibility of theta-assigning characteristics of subparts and what this means

about the visibility of compound form in syntax.

Fabb points out that compounds have a tendency of not undergoing derivational processes. There are, however, good examples such as English **bowler-hatted** that can only be structured as **bowler-hat+ed**. According to Fabb, this may be that, as is stated in Roeper and Siegel's (1978) compound formation rule, synthetic compounds in English are the result either of a verb-final compound being affixed with **-ing**, **-er**, etc., or of a combination of derivation and affixation. Exchange of ideas has been held on compounds like **transformational grammarian**, which on interpretive reasons would seem to include suffixation of **transformational grammar**. As Spencer (1988) indicates, there are various ways of dealing with these 'bracketing paradoxes'. Fabb refers to Liddell and Johnson (1986), who assert that in ASL a repetition process adds the meaning of 'regularly' to a verb. The process reduplicates the entire compound verb even if this may be an inflectional process.

According to Shaw (1985), as discussed by Fabb, postverbal clitics in Dakota are attached in the lexicon. The attachment is on the first member of syntactic compounds, but not on the first member of lexical compounds.



1.4.2 Downing (1977)

Downing assesses the process of noun + noun compounding in English, paying attention to the functional status of the process and she supports her conclusions with the results of experimental tasks in which subjects were asked to present and explain such compounds. The author used the definition of a N + N compound suggested by Li (1971:19): "the simple concatenation of any two or more nouns functioning as a third nominal".

Downing's investigation of compounds consists of the following four components:

- a. Assessment of the nature and relative frequency of the semantic relationships underlying attested but purely non-lexicalized compounds.

- b. Naming task: subjects were requested to make names for drawings of entities with no conventionalized name.
- c. Context-free interpretation task: subjects were requested to give definitions for novel compounds in the absence of context.
- d. Ranking task: subjects were requested to assess the suitability of different definitions suggested for a number of novel and lexicalized compounds.

According to Downing, the referent of the modifying member of the compound must bear an accurately perceivable relationship to the referent of the head of the compound. It is in this way evident that in circumstances where the co-occurrence of two elements is definitionally or pragmatically prevented, no relevant compounding relationship between these elements exists. Most individuals may, thus, be unable to make possible attributive descriptions for the compounds like **butler-maid**, **circle-square**, **fork-spoon**, and **loaf-pie**.

Downing concludes that it is clear that subjects may not accept compounds if it seems simply unlikely that the two members may co-occur in some context, even though this possibility is not definitionally prevented.

The argument that arises, according to Downing, is whether all relationships distinguishable according to proximity between the members of the compound are relevant for use as compounding relationships, or whether this class should be further limited. Most recent linguists of compounding acknowledge that the class of compounding relationships is restricted, and these restrictions are totally distinguishable. The explanations, according to Downing, in many cases, are arranged according to the categories set up by these linguists only with a great deal of a problem, even if the compounds in question considered as deviating from normal standards by the individuals, as shown by the reason that they are unanimously regarded as 'possible English compounds'. These explanations typically incorporate a full description of the real-world context that may be connected with the existence of an entity.

Downing states that it is sometimes difficult to account for the difference in meaning between two different yet related explanations for a given compound. This is so because of the nature of an adequate definition. Downing observes that it is prudent to assert that the acceptable compounding relationships are reducible to a restricted number of underlying forms, rather than equivalent to them, since it is obvious that these highly common forms can in no ways account for the complete semantic content of the compounding relations.

According to Downing, the outcomes also show that even relationships that are classifiable in terms of one of the entries are not usually suitable as compounding relationships. The suitability of a given relationship in a given context mostly relies on the semantic class of the head noun, the predictability of the relationship, and the continuity of the relationship without any change.

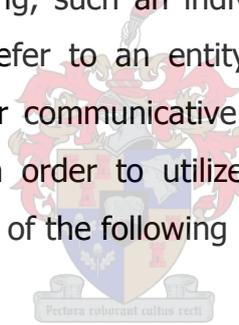
According to Downing, it is of importance to state that none of the analyses proposes that any of the suggested processes or underlying structures is constrained in their creativity by anything other than deep-structure selectional limitations or language-specific inhibitors. On the whole, Fabb states, these outcomes propose that naturally existing entities like plants, animals, and natural objects are symbolically categorized on the basis of inherent features, whereas synthetic objects are arranged according to the uses to which they may be put. This would imply that synthetic objects are typically invented with some goal in mind, while natural entities generally are not.

Downing maintains that some of the relationship types may as well not be supported if they do not have prominence due to their entirely predictable manner. Predictable relationships are not fitting for compounds due to the fact that, given the head of the compound, the modifier transmits no additional information, e.g., **book-novel**. The compound here does not refer to a category previously convincingly delimited by a monomorphemic name, and the incomparable ability of the compound to function as an **ad-hoc** naming mechanism is not completely used.

Downing argues that the use of a compound normally denotes that the relationship in question is of a habitual nature. Any individual who utters this compound, **owl-**

house, for instance, does not expect the person spoken to (the hearer) to describe it as “a house that owls fall on” or “the house my owl flew by”. Generally, houses are not distinguished by a regular manner to be fallen upon by owls. It is, therefore, important to state that the components of a compound are perceived to form a unit that is somehow integral, generic, or essential, not one that is short-lived or changeable. Items may be established to determine which relationship would be included into a novel compound.

The suitability of a given relationship, according to Downing, relies on its permanence, its predictability in context, and on the semantic class of the head noun. The presence of constraints in some of the examples in this research would seem to be generally explicable in terms of the concerns of an individual who does not want to utilize an available lexical item and alternatively decides upon a novel compound. According to Downing, such an individual is mostly confronted with a situation in which he likes to refer to an entity that has no name of adequate specificity for his classificatory or communicative intentions. Compounds probably function as **ad-hoc** names. In order to utilize such a form properly, Downing argues, an individual should think of the following points:



Exploitation of informational resources

The opportunity of making use of a compound instead of an available lexical item vanishes if the compound is based on an entirely predictable relationship. The compound in this way is not used to imply a suitable subcategory of the head noun.

Guaranteeing interpretability

A firm assurance of an explanation should be made, i.e., the speaker should make sure that the compound is clearly described, for if the person spoken to (the hearer) is not in a position to rebuild the nature of the underlying relationship, the act of reference may not be successful. In this way, Downing states, it is always the case that by basing the compound on a relationship of an automatism or generic nature,

the speaker decides to make the addressee's work easier, since the available relationship is probably apparent in the context in which the compound is utilized, or at least within the hearer's faculty of understanding relating to the entity in question. Generally, Downing concludes, the advantage of the compound as an **ad-hoc** name becomes less when its semantic transparency vanishes.

Denoting a relevant category

Downing states that the priority given for permanent relationships of various kinds, relying on the semantic class of the head noun, would seem to derive at least in part from the 'naminess' essentially related to compound forms. Compounds in many occasions serve as names. In this case, the speaker may establish a category of its own kind that, even though it may not yet be conventionalized, is at least conventionalizable.

Downing argues that the nature of the restrictions on the compounding process derives from few practical opinions:

- 
- a. The thoroughly adequate exploitation of the informational resources of the compound form.
 - b. The explanatory of the form.
 - c. The function to which the compound will be placed, as a category label or simply a demonstrative mechanism.

Downing suggests that if focus is on the question of how such restrictions as these might be included within a formal theoretical framework, it becomes clear that any sufficient theoretical model should reflect the following points:

- a. N + N compounding is a productive system; even if several lexicalized compounds are available.
- b. Compounds vary from sentential forms due to the fact that they typically name, rather than insist or explain.

- c. The number of possible compounding relationships is not finite.
- d. The class of possible compounding relationships is not static, but differs from one context to the other.

Downing maintains that, since it is always impossible to find out whether the use of a given novel compound is meant to denote the category which is available, or whether it is merely a deictic compound, it would look not wise to try to set up formally different sources for each. It would seem that most compounds start out as deictic ones; but only those that are positioned on permanent, systematically relevant relationships exist beyond the original coding circumstances. The restrictions manifested in this research can never be acknowledged to be complete restrictions on the production of linguistic structures. Rather, Downing states, they simply reflect the aspects that regulate the range of situations in which a given novel form may felicitously be utilized, and the likelihood that it will be lexicalized. It is very obvious that any attempt to formalize these aspects according to a list of possible compounding relationships is bound to fail. Since any relationship may function in the relevant context, such type of a list would not be useful.

According to Downing, the restrictions on N + N compounds in English can never be characterized according to absolute boundaries on the semantic or syntactic forms from which they are derived. Due to the significant variations in the functions served by compounds, as opposed to the sentential forms which more or less precisely paraphrase them, attempts to describe the features of compounds as derived from a restricted set of such forms can only be regarded misdirected. Downing states that it is important to note that a paraphrase relationship need not denote a derivational one. Since compounds usually function as **ad-hoc** names for entities or categories deemed name-worthy, these tendencies for compounds to be based on permanent relationships of varying semantic types reveal more about the system of categorization than they do about derivational restrictions on the compounding system. It is in this way that the individual is restricted in his production and usage of compound nouns.

1.4.3 Bybee (1985)

According to Bybee, **compounding** and **incorporation** are two important morphological expression types that are closely related to derivation. Morphologically-complex words produced by these processes vary from those produced by derivation and inflection on the ground that such words cannot be described as containing a stem or root plus affixes, but they consist of more than one stem or root. In other words, Bybee states, the elements included in these structures are not lexical plus grammatical, but rather two or more lexical elements. Compounding involves combinations such as noun-noun, adjective-noun and noun-verb. Examples of compounds such as **school van**, **black board** and **babysit** are relevant.

Bybee states that the concept "incorporation" has been utilized to focus on a variety of verb-formation phenomena spreading from processes resembling compounding to processes that are much like derivational morphology. Essentially, incorporation refers to the fusion of the nominal patient of the verb with the verb, but usually two verb stems can as well be joined together, for instance, from Tiwi (an Australian language), the following two combinations are important: $ji + m\grave{a}ni + \eta jilim\grave{p}a\eta + ra\eta kina = \text{he} + \text{me} + \text{sleeping} + \text{steal}$ 'he stole it from me while I was asleep' and $ji + m\grave{a}ni + \eta jilim\grave{p}a\eta + alipi + a\eta kina = \text{he} + \text{me} + \text{sleeping} + \text{meat} + \text{steal}$ 'he stole my meat while I was asleep'.

Bybee argues that aspects like compounding, incorporation and derivation have a continuous series of identical components with respect to generality of meaning. In fact, the elements that enter into a compound do not vary in generality from the same elements when they occur free, except that nouns in noun-verb compounds possess a generic characteristic rather than a referential one, for example, **baby** in **babysit** does not in one way or the other refer to any particular baby. It is quite interesting to state that the same applies to incorporation due to the fact that the incorporated noun possesses a generic rather than a referential characteristic, and

furthermore, in a number of instances applies a category of item rather than a particular item like **liquid** versus **maple syrup**. According to Bybee, compounding, incorporation, derivation and inflection are aspects which have a series of similar components in which compounding is freer than others. Compounding also includes the largest class of items, with the wealthiest and most special meanings.

1.4.4 Carstairs – McCarthy (1992)

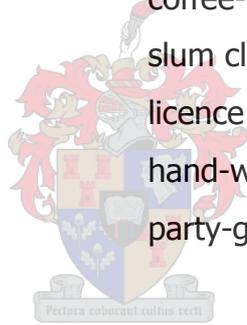
According to Carstairs-McCarthy, the concept **head** in morphology, is traditionally applied to compounds in a manner that joins together distributional and semantic principles. Both **blackbird** and **bird** are nouns, and a blackbird is a type of bird; and so **blackbird** has **bird** as its head. Hence, Carstairs-McCarthy states that compounds with heads are regarded as **endocentric**, by contrast with **exocentric** or (to use the Sanskrit concept) **bahuvrihi** compounds like **pickpocket** or **forget-me-not**. Even if **pickpocket** is a noun, just as its right-hand member **pocket**, **pocket** is absolutely not the head of **pickpocket** on the basis that a pickpocket is not a (type of) pocket. **Forget-me-not** is referred to as exocentric compound due to the fact that its status as a noun is not in one way or the other derivable from its internal form, which is that of a verb phrase.

According to Carstairs-McCarthy, it is important to note that in endocentric compounds the head is on the right as in **greenhouse** and **blackboard**. On this ground, the author suggests a **Right-Hand Head Rule** that suggests that any constituent that is on the right-hand edge of a word is a head. Some of the nominalizing suffixes such as **-ist**, **-er** and **-ing** play an important role in compounding as in compounds like **atomic scient-+-ist**, **lawn mow-+-er** and **story-tell-+-ing**. Carstairs-McCarthy states there are other compounds, however, which do not need suffixes for nominalization. Few examples of these compounds are **atomic science**, **symphony orchestra** and **white elephant**. It is very simple to indicate that the order of elements in compounds, even compounds of productive types, carries no direct relationship to the contemporary order of elements within the sentence. A special productive type of the modern synthetic compounds can be

indicated by **hedge-cutter**, **painkiller** and **nit-picking**, whereas the type represented by **cutpurse**, **killjoy** and **pickpocket** is fossilized and not productive; yet it is in the second type, not the first, that the sequence of elements parallels normal sentence order. In the synthetic compounds like **nit-picking** and **honey-drinking**, the second elements, pick(ing) and drink(ing), are verbal and the first elements are the objects or the Themes of the verb.

According to Carstairs-McCarthy, the most important point to consider is the way in which the grammar should treat clear parallels between argument-structure relationships in syntax and certain relationships between elements within compounds and some derived words. The following pairs can be taken into consideration:

- | | | | |
|-----|----|---------------------------------|-----------------|
| (6) | a. | [Eat meat] _{VP} | meat-eater |
| | b. | [Drink coffee] _{VP} | coffee-drinking |
| | c. | [Clear slums] _{VP} | slum clearance |
| | d. | [Renew a licence] _{VP} | licence renewal |
| | e. | [Write by hand] _{VP} | hand-written |
| | f. | [Go to parties] _{VP} | party-going |



In the pairs given above in (6), Carstairs-McCarthy states the items on the right are all **synthetic**, **verbal** or **secondary compounds**. These are the compounds in which the second element contains a verb stem while the first element appears to have a thematic role (or theta-role) in relation to that verb stem identical or very similar to the role it possesses in a corresponding verb phrase (on the left). This type of thematic correspondence makes certain (or seems to make certain) that the explanation of synthetic compounds is predictable. Conversely, Carstairs-McCarthy states, they vary from **root** or **primary compounds**, in which the second element does not contain verb stem. A specifically common type of root compound in English is the noun-noun kind:

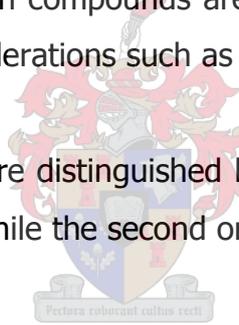
- | | | | |
|-----|----|--------------|---------------|
| (7) | a. | Hair-spray | fly-spray |
| | b. | Mosquito-net | butterfly-net |

the various interpretations from the deep structures that underlie the following three sentences:

- a. X extracts poison from the snake.
- b. The snake has the poison.
- c. The poison is for the snake.

Scalise states that the Filter specifies the words, not the nominal compounds, which are exceptions and adds any necessary idiosyncratic features. Features such as **-ery** in **milkery** and **-ism** in **capitalism** do not fit in the formation of the compounds. Thus, Scalise states, the main objection to the Filter is that it is not a finite process. The set of possible but non-existent words is not finite on the ground that there are no rules that limit the degree of complexity of derived and compound words. All the restrictions that may be placed on compounds are not of a grammatical nature, but rather rely on performance considerations such as memory.

Scalise argues that compounds are distinguished by two major conditions. The first one is the Variable R Condition while the second one is the "IS A" Condition.



Scalise explains that the Variable R Condition refers to the fact that every "new" compound does not possess one and only one interpretation or meaning but rather quite a number of possible interpretations, as distinct from a number of **not** possible interpretations. According to Scalise, this condition is valid only for primary compounds. Primary compounds are described as those nominal compounds in which the second element is not derived from the verb. The examples of primary verbs are **fire-man** and **water-mill**. These two compounds have a number of possible interpretations, even though each has a conventional meaning. They also possess a range of not possible meanings.

Scalise argues that besides the primary compounds, in which the second element is not derived from the verb, there are other compounds that consist of a verbal form that habitually determines the interpretation of the compound, thus, excluding other

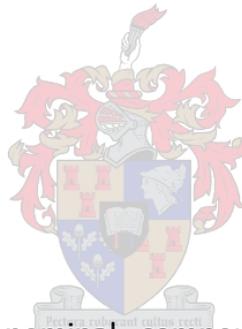
- (8) a. Mouse-trap vs *mice-trap
b. Hand-towel vs *hands-towel

Sometimes the uninflected form of a word is not found in isolation, but can appear, instead, in compounds:

- (9) a. *Scissor scissors scissor-handle
b. *Trouser trousers trouser-leg
c. *Pant pants pant-leg

The other important issue, according to Scalise, is that there are still other instances which are not very clear on the ground that they seem to contain compound-internal plural or genitive markers, as illustrated in (10):

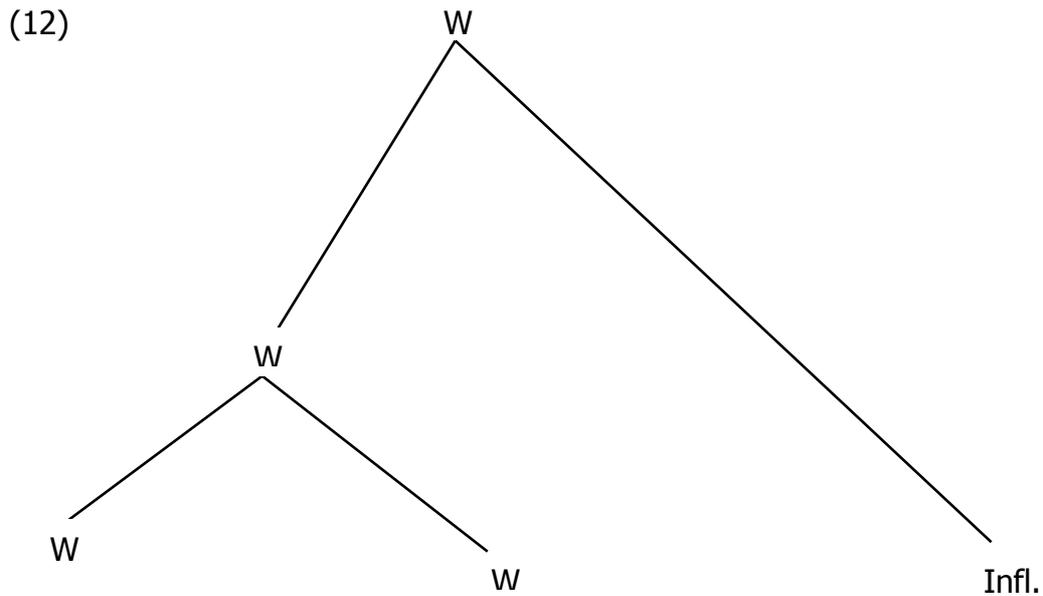
- (10) a. Craftsman
b. Swordsman
c. Groundsman
d. Clansman



Morphologically, the unmarked nominal compounds such as **blackboards** and **windmills** appear in the following way:

- (11) WORD + WORD + Inflection

When analyzing the English language in particular, which always has the head on the right, the plural of compounds like **blackboards** (singular as **blackboard**) and **windmills** (singular as **windmill**) will generally have the structure below:



With respect to compounds, Scalise assumes that the possible combinations in English can be distinguished as follows:

- (13)
- | | | | | |
|----|---|---|---|---------------|
| a. | N | + | N | schoolteacher |
| b. | A | + | N | high school |
| c. | V | + | N | rattlesnake |
| d. | P | + | N | overdose |
| e. | N | + | A | nationwide |
-

1.4.6 Dressler, Luschützky, Pfeiffer and Rennison (1990)

English compounds in Italian

It is assumed that around the middle of the last century, Italian started to borrow compounds from English regularly. In the examples given below in (14), it will be realized that the form utilized in Italian consists of only one member of the English compound:

- (14)
- | | | | |
|----|-----------------|--------|-------------------------|
| a. | Waterproof coat | —————> | (It.) waterproof (1868) |
| b. | Smoking jacket | —————> | (It.) smoking (1888) |

The examples given above in (14) are no longer spoken. There are, however, other forms that are frequently heard. These forms that are very much alive include the following examples:

- (15) a. Night club → night
 b. Scotch tape → scotch
 c. Water closet → water
 d. Plaid blanket → plaid

Compounds in English and Italian

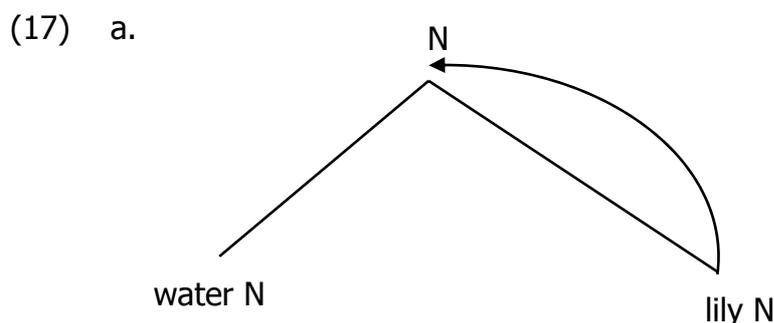
More attention here is focused on the structure of the compounds which is either Noun + Noun (N + N) or Adjective + Noun (A + N). N + N and A + N compounds are frequently used in English. The examples written below in (16), in conformity with the "IS A" Condition illustrated below in (16), indicate that in both cases the whole compound is always a noun:

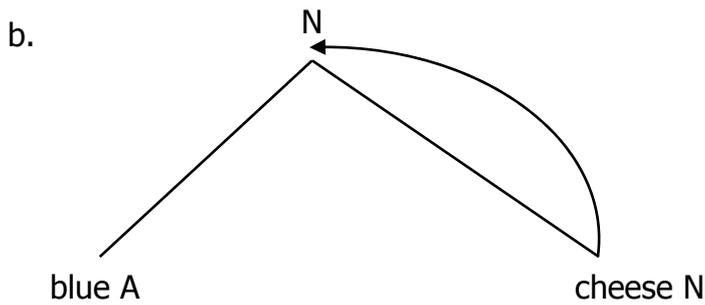
- (16) a. N + N : [[water] N [lily] N] N
 b. A + N : [[blue] A [cheese] N] N

"IS A" Condition (cf. Allen 1978:105)

[[X] [Y]]_Z : Z is a Y

The structure of the compounds in (16) clearly reveals that **water lily** "is a" type of **lily** and **blue cheese** "is a" type of **cheese**. The head of complex words in English is, with few exceptions, on the right. In other words, the category label and some other characteristics of the right member of a compound percolate up to the node that controls it and its sister, as indicated below:

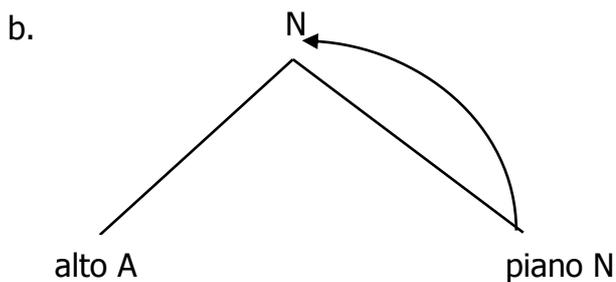
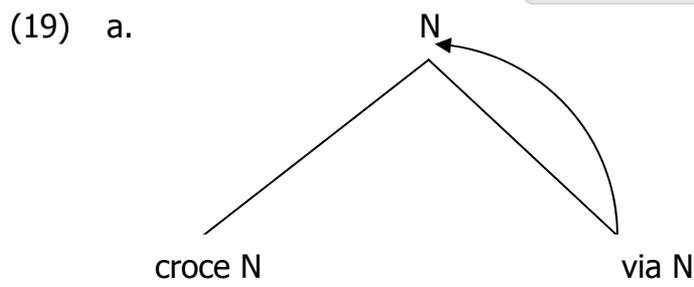
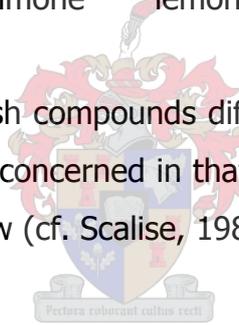


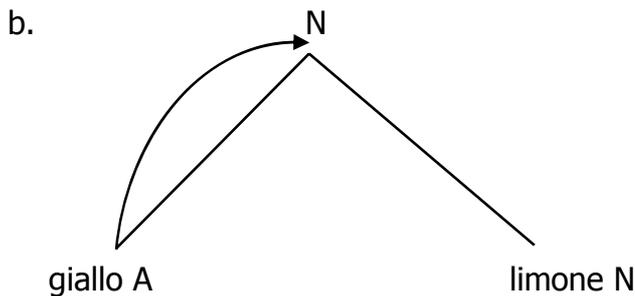
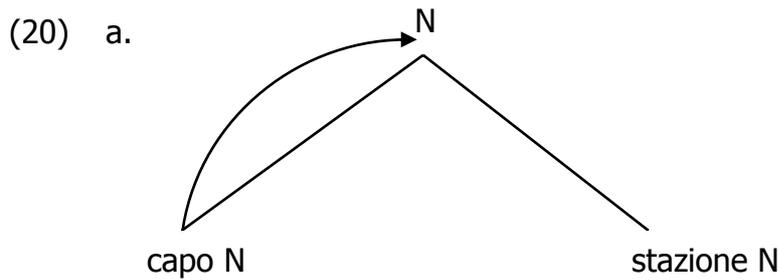


Italian, like English, has N + N as well as A + N compounds as illustrated in the following examples:

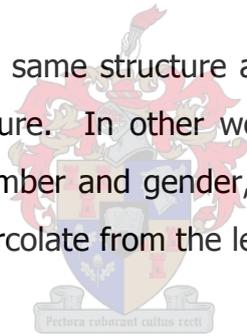
- (18) a. N + N : croce via 'cross road'
 capo stazione 'station manager'
- b. A + N : alto piano 'plateau' (lit.: 'high level')
 giallo limone 'lemon yellow'

To a very large extent, the English compounds differ from the Italian compounds as far as the position of the head is concerned in that the latter do not always have the head on the right, as shown below (cf. Scalise, 1984):





The compounds in (19) have the same structure as English compounds while those in (20) have the opposite structure. In other words, while the characteristics for syntactic category, as well as number and gender, percolate from the right element of the compound in (19), they percolate from the left element in (20).



Compounding and inflection

The general notion here is that the word structure is hierarchically arranged in unmarked case languages in such a manner that inflection is peripheral to compounding. In French, for instance, there are some cases where inflection appears to be inside compounding, as in (21a), next to the expected cases where inflection is peripheral, as in (21b):

- | | | | |
|---------|------|--------------------------|-----------------------|
| (21) a. | (i) | Des secrétaires-généraux | 'secretaries-general' |
| | (ii) | Des basses-cours | 'poultry yards' |
| b. | (i) | Des en-têtes | 'letter headings' |
| | (ii) | Des après-midi(s) | 'afternoons' |

The examples in (21a) are the obvious exceptions to the generalization mentioned above. Thus, **noun** in **nounhoods** should be marked for singular and the plural suffix should be in the rightmost position as it is indicated. This is also applied in compounds like English **choir boys** but not ***choirs boy** and French **touss-ot-ait** 'coughed dryly', literally 'cough-little-ed' but not ***touss-ait-ot**. This shows that **-ot** in **touss-ot-ait** is unmarked for category.

As in other languages, it is important to look more closely into the problematic relationship between compounding and inflection in French like those of (21a). All the examples concern nominal number inflection as in the following cases:

- (22) a. N → NN: oiseaux-mouches 'humming-birds'
b. N → NN: timbres-poste 'postage stamps'
c. N → NA: secrétaires-généraux 'secretaries-general'
d. N → AN: beaux-arts 'fine-arts'

In all the cases given above in (22), the plural affix is on the two words forming the compound or on the first one only. The hypothesized generalization, which would predict it (the plural affix) to be on the entire compound only, is in this way contradicted.

The other kind of French compounds, shown in (22b), must also be taken into consideration. Here, two types of compounds can be distinguished, as in (23a) and (23b). As they can be seen, they are in principle not problematic for an accepted generalization, due to the reason that inflection, if available at all, is on the whole word and not on one of its parts, and thus it is outside compounding:

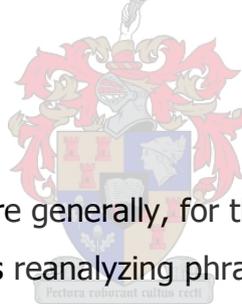
- (23) a. N → VN: des essuie-glace 'screen wipers', literally 'wipe-ice'
des couvre-chefs 'head-dresses'

- b. N → PP: des en-têtes 'letter headings', literally 'at-heads'
- des après-midi(s) 'afternoons'

It is of great significance to investigate carefully the cases of (23a) and (23b). The argument put forward by Di Sciullo and Williams (1987:78-88) is that the type of compounds in (23a) permits for other complements than nouns, as supplied in (24). On the basis of these examples, this type of compounds should actually be analyzed as in (25):

- (24) a. N → VN: essuie-glace 'screen wiper'
- b. N → VA: gagne-petit 'poorly paid person'
- c. N → V Adv.: couche-tard 'night reveller'
- d. N → VP: frappe-devant 'sledge hammer'

(25) N → VP



This persuades them to allow more generally, for the periphery of the grammar, non-morphological word-creating rules reanalyzing phrases such as VP as words.

Another argument that is put forward by Di Sciullo and Williams is that there are quite a number of possibilities for this type of words shown in (26). They go on to conclude that the right generalization looks like the one in (27):

- (26) a. Des trompe-l'oeil 'trompe l'oeil paintings'
- b. Des boit-sans-soif 'boozers'
- c. Des bons-à-rien 'good-for-nothings'
- d. Des hommes-de-paille 'straw-men'
- e. Des hors-la-loi 'outlaws'

(27) N → XP

This creates a problem for an accepted generalization: in (26c) and (26d), except the other examples, inflection is not on the whole compound-like word but on a part of it only. This fact contradicts an accepted generalization. It is quite simple to understand that this very same fact permits people to describe the cases of (26c) and (26d) as syntactic statements with idiosyncratic meaning or listemes, as those indicated in (22). The expressions in (22) seem to be more popular than Di Sciullo and Williams propose. It looks as if rule $A/N \longrightarrow VP$ takes care of all the examples stated by Di Sciullo and Williams except (26e) which represents $N \longrightarrow PP$ in (23b). Ultimately, the second nonmorphological word-creating rule of the form $N \longrightarrow PP$ is highly required because it (this rule) can be generalized over nouns and verbs, as in the examples in (28):

- (28) a. N: en-tête
 b. V: en-chaîn-(er) 'to enchain'

1.4.7 Matthews (1972)

Matthews defines the concept "compound" as a word whose parts may themselves be words in other contexts. One such relevant example is **salmon-falls**. This compound is written with a hyphen, but given a single accent. In other words, this compound behaves like one word. It is, therefore, according to Matthews, not surprising to mention that its internal structure includes not only the plural inflection **-s**, but also **salmon** and **fall**. The other hyphenated forms include compounds such as **snow-covered**, **chocolate-filled** and **diamond-studded**.

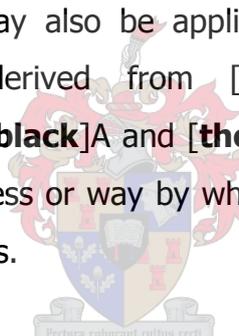
Matthews points out that linguistically, the term "compound" is described as the subunit of morphology that concentrates on the relations between a compound lexeme and two or more simple(r) lexemes. According to this definition, the compound lexeme **salmon-fall** is closely related to two simple lexemes that are **salmon** and **fall**. The other compound lexeme like **wastepaper basket**, which can be found in a dictionary, is once more related to two simpler lexemes that are

wastepaper and **basket**. Thus, Matthews states, the lexeme **basket** is itself simple, while the other, which is **waste + paper**, is a compound.

Similarly, **blackbird** is a compound noun because its form **BLACKBIRD** joins **black** and **bird**. It is derived from two simpler lexemes. Its formation may be illustrated in the following way:

$$(29) [X]_A + [Y]_N \longrightarrow [\acute{X} + Y]_N$$

Matthews states that in the sketch above, the acute accent (\acute{X}) clearly indicates that the joined form is accented on its first member (**bláckbird**). X and Y are referred to as variables. The former one ranges over Adjectives (A), while the latter one over Nouns (N). When these variables combine, they form a Noun. The same process that is applied in **blackbird** may also be applied in other compounds. In this process, **[greyhound]N** is derived from **[grey]A** and **[hound]N**, while **[blackthorn]N** is derived from **[black]A** and **[thorn]N**. These examples stress the idea that compounding is a process or way by which a compound lexeme is derived from two or more simpler lexemes.



Another interesting formation, in part compositional and in part derivational, is the following:

$$(30) [X]_N + [Y]_V \rightarrow [X + [Y + er]]_N$$

Matthews proposes that compounds such as **meat-eater**, **whisky-drinker**, **pipe-smoker** and **schoolgirl-hater** can be witnessed. Compounding is concerned with (1) the meanings of the lexemes; and (2) the relationship between them. It is of great significance to compare, for instance, **boathouse** and **houseboat**. In practical analysis, the base lexemes are the same, **BOAT** and **HOUSE**. This obviously implies that the structure

$$(31) [X]_N + [Y]_N \rightarrow [X + Y]_N$$

is the same. As the items appear in different sequences (**X = boat, Y = house; X = house, Y = boat**), so the semantic dependency, of **boat** on **house** on one hand, of **house** on **boat** on the other, is different too.

To illustrate the discussion further, Matthews suggests that compound words have structures that are syntactic-like in two respects. In the first place, compounds are composed of layers that are similar to the layers of syntactic construction. **Fruit-juice carton**, with the main accent on **fruit**, is a Noun compounded of **fruit-juice** and **carton**. **Fruit-juice** is, once more, compounded of **fruit** and **juice**. In this case, the smaller compound is incorporated within the larger;

(32) [[Fruit-juice] carton]

just as, in syntax, phrases are incorporated within phrases:

(33) [The juice of [the fruit]]



Matthews states that in principle, any compound may be an immediate constituent of a further compound.

In the second place, Matthews points out, the resemblance lies in the semantic relations between items. The sentence, for instance, **he is a good book-keeper** means **he is good at keeping the books**. Matthews emphasizes that the noun **book** is understood in relation to the other noun **keeper** in the same manner as, in the syntactic construction, it is understood in relation to **keeping**. This formation is productive. It differs from that of **blackbird** or **whitethorn** that is unproductive because the construal of **black** with **bird** or **white** with **thorn** is like that of an Adjective and a Noun within a syntactic Noun Phrase.

Matthews points out that the compound like **blackbird**, for instance, shows the lexical pattern of a Modifier plus Head. It is similarly regarded as a syntactic

Adjective plus Head (**black bird**). Moreover, the lexical structure of a compound such as **book-keeper** may be simply 'N + [V + Agentive]'. It is important to realize that the type 'Adjective + Noun' (**blackbird, whitethorn**) is totally different from 'Noun + Noun' (**flourmill, tiepin**). No transformation is necessary for compounds with two Nouns. What they have in common is that the first Noun qualifies the second.

Many grammarians tried to differentiate between the 'minimalist' and 'maximalist' solutions. A minimalist solution usually distinguishes formations only when there is the clearest structural difference. In languages like English, Matthews argues, it would differentiate Noun plus Agentive (**woolgatherer, screwdriver**) from Verb plus Noun (**pickpocket, stopcock**) and from Noun plus plain Verb (**daybreak, moonshine**). This minimalist treatment does not make satisfying differences between **woolgatherer** (Object + Agentive) and **office-worker** (Locative + Agentive), or between **daybreak** (Subject + Verb) and **spacewalk**. The only thing that this treatment does is to set up one formation for a Modifier plus a Head Noun, not separate formations for Adjective plus Noun (**blackbird**), Verb plus Noun (**playschool**) and others.

Matthews states that a maximalist solution does not only differentiate the formations of compound words which are shown in a minimalist solution, but every other kind for which some form of generalization can be constituted. Few examples of the general type of Verb plus Preposition are **washout, lie-in** and **playback**.

1.4.8 Lieber (1992)

Lieber points out that there is only one principle for identifying compounds in English. According to the author, the principle is straightforward, i.e., it is not ambiguous. A characteristic stress pattern — heaviest stress on the leftmost stem — usually serves to pick out compounds like **bláckboard, fíle cabinet**, and so on. It is important, however, Lieber states, to mention that not all compounds exhibit this pattern. Compounds such as **ice créam** and **apple píe** do not show this stress pattern.

Lieber argues that in languages like Dutch, nominal root compounds are right-headed, where the first element is at all times described as a modifier of the right-hand head. The author cites the following examples from Trommelen and Zonneveld (1986):

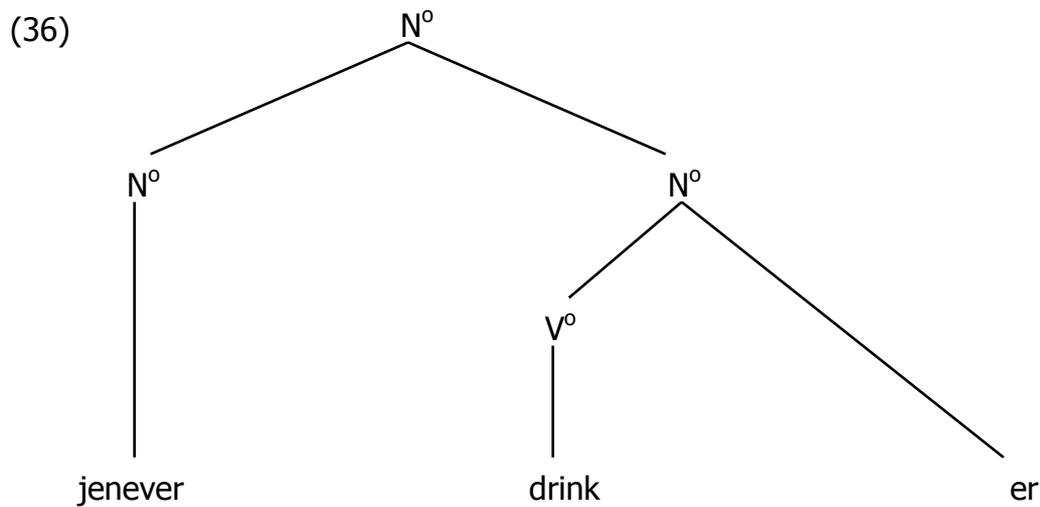
- (34)
- | | | | |
|----|---------------|--------------------|--------------------------|
| a. | de diepzee | [A-N] _N | 'deepsea' |
| b. | de blauwdruk | [A-N] _N | 'blueprint' |
| c. | het naaiwerk | [V-N] _N | 'sew' (lit.: sew-work) |
| d. | het balspel | [N-N] _N | 'ballgame' |
| e. | het naamwoord | [N-N] _N | 'noun' (lit.: name-word) |

According to Lieber, Dutch also has productively formed synthetic compounds of precisely the kind people expect to find, i.e., with the complement directly preceding the nominal head. Here, the author discusses the following examples from Booij (1988):

- (35)
- | | | |
|----|------------------|---------------------------|
| a. | Schoenmaker | 'shoemaker' |
| b. | Ijsverkoper | 'ice seller' |
| c. | Aardappeleter | 'potato eater' |
| d. | Jeneverdrinker | 'gin drinker' |
| e. | Aardappelgevreet | 'excessive potato eating' |
- 

Lieber states that it should be clearly noted that unlike in English, synthetic compounds in Dutch are produced directly by means of the base component of the grammar; since uncovered NP complements may get their Theta-role directly from a head to their right, synthetic compounds in Dutch need not be produced by movement rule. Lieber maintains that if a complement of a noun made from verb such as **drinker** occurs to its right, it should undoubtedly have an intervening preposition to effect **Theta-identification** (hence phrases like **drinker van jenever** 'drinker of gin'), but if it occurs to the left, that is, in a compound, no

preposition is required. The structure of synthetic compounds in Dutch is sketched in the following way:



According to Lieber, few **right-headed** verbal compounds in English such as **babysit**, **typewrite**, **aircondition**, etc., are normally said to be backformations from nominal synthetic compounds as in **babysitter**, **typewriter** and **airconditioner** respectively. Synthetic compounds are, according to Lieber, those in which the second stem is deverbal, and the first stem is described as an argument of the verbal base, for instance, **thirst quencher**, **truck driving**, **flea-bitten**, etc. Nominal root compounds are not only made up of N + N, but N plus other lexical categories:

- (37)
- | | | |
|----|--------------------|--------------------------|
| a. | [N-N] _N | file cabinet, towel rack |
| b. | [A-N] _N | greenhouse, hardhat |
| c. | [V-N] _N | drawbridge, pickpocket |

Lieber states that the first element in English root compounds such as **file cabinet** or **rowhouse** is certainly limiting or restricting the reference of the head of the compound. Meanwhile, the initial elements in English synthetic compounds such as **cat lover** and **pasta-eating** are certainly serving as complements on the ground that they are described in the same way that syntactic complements would be in phrases such as **a lover of cats**, or **the eating of pasta**.

Lieber points out that, for comparative purpose, the order of elements in root compounds in English is different from that of French. Root compounding in English is primarily right-head. It is obvious that in French, root compounding is basically left-headed, with the second element acting as a modifier of the first. Some examples of this nature are given in (38):

- (38)
- | | | |
|----|-----------------|-----------------|
| a. | Timbre poste | 'postage stamp' |
| b. | Rose thé | 'tea rose' |
| c. | Wagon poste | 'mail van' |
| d. | Noeud papillion | 'bowtie' |
| e. | Pneu ballon | 'balloon tire' |
| f. | Bateau phare | 'light ship' |

Lieber further points out that the compounds indicated in (38) inflect for plural on the first noun (e.g., **timbres poste**), and also take their gender from this element (e.g., **timbre** (male), **poste** (female), and **timbre poste** (male)). There are, however, few French compounds that are right-headed (e.g., **radio-activité**). Lieber discusses the view of Surridge (1985:251), who refers to such right-headed compounds in French as "learned" compounds (*composés savants*), and goes on to come up with the idea that they are based on Greek and Latin. The few right-headed root compounds that exist are written systematically in the lexicon and not derived in the syntax.

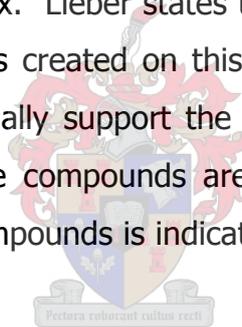
Lieber states that it is of great significance to know that French does not have synthetic compounds of the type **truck driver** or **pasta-eating**. Alternatively, it has a productive kind of nominal compound that contains a verb followed by a noun that acts as the internal argument of the verb. Few examples given in (39) illustrate the point:

- (39)
- | | | | |
|----|--------------|--------------------|-------------------------|
| a. | Essuie-glace | 'windshield wiper' | (lit.: wipe-windshield) |
| b. | Tire-bouchon | 'corkscrew' | |

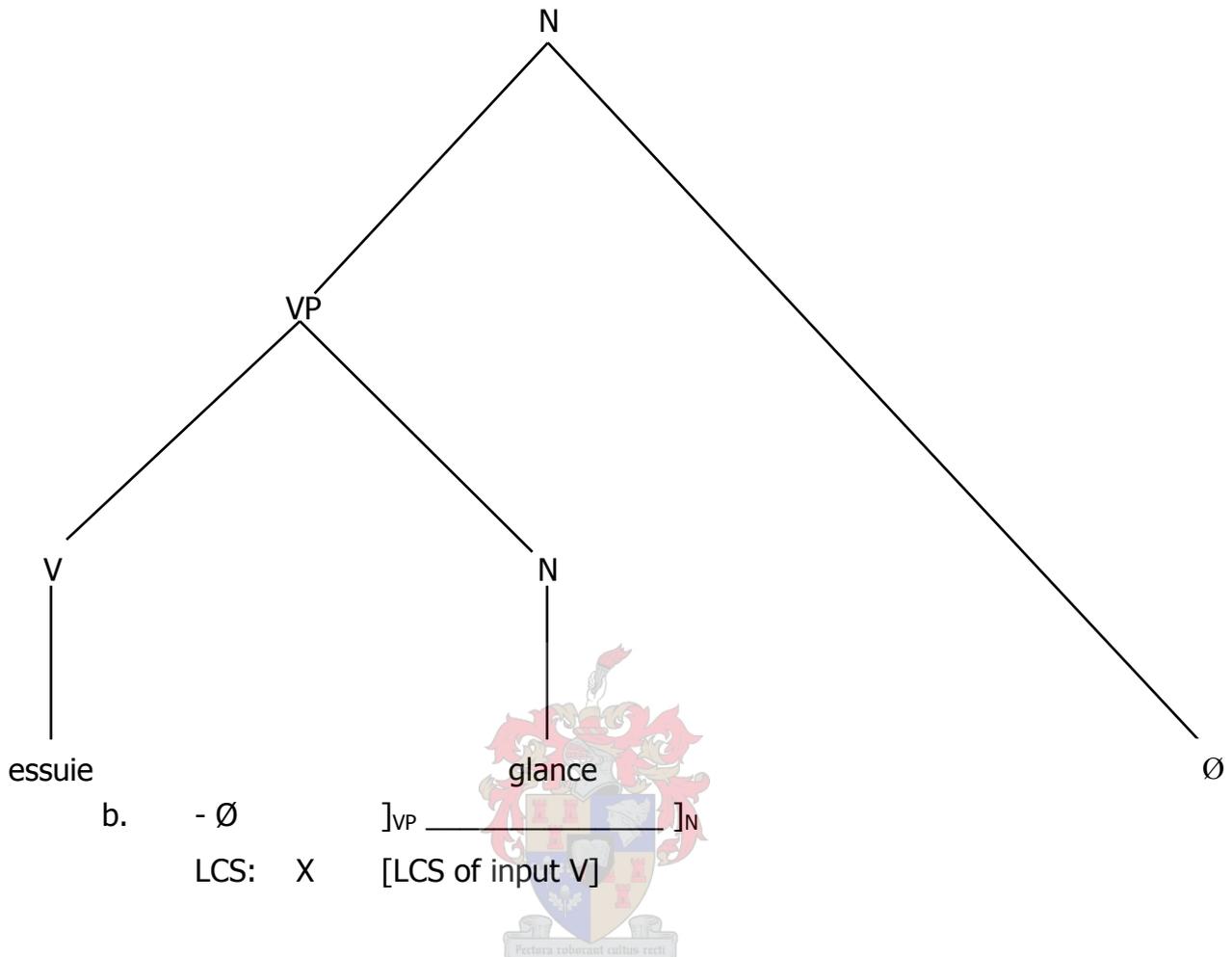
- c. Coupe-cigare `cigar cutter`
- d. Pèse-lettre `letter scale`

From the semantic point of view, the compounds listed in (39) form instrumental nouns, and not oftenly agent nouns. However, great scholars like Di Sciullo and Williams (1987) treat these compounds as syntactic phrases (VPs) that become Ns through a process of category change.

Lieber discusses the views of Rohrer (1977) who suggests that all the compounds shown in (39) are formed with a zero-affix, which in their terms would be head of the compound. Two main reasons are advanced to support this idea. In the first place, these compounds have a consistent description as instrument/agent nouns, much as do verbs affixed with **-er** in English. In actual fact, French does not have a productive overt instrumental affix. Lieber states that in the second place, with very few exceptions, noun compounds created on this pattern are masculine in gender. Basically, derivational affixes usually support the gender of the words they create. This definitely implies that these compounds are also marked with a derivational affix. The structure for these compounds is indicated in (40a), while the lexical entry for the zero-suffix is in (40b):



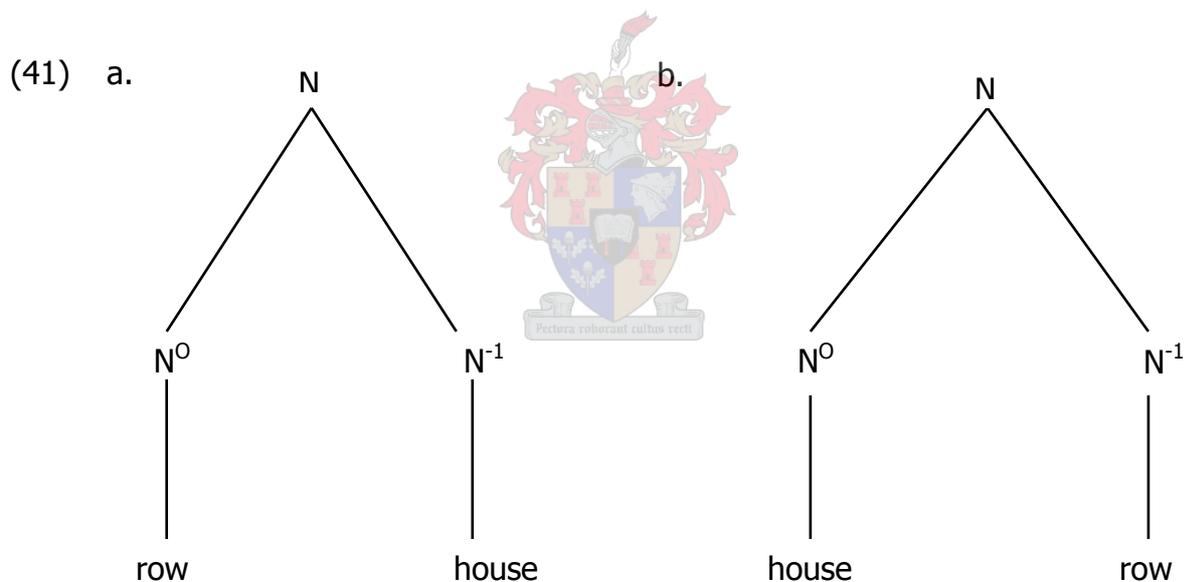
(40) a.



LCS stands for Lexical Conceptual Structure. Lieber states that a single critical aspect in (40a) is whether the node dominating the V and N is V⁰ or VP. The critical issue is that the relationship between the V and N inside the compound is a head complement relationship, and that the verb comes before its complement as it does in the phrasal syntax. Lieber maintains that instrument/agent compounds of the type **essuie glace** 'windshield wiper' and **coupe cigare** 'cigar cutter' in French clearly show the type of uniformity of gender and explanation that always results from affixation. With just a couple of exceptions, they are masculine in gender, and have very much the same type of explanation, and therefore of LCS, that the agentive/instrumental affix **-er** has in English. This obviously suggests, according to Lieber, that the nominal compounds in (39) are derived via zero-affixation, so that the internal structure of the form **essuie glace** would be: $N [VP [V [essuie]_N [glace]] \emptyset]$. Interestingly, French also has N-N compounds in which both nouns inflect for

the plural, for instance, **chou-fleur** 'cauliflower', **choux-fleurs** (plural). It is possible, according to Lieber, even in instances like these, to declare that the left-hand noun is head, in the sense that it provides the gender for the entire compound (**chou** (male), **fleur** (female), **chou-fleur** (male)). It is also important, according to Lieber, to note that English has quite a few compounds similar to the instrument compounds of French as in **pickpocket**, **drawbridge**, **cutpurse**, etc. In English, however, this type of compounding appears not to have become productive.

Lieber maintains that the need for recursion can be clearly understood if the structure of root compounds is taken into consideration. If the head frequently accepts one bar-level less than the node that dominates it, the compounds **rowhouse** and **houserow** would have the structures in (41a) and (41b) respectively:



The structures sketched above indicate that **house** in (41a) is in -1-level category, while in (41b) is in 0-level category, a result which is indeed one of its own kind.

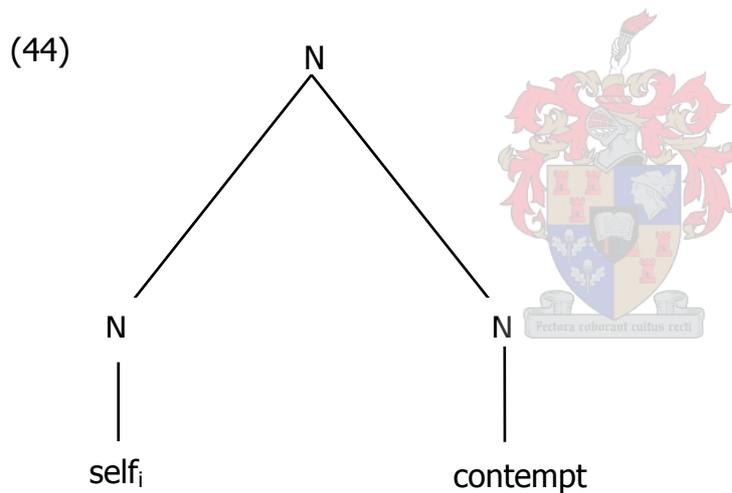
Lieber argues that English has a sublexical anaphor, the noun **self**. Binding theory here predicts exactly the pattern of description shown by **self**-compounds. **Self** is seen as a morpheme that forms right-headed compounds with either nouns or adjectives. **Self** with nouns, but not with adjectives, will be taken into consideration as they form part of this research as in the following cases:

- (42) a. Self-love
- b. Self-contempt
- c. Self-control

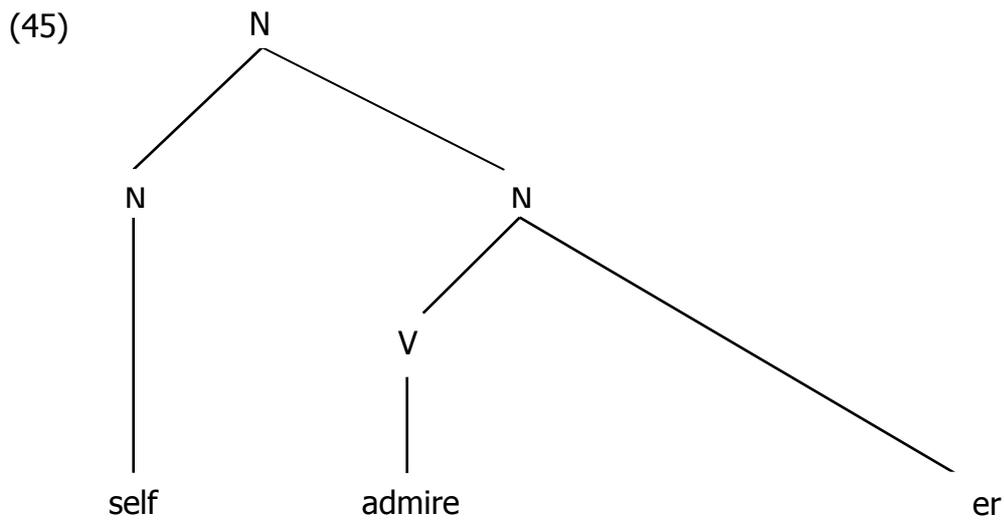
It is important to note, according to Lieber, that **self** is not the head of the words in (42), and has the lexical entry in (43) (omitting phonological representation):

- (43) Self [_____]_N
 LCS: reflexive anaphor

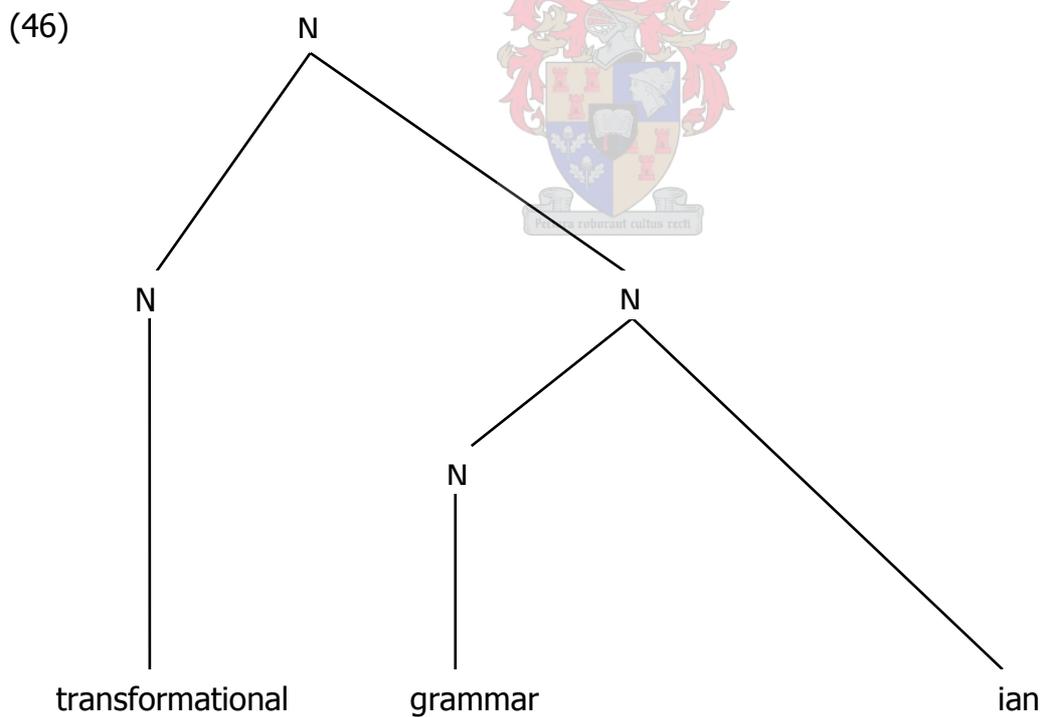
Lieber points out that the nominal compound **self-contempt**, for example, has the following structure:



Lieber states that it is important to look carefully at the effects on argument structure of the **-er** suffix in English, and test the derivation of **self- [[V] er]** nouns. The noun **self** in compound such as **self-admirer** is in simple terms described as being the direct internal argument of the noun **admirer**. This implies that **self** is assigned to a Theta-role (theme) by **admirer**. Lieber suggests that Theta-roles in English may only be assigned rightwards. This is so because complements obligatorily follow the heads. It seems to be true that the noun **self-admirer** is derived as sketched in (45) precisely as synthetic compounds like **truck driver** are derived:



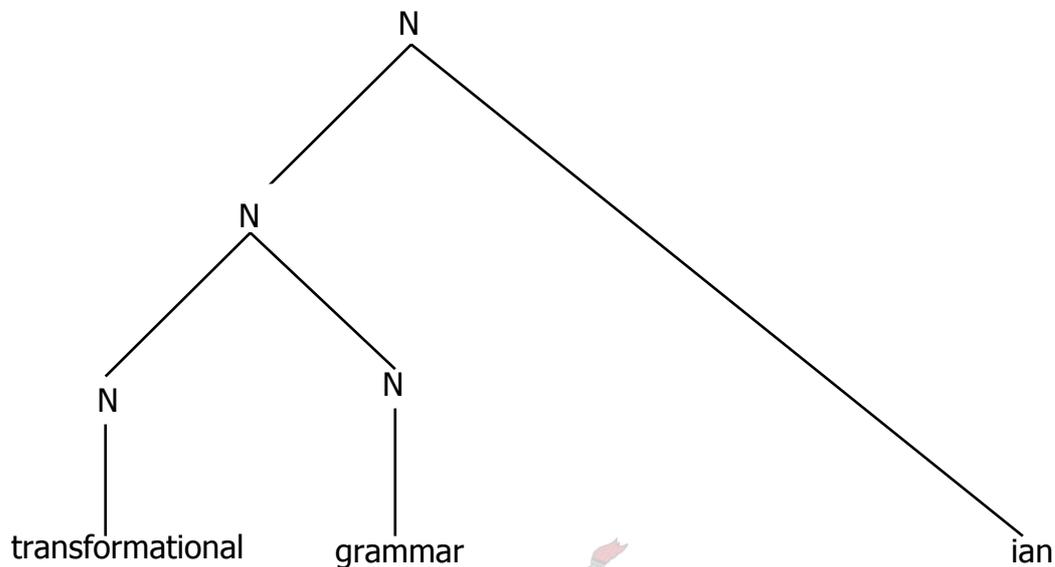
According to Lieber, compounds like **transformational grammarian** are regarded as Bracketing Paradoxes for the two following grounds. On phonological reasons, the structure of this compound seems to be that in (46):



The suffix **-ian** in (46) above seems to form a phonological word with **grammar**; hence it must be attached to **grammar** before the compound is formed.

It must also be noted, Lieber states, that semantically, the compound noun in (46) has another structure as indicated below:

(47)



Lieber explains that a **transformational grammarian** is understood as “someone who does trans-formational grammar”, rather than “a grammarian who is transformational” as the phonological bracketing in (46) proposes. Words like **transformational grammarian** are referred to as Bracketing Paradoxes on the basis that the structure that is called for on semantic reasons is at odds with the structure that is necessary for the phonology. In short, Pesetsky (1985:193-248) also maintains that Bracketing Paradoxes illustrated by the words such as **transformational grammarian** can be handled by a movement rule operating between S-structure and Logical Form (LF).

1.4.9 Roeper and Siegel (1978)

The authors introduce their discussion by stating that the lexical transformation in English generates verbal compounds (those with a verbal affix: **-er, -ing, -ed**) from a verb and its subcategorized complements. They indicate that **oven-cleaner** is

derived from **clean** [_N **oven**] and go on to say that the rule moves adverbs, adjectives, and nouns:

- (48)
- | | | | |
|----|-------------------|--------|------------------|
| a. | Break jaws | —————> | jaw-breaker |
| b. | Bloom late | —————> | late-bloomer |
| c. | Play checkers | —————> | checker-playing |
| d. | Sound strange | —————> | strange-sounding |
| e. | Act fast | —————> | fast-acting |
| f. | Tested by experts | —————> | expert-tested |
| g. | Built well | —————> | well-built |
| h. | Fried in a pan | —————> | pan-fried |

Roeper and Siegel argues that the core lexicon is divided into two portions, namely, atomic and complex. For interest sake, it is of great significance to differentiate these two concepts. By using the compound **oven-cleaner**, atomic deals with words that have no morphological structure like **oven**, while complex deals with the created words that have morphological structure like **cleaner**. Atomic words are, according to Roeper and Siegel, not compositional in meaning, while complex words are. Thus, the noun **cleaner** is composed of **clean** and **er** which means "a person who cleans".

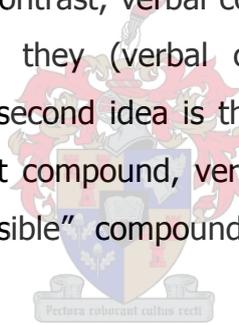
Roeper and Siegel point out that quite a number of subcategorization additions result from the application of redundancy rules. The frames may be involved in compound formation. It is worth noting that the loop from Word Formation Rules (WFRs) to lexical core permits repetition to take place in the derivation of words. It is, of course, this loop that makes an expression such as **coffee-maker maker** possible.

Roeper and Siegel argue that the compounds must definitely accommodate a particular frame as in **footballer** that is marked [+ unit]. In other words, the compound noun **football** permits the frame **-er**. When a compound noun does not allow any frame as in **footballness**, it is marked [-unit]. This implies that **football**

cannot accommodate **-ness**. Nominal compounds, in this case, strictly select frames.

Roeper and Siegel point out that many recent analyses have unsuccessfully differentiated **verbal compounds** such as **coffee-maker** from a class of compounds which is referred to as **root compounds** such as **bedbug**. According to them, there are two distinctions to be made. In their investigation, verbal compounds are marked by **-ed**, **-ing**, and **-er** on the one hand, while root compounds do not indicate any morphological marking on the other hand. Interestingly, the authors assert that verbal compounds have a verb base word, whereas root compounds may unite many syntactic categories like **crystal-clear** (A, A); **deep-fry** (A, V); **air-condition** (N, V); etc.

Roeper and Siegel state that in contrast, verbal compounds are associated with two ideas. The first idea is that they (verbal compounds) are predictable and compositional in meaning. The second idea is that they are extremely productive. While there is no impossible root compound, verbal compounds show a distinction between "possible" and "impossible" compounds. The following examples are important:



(49)	Possible	Impossible
a. Adjective incorporated		
(i)	Good-looker	*huge-going
(ii)	Grim-acting	*grim-wanting
b. Adverb incorporated		
(i)	Fast-mover	* oft-hearer
(ii)	Slow-worker	* frequently-teller
c. Noun understood as direct object incorporated		
(i)	Wage-earner	*child-bloomer
(ii)	Trend-setter	*cake-riser

d. Noun understood as something other than direct object incorporated

- (i) Church-goer *boy-looker
- (ii) Cave-dweller *shortstop-thrower (= throw something to shortstop)

According to Reper and Siegel the Compound Rule (CR) is consistent with lexical principles and must therefore be a lexical rule. They state that in English, the Subcategorization Insertion Rule normally chooses a word from the lexical core and inserts it as a Noun, Adjective or Adverb in the subcategorization frame. This follows that the Compound Rule picks up words and not phrases as input. In the following examples, nouns are permissible, whereas noun phrases are not:

- | | | | | | |
|------|----|------|------------------------------|---|--------------------------|
| (50) | a. | (i) | Make [coffee] | → | coffee-maker |
| | | (ii) | Make [some good dark coffee] | → | *good dark coffee-maker |
| | b. | (i) | Make [home] | → | homemaker |
| | | (ii) | Make [a home for the aged] | → | *home for the aged maker |
- 

The lexical rules are not ordered and apply wherever applicable. Evidence from compound formation also agrees with the claim:

- (51) a. Hardboiledness
 - b. Heartrendingly
 - c. Slavedriverish
-
- (52) a. Drowsiness-inducing
 - b. Widely-read
 - c. Funnyish-looking

Roeper and Siegel assume that the morphological creativity of lexical rules is matched by their semantic compositionality. In most cases, a hearer can seize the meaning of a newly formed word by breaking it into a base word plus an affix and uniting the meanings of those parts to form a semantic description. Verbal compounds are highly productive. According to Roeper and Siegel, the native English-speakers can break them (verbal compounds) into their verb-phrase paraphrases. The new verbal compounds that arise everyday include **daisy-sniffing, gut-ripping, subcategorization changing, worker-initiated, trade-linked, Oregon-educated**, etc. Many speakers say that **daisy-sniffing** means 'sniff-daisies'.

According to Roeper and Siegel, the concept 'idiosyncrasy' deals with the unusual behaviour of a language. In this case, linguistic idiosyncrasies can be described as information that deviates from rules. The most fundamental form of idiosyncrasy that verbal compounds exhibit lies in the difference between possible and existing compounds. They do not differ in principle. It is an idiosyncratic feature of each verbal compound that it either appears or does not appear. Roeper and Siegel maintain that a three-way distinction can be noticed: impossible, possible, and existing. It goes without saying that the impossible compounds are those that break the First Sister (FS) Principle. Roeper and Siegel maintain that the possible compounds are the ones that follow the FS Principle, although they are not lexicalized. In the FS Principle all the verbal compounds are made by incorporation of a word in first sister position of the verb. Existing compounds are lexicalized:

(53)	Impossible	Possible	Existing
a.	*Quick-making	drunk-seeming	good-looking
b.	*Home-teller	foot-biter	clothes-dryer

Roeper and Siegel focus on the existence of apparent verbal compounds that has made true verbal compounds seem more capricious than they are. They point out that there are some compounds which are unable to decompose into verb + FS in

that they are derived from verbs that are root compounds. Such compounds are the following:

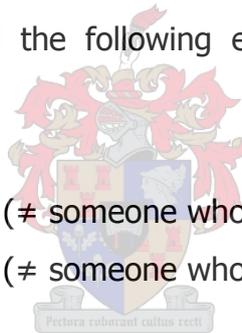
- (54) a. Windowshopper (from **to windowshop**) *shop in windows
- b. Brainwashing (from **to brainwash**) *wash brains
- c. Floodlighting (from **to floodlight**) *light floods

According to Roeper and Siegel, verbal compounds, in accordance with their (authors) analysis, do not derive from compound verbs:

- (55) a. *She will peacemake (but: peacemaker)
- b. *She will tennis-play (but: tennis-player)
- c. *She time-consumed (but: time-consuming)

According to Roeper and Siegel the following examples seem to violate the FS Principle:

- (56) a. Fellow-traveller (≠ someone who travels (with) a fellow)
- b. Bank-teller (≠ someone who tells a bank)



There are words in verbal compounds that cannot stand by themselves, i.e., they do not meet the requirements of existing as independent elements. They depend on other words to survive:

- (57) a. Church-goer a goer
- b. Money-changer a changer

Roeper and Siegel point out that there are no expressions of the form such as **he is a goer**. The examples mentioned in (57) follow the FS Principle. Since the compounds in (57) are not created from elements that exist independently, they cannot be generated through PS rules. Similarly, Roeper and Siegel state, there are **-ing** expressions that seem to violate the FS Principle. Each of the following compounds involves two words that exist independently:

- (58) a. Sunday shopping
- b. Salad dressing

According to Roeper and Siegel, there are very few compound nouns formed from verbs that subcategorize adjectives: **good-looker**, **wrong-doer**, **wrong-doing**, etc. They point out that the consequence of this form is that there is no variable between the incorporated element and the verb. It follows that nothing may intervene between the verb and its incorporated object as in the following cases:

- (59) a. (i) New York TV maker
- (ii) *TV New York maker
- b. (i) Fast polka dancer
- (ii) *Polka fast dancer
- c. (i) Russian hand made
- (ii) *Hand Russian made



1.4.10 Levi (1978)

In the introduction of this book, Levi discusses the study of the syntactic and semantic properties of “complex nominals” in English. This concept is mostly used to include the three partially overlapping sets of expressions that are indicated in (60a, b and c). Generally, these have been referred to as “nominal compounds”, “nominalizations”, and “noun phrases with nonpredicating adjectives”, respectively:

- (60) a. (i) Apple cake
- (ii) Time bomb
- (iii) Autumn rains
- (iv) Surface tension
- b. (i) Markovian solution
- (ii) American attack
- (iii) Film producer

- (iv) City planner
- c. (i) Electric clock
- (ii) Electrical engineering
- (iii) Musical criticism
- (iv) Musical talent

Levi points out that the scope of this study is limited to endocentric complex nominals, i.e., those complex nominals whose referent constitutes a subset of the set of objects denoted by the head noun. This, Levi states, will definitely exclude the three groups of exocentric complex nouns:

- a. There are those that seem to be metaphorical names like **ladyfinger** (for a type of pastry), **tobaccobox** (for a sunfish), **silverfish** (for an insect), **foxglove** (for a flower), etc.
- b. Those that describe their referent synecdochically, by making use of a part to represent the whole such as **pig leg**, **blockhead**, **birdbrain**, or **eagle-eyes** to describe human beings; or **razorback**, **glasseye**, **hammerhead** and **cottontail** to describe animals.
- c. Those which are made up of coordinate structures in such a way that neither a noun may be taken as head, as in **player-coach**, **speaker-listener**, **secretary-treasurer**, **sofa-bed**, **screwdriver-hammer**, etc.

Levi states that a second set to be excluded from consideration consists of proper names that look like compound nouns in form but whose first element is used basically to name a single, definite referent. These proper names usually denote specific places or businesses. The examples of such type include **Kennedy Library**, **Istanbul Hotel**, **Atlas Enterprises** and many others.

A third set, according to Levi, that is also excluded consists of nominal expressions whose prenominal modifiers may appropriately be referred to as nonpredicating adjectives, but which should be derived from underlying adverbs rather than

underlying nouns. Some of the examples of this group include **former roommate**, **heavy smoker**, **occasional visitor** and **individual decisions**.

Levi states that there are expressions called **parallel pairs** that refer the same thing but differ in meaning. The logical consequence of this development proved to be that only a unitary description could account for the derivations of the syntactically and semantically parallel pairs as indicated in (61):

- | | | | | |
|------|-------|----------------------------|----|-----------------------|
| (61) | a. | Nonpredicating adj. + noun | b. | Noun + noun |
| | (i) | Hydraulic engineer | | systems engineer |
| | (ii) | Acoustic research | | motivation research |
| | (iii) | Digestive system | | communications system |

Levi maintains that the derivations of the examples in (61a) parallel those of the corresponding expressions in (61b).

Levi maintains that there are also expressions called **synonymous pairs** that have the same meaning. In English, there are pairs of compound nouns like those in (62) which are absolutely synonymous, despite the fact that the prenominal modifiers are adjectives in one case and nouns in the other:

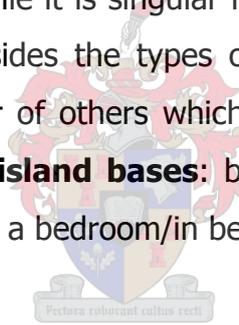
- | | | | | |
|------|----|-----------------------|--------|-------------------|
| (62) | a. | (i) Atom bomb | b. (i) | atomic bomb |
| | | (ii) Ocean life | (ii) | marine life |
| | | (iii) Language skills | (iii) | linguistic skills |
| | | (iv) City parks | (iv) | urban parks |

1.4.11 Warren (1978)

Warren asserts that the two constituents of a compound are somehow semantically related. She suggests that there is some unstated connection between **snow** and **flake** in the compound **snowflake**. Similarly, she states, there is an unstated connection between **cigarette** and **butt** in **cigarette butt** and **butter** and **knife** in

butter knife. It should be borne in mind that this semantic relation between the constituents is not the same for all compounds. While a **snowflake** is a flake consisting of snow, a **butter knife** is not a knife made of butter, but a blunt knife for cutting and serving butter at the table. The main aim of Warren's investigation was to find out if there is a limited number of semantic relations (or more accurately: types of relations) between the constituents of noun-noun compounds, and if so, to find out the nature of these relations. In this discussion, various compounds are analyzed and classified according to the covert semantic relation they express.

Warren introduces the compounds that consist of at least two nouns. As a rule, inflectional endings cannot be attached to the first noun. Neither plural nor genitive suffixes are usually attached to the first noun. In some combinations, Warren states, the second element is unavoidably a plural concept as in the compounds like **girl friends** and **student group**, while it is singular in others as in compounds like **girl friend** and **asphalt road**. Besides the types of compounds that are mentioned above, there are quite a number of others which can be understood in more than one sense as to number like in **island bases**: bases on an island/on islands; and **bedroom windows**: windows in a bedroom/in bedrooms.



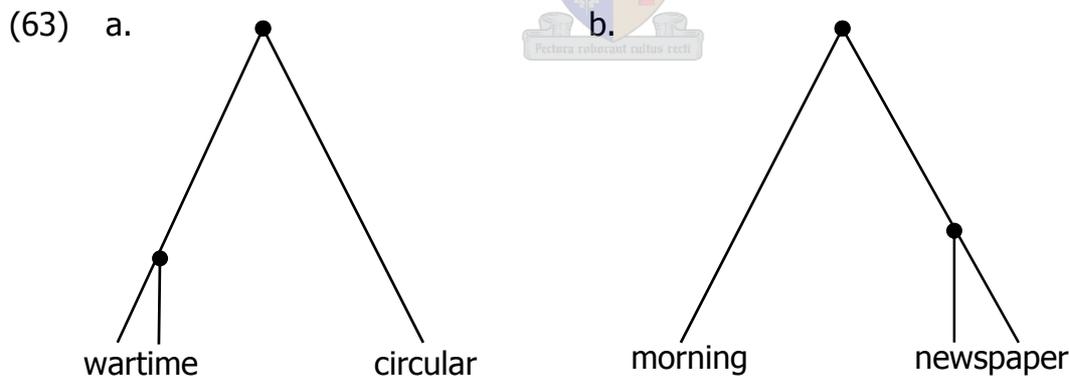
Warren proposes that there are certain cases where the first member of a compound is an invariable plural or singular noun ending in **-s**. Examples of such compounds are **sports center**, **sportsman**, **newsman**, **Liberal Arts College**, and **heavy-electrical-goods industry**. She refers to the fact that the **-s** is likely to be retained in combinations that constitute names of buildings, organizations, committees, acts, and bills. Few of such examples are **Criminal Courts building**, **Foreign Relations Committee**, **Texas Bankers Association** and **Civil Rights Bill**.

Warren refers to Marchand (1969), who holds that combinations in which the first element is a noun ending in **-s** like in **driver's seat**, **women's colleges** and **bird's nest** do not constitute proper compounds. They are referred to as weak compounds because their morphological structure is not the same as that of the inflected

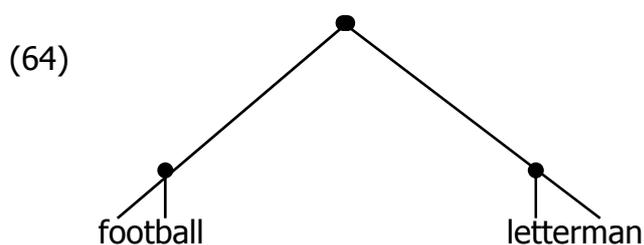
genitive constructions. In this case, the **-s** in compounds is no longer an inflectional morpheme but a derivational suffix. The **-s** is viewed as a linking element. The expressions may also be in the plural form but indicate genitive **-s**, i.e., besides plural expressions like **women's colleges** and **men's magazine**, there are other plural expressions whose apostrophe comes after genitive **-s** of the first words as in **ladies' room**, **boys' hostel** and **soldiers' monument**.

Warren notes that combinations fitting the same semantic patterns like the ones stated in this section often take place without **-s** suffix. The expressions already mentioned can be compared with **bachelor room**, **Negro school** and **Bartholomew Day**.

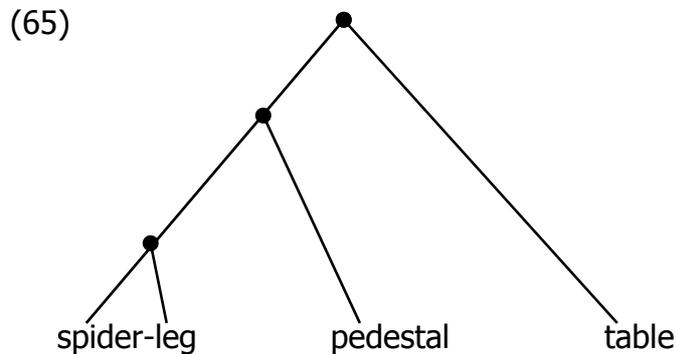
Warren states that compounds consist of at least two constituents. Each constituent is in turn made up of one or more compounds or other complex units. Some linguists refer to such constructions as **compounds-within-compounds**. The structural patterns of these constructions differ. Both left-branching and right-branching structures may consist of two compounds as in the following cases:



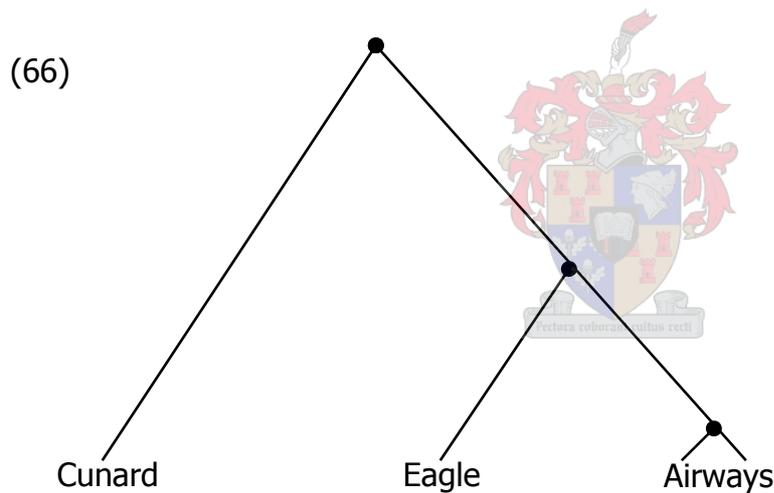
Wartime consists of two compounds in the left-branching, while **newspaper** consists of two compounds in the right-branching. Both left-branching and right-branching structures may as well contain the same number of compounds as in (64):



According to Warren, there may also be the left-branching within the left-branching structure comprising three combinations:



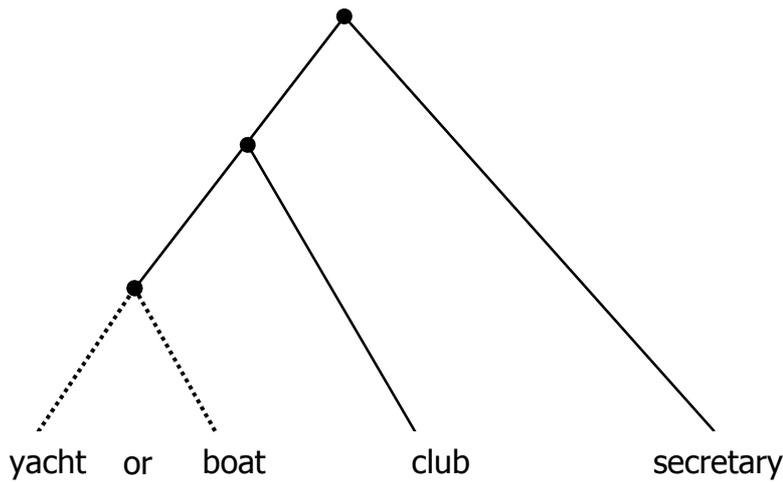
Contrary to the structure illustrated in (65), Warren states, there may be the right-branching within the right-branching structure comprising three combinations as in the following way:



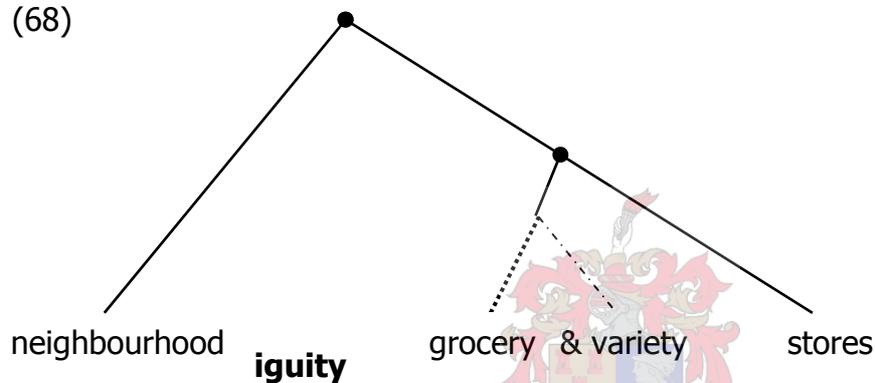
Coordinating compounds

Warren asserts that subordinating compound-within-compound structures are distinguished from coordinating structures such as **spring and summer evenings** and **summer mornings and evenings**. These coordinating structures may occur within compound-within-compound structures extending these even further. In the examples below, coordination is symbolized by the dotted lines:

(67)



(68)



Warren argues that the combination of some of the constituents in the subordinating compound-within-compound forms such as **silver-knife handle** may be interpreted in two various ways. It may either be described as **the handle of a silver knife** or **knife handle made of silver**. According to Warren, coordinating structures may also be understood in more than one sense. Thus, the combination **silver and ebony plaques** can be interpreted as **plaque(s) made of silver** and **plaque(s) made of ebony**, or **plaques made of silver and ebony**.

Compounds of the type East Berlin-West Berlin border

According to Warren, the compounds like the ones mentioned above are called implicit, non-verbal nexus compounds or primary compounds. These compounds are those that contain the syntactic relations, but only implicitly, whereas the semantic element of the verb is not expressed. Such compounds do not transpose the

sentence proper. Warren states that one of their features is the two-constituent-structure, reflecting the fact that in implicit compounds one covert relation basically connects two elements. Few compounds in which one relation connects three elements include **gas-glass interface** and **September-October term**. Warren suggests that the compound mentioned in the subheading above and the former one may be connected by the prepositional phrase **between - and** while the latter one may be connected by the prepositional phrase **from - to** as in [**between**] **East Berlin [and] West Berlin border**; [**between**] **gas [and] glass interface** and [**from**] **September [to] October term**.

Warren asserts that the syntactic structure of compounds is parallel to that of adjective + noun phrases (**blue car, young man**) on the ground that the first constituent modifies the second one. Alternatively, Warren states, the head may come before the modifier among combinations that constitute proper-names. Few examples include **Lake Tahoe, Mount Everest** and **Hotel Baltimore**.

Warren argues that nominal compounds, like sentences, have a bi-partite structure. They consist of a topic and a comment. The topic is basically described as something that is talked about, while the comment is defined as an explanatory note about the topic, i.e., the predication. Warren furthermore argues that the nominal compound **pocket knife** refers to a knife (topic) designed for carrying in the pocket (comment). In compounds, the head always represents the topic. It is this head which indicates that which is talked about, i.e., the referent. It is this part that is regarded as the referring element.

Warren states that compounds have meanings different from the literal ones, i.e., the expressions are not according to the usual patterns of the language. In fact, one of the constituents of the compound is used figuratively. Thus, the compound **seahorse** cannot be defined as "horse living in the sea". Similarly, **ribcage** cannot be described as "cage consisting of ribs", **coat tails** as "tails being part of a coat", **twinbeds** as "beds that are twins" and **fellowmen** as "men that are fellows". The meanings of these compounds are totally different from their original meaning.

Warren suggests that there are combinations that have become the generally accepted words for their referent. If the referent *x* is referred to by the established compound *y*, the usage should then be learnt and adhered to. As a rule, any established compound cannot be replaced with another referring unit. Confusion can be caused if people talk about, for instance, **stove pots** instead of **saucepans**, **mouth hygiene paste** instead of **toothpaste** and **cigarette plate** instead of **ashtray**.

1.4.12 Hammond and Noonan (1988)

According to Hammond and Noonan, the problem with many compounds is that they are ambiguous. A compound like **rat poison**, for example, can be interpreted either as 'poison for rats' or 'poison made from rats'. Hammond and Noonan note that in English, compounding normally precedes productive inflectional morphology, but irregular morphology precedes compounding. For this reason, irregular, unproductive inflection is found within compounds, but not regular inflectional morphology. The following pairs support this claim:

- (69) a. (i) Teeth marks (ii) lice-infested
b. (i) *Claws marks (ii) *rats-infested

Hammond and Noonan maintain that English and German permit plurals as bases of compounds, but not of derivations, though rarely and particularly if the plural is morphosemantically obscure and therefore lexically stored. Some obscure examples in (British) English are **customs duty**, **incomes tax**, **news man** and **clothes press**, while less obscure ones include **arms race**, **sales clerk** and **sports woman**. Hammond and Noonan state that in German, **Geschicht-en-buch** 'story book' (i.e., book full of stories) versus **Geschicht-s-buch** 'history book'. Afrikaans also permits plurals as bases of the Word Formation Rules (WFRs) of reduplicated compounds, for example, **bottle-s—bottel-s** 'bottles over bottles' and **heuvel-s—heuvel-s** 'hill upon hill'. This is also applied in one of the WFR of Italian verb-noun compounds, for example, **spremi-agrumi** 'citrus-fruit-presser' (from the plurale

tantum **agrumi**), **porta-letter-e** 'mail man' (lit.: **carry-letter-s**) and **porta-contentitor-i** = **porta-container-s** 'container carrier'. In Italian, compounding is less restricted, although complex compounding is very restricted as in **sala personale viaggiante** 'travelling staff room', **sala dirigente capo** 'chief-executive room', **campo tiro a volo** 'trap shooting field' and **nave pesca d'altomare** 'high-sea fishing boat'.

1.4.13 Beard (1966)

Beard argues that synthetic compounds with subjects based on unaccusative verbs are allowed in English, for instance, **student rioting**, **guest lecturing** and **visitor parking**. He refers to Hoeksema (1987:124) who worked on Dutch compounds based on the suffix **-ing**. Beard states that Dutch compounds allow subject incorporation freely among unaccusative and ergative verbs:

- (70) a. Aard-beev-ing 'earthquake'
Earth quak-ing
b. Klank-verander-ing 'sound change'
Sound chang-ing
c. Kosten-stijg-ing 'cost increase'
Cost increas-ing



Beard (1966:171) asserts that any compound with suffix **-ing** as in **student rioting** can be analyzed as $[[\text{student}]_N [\text{rioting}]_N]_N$. He maintains that there is absolutely nothing that can prevent an identical account of compounds that do not have suffix **-ing** like **garage storage** which also consists of a N + N combination.

Beard states that besides the compounds with the suffix **-ing**, there are other compounds with the suffix **-er** as in the following examples:

- (71) a. Tiger-hunter
b. Elephant-trainer
c. Lion-tamer

Beard notes that the order of lexemes in synthetic compounds. Botha (1981:5) derived deverbal compounds like Afrikaans **leeu-byter** "lion-biter" from the Afrikaans base structure [leeu_{NP} [byt]_V]_{VP}. The undisputable fact is that Afrikaans being an SOV (subject, object, verb) language, the order of the object noun and verb remains the same in deep and surface structure and is the same in compounds and phrases. The order of the lexemes is not the same in all languages. He refers to Hoeksema (1985), who points out that in the corresponding English compound the order of the verb and its object is, as a matter of must, reversed from that of the phrase like in **lion-biter**: [[bite]_V lion_{NP}]_{VP}.

Beard notes that languages like Serbo-Croatian need interfixes between lexical stems of a compound as in the following examples:

- (72) a. Dug-o-nog-an "long-legged"
b. Konj-o-goj-stvo "horse-breeding"
c. Vod-o-pad "waterfall"



However, Beard states, none ever takes place between a preposition and the stem:

- (73) a. Nad-zem-ni kamen "Aboveground stone [tombstone]"
b. Među-grad-ski saobraćaj "interurban traffic"
c. Posle-diplom-ske studije "postdiploma [graduate] studies"

Beard refers to the word formation theories of Lieber (1981, 1983) and Selkirk (1982) which predict that the rightmost member of an English compound clearly determines the class of the compound. They mention the examples such as **overdose**, **underdog** and **outbuilding**, in which the left member is a P (Preposition), the right member a N (Noun), and the compounds are all Nouns. However, Selkirk (1982:14) inadvertently incorporates the words that according to her are adjectives, but not nouns, of (74) in her compound noun list:

- (74) a. Inland
- b. Uptown

Lieber (1983:261) maintains that the adjectives of (75) are noun compounds:

- (75) a. Between-class
- b. Over-ground

From Lieber's and Selkirk's analysis, Beard (1966:245) states, it difficult to know whether Ps (Prepositions) belong to one class or different classes. According to Beard, if the prepositions at the right-hand side of the forms, whether derivations or compounds like **drop out**, **stand in** and **hold over**, are their heads, it is always very hard to mention whether they are verbs or nouns, but not prepositions. He states that there are distinctive differences between prepositions, verbal particles and prepositional prefixes. He also contends that, like the suffixes **-ing** and **-ed**, they seem to form part of complex words of all lexical classes rather than restricted to one.

Beard (1966:267) asserts that the most idiomatic analytic compounds, for instance, **pinhead**, cannot have a reverse-scope meaning, "head pin". The classical morphosemantic mismatches like **moral philosopher** and **criminal lawyer** are included in this regard. Although **pinhead** is not absolutely symmetric with its idiomatic extension, its productive meaning "the head of a pin" is not prevented.

According to Beard, the Lexical Morpheme Hypothesis (LMH) is emphasized to explain the absence of the basic function of the prepositions such as **with**, **by**, **in**, **on**, etc. in its P + X (Preposition and any word) "compounds".

(76) Preposition	Prefix	Function
a. With	co-worker, co-author	sociative
b. Behind	hind-sight, after-burner	posterior
c. Above/over	over-fly, super-class	superessive

d. Below/under	sub-category, under-pay	subessive
e. Between	between-class, inter-national	intermediate
f. Near/by	by-law, by-stander	proximate
g. In	in-house, in-state, input	inessive
h. On	on-line, on-shore	adessive

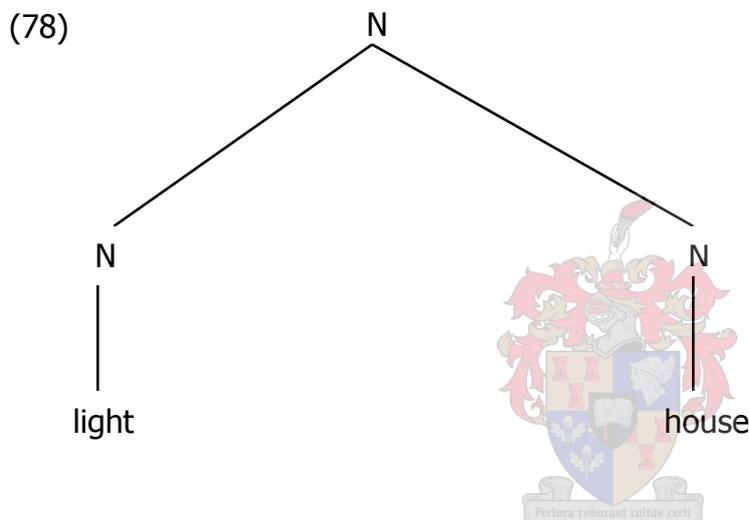
Besides the type of nominal compounds in (76), Beard points out, there are locative nominal compounds as in the following examples:

- (77)
- a. Workshop
 - b. Work site
 - c. Bathroom
 - d. Drill field
 - e. Dance hall
 - f. Playground

Beard maintains that in English, the adjectives precede the nouns in the formation of nominal compounds. The basic function of these adjectives is to specify the features of the nouns with which they are associated as in **red car**. **Red** is a qualitative adjective that specifies the feature of the noun **car**. Beard refers to Givón (1970), who sees this as a natural feature. Natural features are characteristics or parts inherently possessed by the objects of which they are predicated. This implies that a **red car** inherently and inalienably possesses redness in some broad, generic sense of the term. A knife, as the object, possesses a blade as a definitional part in the same sense. According to Beard, this describes the preponderance of denominal adjectives reflecting a possessional relation between the underlying noun and the modified noun like in **joy-ous rabbi**, **sorrow-ful moment** and **wealth-y fellow**. The stereotypical motivation for adjectivizing a noun is just to change it to a property specifier.

1.4.14 Di Sciullo and Williams (1987)

Di Sciullo and Williams (1987:18) maintain that in English compounding it is not necessary to make the difference between actual and potential compounds because such compounds can be invented as freely as phrases in running speech. In this case, neither speaker nor listener takes special note of any transpiring novelty. According to these authors, it is very difficult to identify the head of the compound noun in morphology due to the fact that the daughters of a compound are not intrinsically different from one another:



Di Sciullo and Williams maintain that for the structure given in (78) above, it is quite impossible to identify the head of this compound on the basis that the two elements are both of the same level, namely, N.

According to Di Sciullo and Williams, morphology, however, avails itself of a different means of identifying the head of a word, a contextual means. The rightmost member of a word is the head of a word. The role of the head in compounds is very plain. It determines the category, plurality and other general properties of the word as in the following cases:

- (79)
- a. [Bar_N lounge_N]_N
 - b. [Apple_N pie_N]_N
 - c. [Parts_{PL} supplier_{SG}](singular)

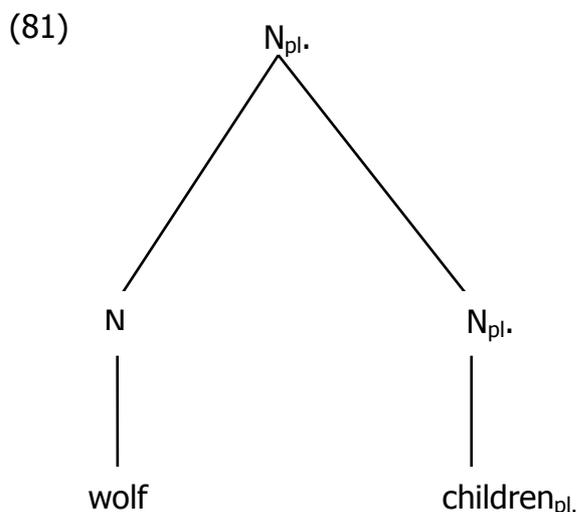
- d. [Part_{SG} suppliers_{PL}](plural)

Di Sciullo and Williams point out that the rightmost element determines the category of the word in each of these cases, while in the last two cases this element also determines the plurality of the word.

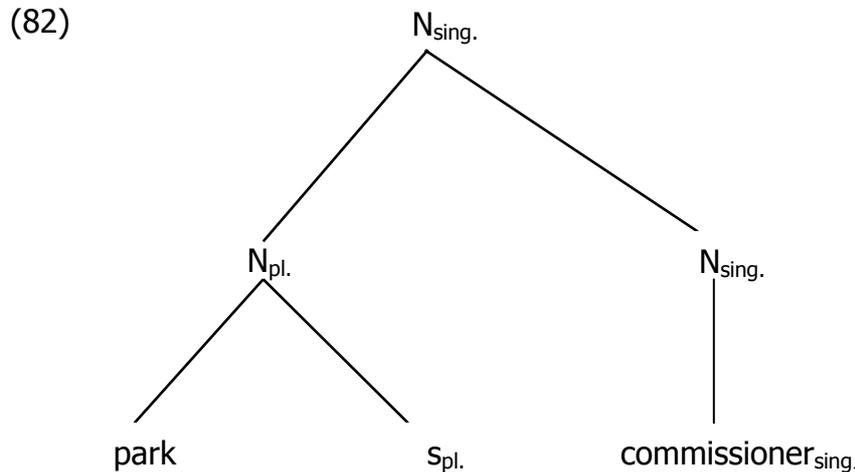
The idea “head of a word” permits for inflectional morphology to be reduced to derivational morphology. The important mark of an inflectional affix is that it must be found outside the derivational affixes, for instance, the plural inflectional affix **-s** appears outside the derivational affix **-hood**:

- (80) a. Nounhoods
- b. *Nounshood

According to Di Sciullo and Williams, an affix may determine the properties of its word. In actual fact, the real generalization about inflectional affixes is that they must be found in head position, not that they must appear “outside” all other word formation – the second is partly a result of the first, even though there are cases in which the first holds but the second does not. For instance, in (81) the plural is found “inside” the second element of the compound and yet determines the plurality of the whole compound due to the fact that it is found in the “ultimate” head position:



According to Di Sciullo and Williams, the structure given above in (81) clearly differs from the structure of singular compounds like **parts supplier** (indicated in 79c) and **parks commissioner** as in the following case in (82):



Di Sciullo and Williams state that compounds, like phrases, satisfy the First Order Projection Condition (FOPC):

- (83) a. [Dog seer] _N
 b. [See the dog] _{VP}



Di Sciullo and Williams observe that the difference in the examples given above is that compounds in particular, as in (83a), are head-final, like affixed words, whereas phrases, as in (83b), are not. Compounds are grouped with words instead of phrases on the ground that they (compounds) are formally identical to affixed words and formally unidentical to phrases.

Di Sciullo and Williams argue that there is a case of lexical anaphoric binding in English, the **self-** prefix. Whether prefix or noun stem, this item seems to result in the “anaphoric binding” of the Theme argument by the Actor argument. The following examples are important:

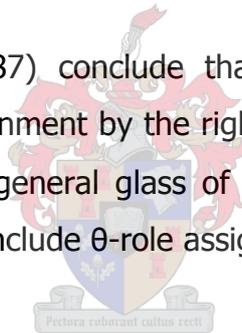
- (84) a. Educated [A, Th] → self-educated [A_i, Th_i]

b. Denial [R, A, Th] → self-denial [R, A_i, Th_i]

In the examples given in (84), A stands for Agent, Th for Theme and R for Referential.

According to Di Sciullo and Williams, the A_i notation clearly illustrates the binding of the first argument by the second. Mechanisms that determine the composition of the argument structure of derived words should be taken into consideration. However, morphology has some means of identifying relations among arguments in an argument structure that must also be accounted for. In the example in (84b), the prefix **self-** does not only satisfy the Theme θ -role, but also binds it to the Agent θ -role. **Denial** becomes the noun of the compound. In **self-denial reactions**, **self-denial** is simply the first member of an N-N compound.

Di Sciullo and Williams (1987:87) conclude that compounds that get a verbal explanation involving θ -role assignment by the right member to the left member like **lion-biter** are a subset of the general class of compounds that incorporates, for instance, **lapdog**, which do not include θ -role assignment.



1.4.15 Spencer (1991)

Spencer's (1991:14) states that most languages show some form of compounding. In languages like Chinese and Vietnamese, it is the only real proof of morphological complexity. He maintains that the archetypical case here is the compounding of two nouns to form a compound noun of the type **morning coffee** or **coffee morning**. English also indicates compounds made up of Adjective-Noun like **blackbird**, Noun-Adjective like **cobalt blue** and few cases of Verb-Noun like **swearword**. According to Spencer, there are some languages that allow constructions which are absolutely impossible or which are not productive in English. Spencer points out that in Italian, as in other Romance languages, a compound can be produced out of a verb with its object, like in **portalettere** 'postman', literally 'carries letters'. In other languages compound words are created out of the entire phrases, like in French **cessez-le-feu**

'cease fire' in which a noun **feu** 'fire' is modified by a definite article, and the verb component **cessez** 'cease' is in the imperative mood.

Spencer (1991:47-48) finds some difficulties in what is meant by the concept 'word'. The problem is whether the compound such as **film society** is made up of one or two words. According to him, if such a compound is itself a word (and not a phrase) then it will also be relevant to say that expressions such as the ones in (85) are words:

- (85) a. Student film society
b. Student film society committee
c. Student film society committee scandal
d. Student film society committee scandal inquiry

Spencer states that there is totally no linguistically principled limit to the lengths to which such compounds can be produced. The main reason is that adding a noun to another compound noun can form a compound noun. Spencer differentiates **potential words** from **actual words**. An actual word can be described as any word form that some speaker has been observed to use. Actual words are attested words which most of the speech community is familiar with. This linguistic lexicon forms a list of actual words and such a list is known as **permanent lexicon**. Potential words are defined as (unbounded) list of words that express possibility. Such a list is called **conditional lexicon** or **potential lexicon**.

According to Spencer, there are compounds which permit regular inflections, for instance, [[**house boat**] **s**], [[**over price**] **ing**] and [[**emulsion paint**] **ed**]. This model is referred to as the **Extended Level Ordering Hypothesis**. In The Extended Level Ordering Hypothesis, irregular inflections also take place. In such cases, Spencer states, irregular plurals inside compounds such as **teeth marks** are found. If certain varieties of English compounds can be taken into account, it is clear, Spencer states, that word formation processes can incorporate phrases like **no waiting zone** or **American history teacher**.

Spencer points out that extensions can be added before or after the compounds. The meanings of the following examples are implied by their structures:

- (86) a. Sub-postmaster
b. Re-application form
c. Workman-like
d. Lieutenant-colonelcy

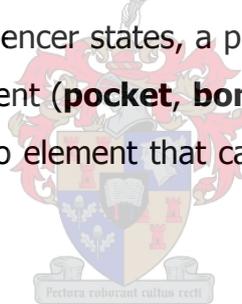
Spencer (1991:94) carefully separates morphologically well-formed N-N compounds into two sections. They are **accustomed formations** like **sound image, blood cell, eye-probe, light meter** and **fingerprint** and **nonce formations** like **cell print, measure science, eye cell** and **blood meter**. Accustomed formations are those words that are frequently used in the speech community, while the nonce formations are words coined for particular occasions and not accepted into general use.

Spencer maintains that two nouns can be compounded more or less without limitations to create a compound noun whose exact meaning will usually depend on pragmatic factors. Spencer states that there are quite a reasonable number of idiosyncratically formed N-N compounds whose meaning may greatly differ from that of their components (e.g., **housewife, ladybird**) or which may indicate phonological idiosyncrasy (e.g., the vowel reduction and cluster simplification in **postman**).

Spencer observes that there are regular plurals inside the compounds in cases like **parks commissioner** and **systems analyst**. In various respects, compounding represents the interface between morphology and syntax **par excellence**. The truth of this idea is found in **synthetic compounds**. These compounds are those whose head is derived by affixation from a verb, such as **truck driver**, in which the noun **truck** looks to be an argument of the (stem) verb **drive**. Thus, Spencer states that a **truck driver** is someone who drives the truck. In such a case, **driver** is the

head of the compound, which is therefore **endocentric**. **Truck**, which is the non-head, acts as a direct object to **driver**. This shows clearly that in endocentric compounds only one element functions as the head. It is also true of the compounds given in (85), in which **society** is the head in all the examples. This is so, Spencer states, because (a (student) film society is a kind of society. English language has most compounds of this type. The modifier element of a compound has the duty of attributing a characteristic to the head.

Spencer points out that, besides the endocentric compounds, there are **exocentric** compounds. Exocentric compounds are those compounds that do not have heads. These compounds are sometimes referred to as **bahuvrihi** compounds, a concept used by Sanskrit grammarians that literally means '(having) much rice'. English examples are not common. Many of those that exist are (predominantly) pejorative concepts that, of course, refer to people like in **pickpocket**, **lazybones** and **cut-throat**. In these compounds, Spencer states, a predicate-type element (**pick**, **lazy**, **cut**) and an argument-type element (**pocket**, **bones**, **throat**) can be isolated. It is important to note that there is no element that can be regarded as the head of the construction.



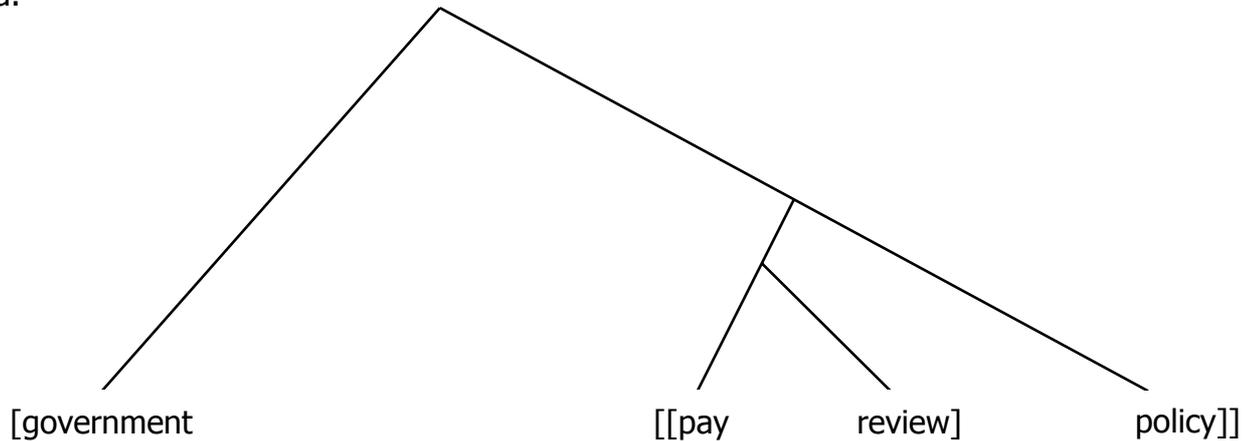
A major problem, according to Spencer, is in differentiating compounds from other concatenations, i.e., from syntactic phrases. The generally accepted assumption is that a true compound of two constituents is stressed on the first element, whereas a phrase is stressed on the last (main) element. Hence, there is **bláckbird**, but **blàck bírd**. It is also true that in more complex compounds of the form [A [BC]], the second element is stressed and that the stress falls on B. In the examples below, (87) is in contrast with (88):

(87) [Student [fílm committee]]

(88) [[Fílm committee] chairman]

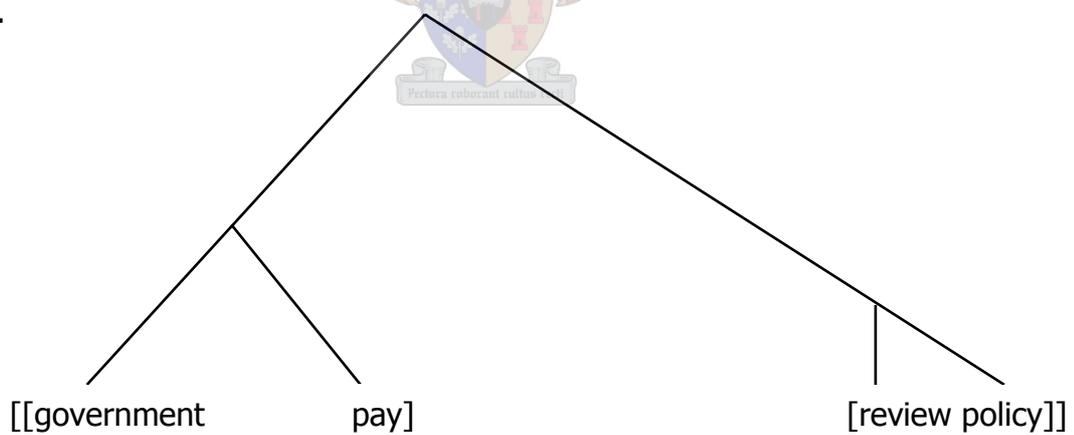
In this way, Spencer states, stress can show constituent structure and also disambiguate potentially ambiguous strings. For example, given the rule stated above, a structure like (89a) can be stressed as in (89b) on one hand, whereas a structure like (90a) can be stressed as in (90b) on the other hand:

(89) a.



b. Government páy review policy

(90) a.



b. Government pay revéw policy

Spencer maintains that the undisputable fact here is that (89b) means 'government policy for reviewing pay', whereas (90b) means 'policy for reviewing government pay'.

Spencer (1991:324) concludes that all linguists acknowledge that expressions like **truck driver** have an explanation as a synthetic compound, namely, 'one who (regularly) drives a truck'. Similarly, everyone appears to agree that gerunds and participles in **-ing** form synthetic compounds (**truck driving**). Lieber (1983), among others, analyses **truck driver** as [[truck drive] er], whereas Di Sciullo and Williams (1987) prefer a structure [truck [driver]]. Spencer (1991:324) refers to the work of Selkirk, (1982) and Sproat, (1985)) who maintain that other forms of nominalization represent synthetic compounds too (e.g., **slum clearance**), even though this is disputed by others (e.g., Fabb, 1984). Many linguists incorporate compounds created on passive particles as types of synthetic compound, for instance, **hand-made** and **moth-eaten**.

1.4.16 Shibatani and Kageyama (1988)

Shibatani and Kageyama point out a similar word formation system of N-V compounding in Japanese that functions directly on a sentential structure after syntax (presumably in the phonological component). Their emphasis is on 'postsyntactic' compounds. This postsyntactic compounding clearly represents a new type of word formation that contrasts strongly with the previously known types of syntactic word formation and presyntactic (i.e., lexical) word formation.

According to Shibatani and Kageyama, postsyntactic compounding not only serves to make the strong lexicalist hypothesis weak, but also assists to explain in detail the general characteristics of word formation and at the same time to delineate those common properties shared by words without considering their place of birth, and those features associated with a specific locus of word formation. This is possible due to the fact that Japanese equips people with sufficient data that incorporate all three types of word formation (lexical, syntactic and postsyntactic), in particular parallel types of N-V compounding in the lexical as well as the postsyntactic domains.

According to Shibatani and Kageyama, various types of particles form part and parcel of postsyntactic compounds in Japanese. These particles are found between nouns

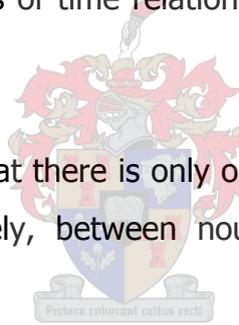
and also between nouns and other types of words. The structures they claim to underlie this type of compound are indicated by the bracketed expression in (91) and (92):

(91) [[Kanai **ga** Amerika **o** hoomon] **no** ori] ni wa, iroiro osewa ni narimasita.
my. wife NOM America ACC visit GEN occasion on TOP much hospitality
ADV. PART she. received.
'Thank you for your generous hospitality when my wife visited America'.

(92) [[Ookesutora **ga** serenaado **o** ensoo] -tyuu] ni tyoosyuu wa inemuri o site-simatta.
orchestra NOM serenade ACC play-middle in audience TOP sleep ACC did.
'The audience fell asleep while the orchestra was playing a serenade'.

Nouns signifying different notions of time relations typically head the expressions in the outer brackets.

Shibatani and Kageyama state that there is only one case in which the case particles are legitimately absent – namely, between nouns and the various elements in compound words:



- (93) a. [N - X]_N compounds:
Hai-zara 'ashtray'
Ash-plate
- b. [N - V]_V compounds:
Yume-miru 'to dream'
Dream-see
- c. [N - A]_A compounds:
Hara-guroi 'black-hearted'
Stomach-black

Just as case particles, which could be regarded as nominal inflections, are left out from the noun elements in compounds, so tense, a verb inflection, is

prohibited from the verbal elements. In this case, (94) below, with the verb **kaki** 'writing' in the tenseless (infinitive) form, is a well-formed lexical compound:

- (94) Kaki-mono (o suru) 'do writing'
Writing-thing (ACC do)

Shibatani and Kageyama argue that the First Sister Principle (Roeper and Siegel, 1978) clearly outlines the possible range of nouns that are compounded by a verb. Specifically, a transitive verb is permitted to unite only with its first sister noun (or, in GB terminology, the noun that is completely governed or 'L-marked') in the verb's (extended) strict subcategorization frame. This accounts for the reason that in English compound nouns of the type N + (transitive) **V-ing** (Roeper and Siegel, 1978 and Selkirk, 1982), the N is described as the direct object of the V, and not as the subject. **Hunter shooting**, for instance, means 'someone shoots hunters' rather than 'hunters shoot animals'. The same fact is true of Japanese lexical compounds such as **oya-nakase** lit.: 'parent make-cry', which means 'make one's parents cry' instead of 'parents make [someone] cry'. The inclusion of transitive subjects is generally forbidden in noun incorporation. Shibatani and Kageyama state that parallels the incorporability of intransitive subjects in postsyntactic compounds in lexical compounds as indicated by (95):

- (95) a. Mune-yake 'heartburn'
Heart-burning
b. Ne-agari 'price-rise'
Price-rising
c. Zi-hibiki 'rumbling of the ground'
Earth-rumbling

The most important fact about postsyntactic compounds, according to Shibatani and Kageyama, is that they behave exactly like sentences with respect to the conception of familiarity. According to Shibatani and Kageyama (1988:477), there are no forms that strike Japanese native speakers as new or unheard before, as long as they are

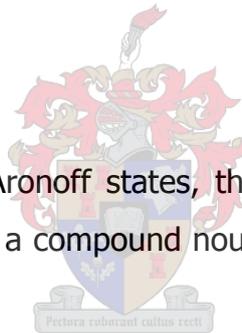
created in the correct syntactic lines with **-tyuu, -go, no sai**, etc., and obey the guidelines of word formation. Postsyntactic words are strictly compositional in exactly the same manner as sentences are. A distinctive property of postsyntactic compounds is that they have Sino-Japanese verbal nouns as their heads.

1.4.17 Aranoff (1994)

According to Aronoff (1994:16), compounding is lexeme formation, but it is not morphological on the basis that it does not necessarily include bound morphological realization. Alternatively, compounding is a kind of lexeme formation that functions basically at the level of syntactic category without reference to the morphological content of the construction. In this way, the prototypical English compound is one in which a noun is adjoined to another noun to form a noun:

(96) $[[\quad]_N [\quad]_N]_N$

In the example above in (96), Aronoff states, there is no mention of the form of either noun. Two nouns forming a compound noun may all be in singular and plural forms as in the following cases:



- | | | | |
|------|----|------------------|-------------------|
| (97) | a. | Man-child | men-children |
| | b. | Manfish | menfish |
| | c. | Man Friday | men Fridays |
| | d. | Manfriend | menfriends |
| | e. | Manservant | menservants |
| | f. | Man-woman | men-women |
| | g. | Woman-suffragist | women-suffragists |

Shibatani and Kageyama point out that All the examples but one include the word **man** that is the most common noun in the language. From the semantic point of view, all but one, **man Friday**, are of what Marchand (1969) calls the **girlfriend** type, whereby there is hardly discernible semantic head or modifier (a girlfriend is a

girl and a friend, a girl who is a friend and a friend who is a girl). The most important fact to be noted is that it is not possible to have a form like ***girlsfriends** or ***boysfriends**.

1.4.18 Marchand (1960)

Marchand (1960:11) defines the concept 'compound' as a word in which two or more words are combined into a morphological unit. The rule of joining two words comes from the natural human tendency to see something similar with another one already existing and at the same time varies from it. In the word **rainbow**, for example, identity is conveyed by the basic **bow**: the phenomenon of a rainbow is basically a bow. This bow is closely related with the phenomenon rain: hence the distinguishing part **rain**. A determining and a determined part, therefore, form the compound. Marchand states that in the system of languages that include English, the determinant normally comes before the determinatum. Syntactical compounds (e.g., **father-in-law**) and loan-compounds (e.g., **MacDonald, Fitzgerald**) are the types that do not comply with this rule.

Marchand states that a compound consists of two constituent elements, i.e., the determinatum and the determinant, there are, however, many combinations that do not seem to conform to this principle. The important part of the determinatum as a formal element is not present in compounds like **pickpocket, overall** and **dugout** and also in bahuvrihi types like **hunchback, paleface** and **scatterbrain**. It is important to note that a **pickpocket** is neither a **pick** nor a **pocket** and a **hunchback** is neither a **hunch** nor a **back**. These compounds with zero determinatum are also referred to as exocentric compounds due to the fact that the determinatum is situated outside the combination.

Marchand points out that the way in which the combinations of the compound **householder** can be investigated is parallel to that of **pickpocket**: 'one who holds a house'. What distinguishes these two compounds is that **householder** has a formal determinatum (**-er**) while **pickpocket** has not. Nevertheless, the conceptual

investigation violates with a word-forming rule in English. **Householder** can never be regarded as a suffixal derivative from the basis **household** in the manner that **old-timer** or **four-wheeler** are derived from **old time (s)** resp. **four-wheel(s)**, as there is absolutely no compound verb type to **household** in the English language. Marchand states that the compound **skyscraper** which cannot be analyzed as 'a scraper of the sky', but '(a building which) scrapes the sky', from the formative point of view can be treated with **scraper** as the basis. As in **rainbow**, **skyscraper** is not the primary compound that arises from joining two fully independent ordinary substantives. Such compounds are referred to as synthetic compounds simply because of their 'forcible' character.

Parallel to the compound **householder**, Marchand points out, are compounds such as **housekeeping** (substantive) and **heartbreaking** (adjective). The second-words of such combinations do not usually occur as independent words. Strictly speaking, words like **holder**, **keeping** and **breaking** are regarded as functional derivatives, being the agent substantive, the action substantive, and the first participle of the underlying verbs respectively.

Marchand points out that in compounds with composite constituents, one of the constituent members of a compound can itself be seen as a compound. In English, the regular pattern is that of the determinant being a compound (**aircraft-carrier**, **traffic signal-controller**, **flower pot-stand**, **plainclothes-man**, **milktruck-driver**, etc.), while in the event of a compound determinatum the entire combination often becomes a two-stressed syntactic group (**níght wáitchman**, **víllage schoólmaster**, **hoúse doórkeeper**, etc.).

Marchand maintains that the stem form of another substantive like in the compound **rainbow** can determine a substantive. Some very good compounds that are archaic now are **almsman**, **bell-house**, **boxtree**, **breastbone** and **bridgeward**. In other cases, the plural form as first-word in compounds mainly takes place when there is no singular form like in **clothes-brush**, **clothes-basket**, **savings bank**, **goods train**, etc. In some cases, the relations in which the two substantives may stand to

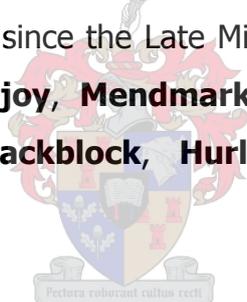
each other have many different forms. Marchand observes that few compounds that can be looked at are **blockhead, bell-flower, goldfish, iron-weed, silver-seed, silkweed** and **wiregrass**. Compounds for purpose relation are **gunpowder, keyhole, birdcage, book-case, raincoat, battleship, horsewhip, bread-basket**, etc., while place relation can be associated with compounds like **water-horse, water-rat, water-nymph, garden-party, headache**, etc. The notion of time has compounds such as **eveningsong, nightclub, nightmare, moon-flower**, etc. There is also the instrumental relation and can be described by the compounds like **footstep** and **handwriting**.

Marchand maintains that a group of notionally coordinated members can be formed by two substantives, either as an additive group, as in **fighter-bomber** 'a plane which is both fighter and bomber', or as an appositional group, as in **slave girl** 'a girl who is a slave'. In English, these types of compounds are not many, as the tendency is merely to analyze combinations based on a coordinative relation as syntactic groups. For this reason, most combinations of the coordinative type are just adjunctal combinations of an **ad hoc** character to be analyzed in syntax.

According to Marchand, the predicate/object nexus of the formal basis describes the compound like **pickpocket** that denotes the agent who or which executes what. It is worth noting that the agent may be a human being, an animal, a plant, a thing, or something with no physical substance. The first examples of personal agent substantives which have been coined like **trailbastoun, spurnwater, spilltime, cutpurse, letgame, pickpurse, lickpot**, etc., are obsolete. Very few combinations are neutral concepts pointing people who hold offices, but even then the type of work is a very low one. The examples are **turnspit, turnbroach** 'boy whose office was to turn the spit, **turnkey** 'a subordinate jailer', **scarecrow** 'person hired in scaring birds', **turncock** 'a waterworks official', and **prickbill** 'the concept used at Christ Church, Oxford, for a junior student checking the attendant list at Chapel'. Marchand points out that many personal substantives are ridiculing concepts describing people who are not respectable, as criminal elements (**cut-throat, picklock**), drinkers, gluttons, parasites (**fill-belly, fill-pot, tosspot, lickdish,**

lickladle, lickplatter, lickbox, lickspit, lickspittle), slanderers (**pickthank, telltale, findfault**), idlers (**donothing, donought**), mischiefmakers (**killjoy, spoilsport**), sluggards, stupid or ignorant people (**lackbrain, lackwit, lacksense, lackmind, knowlittle, knownothing**), scoundrels, ruffians (**rakehell, rakeshame, lack-grace** 'reprobate'), unreliable people (**turncoat, turnskin**), and prodigals and misers (**pinchback, spendthrift, pinch-belly, pinch-gut, turn-penny**).

Marchand points out that a number of words like **blackout** were coined and are now obsolete. Some of them are **startback** 'deserter', **fallaway** 'apostate' and **go-between** 'an intermediary'. There are, however, less numerous words that denote impersonal agents. Some of the examples are **holdback** 'hindrance', **holdfast** 'clasp', **knockdown** 'liquor', **takeup, pickup** (two words for machinery devices), **setback** 'check to progress' and **rockaway** 'a vehicle'. Imperative words have been oftenly utilized to coin surnames since the Late Middle English period. Some of the examples are **Lovegold, Makejoy, Mendmarket, Drinkwater, Breakspeare, Shakespeare, Shakestaff, Hackblock, Hurlbat, Shakelance, Scaredevil, Lackland** and **Trustgod**.



Marchand observes that, even if many compounds mainly denote living beings (persons or animals), there are also the names of plants and a few words denoting different things. There are some words that denote persons and have a mocking flavour. The following instances are **bigwig, blackmouth** 'slanderer', **fathead** 'stupid dolt', **flatfoot** 'policeman', **flathead, flatnose, greenhorn, green-sleeves** 'inconstant lady-love', **woollyhead** 'negro' and **pot-belly, rubberneck, egghead** 'intellectual'. Marchand states that compounds which denote animals are **black-face** 'blackfaced sheep', **blackhead** (a bird), **bluecap** 'different animals', **greenshank** 'the sandpiper', **greyback** 'louse', **open-bill** (a bird), **rawhead** and **bloodybones** (nursery animals), **redleg(s), whitethroat** (birds), **redbreast** 'the robin', **shorthorn** (kind of cattle), **wryneck** (originally a bird), **thick-knee** (a bird), **stickle-back** (a fish). A few compounds denoting the names of plants are **blue-**

bell, **whitethorn**, **longleaf** 'the Georgia pine', **red-berry** (an American plant), **red-knees** 'the water pepper' and **red-root** 'New Jersey tea'.

1.4.19 Bhat (1994)

Bhat observes that it is an undisputed fact that compounds are made up of two or more words that differ in functions. He (1994:30) states that there is a basic difference between nouns and adjectives, which originates from the fact that adjectives are fundamentally modifiers of nouns, while nouns are fundamentally referent-introducers. As far as adjectives are concerned, designation of a property is of great significance due to the fact that it is only through such a designation that adjectives execute their functions of modifying a noun; while in the case of nouns, introducing a participant is also of great significance; whatever properties that a nominal expression proposes are of secondary importance, implied for facilitating the former function.

Bhat notices that the characteristics that are associated with the referent of a compound nominal in a given context need not really be the same as the ones that are proposed by its constituent elements. For instance, a **blackberry** is not in actual fact black in colour, but only dark purple. When it is not ripe it may either be red or green. Bhat refers to Jespersen (1924:74) who also asserted that a botanist can easily identify a certain plant referred to as a **bluebell** even at a season when there are absolutely no **blue** flowers on it.

Bhat states that it is evident that compound-formation is a device which is used by languages so as to coin new words from the ones that exist. He makes a clear distinction between this device and another device referred to as derivation due to the fact that in the former case both (or all) the constituent elements that are utilized in the coinage occur as words which are "independent" in the language concerned, while in the latter case, one of them is at least an affix or a bound form. The differentiation between these two devices is, according to Bhat, not simple to

maintain regularly on the basis that the underlying distinction between independent and dependent (or bound) elements is not very clear.

In compounds, Bhat differentiates between (i) the duties of the constituent elements in the **coinage** of the compounds concerned; and (ii) in the real **use** of those compounds. For instance, in the compound **blackberry** everyone may conclude that the colour adjective **black** modifies the noun **berry** when deeply looking at the coinage. As far as its actual use in the language is concerned, this is not really the issue. Bhat states that the colour adjective **black** in this compound refers to a certain variety of fruit, namely, the "berry of the bramble". The fruit that it refers to in this context must be "black" in colour, but this is actually not the case because it can have various colours. The reason that the compound has **black** as one of its constituent elements is in actual fact not relevant.

In this way, Bhat states, the constituent elements of compounds do not have a duty of some kind to perform other than of giving a phonologically distinguishable **structure** for the new word concerned. It must be further noticed that the constituent elements of compounds are joined together into single words and thereby completely lose not only their categorial features but also their individuality. They also tend to lose their ability to designate particular lexical meanings.

Bhat mentions that the manner in which a single word identifies a participant is totally different from the manner in which noun phrase consisting a modifying adjective identifies a participant. Thus, he states, this difference in the functioning of single nouns and nouns containing modifying adjectives may be clearly observed when comparison is done between the use of compound words like **blackbird** (which work as single words) and modified expressions like **black bird**. The latter in this case may refer to any bird that is actually black in colour, while the former may strictly refer to a bird belonging to a particular species. Identification in the former case is, according to Bhat, originally based upon a convention, while in the latter case it is merely based upon the actual meaning that is being thoroughly designated by the expression concerned. This is according to Bhat (1979:41).

Bhat maintains that it is impossible for adjectives occurring in nominal compounds to take degree modifiers such as **very**, while those that occur in noun phrases can. Bloomfield (1935:232) in Bhat (1994) also asserts that:

The word **black** in the phrase **black bird** can be modified by **very**, but not so the compound-member **black** in **blackbird**.

Bhat gives the following examples:

(98) Compound	Noun phrase
* very blackbirds	very black birds
* very small talk	very wet day
* very redcoat	very red coat

Unlike the latter, the former cannot also get inflected for either comparative or superlative. Bhat states that the following examples are important:

(99) * the blackestbird	the blackest bird
-------------------------	-------------------

(100) * smaller talk	wetter day
----------------------	------------

1.4.20 Selkirk (1982)

Selkirk (1982:13) states that English compounds consist of two constituents. Each constituent may be classified under one of the categories like Noun, Adjective, Verb or Preposition. Many compounds in English are right-headed and the heads of such compounds indicate the syntactic and semantic features that the heads should have. There are, however, according to Selkirk, some compounds that totally do not have heads. There are also compounds that have deverbal heads, i.e., nouns that are heads but derived from verbs. Few examples of such compounds are **man-eating**, **timeworn**, **beekeeper** and **slum clearance**.

Selkirk maintains that a compound noun may contain a noun, an adjective, a preposition or verb on the left-hand side and a noun on the right-hand side. The following examples are relevant:

- (101) a. N N b. A N c. P N d. V N
- Apron string high school overdose swearword

Selkirk states that some complex forms can be used as well, since compounds can, by the rules of grammar, be repeated. It is important to take into account, for instance, the noun-noun compounds **bathroom** and **towel rack**. These two compounds can both of them form a noun-noun compound as in (102a). The very same compound may appear as part of a noun-noun compound in (102b), which can also appear as part of a noun-noun compound in (102c), etc.:

- (102) a. N[N[N [bath]N N[room] N]N N[N [towel]N N[rack] N] N] N
- b. N[N [N [N [bath]N N[room] N]N N[N [towel]N N[rack] N] N]N N N[designer] N] N]
- c. N[N [N [N [N [bath]N N[room] N]N N[N [towel]N N[rack] N] N]N N N[designer] N] N N N[training] N] N]



Selkirk observes that there are compounds that are coined with reference to already existing compounds. Compound nouns may be formed from compound verbs as in the following examples:

- | | | |
|-------|-----------------------|-----------------------|
| (103) | Compound verbs | Compound nouns |
| | N V | N N |
| | Globe-trot | globe-trotter |
| | A V | A N |
| | Sharpshoot | sharpshooter |

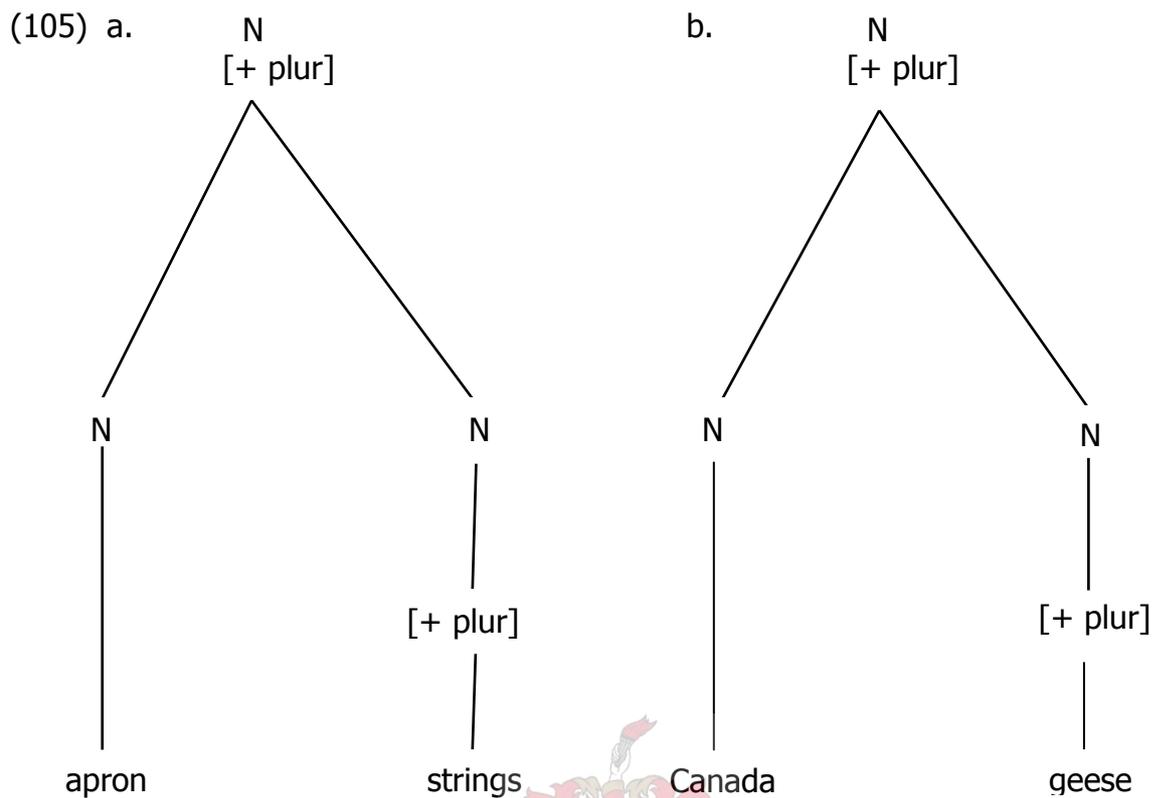
Selkirk maintains that the compound nouns written in (101) are some of the examples that represent the class of compounds that are frequently used in English. They are referred to as endocentric compounds simply because they have a head that is situated on the right-hand side. Very few compound nouns do not have a head at all and are, therefore, known as exocentric compounds. Syntactically, a constituent C_i is usually the head of a constituent C_j if it convincingly satisfies two requirements. Firstly, Selkirk states, it must produce the similar syntactic category characteristics as C_j , and secondly, its position should be "one lower" in the X hierarchy than that of C_j .

The Right-Hand Head Rule is, according to Selkirk, however, not applicable in all the languages. There are many left-headed compounds in Vietnamese. In French also, left-headed compounds bear the form ${}_N[N N]_N$ or ${}_N[N A]_N$. In the following instances, the head noun produces the plural inflections connected to the entire compound:

- (104) a. Timbres poste `postage stamps`
 b. Roses thé `tea roses`



According to Selkirk, the head of a constituent crucially plays a part in the portrayal of the distribution of the diacritic features associated with both inflectional and derivational morphology. Explicitly, a general well-formedness requirement on syntactic representation, usually known as **Percolation**, makes sure that a constituent and its head have the similar feature complex. Selkirk observes that when considering the Right-Hand Head Rule and Percolation, the compound forms in (105) can be the observations of the plurals of the compound nouns such as **apron string** and **Canada goose**.



Selkirk argues that a conception “head” fundamentally characterizes the semantics of compounds. This appears well when, for instance, the $N[N N]_N$ compounds are taken into account. **Apron string** is a compound that describes a string that is in a way related to an apron. It does not, in anyway, denote an apron that is related to a string. In the other way round, Selkirk states, **string apron** may denote an apron that carries some relation to a string or strings. These are the two examples of the endocentric compounds. In these compounds, the class of elements designated by the compound is a subset of the class of elements that would be designated by the head noun on its own. Selkirk argues that the nonhead constituent of the compound, to a greater extent, describes the head. This is indicated in (101) where the head is the nucleus of the compound.

Selkirk maintains that the semantic relation obtaining between the head constituent and its sister nonhead constituent can differ to a greater degree although characterization of the relation in general is not possible. The other very important subclass of compound nouns, which are called **verbal compounds**, clearly indicates a particular and grammatically distinguishable range of semantic descriptions. In

nonverbal compounds, Selkirk states, any relation between head and nonhead is possible – within pragmatic limits.

Selkirk maintains that, all in all, **verbal compounds** are used to denote endocentric noun compounds whose head noun is, somehow, morphologically complex, having been derived from a verb, and whose nonhead constituent is described as an argument of the head noun. She states that the concept **argument** refers to an element possessing a thematic relation like Agent, Theme, Goal, Source, Instrument, etc., to the head. The compounds are arranged according to the suffix that, together with a verbal base, forms up the head noun of the compound:

(106) **-er**

Time-saver

-ing

Housecleaning

-ance

Slum clearance

-(a)tion

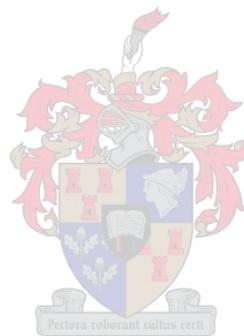
Consumer protection

-ment

Troop deployment

-al

Property appraisal



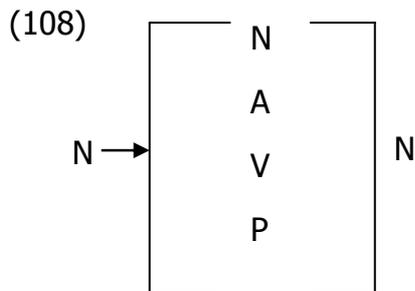
Selkirk asserts that the semantic relation between **cake** and **baker** in the compound noun **cake baker** is similar to the relation between **cakes** and **baker** in the phrasal collocation **'a baker of cakes'**. In other words, **cake(s)** is the Theme of **baker**.

Selkirk argues that in the case of endocentric $N[V N]_N$ compounds such as (101d) or (107), the head noun does not, in one way or the other, satisfy the argument structure of the verb:

- | | | |
|------------------|------------|------------|
| (107) hovercraft | playboy | bakehouse |
| search party | play dough | think tank |
| hangman | punch card | towpath |

Selkirk states that in the examples of compounds like **hovercraft** in (107) and **scrubwoman**, the head noun is the “subject” (in particular, Agent or Theme) of the verb, yet quite a reasonable number exist for which such a description is unavailable. This includes examples like **punch card**, **think tank** and **towpath** in (107).

The exocentric nonheaded compounds in English are also generated by the following set of rules:



Selkirk gives the examples in (101). The compounds that bear the categories mentioned above are further described by semantic rules specific to them. The type that can be taken into consideration is the $N[V N]_N$ compound exemplified in (109):

- | | | |
|-----------------|------------|-----------|
| (109) cutthroat | pickpocket | scarecrow |
| sawbones | cutpurse | daredevil |

The **bahuvrihi** compounds of (110) are considered by Selkirk as further examples of exocentric compounds:

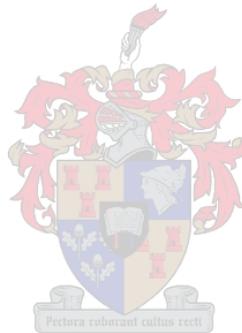
- | | | |
|---------------|--------------|-------------|
| (110) redhead | hardback | longlegs |
| dimwit | straightedge | heavyweight |

Selkirk asserts that these structures are as well generated by one of the rules suggested in (108), the rule $N \rightarrow AN$, responsible for generating **high school**, **sharpshooter**, etc. These compounds do not share the semantic features of other adjective-noun compounds. A **redhead**, for instance, is not referred to as a head that is red, but someone or something that has a read head.

Selkirk observes that few examples like the ones in (111a), where the element without a head can be described as an argument of the deverbal head noun, are allotted the similar structure as the ones in (111b), where the nonhead bears other than a thematic relation to the head.

(111) a. elevator repair
churchgoing

b. elevator man
elevator napping



CHAPTER 2

2. THE MORPHOLOGY AND SEMANTICS OF THE NOUN IN NORTHERN SOTHO

2.1 AIM

The main aim of this chapter is to investigate the defining features of the noun in Northern Sotho. These features will then be used to establish the morphological structure of the noun. These issues are considered to be pertinent to this study because compound nouns ought to appear with these features. In the first place, the noun class in Northern Sotho will be considered. The noun class features and their possible morphemes will be identified. In addition, this chapter will focus on the nominal derivational categories such as gender, locative, diminutive and augmentative and their morphological realisations. Lastly, a morphological structure of the noun in Northern Sotho will be presented.

2.2 NOUN CLASS

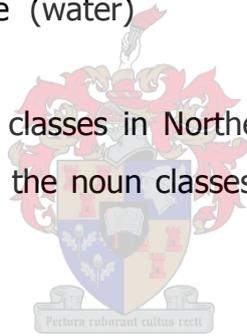
Nouns can be classified into various subcategories. One of the distinguishing features for a classification into subcategories is the feature [gender]. The feature [gender] may appear in the grammatical category of **Natural Gender**, i.e., nouns which refer to features such as [feminine] and [masculine] which include only those nouns referring to sexed beings. Grammatical gender must be distinguished from natural gender (Beard, 1995). Grammatical gender appears in the African languages and it is usually referred to as noun class.

The noun in Northern Sotho, as in related African languages, is a lexical category that may be defined by the feature of noun class. Such a feature of noun class is lexical in nature, i.e., noun class refers to arbitrary lexical subclasses of nouns that provide the basis for agreement (Beard, 1995).

Nouns can be identified morphologically, i.e., there are certain morphemes that appear with nouns. As indicated above, all nouns in the African languages are specified for a certain noun class. A neutral Arabic numerical system 1, 2, 3, etc., will distinguish the lexical contents or classes of this lexical category. Each such noun class will be identified with a certain noun class number that refers to a noun class prefix, e.g., the noun [mo-tho] in Northern Sotho has a prefix **mo-** that refers to class 1 and a root **-tho**. These noun class prefixes usually appear in paired classes if the root of the noun refers to a count noun. However, there are many nouns that do not appear with paired noun class prefixes such as mass nouns, and nouns that do not refer to concrete entities:

- (1) a. **Count noun:** motho (person)
 batho (persons)
- b. **Mass noun:** meetse (water)

The division of nouns into noun classes in Northern Sotho is clearly shown in the following table which includes all the noun classes of Northern Sotho together with the form of the prefix if present:



Noun classes of Northern Sotho

Noun class feature	Noun class morpheme
Class 1	mo-
Class 2	ba-
Class 1a	[-]
Class 2a	bô-
Class 3	mo-
Class 4	me-
Class 5	le-
Class 6	ma-
Class 7	se-
Class 8	di-

Class 9	n-
Class 10	din-
Class 14	bo-
Class 15	go-

Except for these noun classes above, there is also a number of locative noun classes. However, the noun class prefixes of these nouns no longer function as prefixes in Northern Sotho, but they now form part of the noun itself. They used to appear in noun classes such as class 16, 17 and 18. Some locative noun classes can still be recognized through the presence of fossilized prefixes:

- (2) Class 16 fa-se (down/below/on the ground)
- Class 17 go-dimo (above/on top/upwards)
- Class 18 mo-rago (behind/back)

There are other locative noun classes which do not show these prefixes such as **pele, tlase, ntle, gare**. These entire locative noun classes are usually grouped together because the locative agreement such as the morpheme **go-** is derived from the locative noun classes, but it now has only the one form **go-** for all the noun classes.

It may happen that a certain noun class in Northern Sotho, such as class 1a above, may not be expressed by any prefix. In such cases, it is evident that the grammatical feature (class 1a) will be preferred in place of the form of the prefix that in this case has no form.

The reference of these prefixes above is to noun class, i.e., they represent arbitrary lexical subclasses. In most cases, no other reference can any longer be discerned with these prefixes except in some prefixes such as class 1/2 whose reference is to humans only.

The morphological category **number** does not play any role in the lexical category noun because these nouns are morphologically and lexically distinguished by a system of paired noun classes as indicated above. In the case of semantics, however, provision will have to be made for a feature of number. Semantics make provision for a criterion such as counting and sortal. The nouns **motho** and **batho** in Northern Sotho show this semantic distinction: **motho** refers to a single human being while **batho** refers to more than one human being. Such nouns may, thus, be counted and they are known in semantics as **sortals**.

The noun class prefix represents an inherent lexical feature of the noun in Northern Sotho. Such noun class prefixes may also be involved in nominal derivation where nouns may be derived from nouns by interchange of prefixes with one nominal root:

- | | | | |
|-----|-----------|----------------|-----------------|
| (3) | Class 1: | mo -tho | (human) |
| | Class 7: | se -tho | (human culture) |
| | Class 14: | bo -tho | (humanity) |

No attention to this issue will be given below. The aim of this section is to identify the noun class features and the possible morphemes that represent these classes because all compound nouns have to appear within these noun classes.

The noun class prefixes below will be identified through their class features that are indicated by way of paired numbers. In each case, a morpheme will be identified, if present. Some attention will also be given to morphological variants, i.e., those variants that are phonologically derived and those that have a morphological basis of which the phonological process is no longer evident. These variants will be indicated as irregular morphemes.

2.3 NOUN CLASS PREFIXES

2.3.1 Class 1/2: [mo-/ba-]

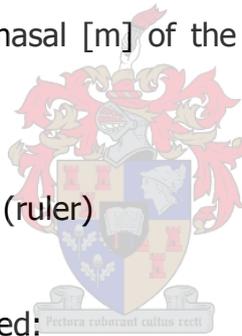
The prefix of class 1 is [mo-] and that of class 2 is [ba-]:

	Class 1	Class 2
(4)	motho (person) monna (man)	batho (persons) banna (men)

Phonologically derived variant

When the prefix of class 1 [mo-] appears before a noun stem with the bilabial consonant [b], a phonological process of assimilation takes place in which the bilabial consonant is assimilated to the nasal [m] of the prefix while the vowel [o] of the prefix is elided: [mo-b- → m-m-]:

(5) mmuši < [mo-buši] (ruler)



In class 2 the bilabial [b] is retained:

(6) babuši (rulers)

Irregular morphemes

The morphological variants below can be recognized as belonging to class 1/2 on morphological grounds because the phonological process is no longer active in these cases:

a. Class 1 [ngw-]:

(7) ngwana (child)
ngwale (female initiate)

ngwetši (bride)

b. Class 2 [b-]:

(8) bana (children)
bale (female initiates)
betši (brides)

c. Class 2 [bA-]:

The noun **mong** has a stem with a vowel that is not present in class 1 but this vowel appears in class 2:

(9) [bA-Ing → bêng] (owners)

Irregular plurals

Some nouns have a plural in either class 2 or class 6:

(10) Class 2: barena (lords/sirs/messrs)
Class 6: marena (collection of lords/sirs/messrs)

Plural only

Nouns that are derived from reciprocal verbs may only appear in class 2 because the subjects of such verbs will always be plural only:

(11) bamaparelani (those who cling/stick to one another)
baratani (those who love/like one another)

2.3.2 Class 1a/2a

Noun class 1a has no morpheme and it is recognized through its class feature. It has a plural in class 2a with the prefix [bô-] that is derived from a pronominal stem that is present in, i.a., **bôna**, **bôhle**:

Class 1a	Class 2a
(12) tate (father)	bôtate (fathers)

2.3.3 Class 3/4: [mo-/me-]

The prefix of class 3 is [mo-] whereas [me-] is the prefix of class 4:

Class 3	Class 4
(13) motse (village)	metse (villages)
moriti (shadow)	meriti (shadows)

2.3.3.1 Phonologically derived variant

Like in class 1, a phonological process of assimilation occurs when the prefix of class 3 [mo-] appears before the noun stem with the bilabial consonant [b]. In this process, the bilabial consonant is assimilated to the nasal [m] of the prefix while the vowel [o] of the prefix is elided: [mo-b- → m-m-]:

(14) mmala < [mo-bala] (colour)

The bilabial [b] is retained in class 4:

(15) mebala (colours)

2.3.3.2 Irregular morphemes

- (16) a. Class 3: [ngw-]: [ngw-aga] (year)
 Class 4: [me-ngw-]: [me-ngw-aga] (years)

The prefix of class 3 above, **ngw-**, seems to be fossilized because the prefix of class 4, **me-**, appears together with this variant.

- b. Class 3: [mo-f-] → [m-ph-]:

The bilabial consonant [f] changes to [ph] under the influence of the prefix [mo-]. This prefix firstly loses its vowel [-o-] with the result that the nasal [m-] appears directly before the bilabial [f]. This results then in nasalization wherein the bilabial [f] changes to [ph]:

- (17) [mo-feng] → [m-pheng] (handle)
 [mo-faka] → [m-phaka] (knife)
 [mo-fokolo] → [m-phokolo] (soft porridge)
 [mo-folo] → [m-pholo] (poison)



This nasalization is restricted to class 3 because in class 4 the bilabial [f] is again present:

- (18) [me-feng] (handles)
 [me-faka] (knives)
 [me-fokolo] (soft porridges)
 [me-folo] (poisons)

- c. Class 3: [mo-fs-] → [m-psh-]:

The fricative [fs] changes to an affricate [psh] in the process of nasalization as described above: [mo-fs-] → [m-fs-] → [m-psh-]:

- (19) [mo-fsikela] → [m-pshikela] (flu)
 [mo-fsiri] → [m-pshiri] (copper)

In class 4, the fricative [fs] is retained and it does not change:

- (20) [me-fsikela] (flues)
 [me-fsiri] (coppers)

- d. There are a number of nouns in class 3 that appear with the variant morpheme [m-]. This variant is only apparent when the noun stem has an initial vowel [-o-] or a nasal [-m-]:

Class 3

Class 4

- (21) [m-mopo] (bridge of the nose) [me-opo] (bridges of the nose)
 [m-muwane] (mist) [me-uwane] (mists)

The nasal [m] falls away in class 4 with the vowel [o]:

- (22) [m-oko] (marrow) [me-oko] (marrows)
 [m-oba] (sugar cane) [me-oba] (sugar canes)
 [m-oya] (air/spirit) [me-oya], [mêya] (spirits)
 [m-ona] (jealous)

The noun **moya** has an alternative form in class 4 that resulted from assimilation of the vowels **e** and **o**: [me-o-] → [mê-]. The noun **mona** above has no alternative in class 4.

- e. Nouns in class 3 with the variant morpheme [ngw-] may appear in class 4 with the variant [nyw-]:

Class 3

Class 4

- (23) [ngw-aga] (year) [nyw-aga] (years)

[ngw-ako] (house)	[nyw-ako] (houses)
[ngw-ang] (weed)	[nyw-ang] (weeds)

2.3.3.3 The morphemes of class 3 and 4

- (24) Class 3: [mo-], [m-], [ngw-]
 Class 4: [me-], [nyw-]

2.3.4 Class 5/6: [le-/ma-]

The prefix of class 5 is [le-] while that of class 6 is [ma-]:

Class 5	Class 6
(25) leru (cloud)	maru (clouds)
leswafo (lung)	maswafo (lungs)

2.3.4.1 Irregular morphemes

- a. There are a number of nouns in class 5 that has a stem with an initial [-l-] consonant. These noun stems appear without any prefix in class 5 but the prefix of class 6 is retained:

Class 5	Class 6
(26) [∅-lapa] (courtyard)	[ma-lapa] (courtyards)
[∅-lodi] (twine)	[ma-lodi] (twines)
[∅-lokwa] (net)	[ma-lokwa] (nets)
[∅-lwala] (grinding stone)	[ma-lwala] (grinding stones)

- b. The noun [le-ino]:

The prefix of class 6 appears as [m^A-] because the vowel **a** and the following vowel [-i-] of the noun stem assimilate to [-ê-]:

- (27) Class 5: [le-ino] (tooth)
Class 6: [mA-ino] → [mêno] (teeth)

2.3.4.2 The morphemes of class 5 and 6

- (28) Class 5: [le-], [Ø]
Class 6: [ma-], [mA-]

2.3.4.3 Irregular noun stems

- a. There are a number of noun stems that appear in class 5 with an initial [r] in the stem. This consonant may alternate with the consonant [š]:

Class 5 noun stems with initial **r** or **š**:

- (29) [le-roo], [le-šoo] (claw/paw)
[le-rata], [le-šata] (noise)
[le-rago], [le-šago] (buttock)
[le-rama], [le-šama] (cheek)



- b. The noun [le-ihlo]:

In class 6, the noun stem [-ihlo] loses its initial vowel [-i-]:

- (30) [ma-ihlo] → [ma-hlo] (eyes)

2.3.4.4 Irregular plurals

There are some nouns in class 5 which may appear either in class 6 or class 10. The appearance of the prefix of class 10 is the result of the disappearance of the noun

class 11 with the prefix [lo-]. These nouns have all moved to class 5, but the original class 11 nouns had a prefix in class 10 for the plural:

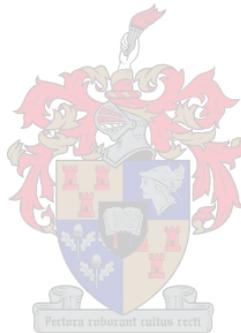
Class 5	Class 6	Class 10
(31) le-naka (horn)	ma-naka (collection of horns)	di-naka (horns)
le-nala (nail)	ma-nala (collection of nails)	di-nala (nails)
le-phego (wing)	ma-phego (collection of wings)	di-phego (wings)

2.3.4.5 Omittance of [le-]

The prefix of class 5 [le-] may sometimes be omitted when such nouns appear with a nominal modifier. The noun class may then be recognized through the presence of an agreement morpheme of class 5 on the nominal modifier:

With the possessive phrase:

- (32) [le-šakeng [la [dikgomo]
- [Ø-šakeng [la [dikgomo]
- ‘In the kraal of the cattle’



With the demonstrative:

- (33) [le-tšatšing [leo]
- [Ø-tšatšing [leo]
- ‘That day’

In both cases above, (32 and 33), the nominal modifier has an agreement morpheme [le] of class 5:

With the possessive:

- (34) [le-a] → [la]

With the demonstrative:

(35) [le-A-o] → [leo]

2.3.4.6 Mass nouns in class 6

A number of mass nouns are only found in this class:

(36)	mabu (soil)	mare (spittle)
	madi (blood)	maswi (milk)
	makhura (fat)	meetse (water)

2.3.4.7 Group nouns in class 6

Group nouns in this class have a collective significance because they may refer to crowds, heaps, masses, etc.:

(37)	magomo (herds of cattle)	< kgomo (cl. 9, head of cattle)
	magoši (collection of chiefs)	< kgoši (cl. 9, chief)
	mangaka (collection of doctors)	< ngaka (cl. 9, doctor)
	manku (herds of sheep)	< nku (cl. 9, sheep)
	manong (swarms of vultures)	< lenong (cl. 5, vulture)
	mariri (manes)	< moriri (cl. 3, hair)



2.3.5 Class 7/8: [se-/di-]

The nouns in class 7 have the prefix [se-] and in class 8 the prefix is [di-]:

	Class 7	Class 8
(38)	seatla (hand)	diatla (hands)
	selepe (axe)	dilepe (axes)

The prefix of class 7 does not appear in a few compound nouns with the comparative **sa** as the first element:

- (39) [Ø-[sa-[ma-dinkwe] (dizziness)
 [Ø-[sa-[bo-hloko] (gall/gall bladder)
 [Ø-[sa-[bu-bje] (loss of memory)

2.3.6 Class 9/10: [n-/din-]

2.3.6.1 Regular morphemes

With monosyllabic stems: [n-/din-]

The prefix of class 9 appears as [n-] with monosyllabic stems. In this case, the prefix [n-] may have various forms depending on the initial consonant of the stem:

a. [n→n] with alveolar consonants:

- (40) nta (louse)
 ntlha (point)
 ntsho (sweet reed)
 ntwa (war)



b. [n→m] with bilabial consonants:

- (41) mpa (stomach)
 mpho (present)
 mpša (dog)
 mpšhe (ostrich)

c. [n→ɲ] with palatal consonants:

- (42) ntšhi (eyelash)
ntšhu (eagle)
ntšhutha (bundle)

d. [n→ŋ] with velar consonants:

- (43) nko (nose)
nkgo (large clay-pot)
nku (sheep)
nkwe (leopard)

The prefix of class 10 appears as [din-] which also occurs only with monosyllabic stems:

a. [n→din] with alveolar consonants:

- (44) dinta (lice)
dintlha (points)
dintsho (sweet reeds)
dintwa (wars)



b. [n→dim] with bilabial consonants:

- (45) dimpa (stomachs)
dimphe (presents)
dimpša (dogs)
dimpšhe (ostriches)

c. [n→dijŋ] with palatal consonants:

- (46) dintšhi (eyelashes)
dintšhu (eagles)

dintšhutha (bundles)

d. [n→diŋ] with velar consonants:

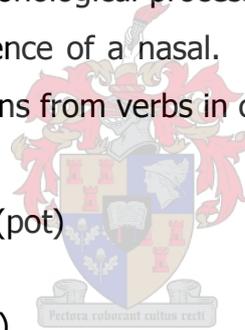
- (47) dinko (noses)
dinkgo (large clay-pots)
dinku (sheep)
dinkwe (leopards)

With polysyllabic stems: [N-/diN-]

The prefix [n-] does not appear with polysyllabic stems. Northern Sotho allows for the presence of a nasal prefix that may appear in an abstract form as [N-] in that there is a sufficient proof of a phonological process referred to as nasalization that is brought about through the presence of a nasal. This nasal influence may certainly be visible in the derivation of nouns from verbs in class 9.

Class 9 [N-]: [(N)-[pitša] →pitša (pot)

- (48) kgokgoilane (ankle)
ngaka (doctor)
tšhukudu (rhinoceros)



Class 10 [diN-]: [diN-[pitša] →dipitša (pots)

- (49) dikgokgoilane (ankles)
dingaka (doctors)
ditšhukudu (rhinoceroses)

2.3.6.2 Phonological influence of nasal on the stem

The initial sounds of the verbs below will change under the influence of this nasal prefix [N-]:

a. [b→p]:

(50)	potšišo	(question)	< botšiša
	puno	(harvest)	< buna

b. [f→ph]:

(51)	phepo	(feeding)	< fepa
	phulo	(pasture)	< fula

c. [g→kg]:

(52)	kgato	(footprint/step)	< gata
	kgolego	(prison)	< golega

d. [d→t]:

(53)	tiro	(act)	< dira
	tulo	(dwelling)	< dula



e. [l→t]:

(54)	temo	(ploughing)	< lema
	toro	(dream)	< lora

f. [bj→pš]:

(55)	pšabjatlo	(crushing)	< bjabjatla
	pšalollo	(transplanting)	< bjalolla

g. [h→kh]:

- (56) kholofelo (hope) < holofela
khuetšano (assimilation) < huetšana

h. [hl→th]:

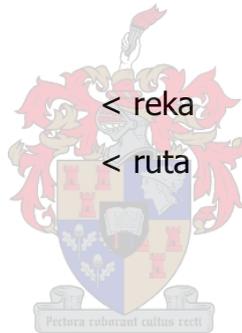
- (57) tlhahlobo (examination) < hlahloba
tlhompho (respect) < hlompha

i. [j→tj]:

- (58) tjabetšo (cheating) < jabetša
tješo (eating) < ješa

j. [r→th]:

- (59) theko (price) < reka
thuto (education) < ruta



k. [s→tsh]:

- (60) tshenyo (waste) < senya
tshokologo (conversion) < sokologa

l. [š→tšh]:

- (61) tšhišinyo (proposal) < šišinya
tšhupetšo (demonstration) < šupetša

m. [vowel→k+vowel]

- (62) kahlolo (judgement) < ahlola
keletšo (advice) < eletša
kidibalo (unconsciousness) < idibala

kotlo	(punishment)	< ota
kutollo	(revelation)	< utolla

2.3.6.3 Irregular morphemes: [Ø/di-]

Some have no class prefix in class 9 before the polysyllabic stems. They have only [di-] in class 10.

Class 9 [Ø]:

(63)	hlame	(secretary bird)
	hlapi	(fish)
	hlogo	(head)
	hlong	(hedgehog)
	hlware	(python)



Class 10 [di-]:

(64)	dihlame	(secretary birds)
	dihlapi	(fish)
	dihlogo	(heads)
	dihlong	(hedgehogs)
	dihlware	(pythons)

Loan words may also appear without the nasal:

(65)	gareng	(Afrikaans 'garing')	(thread)
	kerke	(Afrikaans 'kerk')	(church)
	paesekopo	(English 'bioscope')	
	radio	(English 'radio')	
	thelebišene	(English 'television')	

2.3.6.4 Omittance of [di-]

Nouns in class 10 may appear without [di-] but with retention of [n-] or [N-] when nominal modifiers follow them:

With quantifiers:

- (66) a. Ga se ba arabe potšišo [tšohle]
Ga se ba arabe dipotšišo [tšohle]
'They never answered all the questions'
- b. Ke nyaka nku [tšohle]
Ke nyaka dinku [tšohle]
'I want all the sheep'

With possessives:

- (67) a. Khuru [tša] ka di bohloko
Dikhuru [tša] ka di bohloko
'My knees are painful'
- b. Puku [tša] gago di kae?
Dipuku [tša] gago di kae?
'Where are your books?'



With demonstrative pronouns:

- (68) a. Thuntšha pitsi [tšela]
Thuntšha dipitsi [tšela]
'Shoot those zebras'
- b. Mphe pampiri [tše]
Mphe dipampiri [tše]
'Give me those papers'

2.3.7 Class 14: [bo-]

The prefix of class 14 is [bo-]:

- | | | |
|------|---------|------------|
| (69) | bogobe | (porridge) |
| | bohlale | (wisdom) |

Plural of class 6

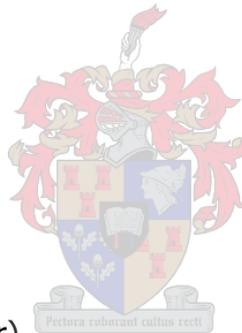
Some nouns in class 14, **bo-**, take the plural of class 6, **ma-**:

- | | | |
|------|----------|-------------------|
| (70) | madulo | (dwelling places) |
| | malwetši | (diseases) |
| | marokgo | (trousers) |
| | mašego | (nights) |

Kinds in class 6

Mass nouns

- | | | |
|------|---------|--------------------------|
| (71) | mabjala | (kinds of beer) |
| | mabjang | (kinds of grass) |
| | magobe | (bits/kinds of porridge) |
| | maupi | (kinds of meal) |



Abstract nouns

- | | | |
|------|----------|----------------|
| (72) | mahloko | (worries) |
| | malwetši | (diseases) |
| | maphelo | (life styles) |
| | maroko | (sleepinesses) |

Irregular morphemes

The prefix may appear as [bj-] in some nouns:

- (73) bjala (beer)
 bjang (grass)
 bjoko (brain)

In one noun the prefix appears as [b-]:

- (74) bupi (meal)

2.3.8 Class 15: [go-]

All forms that belong to this class are derived from verbs. They are regarded as infinitives. The nouns that occur in this class take the prefix **go-**:

- (75) go lora (to dream/dreaming)
 go nagana (to think/thinking)
 go robala (to sleep/sleeping)
 go šoma (to work/working)
 go tsoga (to wake up/waking up)

The examples above have a dual nature in that they have nominal and verbal characteristics.

2.3.9 Locative class nouns

Locative class nouns have prefixes that no longer function and they are now regarded as fossilized:

- (76) fase (down/below) pele (before/in front)
 godimo (above/up) kgauswi (near)

morago	(behind/back)	ntle	(outside)
gare	(middle/between)	teng	(inside)

2.4 NOMINAL SUFFIXES

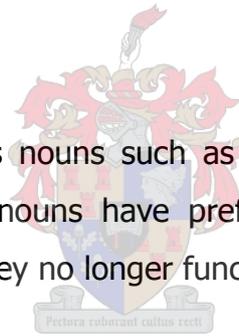
There are four nominal suffixes that may appear with nouns, i.e., the feminine suffix [-gadi], the diminutive suffixes [-ana] and [-nyana], the locative suffix [-eng] and the augmentative suffix [-gadi].

2.4.1 The locative suffix -eng

In Northern Sotho, locative nouns may be divided into three classes. Each class depends on the nature of the locative noun.

The old locative class

Some remnants of locative class nouns such as class 16, 17 and 18 in Northern Sotho are still available. The nouns have prefixes like other nouns, but these prefixes are now fossilized and they no longer function as prefixes:



(77)	fase	(down/below)	pele	(before/in front)
	godimo	(above/up)	kgauswi	(near)
	morago	(behind/back)	kgole	(far)
	gare	(middle/between)	ntle	(outside)

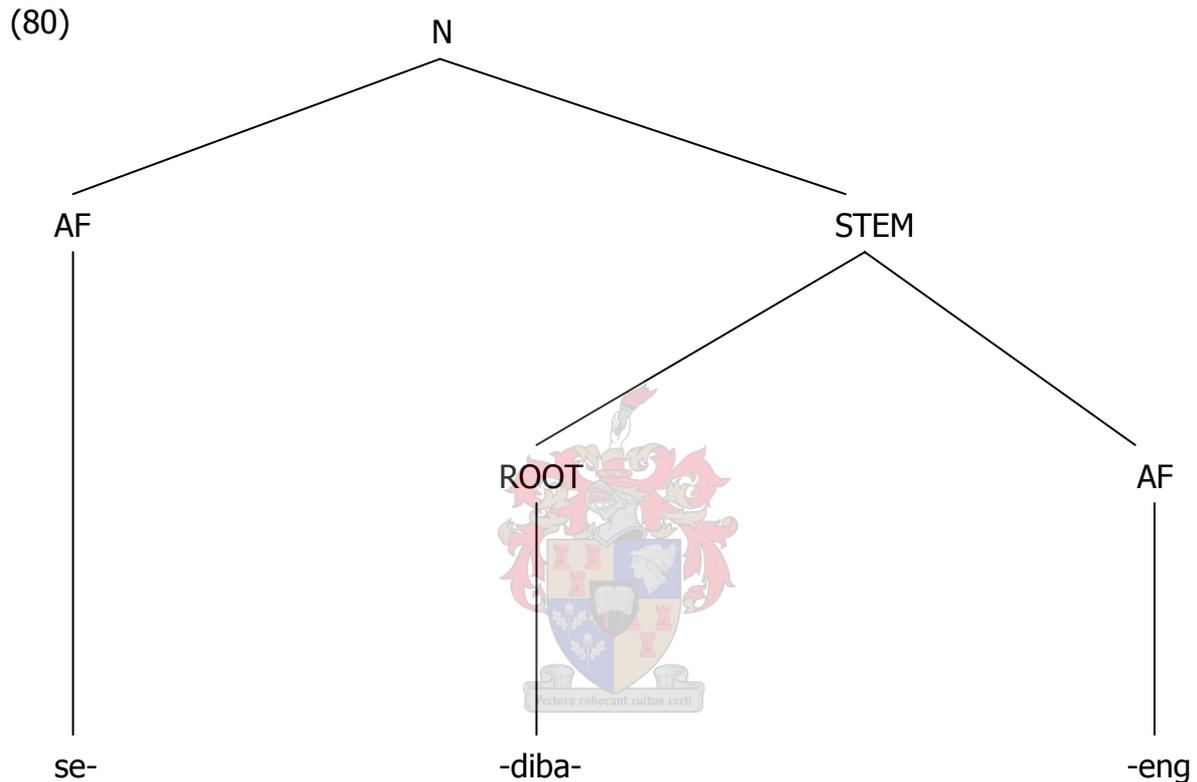
These locative nouns have the same agreement morpheme [go-] that also appears in nominal modifiers with these nouns such as the possessive [go+a→ga]:

- (78) Morago ga tsebe
`At the back of the ear'

The locative suffix -eng

This suffix appears with all nouns except nouns in class 1a/2a:

(79) [Sediba+-eng→sedibeng]
'In the fountain'



Those nouns that belong to class 1a cannot appear with a locative morpheme.

Place names

There are many place names that do not appear with any locative morpheme:

(81) Botlokwa, Mokopane, Polokwane, Seshego, Tshwane

The meaning of the locative

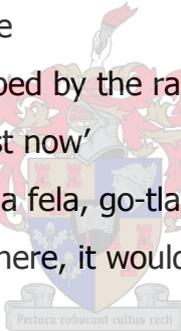
The meaning of the locative noun in Northern Sotho is dependent on specific discourse contexts as well as on the meaning of the verb with which it may occur. The following meanings may be established for the locative noun:

Direction

- (82) a. O ile go hlapa, a ya [ka ntlong ya gagwe]
'After he/she has washed, he/she went to his/her house'
- b. Matome a-fela a-wela [letamong le] ka pela
'Matome quickly fell into this dam'

Distance

- (83) a. Ge nkabe re-se-tshwenywe ke pula Gauteng, nkabe re-le
[kgole kudu] gonabjale
'If we were not disturbed by the rain at Johannesburg, we could
have been very far just now'
- b. Ka-re ge nka-fihla gona fela, go-tla-be go-šetše go-le [kgauswi]
'If I could just arrive there, it would be near'



Exclusion

- (84) a. Batswadi ba lesogana ge ba-le-bona le-dira seo, ba-rera [ka ntle le
lona] go-le-nyakela mosadi
'When the parents of the young man saw him doing that, they
decided without him to look for a wife for him'
- b. Yare [bakeng sa gore ba-nthuše, ba nthaga]
'Instead of helping me, they kicked me'

Location

- (85) a. O-se-ke wa-itshwenya ka thaere gobane ke-šetše ke-e-hweditše
[toropong]
'Do not worry yourself about a tyre because I found one in town'

- b. A-hloka sebaka sa go-tšhaba, yaba o-ipata [ntlong ye nngwe]
'He/she did not have an opportunity to run away and he/she hid himself/herself in another house'

Manner

- (86) [Maikutlong a gagwe] o-be a-re o bjalo ka Lesiba
'According to his view he was saying he was like Lesiba'

Quantifier

- (87) a. Yo mongwe [gare ga bona] a-re: Selo se se-se-ke sa-tlošwa
'One of them said this thing should not be removed'
b. Yo mogolo [baneng ka moka] e-šetše e-le Mokgadi
'The biggest one of all the children was Mokgadi'

Recipient

- (88) a. Lehloyo la gagwe le-bile le legolo kudu [bagolong ba kereke]
'His/her hatred was very big for the church elders'
b. Ra-nyakišiša [dikolong tšohle]
'We investigated all the schools'

Source

- (89) a. Ge a-etšwa [sefata-nageng seo], a-sepela a-eya moaging
'When he/she came out of that motor-car, he/she went to the builder'
b. Ba-boile [kgolegong]
'They came back from the prison'

Theme

- (90) a. Tumelo ya gagwe [dingakeng tša setšo] e fokotšegile
'His/her belief in the traditional doctors diminished'
b. Ka morago ga kwano, ga se gwa ba le dintwa tše dintši [magareng

ga bona le Batlokwa]

'After an agreement, there were not many wars between them and the Batlokwa'

Time

- (91) a. [Gona nakong yeo] ba-fihlile
'They arrived at that precise time'
- b. [Motsotsong wo] bohloko bjo bogolo bja-rothela ka gare ga pelo ya gagwe
'At this minute a huge pain dropped in the middle of his/her heart'

2.4.2 The feminine suffix -gadi

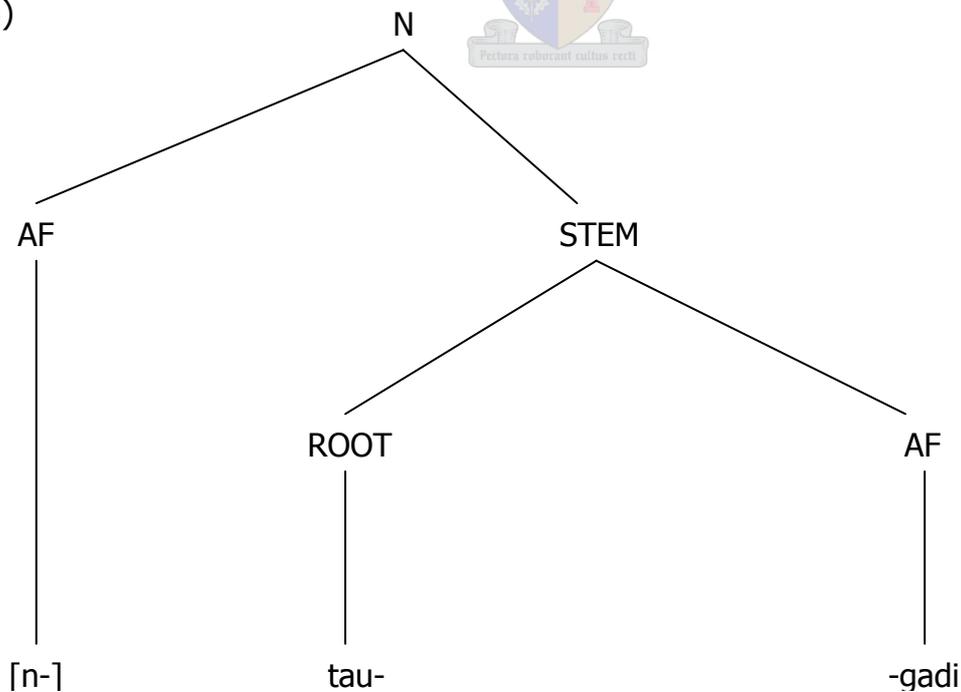
The morphological structure of one of the nouns with the feminine affix **-gadi** is as follows:

(92) [Tau-+-gadi]

(Lioness)



(93)



The suffix [-gadi] may appear with the following nouns:

a. Animals

- (94) nkwe → nkwegadi (leopard)
pudi → pudigadi (goat)
tlou → tlougadi (elephant)

b. Humans

The suffix [-gadi] does not frequently appear with nouns denoting humans and only a few nouns are apparent with this morpheme:

- (95) kgoši → kgošigadi (queen/chieftainess/regentess)
mogwe → mogwegadi (in-law of a man)
tona → tonagadi (wife of Prime Minister)

There are a few nouns that cannot appear without [-gadi]:

- (96) [mo-[huma [-gadi] (chief's wife/married woman)
[mo-[hlolo [-gadi] (widow)

2.4.3 The diminutive suffix -ana

This diminutive morpheme may appear with adjectives that denote colour to indicate the female sex but only with nouns as heads that refer to animals:

- (97) kgomo ye ntsho → kgomo ye swana (black cow)

The diminutive in Northern Sotho may be expressed by the suffix **-ana** or **-nyana**:

- (98) lenala → lenalanyana (small nail)
maswi → maswana (a little milk)

When this suffix is attached to a noun, it may have an influence on some sounds:

(99) sekibo-+-ana → sekibjana (small stamp)

The diminutive may express the following meanings:

a. Diminutive that refers to smallness with regard to the following categories:

Persons:

(100) mosadi → mosadinyana (small woman)

lehodu → lehotswana (small thief)

Things:

(101) foroko → forokwana (small fork)

tafola → tafolana (small table)



Places:

(102) letamo → letangwana (small dam)

toropo → toroponyana (small town)

Quantity:

In most cases, smallness with regard to quantity refers to mass nouns with the diminutive:

(103) madi → matšana (a little blood)

santa → santanyana (a little sand)

taamane → taamanenyana (a little diamond)

Quality:

Diminution of quality appears with adjective stems or nominal relative stems:

- | | | |
|-------------|--------------|---------------|
| (104) -golo | → -golonyana | (biggish) |
| -ntši | → -ntšinyana | (fairly many) |
| -šweu | → -šwaana | (whitish) |
| -thata | → -thatana | (fairly hard) |
| monate | → monatšana | (fairly nice) |

b. Young ones of animals

The diminutive suffix **-ana** usually refers to young animals:

- | | | |
|------------|--------------|----------------|
| (105) kubu | → kubjana | (hippopotamus) |
| lepogo | → lepogwana | (tiger) |
| nare | → našana | (buffalo) |
| phukubje | → phukubjana | (jackal) |
| tonki | → tonkana | (donkey) |

c. Pejorative and affectionate

Depending on the context, the diminutive suffix may either have the reference of pejorative, i.e., indicating disapproval or suggesting that someone or something is of little importance or value, or it can have the reference of affectionate, i.e., expressing gentle love:

- | | | |
|-----------------|----------------|-------------|
| (106) mokgekolo | → mokgekolwana | (old woman) |
| Lefora | → leforana | (Frenchman) |

mošemane → mošemanyana (boy)

ngwale → ngwalenyana (female initiate)

With head nouns that are human, colour adjectives with the diminutive may also have a pejorative reference:

(107) Mošemanyana yo mošweunyana

'A wretched little white boy'

2.4.4 The augmentative suffix -gadi

In Northern Sotho, the augmentative suffix **-gadi** has the same form as the feminine suffix **-gadi**. The reference of the augmentative is to something large in size in comparison with the diminutive that refers to something small in size. The augmentative usually occurs with nouns that refer to persons or things:

(108) mosadi → mosadigadi (big woman)

thaba → thabagadi (big mountain)



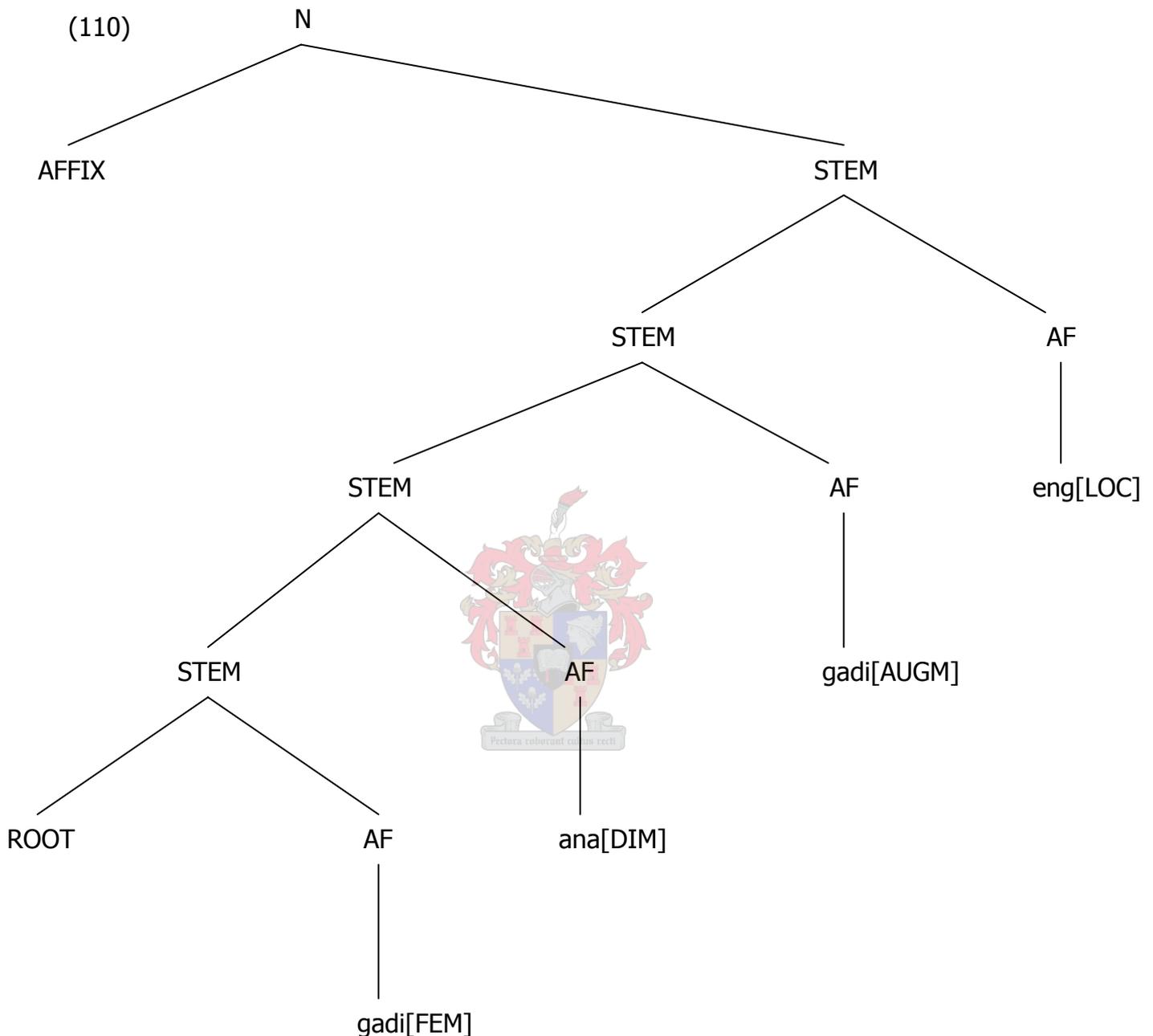
The augmentative suffix may also appear with adjective stems and nominal relative stems:

(109) -golo → -gologadi (very big)

-botse → -botsegadi (very beautiful)

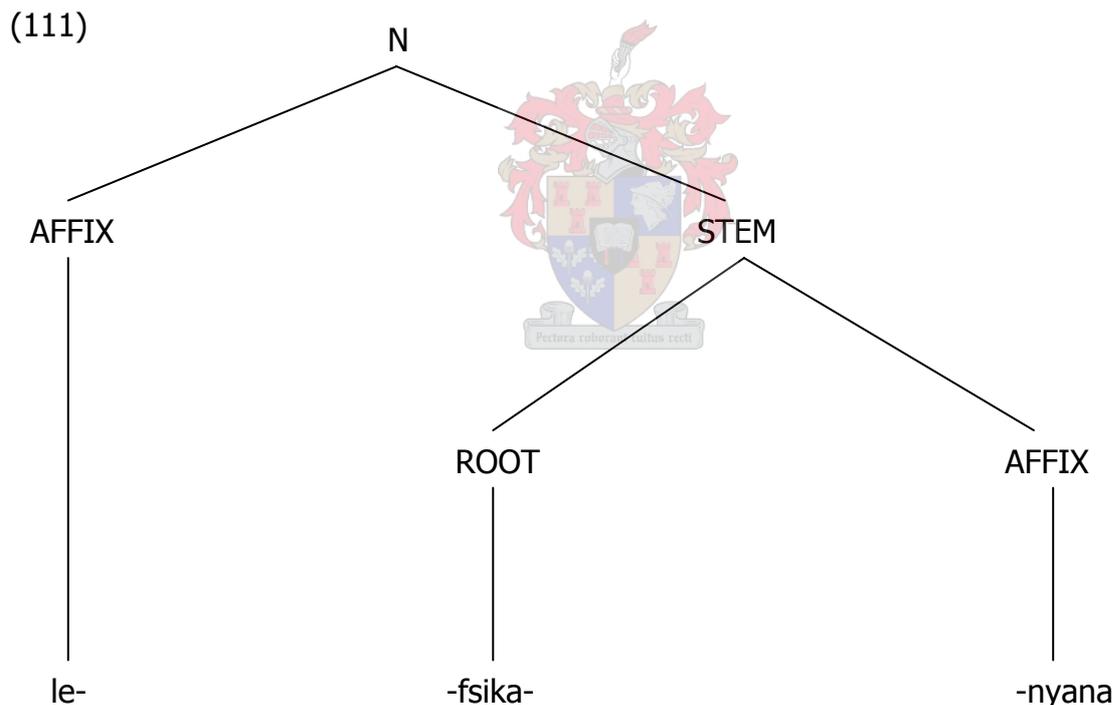
monate → monategadi (very nice)

2.5 THE MORPHOLOGICAL STRUCTURE OF THE NOUN



According to Selkirk (1982) in her book **The syntax of words**, morphology appears to have four categories, i.e., word, affix, root and stem. Central to the study of morphology is the morpheme. Morphemes are defined as the smallest units of linguistic form that cannot be divided such as the noun class prefixes, e.g., [mo-] in **motho** (person). This morpheme cannot be divided into smaller linguistic units. However, there are various problems with the morpheme which have, i.e., been

highlighted by Beard (1995). In Northern Sotho, the morphemes are affixes that are either prefixes or suffixes. These affixes are bound morphemes, i.e., they always appear with a root or stem and never on their own. Such affixes may be either inflectional or derivational. The second category of morphology is the lexeme or word, e.g., [mo-tho]. The lexemes are shared items by syntax and morphology. Such syntactic categories may be nouns, verbs or adjectives. The third morphological category is the root that has to appear with an affix, e.g., the noun [mo-tho] has a prefix [mo-] and a nominal root [-tho]. The fourth category is the stem that has to consist of a root with an affix, e.g., the noun **lefsikanyana** (small stone) has a stem [-fsika-nyana]. This stem has a nominal root [-fsika] and a diminutive suffix [-nyana]. Such a noun may then appear in a morphological structure such as the following:



The morphological structure above is based on the principles of the X-bar theory.

The morphological structure of the noun in Northern Sotho makes provision for one prefix which is the noun class prefix. The category stem in this structure is necessary because of the presence of the four suffixes. The suffixes have to appear

in this order with the feminine suffix [-gadi], the nearest to the nominal root and the locative [-eng] the furthest. The locative suffix will always appear in the last position in a noun. The diminutive appears after **-gadi** because it may combine with **-gadi**:

(112) [-gadi+[-ana] → [-gatšana]

This combination appears in a few nouns:

(113) [kgoši [-gadi [-ana] → kgošigatšana (small queen/chieftainess)
 [mohuma [-gadi [-ana] → mohumagatšana (miss)

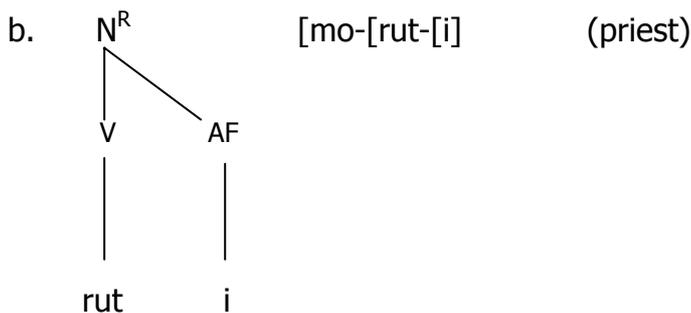
The augmentative appears after the combination of affixes above because it cannot combine with **-ana** that has the opposite meaning of the augmentative.

The nominal may consist of various categories:



Nominal root:

(114) a. N^R [mo-[tho] (person)



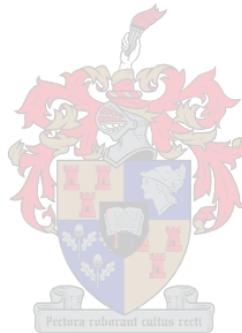
c. N^R [bo-[be] (evil)

```

    graph TD
      NR[NR] --- ADJ[ADJ]
    
```

d. N^R [bo-[thata] (difficult)
|
 N^{REL}

e. N^R [bo-[gare] (middle/between)
|
 N^{LOC}



CHAPTER 3

3. COMPOUND NOUNS WITH NOMINAL HEADS

3.1 AIM

The aim of this chapter is to conduct an investigation of compound nouns with nominal heads in Northern Sotho, i.e., those compound nouns which have at least one noun in the compound, where this noun also functions as the head of the compound. The various syntactic categories that can appear in such compounds will be examined. In the sections below, attention will be given to these categories, including noun + noun compounds, noun + ideophone compounds and others.

3.2 COMPOUND NOUNS WITH TWO NOUNS: [NN]

3.2.1 Aim

In this section, the morphological structure of compound nouns in Northern Sotho that consist of two nouns will be investigated. Thereafter, this section will focus on the semantic relations that occur between the two nouns in endocentric compounds, as well as the semantic features that are present in these compound nouns. A table of such compound nouns in Northern Sotho will be presented. Compound nouns with abbreviated nouns will also be considered.

3.2.2 Morphology of [NN] compounds

3.2.2.1 Morphological structure

[NN] compound nouns are widely attested in Northern Sotho:

- (1) a. **Motho-sebata** (Person who looks like a carnivore)

- b. **Modu-kala** (Branched root)
- c. **Mogopo-kgomo** (Big wooden bowl)

In (1a), the two nouns in the compound are **motho** (person) and **sebata** (carnivore). The noun **motho** has the prefix **mo-** and the stem **-tho**, while the noun **sebata** has the prefix **se-** and the stem **-bata**. In the same way, the compounds in (1b) and (1c) have the following nouns:

NOUN		+	NOUN	
Prefix + stem			Prefix + stem	
(2) a.	[Mo- + -du] (root)	+	[N- + -kala] (branch)	
b.	[Mo- + -gopo] (wooden bowl)	+	[N- + -kgomo] (head of cattle)	

Other examples of such compounds are the following:

Compound derived from:

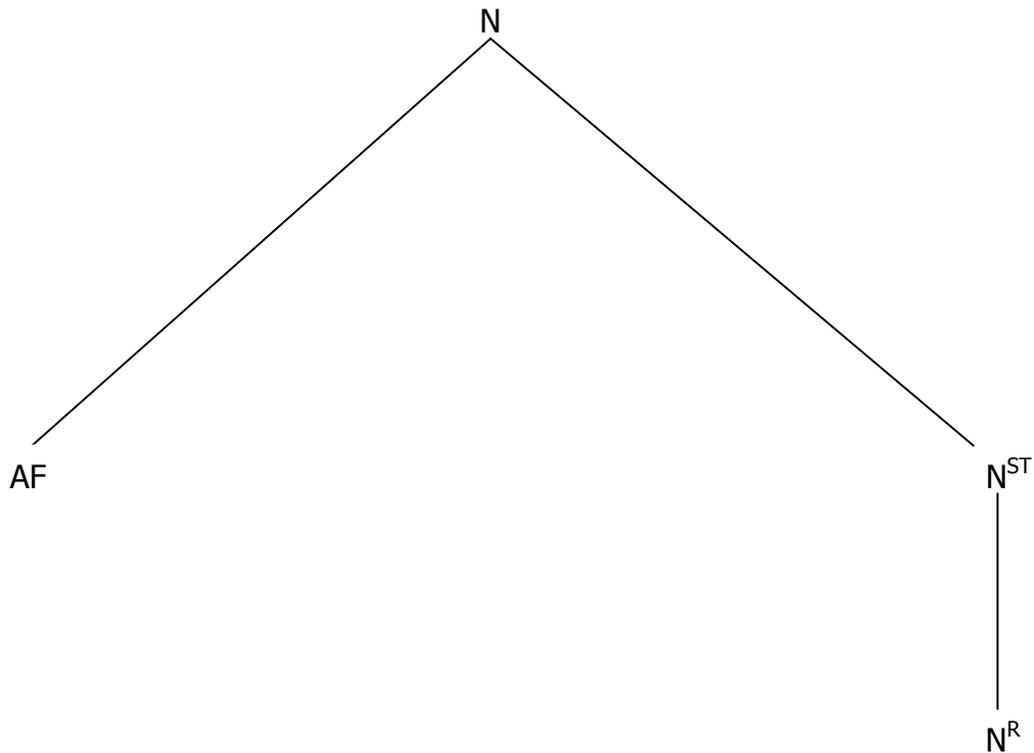


Noun + Noun

- (3) a. **Lebatla-badimo** (Gods' place) < lebatla (place without grass) + badimo (gods)
- b. **Leboa-bohlabela** (North-east) < leboa (north) + bohlabela (east)
- c. **Sehlodi-mare** (Crocodile tears) < sehlodi (edible bulb) + mare (saliva)
- d. **Ditšie-badimo** (Nonsense) < ditšie (locusts) + badimo (gods)
- e. **Mpa-kubu** (Sjambok) < mpa (stomach) + kubu (hippopotamus)

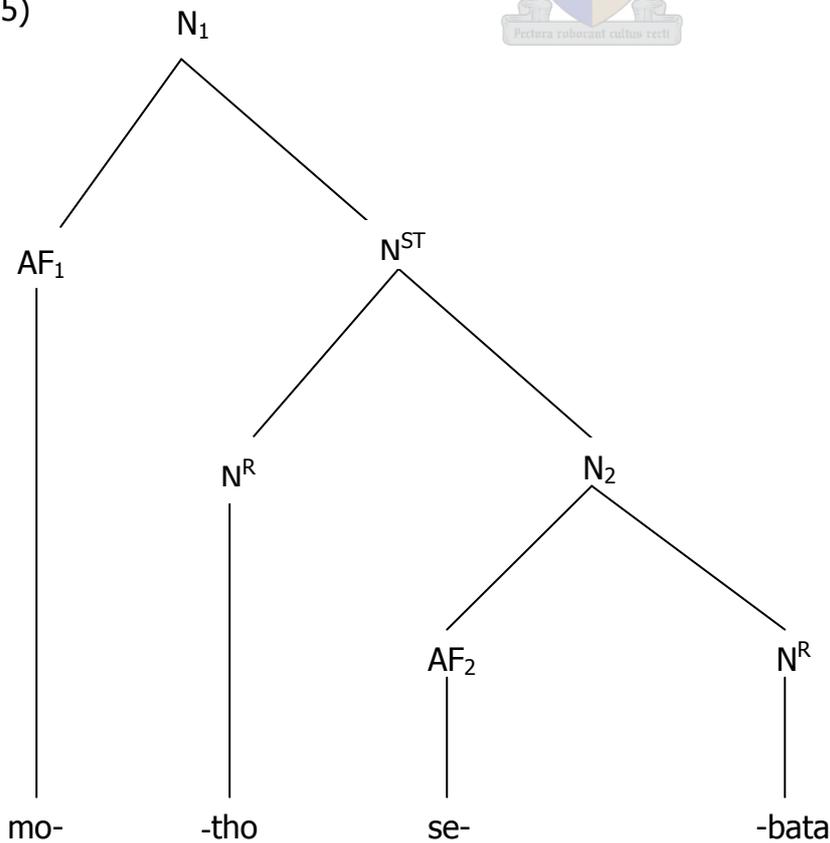
As indicated in the previous chapter, all nouns in Northern Sotho have the following morphological structure:

(4)



According to Musehane (1995:113), the noun class prefix of the first noun is the head of the compound. The structure that has been presented by Musehane is also the morphological structure of these compound nouns that will be accepted for Northern Sotho. The two nouns in **motho-sebata** that has been given above in (1) will then have the following structure:

(5)



3.2.2.2 Noun class prefix

The noun **motho-sebata** above has been shown to have two noun class prefixes, indicated by [AF₁] and [AF₂]. The first affix is **mo-** of class 1 and the second one is **se-** of class 7. In all these [NN] compounds, the noun class prefix of the first noun will be the prefix of the compound noun. The prefix of the second noun, i.e., **se-** will then play no role in the headedness of the compound noun. It may sometime happen that a noun class prefix may not appear in the surface form of the noun, but the noun, whether compound or not, will still belong to a certain noun class. No noun in Northern Sotho may appear outside a noun class. The following diagram will give an indication of the possibilities of the presence or absence of the prefix itself in the two nouns of the compound.

(6)

	N₁	N₂
a.	+	+
b.	-	+
c.	+	-

In (6a), the noun class prefix is present in both nouns as in the following cases, but the prefix of the first noun determines the class of the compound:

- (7)
- (i) **Mobu-lefase** (World): Class 3, **mo-** and class 5, **le-**. Both of these nouns have different singular class prefixes, but **mo-** of **mobu** (soil) is the prefix of the compound as a whole.
 - (ii) **Lenane-dintlha** (Log): Class 5, **le-** and class 10, **din-**. Both nouns also have different class prefixes, but **le-** of **lenane** (list) is the prefix of the entire compound.
 - (iii) **Seboko-phehli** (Stalk-borer): Class 7, **se-** and class 9, **n-**. Both nouns, once more, have different singular class prefixes, but **se-** of **seboko** (worm) is the prefix of the whole compound.
 - (iv) **Motho-morogo** (Person who looks like a vegetable): Class 1, **mo-** and class 3, **mo-**. Both nouns have different singular class prefixes

although they have the same form. In this case, **mo-** of **motho** (person) is the prefix of the compound as a whole.

- (v) **Meno-melomo** (Denti-labial): Class 4, **me-** and class 4, **me-**. Both nouns have the same plural class prefix, but **me-** of **meno** (teeth) is the prefix of the entire compound.

In (6b), the noun class prefix is not present in N_1 , but it is present in N_2 . The following examples bear testimony:

- (8) (i) **-leme-todi** (Sweet/nice/good tongue or language): The first noun **-leme** (tongue/language) does not have the noun class prefix 5, **le-** while the second noun **todi** (honey) retains the noun class prefix 9, **n-**. Even so, the compound noun as a whole is in class 5.
- (ii) **-ntšu-molodi** (Nice voice/word): The first noun **-ntšu** (voice/word) is without the noun class prefix 5, **le-** but the second noun **molodi** (whistling/melody) retains the noun class prefix 3, **mo-**. The prefix of the entire compound, however, is in class 5.
- (iii) **-tšatši-kgwedi** (Date of the month): **-tšatši** (day/sun) is the first noun in which the noun class prefix 5, **le-** is missing while the second noun **kgwedi** (month) retains its noun class prefix 9, **n-**. The prefix of the entire compound is also found in class 5.

Contrarily, in (6c) N_1 has noun class prefix while N_2 does not retain its noun class prefix. The following examples show these features:

- (9) (i) **Mola-tšatši** (Tropic): **Mola** (line) is the first noun which has the noun class prefix 3, **mo-** while the second noun **-tšatši** (day/sun) has no noun class prefix 5, **le-**. The compound has a prefix **mo-** of class 3.
- (ii) **Sebata-šoka** (Wild animal): The noun class prefix 7, **se-** is present in the first noun **sebata** (carnivore) whereas the second noun **-šoka** (bush) is without the noun class prefix 5, **le-**. This **se-** of class 7 is the prefix of the compound as a whole.

- (iii) **Sebjana-tsopa** (Earthenware pot): The first noun **sebjana** (dish) possesses the noun class prefix 7, **se-** while the noun class prefix 5, **le-** is discarded in the second noun **-tsopa** (clay). The **se-** of class 7 is the prefix of the entire compound.

Besides the above examples, other compound nouns that have the same characteristics as in (6c) are:

		NOUN		+		NOUN		
		Prefix	+	stem		(-)	+	stem
(10)	(i)	Bo-	+	-ro (drill)		-	+	-tsogo (hand) > (hand drill)
	(ii)	N-	+	-kolobe (pig)		-	+	-sodi (bush) > (wild pig)
	(iii)	N-	+	-ntši (fly)		-	+	-tsetse (flea) > (tsetse fly)
	(iv)	N-	+	-puku (book)		-	+	-ina (name) > (register)
	(v)	N-	+	-puku (book)		-	+	-ntšu (word/voice) > (dictionary)
	(vi)	N-	+	-thabe (clause)		-	+	-hlaodi (adverb) > (adverbial clause)

In the examples above where the noun class prefix is absent in either the first or second noun of the compound, it is consistently the prefix of class 5, **le-**, which is not present. This issue of the absence of this prefix in compound nouns is, however, not peculiar to compound nouns, but the prefix of class 5 may also not appear in non-compound nouns.

In the next place, the noun class number in both nouns of the compound will be investigated.

It is possible that both nouns in a compound may have either binary or single class numbers. The following possibilities appear:

(11)		N₁	N₂
	a.	Binary	Single
	b.	Binary	Binary
	c.	Single	Single

In (11a) above, the first noun has binary noun classes while the second one has a single noun class prefix that may be either singular or plural:

[N₂] is singular:

N ₁	N ₂
Binary	Single
Singular	Singular
Plural	

- (12) (i) **Moropa-** + **-kgomo** (Big drum)
Meropa- + **-kgomo** (Big drums)
- (ii) **Lefoko-** + **-thaka** (Co-ordinated clause)
Mafoko- + **-thaka** (Co-ordinated clauses)
- (iii) **Kuku-** + **-hlapi** (Fishcake)
Dikuku- + **-hlapi** (Fishcakes)
- (iv) **Mma-** + **-pelo** (Wilful person)
Bomma- + **-pelo** (Wilful persons)
- (v) **Sekga-** + **-pula** (Kind of wild tree)
Dikga- + **-pula** (Kinds of wild trees)

[N₂] is plural:

N ₁	N ₂
Binary	Single
Singular	Plural
Plural	

- (13) (i) **Lebatla-** + **-badimo** (Gods' place)
Mabatla- + **-badimo** (Gods' places)
- (ii) **Mma-** + **-ditsela** (Mediator)
Bomma- + **-ditsela** (Mediators)
- (iii) **Lenane-** + **-dintlha** (Log)
Manane- + **-dintlha** (Logs)
- (iv) **Sebata-** + **-meetse** (Carnivore which lives in water)
Dibata- + **-meetse** (Carnivores which live in water)
- (v) **Tsela-** + **-madi** (Blood vessel)
Ditsela- + **-madi** (Blood vessels)

In (11b), both nouns have binary noun classes:

N ₁	N ₂
Binary	Binary
Singular	Singular
Plural	Plural

- (14) (i) **Motho** + **-sebata** (Person who looks like a carnivore)
Batho- + **-dibata** (Persons who look like carnivores)
- (ii) **More-** + **-mootlwa** (Thorny tree)
Mere- + **-meetlwa** (Thorny trees)
- (iii) **Leino-** + **-selepe** (Tooth like axe)
Meno- + **-dilepe** (Teeth like axes)

- (iv) **Mokgoši-** + **-sello** (Lamentation)
Mekgoši- + **-dillo** (Lamentations)
(v) **Leina-** + **-leadingwa** (Borrowed noun)
Maina- + **-maadingwa** (Borrowed nouns)
(vi) **Tsebe-** + **-sekwi** (Hearing sense)
Ditsebe- + **-dikwi** (Hearing senses)

In (11c), both nouns have single noun classes that may be either singular or plural:

N ₁	N ₂
Single	Single
Plural	Plural

- (15) (i) **Meetse-** + **-magakwa** (Stagnant water)
(ii) **Meno-** + **-melomo** (Denti-labial)
(iii) **Maatla-** + **-meetse** (Water power)
(iv) **Ditšie-** + **-badimo** (Nonsense/rubbish)

N ₁	N ₂
Plural	Singular

- (16) (i) **Maatla-** + **-pere** (Horse power)
(ii) **Mabu-** + **-sehlaba** (Porous soil)
(iii) **Meetse-** + **-gauta** (Clean water)
(iv) **Meetse-** + **-koma** (Secret water)
(v) **Maatla-** + **-tšhukudu** (Rhinoceros power)

N ₁	N ₂
Singular	Singular

- (17) (i) **Mma-** + **-moruti** (Minister's wife)
(ii) **Morwa-** + **-Ngwato** (Ngwato's son)

- (iii) **Modimo-** + **-Morwa** (God the Son)
- (iv) **Boima-** + **-pantamo** (Bantam weight)
- (v) **Borwa-** + **-bohlabela** (South-east)

A fourth theoretical possibility of a combination of noun class prefixes may occur, i.e., the first noun is singular while the second noun is plural. No such compound appears in Northern Sotho because the first noun in a compound determines the noun class of the whole compound. Thus, the second noun cannot be plural while the first noun is singular.

3.2.2.3 Agreement

In Northern Sotho, noun class determines agreement and it appears as a category in the following instances:

Subjectival agreement [AgrS]

AgrS is determined by the noun class prefix of the noun in the subject position of a sentence. In the case of a compound noun, it is expected that the prefix of the head noun of the compound will determine AgrS, e.g.:

- (18) **Lenane-kgobadi** (Injury list)

In the example above, the compound noun takes the subjectival agreement of the first noun, i.e., **le-** of class 5:

- (19) **Lenane-kgobadi le** swere maina ka moka a baraloki ba ba gobetšego
'The injury list has all the names of the injured players'

Other examples of AgrS of the first noun in [NN]:

- (20) a. **Seaparo-leswela se** thuša kudu digwahla
‘The snow cloth mainly helps the sickly people’
- b. **Pala-monwana e** a phadima
‘The ring is shining’
- c. **Molao-tsela o** boloka maphelo a baotledi
‘The rule of the road saves the lives of the drivers’
- d. **Bolwetši-kgomo bo** bolaile batho ba bantši
‘The serious illness killed many people’
- e. **Leeba-mošu le** rata go dula dihlareng tša meetlwa
‘The red-eyed turtle dove likes to stay on the thorny trees’

Objectival agreement (AgrO)

Objectival agreement is determined by the prefix of the noun in the object position of a sentence, i.e., in this case, the prefix of the first noun in a compound noun that is the head of a NP, e.g.:

- (21) a. In the compound noun **seaparo-leswela** (snow cloth), the object agreement **se** of class 7, and not **le** of class 5 of the second noun, is used.
- b. In the compound noun **pala-monwana** (ring), **e** of class 9, and not **o** of class 3 of the second noun, is used.

These compound nouns with object agreement can, thus, appear in the following sentences:

- (22) a. Rapolasa o **se** bone **seaparo-leswela**
‘The farmer saw it, the snow cloth’
- b. Lehodu le **e** utswitše **pala-monwana**
‘The thief stole it, the ring’

Nominal modifiers

All nominal modifiers in Northern Sotho have some form of agreement with the head noun in a NP. This agreement is derived from the prefix of the head noun and, in the case of a compound noun, from the prefix of the first noun in a compound. The following nominal modifiers will show this derived agreement:

Adjective agreement

The adjective will take the agreement of the first noun, i.e., **le** of class 5 and not **mo** of class 3 of the second noun, e.g.:

- (23) **Leswika-motheo le legolo**
'A big foundation stone'

Possessive agreement

The agreement of possessives is the subject agreement, e.g.:

- (24) a. **Nama-bolekana ya ka**
'The canned meat of mine'
b. **Seno-tagī sa gago**
'The alcoholic drink of yours'
c. **Lenane-nošetšo la bona**
'The irrigation scheme of theirs'

Demonstrative

The agreement of the demonstrative is the subject agreement as in the following cases:

- (25) a. **Modu-kala wono** [wono < wo-+-no : o < A + o]
'This branched root'
- b. **Lefoko-thaka leo** [leo < le-+-o]
'That coordinated clause'
- c. **Sejo-tekanywa sela** [sela < se-+-la]
'That balanced diet'

Absolute pronoun

The agreement of the absolute pronoun is the subject agreement of the compound, e.g., **le-+-o-+-na** > **lona** (it).

- (26) **Leeba-koko lona** ke le bone
'The laughing dove it I saw it'

Quantifier stem -ohle

The agreement is the subject agreement of the compound, e.g.:



- (27) a. Katse e jele **leeba-koko lohle**
'The cat ate the whole of the laughing dove'
i.e., **lohle** (all) < **le-+-ohle**
- b. Ke nyaka go fiša **sethokgwa-thaba sohle**
'I want to burn the whole mountainous forest'
i.e., **sohle** (all) < **se-+-ohle**

Quantifier stem -šele

The agreement is also the subject agreement, e.g.:

- (28) a. **Sekepe-moya se šele**
'Strange airship'

- b. **Mogopo-kgomo o šele**
'Strange big wooden bowl'
- c. **Leswao-tsela le šele**
'Strange road sign'

Quantifier stem -fe

The agreement of the quantifier stem is the subject agreement of the compound, e.g.:

- (29) a. **Lehlathi-mokgwa lefe?**
'Which adverb of manner?'
- b. **Mogala-tšhika ofe?**
'Which nerve?'
- c. **Bofegelo-toulo bofe?**
'Which towel roller?'



Relative agreement

In this case, it is found that agreement is the subject agreement of the compound:

- (30) a. **Leeba-koko le** le nwago meetse
'The laughing dove that drinks water'
- b. **Moobu-kgomo wo** o fofago
'The large wasp that flies'
- c. Ke **sedimo-tlou se** se senyago meago
'It is the whirlwind that destructs the buildings'

3.2.2.4 Root and stem in the compound

The nominal stem [NST] that may appear with a noun class prefix may consist only of a nominal root [N^R] or the stem may have a root with another affix such as a

diminutive affix **-ana**. The following possibilities appear in the two nouns that form a nominal compound:

Noun root + noun root

Each of the two nouns that form a compound, besides the noun class prefix, has a root. The examples are the following:

- (31) a. Ngwale-badimo (Natural holes) (root: **-ale** and **-dimo**)
b. Boroko-lehu (Deep sleep) (root: **-roko** and **-hu**)

Noun stem + noun root

The first noun of the compound consists of a stem that is made up of a root plus diminutive **-ana** while the second noun consists of only a root. The following examples will illustrate such compound nouns in Northern Sotho:

- (32) a. **Lapana-bjang** (Small lawn yard) (**-lapa-+-ana, -ang**)
b. **Ntlwana-ntlo** (Grave) (**ntlo-+-ana, -ntlo**)
c. **Leotwana-melaka** (Dishonest person) (**-oto-+-ana, -laka**)

Noun root + noun stem

The first noun of the compound consists of only a root whereas the second noun consists of a stem that is made up of a root plus diminutive suffix **-ana**. This is shown in the following examples:

- (33) a. **Moobu-putšane** (Hornet/wasp)
b. **Mma-lehufane** (Jealous person)
c. **Nkhwa-mabejana** (Grown-up girl/marriageable girl)
d. **Tšhwene-boruthwana** (Humble person)
e. **Dipheta-metsana** (Unknown place)

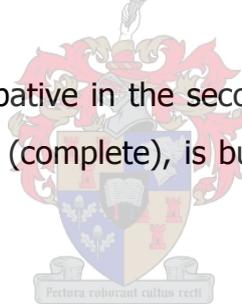
In (33a), for example, the stem in the second noun of the compound is **pudi** (goat) plus diminutive suffix **-ana** > **putšane** (small goat).

Noun root + verbal root

The first noun of the compound consists of only a root while the second noun consists of a deverbative that is made up of a verbal root plus affix as in the following examples:

- (34)
- | | | |
|----|-----------------------|--------------------|
| a. | Mosela-phetho | (Perfect suffix) |
| b. | Lebati-theledi | (Sliding door) |
| c. | Kgoro-toka | (Court of justice) |
| d. | Tema-theto | (Stanza) |
| e. | Tsela-palo | (Number system) |

In (34a), for example, the deverbative in the second noun **phetho** (perfect), which is derived from the verb **phetha** (complete), is built up of a verbal root **-pheth-** and affix **-o**.



Verbal root + noun root

The first noun of the verb consists of a deverbative whereas the second noun consists of only a root:

- (35)
- | | | |
|----|-----------------------|---------------------------|
| a. | Lediri-setlogo | (Simple verb) |
| b. | Leswao-dikga | (Punctuation mark) |
| c. | Sejo-mmele | (Food for the body) |
| d. | Padi-histori | (Historical novel) |
| e. | Tshenyo-ina | (Defamation of character) |

In (35a), for example, the deverbative in the first noun **lediri** (verb), which is derived from the verb **dira** (do), is made up of a verbal root **-dir-** and affix **-i**.

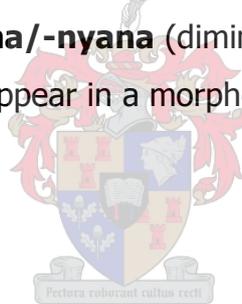
Verbal root + verbal root

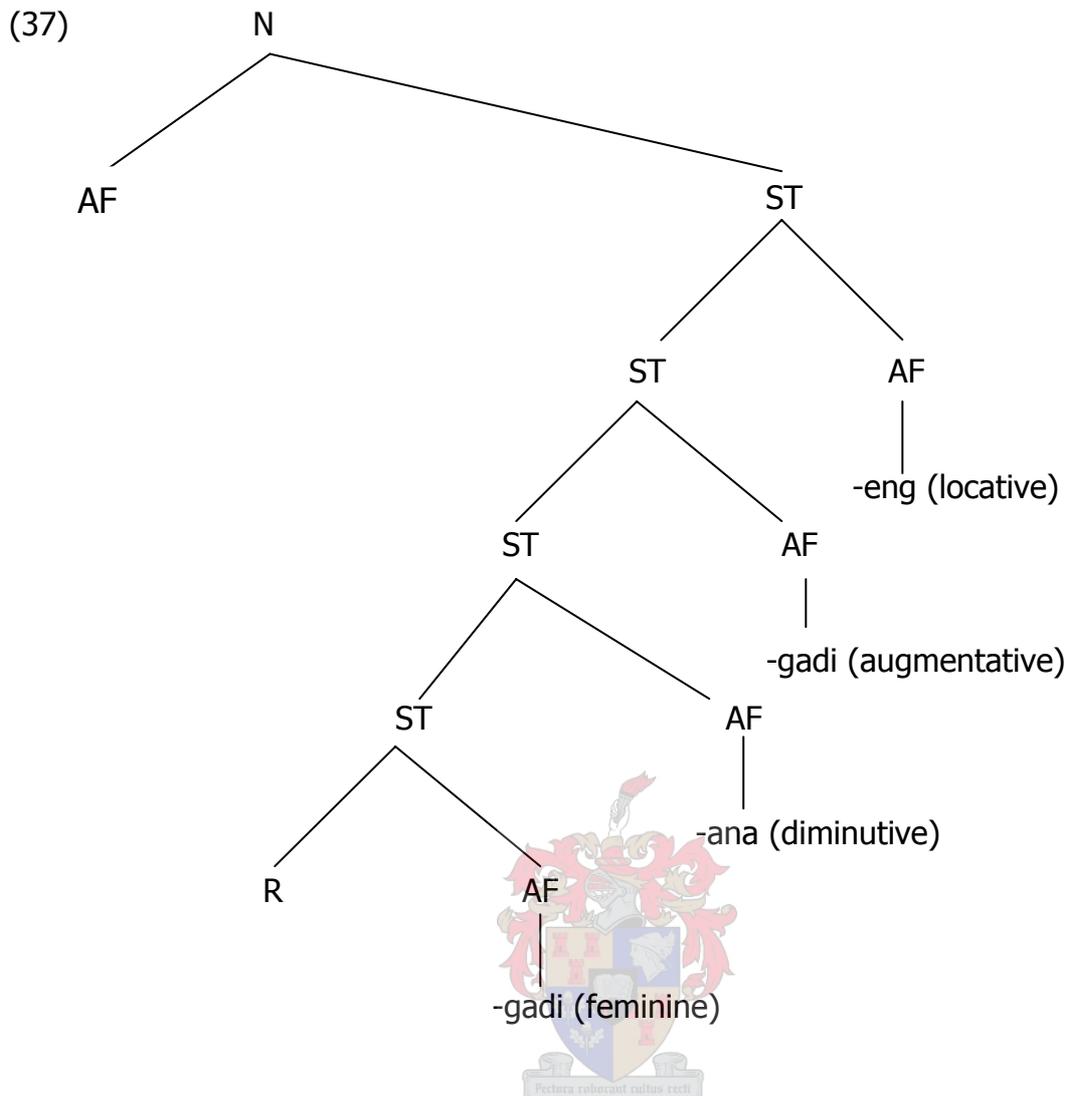
Each of the two nouns that form a compound has only a verbal root. This is applied in the following examples:

- (36) a. **Lešupi-leba** (Demonstrative copulative)
b. **Segalo-tlwaelo** (Normal tone)
c. **Seno-tagī** (Alcoholic drink)
d. **Polelo-theto** (Praise speech)
e. **Popo-polelo** (Grammar)

3.2.2.5 Nominal suffixes with compounds

There are a number of suffixes that may appear with nouns in Northern Sotho, i.e., the suffixes **-gadi** (feminine), **-ana/-nyana** (diminutive), **-gadi** (augmentative) and **-eng** (locative). These suffixes appear in a morphological structure such as the following:





The problem that will be investigated in this section is the probable occurrence of these suffixes with compound nouns. Two issues will be considered: may these suffixes appear with compound nouns, and, if so, will they appear with the first or second noun in the NN compound.

The feminine suffix -gadi

Compound nouns in Northern Sotho do not accept this suffix:

- (38)
- | | | |
|----|----------------------------------|--------------------------|
| a. | *Mohwelere-tšhipi-+- gadi | (Female red bush-willow) |
| b. | *Khudu-koma-+- gadi | (Female tortoise) |
| c. | *Leeba-kgotho-+- gadi | (Female rock pigeon) |
| d. | *Moobu-kgomo-+- gadi | (Female big wasp) |

- e. *Mohlohlo-pudi-+-**gadi** (Female green grasshopper)

The augmentative suffix -gadi

The augmentative suffix **-gadi** has the same form as the feminine suffix **-gadi** but they differ in meaning as well as morphological position within the noun. Compound nouns readily accept the augmentative suffix and this suffix always appears with the second noun in the compound:

- (39) a. Mohwelere-tšhipi-+-**gadi** (Big red bush-willow)
b. Nama-mmele-+-**gadi** (Big body)
c. Mokgoši-sello-+-**gadi** (Big lamentation)
d. Lebati-theledi-+-**gadi** (Big sliding door)

In the above examples, the second nouns have taken the augmentative affix **-gadi**. The same principle applies in the following examples:

- (40) a. Pheko-lerato-+-**gadi** (Big charm for love)
b. Sejo-mmele-+-**gadi** (Big food for the body)
c. Bofegelo-toulo-+-**gadi** (Big towel roller)
d. Lethabo-sello-+-**gadi** (Big comitragedy)
e. Sejo-tekanywa-+-**gadi** (Big balanced diet)
f. Tloo-make-+-**gadi** (Big peanut)

The diminutive suffixes -ana/-nyana

The diminutive suffix may also appear with compound nouns and in such cases the suffix will occur with the second noun in the compound:

The suffix **-ana**:

- (41) a. Leeba-kgotho-+-**ana** > leebakgothwana (Small rock pigeon)

- b. Moobu-kgomo-+-**ana** > moobukgongwana (Small wasp)
- c. Sejo-mmele-+-**ana** > sejommejana (Small food for the body)

The suffix **-nyana**:

- (42)
- a. Pheko-lerato-+-**nyana** > phekoleratonyana (Small charm for love)
 - b. Mohwelere-tšhipi-+-**nyana** > mohweleretšhipinyana
(Small red bush-willow)
 - c. Mohlohlo-pudi-+-**nyana** > mohlohlopudinyana (Small green
grasshopper)
 - d. Leeba-kgotho-+-**nyana** > leebakgothonyana (Small rock pigeon)
 - e. Moobu-kgomo-+-**nyana** > moobukgomonyana (Small wasp)
 - f. Sejo-mmele-+-**nyana** > sejommelenyana (Small food for the body)

The locative suffix -eng

The locative suffix **-eng** also appears with compound nouns and always with the second noun in the compound, e.g.:

- (43) Lenane-thuto-+-**ng** > lenanethutong (In the curriculum/syllabus)

In (43), the compound noun **lenane-thuto** (curriculum/syllabus) has been affixed with locative suffix **-(e)ng** to form a locative compound noun **lenane-thuto-ng** (in the curriculum/syllabus). The same is also true of the following locative compound nouns:

- (44)
- a. Mohlohlo-pudi-+-**ng** (On the green grasshopper)
 - b. Leeba-kgotho-+-**ng** (On the rock pigeon)
 - c. Moobu-kgomo-+-**ng** (On the big wasp)
 - d. Sejo-mmele-+-**ng** (In the food for the body)

The locative preposition **go** may appear in place of the affix **-eng**:

- (45) Ba fošitše dithoka tša bona [pp **go** [kolobe-sodi]]
'They threw their knobkerries at/to the wild pig'

3.2.3 Semantic relations

The aim of this section is to establish whether there is any semantic relationship between the two nouns in a compound, i.e., a relation or connection between the two nouns that depend on each other in a certain way. Only endocentric compounds will be considered because such compounds have heads (i.e., the first noun in the compound) and a semantic relation may then be possible between the head and the second noun. Exocentric compounds will not be considered because it is not possible to establish their heads.

The following semantic relations have been established between [NN] compounds in Northern Sotho:



Associative relation

In the associative relation between the two nouns in an endocentric compound, there is some connection or combination in meaning between the two nouns in which these two nouns are then associated with each other.

[NN]: Non-derived nouns

- (46) a. **More-mootlwa** (Thorny tree): The relation between **more** and mootlwa can be expressed by the associative **with**; the head noun is **more** (tree) which is modified by **mootlwa** (thorn), i.e., a tree which has a thorn (a tree with a thorn).
- b. **Lefoko-thaka** (Co-ordinated clause): The relation between **lefoko** and **thaka** can also be expressed by the associative **with**; the head noun is **lefoko** (sentence) which is modified by **thaka** (member of the

same age-group), i.e., the sentence which has a co-ordinated clause (a sentence with a co-ordinated clause).

- c. **Kgomo-naka** (Head of cattle): The relation between **kgomo** and **naka** can as well be expressed by the associative **with**; the head noun is **kgomo** (head of cattle) which is modified by **naka** (horn), i.e., the head of cattle which has horns (the head of cattle with horns).

A list of other compound nouns with the same relation as above examples is as follows:

(47) Mma-bjala	(Shebeen queen)
Mma-bohlale	(Cunning person)
Mma-borokwane	(One who is fond of sleeping)
Mma-ditaba	(Newsmonger/talkative person)
Mma-kotwane	(One-legged person)
Mma-lehufane	(Jealous person)
Mma-leotša	(The woman/one who works with millet)
Mma-maakane	(Liar)
Mma-mariri	(Slow person)
Mma-melao	(Woman lawyer)
Molapo-mphoma	(River/valley with caves)
Moso-bonanana	(Tender bright morning)
Monko-bose	(Sweet/nice smell)
Lapana-bjang	(Small lawn yard)
Ntšu-molodi	(Nice voice/word)
Lepheka-para	(Bar line)
Lesogana-mmele	(Well-built young man)
Mabu-sehlaba	(Porous soil)
Lehutšo-mabokoboko	(Softness of expectations)
Meno-melomo	(Denti-labial)
Seboko-sei	(Silk-worm)
Sekepe-moya	(Airship)

Kgokolo-dintlha	(Ellipse)
Naga-legola	(Open veld)
Nawa-swikiri	(Sugar bean)
Ntlhwa-makhura	([Kind of] flying ant)
Puku-ina	(Register)
Puku-ntšu	(Dictionary)
Tadi-monopo	(Oval striped field-mouse)
Thaba-mollo	(Volcano)
Thabe-hlaodi	(Adjectival clause)
Thabe-hlathi	(Adverbial clause)

[NN]: The second noun is a deverbative

The first noun is an underived one while the second noun is derived from a verb. The associative relation **with** is also present in these compound nouns:

(48) Lentšu-kgoketšo	(Catch phrase)
Lentšu-tšhupo	(Cue)
Maatla-kgogedi	(Power of attraction)
Hlapi-theledi	(Slippery fish)
Pelo-lerato	(True love)
Pelo-thato	(Hearty choice)
Bopelo-hlomogi	(Sympathy/mercy)

[NN]: The first noun is a deverbative

The first noun is derived from a verb whereas the second noun is an underived one. The associative relation **with** is present in these compound nouns:

(49) Mongwaledi-pharephare	(Secretary general)
Padi-histori	(Historical novel)

[NN]: Both nouns are deverbatives

Both nouns, i.e., the first noun and the second noun respectively, are derived from verbs as in the following examples:

- (50) **Lethabo-sello** (Comitragedy)
Seno-tagi (Alcoholic drink)

Possessive relation

[NN]: Non-derived nouns

The following examples indicate the possessive relation **of**:

- (51) a. **Mma-mamepe** (Queen bee): The relation between **mma** and **mamepe** can be expressed by the possessive **of**; the head noun is **mma** (mother) which is modified by **mamepe** (honey comb), i.e., the mother of the honey comb.
- b. **Lengwalo-phahlo** (Consignment note): The relation between **lengwalo** and **phahlo** can be expressed by the possessive **of**; the head noun is **lengwalo** (letter) that is modified by **phahlo** (property), i.e., a letter of consignment.
- c. **Boro-tsogo** (Hand-drill): The relation between **boro** and **-tsogo** can be expressed by the possessive **of**; the head noun is **boro** (drill) that is modified by **-tsogo** (hand), i.e., a drill of hand.

A list of other compound nouns with the same relation as above examples is as follows:

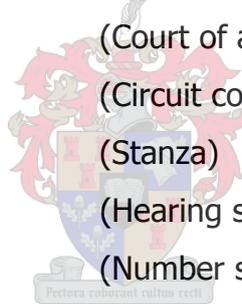
- (52) **Mma-moruti** (Minister's wife)
Mma-ntlhwa (Queen ant)
Mma-ntlo (Mother of the house)

Morwa-motho	(Son of Man)
Morwa-Ngwato	(Son of Ngwato)
Mong-bodiba	(Big water creature)
Mong-lapa	(Household owner)
Mong-mabu	(Land owner)
Mong-motse	(Chief)
Morwa-rre	(Brother)
Ngwana-mma	(Mother's child)
Mola-tšatši	(Tropic)
Lebatla-badimo	(Gods' place)
Lehlathi-felo	(Adverb of place)
Lehlathi-mokgwa	(Adverb of manner)
Lehlathi-nako	(Adverb of time)
Lenane-dintlha	(Log)
Lenane-kgobadi	(Injury list)
Lenane-medu	(Root system)
Lenane-puku	(Book list)
Tšatši-kgwedi	(Date of the month)
Maatla-kerese	(Candle power)
Maatla-meetse	(Water power)
Maatla-pere	(Horse-power)
Maatla-tšhukudu	(Rhinoceros power)
Lerothi-sefako	(Hail drop)
Leswao-tsela	(Road sign)
Tsela-dijo	(Alimentary canal)
Tsela-madi	(Blood vessel)

[NN]: The second noun is a deverbative

The possessive relation **of** is also present in the following compounds made up of nouns + deverbatives:

(53) Mma-moruti	(Minister's wife)
Mong-mošomo	(Workowner)
Mosela-phetho	(Perfect suffix)
Mosela-tirwa	(Passive suffix)
Lebaka-kanego	(Narrative tense)
Lenane-mmino	(Repertoire)
Lenane-nošetšo	(Irrigation scheme)
Lenane-thuto	(Curriculum/syllabus)
Lenane-papadi	(Fixture)
Lenane-theko	(Price list)
Lenane-thero	(Agenda)
Lenane-tiro	(Roster/timetable)
Lenane-tlhopho	(Grading system)
Kgoro-toka	(Court of justice)
Kgotla-boipiletšo	(Court of appeal)
Kgotla-tshepedi	(Circuit court)
Tema-theto	(Stanza)
Tsebe-sekwi	(Hearing sense)
Tsela-palo	(Number system)



[NN]: The first noun is a deverbative

The possessive relation **of** is also present in the following compound nouns:

(54) Molao-tsela	(Rule of the road)
Mmino-mong	(Unique manner of dancing/tune)
Leswao-dikga	(Punctuation mark)
Kgatišo-puku	(Bookprinting)
Petšo-noto	(Hammerthrow)
Theto-gale	(Epic poem)
Thibollo-leleme	(That makes one to talk)
Tshenyo-ina	(Defamation of character)

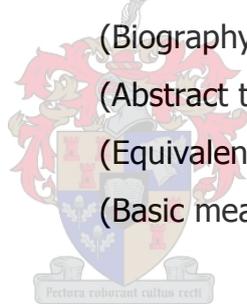
Bofegelo-toulo

(Towel roller)

[NN]: Both nouns are deverbatives

The same relation is present in the following compound nouns:

(55) Leemedi-tšhupi	(Demonstrative)
Sekibo-kgatišo	(Type)
Kanego-phetho	(Historic past tense)
Katlego-kgwebo	(Prosperity)
Kgopolo-konalo	(Worn out thought/idea)
Polelo-theto	(Praise speech)
Popego-polelo	(Morphology)
Popo-polelo	(Grammar)
Taodišo-phelo	(Biography)
Thuto-segopolwa	(Abstract teaching)
Tlhathollo-tekano	(Equivalent meaning)
Tlhathollo-theo	(Basic meaning)



Identificative relation

In an identificative relation, the one noun in the compound is identified with the other noun. The following compound nouns show the identificative relation **is**:

- (56) a. **Moobu-kgomo** (Large wasp): The relation between **moobu** and **kgomo** can be expressed by the identificative **is**; the head noun is **moobu** (wasp) which is modified by **kgomo** (head of cattle), i.e., the wasp which looks like a head of cattle.
- b. **Leino-selepe** (Tooth like axe): The relation between **leino** and **selepe** can be expressed by the identificative **is**; the head noun is **leino** (tooth) which is modified by **selepe** (axe), i.e., the tooth which looks like an axe.

- c. **Ntši-tsetse** (Tsetse fly): The relation between **ntši** and **-tsetse** can be expressed by the identificative **is**; the head noun is **ntši** (fly) that is modified by **-tsetse** (flea), i.e., the fly which looks like a flea.

A list of other compound nouns that have the same relation as above examples is as follows:

- | | |
|--------------------------|-------------------------------------|
| (57) Motho-morogo | (Person who looks like a vegetable) |
| Motho-sebata | (Person who looks like a carnivore) |
| Modu-kala | (Branched root) |
| Modu-kutu | (Adventitious root) |
| Mogopo-kgomo | (Big wooden bowl) |
| Mohwelere-tšhipi | (Red bush-willow) |
| Molodi-todi | (Sweet melody/whistling) |
| Moobu-putšane | (Hornet/wasp) |
| Moropa-kgomo | (Big drum) |
| Leleme-todi | (Sweet/nice/good language) |
| Leme-maphakga | (Different language) |
| Lentswe-tshipi | (Boulder/rock) |
| Ntšu-todi | (Sweet voice/word) |
| Lentšu-tšhipi | (Strong voice/word) |
| Lešokotšo-todi | (Good interest) |
| Meetse-gauta | (Clean water) |
| Meetse-magakwa | (Stagnant water) |
| Seaparo-leswela | (Snow cloth) |
| Setopo-ntotoma | (Big corpse) |
| Khudu-kgomo | (Big tortoise) |
| Naga-kgomo | (Big land/veld/country) |
| Naka-serabana | (Small bag pipe) |
| Nawa-tshuthana | (Dwarf bean) |
| Ntlwana-ntlo | (Grave) |
| Pene-todi | (Sweet/nice/good pen) |

Pudi-kgomo	(Big goat)
Tloo-marapo	(Hard groundnut)
Boreledi-toditodi	(Smoothness/slipperiness of the real honey)

Descriptive relation

In a descriptive relation, a person, an animal or a thing is described or portrayed.

[NN]: Non-derived nouns

The descriptive relation **is** can be indicated by the following endocentric compounds:

- (58) a. **Mma-moneanya** (One who often causes a fight/quarrel): The relation between **mma** and **moneanya** can be expressed by the descriptive **is**; the head noun is **mma** (mother) which is modified by **moneanya** (troublesome somebody), i.e., the one who is troublesome.
- b. **Seboko-phehli** (Stalk-borer): The relation between **seboko** and **phehli** can be expressed by the descriptive **is**; the head noun is **seboko** (worm) that is modified by **phehli** (borer), i.e., the worm that is a borer.
- c. **Pitša-nthetebudi** (Round clay pot): The relation between **pitša** and **nthetebudi** can be expressed by the descriptive **is**; the head noun is **pitša** (pot) which is modified by **nthetebudi** (round object), i.e., the pot which is round.

Some examples of other compound nouns that have the descriptive relation are the following:

- (59) **Modimo-Morwa** (God the Son)
Modimo-Tate (God the Father)
Mobu-lefase (World)
Mogala-tšhika (Nerve)

Mmu-bohla	(Sour soil)
Leswika-motheo	(Foundation stone)
Meetse-koma	(Secret water)
Galase-phaphathi	(Sheetglass)
Khutlo-ntlha	(Acute angle)
Thabe-kutu	(Main clause)
Boima-fefo	(Lightweight)
Boima-fofa	(Featherweight)
Boima-ntši	(Flyweight)
Boima-pampiri	(Paperweight)
Boima-pantamo	(Bantam weight)
Bolele-buka	Algae which is arranged like pages of a book)

[NN]: The second noun is a deverbative

The same relation is also present in the compounds formed from nouns and deverbatives as in the following cases:

(60) Mma-mmoledi	(One who speaks at a court case)
Mma-monyefodi	(Someone who speaks ill of/slanders/ blasphemes/reviles/uses uncouth language)
Mma-moratwa	(Favourite)
Mma-sekgethane	(Choosy person)
Morwa-moratwa	(Beloved son)
Molodi-duduetšo	(Whistling sound)
Molomo-phadimo	(Glittering mouth)
Ihlo-kgopolo	(Imaginary eye)
Lebati-theledi	(Sliding door)
Lehlathi-potšišo	(Interrogative adverb)
Leina-kgopolo	(Abstract noun)
Leina-leadingwa	(Borrowed noun)
Seboko-segi	(Cut-worm)

Sekepe-gogi	(Tug)
Dinaga-kopano	(United states)
Noto-thuši	(Adjunct note)

[NN]: The first noun is a deverbative

Compounds made up of deverbatives and nouns also have the same relation as in the following examples:

(61) Lediri-setlogo	(Simple verb)
Lerato-koma	(Secret love)
Kotamo-bosele	(Soft landing)

[NN]: Both nouns are deverbatives

Descriptive relation is also present in compounds formed from deverbatives and deverbatives as in the following instances:

(62) Molao-kakanywa	(Bill)
Lešupi-leba	(Demonstrative copulative)
Segalo-theo	(Basic tone)
Segalo-tlwaelo	(Normal tone)
Sejo-tekanywa	(Balanced diet)
Polelo-pegelo	(Indirect speech)
Pono-nagano	(Imaginary vision)

[NN]: Co-ordinate compounds

As in the following examples, co-ordinate compounds are also included in this relation:

(63) Mogokgo-keledi	(Tear)
Leeba-mphepane	(Rameron dove)
Sediba-mothopo	(Deep spring)
Fariki-kolobe	(Pig)
Tloo-make	(Peanut)

Source relation

The concept 'source' can be described as the object from which motion proceeds. Watson (1976:1059) defines a source as a place or a thing from which or a person from whom something is moved or taken.

Some examples of endocentric compounds that have the source relation **from** are the following:

- (64) a. **Mogala-watle** (Cablegram): The relation between **mogala** and **-watle** can be expressed by the source **from**; the head noun is **mogala** (telephone) which is modified by **-watle** (ocean), i.e., a telephone which is from across the ocean.
- b. **Lehlaka-noka** (River reed): The relation between **lehlaka** and **noka** can be expressed by the source **from**; the head noun is **lehlaka** (reed) which is modified by **noka** (river), i.e., a reed which is from the river.
- c. **Sebjana-tsopa** (Earthenware pot): The relation between **sebjana** and **-tsopa** can be expressed by the source **from**; the head noun is **sebjana** (dish) which is modified by **-tsopa** (clay), i.e., the dish which is made from clay.

Few examples of the other compound nouns with the same relation as above are the following:

(65) Ntšu-sennana	(Voice that comes from one who does acts of a small/little man)
Kgogo-naka	(Moorhen)
Kolobe-moru	(Wild boar)
Kolobe-sodi	(Wild pig)
Kuku-hlapi	(Fishcake)
Kuku-nama	(Meatpie)
Noto-kota	(Mallet)
Saga-tšhipi	(Iron-saw)
Tladi-mothwana	Lightning sent by one person to the other)

Location relation

This relation refers to anything that is contained by or placed physically so as to be surrounded by something.

[NN]: Non-derived nouns



The relation can be seen in the following compounds:

- (66) a. **Mpholo-madi** (Blood poisoning): The relation between **mpholo** and **madi** can be expressed by the location **in**; the head noun is **mpholo** (poison) which is modified by **madi** (blood), i.e., the poison which is in the blood.
- b. **Leboa-bohlabela** (North-east): The relation between **leboa** and **bohlabela** can be expressed by the location **in**; the head noun is **leboa** (north) which is modified by **bohlabela** (east), i.e., the north which is in the east.
- c. **Sebata-šoka** (Wild animal): The relation between **sebata** and **-šoka** can be expressed by the location **in**; the head noun is **sebata** (carnivore) which is modified by **-šoka** (bush), i.e., the carnivore which is in the bush.

Some examples of the other compound nouns with the same relation as above are the following:

(67) Sebata-meetse	(Carnivore that lives in the water)
Sethokgwa-thaba	(Mountainous forest)
Kgomo-boleke	(Bully beef)
Nama-bolekana	(Canned meat)
Polo-meetse	(Leguan)
Tsela-rapa	(Garden route)
Borwa-bohlabela	(South-east)

[NN]: The second noun is a deverbative

The location relation **in** is also present in compounds formed from nouns and deverbatives as in the following examples:

(68) Leboa-bodikela	(North-west)
Leboa-bohlabela	(North-east)
Lentsu-toro	(Word/voice in a dream)
Boima-phetano	(Catch weight)

Top-location relation

This relation refers to something that is supported or suspended by the other like in the following example:

- (69) **Pala-monwana** (Ring (on finger)): The relation between **pala** and **monwana** can be expressed by the top location **on**; the head noun is **pala** (mark) which is modified by **monwana** (finger), i.e., the ring which is on the finger.

Purposive relation

[NN]: The second noun is a deverbative

The compounds that have this relation include the following examples:

- (70) a. **Ntlo-bojelo** (Dining hall): The relation between **ntlo** and **bojelo** can be expressed by the purposive **for**; the head noun is **ntlo** (house) which is modified by **bojelo** (eating place), i.e., the place for eating.
- b. **Pheko-lerato** (Charm for love): The relation between **pheko** and **lerato** can be expressed by the purpose **for**; the head noun is **pheko** (charm) which is modified by **lerato** (love), i.e., charm for love.
- c. **Puku-pokanyo** (Album): The relation between **puku** and **pokanyo** can be expressed by the purpose **for**; the head noun is **puku** (book) which is modified by **pokanyo** (assembling), i.e., a book for keeping autographs, photographs, stamps, etc., in.

The following example has the similar relation like above examples:

- (71) **Thapo-tekanywa** (Measuring tape)



[NN]: The first noun is a deverbative

The same relation occurs in the following examples:

- (72) **Sejo-mmele** (Food for the body)
Kwelano-bohloko (Sympathy for one another)
Kwelo-bohloko (Sympathy)

Comparative relation

The term 'comparative' is the adjective derived from the verb 'compare' which means

'to examine (two or more things) in order to discover their likenesses or differences'.

[NN]: The second noun is a deverbative

The following compound indicates the truth of the matter:

- (73) **Mokgoši-sello** (Lamentation): The relation between **mokgoši** and **sello** can be expressed by the comparative **like**; the head noun is **mokgoši** (shouting) which is modified by **sello** (crying), i.e., the shouting which is like crying.

3.2.4 Semantic features

The compound nouns that have two nouns will be analyzed below according to a general scheme of semantic features that are present in non-compound nouns.

Humans

The following examples of compound nouns refer to human beings or people:



Endocentric compounds

- (74) Class 1a/2a: **Mma-bjala** (Bomma-bjala) (Shebeen queen). Derivation: **Mma** (cl. 1a, mother), **bjala** (cl. 14, beer).

Class 1a/2a: **Mma-bohlale** (Bomma-bohlale) (Cunning person). Derivation: **Mma** (cl. 1a, mother), **bohlale** (cl. 14, wisdom).

Class 1a/2a: **Mma-borokwane** (Bomma-borokwane) (One who is fond of sleeping). Derivation: **Mma** (cl. 1a, mother), **borokwane** (cl. 14, little sleep).

Class 1a/2a: **Mma-ditaba** (Bomma-ditaba) (Newsmonger/talkative person).

Derivation: **Mma** (cl. 1a, mother), **ditaba** (cl. 10, news).

Class 1a/2a: **Mma-kotwane** (Bomma-kotwane) (One-legged person).

Derivation: **Mma** (cl. 1a, mother), **kotwane** (cl. 9, black leg).

Class 1a/2a: **Mma-lehufane** (Bomma-lehufane) (Jealous person).

Derivation: **Mma** (cl. 1a, mother), **lehufane** (cl. 5, some jealousy).

Class 1a/2a: **Mma-leotša** (Bomma-leotša) (Woman/one who works with millet). Derivation: **Mma** (cl. 1a, mother), **leotša** (cl. 5, millet).

Class 1a/2a: **Mma-maakane** (Bomma-maakane) (Liar). Derivation: **Mma** (cl. 1a, mother), **maakane** (cl. 6, small lies).

Class 1a/2a: **Mma-mariri** (Bomma-mariri) (Slow person). Derivation: **Mma** (cl. 1a, mother), **mariri** (cl. 6, slowness).

Class 1a/2a: **Mma-melao** (Bomma-melao) (Woman lawyer). Derivation: **Mma** (cl. 1a, mother), **melao** (cl. 4, laws).

Class 1a/2a: **Mma-moruti** (Bomma-moruti) (Minister's wife). Derivation: **Mma** (cl. 1a, mother), **moruti** (cl. 1, minister).

Class 1a/2a: **Mma-moneanya** (Bomma-moneanya) (One who often causes fight/quarrel). Derivation: **Mma** (cl. 1a, mother), **moneanya** (cl. 1, troublesome somebody).

Class 1a/2a: **Mma-ntlo** (Bomma-ntlo) (Mother of the house). Derivation: **Mma** (cl. 1a, mother), **ntlo** (cl. 9, house).

Class 1a/2a: **Morwa-motho** (Bomorwa-motho) (Son of Man). Derivation: **Morwa** (cl. 1, son), **motho** (cl. 1, person).

Class 1a/2a: **Morwa-Ngwato** (Bomorwa-Ngwato) (Ngwato's son). Derivation: **Morwa** (cl. 1, son), **Ngwato** (cl. 1a, Ngwato).

Class 1/2: **Mong-lapa** (Beng-lapa) (Household owner). Derivation: **Mong** (cl. 1, owner), **-lapa** without its prefix (cl. 5, household).

Class 1/2: **Mong-mabu** (Beng-mabu) (Land owner). Derivation: **Mong** (cl. 1, owner), **mabu** (cl. 6, soil).

Class 1/2: **Mong-motse** (Beng-metse) (Chief). Derivation: **Mong** (cl. 1, owner), **motse** (cl. 3, village).

Class 1/2: **Morwa-rre** (Barwa-rre) (Brother). Derivation: **Morwa** (cl. 1, son), **rre** (cl. 1a, father).

Class 1/2: **Motho-morogo** (Batho-morogo) (Person who looks like a vegetable). Derivation: **Motho** (cl. 1, person), **morogo** (cl. 3, vegetable).

Class 1/2: **Motho-sebata** (Batho-dibata) (Person who looks like a carnivore). Derivation: **Motho** (cl. 1, person), **sebata** (cl. 7, carnivore).

Class 1/2: **Ngwana-mma** (Bana-mma) (Mother's child). Derivation: **Ngwana** (cl. 1, child), **mma** (cl. 1a, mother).

Class 5/6: **Lesogana-mmele** (Masogana-mmele) (well-built young man). Derivation: **Lesogana** (cl. 5, young man), **mmele** (cl. 3, body).

Class 7/8: **Setopo-ntotoma** (Ditopo-ntotoma) (Big corpse). Derivation: **Setopo** (cl. 7, corpse), **ntotoma** (cl. 9, heap).

Exocentric compounds

(75) Class 1a/2a: **Kgagara-tšhwene** (Bokgagara-tšhwene) (Provocative person).
Derivation: **Kgagara** (cl. 9, divining bone), **tšhwene** (cl. 9, baboon).

Class 1a/2a: **Mare-ntlha** (Bomare-ntlha) (Greedy person). Derivation: **Mare** (cl. 6, saliva), **ntlha** (cl. 9, point).

Class 1a/2a: **Mma-kwena** (BoMma-kwena) (Name of a person). Derivation: **Mma** (cl. 1a, mother), **kwena** (cl. 9, crocodile).

Class 1a/2a: **Mma-lelengwana** (Bomma-lelengwana) (Talkative woman).
Derivation: **Mma** (cl. 1a, mother), **lelengwana** (cl. 5, small tongue).

Class 1a/2a: **Mma-lenawana** (Bomma-lenawana) (One who travels widely).
Derivation: **Mma** (cl. 1a, mother), **lenawana** (cl. 5, small foot).

Class 1a/2a: **Mma-meriri** (BoMma-meriri) (Name of a person). Derivation: **Mma** (cl. 1a, mother), **meriri** (cl. 4, hair).

Class 1a/2a: **Mma-mphokhu** (BoMma-mphokhu) (Name of a person).
Derivation: **Mma** (cl. 1a, mother), **mphokhu** (cl. 9, blind person).

Class 1a/2a: **Mma-banenyana** (Bomma-banenyana) (Boy who likes girls).
Derivation: **Mma** (cl. 1a, mother), **banenyana** (cl. 2, girls).

Class 1a/2a: **Mma-ditsela** (Bomma-ditsela) (Mediator). Derivation: **Mma** (cl. 1a, mother), **ditsela** (cl. 10, roads).

Class 1a/2a: **Mma-kgomo** (BoMma-kgomo) (Name of a person). Derivation: **Mma** (cl. 1a, mother), **kgomo** (cl. 9, head of cattle).

Class 1a/2a: **Mma-koma** (BoMma-koma) (Name of a person). Derivation: **Mma** (cl. 1a, mother), **koma** (cl. 9, initiation school).

Class 1a/2a: **Mma-madingwane** (Bomma-madingwane) (One occupying high position). Derivation: **Mma** (cl. 1a, mother), **madingwane** (cl. 6, stinging nettle/species of bush the leaves of which produce juice which causes itching or burning).

Class 1a/2a: **Mma-noko** (BoMma-noko) (Name of a person). Derivation: **Mma** (cl. 1a, mother), **noko** (cl. 9, joint/porcupine).

Class 1a/2a: **Mma-paki** (Bomma-paki) (Suspicious-looking person). Derivation: **Mma** (cl. 1a, mother), **paki** (cl. 9, witness).

Class 1a/2a: **Mma-pelo** (Bomma-pelo) (Wilful person). Derivation: **Mma** (cl. 1a, mother), **pelo** (cl. 9, heart).

Class 1a/2a: **Mma-phuti** (BoMma-phuti) (Name of a person). Derivation: **Mma** (cl. 1a, mother), **phuti** (cl. 9, duiker).

Class 1a/2a: **Mma-pitsi** (BoMma-pitsi) (Name of a person). Derivation: **Mma** (cl. 1a, mother), **pitsi** (cl. 9, zebra).

Class 1a/2a: **Mma-tsebe** (BoMma-tsebe) (Name of a person). Derivation: **Mma** (cl. 1a, mother), **tsebe** (cl. 9, ear).

Class 1a/2a: **Mma-tšhipi** (BoMma-tšhipi) (Name of a person). Derivation: **Mma** (cl. 1a, mother), **tšhipi** (cl. 9, iron/bell).

Class 1a/2a: **Naka-phala** (BoNaka-phala) (Name of a group of people). Derivation: **Naka** (cl. 9, a star said to appear in winter/canopus), **phala** (cl. 9, impala).

Class 1a/2a: **Nkhwa-mabejana** (Bonkhwa-mabejana) (Grown-up girl/marriageable girl). Derivation: **Nkhwa** (cl. 9, inheritance), **mabejana** (cl. 6, little grains).

Class 1a/2a: **Phahla-dira** (BoPhahla-dira) (Surname). Derivation: **Phahla** (cl. 9, open space (e.g., between trees/people/buildings)/a vacancy), **dira** (cl. 8, armies/enemies).

Class 1a/2a: **Phahla-kwena** (BoPhahla-kwena) (Name of a person). Derivation: **Phahla** (cl. 9, open space (e.g., between trees/people/buildings)/a vacancy), **kwena** (cl. 9, crocodile).

Class 5/6: **Legora-poto** (Magora-poto) (Rogue). Derivation: **Legora** (cl. 5, hedge/stockade fence (not wire)/barrier), **poto** (cl. 9, pot).

Class 5/6: **Leotwana-melaka** (Maotwana-melaka) (Dishonest person). Derivation: **Leotwana** (cl. 5, small foot/wheel), **melaka** (cl. 6, discharges from the eyes).



Class 9/10: **Thola-boreledi** (Dithola-boreledi) (Pretender). Derivation: **Thola** (cl. 9, bitter apple (berry)), **boreledi** (cl. 14, smoothness/slipperiness/deceitful).

Class 9/10: **Tšhwene-boruthwana** (Ditšhwene-boruthwana) (Humble person). Derivation: **Tšhwene** (cl. 9, baboon), **boruthwana** (cl. 14, little bit warm).

Nouns + deverbatives

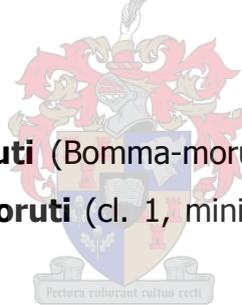
(76) Class 1a/2a: **Mma-mmoledi** (Bomma-mmoledi) (One who speaks at a court case). Derivation: **Mma** (cl. 1a, mother), **mmoledi** (cl. 1, speaker), derived from the verb **bolela** (speak).

Class 1a/2a: **Mma-monyefodi** (Bomma-monyefodi) (Someone who speaks ill of/slanders/blasphemes/reviles/uses uncouth language).

Derivation: **Mma** (cl. 1a, mother), **monyefodi** (cl. 1, someone who speaks ill of/slanders/blasphemes/reviles/uses uncouth language), derived from the verb **nyefola** (speak ill of/slander/blaspheme/revile/use uncouth language).

Class 1a/2a: **Mma-moratwa** (Bomma-moratwa) (Favourite). Derivation: **Mma** (cl. 1a, mother), **moratwa** (cl. 1, loved one), derived from the passive verb **ratwa** (loved).

Class 1a/2a: **Mma-moruti** (Bomma-moruti) (Minister's wife). Derivation: **Mma** (cl. 1a, mother), **moruti** (cl. 1, minister), derived from the verb **ruta** (teach).



Class 1a/2a: **Mma-sekgethane** (Bomma-sekgethane) (Choosy person). Derivation: **Mma** (cl. 1a, mother), **sekgethane** (cl. 7, one who chooses), derived from the reciprocal verb **kgethana** (choose each other).

Class 1a/2a: **Morwa-moratwa** (Bomorwa-moratwa) (Beloved son). Derivation: **Morwa** (cl. 1, son), **moratwa** (cl. 1, loved one), derived from the passive verb **ratwa** (loved).

Class 1/2: **Mong-mošomo** (Beng-mošomo) (Workowner). Derivation: **Mong** (cl. 1, owner), **mošomo** (cl. 3, work), derived from the verb **šoma** (work).

Deverbative + noun

- (77) Class 1/2: **Mongwaledi-pharephare** (Bangwaledi-pharephare) (General secretary). Derivation: **Mongwaledi** (cl. 1, secretary), derived from the applied verb **ngwalela** (write for), **pharephare** (cl. 9, greatness/standing).

Animals

All the examples of compound nouns in this section refer to animals:

Endocentric compounds

- (78) Class 1a/2a: **Mma-mamepe** (Bomma-mamepe) (Queen bee). Derivation: **Mma** (cl. 1a, mother), **mamepe** (cl. 6, honey comb).

Class 1a/2a: **Mma-ntlhwa** (Bomma-ntlhwa) (Queen ant). Derivation: **Mma** (cl. 1a, mother), **ntlhwa** (cl. 9, flying ant).

Class 1/2: **Mong-bodiba** (Beng-bodiba) (Big water creature). Derivation: **Mong** (cl. 1, owner), **bodiba** (cl. 14, depth/pool).

Class 3/4: **Moobu-kgomo** (Meobu-kgomo) (Large wasp). Derivation: **Moobu** (cl. 3, wasp), **kgomo** (cl. 9, head of cattle).

Class 3/4: **Moobu-putšane** (Meobu-putšane) (Hornet/wasp). Derivation: **Moobu** (cl. 3, wasp), **putšane** (cl. 9, small goat).

Class 7/8: **Sebata-meetse** (Dibata-meetse) (Carnivore which lives in the water). Derivation: **Sebata** (cl. 7, carnivore), **meetse** (cl. 6, water).

Class 7/8: **Sebata-šoka** (Dibata-šoka) (Wild animal). Derivation: **Sebata** (cl. 7, carnivore), **-šoka** without its prefix (cl. 5, bush).

Class 7/8: **Seboko-phehli** (Diboko-phehli) (Stalk-borer). Derivation: **Seboko** (cl. 7, worm), **phehli** (cl. 9, borer).

Class 7/8: **Seboko-sei** (Diboko-sei) (Silk-worm). Derivation: **Seboko** (cl. 7, worm), **sei** (cl. 7, silk).

Class 9/10: **Kgogo-noka** (Dikgogo-noka) (Moorhen). Derivation: **Kgogo** (cl. 9, fowl), **noka** (cl. 9, river).

Class 9/10: **Kgomo-naka** (Dikgomo-naka) (Head of cattle). Derivation: **Kgomo** (cl. 9, head of cattle), **naka** (cl. 9, horn).

Class 9/10: **Khudu-kgomo** (Dikhudu-kgomo) (Big tortoise). Derivation: **Khudu** (cl. 9, tortoise), **kgomo** (cl. 9, head of cattle).

Class 9/10: **Kolobe-moru** (Dikolobe-moru) (Wild boar). Derivation: **Kolobe** (cl. 9, pig), **moru** (cl. 3, forest).

Class 9/10: **Kolobe-sodi** (Dikolobe-sodi) (Wild pig). Derivation: **Kolobe** (cl. 9, pig), **-sodi** without its prefix (cl. 5, bush).

Class 9/10: **Ntlhwa-makhura** (Dintlhwa-makhura) ([Kind of] flying ant). Derivation: **Ntlhwa** (cl. 9, flying ant), **makhura** (cl. 6, fat).

Class 9/10: **Ntši-tsetse** (Dintši-tsetse) (Tsetse fly). Derivation: **Ntši** (cl. 9, fly), **-tsetse** without its prefix (cl. 5, flea).

Class 9/10: **Polo-meetse** (Dipolo-meetse) (Leguan). Derivation: **Polo** (cl. 9, leguan), **meetse** (cl. 6, water).

Class 9/10: **Pudi-kgomo** (Dipudi-kgomo) (Big goat). Derivation: **Pudi** (cl. 9, goat), **kgomo** (cl. 9, head of cattle).

Class 9/10: **Tadi-monopo** (Ditadi-monopo) (Oval striped field-mouse).
Derivation: **Tadi** (cl. 9, striped field-mouse), **monopo** (cl. 3, oval).

Exocentric compounds

(79) Class 1a/2a: **Mma-konokono** (Bomma-konokono) (Thick kind of wood-borer). Derivation: **Mma** (cl. 1a, mother), **konokono** (cl. 9, something which is the right one/something which is the best).

Class 1a/2a: **Mma-mmami** (Bomma-mmami) (Kind of locust). Derivation: **Mma** (cl. 1a, mother), **mmami** (cl. 1, one who flattens by pounding (as a floor)/tamps /clouts).

Class 1a/2a: **Mma-monotswane** (Bomma-monotswane) (Sunbird). Derivation: **Mma** (cl. 1a, mother), **monotswane** (cl. 3, small pod of the **monopo** tree).

Class 1a/2a: **Mma-nkgohlo** (Bomma-nkgohlo) (Cape raven). Derivation: **Mma** (cl. 1a, mother), **nkgohlo** (cl. 9, short and thickset/ stout).

Class 1a/2a: **Mma-seletswana** (Bomma-seletswana) (Mantis). Derivation: **Mma** (cl. 1a, mother), **seletswana** (cl. 7, small axe).

Class 3/4: **Mmutla-kgomo** (Mebutla-kgomo) (Red-hare). Derivation: **Mmutla** (cl. 3, hare), **kgomo** (cl. 9, head of cattle).

Class 3/4: **Mmutla-nakane** (Mebutla-nakane) (Hare which runs straight along the road when chased by dogs). Derivation: **Mmutla** (cl. 3, hare), **-nakane** without its prefix (cl. 1, person of no rank/commoner).

Class 3/4: **Mohlohlo-pudi** (Mehlohlo-pudi) (Green grasshopper). Derivation: **Mohlohlo** (cl. 3, top/ridge), **pudi** (cl. 9, goat).

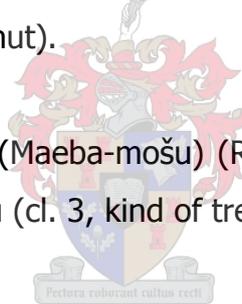
Class 3/4: **Mokgotho-pitsi** (Mekgotho-pitsi) (Yellow-billed hornbill). Derivation: **Mokgotho** (cl. 3, bunch/stipe/stem (as of pumpkin)), **pitsi** (cl. 9, zebra).

Class 5/6: **Leeba-kgotho** (Maeba-kgotho) (Rock pigeon). Derivation: **Leeba** (cl. 5, dove), **kgotho** (cl. 9, gate of a kraal).

Class 5/6: **Leeba-kgwethe** (Maeba-kgwethe) (Laughing dove). Derivation: **Leeba** (cl. 5, dove), **kgwethe** (cl. 9, craving (especially for food)).

Class 5/6: **Leeba-koko** (Maeba-koko) (Laughing dove). Derivation: **Leeba** (cl. 5, dove), **koko** (cl. 9, nut).

Class 5/6: **Leeba-mošu** (Maeba-mošu) (Red-eyed turtle dove). Derivation: **Leeba** (cl. 5, dove), **mošu** (cl. 3, kind of tree).



Class 5/6: **Leeba-rope** (Maeba-rope) (Rock pigeon). Derivation: **Leeba** (cl. 5, dove), **-rope** without its prefix (cl. 5, ruin).

Class 9/10: **Kgogo-badimo** (Dikgogo-badimo) (Cattle egret). Derivation: **Kgogo** (cl. 9, fowl), **badimo** (cl. 2, gods).

Class 9/10: **Kgogo-nokana** (Dikgogo-nokana) (Cattle egret). Derivation: **Kgogo** (cl. 9, fowl), **nokana** (cl. 9, small river).

Class 9/10: **Khudu-koma** (Dikhudu-koma) (Large tortoise). Derivation: **Khudu** (cl. 9, tortoise), **koma** (cl. 9, initiation school).

Class 9/10: **Noga-meetsana** (Dinoga-meetsana) (Earthworm). Derivation: **Noga** (cl. 9, snake), **meetsana** (cl. 6, little water).

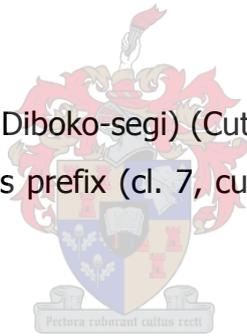
Class 9/10: **Popo-nono** (Dipopo-nono) ([Kind of] bad smelling-beetle). Derivation: **Popo** (cl. 9, creation), derived from the verb **bopa** (create), **nono** (cl. 9, mythological animal/bogey).

Class 9/10: **Tata-kgope** (Ditata-kgope) ([Kind of] yellow locust). Derivation: **Tata** (cl. 1a, father), **kgope** (cl. 9, bachelor).

Class 9/10: **Tlou-bata** (Ditlou-bata) (Big elephant). Derivation: **Tlou** (cl. 9, elephant), **-bata** without its prefix (cl. 7, carnivore).

Nouns + deverbatives

(80) Class 7/8: **Seboko-segi** (Diboko-segi) (Cut-worm). Derivation: **Seboko** (cl. 7, worm), **-segi** without its prefix (cl. 7, cutter), derived from the verb **sega** (cut).



Class 9/10: **Hlapi-theledi** (Dihlapi-theledi) (Slippery fish). Derivation: **Hlapi** (cl. 9, fish), **theledi** (cl. 9, slipperiness), derived from the applied verb **thelela** (slip).

Co-ordinate compounds

(81) Class 5/6: **Leeba-mphepane** (Maeba-mphepane) (Rameron pigeon). Derivation: **Leeba** (cl. 5, dove), and its synonym **mphepane** (cl. 9, emerald-spotted wood dove).

Class 9/10: **Fariki-kolobe** (Difariki-kolobe) (Pig). Derivation: **Fariki** (cl. 9, pig), and its synonym **kolobe** (cl. 9, pig).

Plants

The examples of compound nouns that refer to plants, shrubs and herbs are the following:

Endocentric compounds

(82) Class 3/4: **Modu-kala** (Medu-kala) (Branched root). Derivation: **Modu** (cl. 3, root), **kala** (cl. 9, branch).

Class 3/4: **Modu-kutu** (Medu-kutu) (Adventitious root). Derivation: **Modu** (cl. 3, root), **kutu** (cl. 9, stem).

Class 3/4: **Mohwelere-tšhipi** (Mehwelere-tšhipi) (Red bush-willow). Derivation: **Mohwelere** (cl. 3, velvet-leaf bush-willow), **tšhipi** (cl. 9, iron).

Class 3/4: **More-mootlwa** (Mere-meetlwa) (Thorny tree). Derivation: **More** (cl. 3, tree), **mootlwa** (cl. 3, thorn).

Class 5/6: **Lehlaka-noka** (Mahlaka-noka) (River reed). Derivation: **Lehlaka** (cl. 5, reed), **noka** (cl. 9, river).

Class 5/6: **Lenane-medu** (Manane-medu) (Root system). Derivation: **Lenane** (cl. 5, list), **medu** (cl. 4, roots).

Class 14/6: **Bolele-buka** (Malele-buka) (Algae which is arranged like pages of a book). Derivation: **Bolele** (cl. 14, algae), **buka** (cl. 9, book).

Exocentric compounds

(83) Class 1a/2a: **Khwiti-mohlaka** (Bokhwiti-mohlaka) (Bittern). Derivation: **Khwiti** (cl. 9, (river) bank/mole), **mohlaka** (cl. 3, marshy place/bog/vlei).

Class 1a/2a: **Mma-kwele** (Bomma-kwele) (Kind of tree). Derivation: **Mma** (cl. 1a, mother), **-kwele** without its prefix (cl. 3, kind of bird).

Class 1a/2a: **Mma-mapitsi** (Bomma-mapitsi) (Kind of tree). Derivation: **Mma** (cl. 1a, mother), **Mapitsi** (cl. 6, members of the Mapitsi regiment/name of the regiment).

Class 1a/2a: **Mma-pelwana** (Bomma-pelwana) (Plant: *Alysicarpus rugosus*). Derivation: **Mma** (cl. 1a, mother), **pelwana** (cl. 9, small heart).

Class 1a/2a: **Mma-phulo** (Bomma-phulo) ([Species of the compositae] - *Senecio barbertonicus* Klatt). Derivation: **Mma** (cl. 1a, mother), **phulo** (cl. 9, pasture).

Class 3/4: **Mmilo-rotwane** (Mebilo-rotwane) (Species of tree). Derivation: **Mmilo** (cl. 3, wild medlar), **rotwane** (cl. 9, small male baboon).

Class 3/4: **Modu-hlare** (Medu-hlare) (Species of tree). Derivation: **Modu** (cl. 3, root), **-hlare** without its prefix (cl. 7, tree).

Class 3/4: **Mogala-tladi** (Megala-tladi) ([Species of] tree: *Pelagornium luridum*). Derivation: **Mogala** (cl. 3, telephone), **tladi** (cl. 9, lightning).

Class 3/4: **Mongana-mabele** (Mengana-mabele) (Buffalo-thorn/*Acacia nigrescens*/Knob-thorn). Derivation: **Mongana** (cl. 3, thistle), **mabele** (cl. 6, sorghums).

Class 3/4: **Mosela-phala** (Mesela-phala) (*Acacia permixta*-thorn tree). Derivation: **Mosela** (cl. 3, tail), **phala** (cl. 9, impala).

Class 3/4: **Mphaya-kgomo** (Mefaya-kgomo) ([Species of] wild fig tree). Derivation: **Mphaya** (cl. 3, wild fig tree), **kgomo** (cl. 9, head of cattle).

Class 3/4: **Mphoka-mahwa** (Mefoka-mahwa) ([Species of] thorn tree).
Derivation: **Mphoka** (cl. 3, ear of corn without grain/seed which fails to produce), **mahwa** (cl. 6, inheritences/heritages).

Class 5/6: **Lempate-kgomo** (Mampate-kgomo) (Big devil's thorn).
Derivation: **Lempate** (cl. 5, devil's thorn), **kgomo** (cl. 9, head of cattle).

Class 7/8: **Sekga-pula** (Dikga-pula) ([Kind of] wild tree). Derivation:
Sekga (cl. 7, time/period), **pula** (cl. 9, rain).

Natural phenomena

The following examples of compound nouns are found to refer to natural phenomena:

Endocentric compounds

(84) Class 3/4: **Mobu-lefase** (Mebu-lefase) (World). Derivation: **Mobu** (cl. 3, soil), **lefase** (cl. 5, world).

Class 3/4: **Molapo-mphoma** (Melapo-mphoma) (River/valley with caves).
Derivation: **Molapo** (cl. 3, river/valley), **mphoma** (cl. 3, cave).

Class 3/4: **Mola-tšatši** (Mela-tšatši) (Tropic). Derivation: **Mola** (cl. 3, line), **-tšatši** without its prefix (cl. 5, sun/day).

Class 3/4: **Mmu-bohla** (Mebu-bohla) (Sour soil). Derivation: **Mmu** (cl. 3, soil), **bohla** (cl. 14, sourness).

Class 6: **Maatla-kerese** (Candle power). Derivation: **Maatla** (cl. 6, power), **kerese** (cl. 9, candle).

Class 6: **Maatla-meetse** (Water power). Derivation: **Maatla** (cl. 6, power), **meetse** (cl. 6, water).

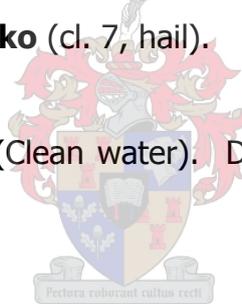
Class 6: **Maatla-pere** (Horsepower). Derivation: **Maatla** (cl. 6, power), **pere** (cl. 9, horse).

Class 6: **Maatla-tšhukudu** (Rhinoceros power). Derivation: **Maatla** (cl. 6, power), **tšhukudu** (cl. 9, rhinoceros).

Class 6: **Mabu-sehlaba** (Porous soil). Derivation: **Mabu** (cl. 6, soil), **sehlaba** (cl. 7, sandy soil).

Class 5/6: **Lerothi-sefako** (Marothi-sefako) (Hail drop). Derivation: **Lerothi** (cl. 5, drop), **sefako** (cl. 7, hail).

Class 6: **Meetse-gauta** (Clean water). Derivation: **Meetse** (cl. 6, water), **gauta** (cl. 9, gold).



Class 6: **Meetse-koma** (Secret water). Derivation: **Meetse** (cl. 6, water), **koma** (cl. 9, initiation school).

Class 6: **Meetse-magakwa** (Stagnant water). Derivation: **Meetse** (cl. 6, water), **magakwa** (cl. 6, crystals).

Class 7/8: **Sethokgwa-thaba** (Dithokgwa-thaba) (Mountainous forest). Derivation: **Sethokgwa** (cl. 7, forest/bush), **thaba** (cl. 9, mountain).

Class 9/10: **Kgokolo-dintlha** (Dikgokolo-dintlha) (Ellipse). Derivation: **Kgokolo** (cl. 9, circle), **dintlha** (cl. 10, ends/points).

Class 9/10: **Khutlo-ntlha** (Dikhutlo-ntlha) (Acute angle). Derivation: **Khutlo** (cl. 9, angle), **ntlha** (cl. 9, end/point).

Class 9/10: **Naga-kgomo** (Dinaga-kgomo) (Big land/veld/country). Derivation: **Naga** (cl. 9, land/veld/country), **kgomo** (cl. 9, head of cattle).

Class 9/10: **Naga-legola** (Dinaga-legola) (Open veld). Derivation: **Naga** (cl. 9, land/veld/country), **legola** (cl. 5, open grass veld).

Class 9/10: **Thaba-mollo** (Dithaba-mollo) (Volcano). Derivation: **Thaba** (cl. 9, mountain), **mollo** (cl. 3, fire).

Class 9/10: **Tladi-mothwana** (Ditladi-mothwana) (Lightning sent by one person to the other). Derivation: **Tladi** (cl. 9, lightning), **mothwana** (cl. 1, small/little person).

Exocentric compounds

(85) Class 1a/2a: **Kgala-tlou** (BoKgala-tlou) (Name of a mountain pass in the Lulu Mountains). Derivation: **Kgala** (cl. 9, crab), **tlou** (cl. 9, elephant).

Class 1a/2a: **Mogala-kwena** (BoMogala-kwena) (Name of a river). Derivation: **Mogala** (cl. 3, telephone), **kwena** (cl. 9, crocodile).

Class 3/4: **Molala-tladi** (Melala-tladi) (Rainbow). Derivation: **Molala** (cl. 3, neck/uncultivated land), **tladi** (cl. 9, lightning).

Class 3/4: **Mola-tsitsi** (Mela-tsitsi) (Something very high or long (e.g., rainbow). Derivation: **Mola** (cl. 3, line), **-tsitsi** without its prefix (cl. 5, kind of drink).

Class 3/4: **More-thetho** (Mere-thetho) (Beat of pulse/rythm). Derivation: **More** (cl. 3, tree/medicine), **thetho** (cl. 9, apron).

Class 5/6: **Lerothi-lodi** (Marothi-lodi) (Drop). Derivation: **Lerothi** (cl. 5, drop), **-lodi** without its prefix (cl. 5, species of climbing plant (used for plaiting ropes)/bark rope).

Class 7/8: **Sedimo-tlou** (Didimo-tlou) (Whirlwind). Derivation: **Sedimo** (cl. 7, offering), **tlou** (cl. 9, elephant).

Class 9/10: **Nthithi-bokwana** (Dinthithi-bokwana) (Something small which is blunt). Derivation: **Nthithi** (cl. 9, stem/stump of tree/foot (of mountain), **-bokwana** without its prefix (cl. 7, maggot).

Nouns + deverbatives

(86) Class 6: **Maatla-kgogedi** (Power of attraction). Derivation: **Maatla** (cl. 6, power), **kgogedi** (cl. 9, attraction), derived from the applied verb **gogela** (draw towards).



Class 14: **Boima-phetano** (Catch weight). Derivation: **Boima** (cl. 14, weight), **phetano** (cl. 9, overtaking each other), derived from the reciprocal verb **fetana** (overtake each other).

Deverbative + noun

(87) Class 3/4: **Mmoti-mmu** (Meboti-mmu) (Pitch). Derivation: **Mmoti** (cl. 1, plasterer), derived from the verb **bota** (plaster), **mmu** (cl. 3, soil).

Co-ordinate compound

- (88) Class 7/8: **Sediba-mothopo** (Didiba-mothopo) (Deep spring). Derivation: **Sediba** (cl. 7, fountain/well/spring), and its synonym **mothopo** (cl. 3, fountain/spring/source).

Natural objects

A few examples of compound nouns that indicate natural objects are the following:

Endocentric compound

- (89) Class 5/6: **Lentswe-tshipi** (Mantswe-tshipi) (Boulder/rock). Derivation: **Lentswe** (cl. 5, voice/word), **tshipi** (cl. 9, iron).

Exocentric compounds

- (90) Class 1/2: **Ngwale-badimo** (Bale-badimo) (Natural holes in rocks). Derivation: **Ngwale** (cl. 1, female initiate), **badimo** (cl. 2, gods).

Class 5/6: **Lentswe-pilo** (Mantswe-pilo) (Graphite (powder)/black wax). Derivation: **Lentswe** (cl. 5, voice/word), **pilo** (cl. 9, black spot).

Class 6: **Matšhatšha-khura** (Something fat). Derivation: **Matšhatšha** (cl. 6, sound of roasting), **-khura** without its prefix (cl. 5, fat).

Body parts

There are also compound nouns that refer to various parts of the body as in the following examples:

Endocentric compounds

(91) Class 3/4: **Mogala-tšhika** (Megala-tšhika) (Nerve). Derivation: **Mogala** (cl. 3, vein/artery), **tšhika** (cl. 9, vein/artery).

Class 5/6: **Leino-selepe** (Meno-dilepe) (Tooth like axe). Derivation: **Leino** (cl. 5, tooth), **selepe** (cl. 7, axe).

Class 6: **Meno-melomo** (Denti-labial). Derivation: **Meno** (cl. 6, teeth), **melomo** (cl. 4, mouths).

Class 9/10: **Tsela-dijo** (Ditsela-dijo) (Alimentary canal). Derivation: **Tsela** (cl. 9, road), **dijo** (cl. 8, foods).

Class 9/10: **Tsela-madi** (Ditsela-madi) (Blood vessel). Derivation: **Tsela** (cl. 9, road), **madi** (cl. 6, blood).



Exocentric compounds

(92) Class 1a/2a: **Mma-ntsogohlo** (Bomma-ntsogohlo) (Left hand). Derivation: **Mma** (cl. 1a, mother), **ntsogohlo** (cl. 9, left hand).

Class 9/10: **Ngana-tsebe** (Dingana-tsebe) (Soft part behind the jaw below the ear). Derivation: **Ngana** (cl. 9, end of cheekbone), **tsebe** (cl. 9, ear).

Class 9/10: **Kgodu-koma** (Dikgodu-koma) (Adam's apple). Derivation: **Kgodu** (cl. 9, liquid from boiled pumpkin/porridge cooked from liquid of boiled pumpkin), **koma** (cl. 9, initiation school).

Class 9/10: **Nama-mmele** (Dinama-mmele) (Body). Derivation: **Nama** (cl. 9, meat), **mmele** (cl. 3, body).

Noun + deverbative

- (93) Class 3/4: **Molomo-phadimo** (Melomo-phadimo) (Glittering mouth).
Derivation: **Molomo** (cl. 3, mouth), **phadimo** (cl. 9, glittering), derived from the verb **phadima** (glitter).

Co-ordinate compound

- (94) Class 3/4: **Mogokgo-keledi** (Megokgo-keledi) (Tear). Derivation: **Mogokgo** (cl. 3, tear), and its synonym **keledi** (cl. 9, tear).

Communication

Compound nouns of information are also available in the Northern Sotho language as in the following examples:

Endocentric compounds

- (95) Class 3/4: **Mogala-watle** (Megala-watle) (Cablegram). Derivation: **Mogala** (cl. 3, telephone), **-watle** without its prefix (cl. 5, ocean).

Class 3/4: **Molodi-todi** (Melodi-todi) (Sweet melody/whistling). Derivation: **Molodi** (cl. 3, melody/whistling), **todi** (cl. 9, honey).

Class 5/6: **Leleme-todi** (Maleme-todi) (Sweet/nice/good language).
Derivation: **Leleme** (cl. 5, language), **todi** (cl. 9, honey).

Class 5/6: **Leme-maphakga** (Maleme-maphakga) (Different language).
Derivation: **-leme** without its prefix (cl. 5, language), **maphakga** (cl. 6, forks (as of tree)/slits/vents).

Class 5/6: **Lenane-dintlha** (Manane-dintlha) (Log). Derivation: **Lenane** (cl. 5, list), **dintlha** (cl. 10, points).

Class 5/6: **Lenane-kgobadi** (Manane-kgobadi) (Injury list). Derivation: **Lenane** (cl. 5, list), **kgobadi** (cl. 9, injury).

Class 5/6: **Lenane-puku** (Manane-puku) (Book list). Derivation: **Lenane** (cl. 5, list), **puku** (cl. 9, book).

Class 5/6: **Lengwalo-phahlo** (Mangwalo-phahlo) (Consignment note). Derivation: **Lengwalo** (cl. 5, letter), **phahlo** (cl. 9, property).

Class 5/6: **Ntšu-molodi** (Mantšu-molodi) (Nice voice/word). Derivation: **-ntšu** without its prefix (cl. 5, voice/word), **molodi** (cl. 3, melody/whistling).

Class 5/6: **Ntšu-sennana** (Mantšu-sennana) (Voice that comes from one who does acts of a small/little man). Derivation: **-ntšu** without its prefix (cl. 5, voice/word), **sennana** (cl. 7, acts of a small/little man).

Class 5/6: **Ntšu-todi** (Mantšu-todi) (Sweet voice/word). Derivation: **-ntšu** without its prefix (cl. 5, voice/word), **todi** (cl. 9, honey).

Class 5/6: **Lentšu-tšhipi** (Mantšu-tšhipi) (Strong voice/word). Derivation: **Lentšu** (cl. 5, voice/word), **tšhipi** (cl. 9, iron).

Class 5/6: **Lešokotšo-todi** (Mašokotšo-todi) (Good interest). Derivation: **Lešokotšo** (cl. 5, interest), **todi** (cl. 9, honey).

Class 9/10: **Puku-ina** (Dipuku-ina) (Register). Derivation: **Puku** (cl. 9, book), **-ina** without its prefix (cl. 5, name).

Class 9/10: **Puku-ntšu** (Dipuku-ntšu) (Dictionary). Derivation: **Puku** (cl. 9, book), **-ntšu** without its prefix (cl. 5, word).

Exocentric compounds

(96) Class 5/6: **Legano-moya** (Magano-moya) (Something said not serious). Derivation: **Legano** (cl. 5, mouth cavity), **moya** (cl. 3, air).

Class 10: **Ditšie-badimo** (Nonsense/rubbish). Derivation: **Ditšie** (cl. 10, locusts), **badimo** (cl. 2, gods).

Nouns + deverbatives

(97) Class 3/4: **Molodi-duduetšo** (Melodi-duduetšo) (Whistling sound). Derivation: **Molodi** (cl. 3, melody/whistling), **-duduetšo** without its prefix (cl. 3, sound), derived from the verb **duduetša** (make sound).

Class 3/4: **Mosela-phetho** (Mesela-phetho) (Perfect suffix). Derivation: **Mosela** (cl. 3, suffix), **phetho** (cl. 9, perfect), derived from the verb **phetha** (complete).

Class 3/4: **Mosela-tirwa** (Mesela-tirwa) (Passive suffix). Derivation: **Mosela** (cl. 3, suffix), **tirwa** (cl. 9, passive), derived from the passive verb **dirwa** (done).

Class 5/6: **Lebaka-kanego** (Mabaka-kanego) (Narrative tense). Derivation: **Lebaka** (cl. 5, tense), **kanego** (cl. 9, narrative), derived from the verb **anega** (narrate).

Class 5/6: **Lehlathi-potšišo** (Mahlathi-potšišo) (Interrogative adverb). Derivation: **Lehlathi** (cl. 5, adverb), **potšišo** (cl. 9, question), derived from the verb **botšiša** (ask).

Class 5/6: **Leina-kgopolo** (Maina-kgopolo) (Abstract noun). Derivation: **Leina** (cl. 5, noun), **kgopolo** (cl. 9, thought), derived from the verb **gopola** (think).

Class 5/6: **Leina-leadingwa** (Maina-maadingwa) (Borrowed noun). Derivation: **Leina** (cl. 5, noun), **leadingwa** (cl. 5, borrowed word), derived from the passive verb **adingwa** (borrowed).

Class 5/6: **Lenane-mmimo** (Manane-mmimo) (Repertoire). Derivation: **Lenane** (cl. 5, list), **mmimo** (cl. 3, manner of dancing/tune), derived from the verb **bina** (dance).

Class 5/6: **Lenane-nošetšo** (Manane-nošetšo) (Irrigation scheme). Derivation: **Lenane** (cl. 5, scheme), **nošetšo** (cl. 9, irrigation), derived from the verb **nošetša** (irrigate).

Class 5/6: **Lenane-thuto** (Manane-thuto) (Curriculum/syllabus). Derivation: **Lenane** (cl. 5, agenda), **thuto** (cl. 9, education), derived from the verb **ruta** (educate).

Class 5/6: **Lenane-papadi** (Manane-papadi) (Fixture). Derivation: **Lenane** (cl. 5, programme), **papadi** (cl. 9, play/sport), derived from the verb **bapala** (play).

Class 5/6: **Lenane-theko** (Manane-theko) (Price list). Derivation: **Lenane** (cl. 5, list), **theko** (cl. 9, price), derived from the verb **reka** (buy).

Class 5/6: **Lenane-thero** (Manane-thero) (Agenda). Derivation: **Lenane** (cl. 5, agenda), **thero** (cl. 9, preaching/sermon/plotting), derived from the verb **rera** (preach/plot).

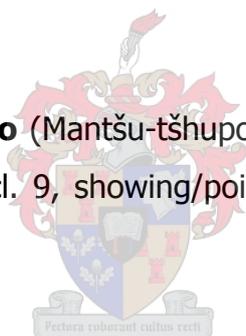
Class 5/6: **Lenane-tiro** (Manane-tiro) (Roster/timetable). Derivation: **Lenane** (cl. 5, list), **tiro** (cl. 9, deed), derived from the verb **dira** (do).

Class 5/6: **Lenane-tlhopho** (Manane-tlhopho) (Grading system). Derivation: **Lenane** (cl. 5, system), **tlhopho** (cl. 9, grading), derived from the verb **hlopha** (grade).

Class 5/6: **Lentšu-kgoketšo** (Mantšu-kgoketšo) (Catch phrase). Derivation: **Lentšu** (cl. 5, word/voice), **kgoketšo** (cl. 9, fasting/binding), derived from the applied verb **kgokela** (fasten/bind for).

Class 5/6: **Lentšu-toro** (Mantšu-toro) (Word/voice in a dream). Derivation: **Lentšu** (cl. 5, word/voice), **toro** (cl. 9, dream), derived from the verb **lora** (dream).

Class 5/6: **Lentšu-tšhupo** (Mantšu-tšhupo) (Cue). Derivation: **Lentšu** (cl. 5, word/voice), **tšhupo** (cl. 9, showing/pointing out), derived from the verb **šupa** (show/point out).



Class 9/10: **Noto-thuši** (Dinoto-thuši) (Adjunct note). Derivation: **Noto** (cl. 9, hammer), **-thuši** without its prefix (cl. 5, helper), derived from the verb **thuša** (help).

Class 9/10: **Tema-theto** (Ditema-theto) (Stanza). Derivation: **Tema** (cl. 9, paragraph), **theto** (cl. 9, poetry), derived from the verb **reta** (recite).

Class 9/10: **Tsela-palo** (Ditsela-palo) (Number system). Derivation: **Tsela** (cl. 9, road), **palo** (cl. 9, number), derived from the verb **bala** (count/read).

Deverbatives + nouns

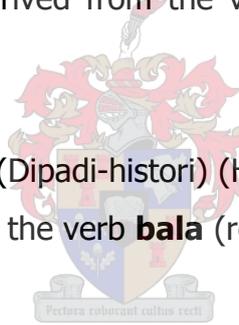
(98) Class 3/4: **Molao-tsela** (Melao-tsela) (Rule of the road). Derivation: **Molao** (cl. 3, rule), derived from the verb **laya** (instruct/advise), **tsela** (cl. 9, road).

Class 3/4: **Mmino-mong** (Mebino-mong) (Unique manner of dancing). Derivation: **Mmino** (cl. 3, manner of dancing), derived from the verb **bina** (dance), **mong** (cl. 1, owner).

Class 5/6: **Lediri-setlogo** (Madiri-setlogo) (Simple verb). Derivation: **Lediri** (cl. 5, verb), derived from the verb **dira** (do), **setlogo** (cl. 7, origin).

Class 5/6: **Leswao-dikga** (Maswao-dikga) (Punctuation mark). Derivation: **Leswao** (cl. 5, mark), derived from the verb **swaya** (mark), **dikga** (cl. 8, times).

Class 9/10: **Padi-histori** (Dipadi-histori) (Historical novel). Derivation: **Padi** (cl. 9, novel), derived from the verb **bala** (read), **histori** (cl. 9, history).



Class 9/10: **Theto-gale** (Ditheto-gale) (Epic poem). Derivation: **Theto** (cl. 9, poetry), derived from the verb **reta** (recite), **-gale** without its prefix (cl. 14, bravery).

Class 9/10: **Thibollo-leleme** (Dithibollo-leleme) (That makes one to talk). Derivation: **Thibollo** (cl. 9, the opening up of (something plugged/blocked)), derived from the reversive verb **thibolla** (unblock), **leleme** (cl. 5, tongue).

Class 9/10: **Tshenyo-ina** (Ditshenyo-ina) (Defamation of character). Derivation: **Tshenyo** (cl. 9, defamation), derived from the verb **senya** (defame), **-ina** without its prefix (cl. 5, name).

Deverbatives + deverbatives

(99) Class 3/4: **Molao-kakanywa** (Melao-kakanywa) (Bill). Derivation: **Molao** (cl. 3, law), derived from the verb **laya** (instruct/advise), **kakanywa** (cl. 9, suggested matter), derived from the passive verb **akanywa** (suggested).

Class 5/6: **Leemedi-tšhupi** (Maemedi-tšhupi) (Demonstrative). Derivation: **Leemedi** (cl. 5, that which stands for), derived from the applicative verb **emela** (stand for), **tšhupi** (cl. 9, showing), derived from the verb **šupa** (show/point).

Class 5/6: **Lešupi-leba** (Mašupi-maba) (Demonstrative copulative). Derivation: **Lešupi** (cl. 5, demonstrative), derived from the verb **šupa** (show/point), **leba** (cl. 5, copulative), derived from the verb **ba** (to be).

Class 5: **Lethabo-sello** (Comitragedy). Derivation: **Lethabo** (cl. 5, happiness), derived from the verb **thaba** (be happy), **sello** (cl. 7, crying), derived from the verb **lla** (cry).

Class 7/8: **Segalo-theo** (Digalo-theo) (Basic tone). Derivation: **Segalo** (cl. 7, tone), derived from the verb **galoga** (fade (e.g., clothes in sun)/bleach/pale), **-theo** without its prefix (cl. 3, basis), derived from the verb **thea** (lay a foundation).

Class 7/8: **Segalo-tlwaelo** (Digalo-tlwaelo) (Normal tone). Derivation: **Segalo** (cl. 7, tone), derived from the verb **galoga** (fade (e.g., clothes in sun)/bleach/ pale), **tlwaelo** (cl. 9, habit/manner/practice/custom), derived from the verb **tlwaela** (be used to).

Class 7: **Sello-lethabo** (Tragicomedy). Derivation: **Sello** (cl. 7, crying), derived from the verb **lla** (cry), **lethabo** (cl. 5, happiness), derived from the verb **thaba** (be happy).

Class 9/10: **Kanego-phetho** (Dikanego-phetho) (Historic past tense). Derivation: **Kanego** (cl. 9, narration), derived from the verb **anega** (narrate), **phetho** (cl. 9, completion/perfection/conclusion), derived from the verb **phetha** (complete/perfect).

Class 9/10: **Polelo-pegelo** (Dipolelo-pegelo) (Indirect speech). Derivation: **Polelo** (cl. 9, speech), derived from the verb **bolela** (talk), **pegelo** (cl. 9, report), derived from the applicative verb **begela** (report to).

Class 9/10: **Polelo-theto** (Dipolelo-theto) (Praise speech). Derivation: **Polelo** (cl. 9, speech), derived from the verb **bolela** (talk), **theto** (cl. 9, poetry), derived from the verb **reta** (recite).

Class 9/10: **Popego-polelo** (Dipopego-polelo) (Morphology). Derivation: **Popego** (cl. 9, pliability/appearance/built (of body)), derived from the neutral verb **bopega** (be pliable), **polelo** (cl. 9, language/ speech), derived from the verb **bolela** (talk).

Class 9/10: **Popo-polelo** (Dipopo-polelo) (Grammar). Derivation: **Popo** (cl. 9, formation), derived from the verb **bopa** (form), **polelo** (cl. 9, language/speech), derived from the verb **bolela** (talk).

Class 9/10: **Taodišo-phelo** (Ditaodišo-phelo) (Biography). Derivation: **Taodišo** (cl. 9, composition/essay), derived from the verb **laodiša** (describe), **-phelo** without its prefix (cl. 14, life), derived from the verb **phela** (live).

Class 9/10: **Thuto-segopolwa** (Dithuto-digopolwa) (Abstract teaching). Derivation: **Thuto** (cl. 9, lesson), derived from the verb **ruta** (teach),

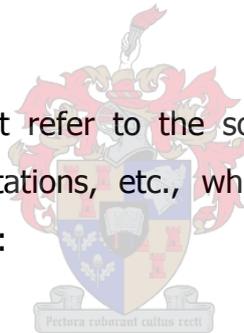
segopolwa (cl. 7, that which is remembered), derived from the passive verb **gopolwa** (be remembered).

Class 9/10: **Tlhathollo-tekano** (Ditlhathollo-tekano) (Equivalent meaning).
Derivation: **Tlhathollo** (cl. 9, explanation), derived from the reversive verb **hlatholla** (explain clearly), **tekano** (cl. 9, equivalence), derived from the verb **lekana** (be equal).

Class 9/10: **Tlhathollo-theo** (Ditlhathollo-theo) (Basic meaning).
Derivation: **Tlhathollo** (cl. 9, explanation), derived from the reversive verb **hlatholla** (explain clearly), **-theo** without its prefix (cl. 3, base), derived from the verb **thea** (lay a foundation/waylay/set a trap/erect/ establish).

Cultures

There are compound nouns that refer to the social and religious structures and intellectual and artistic manifestations, etc., which characterize a society. The examples below bear a testimony:



Endocentric compounds

(100) Class 1: **Modimo-Morwa** (God the Son). Derivation: **Modimo** (cl. 1, God), **morwa** (cl. 1, son).

Class 1: **Modimo-Tate** (God the Father). Derivation: **Modimo** (cl. 1, God), **tate** (cl. 1a, father).

Exocentric compounds

(101) Class 1a/2a: **Mma-mogašwa** (Bomma-mogašwa) (Mythological snake ([when it moves from one place to another it causes hurricane]/tornado/hurricane/ unwelcome rain from the southeast)). Derivation: **Mma** (cl. 1a, mother), **mogašwa** (cl. 3, blanket made from ox-hide).

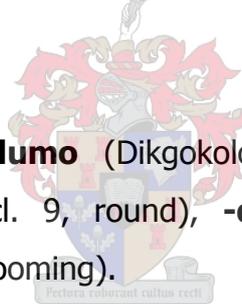
Class 3/4: **Modimo-tsela** (Medimo-tsela) (Fictitious person). Derivation: **Modimo** (cl. 3, god), **tsela** (cl. 9, road).

Class 9/10: **Kgolo-modumo** (Dikgolo-modumo) (Monster [in folklore]). Derivation: **Kgolo** (cl. 9, big), **modumo** (cl. 3, sound/rumbling/groning/booming).

Class 10: **Dipheta-metsana** (Unknown place). Derivation: **Dipheta** (cl. 10, bead necklaces), **metsana** (cl. 4, small villages).

Class 9/10: **Kgodu-modumo** (Dikgodu-modumo) (Monster [in folklore]). Derivation: **Kgodu** (cl. 9, liquid from the boiled pumpkin/porridge cooked from liquid of boiled pumpkin), **modumo** (cl. 3, sound/rumbling/droning/booming).

Class 9/10: **Kgokolo-dumo** (Dikgokolo-dumo) (Mythological monster). Derivation: **Kgokolo** (cl. 9, round), **-dumo** without its prefix (cl. 3, sound/rumbling/droning/booming).



Noun + deverbative

(102) Class 9/10: **Pheko-lerato** (Dipheko-lerato) (Charm for love). Derivation: **Pheko** (cl. 9, charm), **lerato** (cl. 5, love), derived from the verb **rata** (love/like).

Cognition

The compound nouns below indicate the act or faculty of knowing:

Endocentric compounds

(103) Class 5/6: **Lefoko-thaka** (Mafoko-thaka) (Co-ordinated clause). Derivation: **Lefoko** (cl. 5, sentence), **thaka** (cl. 9, member of the same age-group).

Class 5/6: **Lehlathi-felo** (Mahlathi-felo) (Adverb of place). Derivation: **Lehlathi** (cl. 5, adverb), **felo** (cl. 16, place).

Class 5/6: **Lehlathi-mokgwa** (Mahlathi-mokgwa) (Adverb of manner). Derivation: **Lehlathi** (cl. 5, adverb), **mokgwa** (cl. 3, manner).

Class 5/6: **Lehlathi-nako** (Mahlathi-nako) (Adverb of time). Derivation: **Lehlathi** (cl. 5, adverb), **nako** (cl. 9, time).

Class 9/10: **Thabe-hlaodi** (Dithabe-hlaodi) (Adjectival clause). Derivation: **Thabe** (cl. 9, subordinate clause), **-hlaodi** without its prefix (cl. 5, adjective).

Class 9/10: **Thabe-hlathi** (Dithabe-hlathi) (Adverbial clause). Derivation: **Thabe** (cl. 9, subordinate clause), **-hlathi** without its prefix (cl. 5, adverb).

Class 9/10: **Thabe-kutu** (Dithabe-kutu) (Main clause). Derivation: **Thabe** (cl. 9, subordinate clause), **kutu** (cl. 9, stem).

Exocentric compounds

(104) Class 1a: **Mma-kgonthe** (Truth/veracity). Derivation: **Mma** (cl. 1a, mother), **kgonthe** (cl. 9, essence/truth).

Class 1a/2a: **Mma-nnete** (Bomma-nnete) (Truth/veracity). Derivation: **Mma** (cl. 1a, mother), **nnete** (cl. 9, truth/veracity).

Class 7/8: **Sehlodi-mare** (Dihlodi-mare) (Crocodile tears). Derivation: **Sehlodi** (cl. 7, edible bulb), **mare** (cl. 6, saliva).

Class 14/6: **Bjoko-phefo** (Mabjoko-phefo) (Higher intelligence/quick thinking brain). Derivation: **Bjoko** (cl. 14, brain), **phefo** (cl. 9, wind/cold).

Noun + deverbative

(105) Class 5/6: **Ihlo-kgopolo** (Mahlo-kgopolo) (Imaginary eye). Derivation: - **ihlo** without its prefix (cl. 5, eye), **kgopolo** (cl. 9, thought/idea), derived from the verb **gopola** (think).

Deverbatives + deverbatives

(106) Class 9/10: **Kgopolo-konalo** (Dikgopolo-konalo) (Worn out thoughts/ideas). Derivation: **Kgopolo** (cl. 9, thought/idea), derived from the verb **gopola** (think), **konalo** (cl. 9, deprivation), derived from the verb **onala** (get worn out).

Class 9/10: **Pono-nagano** (Dipono-nagano) (Imaginary vision). Derivation: **Pono** (cl. 9, sight/vision), derived from the verb **bona** (see) and **-nagano** without its prefix (cl. 3, thought/mind), derived from the verb **nagana** (think).

Direction

Compound nouns that refer to directions are also shown by the following examples:

Endocentric compounds

(107) Class 5: **Leboa-bohlabela** (North-east). Derivation: **Leboa** (cl. 5, north), **bohlabela** (cl. 14, east).

Class 14: **Borwa-bohlabela** (South-east). Derivation: **Borwa** (cl. 14, south), **bohlabela** (cl. 14, east).

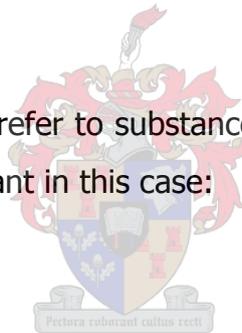
Nouns + deverbatives

(108) Class 5: **Leboa-bodikela** (North-west). Derivation: **Leboa** (cl. 5, north), **bodikela** (cl. 14, west), derived from the applied verb **dikela** (disappear behind horizon/set (sun)).

Class 5: **Leboa-bohlabela** (North-east). Derivation: **Leboa** (cl. 5, north), **bohlabela** (cl. 14, east), derived from the applied verb **hlabela** (vaccinate/sacrifice/slaughter for).

Food

There are compound nouns that refer to substances that are eaten for nourishment. The following examples are relevant in this case:



Endocentric compounds

(109) Class 9/10: **Kgomo-boleke** (Dikgomo-boleke) (Bully beef). Derivation: **Kgomo** (cl. 9, head of cattle), **boleke** (cl. 14, tin).

Class 9/10: **Kuku-hlapi** (Dikuku-hlapi) (Fishcake). Derivation: **Kuku** (cl. 9, cake), **hlapi** (cl. 9, fish).

Class 9/10: **Kuku-nama** (Dikuku-nama) (Meatpie). Derivation: **Kuku** (cl. 9, cake), **nama** (cl. 9, meat).

Class 9/10: **Nama-bolekana** (Dinama-bolekana) (Canned meat). Derivation: **Nama** (cl. 9, meat), **bolekana** (cl. 14, small tin).

Class 9/10: **Nawa-swikiri** (Dinawa-swikiri) (Sugar bean). Derivation: **Nawa** (cl. 9, bean), **swikiri** (cl. 9, sugar).

Class 9/10: **Nawa-tshuthana** (Dinawa-tshuthana) (Dwarf-bean). Derivation: **Nawa** (cl. 9, bean), **tshuthana** (cl. 9, small dwarf).

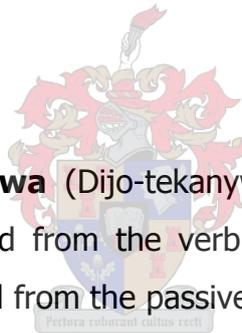
Class 9/10: **Tloo-marapo** (Ditloo-marapo) (hard-groundnut). Derivation: **Tloo** (cl. 9, nut), **marapo** (cl. 6, bones).

Deverbative + noun

(110) Class 7/8: **Sejo-mmele** (Dijo-mmele) (Food for the body). Derivation: **Sejo** (cl. 7, food), derived from the verb **ja** (eat), **mmele** (cl. 3, body).

Deverbative + deverbative

(111) Class 7/8: **Sejo-tekanywa** (Dijo-tekanywa) (Balanced diet). Derivation: **Sejo** (cl. 7, food), derived from the verb **ja** (eat), **tekanywa** (cl. 9, that which is balanced), derived from the passive verb **lekanywa** (balanced).



Co-ordinate compound

(112) Class 9/10: **Tloo-make** (Ditloo-make) (Peanut). Derivation: **Tloo** (cl. 9, peanut), and its synonym **make** (cl. 9, peanut).

Artifacts

In the Northern Sotho language, like in other languages, there are compound nouns that refer to man-made objects as in the examples below:

Endocentric compounds

(113) Class 3/4: **Mogopo-kgomo** (Megopo-kgomo) (Big wooden bowl).
Derivation: **Mogopo** (cl. 3, wooden bowl), **kgomo** (cl. 9, head of cattle).

Class 3/4: **Moropa-kgomo** (Meropa-kgomo) (Big drum). Derivation:
Moropa (cl. 3, drum), **kgomo** (cl. 9, head of cattle).

Class 5/6: **Lapana-bjang** (Malapana-bjang) (Small lawn yard). Derivation:
-lapana without its prefix (cl. 5, small yard), **bjang** (cl. 14, grass).

Class 5/6: **Lepheka-para** (Mapheka-para) (Bar line). Derivation: **Lepheka**
(cl. 5, line), **para** (cl. 9, bar).

Class 5/6: **Leswika-motheo** (Maswika-motheo) (Foundation stone).
Derivation: **Leswika** (cl. 5, stone), **motheo** (cl. 3, foundation).

Class 5/6: **Leswao-tsela** (Maswao-tsela) (Road sign). Derivation: **Leswao**
(cl. 5, sign), **tsela** (cl. 9, road).

Class 7/8: **Seaparo-leswela** (Diaparo-leswela) (Snow cloth). Derivation:
Seaparo (cl. 7, cloth), **leswela** (cl. 5, snow).

Class 7/8: **Sebjana-tsopa** (Dibjana-tsopa) (Earthenware pot). Derivation:
Sebjana (cl. 7, dish), **-tsopa** without its prefix (cl. 5, clay).

Class 7/8: **Sekepe-moya** (Dikepe-moya) (Airship). Derivation: **Sekepe** (cl.
7, ship), **moya** (cl. 3, air).

Class 9/10: **Boro-tsogo** (Diboro-tsogo) (Hand-drill). Derivation: **Boro** (cl.
9, drill), **-tsogo** without its prefix (cl. 5, hand).

Class 9/10: **Galase-phaphathi** (Digalase-phaphathi) (Sheetglass).
Derivation: **Galase** (cl. 9, glass), **phaphathi** (cl. 9, plate).

Class 9/10: **Naka-serabana** (Dinaka-serabana) (Small bag pipe).
Derivation: **Naka** (cl. 9, horn/flute), **serabana** (cl. 7, small bag).

Class 9/10: **Noto-kota** (Dinoto-kota) (Mallet). Derivation: **Noto** (cl. 9, hammer), **kota** (cl. 9, log/stump).

Class 9/10: **Ntlwana-ntlo** (Dintlwana-ntlo) (Grave). Derivation: **Ntlwana** (cl. 9, small house), **ntlo** (cl. 9, house).

Class 9/10: **Pala-monwana** (Dipala-monwana) (Ring (on finger)).
Derivation: **Pala** (cl. 9, mark), **monwana** (cl. 3, finger).

Class 9/10: **Pene-todi** (Dipene-todi) (Sweet/nice/good pen). Derivation: **Pene** (cl. 9, pen), **todi** (cl. 9, honey).

Class 9/10: **Pitša-nthetebudi** (Dipitša-nthetebudi) (Round clay pot).
Derivation: **Pitša** (cl. 9, clay pot/pot), **nthetebudi** (cl. 9, round object).

Class 9/10: **Saga-tšhipi** (Disaga-tšhipi) (Iron-saw). Derivation: **Saga** (cl. 9, saw), **tšhipi** (cl. 9, iron).

Class 9/10: **Tsela-rapa** (Ditsela-rapa) (Garden route). Derivation: **Tsela** (cl. 9, road), **-rapa** without its prefix (cl. 7, garden).

Exocentric compounds

(114) Class 1a/2a: **Mma-diphetana** (Bomma-diphetana) (Abacus). Derivation: **Mma** (cl. 1a, mother), **diphetana** (cl. 10, small beads/small bead necklaces).

Class 3/4: **Mosela-legotlo** (Mesela-legotlo) (Straight road). Derivation: **Mosela** (cl. 3, tail), **legotlo** (cl. 5, mouse).

Class 3/4: **Mphapha-hlogo** (Mefapha-hlogo) (Crown/bridal wreath). Derivation: **Mphapha** (cl. 3, portion), **hlogo** (cl. 9, head).

Class 6: **Mathakga-boreledi** (Beauty). Derivation: **Mathakga** (cl. 6, neatnesses/adornments), **boreledi** (cl. 14, slipperiness).

Class 9/10: **Mpa-kubu** (Dimpa-kubu) (Sjambok). Derivation: **Mpa** (cl. 9, stomach), **kubu** (cl. 9, hippopotamus).

Class 9/10: **Ntlwana-swiswi** (Dintlwana-swiswi) (Prison). Derivation: **Ntlwana** (cl. 9, small house), **-swiswi** without its prefix (cl. 5, darkness).

Nouns + deverbatives

(115) Class 5/6: **Lebati-theledi** (Mabati-theledi) (Sliding door). Derivation: **Lebati** (cl. 5, door), **theledi** (cl. 9, sliding), derived from the verb **thelela** (slide).

Class 7/8: **Sekepe-gogi** (Dikepe-gogi) (Tugboat). Derivation: **Sekepe** (cl. 7, boat/ship), **-gogi** without its prefix (cl. 7, something that pulls), derived from the verb **goga** (pull).

Class 9/10: **Puku-pokanyo** (Dipuku-pokanyo) (Album). Derivation: **Puku** (cl. 9, book), **pokanyo** (cl. 9, assembling), derived from the verb **bokanya** (assemble).

Class 9/10: **Thapo-tekanywa** (Dithapo-tekanywa) (Measuring tape). Derivation: **Thapo** (cl. 9, rope), **tekanywa** (cl. 9, taped object), derived from the passive verb **lekanywa** (measured).

Deverbative + noun

(116) Class 14: **Bofegelo-toulo** (Towel roller). Derivation: **Bofegelo** (cl. 14, line on which something is hung/coatrail), derived from the applied verb **fegela** (hang for), **toulo** (cl. 9, towel).

State

State compound nouns include the following examples:

Endocentric compounds

(117) Class 3/4: **Monko-bose** (Menko-bose) (Sweet/nice smell). Derivation: **Monko** (cl. 3, smell), **bose** (cl. 14, sweetness).

Class 5: **Lehutšo-mabokoboko** (Softness of expectations). Derivation: **Lehutšo** (cl. 5, expectation), **mabokoboko** (cl. 6, softness/wolliness).

Class 14: **Boima-fefo** (Featherweight). Derivation: **Boima** (cl. 14, weight), **-fefo** without its prefix (cl. 14, light).

Class 14: **Boima-fofa** (Featherweight). Derivation: **Boima** (cl. 14, weight), **-fofa** without its prefix (cl. 5, feather).

Class 14: **Boima-ntši** (Flyweight). Derivation: **Boima** (cl. 14, weight), **ntši** (cl. 9, fly).

Class 14: **Boima-pampiri** (Paperweight). Derivation: **Boima** (cl. 14, weight), **pampiri** (cl. 9, paper).

Class 14: **Boima-pantamo** (Bantam weight). Derivation: **Boima** (cl. 14, weight), **pantamo** (cl. 9, bantam).

Class 14: **Boreledi-toditodi** (Smoothness/slipperiness of the real honey). Derivation: **Boreledi** (cl. 14, smoothness/slipperiness), **toditodi** (cl. 9, real honey).

Exocentric compounds

(118) Class 9/10: **Hlogo-meetse** (Dihlogo-meetse) (Carefulness). Derivation: **Hlogo** (cl. 9, head), **meetse** (cl. 6, water).

Class 14: **Boroko-lehu** (Deep sleep). Derivation: **Boroko** (cl. 14, sleep), **lehu** (cl. 5, death).

Deverbatives + deverbatives

(119) Class 9/10: **Katlego-kgwebo** (Dikatlego-kgwebo) (Prosperity). Derivation: **Katlego** (cl. 9, prosperity), derived from the neutral verb **atlega** (be prosperous), **kgwebo** (cl. 9, business), derived from the verb **gweba** (barter/trade).

Class 9/10: **Keletšo-molao** (Dikeletšo-molao) (Legal advice). Derivation: **Keletšo** (cl. 9, advice), derived from the verb **eletša** (advise), **molao** (cl. 3, law), derived from the verb **laya** (advise/instruct).

Illness

Various compound nouns that refer to particular diseases are shown by the following examples:

Endocentric compound

(120) Class 3/4: **Mpholo-madi** (Mefolo-madi) (Blood poisoning). Derivation: **Mpholo** (cl. 3, poison), **madi** (cl. 6, blood).

Exocentric compounds

(121) Class 5: **Lehu-lela** ((Kind of) skin disease on dogs). Derivation: **Lehu** (cl. 5, death), **lela** (cl. 5, intestine).

Class 6: **Mahuba-naka** (Bronchitis). Derivation: **Mahuba** (cl. 6, daybreak/dawn), **naka** (cl. 9, flute/star).

Class 7/8: **Sefaka-monwana** (Difaka-monwana) (Cracks under the toes (illness)). Derivation: **Sefaka** (cl. 7, bicep), **monwana** (cl. 3, finger).

Class 9/10: **Pola-mmele** (Dipola-mmele) (Gangrene). Derivation: **Pola** (cl. 9, fruit of the **mopola**), **mmele** (cl. 3, body).

Class 14/6: **Bolwetši-kgomo** (Malwetši-kgomo) (Serious illness). Derivation: **Bolwetši** (cl. 14, illness), **kgomo** (cl. 9, head of cattle).

Time

Compound nouns that refer to time are in the following examples:

Endocentric compounds

(122) Class 3/4: **Moso-bonanana** (Meso-bonanana) (Tender bright morning). Derivation: **Moso** (cl. 3, morning), **bonanana** (cl. 14, tenderness).

Class 5/6: **Tšatši-kgwedi** (Matšatši-kgwedi) (Date of the month). Derivation: **-tšatši** without its prefix (cl. 5, day), **kgwedi** (cl. 9, month).

Exocentric compound

(123) Class 1a/2a: **Diba-tsela** (BoDiba-tsela) (December). Derivation: **-diba** without its prefix (cl. 14, depth), **tsela** (cl. 9, road).

Place

Place nouns are those nouns that refer to a particular space. The following compound nouns indicate them:

Endocentric compound

(124) Class 5/6: **Lebatla-badimo** (Mabatla-badimo) (Gods' place). Derivation: **Lebatla** (cl. 5, place without grass), **badimo** (cl. 2, gods).

Exocentric compounds

(125) Class 1a/2a: **Hlogo-tlou** (BoHlogo-tlou) (Name of a place). Derivation: **Hlogo** (cl. 9, head), **tlou** (cl. 9, elephant).



Class 1a/2a: **Mma-melodi** (BoMma-melodi) (Praise name for Pretoria). Derivation: **Mma** (cl. 1a, mother), **melodi** (cl. 4, whistlings/melodies).

Nouns + deverbatives

(126) Class 10: **Dinaga-kopano** (United states). Derivation: **Dinaga** (cl. 10, countries), **kopano** (cl. 9, unity), derived from the verb **kopana** (unite).

Class 9/10: **Kgoro-toka** (Dikgoro-toka) (Court of justice). Derivation: **Kgoro** (cl. 9, court), **toka** (cl. 9, justice), derived from the verb **loka** (be right).

Class 9/10: **Kgotla-boipiletšo** (Dikgotla-boipiletšo) (Court of appeal).
Derivation: **Kgotla** (cl. 9, court), **boipiletšo** (cl. 14, appeal), derived from the verb **ipiletša** (appeal (to)).

Class 9/10: **Kgotla-tshepedi** (Dikgotla-tshepedi) (Circuit court). Derivation: **Kgotla** (cl. 9, court), **tshepedi** (cl. 9, that which walks), derived from the verb **sepela** (walk).

Class 9/10: **Ntlo-bojelo** (Dintlo-bojelo) (Dining hall). Derivation: **Ntlo** (cl. 9, house), **bojelo** (cl. 14, eating place), derived from the applied verb **jela** (eating for).

Actions

These are the type of nouns that indicate the process of acting or doing something and the examples below are evident:



Exocentric compound

(127) Class 5/6: **Ihlo-kgomo** (Mahlo-kgomo) (Proper supervision). Derivation: **-ihlo** without its prefix (cl. 5, eye), **kgomo** (cl. 9, head of cattle).

Noun + deverbative

(128) Class 3/4: **Mokgoši-sello** (Mekgoši-dillo) (Lamentation). Derivation: **Mokgoši** (cl. 3, shouting), **sello** (cl. 7, crying), derived from the verb **lla** (cry).

Events

Exocentric compound

(129) Class 9/10: **Ntwa-mogolo** (Dintwa-mogolo) (Eating). Derivation: **Ntwa** (cl. 9, war/fight), **mogolo** (cl. 3, throat).

Deverbatives + nouns

(130) Class 9/10: **Kgatišo-puku** (Dikgatišo-puku) (Bookprinting). Derivation: **Kgatišo** (cl. 9, printing), derived from the causative verb **gatiša** (print), **puku** (cl. 9, book).

Class 9/10: **Kotamo-bosele** (Dikotamo-bosele) (Soft landing). Derivation: **Kotamo** (cl. 9, landing), derived from the verb **kotama** (land), **bosele** (cl. 14, slowness).

Class 9/10: **Petšo-noto** (Dipetšo-noto) (Hammerthrow). Derivation: **Petšo** (cl. 9, throwing), derived from the verb **betša** (throw), **noto** (cl. 9, hammer).

Deverbative + deverbative

(131) Class 7/8: **Sekibo-kgatišo** (Dikibo-kgatišo) (Type). Derivation: **Sekibo** (cl. 7, stamp), derived from the verb **kiba** (stamp), **kgatišo** (cl. 9, printing), derived from the causative verb **gatiša** (print).

Feelings

Compound nouns that have got something to do with the feelings are the following:

Nouns + deverbatives

(132) Class 9/10: **Pelo-lerato** (Dipelo-lerato) (True love). Derivation: **Pelo** (cl. 9, heart), **lerato** (cl. 5, love/liking), derived from the verb **rata** (love/like).

Class 9/10: **Pelo-thato** (Dipelo-thato) (Hearty choice). Derivation: **Pelo** (cl. 9, heart), **thato** (cl. 9, choice), derived from the verb **rata** (love/like).

Class 9/10: **Tsebe-sekwi** (Ditsebe-dikwi) (Hearing sense). Derivation: **Tsebe** (cl. 9, ear), **sekwi** (cl. 7, that which hears/understands/feels/etc.), derived from the verb **kwa** (hear/perceive/feel).

Class 14: **Bopelo-hlomogi** (Sympathy). Derivation: **Bopelo** (cl. 14, heartiness), **-hlomogi** without its prefix (cl. 14, sadness), derived from the verb **hlomoga** (sympathize).

Exocentric compounds

(133) Class 3/4: **Moduuetšo-todi** (Meduuetšo-todi) (Sensational jublations). Derivation: **Moduuetšo** (cl. 3, dancing to the singing of **di-di** (women at a dance)/jubilation), **todi** (cl. 9, honey).

Class 6: **Madi-keledi** (Pain/sorrow/distress). Derivation: **Madi** (cl. 6, blood), **keledi** (cl. 9, tear).

Deverbative + noun

(134) Class 5/6: **Lerato-koma** (Marato-koma) (Secret love). Derivation: **Lerato** (cl. 5, love/liking), derived from the verb **rata** (love/like), **koma** (cl. 9, secrets of life/initiation school).

Class 9/10: **Kwelano-bohloko** (Dikwelano-bohloko) (Sympathy for one another). Derivation: **Kwelano** (cl. 9, listening for one another), derived from the reciprocal verb **kwelana** (listen for one another), **bohloko** (cl. 14, pain).

Class 9/10: **Kwelo-bohloko** (Dikwelo-bohloko) (Sympathy). Derivation: **Kwelo** (cl. 9, feeling for), derived from the applied verb **kwela** (hear for), **bohloko** (cl. 14, pain).

Liquid

Deverbative + deverbative

(135) Class 7/8: **Seno-tagi** (Dino-tagi) (Alcoholic drink). Derivation: **Seno** (cl. 7, drink), derived from the verb **nwa** (drink), **tagi** (cl. 9, alcohol), derived from the verb **taga** (intoxicate).



3.2.5 Table of compounds

In the tables that follow, the following abbreviations have been used:

A	=	Affix
R	=	Root
Pl.	=	Plural
Deriv.	=	Derivation
Morph.	=	Morphological structure
Loc.	=	Locative suffix -eng
Dim.	=	Diminutive suffix -ana
SRel.	=	Semantic Relation
SFeat.	=	Semantic Feature
Dev.	=	Deverbative

Endocentric compounds (N + N)

(136)

	Noun	Pl.	Deriv.	Morph.		Loc.	Dim.	SRel.	SFeat.
				AR	AR				
1	Mma-bjala	2a	1a,14	++	++	-	+(N2)	WITH	Human
2	Mma-bohlale	2a	1a,14	++	++	-	+(N2)	WITH	Human
3	Mma-borokwane	2a	1a,14+ana	++	++	-	-	WITH	Human
4	Mma-ditaba	2a	1a,10	++	++	-	+(N2)	WITH	Human
5	Mma-kotwane	2a	1a,9+ana	++	++	-	-	WITH	Human
6	Mma-lehufane	2a	1a,5+ana	++	++	-	-	WITH	Human
7	Mma-leotša	2a	1a,5	++	++	-	+(N2)	WITH	Human
8	Mma-maakane	2a	1a,6+ana	++	++	-	-	WITH	Human
9	Mma-mariri	2a	1a,6	++	++	-	+(N2)	WITH	Human
10	Mma-melao	2a	1a,4	++	++	-	+(N2)	WITH	Human
11	Mma-mamepe	2a	1a,6	++	++	-	+(N2)	OF	Animal
12	Mma-moruti	2a	1a,1	++	++	-	+(N2)	OF	Human
13	Mma-moneanya	2a	1a,1	++	++	-	+(N2)	IS	Human
14	Mma-ntlhwa	2a	1a,9	++	++	-	+(N2)	OF	Animal
15	Mma-ntlo	2a	1a,9	++	++	-	+(N2)	OF	Human
16	Morwa-motho	2a	1,1	++	++	-	+(N2)	OF	Human
17	Morwa-Ngwato	2a	1,1a	++	++	-	+(N2)	OF	Human
18	Modimo-Morwa	-	1,1	++	++	+(N2)	+(N2)	IS	Culture
19	Modimo-Tate	-	1,1a	++	++	-	+(N2)	IS	Culture
20	Mong-bodiba	2	1,14	++	++	+(N2)	+(N2)	OF	Animal
21	Mong-lapa	2	1,5	++	++	+(N2)	+(N2)	OF	Human
22	Mong-mabu	2	1,6	++	++	+(N2)	+(N2)	OF	Human
23	Mong-motse	2+4	1,3	++	++	+(N2)	+(N2)	OF	Human
24	Morwa-rre	2	1,1a	++	++	-	+(N2)	OF	Human
25	Motho-morogo	2	1,3	++	++	+(N2)	+(N2)	IS	Human
26	Motho-sebata	2+8	1,7	++	++	+(N2)	+(N2)	IS	Human
27	Ngwana-mma	2	1,1a	++	++	-	+(N2)	OF	Human
28	Mobu-lefase	4	3,5	++	++	+(N2)	+(N2)	IS	Nat. phen.
29	Modu-kala	4	3,9	++	++	+(N2)	+(N2)	IS	Plant
30	Modu-kutu	4	3,9	++	++	+(N2)	+(N2)	IS	Plant
31	Mogala-tšhika	4	3,9	++	++	+(N2)	+(N2)	IS	Body part
32	Mogala-watile	4	3,5	++	-+	+(N2)	+(N2)	FROM	Communic.
33	Mogopo-kgomo	4	3,9	++	++	+(N2)	+(N2)	IS	Artif.
34	Mohwelere-tšhipi	4	3,9	++	++	+(N2)	+(N2)	IS	Plant
35	Molapo-mphoma	4	3,3	++	++	+(N2)	+(N2)	WITH	Nat. phen.
36	Mola-tšatši	4	3,5	++	-+	+(N2)	+(N2)	OF	Nat. phen.
37	Molodi-todi	4	3,9	++	++	+(N2)	+(N2)	IS	Communic.
38	Moso-bonanana	4	3,14	++	++	+(N2)	+(N2)	WITH	Time
39	Mmu-bohla	4	3,14	++	++	+(N2)	+(N2)	IS	Nat. phen.
40	Monko-bose	4	3,14	++	++	+(N2)	+(N2)	WITH	State
41	Moobu-kgomo	4	3,9	++	++	+(N2)	+(N2)	IS	Animal

42	Moobu-putšane	4	3,9+ana	++	++	+(N2)	-	IS	Animal
43	More-mootlwa	4+4	3,3	++	++	+(N2)	+(N2)	WITH	Plant
44	Moropa-kgomo	4	3,9	++	++	+(N2)	+(N2)	IS	Artif.
45	Mpholo-madi	4	3,6	++	++	+(N2)	+(N2)	IN	Illness
46	Lebatla-badimo	6	5,2	++	++	+(N2)	+(N2)	OF	Place
47	Leboa-bohlabela	-	5,14	++	++	-	-	IN	Direction
48	Lefoko-thaka	6	5,9	++	++	+(N2)	+(N2)	WITH	Cognition
49	Lehlaka-noka	6	5,9	++	++	+(N2)	+(N2)	FROM	Plant
50	Lehlathi-felo	6	5,16	++	++	+(N2)	+(N2)	OF	Cognition
51	Lehlathi-mokgwa	6	5,3	++	++	+(N2)	+(N2)	OF	Cognition
52	Lehlathi-nako	6	5,9	++	++	+(N2)	+(N2)	OF	Cognition
53	Leino-selepe	6+8	5,7	++	++	+(N2)	+(N2)	IS	Body part
54	Lapana-bjang	6	5+ana,14	-+	++	+(N2)	-	WITH	Artif.
55	Leleme-todi	6	5,9	++	++	+(N2)	+(N2)	IS	Communic.
56	Leme-maphakga	6	5,6	-+	++	+(N2)	+(N2)	IS	Communic.
57	Lenane-dintlha	6	5,10	++	++	+(N2)	+(N2)	OF	Communic.
58	Lenane-kgobadi	6	5,9	++	++	+(N2)	+(N2)	OF	Communic.
59	Lenane-medu	6	5,4	++	++	+(N2)	+(N2)	OF	Plant
60	Lenane-puku	6	5,9	++	++	+(N2)	+(N2)	OF	Communic.
61	Lengwalo-phahlo	6	5,9	++	++	+(N2)	+(N2)	OF	Communic.
62	Lentswe-tshipi	6	5,9	++	++	+(N2)	+(N2)	IS	Nat. obj.
63	Ntšu-molodi	6	5,3	-+	++	+(N2)	+(N2)	WITH	Communic.
64	Ntšu-senanna	6	5,7+ana	-+	++	+(N2)	-	FROM	Communic.
65	Ntšu-todi	6	5,9	-+	++	+(N2)	+(N2)	IS	Communic.
66	Lentsu-tšhipi	6	5,9	++	++	+(N2)	+(N2)	IS	Communic.
67	Lepheka-para	6	5,9	++	++	+(N2)	+(N2)	WITH	Artif.
68	Lesogana-mmele	6	5,3	++	++	+(N2)	+(N2)	WITH	Human
69	Leswika-motheo	6	5,3	++	++	+(N2)	+(N2)	IS	Artif.
70	Tšatši-kgwedi	6	5,9	-+	++	+(N2)	+(N2)	OF	Time
71	Maatla-kerese	-	6,9	++	++	+(N2)	+(N2)	OF	Nat. phen.
72	Maatla-meetse	-	6,6	++	++	+(N2)	+(N2)	OF	Nat. phen.
73	Maatla-pere	-	6,9	++	++	+(N2)	+(N2)	OF	Nat. phen.
74	Maatla-tšhukudu	-	6,9	++	++	+(N2)	+(N2)	OF	Nat. phen.
75	Mabu-sehlaba	-	6,7	++	++	+(N2)	+(N2)	WITH	Nat. phen.
76	Lehutšo-mabokoboko	-	5,6	++	++	+(N2)	+(N2)	WITH	State
77	Lerothi-sefako	6	5,7	++	++	+(N2)	+(N2)	OF	Nat. phen.
78	Leswao-tsela	6	5,9	++	++	+(N2)	+(N2)	OF	Artif.
79	Lešokotšo-todi	6	5,9	++	++	+(N2)	+(N2)	IS	Communic.
80	Meetse-gauta	-	6,9	++	++	+(N2)	+(N2)	IS	Nat. phen.
81	Meetse-koma	-	6,9	++	++	+(N2)	+(N2)	IS	Nat. phen.
82	Meetse-magakwa	-	6,6	++	++	+(N2)	+(N2)	IS	Nat. phen.
83	Meno-melomo	-	6,4	++	++	+(N2)	+(N2)	WITH	Body part
84	Seaparo-leswela	8	7,5	++	++	+(N2)	+(N2)	IS	Artif.
85	Sebata-meetse	8	7,6	++	++	+(N2)	+(N2)	IN	Animal
86	Sebata-šoka	8	7,5	++	-+	+(N2)	+(N2)	IN	Animal

87	Sebjana-tsopa	8	7,5	++	-+	+(N2)	+(N2)	FROM	Artif.
88	Seboko-phehli	8	7,9	++	++	+(N2)	+(N2)	IS	Animal
89	Seboko-sei	8	7,7	++	++	+(N2)	+(N2)	WITH	Animal
90	Sekepe-moya	8	7,3	++	++	+(N2)	+(N2)	WITH	Artif.
91	Sethokgwa-thaba	8	7,9	++	++	+(N2)	+(N2)	IN	Nat. phen.
92	Setopo-ntotoma	8	7,9	++	++	+(N2)	+(N2)	IS	Human
93	Boro-tsogo	10	9,5	++	-+	+(N2)	+(N2)	OF	Artif.
94	Galase-phaphathi	10	9,9	++	++	+(N2)	+(N2)	IS	Artif.
95	Kgogo-noka	10	9,9	++	++	+(N2)	+(N2)	FROM	Animal
96	Kgokolo-dintlha	10	9,10	++	++	+(N2)	+(N2)	WITH	Nat. phen.
97	Kgomo-boleke	10	9,14	++	++	+(N2)	+(N2)	IN	Food
98	Kgomo-naka	10	9,9	++	++	+(N2)	+(N2)	WITH	Animal
99	Khudu-kgomo	10	9,9	++	++	+(N2)	+(N2)	IS	Animal
100	Khutlo-ntlha	10	9,9	++	++	+(N2)	+(N2)	IS	Nat. phen.
101	Kolobe-moru	10	9,3	++	++	+(N2)	+(N2)	FROM	Animal
102	Kolobe-sodi	10	9,5	++	-+	+(N2)	+(N2)	FROM	Animal
103	Kuku-hlapi	10	9,9	++	++	+(N2)	+(N2)	FROM	Food
104	Kuku-nama	10	9,9	++	++	+(N2)	+(N2)	FROM	Food
105	Naga-kgomo	10	9,9	++	++	+(N2)	+(N2)	IS	Nat. phen.
106	Naga-legola	10	9,5	++	++	+(N2)	+(N2)	WITH	Nat. phen.
107	Naka-serabana	10	9,7+ana	++	++	+(N2)	-	IS	Artif.
108	Nama-bolekana	10	9,14+ana	++	++	+(N2)	-	IN	Food
109	Nawa-swikiri	10	9,9	++	++	+(N2)	+(N2)	WITH	Food
110	Nawa-tshuthana	10	9,9+ana	++	++	+(N2)	-	IS	Food
111	Noto-kota	10	9,9	++	++	+(N2)	+(N2)	FROM	Artif.
112	Ntlhwa-makhura	10	9,6	++	++	+(N2)	+(N2)	WITH	Animal
113	Ntlwana-ntlo	10	9+ana,9	++	++	+(N2)	-	IS	Artif.
114	Ntši-tsetse	10	9,5	++	-+	+(N2)	+(N2)	IS	Animal
115	Pala-monwana	10	9,3	++	++	+(N2)	+(N2)	ON	Artif.
116	Pene-todi	10	9,9	++	++	+(N2)	+(N2)	IS	Artif.
117	Pitša-nthetebudi	10	9,9	++	++	+(N2)	+(N2)	IS	Artif.
118	Polo-meetse	10	9,6	++	++	+(N2)	+(N2)	IN	Animal
119	Puku-ina	10	9,5	++	-+	+(N2)	+(N2)	WITH	Communic.
120	Pudi-kgomo	10	9,9	++	++	+(N2)	+(N2)	IS	Animal
121	Puku-ntšu	10	9,5	++	-+	+(N2)	+(N2)	WITH	Communic.
122	Saga-tšhipi	10	9,9	++	++	+(N2)	+(N2)	FROM	Artif.
123	Tadi-monopo	10	9,3	++	++	+(N2)	+(N2)	WITH	Animal
124	Thaba-mollo	10	9,3	++	++	+(N2)	+(N2)	WITH	Nat. phen.
125	Thabe-hlaodi	10	9,5	++	-+	+(N2)	+(N2)	WITH	Cognition
126	Thabe-hlathi	10	9,5	++	-+	+(N2)	+(N2)	WITH	Cognition
127	Thabe-kutu	10	9,9	++	++	+(N2)	+(N2)	IS	Cognition
128	Tladi-mothwana	10	9,1+ana	++	++	+(N2)	-	FROM	Nat. phen.
129	Tloo-marapo	10	9,6	++	++	+(N2)	+(N2)	IS	Food
130	Tsela-dijo	10	9,8	++	++	+(N2)	+(N2)	OF	Body part
131	Tsela-madi	10	9,6	++	++	+(N2)	+(N2)	OF	Body part

132	Tsela-rapa	10	9,7	++	-+	+(N2)	+(N2)	IN	Artif.
133	Boima-fefo	-	14,14	++	-+	+(N2)	+(N2)	IS	State
134	Boima-fofa	-	14,5	++	-+	+(N2)	+(N2)	IS	State
135	Boima-ntšhi	-	14,9	++	++	+(N2)	+(N2)	IS	State
136	Boima-pampiri	-	14,9	++	++	+(N2)	+(N2)	IS	State
137	Boima-pantamo	-	14,9	++	++	+(N2)	+(N2)	IS	State
138	Bolele-buka	6	14,9	++	++	+(N2)	+(N2)	IS	Plant
139	Boreledi-toditodi	-	14,9	++	++	+(N2)	+(N2)	IS	State
140	Borwa-bohlabela	-	14,14	++	++	-	-	IN	Direction

Exocentric compounds (N+N)

(137)

	Noun	Pl.	Deriv.	Morph.		Loc.	Dim.	SFeat.
				AR	AR			
1	Diba-tsela	2a	14,9	-+	++	-	+(N2)	Time
2	Hlogo-tlou	2a	9,9	++	++	-	+(N2)	Place
3	Kgagara-tšhwene	2a	9,9	++	++	-	+(N2)	Human
4	Kgala-tlou	2a	9,9	++	++	-	+(N2)	Nat. phen.
5	Khwiti-mohlaka	2a	9,3	++	++	-	+(N2)	Plant
6	Mare-ntlha	2a	6,9	++	++	-	+(N2)	Human
7	Mma-kwena	2a	1a,9	++	++	-	+(N2)	Human
8	Mma-lelengwana	2a	1a,5+ana	++	++	-	-	Human
9	Mma-lenawana	2a	1a,5+ana	++	++	-	-	Human
10	Mma-meriri	2a	1a,4	++	++	-	+(N2)	Human
11	Mma-mphokhu	2a	1a,9	++	++	-	+(N2)	Human
12	Mma-banenyana	2a	1a,2	++	++	-	+(N2)	Human
13	Mma-ditsela	2a	1a,10	++	++	-	+(N2)	Human
14	Mma-diphetana	2a	1a,10+ana	++	++	-	-	Artif.
15	Mma-kgomo	2a	1a,9	++	++	-	+(N2)	Human
16	Mma-kgonthe	-	1a,9	++	++	-	+(N2)	Cognition
17	Mma-koma	2a	1a,9	++	++	-	+(N2)	Human
18	Mma-konokono	2a	1a,9	++	++	-	+(N2)	Animal
19	Mma-kwele	2a	1a,3	++	-+	-	+(N2)	Plant
20	Mma-madingwane	2a	1a,6+ana	++	++	-	-	Human
21	Mma-mapitsi	2a	1a,6	++	++	-	+(N2)	Plant
22	Mma-mmati	2a	1a,1	++	++	-	+(N2)	Animal
23	Mma-melodi	2a	1a,4	++	++	-	+(N2)	Place
24	Mma-mogašwa	2a	1a,3	++	++	-	+(N2)	Culture
25	Mma-monotswane	2a	1a,3+ana	++	++	-	-	Animal
26	Mma-nkgohlo	2a	1a,9	++	++	-	+(N2)	Animal
27	Mma-nnete	2a	1a,9	++	++	-	+(N2)	Cognition
28	Mma-noko	2a	1a,9	++	++	-	+(N2)	Human
29	Mma-ntsogohlo	2a	1a,9	++	++	-	+(N2)	Body part
30	Mma-paki	2a	1a,9	++	++	-	+(N2)	Human
31	Mma-pelo	2a	1a,9	++	++	-	+(N2)	Human

32	Mma-pelwana	2a	1a,9+ana	++	++	-	-	Plant
33	Mma-phulo	2a	1a,9	++	++	-	+(N2)	Plant
34	Mma-phuti	2a	1a,9	++	++	-	+(N2)	Human
35	Mma-pitsi	2a	1a,9	++	++	-	+(N2)	Human
36	Mma-seletswana	2a	1a,7+ana	++	++	-	-	Animal
37	Mma-tsebe	2a	1a,9	++	++	-	+(N2)	Human
38	Mma-tšhipi	2a	1a,9	++	++	-	+(N2)	Human
39	Mogala-kwena	2a	3,9	++	++	-	+(N2)	Nat. phen.
40	Naka-phala	2a	9,9	++	++	-	+(N2)	Human
41	Nkhwa-mabejana	2a	9,6+ana	++	++	-	-	Human
42	Phahla-dira	2a	9,8	++	++	-	+(N2)	Human
43	Phahla-kwena	2a	9,9	++	++	-	+(N2)	Human
44	Ngwale-badimo	2	1,2	++	++	+(N2)	+(N2)	Nat. obj.
45	Mmutla-kgomo	4	3,9	++	++	+(N2)	+(N2)	Animal
46	Mmutla-nakane	4	3,1+ana	++	-+	+(N2)	-	Animal
47	Mmilo-rotwane	4	3,9+ana	++	++	+(N2)	-	Plant
48	Modimo-tsela	4	3,9	++	++	+(N2)	+(N2)	Culture
49	Moduduetšo-todi	4	3,9	++	++	+(N2)	+(N2)	Feeling
50	Modu-hlare	4	3,7	++	-+	+(N2)	+(N2)	Plant
51	Mogala-tladi	4	3,9	++	++	+(N2)	+(N2)	Plant
52	Mohlohlo-pudi	4	3,9	++	++	+(N2)	+(N2)	Animal
53	Mokgotho-pitsi	4	3,9	++	++	+(N2)	+(N2)	Animal
54	Molala-tladi	4	3,9	++	++	+(N2)	+(N2)	Nat. phen.
55	Mola-tsitsi	4	3,5	++	-+	+(N2)	+(N2)	Nat. phen.
56	Mongana-mabele	4	3,6	++	++	+(N2)	+(N2)	Plant
57	More-thetho	4	3,9	++	++	+(N2)	+(N2)	Nat. phen.
58	Mosela-legotlo	4	3,5	++	++	+(N2)	+(N2)	Artif.
59	Mosela-phala	4	3,9	++	++	+(N2)	+(N2)	Plant
60	Mphapha-hlogo	4	3,9	++	++	+(N2)	+(N2)	Artif.
61	Mphaya-kgomo	4	3,9	++	++	+(N2)	+(N2)	Plant
62	Mphoka-mahwa	4	3,6	++	++	+(N2)	+(N2)	Plant
63	Ihlo-kgomo	6	5,9	-+	++	+(N2)	+(N2)	Action
64	Leeba-kgotho	6	5,9	++	++	+(N2)	+(N2)	Animal
65	Leeba-kgwethe	6	5,9	++	++	+(N2)	+(N2)	Animal
66	Leeba-koko	6	5,9	++	++	+(N2)	+(N2)	Animal
67	Leeba-mošū	6	5,3	++	++	+(N2)	+(N2)	Animal
68	Leeba-rope	6	5,5	++	-+	+(N2)	+(N2)	Animal
69	Lempate-kgomo	6	5,9	++	++	+(N2)	+(N2)	Plant
70	Lentswe-pilo	6	5,9	++	++	+(N2)	+(N2)	Nat. obj.
71	Legano-moya	6	5,3	++	++	+(N2)	+(N2)	Communic.
72	Legora-poto	6	5,9	++	++	+(N2)	+(N2)	Human
73	Lehu-lela	-	5,5	++	++	+(N2)	+(N2)	Illness
74	Leotwana-melaka	6	5+ana,6	++	++	+(N2)	-	Human
75	Lerothi-lodi	6	5,5	++	-+	+(N2)	+(N2)	Nat. phen.
76	Madi-keledi	-	6,9	++	++	+(N2)	+(N2)	Feeling

77	Mahuba-naka	-	6,9	++	++	+(N2)	+(N2)	Illness
78	Mathakga-boreledi	-	6,14	++	++	+(N2)	+(N2)	Artif.
79	Matšhatšha-khura	-	6,5	++	-+	+(N2)	+(N2)	Nat. obj.
80	Sedimo-tlou	8	7,9	++	++	+(N2)	+(N2)	Nat. phen.
81	Sefaka-monwana	8	7,3	++	++	+(N2)	+(N2)	Illness
82	Sehlodi-mare	8	7,6	++	++	+(N2)	+(N2)	Cognition
83	Sekga-pula	8	7,9	++	++	+(N2)	+(N2)	Plant
84	Ngana-tsebe	10	9,9	++	++	+(N2)	+(N2)	Body part
85	Kgolo-modumo	10	9,3	++	++	+(N2)	+(N2)	Culture
86	Dipheta-metsana	-	10,4+ana	++	++	+(N2)	-	Culture
87	Ditšie-badimo	-	10,2	++	++	+(N2)	+(N2)	Communic.
88	Hlogo-meetse	10	9,6	++	++	+(N2)	+(N2)	State
89	Kgodu-koma	10	9,9	++	++	+(N2)	+(N2)	Body part
90	Kgodu-modumo	10	9,3	++	++	+(N2)	+(N2)	Culture
91	Kgogo-badimo	10	9,2	++	++	+(N2)	+(N2)	Animal
92	Kgogo-nokana	10	9,9+ana	++	++	+(N2)	-	Animal
93	Kgokolo-dumo	10	9,3	++	-+	+(N2)	+(N2)	Culture
94	Khudu-koma	10	9,9	++	++	+(N2)	+(N2)	Animal
95	Mpa-kubu	10	9,9	++	++	+(N2)	+(N2)	Artif.
96	Nama-mmele	10	9,3	++	++	+(N2)	+(N2)	Body part
97	Noga-meetsana	10	9,6+ana	++	++	+(N2)	-	Animal
98	Nthithi-bokwana	10	9,7+ana	++	-+	+(N2)	-	Nat. phen.
99	Ntlwana-swiswi	10	9+ana,5	++	-+	+(N2)	-	Artif.
100	Ntwa-mogolo	10	9,3	++	++	+(N2)	+(N2)	Event
101	Pola-mmele	10	9,3	++	++	+(N2)	+(N2)	Illness
102	Popo-nono	10	9,9	++	++	+(N2)	+(N2)	Animal
103	Tata-kgope	10	1a,9	++	++	+(N2)	+(N2)	Animal
104	Thola-borebedi	10	9,14	++	++	+(N2)	+(N2)	Human
105	Tlou-bata	10	9,7	++	-+	+(N2)	+(N2)	Animal
106	Tšhwene-boruthwana	10	9,14+ana	++	++	+(N2)	-	Human
107	Bjoko-phefo	6	14,9	++	++	+(N2)	+(N2)	Cognition
108	Bolwetsi-kgomo	6	14,9	++	++	+(N2)	+(N2)	Illness
109	Boroko-lehu	-	14,5	++	++	+(N2)	+(N2)	State

Nouns + deverbatives (N+DEV)

(138)

	Noun	Pl.	Deriv.	Morph.		Loc.	Dim.	SRel.	SFeat.
				AR	AR				
1	Mma-mmoledi	2a	1a,1	++	++	-	+(N2)	IS	Human
2	Mma-monyefodi	2a	1a,1	++	++	-	+(N2)	IS	Human
3	Mma-moratwa	2a	1a,1	++	++	-	+(N2)	IS	Human
4	Mma-moruti	2a	1a,1	++	++	-	+(N2)	OF	Human
5	Mma-sekgethane	2a	1a,7	++	++	-	+(N2)	IS	Human
6	Morwa-moratwa	2a	1,1	++	++	-	+(N2)	IS	Human
7	Mong-mošomo	2	1,3	++	++	+(N2)	+(N2)	OF	Human

8	Mokgoši-sello	4+8	3,7	++	++	+(N2)	+(N2)	IS	Action
9	Molodi-duduetšo	4	3,3	++	--	+(N2)	+(N2)	IS	Communic.
10	Molomo-phadimo	4	3,9	++	++	+(N2)	+(N2)	IS	Body part
11	Mosela-pheto	4	3,9	++	++	+(N2)	+(N2)	OF	Communic.
12	Mosela-tirwa	4	3,9	++	++	+(N2)	+(N2)	OF	Communic.
13	Ihlo-kgopolo	6	5,9	--	++	+(N2)	+(N2)	IS	Cognition
14	Lebaka-kanego	6	5,9	++	++	+(N2)	+(N2)	OF	Communic.
15	Lebati-theledi	6	5,9	++	++	+(N2)	+(N2)	IS	Artif.
16	Leboa-bodikela	-	5,14	++	++	-	-	IN	Direction
17	Leboa-bohlabela	-	5,14	++	++	-	-	IN	Direction
18	Lehlathi-potšišo	6	5,9	++	++	+(N2)	+(N2)	IS	Communic.
19	Leina-kgopolo	6	5,9	++	++	+(N2)	+(N2)	IS	Communic.
20	Leina-leadingwa	6+6	5,5	++	++	+(N2)	+(N2)	IS	Communic.
21	Lenane-mmimo	6	5,3	++	++	+(N2)	+(N2)	OF	Communic.
22	Lenane-nošetšo	6	5,9	++	++	+(N2)	+(N2)	OF	Communic.
23	Lenane-thuto	6	5,9	++	++	+(N2)	+(N2)	OF	Communic.
24	Lenane-papadi	6	5,9	++	++	+(N2)	+(N2)	OF	Communic.
25	Lenane-theko	6	5,9	++	++	+(N2)	+(N2)	OF	Communic.
26	Lenane-thero	6	5,9	++	++	+(N2)	+(N2)	OF	Communic.
27	Lenane-tiro	6	5,9	++	++	+(N2)	+(N2)	OF	Communic.
28	Lenane-tlhopho	6	5,9	++	++	+(N2)	+(N2)	OF	Communic.
29	Lentšu-kgoketšo	6	5,9	++	++	+(N2)	+(N2)	WITH	Communic.
30	Lentšu-toro	6	5,9	++	++	+(N2)	+(N2)	IN	Communic.
31	Lentšu-tšhupo	6	5,9	++	++	+(N2)	+(N2)	WITH	Communic.
32	Maatla-kgogedi	-	6,9	++	++	+(N2)	+(N2)	WITH	Nat. phen.
33	Seboko-segi	8	7,7	++	--	+(N2)	+(N2)	IS	Animal
34	Sekepe-gogi	8	7,7	++	--	+(N2)	+(N2)	IS	Artif.
35	Dinaga-kopano	-	10,9	++	++	+(N2)	+(N2)	IS	Place
36	Hlapi-theledi	10	9,9	++	++	+(N2)	+(N2)	WITH	Animal
37	Kgoro-toka	10	9,9	++	++	+(N2)	+(N2)	OF	Place
38	Kgotla-boipiletšo	10	9,14	++	++	+(N2)	+(N2)	OF	Place
39	Kgotla-tshepedi	10	9,9	++	++	+(N2)	+(N2)	OF	Place
40	Noto-thuši	10	9,5	++	--	+(N2)	+(N2)	IS	Communic.
41	Ntlo-bojelo	10	9,14	++	++	+(N2)	+(N2)	FOR	Place
42	Pelo-lerato	10	9,5	++	++	+(N2)	+(N2)	WITH	Feeling
43	Pelo-thato	10	9,9	++	++	+(N2)	+(N2)	WITH	Feeling
44	Pheko-lerato	10	9,5	++	++	+(N2)	+(N2)	FOR	Culture
45	Puku-pokanyo	10	9,9	++	++	+(N2)	+(N2)	FOR	Artif.
46	Tema-theto	10	9,9	++	++	+(N2)	+(N2)	OF	Communic.
47	Thapo-tekanywa	10	9,9	++	++	+(N2)	+(N2)	FOR	Artif.
48	Tsebe-sekwi	10+8	9,7	++	++	+(N2)	+(N2)	OF	Feeling
49	Tsela-palo	10	9,9	++	++	+(N2)	+(N2)	OF	Communic.
50	Boima-phetano	-	14,9	++	++	+(N2)	+(N2)	IN	Nat. phen.
51	Bopelo-hlomogi	-	14,14	++	--	+(N2)	+(N2)	WITH	Feeling

Deverbatives + nouns (DEV + N)

(139)

	Noun	Pl.	Deriv.	Morph.		Loc.	Dim.	SRel.	SFeat.
				AR	AR				
1	Mongwaledi-pharephare	2	1,9	++	++	+(N2)	+(N2)	WITH	Human
2	Moloa-tsela	4	3,9	++	++	+(N2)	+(N2)	OF	Communic.
3	Mmino-mong	4	3,1	++	++	+(N2)	+(N2)	OF	Communic.
4	Mmoti-mmu	4	1,3	++	++	+(N2)	+(N2)	FROM	Nat. phen.
5	Lediri-setlogo	6	5,7	++	++	+(N2)	+(N2)	IS	Communic.
6	Lerato-koma	6	5,9	++	++	+(N2)	+(N2)	IS	Feeling
7	Leswao-dikga	6	5,8	++	++	+(N2)	+(N2)	OF	Communic.
8	Sejo-mmele	8	7,3	++	++	+(N2)	+(N2)	FOR	Food
9	Kgatišo-puku	10	9,9	++	++	+(N2)	+(N2)	OF	Event
10	Kotamo-bosele	10	9,14	++	++	+(N2)	+(N2)	IS	Event
11	Kwelano-bohloko	10	9+an,14	++	++	+(N2)	+(N2)	FOR	Feeling
12	Kwelo-bohloko	10	9,14	++	++	+(N2)	+(N2)	FOR	Feeling
13	Padi-histori	10	9,9	++	++	+(N2)	+(N2)	WITH	Communic.
14	Petšo-noto	10	9,9	++	++	+(N2)	+(N2)	OF	Event
15	Theto-gale	10	9,14	++	-+	+(N2)	+(N2)	OF	Communic.
16	Thibollo-leleme	10	9,5	++	++	+(N2)	+(N2)	OF	Communic.
17	Tshenyo-ina	10	9,5	++	-+	+(N2)	+(N2)	OF	Communic.
18	Bofegelo-toulo	-	14,9	++	++	-	+(N2)	OF	Artif.

Deverbatives + deverbatives (DEV + DEV)

(140)

	Noun	Pl.	Deriv.	Morph.		Loc.	Dim.	SRel.	SFeat.
				AR	AR				
1	Molao-kakanywa	4	3,9	++	++	+(N2)	+(N2)	IS	Communic.
2	Leemedi-tšhupi	6	5,9	++	++	+(N2)	+(N2)	OF	Communic.
3	Lešupi-leba	6+6	5,5	++	++	+(N2)	+(N2)	IS	Communic.
4	Lethabo-sello	-	5,7	++	++	+(N2)	+(N2)	WITH	Communic.
5	Segalo-theo	8	7,3	++	-+	+(N2)	+(N2)	IS	Communic.
6	Segalo-tlwaelo	8	7,9	++	++	+(N2)	+(N2)	IS	Communic.
7	Sejo-tekanywa	8	7,9	++	++	+(N2)	+(N2)	IS	Food
8	Sekibo-kgatišo	8	7,9	++	++	+(N2)	+(N2)	OF	Event
9	Sello-lethabo	-	7,5	++	++	+(N2)	+(N2)	WITH	Communic.
10	Seno-tagi	8	7,9	++	++	+(N2)	+(N2)	WITH	Liquid
11	Kanego-phetho	10	9,9	++	++	+(N2)	+(N2)	OF	Communic.
12	Katlego-kgwebo	10	9,9	++	++	+(N2)	+(N2)	OF	State
13	Keletšo-molao	10	9,3	++	++	+(N2)	+(N2)	FROM	State
14	Kgopolo-konalo	10	9,9	++	++	+(N2)	+(N2)	OF	Cognition
15	Polelo-pegelo	10	9,9+el	++	++	+(N2)	+(N2)	IS	Communic.
16	Polelo-theto	10	9,9	++	++	+(N2)	+(N2)	OF	Communic.
17	Pono-nagano	10	9,3	++	-+	+(N2)	+(N2)	IS	Cognition

18	Popego-polelo	10	9+eg,9	++	++	+(N2)	+(N2)	OF	Communic.
19	Popo-polelo	10	9,9	++	++	+(N2)	+(N2)	OF	Communic.
20	Taodišo-phelo	10	9,14	++	-+	+(N2)	+(N2)	OF	Communic.
21	Thuto-segopolwa	10+8	9,7	++	++	+(N2)	+(N2)	OF	Communic.
22	Tlathollo-tekano	10	9+oll,9	++	++	+(N2)	+(N2)	OF	Communic.
23	Tlhathollo-theo	10	9+oll,3	++	-+	+(N2)	+(N2)	OF	Communic.

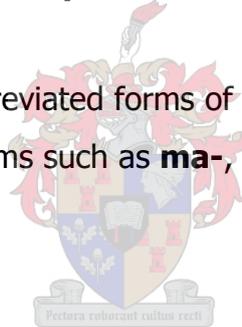
Co-ordinate compounds

(141)

	Noun	Pl.	Deriv.	Morph.		Loc.	Dim.	SRel.	SFeat.
				AR	AR				
1	Mogokgo-keledi	4	3,9	++	++	+(N2)	+(N2)	IS	Body part
2	Leeba-mphepane	6	5,9	++	++	+(N2)	+(N2)	IS	Animal
3	Sediba-mothopo	8	7,3	++	++	+(N2)	+(N2)	IS	Nat. phen.
4	Fariki-kolobe	10	9,9	++	++	+(N2)	+(N2)	IS	Animal
5	Tloo-make	10	9,9	++	++	+(N2)	+(N2)	IS	Food

3.2.6 Abbreviated nouns in compounds

In Northern Sotho, there are abbreviated forms of nouns which appear in compounds. This occurs with forms such as **ma-**, **ngwa-**, **nya-** and **ra-**.



3.2.6.1 The root ma-

The form **ma-** is considered as the first element of a compound and often indicates somebody or something that is inclined to do something exceptional. **Ma-** also refers to a female parent and is derived from the class 1a noun **mma** (mother).

Semantic classification

The semantic classification of compound nouns with the root **ma-** preceding nouns to form class 1a nouns is shown in the following examples of nouns:

Human nouns with ma-

(142) Cl. 1a/2a

Ma- ma- -fa

(Name or surname, one that gives)

Ma- ma- -ila

(Name or surname, one that has taboos)

Ma- ma- -rago

(Name or surname, one that has big buttocks)

Ma- ma- -rema

(Name or surname, one that chops)

Ma- ma- -šala

(Name or surname, one that remains)

Ma- ma- -sela

(Name or surname, one that hunts for food)

Ma- me- -lao

(A woman who has laws)

Ma- mo- -kgadi

(Leader of girls in the initiation school)

Ma- mo- -nyadiwe

(Hated wife/wife less loved than another)

Ma- mo- -ratwa

(Beloved wife)

Ma- m- -pe
(One who causes unhappiness)

Ma- m- -mpuru
(Name or surname, one that is like a white man)

Animal nouns with ma-

(143) Cl. 1a/2a

Ma- ma- -kgwethe
(Brownish type of lizard)

Ma- ma- -ramanyane
(Blue lizard (omen of evil))

Ma- ma- -ritagane
(Kind of ant)

Ma- ma- -šianoke
(Hammerhead bird)

Ma- m- -mati
(Kind of grasshopper)

Ma- mo- -naswi
(Kind of small bird)

Ma- mo- -sele
(Kind of bird)



Ma- mo- -tšhilo
(Kind of bird)

Ma- m- -pobe
(Queen bee)

Plant nouns with ma-

(144) Cl. 1a/2a

Ma- mo- -nkgane
(Khakhi weed)

Ma- mo- -tankane
(Kind of tree)



Place noun with ma-

(145) Cl. 1a/2a

Ma- me- -lodi
(Praise name for Pretoria)

3.2.6.2 The root ngwa-

The form **ngwa-** may be affixed to nouns or names to change them to class 1a nouns. It is derived from the noun **ngwana** (child) and when affixed to a proper name, it has the meaning of "female child of".

Semantic classification

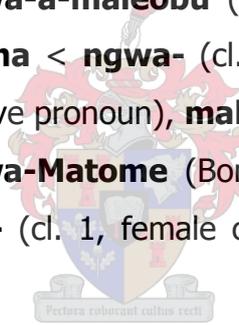
Compound nouns with **ngwa-** as root preceding the nouns will be classified semantically under time, animals and humans as in the following examples:

Time

- (146) a. Class 1a/2a: **Ngwa-gola**. Derived from the root **ngwa-** (previous year) and noun stem **-gola** < **ngwagola** (last year).
- b. Class 1a/2a: **Ngwa-golola**. Derived from the root **ngwa-** (previous year) and noun stem **-golola** < **ngwagolola** (year before last).

Animals

- (147) a. Class 1a/2a: **Ngwa-a-maleobu** (Bongwa-a-maleobu) (Chameleon). Derivation: **Ngwana** < **ngwa-** (cl. 1, female child of), **a** > **wa** (of, root of the possessive pronoun), **maleobu** (cl. 6, chameleon).
- b. Class 1a/2a: **Ngwa-Matome** (Bongwa-Matome) (Cat). Derivation: **Ngwana** < **ngwa-** (cl. 1, female child of), **Matome** (cl. 1a, proper name).



Humans

- (148) Class 1a/2a: **Ngwa-ma-bina** (Bongwa-ma-bina) (Daughter of Mabina). Derivation: **Ngwa-**, which is the root of **ngwana** (cl. 1, female child of), **Mabina** (cl. 1a, personal name/surname, one who dances).

The same is also true of the following compound nouns:

- (149) a. Class 1a/2a: Ngwa-ma-lahlela (Daughter of **Malahlela**)
b. Class 1a/2a: Ngwa-ma-leta (Daughter of **Maleta**)
c. Class 1a/2a: Ngwa-m-moni (Daughter of **Mmoni**)
d. Class 1a/2a: Ngwa-le-kgema (Daughter of **Lekgema**)

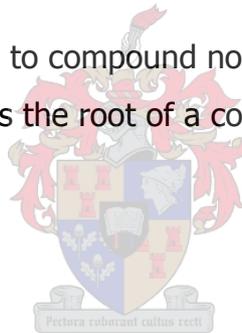
- e. Class 1a/2a: Ngwa-se-rumola (Daughter of **Serumola**)
- f. Class 1a/2a: Ngwa-di-kotla (Daughter of **Dikotla**)

In the following nouns the last N, dominated by Nst, is occupied by the proper noun:

- (150) a. Class 1a/2a: Ngwa-Modiba (Daughter of **Modiba**)
b. Class 1a/2a: Ngwa-Mphahlele (Daughter of **Mphahlele**)
c. Class 1a/2a: Ngwa-Letsoalo (Daughter of **Letsoalo**)
d. Class 1a/2a: Ngwa-Ramothopo (Daughter of **Ramothopo**)
e. Class 1a/2a: Ngwa-Dikgale (Daughter of **Dikgale**)
f. Class 1a/2a: Ngwa-Sethosa (Daughter of **Sethosa**)

3.2.6.3 The root **nya-**

The root **nya-** can also be affixed to compound nouns that belong to class 1a and 2a nouns. This **nya-** is considered as the root of a compound and is used only with proper nouns.



Semantic classification

In Northern Sotho, compound nouns formed by the root **nya-** are classified semantically only under human nouns and they include only proper names as the second nouns.

The compound nouns in this section formed by the root **nya-**, affixed to proper nouns, will refer to people and will therefore all be of class 1a and 2a:

- (151) a. **Nya-Mmabjala** (Mother of Mmabjala). Derived from the root **nya-** (mother of) and the personal or proper name **Mmabjala**.
b. **Nya-Mmapeu** (Mother of Mmapeu). Derived from the root **nya-** (mother of) and the personal or proper name **Mmapeu**.

3.2.6.4 The root **ra-**

When the root **ra-** is affixed to compound nouns, it changes such nouns to become nouns of class 1a and 2a. Whenever the root **ra-** is affixed to a proper noun, it is considered as the first element of a compound with the meaning of "father of". It is mainly used with proper names.

Poulos (1990:19) says this root

... occurs with quite a number of the proper names and which was originally associated with the significance of "father of". This original significance seems to have fallen away in these cases.

This is clear in a compound like **ra-tsaka** with the meaning of name, surname or gladiator. It is derived from the root **ra-** (father of, one who always does what is expressed by the verb or noun that follows the root) and class 9 noun **tsaka** (battle axe).

Compound nouns formed with the root **ra-** can be classified semantically under humans, animals, culture and artifacts as in the following examples:

Humans

Compound nouns with the root **ra-** classified semantically under human nouns will mainly be found with nouns of class 1a and 2a.

- (152) a. **Ra-dihlapi** (Fish-monger). Derivation: **Ra** (rra (father) + possessive **wa** (of)), **dihlapi** (fish, cl. 10).
- b. **Ra-dikatana** (Someone in rags). Derivation: **Ra** (rra (father) + possessive **wa** (of)), **dikatana** (rags/tatters, cl. 10).
- c. **Ra-dikgwa** (Forester). Derivation: **Ra** (rra (father) + possessive **wa** (of)), **dikgwa** (forest/wood/thicket, cl. 8).

A list of other compound nouns with the root **ra-** classified semantically under human nouns that also take class 1a and 2a is the following:

(153) Ra-dikompo	(Compound manager)
Ra-dikunupi	(Someone having many buttons on his clothes/policeman)
Ra-dimela	(Nurseryman)
Ra-dimpa	(Paunchy person/pot-bellied person)
Ra-dimpana	(Child [with protruding stomach]/youth)
Ra-dinama	(Butcher)
Ra-dinkgwa	(Baker)
Ra-dino	(Liquor trader)
Ra-dinku	(Sheep farmer)
Ra-dikgomo	(Cattle farmer)
Ra-dipampiri	(Journalist)
Ra-dipompo	(Plumber)
Ra-dithaka	(Person who has many friends/member of an age-group)
Ra-dithaloko	(Sports organizer)
Ra-ditšhelete	(Rich man/well-to-do person/tycoon)
Ra-kgadi	(Father's sister/paternal aunt)
Ra-kgolo	(Paternal or maternal grandfather)
Ra-kgolokhukhu	(Forefather/ancestor)
Ra-kgoro	(Head of the homesteads of a particular kgoro)
Ra-lebenkele	(Storekeeper)
Ra-lefaufau	(Astronaut)
Ra-lehufana	(Jealous man)
Ra-maaka	(Arch-liar)
Ra-maatla	(Strong man)
Ra-maano	(Planmaker/schemer)
Ra-maele	(Counsellor/advisor)
Ra-mahlale	(Scientist)

Ra-mahlo	(Person with large eyes)
Ra-maleme	(Linguist/polyglot)
Ra-mamina	(Child)
Ra-maoto	(Person with large feet)
Ra-matata	(Maker of karosses)
Ra-matlotlo	(Treasurer)
Ra-matšoba	(Horticulturist)
Ra-mebotoro	(Motorcar owner)
Ra-melao	(Lawyer)
Ra-melodi	(Musician/maker of music)
Ra-meno	(Dentist)
Ra-meriri	(Man with long hair/lout)
Ra-mmotwana	(Headman)
Ra-mogolo	(Father's elder brother)
Ra-mohlagase	(Electrician)
Ra-mosako	(Ringmaster)
Ra-motse	(Mayor)
Ra-motsana	(Induna)
Ra-motšoko	(Tobacco farmer)
Ra-ntšhu	(Gang)
Ra-serapa	(Gardener)
Ra-polasa	(Farmer)
Ra-poso	(Postmaster)
Ra-selongwa-ke-dinose	(One stung by bees)
Ra-seteišene	(Station master)
Ra-tente	(Person who lives in a tent)
Ra-thuto	(Director of education)
Ra-tšhoša	(Gladiator)
Ra-tshekišo	(Attorney-general)
Ra-tswale	(Father-in-law)
Ra-tšhilo	(Miller)

Animals

- (154) **Ra-hulong** (Kind of bird)
Ra-khudu (Mr. Tortoise)
Ra-masekana (Hare/rabbit)

Culture

- (155) **Ra-masedi** (God)
Ra-masedi-a-poloko (God Almighty)

Artifacts

- (156) **Ra-molongwana-moswana** (Revolver/pistol)
Ra-mphašane (Sandal)
Ra-oto (Instep)



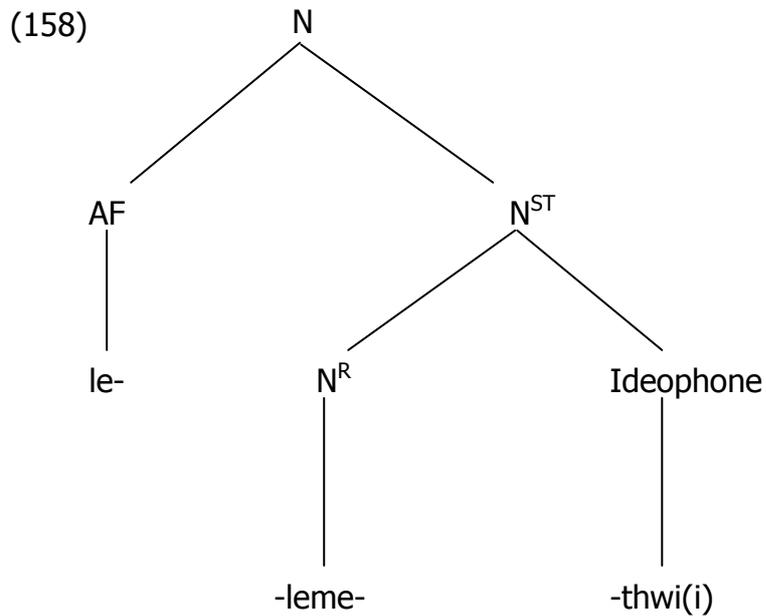
3.3 COMPOUND NOUNS WITH AN IDEOPHONE

3.3.1 Morphology of [N Ideophone] compounds

3.3.1.1 Morphological structure

Compound nouns with an ideophone in Northern Sotho have the following morphological structure:

(157) **Leleme-thwi(i)** (Straight tongue)



The noun class prefix **le-** is the head of the compound and the ideophone **thwi(i)** always appears with a nominal root, which is **-leme-** above.

3.3.1.2 Noun class prefix

Presence of a noun class prefix only in the first noun

The noun class prefix, which determines the noun class of the compound, is found in the first noun because the second word is an ideophone that does not have a noun class prefix. The following examples emphasize this point:

- (159) a. **Thaka-thwi(i)** (Reliable friend): **Thaka** (member of the same age-group/friend) is the only noun of the compound which takes noun class prefix 9, **n-**, which is the prefix of the whole compound.
- b. **Lengope-fekefeke** (Long/big ditch): **Lengope** (ditch) is the only noun in this compound which takes noun class prefix 5, **le-**, which is the prefix of the entire compound.

The class prefix of the head noun that also determines the class of the entire compound may not be present in the first noun:

(160) **Rapo-thwi(i)** (Straight bone): The only noun of the compound is **-rapo** (bone). This noun does not have noun class prefix 5, **le-**, which is the noun class prefix of the entire compound.

Noun class number

These compound nouns may have binary or single class nouns as indicated in this diagram:

(161)

	N ₁
a.	Binary
b.	Single

The noun in (161a) has binary noun classes:

Binary
Singular
Plural



- (162) a. **Mma-** + **-rephurephu** (Paralyzed person)
Bomma- + **-rephurephu** (Paralyzed persons)
- b. **Leleme-** + **-thwi(i)** (Straight tongue)
Maleme- + **-thwi(i)** (Straight tongues)
- c. **Lengope-** + **-fekefeke** (Long/big ditch)
Mangope- + **-fekefeke** (Long/big ditches)
- d. **Lemapo-** + **-noni** (Honey-comb with much honey)
Mamapo- + **-noni** (Honey-combs with much honey)
- e. **Petlo-** + **-hlabi** (Firmer chisel)
Dipetlo- + **-hlabi** (Firmer chisels)

f.	Thuta-	+	-phedi	(Biology)
	Dithuta-	+	-phedi	(Biologies)
g.	Molokwana-	+	-rite	(All the small clan/generation)
	Melokwana-	+	-rite	(All the small clans/generations)

In (161b), the noun has only one prefix:

(163) a.	Bopelo-	+	-kgaogi	(Mercy/kindness/sympathy)
	Bopelo-	+	-hlomogi	(Mercy/kindness/sympathy)
	Bopelo-	+	-theledi	(Mercy/kindness/sympathy)
	Bophelo-	+	-noni	(Luxurious life)

The noun **bopelo** is in class 14 and has no other class prefix.

3.3.1.3 Ideophones

The concept "ideophone", according to Poulos and Louwrens (1994:344), simply combines the notion of "idea" and "phone". The word "phone" comes from the Greek language for "sound".

Doke (1935:118) defines the ideophone as:

A vivid representation of an idea in sound.

Lombard, van Wyk and Mokgokong (1985:180) say:

Ideophones are the **phonic representation** (sound symbolism) of **human perception** like seeing, hearing, feeling (touching), smelling, tasting and also inner feeling.

Ziervogel, Lombard and Mokgokong (1969:91) also define an ideophone as:

... a word with an adverbial function and modifies a predicate with regard to manner, colour, smell, sound and action.

There are two types of ideophones, namely; onomatopoeic and derived ones.

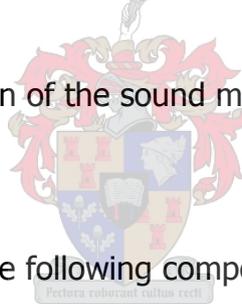
Onomatopoeic ideophones

The concept "onomatopoeic" is defined in the Collins Concise Dictionary (1986:788) as:

The formation of words whose sound is initiative of the sound of the noise or action designed, such as **hiss**.

The concept is also defined by Watson (1976:781) as:

Word-formation by initiation of the sound made by what is represented.



These ideophones are found in the following compound nouns:

- (164) a. **Lengope-fekefeke** (Long/big ditch)
- b. **Rapo-thwi(i)** (Straight bone)

Derived ideophones

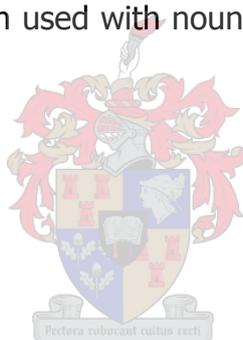
Ideophones may be derived from verbs:

- (165) a. **Mma-rephurephu** (Paralyzed person): **Rephurephu** is a reduplicative ideophone that is derived from the verb **repharepha** (hang loosely/be slack).
- b. **Molokwana-rite** (All the small clan/generation): **Rite** is an ideophone that is derived from the verb **rita** (churn/stir (usually milk or blood)).

- c. **Lemapo-noni** (Honey-comb): **Noni** is an ideophone that is derived from the verb **nona** (be fat/be stout).
- d. **Petlo-hlabi** (Firmer chisel): **Hlabi** is an ideophone that is derived from the verb **hlaba** (stab/slaughter/rise (sun)).
- e. **Thuto-phedi** (Biology): **Phedi** is an ideophone that is derived from the verb **phela** (live).
- f. **Bopelo-hlomogi** (Mercy/kindness/sympathy): **Hlomogi** is an ideophone that is derived from the verb **hlomoga** (sympathize).
- g. **Bopelo-kgaogi** (Mercy/kindness/sympathy): **Kgaogi** is an ideophone that is derived from the verb **kgaoga** (break/die/ divide).
- h. **Bopelo-theledi** (Mercy/kindness/sympathy): **Theledi** is an ideophone that is derived from the verb **thelela** (slip).

All the ideophones that have been used with nouns in (165) have been derived from verbs.

3.3.1.4 Nominal suffixes



Aim

The aim of this section is to find out whether the nominal suffixes can be affixed to compound nouns with ideophones. It must be investigated if the nominal suffixes are affixed to the first nouns or to the ideophones (second words) if affixation occurs.

The augmentative suffix -gadi

It is the aim of this section to indicate the augmentative meaning by attaching the suffix **-gadi** to the compound noun. The matter to be investigated is the element that should accommodate this suffix. Because of the nature of the compound, the first element will take this suffix:

- (166) a. Leleme-**gadi**-thwi(i) < (leleme-+-**gadi**) (Big straight tongue)
b. Lengope-**gadi**-fekefeke < (lengope-+-**gadi**) (Big ditch)
c. Thuto-**gadi**-phedi < (thuto-+-**gadi**) (Big Biology)
d. Bopelo-**gadi**-kgaogi < (bopelo-+-**gadi**) (Big mercy or sympathy)

The suffix **-gadi** cannot be attached to an ideophone to express the augmentative meaning.

The diminutive suffix **-ana**

The aim of this section is to examine whether the diminutive suffix **-ana** can be affixed to compound nouns with ideophones to indicate a diminutive meaning in Northern Sotho. The point to be looked at is which of the two words that form a compound will accept the suffix:

- (167) a. Lelengw-**ana**-thwi(i) < (leleme-+-**ana**) (Small straight tongue)
b. Lengotsw-**ana**-fekefeke < (lengope-+-**ana**) (Small ditch)
c. Thutw-**ana**-phedi < (thuto-+-**ana**) (Little Biology)
d. Bopelw-**ana**-kgaogi < (bopelo-+-**ana**) (Little mercy or sympathy)

The nominal suffix **-ana**, in (167), is affixed to the first noun of a compound in order to express a diminutive meaning, but not to the second word which is an ideophone.

This will not be acceptable as in the following examples:

- (168) a. *Leleme-thwi(i)-**ana** > *leleme-thwi(i)**ana**
b. *Lengope-fekefeke-**ana** > *lengope-fekefek**ana**
c. *Thuto-phedi-**ana** > *thuto-phetš**ana**
d. *Bopelo-kgaogi-**nyana** > *bopelo-kgaog**inyana**

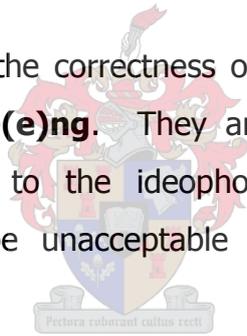
The locative suffix **-(e)ng**

The aim of this section is to investigate whether the locative suffix **-(e)ng** can be affixed to compound nouns with ideophones.

The locative suffix **-(e)ng** can be affixed to the first noun of the compound, but not to an ideophone as in the following examples:

- (169) a. Lemapo-**ng**-noni < (lemapo-+-**ng**) (In the honey-comb with much honey)
b. Thak-**eng**-thwi(i) < (thaka-+-**eng**) (On the small reliable friend)
c. Thuto-**ng**-phedi < (thuto-+-**ng**) (In Biology)
d. Bopelo-**ng**-theledi < (bopelo-+-**ng**) (In mercy or sympathy)

The examples in (169) indicate the correctness of the formation of the compound nouns with the locative suffix **-(e)ng**. They are the acceptable forms. If the locative suffix can be affixed to the ideophones, they will be regarded as ungrammatical and therefore be unacceptable compounds as in the following examples:



- (170) a. *Lemapo-noni-+-**ng** > *lemapo-noning
b. *Thaka-thwi(i)-+-**ng** > *thaka-thwi(i)**ng**
c. *Thuto-phedi-+-**ng** > *thuto-pheding
d. *Bopelo-theledi-+-**ng** > *bopelo-theleding

3.3.2 Semantic relations of compounds with nouns + ideophones

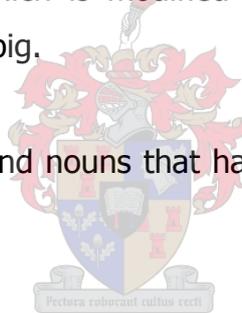
The aim of this section is to pay attention to the semantic relations in compound nouns between the nouns and ideophones. The semantic relations of compounds can be grouped under descriptive and possessive.

Descriptive relation

The following endocentric compounds can show the descriptive relation:

- (171) a. **Mma-rephurephu** (Paralyzed person): The relation between **mma** and **rephurephu** can be expressed by the descriptive **is**; the head noun is **mma** (mother) which is modified by **rephurephu** (be loose/be slack/hang loosely/be paralyzed), i.e., the one who is paralyzed.
- b. **Leleme-thwi(i)** (Straight tongue): The relation between **leleme** and **thwi(i)** can be expressed by the descriptive **is**; the head noun is **leleme** (tongue) which is modified by **thwi(i)** (straight), i.e., the tongue which is straight.
- c. **Lengope-fekefeke** (Long/big ditch): The relation between **lengope** and **fekefeke** can be expressed by the descriptive **is**; the head noun is **lengope** (ditch) which is modified by **fekefeke** (long/big), i.e., the ditch which is long/big.

Some examples of other compound nouns that have the descriptive relation are the following:



- (172) a. **Rapo-thwi(i)** (Straight bone)
- b. **Mphaphanana-thwi(i)** (Small straight portion)
- c. **Thaka-thwi(i)** (Reliable/good friend)
- d. **Thutišo-thwi(i)** (Direct method)
- e. **Tsela-thwi(i)** (Straight road)
- f. **Lemapo-noni** (Honey-comb which is much)
- g. **Petlo-hlabi** (Firmer chisel)
- h. **Bopelo-hlomogi** (Mercy/kindness/sympathy)
- i. **Bopelo-kgagi** (Mercy/kindness/sympathy)
- j. **Bopelo-theledi** (Mercy/kindness/sympathy)
- k. **Bophelo-noni** (Luxurious life)

Possessive relation

This relation is indicated by the following example:

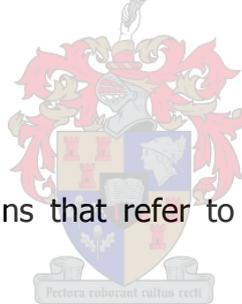
(173) **Thuto-phedi** (Biology): The relation between **thuto** and **phedi** can be expressed by the possessive **of**; the head noun is **thuto** (education) which is modified by **phedi** (life), i.e., the science of life and all its manifestations.

3.3.3 Semantic features of compounds with nouns + ideophones

The purpose of this section is to attempt to classify the semantic features of compounds formed by nouns and ideophones. Semantically, these compounds can be classified under humans, natural phenomenon, natural object, body parts, communication, food, artifacts, state and feelings.

Humans

The examples of compound nouns that refer to human beings or people are the following:



Endocentric compounds

(174) Class 1a/2a: **Mma-rephurephu** (Bomma-rephurephu) (Paralyzed person).
Derivation: **Mma** (cl. 1a, mother), **rephurephu** (be loose/be slack/hang loosely/be paralyzed, ideophone).

Class 9/10: **Thaka-thwi(i)** (Dithaka-thwi(i)) (Reliable/good friend).
Derivation: **Thaka** (cl. 9, member of the same age-group/friend/ playmate/companion), **thwi(i)** (straight, ideophone).

Exocentric compound

(175) Class 3/4: **Molokwana-rite** (Melokwana-rite) (All the small clan/generation). Derivation: **Molokwana** (cl. 3, small clan/generation), **rite** (churn/stir (usually milk or blood), ideophone).

Natural phenomenon

The following example of compound noun is found to refer to a natural phenomenon:

(176) Class 5/6: **Lengope-fekefeke** (Mangope-fekefeke) (Long/big ditch). Derivation: **Lengope** (cl. 5, ditch), **fekefeke** (suddenly appear and disappear (as a man running among trees)), ideophone).

Natural object

An example of compound noun that indicates a natural object is the following:



(177) Class 9/10: **Mphaphanana-thwi(i)** (Dimphaphanana-thwi(i)) (Small straight portion). Derivation: **Mphaphanana** (cl. 9, small portion (of slaughtered animal or melon)), **thwi(i)** (straight, ideophone).

Body part

Compound nouns that refer to various parts of the body are the following:

(178) Class 5/6: **Leleme-thwi(i)** (Maleme-thwi(i)) (Straight tongue). Derivation: **Leleme** (cl. 5, tongue/language), **thwi(i)** (straight, ideophone).

Class 5/6: **Rapo-thwi(i)** (Marapo-thwi(i)) (Straight bone). Derivation: - **rapo** without its prefix (cl. 5, bone), **thwi(i)** (straight, ideophone).

Communication

The compound nouns of information have the following examples:

(179) Class 9/10: **Thutišo-thwi(i)** (Dithutišo-thwi(i)) (Direct method). Derivation: **Thutišo** (cl. 9, method), derived from the causative verb **rutiša** (help/cause to teach), **thwi(i)** (straight, ideophone).

Class 9/10: **Thuto-phedi** (Dithuto-phedi) (Biology). Derivation: **Thuto** (cl. 9, education), derived from the verb **ruta** (educate/teach/train), **phedi** is an ideophone which is derived from **phela** (live, verb).

Food

The following example of compound noun refers to food:

(180) Class 5/6: **Lemapo-noni** (Mamapo-noni) (Honey-comb with much honey). Derivation: **Lemapo** (cl. 5, honey-comb), **noni** is an ideophone that is derived from **nona** (be fat/be stout, verb).

Artifacts

Man-made objects are referred to by the following examples:

(181) Class 9/10: **Tsela-thwi(i)** (Ditsela-thwi(i)) (Straight road). Derivation: **Tsela** (cl. 9, road), **thwi(i)** (straight, ideophone).

Class 9/10: **Petlo-hlabi** (Dipetlo-hlabi) (Firmer chisel). Derivation: **Petlo** (cl. 9, chisel), derived from the verb **betla** (carve (as wooden vessels)), **hlabi** is an ideophone that is derived from **hlaba** (stab/ slaughter/rise (sun), verb).

State

State compound noun has the following example:

- (182) Class 14: **Bophelo-noni** (Luxurious life). Derivation: **Bophelo** (cl. 14, life), derived from **phela** (live, verb), **noni** is an ideophone that is derived from **nona** (be fat/be stout, verb).

Feelings

Compound nouns that deal with feelings include the following examples:

- (183) Class 14: **Bopelo-hlomogi** (Mercy/kindness/sympathy). Derivation: **Bopelo** (cl. 14, heartiness), **hlomogi** is an ideophone that is derived from **hlomoga** (sympathize, verb).

Class 14: **Bopelo-kgaoqi** (Mercy/kindness/sympathy). Derivation: **Bopelo** (cl. 14, heartiness), **kgaoqi** is an ideophone which is derived from **kgaoqa** (break/snap (as string) or die/divide (as a tribe), verb).

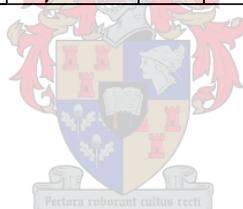
Class 14: **Bopelo-theledi** (Mercy/kindness/sympathy). Derivation: **Bopelo** (cl. 14, heartiness), **theledi** is an ideophone that is derived from **thelela** (slip, verb).

The compound nouns in the above examples, which have the morphology [AF[R V-i]], have ideophones that are derived from verbs. In other examples of compounds, the ideophones are not derived either from verbs or any other word category.

3.3.4 Table of compounds

Endocentric compounds

(184)	Noun	Pl.	Deriv.	Morph.		Loc.	Dim.	SRel.	SFeat.	
				A	R					ideo
1	Mma-rephurephu	2a	1a, ideo	++	++	-	-	IS	Human	
2	Leleme-thwi(i)	6	5, ideo	++	++	+(N1)	+(N1)	IS	Body part	
3	Lemapo-noni	6	5, ideo	++	++	+(N1)	+(N1)	IS	Food	
4	Lengope-fekefeke	6	5, ideo	++	++	+(N1)	+(N1)	IS	Nat. phen.	
5	Rapo-thwi(i)	6	5, ideo	-	+	++	+(N1)	+(N1)	IS	Body part
6	Mphaphanana-thwi(i)	10	9, ideo	++	++	+(N1)	-	IS	Nat. obj.	
7	Thaka-thwi(i)	10	9, ideo	++	++	+(N1)	+(N1)	IS	Human	
8	Thutišo-thwi(i)	10	9, ideo	++	++	+(N1)	+(N1)	IS	Communic.	
9	Thuto-phedi	10	9, ideo	++	++	+(N1)	+(N1)	OF	Communic.	
10	Tsela-thwi(i)	10	9, ideo	++	++	+(N1)	+(N1)	IS	Artif.	
11	Petlo-hlabi	10	9, ideo	++	++	+(N1)	+(N1)	IS	Artif.	
12	Bopelo-hlomogi	-	14, ideo	++	++	+(N1)	+(N1)	IS	Feeling	
13	Bopelo-kgaogi	-	14, ideo	++	++	+(N1)	+(N1)	IS	Feeling	
14	Bopelo-theledi	-	14, ideo	++	++	+(N1)	+(N1)	IS	Feeling	
15	Bophelo-noni	-	14, ideo	++	++	+(N1)	+(N1)	IS	State	



Exocentric compound

(185)	Noun	Pl.	Deriv.	Morph.		Loc.	Dim.	SFeat.
				A	R			
	Molokwana-rite	4	3, ideo	++	++	+(N1)	-	Human

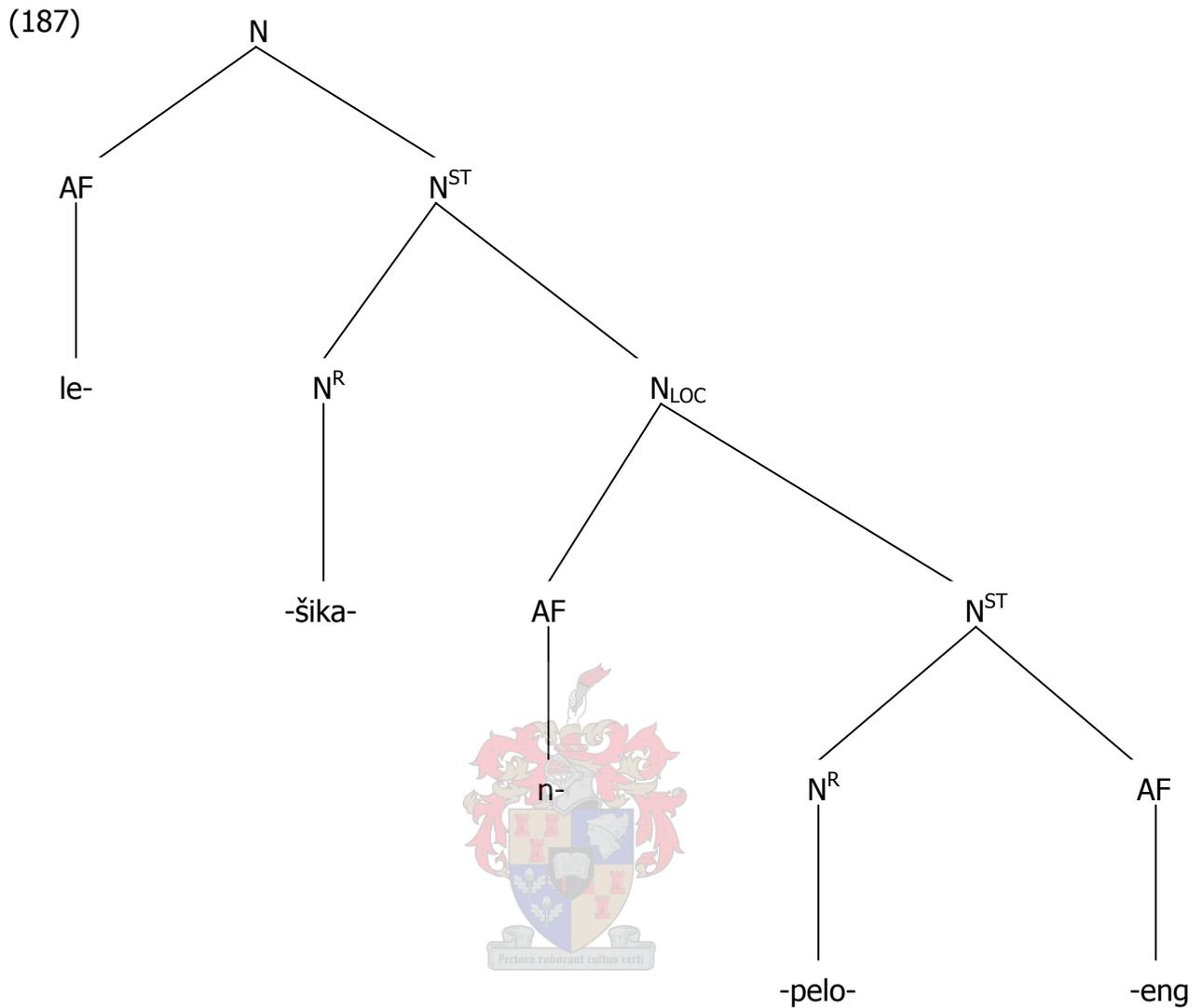
3.4 COMPOUND NOUNS WITH A LOCATIVE NOUN

3.4.1 Locative nouns with the suffix -eng

3.4.1.1 Morphology

a. Morphological structure

(186) **Lešika-pelong** (Blood vessel in the heart)



The compound noun **lešika-pelong** in (186) consists of a noun **lešika** (vein/sinew) and a derived locative noun **pelong** (in the heart). This is a derived locative due to the usage of the locative suffix **-(e)ng**. The noun **lešika** belongs to class 5, **le-**, while **pelo (-eng)** belongs to class 9, hence the appearance of the prefix morpheme **n-**.

b. Noun class prefix

Presence of a noun class prefix in both nouns

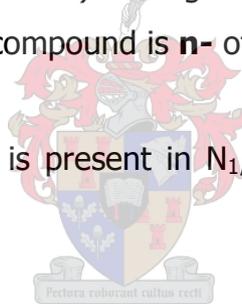
The purpose of this section is to investigate the head of the compound noun. The diagram below is a summary of what will be investigated:

(188)		N ₁	N ₂
a.		+	+
b.		+	-

The noun class prefix in (188a) is present in both nouns as in the following examples, but the prefix of the first noun determines the class of the compound.

- (189) a. **Lešika-pelong** (Blood vessel in the heart): Class 5, **le-** and class 9, **n-**. The noun **lešika** (vein/sinew) and **pelong** (in the heart) have singular class prefixes, but **le-** of **lešika** is the prefix of the whole compound.
- b. **Polokego-mebileng** (Road safety): The first noun **polokego** (safety) has noun class prefix 9, **n-** whereas the second noun **mebileng** (on the roads) belongs to noun class prefix 4, **me-**. The prefix of the entire compound is **n-** of class 9.

In (188b), the noun class prefix is present in N₁, but not retained in N₂ as in the following examples:



- (190) a. **Mongwalo-bitleng** (Epitaph): **Mongwalo** (writing) is the noun which has noun class prefix 3, **mo-** while the locative noun **-bitleng** (on the grave) does not have noun class prefix 5, **le-**. The prefix of the entire compound is **mo-** of class 3.
- b. **Seoko-dibeng** (Waterpan/well-watered land): The noun class prefix 7, **se-** is present in the noun **seoko** (sty) whereas the locative noun **-dibeng** (in the depth/pool) is without the noun class prefix 7, **se-**. The prefix **se-** of the noun **seoko**, but not **se-** of the locative noun **-dibeng**, determines the class of the whole compound.
- c. **Kgolego-lapeng** (House-arrest): The noun **kgolego** (jail) possesses the noun class prefix 9, **n-** while the locative noun **-lapeng** (in the household) does not indicate the noun class prefix 5, **le-**. Even so, the compound noun as a whole is in class 9, **n-**.

Noun class number in both nouns

It is possible that both nouns in a compound noun can have either binary or single class numbers. The possibilities that may appear are the following:

(191)

	N ₁	N ₂
a.	Binary	Single
b.	Single	Single

In (191a) above, the first noun has binary noun classes whereas the second one, which is the locative, has a single noun class prefix that may be either singular or plural:

Binary	Single
Singular	Singular
Plural	



- (192) (i) **Mongwalo-** + **-bitleng** (Epitaph)
Mengwalo- + **-bitleng** (Epitaphs)
(ii) **Lešika-** + **-pelong** (Blood vessel in the heart)
Mašika- + **-pelong** (Blood vessels in the heart)
(iii) **Seoko-** + **-dibeng** (Waterpan/well-watered land)
Dioko- + **-dibeng** (Waterpans/well-watered lands)
(iv) **Tshepelo-** + **-faufaung** (Space walk)
Ditshepelo- + **-faufaung** (Space walks)
(v) **Kgolego-** + **-lapeng** (House-arrest)
Dikgolego- + **-lapeng** (House-arrests)
(vi) **Khutlo-** + **-someng** (Decimal point)
Dikhutlo- + **-someng** (Decimal points)
(vii) **Tšhelete-** + **-pankeng** (Bank balance)
Ditšhelete- + **-pankeng** (Bank balances)

Binary	Single	(191a)
Singular	Plural	
Plural		

- (193) (i) **Mma-** + **-basading** (Woman who is fond of women)
Bomma- + **-basading** (Women who are fond of women)
(ii) **Polokego-** + **-mebileng** (Road safety)
Dipolokego- + **-mebileng** (Road safeties)

In (191b), both nouns have single noun classes that may be either singular or plural:

Single	Single
Plural	Singular

- (194) **Maatla-** + **-mpeng** (Glutton)



Single	Single
Singular	Plural

- (195) **Tau-** + **-dikgomong** (Name of a place)

c. The augmentative suffix **-gadi**

It is the purpose of this section to show the augmentative meaning by means of the suffix **-gadi** which should be attached to one element of the compound noun. The position which this suffix should occupy is also important. Due to the nature of the compound noun, the second element is the one that can accommodate this suffix:

- (196) a. Mongwalo-bitleng-+-**gadi** (Big epitaph)
b. Lešika-pelong-+-**gadi** (Big blood vessel in the heart)

- c. Maatla-mpeng-+-**gadi** (Big glutton)
- d. Seoko-dibeng-+-**gadi** (Big waterpan/well-watered land)

d. The locative nouns with -eng

Two important facts concerning these types of compound nouns are indicated below:

- a. The second noun of the compound noun is a locative noun formed by a locative suffix **-eng** on the noun:

- (197) (i) **Lešika-pelo-+-ng** (Blood vessel in the heart)
- (ii) **Khutlo-som-+-eng** (Decimal point)
- (iii) **Tau-dikgomo-+-ng** (Name of a place)

In the examples above, the locative suffix **-eng** is attached to the second noun of the compound.

- b. If such compounds have to appear with verbs which need a location, direction or source complement, a locative preposition **go** will have to appear with these compounds in a PP, e.g.:

- (198) (i) Re tla ya [go seoko-dibeng]
‘We will go to the waterpan or well-watered land’
- (ii) Ke nyaka go kitimela [go mma-ganong]
‘I want to rush to a talkative woman’
- (iii) Dieta di išitšwe [go Tau-kobong]
‘The shoes were delivered to Tau-kobong’

Such a preposition is necessary because the compound cannot accept another locative suffix **-eng**.

e. The diminutive suffix **-ana**

The purpose of this section is to find out whether the diminutive suffix **-ana** can be attached to these compound nouns. If suffixation takes place, then it is important to know the noun that the suffix **-ana** is attached to, since two separate nouns form compound noun.

Only one noun accepts such affixation. Compare the following examples:

- (199) a. Mongwalo-bitl-**an**-eng < (mongwalo-bitla-**ana**-eng) (Small epitaph)
b. Maatla-mp-**an**-eng < (maatla-mpa-**ana**-eng) (Small glutton)
c. Seoko-dib-**an**-eng < (seoko-diba-**ana**-eng) (Small waterpan/well-watered land)
d. Khutlo-songw-**an**-eng < (khutlo-some-**ana**-eng) (Small decimal point)

In all the examples above, the suffix **-ana** is affixed to the second noun of the compound to express a diminutive meaning. However, the diminutive suffix does not appear after the locative suffix **-eng** as would be expected (see paragraph c. above, no (196), where **-gadi** appears after the locative **-eng**). The diminutive appears before the locative **-eng** above. If **-ana** were attached to the first noun, ungrammatical and unacceptable compounds would be formed:

- (200) a. *Mongwalw-+-**ana**-bitl-eng > *mongwalw**ana**-bitleng
b. *Maatl-+-**ana**-mp-eng > *maatl**ana**-mpeng
c. *Seokw-+-**ana**-dib-eng > *seokw**ana**-dibeng
d. *Khutlw-+-**ana**-some-eng > *khutlw**ana**-someng

3.4.1.2 Semantic relations

The semantic relations in compounds between nouns and locatives with the suffix **-eng** are also of great significance. It is, therefore, the aim of this section to pay

attention to these semantic relations of compounds that can be grouped under associative, location and top -location.

Associative relation

(201) **Mma-basading** (Woman who is fond of women): The relation between **mma** and **basading** can be expressed by the associative **with**; the head noun is **mma** (mother) which is modified by **basading** (to the women), i.e., a woman who has women (a woman with women).

Location relation

- (202) a. **Lešika-pelong** (Blood vessel in the heart): The relation between **lešika** and **pelong** can be expressed by the location **in**; the head noun is **lešika** (vein/sinew) which is modified by **pelong** (in the heart), i.e., the vein/sinew which is in the heart.
- b. **Seoko-dibeng** (Waterpan/well-watered land): The relation between **seoko** and **-dibeng** can be expressed by the location **in**; the head noun is **seoko** (sty) which is modified by **-dibeng** (in the depth/pool), i.e., the sty which is in the pool.
- c. **Tshepelo-faufaung** (Space walk): The relation between **tshepelo** and **-faufaung** can be expressed by the location **in**; the head noun is **tshepelo** (walking) which is modified by **-faufaung** (in space), i.e., to walk in space.

The other examples of compound nouns that have the same relation as above are the following:

- (203) a. **Kgolego-lapeng** (House-arrest)
b. **Khutlo-someng** (Decimal point)
c. **Tšhelete-pankeng** (Bank balance)

Top-location relation

- (204) a. **Mongwalo-bitleng** (Epitaph). The relation between **mongwalo** and **-bitleng** can be expressed by the top-location **on**; the head noun is **mongwalo** (writing) which is modified by **-bitleng** (on the grave), i.e., the writing which is on the grave.
- b. **Polokego-mebileng** (Road safety). The relation between **polokego** and **mebileng** can be expressed by the top-location **on**; the head noun is **polokego** (safety) which is modified by **mebileng** (on the roads), i.e., the safety which is on the roads.

3.4.1.3 Semantic features

The classification of the semantic features of compounds formed by nouns and locatives with the suffix **-eng** is the main purpose of this section. These compounds can be classified semantically under humans, natural phenomenon, body part, communication, place, event and feeling.



Humans

Endocentric compound with the locative suffix -eng

- (205) Class 1a/2a: **Mma-basading** (Bomma-basading) (Woman who is fond of women). Derivation: **Mma** (cl. 1a, mother) and a locative noun **basading** (cl. 2, to the women).

Exocentric compounds with the locative suffix -eng

- (206) Class 1a/2a: **Mma-ganong** (Bomma-ganong) (Talkative woman). Derivation: **Mma** (cl. 1a, mother) and a locative noun **-ganong** without its prefix (cl. 5, in the mouth).

Class 1a/2a: **Mma-khureng** (Bomma-khureng) (Fat/stout person).
Derivation: **Mma** (cl. 1a, mother) and a locative noun **-khureng** without its prefix (cl. 5, to the fat).

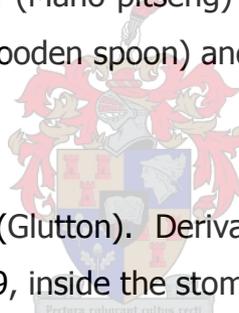
Class 1a/2a: **Mma-pateng** (Bomma-pateng) (Wanderer). Derivation: **Mma** (cl. 1a, mother) and a locative noun **pateng** (cl. 9, on the road).

Class 1a/2a: **Mma-tseleng** (Bomma- tseleng) (Wanderer). Derivation: **Mma** (cl. 1a, mother) and a locative noun **tseleng** (cl. 9, on the road).

Class 1a/2a: **Tau-kobong** (BoTau-kobong) (Surname). Derivation: **Tau** (cl. 9, lion) and a locative noun **kobong** (cl. 9, in the blanket).

Class 5/6: **Leho-pitšeng** (Maho-pitšeng) (Person of experience/an expert).
Derivation: **Leho** (cl. 5, wooden spoon) and a locative noun **pitšeng** (cl. 9, in the clay pot).

Class 6: **Maatla-mpeng** (Glutton). Derivation: **Maatla** (cl. 6, power) and a locative noun **mpeng** (cl. 9, inside the stomach).



Natural phenomenon

(207) Class 7/8: **Seoko-dibeng** (Dioko-dibeng) (Waterpan/well-watered land).
Derivation: **Seoko** (cl. 7, sty) and a locative noun **-dibeng** without its prefix (cl. 14, in the depth/pool).

Body part

(208) Class 5/6: **Lešika-pelong** (Mašika-pelong) (Blood vessel in the heart).
Derivation: **Lešika** (cl. 5, vein/sinew) and a locative noun **pelong** (cl. 9, in the heart).

Communication

(209) Class 3/4: **Mongwalo-bitleng** (Mengwalo-bitleng) (Epitaph). Derivation: **Mongwalo** (cl. 3, writing), derived from the verb **ngwala** (write) and a locative noun **-bitleng** without its prefix (cl. 5, on the grave).

Class 9/10: **Khutlo-someng** (Dikhutlo-someng) (Decimal point). Derivation: **Khutlo** (cl. 9, angle) and a locative noun **-someng** without its prefix (cl. 5, to the tenth).

Class 9/10: **Tšhelete-pankeng** (Ditšhelete-pankeng) (Bank balance). Derivation: **Tšhelete** (cl. 9, money) and a locative noun **pankeng** (cl. 9, in the bank).

Place

Endocentric compound with the locative suffix -eng

(210) Class 9/10: **Kgolego-lapeng** (Dikgolego-lapeng) (House-arrest). Derivation: **Kgolego** (cl. 9, jail), derived from the verb **golega** (jail) and a locative noun **-lapeng** without its prefix (cl. 5, in the household).

Exocentric compound with the locative suffix -eng

Class 9: **Tau-dikgomong** (Name of a place). Derivation: **Tau** (cl. 9, lion) and locative noun **dikgomong** (cl. 10, to the cattle).

Event

(211) Class 9/10: **Tshepelo-faufaung** (Ditshepelo-faufaung) (Space walk). Derivation: **Tshepelo** (cl. 9, walking), derived from the verb **sepela** (walk) and a locative noun **-faufaung** without its prefix (cl. 5, in space).

Feeling

(212) Class 9/10: **Polokego-mebileng** (Dipolokego-mebileng) (Road safety).
 Derivation: **Polokego** (cl. 9, safety), derived from the verb **bolokega** (safe) and a locative noun **mebileng** (cl. 4, on the roads).

3.4.1.4 Table of compounds

Endocentric compounds with the locative suffix -eng

(213)

	Noun	Pl.	Deriv.	Morph.		Loc.	Dim.	SRel.	SFeat.
				AR	A N-ng				
1	Mma-basading	2a	1a, Loc.	++	++	-	+(N2)	WITH	Human
2	Mongwalo-bitleng	4	3, Loc.	++	- +	-	+(N2)	ON	Communic.
3	Lešika-pelong	6	5, Loc.	++	++	-	+(N2)	IN	Body part
4	Seoko-dibeng	8	7, Loc.	++	- +	-	+(N2)	IN	Nat. phen.
5	Tshepelo-faufaung	10	9, Loc.	++	- +	-	+(N2)	IN	Event
6	Kgolego-lapeng	10	9, Loc.	++	- +	-	+(N2)	IN	Place
7	Khutlo-someng	10	9, Loc.	++	- +	-	+(N2)	IN	Communic.
8	Polokego-mebileng	10	9, Loc.	++	++	-	+(N2)	ON	Feeling
9	Tšhelete-pankeng	10	9, Loc.	++	++	-	+(N2)	IN	Communic.

Exocentric compounds with the locative suffix -eng

(214)

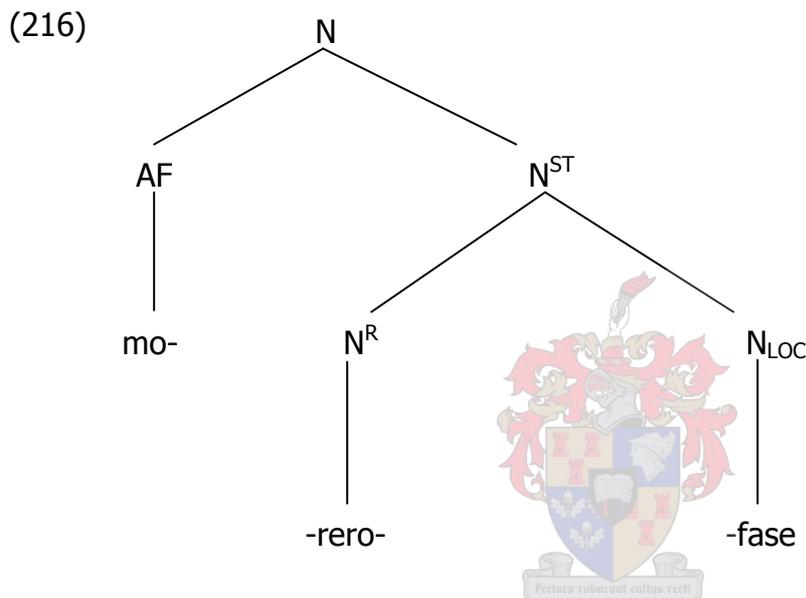
	Noun	Pl.	Deriv.	Morph.		Loc.	Dim.	SFeat.
				AR	A N-eng			
1	Mma-ganong	2a	1a, Loc.	++	- +	-	+(N2)	Human
2	Mma-khureng	2a	1a, Loc.	++	- +	-	+(N2)	Human
3	Mma-pateng	2a	1a, Loc.	++	+ +	-	+(N2)	Human
4	Mma-tseleng	2a	1a, Loc.	++	+ +	-	+(N2)	Human
5	Tau-kobong	2a	9, Loc.	++	+ +	-	+(N2)	Human
6	Maatla-mpeng	-	6, Loc.	++	+ +	-	+(N2)	Human
7	Leho-pitšeng	6	5, Loc.	++	+ +	-	+(N2)	Human
8	Tau-dikgomong	-	9, Loc.	++	+ +	-	+(N2)	Place

3.4.2 Locative nouns without the suffix -eng

3.4.2.1 Morphology

a. Morphological structure

(215) **Morero-fase** (Low intention)



The compound noun above consists of a noun **morero** (intention), derived from the verb **rerera** (discuss) and a locative noun **fase** (low). In this case, the derived noun **morero** belongs to class 3, **mo-**, whereas the locative noun **fase** belongs to class 16, **fa-**. The locative here, like in the locatives with the suffix **-eng**, should also succeed the other noun, which is **morero**, otherwise, unacceptable compound would be formed:

(217) ***Fase-morero**

b. Noun class prefixes

The head of the compound is the first noun. The prefix of this noun will then be the prefix of the compound.

- (218) (i) **Mosadi-tsoko** (Any woman)
- (ii) **Segalo-godimo** (High tone)

c. Locative class nouns

There are three locative class prefixes that used to function in various African languages, i.e., **pa**, **ku** and **mu**. These prefixes no longer function in Northern Sotho. Where remnants of these locative prefixes do appear, they are now regarded as fossilized:

- (219) Class 16: fase (fa-)
- Class 17: godimo (go-)
- Class 18: morago (mo-)

These are also other possible fossilized prefixes of locative nouns:

- (220) Tsoko (Any)
- Gare (Middle)
- Pele (In front/before)
- Thoko (Aside)



d. Nominal suffixes

The augmentative suffix -gadi

The augmentative suffix **-gadi** can only be affixed to the locative class noun:

- (221) a. Lehlathi-gare-+-**gadi** (Big thicket)
- b. Motse-tsoko-+-**gadi** (Any big village)
- c. Mathudi-dimo-+-**gadi** (Big balcony)
- d. Segalo-gare-+-**gadi** (Big middle tone)

- e. Phoofolo-tsoko-+-**gadi** (Any big animal)
- f. Polelo-pele-+-**gadi** (Big foreword)
- g. Tlhaka-pele-+-**gadi** (Big initial)
- h. Tšwelo-pele-+-**gadi** (Big progress)
- i. Boima-gare-+-**gadi** (Heavy/big middleweight)
- j. Bošego-gare-+-**gadi** (Big midnight)

In the examples above in (221), the suffix **-gadi** is affixed to the second noun to express the augmentative meaning.

Poulos and Louwrens (1994:68) have a different opinion. They acknowledge that the term "augmentative" means "a word which indicates largeness" but go on to argue by stating that:

It seems, however, as if the suffix **-gadi** has lost this function in Northern Sotho, since examples such as **ntlogadi** "a huge house", **pukugadi** "an extraordinary large book", etc., are regarded as unacceptable by most mother tongue speakers. Presently the suffix **-gadi** is only used to express femininity.

The diminutive suffix **-ana**

The diminutive suffix **-ana** has to appear on the first noun of the compound:

- (222) a. Mots-+-**ana**-tsoko < (motse-+-**ana**-tsoko) (Any small village)
b. Segalw-+-**ana**-godimo < (segalo-+-**ana**-godimo) (Small high tone)
c. Keš-+-**ana**-tlase < (kere-+-**ana**-tlase) (Small low gear)
d. Tlhak-+-**ana**-pele < (tlhaka-+-**ana**-pele) (Small initial)
e. Bošegw-+-**ana**-gare < (bošego-+-**ana**-gare) (Small midnight)

The locative suffix **-eng**

The locative suffix **-eng** always appears with the first noun in the compound:

- (223) a. Segalo-+-**ng**-fase < (segalo-+-**eng**-fase) (The low tone)
b. Kgal-+-**eng**-godimo < (kgala-+-**eng**-godimo) (The high tone)
c. Pukwan-+-**eng**-tsoko < (pukwana-+-**eng**-tsoko) (The small book/
booklet)
d. Ponelo-+-**ng**-pele < (ponelo-+-**eng**-pele) (The vision)
e. Boim-+-**eng**-gare < (boima-+-**eng**-gare) (The middleweight)

3.4.2.2 Semantic relations

As in the locative compounds with the suffix **-eng**, the aim of this section is also to look at the semantic relations in these compounds. These compounds can be grouped under source, location, top-location and direction.

Source relation

- 
- (224) a. **Mokgalabjana-tsoko** (Any small old man): The relation between **mokgalabjana** and **tsoko** can be expressed by the source **from**; the head noun is **mokgalabjana** (small old man) which is modified by **tsoko** (somewhere), i.e., a small old man from somewhere.
- b. **Phoofolo-tsoko** (Any animal): The relation between **phoofolo** and **tsoko** can be expressed by the source **from**; the head noun is **phoofolo** (animal) which is modified by **tsoko** (somewhere), i.e., an animal from somewhere.
- c. **Pukwana-tsoko** (Any small book): The relation between **pukwana** and **tsoko** can be expressed by the source **from**; the head noun is **pukwana** (small book) which is modified by **tsoko** (somewhere), i.e., a small book/booklet from somewhere.

Location relation

- (225) a. **Mose-gare** (Daytime): The relation between **mose** and **gare** can be expressed by the location **in**; the head noun is **mose** (pestle) which is modified by **gare** (middle), i.e., the day which is in the middle.
- b. **Kere-morago** (Reverse gear): The relation between **kere** and **morago** can be expressed by the location **in**; the head noun is **kere** (gear) which is modified by **morago** (back), i.e., the gear which is in the back.
- c. **Polelo-pele** (Foreword): The relation between **polelo** and **pele** can be expressed by the location **in**; the head noun is **polelo** (speech) which is modified by **pele** (front), i.e., the speech which is in the fore/front.

Top-location relation

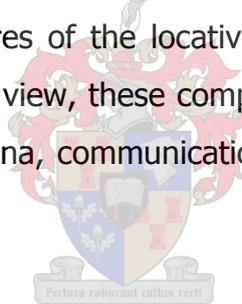
- (226) a. **Mathudi-dimo** (Balcony): The relation between **mathudi** and **-dimo** can be expressed by the top-location **on**; the head noun is **mathudi** (balcony) which is modified by **-dimo** (high), i.e., the balcony which is on high.
- b. **Segalo-godimo** (High tone): The relation between **segalo** and **godimo** can be expressed by the top-location **on**; the head noun is **segalo** (tone) which is modified by **godimo** (high), i.e., the tone which is on high.
- c. **Morero-fase** (Low intention): The relation between **morero** and **fase** can be expressed by the top-location **on**; the head noun is **morero** (intention) which is modified by **fase** (low), i.e., the intention which is on low.

Direction relation

- (227) a. **Tšwelelo-pele** (Development): The relation between **tšwelelo** and **pele** can be expressed by the direction **to**; the head noun is **tšwelelo** (the coming up) which is modified by **pele** (front), i.e., the coming up which is to front.
- b. **Tšwelo-pele** (Progress): The relation between **tšwelo** and **pele** can be expressed by the direction **to**; the head noun is **tšwelo** (the coming up) which is modified by **pele** (front), i.e., the coming up which is to front.

3.4.2.3 Semantic features

As in the locative compounds with the suffix **-eng**, the main purpose of this section is to classify the semantic features of the locative compounds without the suffix **-eng**. From the semantic point of view, these compounds can be classified under the human, animal, natural phenomena, communication, cognition, artifact, time, illness and place nouns.



Humans

Endocentric compounds

(228) Class 1/2: **Mokgalabjana-tsoko** (Bakgalabjana-tsoko) (Any small old man).
Derivation: **Mokgalabjana** (cl. 1, small old man) and a locative noun **tsoko** (cl. 'Y', somewhere).

Class 1/2: **Monna-tsoko** (Banna-tsoko) (Any man). Derivation: **Monna** (cl. 1, man) and a locative noun **tsoko** (cl. 'Y', somewhere).

Class 1/2: **Mosadi-tsoko** (Basadi-tsoko) (Any woman). Derivation: **Mosadi** (cl. 1, woman) and a locative noun **tsoko** (cl. 'Y', somewhere).

Class 1/2: **Mošemane-tsoko** (Bašemane-tsoko) (Any boy). Derivation: **Mošemane** (cl. 1, boy) and a locative noun **tsoko** (cl. 'Y', somewhere).

Exocentric compound

(229) Class 1a/2a: **Thoba-kgale** (BoThoba-kgale) (Surname). Derivation: **Thoba** (cl. 9, hole) and a locative noun **kgale** (cl. 'Y', long ago).

Animal

Endocentric compound

(230) Class 9/10: **Phoofolo-tsoko** (Diphoofolo-tsoko) (Any animal). Derivation: **Phoofolo** (cl. 9, animal) and a locative noun **tsoko** (cl. 'Y', somewhere).

Natural phenomena

Endocentric compound



(231) Class 14: **Boima-gare** (Middleweight). Derivation: **Boima** (cl. 14, weight) and a locative noun **gare** (cl. 'X', middle).

Exocentric compound

(232) Class 5/6: **Lehlathi-gare** (Mahlathi-gare) (Thicket). Derivation: **Lehlathi** (cl. 5, adverb) and a locative noun **gare** (cl. 'X', middle).

Communication

Endocentric compounds

(233) Class 7/8: **Segalo-godimo** (Digalo-godimo) (High tone). Derivation: **Segalo** (cl. 7, deverbative, tone) and a locative noun **godimo** (cl. 15, high).

Class 7/8: **Segalo-fase** (Digalo-fase) (Low tone). Derivation: **Segalo** (cl. 7, deverbative, tone) and a locative noun **fase** (cl. 16, low).

Class 7/8: **Segalo-tlase** (Digalo-tlase) (Low tone). Derivation: **Segalo** (cl. 7, deverbative, tone) and a locative noun **tlase** (cl. 'Y', low).

Class 7/8: **Segalo-gare** (Digalo-gare) (Middle tone). Derivation: **Segalo** (cl. 7, deverbative, tone) and a locative noun **gare** (cl. 'X', middle).

Class 9/10: **Kgala-fase** (Dikgala-fase) (Low tone). Derivation: **Kgala** (cl. 9, tone) and a locative noun **fase** (cl. 16, low).

Class 9/10: **Kgala-godimo** (Dikgala-godimo) (High tone). Derivation: **Kgala** (cl. 9, tone) and a locative noun **godimo** (cl. 17, high).

Class 9/10: **Polelo-pele** (Dipolelo-pele) (Foreword). Derivation: **Polelo** (cl. 9, deverbative, speech) and a locative noun **pele** (cl. 'Y', fore).

Class 9/10: **Ponelo-pele** (Diponelo-pele) (Vision). Derivation: **Ponelo** (cl. 9, deverbative, the looking) and a locative noun **pele** (cl. 'Y', front).

Class 9/10: **Tlhaka-pele** (Ditlhaka-pele) (Initial). Derivation: **Tlhaka** (cl. 9, letter) and a locative noun **pele** (cl. 'Y', front).

Cognition

Endocentric compounds

(234) Class 3/4: **Morero-fase** (Merero-fase) (Low intention). Derivation: **Morero** (cl. 3, deverbative, intention) and a locative noun **fase** (cl. 16, low).

Class 9/10: **Tšwelelo-pele** (Ditšwelelo-pele) (Development). Derivation: **Tšwelelo** (cl. 9, deverbative, the coming up) and a locative noun **pele** (cl. 'Y', front).

Class 9/10: **Tšwelo-pele** (Ditšwelo-pele) (Progress). Derivation: **Tšwelo** (cl. 9, deverbative, the coming up) and a locative noun **pele** (cl. 'Y', front).

Artifacts

Endocentric compounds



(235) Class 6: **Mathudi-dimo** (Balcony). Derivation: **Mathudi** (cl. 6, balcony) and a locative noun **-dimo** without its prefix (cl. 17, up).

Class 9/10: **Kere-morago** (Dikere-morago) (Reverse gear). Derivation: **Kere** (cl. 9, gear) and a locative noun **morago** (cl. 18, back).

Class 9/10: **Kere-tlase** (Dikere-tlase) (Low gear). Derivation: **Kere** (cl. 9, gear) and a locative noun **tlase** (cl. 'Y', low).

Class 9/10: **Pukwana-tsoko** (Dipukwana-tsoko) (Any small book/ booklet). Derivation: **Pukwana** (cl. 9, diminutive noun, small book/ booklet) and a locative noun **tsoko** (cl. 'Y', somewhere).

Time

Endocentric compounds

(236) Class 3/4: **Mose-gare** (Mese-gare) (Daytime). Derivation: **Mose** (cl. 3, pestle) and a locative noun **gare** (cl. 'X', middle).

Class 14/6: **Bošego-gare** (Mašego-gare) (Midnight). Derivation: **Bošego** (cl. 14, night) and a locative noun **gare** (cl. 'X', middle).

Illness

Endocentric compound

(237) Class 14/6: **Bofokodi-thoko** (Mafokodi-thoko) (Weakness which is on the side). Derivation: **Bofokodi** (cl. 14, deverbative, weakness) and a locative noun **thoko** (cl. 'Y', side).



Places

Endocentric compounds

(238) Class 3/4: **Motse-tsoko** (Metse-tsoko) (Any village). Derivation: **Motse** (cl. 3, village) and a locative noun **tsoko** (cl. 'Y', somewhere).

Class 5/6: **Felo-tsoko** (Mafelo-tsoko) (Somewhere). Derivation: **-felo** without its prefix (cl. 5, place) and a locative noun **tsoko** (cl. 'Y', somewhere).

Exocentric compound

(239) Class 1a/2a: **Marumo-fase** (BoMarumo-fase) (Name of a place). Derivation: **Marumo** (cl. 6, spears) and a locative noun **fase** (cl. 16, down).

3.4.2.4 Table of compounds

Endocentric compounds

(240)	Noun	Pl.	Deriv.	Morph.		Loc.	Dim.	SRel.	SFeat.
				A R	N-Loc.				
1	Mokgalabjana-tsoko	2	1, N-Loc.	++	N-Loc.	+(N1)	-	FROM	Human
2	Monna-tsoko	2	1, N-Loc.	++	N-Loc.	+(N1)	+(N1)	FROM	Human
3	Mosadi-tsoko	2	1, N-Loc.	++	N-Loc.	+(N1)	+(N1)	FROM	Human
4	Mošemane-tsoko	2	1, N-Loc.	++	N-Loc.	+(N1)	+(N1)	FROM	Human
5	Morero-fase	4	3, N-Loc.	++	N-Loc.	+(N1)	+(N1)	IN	Congition
6	Mose-gare	4	3, N-Loc.	++	N-Loc.	+(N2)	+(N2)	FROM	Time
7	Motse-tsoko	4	3, N-Loc.	++	N-Loc.	+(N1)	+(N1)	ON	Place
8	Mathudi-dimo	-	6, N-Loc.	++	N-Loc.	+(N1)	+(N1)	ON	Artif.
9	Segalo-godimo	8	7, N-Loc.	++	N-Loc.	+(N1)	+(N1)	ON	Communic.
10	Segalo-fase	8	7, N-Loc.	++	N-Loc.	+(N1)	+(N1)	ON	Communic.
11	Segalo-tlase	8	7, N-Loc.	++	N-Loc.	+(N1)	+(N1)	ON	Communic.
12	Segalo-gare	8	7, N-Loc.	++	N-Loc.	+(N1)	+(N1)	ON	Communic.
13	Kere-morago	10	9, N-Loc.	++	N-Loc.	+(N1)	+(N1)	IN	Artif.
14	Kere-tlase	10	9, N-Loc.	++	N-Loc.	+(N1)	+(N1)	IN	Artif.
15	Kgala-fase	10	9, N-Loc.	++	N-Loc.	+(N1)	+(N1)	ON	Communic.
16	Kgala-godimo	10	9, N-Loc.	++	N-Loc.	+(N1)	+(N1)	ON	Communic.
17	Felo-tsoko	6	5, N-Loc.	++	N-Loc.	+(N1)	+(N1)	FROM	Place
18	Phoofolo-tsoko	10	9, N-Loc.	++	N-Loc.	+(N1)	+(N1)	FROM	Animal
19	Polelo-pele	10	9, N-Loc.	++	N-Loc.	+(N1)	+(N1)	IN	Communic.
20	Ponelo-pele	10	9, N-Loc.	++	N-Loc.	+(N1)	+(N1)	IN	Communic.
21	Pukwana-tsoko	10	9, N-Loc.	++	N-Loc.	+(N1)	-	FROM	Artif.
22	Tlhaka-pele	10	9, N-Loc.	++	N-Loc.	+(N1)	+(N1)	IN	Communic.
23	Tšwelolo-pele	10	9, N-Loc.	++	N-Loc.	+(N1)	+(N1)	IN	Cognition
24	Tšwelo-pele	10	9, N-Loc.	++	N-Loc.	+(N1)	+(N1)	TO	Cognition
25	Bofokodi-thoko	6	14, N-Loc.	++	N-Loc.	+(N1)	+(N1)	ON	Illness
26	Boima-gare	-	14, N-Loc.	++	N-Loc.	+(N1)	+(N1)	IN	Nat. phen.
27	Bošego-gare	6	14, N-Loc.	++	N-Loc.	+(N1)	+(N1)	IN	Time

Exocentric compounds

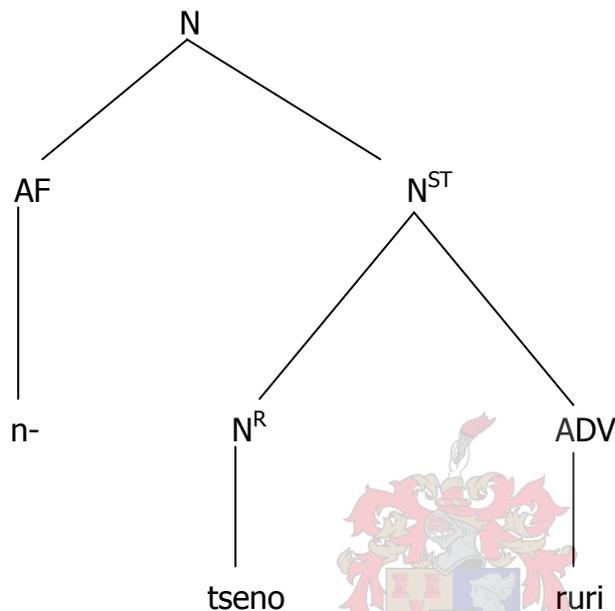
(241)	Noun	Pl.	Deriv.	Morph.		Loc.	Dim.	SRel.
				A R	N-Loc.			
1	Marumo-fase	2a	6, N-Loc.	++	N-Loc.	-	+(N1)	Place
2	Thoba-kgale	2a	9, N-Loc.	++	N-Loc.	-	+(N1)	Human
3	Lehlathi-gare	6	5, N-Loc.	++	N-Loc.	+(N1)	+(N1)	Nat. phen.

3.5 COMPOUND NOUNS WITH ADVERBS

3.5.1 Morphological structure

(242) **Tseno-ruri** (Actual attendance)

(243)



In this example, the **endocentric** compound **tseno-ruri** (actual attendance) is made up of a noun **tseno** (attendance) that is derived from the verb **tsena** (enter) and an adverb **ruri** (really). The noun **tseno** belongs to class 9, hence the appearance of the prefix **n-**. This is the noun class prefix of the entire compound. **Tseno** is the root of the noun whereas an adverb **ruri** occupies the last position in the compound. An adverb **ruri** should always succeed the noun **tseno**, otherwise, the ungrammatical and unacceptable compound would be formed:

(244) ***Ruri-tseno**

The structure in (243) also applies in the following **exocentric** compound:

(245) **Kgala-gangwe** (White pear)

These are the only examples of compounds with adverbs which have been attested.

3.5.2 Adverbs

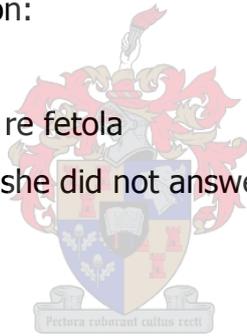
There are adverbs that are not derived from or related to other word categories and which have an inherent adverbial meaning. The adverbs are the following:

- (246) a. Kudu (Very much)
- b. Ruri (Indeed/really/truly)

Some words in Northern Sotho may be used as either conjunctions or adverbs. One such word is **fela**.

Example of its use as a conjunction:

- (247) Re mmotšišitše **fela** ga a re fetola
 `We asked him/her but he/she did not answer us`



Example of its use as an adverb:

- (248) Magistrata o mo kgadile **fela**
 `The magistrate has merely reprimanded him/her`

The majority of adverbs are characterized by the adverbial prefix **ga-**, i.e., the prefix **ga-** appears before the adjective or enumerative stems to form adverbs. Their significance entirely depends on the meaning of the stems with which this prefix combines. Some examples where the prefix **ga-** is used with the adjective stems are as follows:

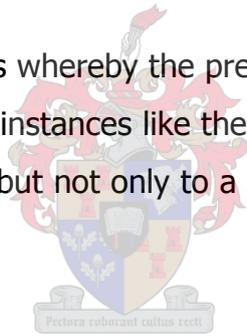
- (249) a. **Gatee** 'once' < **-tee** 'one'
- b. **Gane** 'four times' < **-ne** 'four'
- c. **Gahlano** 'five times' < **-hlano** 'five'

d. Gantši	'often'	<	-ntši	'many'
e. Gakae?	'how many/how much?'	<	-kae?	'many/much?'
f. Ganyane	'a little'	<	-nyane	'small'
g. Gašoro	'viciously'	<	-šoro	'vicious'

Some adverbs stated above can be used in sentences as in the following examples:

- (250) a. Re kopane **gatee**
 'We met once'
- b. Mooki o mo laetše gore a nwe dipilisi **gararo** ka letšatši
 'The nurse instructed him/her to take pills/tablets three times a day'
- c. Ke ba bona **gantši** ge ke le toropong
 'I see them often when I am in town'

There are a few exceptional cases whereby the prefix **ga-** co-occurs with a restricted number of nouns of class 14. In instances like the ones mentioned below, the prefix **ga-** is prefixed to a whole word, but not only to a stem as it happened earlier in this section:

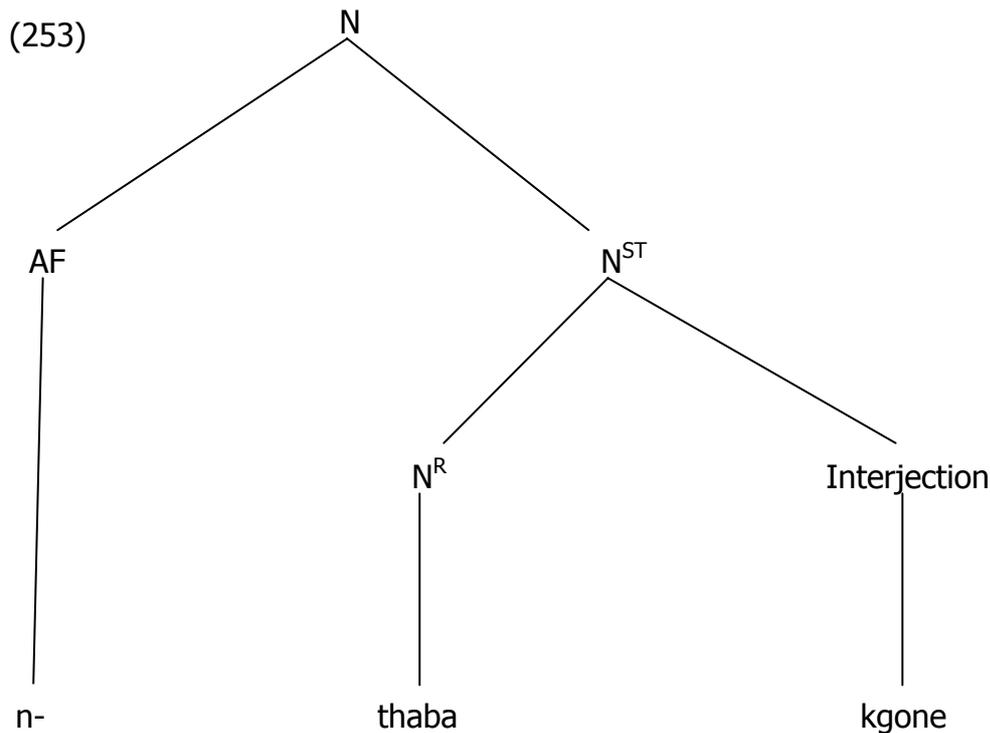


(251) a. Gaboleta	'tenderly'	<	boleta	'soft'
b. Gabonolo	'easily'	<	bonolo	'easy'
c. Gabotse	'nicely'	<	botse	'beautiful'

3.6 COMPOUND NOUNS WITH AN INTERJECTION

Morphological structure

- (252) **Thaba-kgone** (Name of a place)



The above example clearly shows that a noun **thaba** (mountain) and an interjection **kgone!** (it deserves you right!) form the **exocentric** compound **Thaba-kgone**. The noun **thaba** is in class 9. **Thaba** is the root of the noun while the interjection **kgone!** occupies the last position in the compound. The diagram above shows that **thaba** is a N^R dominated by N^{ST} with an interjection **kgone!** as complement of N. The compound above is the only one readily attested in Northern Sotho with an interjection.

3.7 COMPOUND NOUNS WITH A PP WITH GO AS HEAD

The head of a prepositional phrase is a preposition. The prepositional phrase has two main parts: namely, preposition and complement. Greenbaum (1994:67) says:

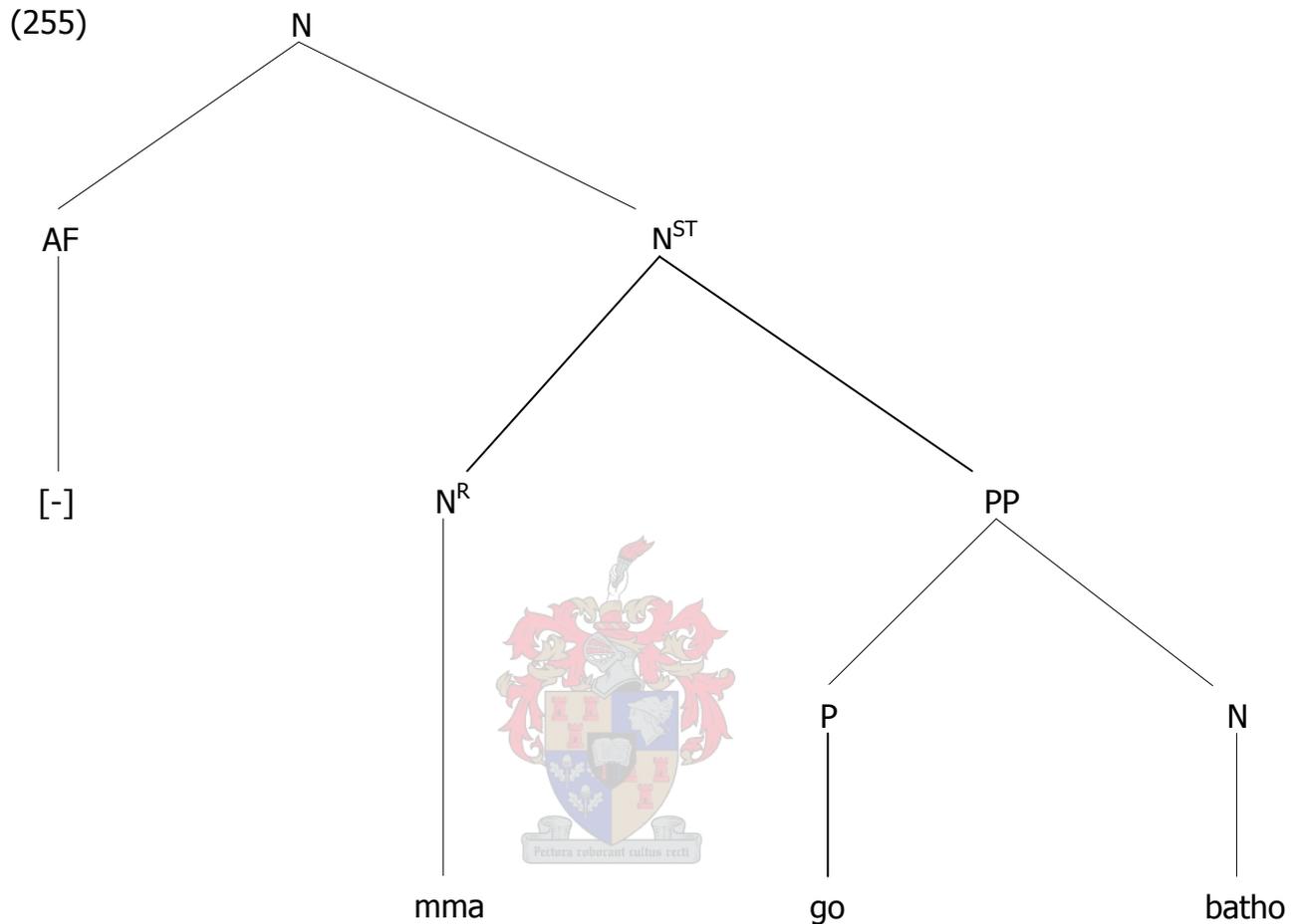
The prepositional complement is typically a noun phrase but it may also be a nominal relative clause.

Wardhaugh (1995:274) defines a prepositional phrase as:

A construction with a preposition as its head.

3.7.1 Morphological structure

(254) **Mma-go-batho** (Mother of the people)



There are a few instances in Northern Sotho where a noun prefix is not overtly indicated. The noun that belongs to class 1a like **mma** (mother), for example, does not have an overt prefix.

As it is indicated in the structure above, a zero prefix \emptyset and a root **mma** form the first N. The empty nominal suffix has NST as its sister while N^R has PP as its sister. The N^R and PP are daughters of NST, i.e., NST dominates N^R and PP respectively. The PP consists of P **go**, which is the head and N **batho** (people).

3.7.2 Complements of go

Only two word categories in compounds can serve as complements of a preposition - **go-**.

3.7.2.1 The noun as complement

The noun may appear as a complement of a preposition **-go-** as in the following examples:

- (256) a. Mma-go-**batho** o tla fihla ka Mokibelo
‘The mother of the people will arrive on Saturday’
b. Mma-go-**Dikgoneng** o be a le mo
‘The mother of Dikgoneng was here’
c. Ke nyaka go bolela le tata-go-**bana**
‘I want to talk to the father of the children’

3.7.2.2 The pronoun as complement



The pronoun may also appear as the complement of a preposition as in the following cases:

- (257) a. Mma-go-**bona** o bookelong
‘Their mother is in hospital’
b. Re nyaka go bona tata-go-**rena** gosasa mesong
‘We want to see our father tomorrow morning’

3.7.3 Nominal suffixes

It is the purpose of this section to determine if the nominal suffixes are also applied in compounds made up of nouns and prepositional phrases of which the preposition **go** is the head.

The augmentative suffix **-gadi**

The suffix **-gadi** cannot be accepted because it does not influence the compound as a whole. It influences only one noun, i.e., the noun of the prepositional phrase. This implies that, in the following examples, the suffix is unacceptable:

- (258) a. *Mma-go-batho-+-**gadi**
b. *Mma-go-bona-+-**gadi**
c. *Tata-go-Lehlagare-+-**gadi**
d. *Tata-go-rena-+-**gadi**

If the suffix is accepted, it should influence the compound as a whole and not only one noun. In **mma-go-batho** (mother of the people), which will be ***mma-go-bathogadi**, as it appears in (258a), for instance, **-gadi** will not refer to **mma** (mother) but only to **batho** (people).

The diminutive suffixes **-ana/nyana**

The diminutive suffix as well can never be accommodated in that it influences only one noun of the compound as the suffix **-gadi** does. This also means that it cannot be attached to any compound of this nature:

- (259) a. *Mma-go-bathw-+-**ana**
b. *Mma-go-bona-+-**nyana**
c. *Tata-go-Lehlagaš-+-**ana**
d. *Tata-go-rena-+-**nyana**

The locative suffix **-eng**

As in the augmentative suffix and the diminutive one, the locative suffix cannot be attached to these compounds due to the fact that only one noun of each compound is influenced, but not the compound as a whole:

- (260) a. *Mma-go-batho-+-ng
- b. *Mma-go-bon-+-eng
- c. *Tata-go-Lehlagar-+-eng
- d. *Tata-go-ren-+-eng

3.7.4 Semantic relation

It is the aim of this section to treat the semantic relation of compounds which are made up of a noun + prepositional phrases. This section features the compounds that can be grouped only under the **possessive relation**.

The examples below show the possessive relation:

- (261) a. **Mma-go-batho** (Mother of the people): The relation between **mma** and a PP with **go** and a noun **batho** can be expressed by the possessive **of**; the head noun is **mma** (mother) which is modified by a PP with **go** and a noun **batho** (people), i.e., the mother of the people.
- b. **Mma-go-bona** (Their mother): The relation between **mma** and a PP with **go** and a pronoun **bona** can be expressed by the possessive **of**; the head noun is **mma** (mother) which is modified by a PP with **go** and a pronoun **bona** (them/they), i.e., the mother of them.
- c. **Mma-go-Dikgoneng** (Dikgoneng’s mother): The relation between **mma** and a PP with **go** and a noun **Dikgoneng** can be expressed by the possessive **of**; the head noun is **mma** (mother) which is modified by a PP with **go** and a noun **Dikgoneng** (proper name), i.e., the mother of Dikgoneng.

Three other compound nouns that have the same relation as the above examples are the following:

- (262) **Tata-go-bana** (Father of the children)
- Tata-go-Lehlagare** (Lehlagare’s father)

Tata-go-rena

(Our father)

3.7.5 Semantic feature

The purpose of this section is to pay attention to only one semantic feature of compounds which consist of a noun + prepositional phrases. This section features the compounds which can be grouped under **human nouns**.

A few examples of compound nouns that refer to human beings are the following:

(263) Class 1a/2a: **Mma-go-batho** (Bomma-go-batho) (Mother of the people). Derivation: **Mma** (cl. 1a, mother) and a PP with **go** and a noun **batho** (cl. 2, people).

Class 1a/2a: **Mmago-go-bona** (Bomma-go-bona) (Their mother).
Derivation: **Mma** (cl. 1a, mother) and a PP with **go** and an absolute pronoun **bona** (cl. 2, them/they).

Class 1a/2a: **Mma-go-Dikgoneng** (Bomma-go-Dikgoneng) (Dikgoneng's mother). Derivation: **Mma** (cl. 1a, mother) and a PP with **go** and a noun **Dikgoneng** (cl. 1a, proper name).

Class 1a/2a: **Tata-go-bana** (Botata-go-bana) (Father of the children).
Derivation: **Tata** (cl. 1a, father) and a PP with **go** and a noun **bana** (cl. 2, children).

Class 1a/2a: **Tata-go-Lehlagare** (Botata-go-Lehlagare) (Lehlagare's father).
Derivation: **Tata** (cl. 1a, father) and a PP with **go** and a noun **Lehlagare** (cl. 1a, proper name).

Class 1a/2a: **Tata-go-rena** (Botata-go-rena) (Our father). Derivation: **Tata** (cl. 1a, father) and a PP with **go** and an absolute pronoun **rena** (1st pp (first person plural), us/we).

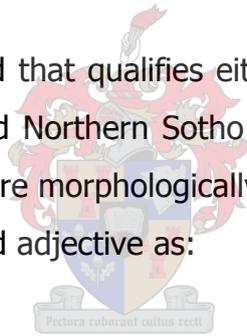
3.7.6 Table of compounds

(264)

	Noun	Pl.	Deriv.	Morph.		Loc.	Dim.	SRel.	SFeat.
				AR	go []				
1	Mma-go-batho	2a	1a, PN	++	go N	-	-	OF	Human
2	Mma-go-bona	2a	1a, pro	++	go cl. 2	-	-	OF	Human
3	Mma-go-Dikgoneng	2a	1a, PN	++	go N	-	-	OF	Human
4	Tata-go-bana	2a	1a, PN	++	go N	-	-	OF	Human
5	Tata-go-Lehlagare	2a	1a, PN	++	go N	-	-	OF	Human
6	Tata-go-rena	2a	1a, pro	++	go 1 st pp	-	-	OF	Human

3.8 COMPOUND NOUNS WITH AN ADJECTIVE

An adjective is defined as a word that qualifies either a noun or a pronoun. In the African languages in general, and Northern Sotho language in particular, adjectives form a much closed system and are morphologically marked with noun class prefixes. Morris (1975:16) defines the word adjective as:



---- any of a class of words used to modify a noun or other substantive by limiting, qualifying or specifying.

According to Doke and Mofokeng (1957:118):

An adjective is a word that qualifies a substantive, and is brought into concordial agreement therewith by the adjectival concord.

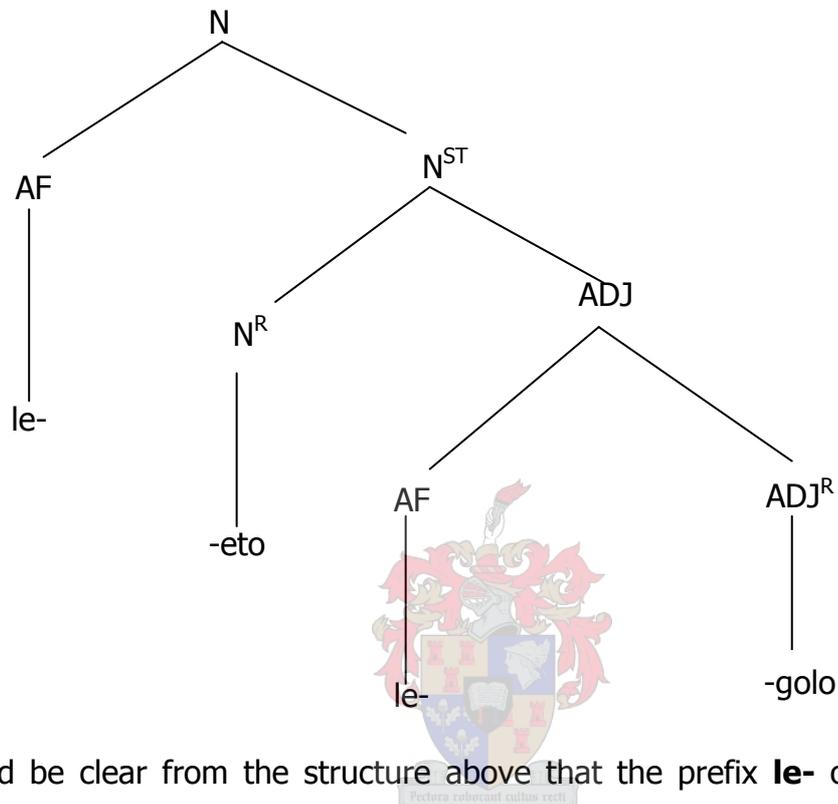
Lombard, et. al. (1976:57) also expressed themselves by asserting that:

The adjective qualifies the noun or other word that stands in its place.

3.8.1 Morphological structure

(265) **Leeto-legolo** (Important journey)

(266)



It should be clear from the structure above that the prefix **le-** of the noun **leeto** (journey) is the head of the compound as a whole. Here, the nominal affix is the sister of NST. In this structure, the adjective **legolo** (important) displays an agreement morpheme **le-** that looks exactly the same as the class prefix of its nominal head **leeto**. What remains to be understood is that in the above structure, no provision has been made for the adjectival stem; the reason being that AGR + adjectival root form an adjective:

(267) **le-+-golo** > **legolo** (important)

3.8.2 Noun class prefix of head noun

3.8.2.1 Presence of prefix

It has already been mentioned that all the nouns in Northern Sotho have class prefixes.

The diagram below provides a representation of the presence of prefixes in the compounds:

(268)

	N ₁
a.	+
b.	-

The head noun in (268a), which is the first word of the compound, exhibits an overt noun class prefix that determines its class. The second word, which is an adjective, shows an agreement that is exactly the same as the class prefix of its nominal head. Various prefixes are illustrated below:

- (269) a. **Mofahloši-mogolwane** (Senior lecturer): The compound indicates **mofahloši** (lecturer) as the noun with noun class prefix 1, **mo-**, which is the prefix of the entire compound.
- b. **Leleme-lesese** (Thin tongue): **Leleme** (tongue) is the noun of the compound that takes on noun class prefix 5, **le-**. This class prefix determines the class of the whole compound.

In (268b), the head noun, which is the first word of the compound, does not have an overt prefix that determines its class. Consider the following examples:

- (270) a. **-lapa-kgolo** (Big yard/house/quadrangle): The only noun of the compound is **-lapa** (yard/household/quadrangle). This noun does not display noun class prefix 5, **le-**, which is the noun class prefix of the whole compound.

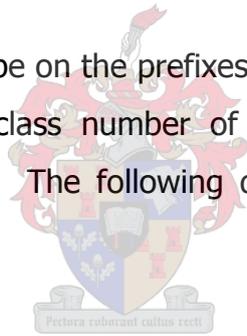
- b. **-šika-legolo** (Big vein/sinew): The head noun **-šika** (vein/sinew) is without the noun class prefix 5, **le-**. This is the prefix of the compound as a whole.
- c. **-tšatši-legolo** (Important day): The only noun **-tšatši**, which is the head, does not have the noun class prefix 5, **le-**. Even if it does not have it, the whole compound noun is in class 5.

The remaining examples of compound nouns that show the similar property are:

- (271) **-hlare-segolo** (Big/important tree or medicine)
- swiswi-tshororo** (Black darkness)

3.8.2.2 Noun class number

The emphasis in this section will be on the prefixes of the nouns. The idea here is to look at binary or single noun class number of each compound in terms of its constituent parts and meanings. The following diagram summarizes what will be investigated:



(272)

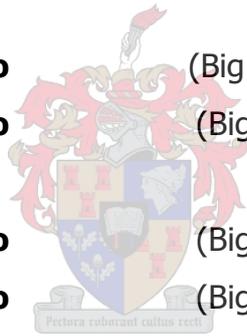
	N ₁
a.	Binary
b.	Single

The head noun in (272a) has a binary noun class number:

Binary
Singular
Plural

- (273) **Mma-** + **-mogolo** (Mother’s elder sister)
- Bomma-** + **-mogolo** (Mother’s elder sisters)

Mofahloši-	+	-mogolwane	(Senior lecturer)
Bafahloši-	+	-bagolwane	(Senior lecturers)
Mothakgo-	+	-kgolo	(Stunning decoration)
Methakgo-	+	-kgolo	(Stunning decorations)
Lebone-	+	-kgolo	(Big lamp)
Mabone-	+	-kgolo	(Big lamps)
Seboko-	+	-kgolo	(Big worm/caterpillar)
Diboko-	+	-kgolo	(Big worms/caterpillars)
Ketane-	+	-kgolo	(Big chain)
Diketane-	+	-kgolo	(Big chains)
Kgaka-	+	-kgolo	(Big crowned guinea-fowl)
Dikgaka-	+	-kgolo	(Big crowned guinea-fowls)



The head noun in (272b) has single noun class number that may be either singular or plural:

Single
Singular

(274) Bogale-	+	-bogolo	(Big sharp edge/blade)
Mohlapo-	+	-khubedu	(Bilharzia)
Teng-	+	-khubedu	(Dysentery)
Noka-	+	-ntsho	(Orange River)

Single
Plural

(275) Madi-	+	-mabe	(Bad luck)
Malao-	+	-mabe	(Restless sleep)
Maswanedi-	+	-mabe	(Bad/evil responsibility (responsibilities))
Manamelo-	+	-matelele	(Long steps/stairs/places for climbing onto)

3.8.3 Adjectival root

Northern Sotho has a limited number of adjectival roots, the most important of which are listed below. Some of the roots can be grouped together in terms of their meanings. The principal point here is to classify the adjectival roots under four separate semantic categories, i.e., descriptive, colour, number and quantifier.

3.8.3.1 Descriptive

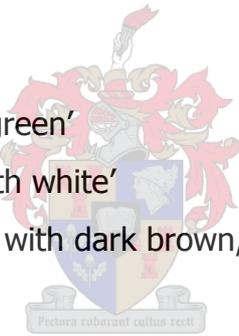


(276) -be	'bad, evil, ugly'
-fsa	'new, young'
-golo	'big, huge, large'
-kaka	'as big as this, so big'
-kima	'thick'
-kgoparara	'big, huge'
-kgopo	'crooked'
-kgoswane	'short'
-khutswa	'short'
-kopana	'short'
-koto	'fat, thick, stout'
-nnyane	'small'
-sese	'lean, narrow, slender, thin'

-tala	'old, raw, unripe'
-telele	'long, tall'
-tona	'big, huge, large'

3.8.3.2 Colour

(277) -hlabana	'fawn with brown'
-hubedu	'red'
-kgwana	'fawn'
-khulong	'light brown'
-ngolwane	'red and white spots'
-putswa	'grey'
-sehla	'yellow'
-so	'black'
-šweu	'white'
-tala	'blue, green'
-thamaga	'red with white'
-tilo	'brown with dark brown, fawn stripes'
-tshororo	'black'
-tsotho	'dark brown'



3.8.3.3 Number

(278) -bedi	'two'
-raro	'three'
-ne	'four'
-hlano	'five'

3.8.3.4 Quantifier

(279) -kae?	'how many, how much?'
-ngwe	'another, other'

-noši	'alone'
-ntši	'many, much'

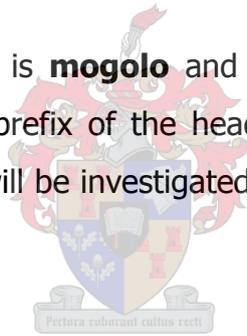
All the adjectival roots above are used with agreement to form adjectives. This will, however, be discussed in the following section.

3.8.4 Noun class agreement on the adjective

The adjectival roots that have been indicated above have to appear with an agreement morpheme which is the same as the noun class prefix of the head noun, e.g.;

(280) **Moroki-mogolo** (Senior tailor)

In this compound, the adjective is **mogolo** and it has the agreement morpheme **mo-** which is the same as the prefix of the head noun **moroki**. In the sections below, the various types of Agr will be investigated because compound nouns do not always follow the above rule.



3.8.4.1 AgrA is class 9

The compound noun has the agreement of class 9 on the adjective

a. Head noun is not in class 9

In the examples below, the head noun is not in class 9 but the adjective has the agreement of class 9. In this case, the rule above has not been followed, e.g.;

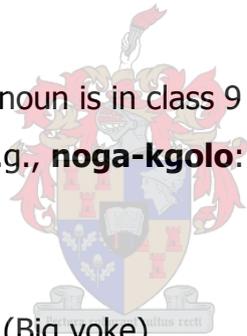
(281) **Lebone-kgolo** (Big lamp)

The adjective is **kgolo** that has Agr of class 9: [N+golo→kgolo]. However, the head noun is in class 5 **lebone** with the prefix **le-**. This prefix is not present in the adjective. Other examples of compounds such as these are the following:

- (282) Class 3: **Mothakgo-kgolo** (Stunning decoration)
- (283) Class 5: **Lela-kgolo** (Colon)
 Lapa-kgolo (Big yard/household/quadrangle)
 Lerato-kgolo (Great/serious love)
 Leswika-kgolo (Big stone)
 Seboko-kgolo (Big worm/caterpillar/larva)
 Sello-kgolo (Serious complaint/weeping)
- (284) Class 14: **Botona-kgolo** (Premiership/prime ministership)
 Bopelo-mpe (The state of bad/evil/cruel heart)

b. Head noun is in class 9

In the examples below, the head noun is in class 9 and the Agr on the adjective will have the Agr of the head noun, e.g., **noga-kgolo**: [N-noga + [N-golo] → noga-kgolo (big snake).



- (285) **Joko-kgolo** (Big yoke)
 Ketane-kgolo (Big chain)
 Kgaka-kgolo (Big crowned guinea-fowl)
 Kgare-kgolo (Big plated ring/crown/wreath)
 Kgohlagano-kgolo (Big connection)
 Kgoši-kgolo (Paramount chief)
 Kgotla-kgolo (Parliament)
 Mpa-kgolo (Big stomach)
 Namane-kgolo (Big calf)
 Nepo-kgolo (Main aim)
 Noga-kgolo (Big snake)
 Nong-kgolo (Big vulture/bird)
 Pelo-kgolo (Magnanimity)
 Taba-kgolo (Important matter)

Tau-kgolo

(Big lion)

3.8.4.2 Agreement with noun class of head noun

In this section, the normal rule of Agr with adjective will be investigated, i.e., the Agr on the adjective will be the noun class prefix of the head noun, e.g.;

(286) **Lehu-lebe** ("Bad death")

In this compound, the adjective is **lebe** which has the Agr **le-** of class 5 [le-be] which is the same morpheme as the prefix of the head noun **lehu**:

(287) [**Le-hu** [**le-be**] → lehu-lebe

However, various instances of such Agr will have to be investigated.

a. Agreement does not change in plural

The Agr on the adjective will take the prefix of the singular noun, but in the plural of the compound, the Agr on the adjective will remain the Agr of the singular head noun, e.g.;

- (288) a. [Mma [mogolo] (class 1a) (Mother's elder sister)
b. [Bo-mma [mogolo] (class 2a) (Mother's elder sisters)

In (288b) above, the adjective [mo-golo] retained the prefix of class 1, i.e., **mo-** while it should have changed to **ba-**:

(289) *[Bo-mma [ba-golo]

Other examples are the following:

(290) Ra- mogolo	(Father's elder brother)
Bo-ra- mogolo	(Father's elder brothers)
Monna- moso	(Kind of plant)
Bomonna- moso	(Kinds of plants)
Mma- mongwe	(Someone else's mother)
Bomma- mongwe	(Someone else's mothers)

b. Agreement does change in plural

In comparison with the section above, the Agr on the adjective will follow the prefix of the head noun in the singular and plural, e.g.;

(291) Class 5: [Le-eto [le-golo]	(Important journey)
Class 6: [Ma-eto [ma-golo]	(Important journeys)

The prefix of class 5 appears on the adjective **-golo** while the prefix of class 6 appears on the same adjective if the head noun is now in class 6 as above:

(292) Mofahloši- mogolwane	(Senior lecturer)
Bafahloši- bagolwane	(Senior lecturers)
Mogolele- mogolo	(Senior/elder brother or sister)
Bagolele- bagolo	(Seniors/elder brothers or sisters)
Mmuši- mogolo	(Senior governor/paramount chief)
Babuši- bagolo	(Senior governors/paramount chiefs)
Mokgalemi- mogolo	(Chief whip)
Bakgalemi- bagolo	(Chief whips)

Monna- mogolo	(Old man)
Banna- bagolo	(Old men)
Mootledi- mogolo	(Senior driver)
Baotledi- bagolo	(Senior drivers)
Moroki- mogolo	(Senior tailor)
Baroki- bagolo	(Senior tailors)
Mosadi- mogolo	(Old woman/chief's principal wife/venerable lady)
Basadi- bagolo	(Old women/chief's principal wives/ venerable ladies)
Leeto- legolo	(Important journey)
Maeto- magolo	(Important journeys)
Šika- legolo	(Big vein/sinew)
Mašika- magolo	(Big veins/sinews)
Tšatši- legolo	(Important day)
Matšatši- magolo	(Important days)
Lehu- lebe	("Bad death")
Mahu- mabe	("Bad deaths")
Leano- lebe	(Evil/bad plan)
Maano- mabe	(Evil/bad plans)
Moeng- mofsa	(New visitor)
Baeng- bafsa	(New visitors)
Modimo- monnyane	(Small god)

Medimo- mennyane	(Small gods)
Leleme- lesese	(Thin tongue)
Maleme- masese	(Thin tongues)
Ngwaga- motelele	(Leap-year)
Me-/nywaga- metelele	(Leap-years)
Molomo- mohubedu	(Red mouth)
Melomo- mehubedu	(Red mouths)
Motho- moso	(Black person)
Batho- baso	(Black persons)
Lebue- lešweu	(White flower)
Mabue- mašweu	(White flowers)
Leihlo- lešweu	(White eye)
Mahlo- mašweu	(White eyes)
Leihlo- letala	(Green/blue eye)
Mahlo- matala	(Green/blue eyes)
Leihlo- letilo	(Brown with dark brown/fawn eye)
Mahlo- matilo	(Brown with dark brown/fawn eyes)
Leroro- lešweu	(Tooth)
Maroro- mašweu	(Teeth)
Lehlaka- letala	(Kind of whitish sorghum)
Mahlaka- matala	(Kinds of whitish sorghums)

Motho- mongwe	(Another person)
Batho- bangwe	(Other persons)

c. Agreement is class 8: Adjective change as in class 9

The Agr on the Adj in the plural in class 8 does not use the Agr of class 8, i.e., [di-], but it uses the prefix of class 10 [diN-] on the adjective, e.g.;

(293) [Di-hlare [diN-golo] → **dihlare-dikgolo** (Big/important trees or medicines)

Other example is the following:

(294) Seipone- segolo	(Haughty person)
Diipone- dikgolo	(Haughty persons)

d. Agreement is class 10; same as class 9; prefix di- does not appear on adjectives

When the compound noun appears in class 10, the Agr of class 10 does not appear on the adjective. The Agr of class 9 appears on the singular and plural noun:

(295) Class 9: [N-kgoši [N-golo] → kgoši-kgolo (Paramount chief)
Class 10: [diN-kgoši [N-golo] → dikgoši-kgolo (Paramount chiefs)

Other examples are the following:

(296) Joko-kgolo	(Big yoke)
Dijoko- kgolo	(Big yokes)
Ketane-kgolo	(Big chain)
Diketane- kgolo	(Big chains)

Kgaka-kgolo	(Big crowned guinea-fowl)
Dikgaka- kgolo	(Big crowned guinea-fowls)
Kgare-kgolo	(Big plaited ring/crown/wreath)
Dikgare- kgolo	(Big plaited rings/crowns/wreaths)
Kgohlagano-kgolo	(Big connection)
Dikgohlagano- kgolo	(Big connections)
Kgotla-kgolo	(Parliament)
Dikgotla- kgolo	(Parliaments)
Mpa-kgolo	(Big stomach)
Dimpa- kgolo	(Big stomachs)

3.8.4.3 No Agr on the adjective

There are various compound nouns with adjectives in which the adjectives have no Agr with the head noun. These are exceptions to the general rule and the following examples may be noted:

- (297) a. [Le-ihlo [šweu] (White eye)
b. [Mma [bedi] (One who serves two masters at the same time)

With **-tee**:

- (298) Lefoko-**tee** (Simple clause)
Mafoko-**tee** (Simple clauses)
- Noko-**tee** (Monosyllable)
Dinoko-**tee** (Monosyllables)

Pelo- tee	(Unanimous/unity)
Dipelo- tee	(Unanimouses/unities)

With **noši**:

(299) Pušo- noši	(Autocracy/dictatorship/absolute rule)
Dipušo- noši	(Autocracies/dictatorships/absolute rules)

3.8.5 Nominal suffixes

The aim of this section is to establish whether the three suffixes below may appear with compound nouns with adjectives and specifically whether these suffixes may occur with the head noun of the compound or with the adjective. The nominal suffixes are the following:

- The augmentative suffix **-gadi**
- The diminutive suffixes **-ana/-nyana**
- The locative suffix **-(e)ng**



The augmentative suffix **-gadi**

The suffix **-gadi** can be affixed either to nouns or adjectives to express augmentative meaning. The attachment of this suffix on either word does not affect the meaning of the compound.

a. The suffix **-gadi** to nouns:

(300) Mothakgo-+- gadi -kgolo	(Big stunning decoration)
Molomo-+- gadi -hubedu	(Big red mouth)
Lefoko-+- gadi -tee	(Long simple clause)
Lehlathi-+- gadi -kae	(Long adverb of quantity)

b. The suffix -gadi to adjectives:

(301) Mothakgo-kgolo-+-**gadi**

Molomo-hubedu-+-**gadi**

Lefoko-tee-+-**gadi**

Lehlathi-kae-+-**gadi**

The diminutive suffixes -ana/-nyana

The suffix **-ana** behaves the same way as the suffix **-gadi**.

a. The suffix -ana to nouns:

(302) Malaw-+-**ana**-mabe (Small restless sleep)

Hlogw-+-**ana**-ntsho (Small youngster)

Magaj-+-**ana**-mabedi (Two small sharp edges)

Mabak-+-**ana**-ntši (Small compound tenses)



b. The suffixes -ana/-nyana to adjectives:

(303) Malao-mabe-+-**nyana**

Hlogo-ntshw-+-**ana**

Magale-mabetš-+-**ana**

Mabaka-ntši-+-**nyana**

The locative suffix -eng

Like the suffixes **-gadi** and **-ana**, the locative suffix **-eng** can also be affixed either to nouns or adjectives to express the locative meaning without actually affecting the meaning of the compounds.

a. The suffix -eng to nouns:

- | | |
|--------------------------------|--------------------------|
| (304) Joko-+- ng -kgolo | (On the big yoke) |
| Lebue-+- ng -lešweu | (On the white flower) |
| Digo-+- ng -pedi | (In the two ears) |
| Lefoko-+- ng -ntši | (In the compound clause) |

b. The suffix -eng to adjectives:

- (305) Joko-kgolo-+-**ng**
 Lebue-lešweu-+-**ng**
 Digo-pedi-+-**ng**
 Lefoko-ntši-+-**ng**

3.8.6 Semantic relations

Attention here will focus on the semantic relations in compounds formed by nouns and adjectives. Even though the vast majority of compounds in this section have a descriptive relation, there are a few which have a possessive relation. As it is indicated in the previous sections, these relations will deal only with endocentric compounds.

Descriptive relation

In this relation, persons, animals or things are described as in the following cases:

- (306) a. **Mma-mogolo** (Mother's elder sister): In this compound with noun and descriptive adjective, the relation between **mma** and **mogolo** can be expressed by the descriptive **is**; the head noun is **mma** (mother) which is modified by **mogolo** (big/huge/large), i.e., the mother who is older.

- b. **Namane-ntsho** (Black calf): The relation between **namane** and **ntsho**, in this compound with noun and colour adjective, can be expressed by the descriptive **is**; the head noun is **namane** (calf) which is modified by **ntsho** (black), i.e., the calf which is black.
- c. **Melomo-mebedi** (Two conflicting ideas). This is the compound with noun and number. The relation between **melomo** and **mebedi** can also be expressed by the descriptive **is**; the head noun is **melomo** (mouths) which is modified by **mebedi** (two), i.e., the ideas which are two.
- d. **Pušo-noši** (Autocracy/dictatorship/absolute rule): This compound is made up of a noun and quantifier. The relation between **pušo** and **noši** can as well be expressed by the descriptive **is**; the head noun is **pušo** (rule) which is modified by **noši** (alone/self/ absolute), i.e., the rule which is autocratic or absolute.

The above examples include all four types of adjectival roots in Northern Sotho. A long list of other compounds that also have the descriptive relation is as follows:

Compounds with nouns and descriptive adjectives:

(307) Ra-mogolo	(Father's elder brother)
Mofahloši-mogolwane	(Senior lecturer)
Mogolele-mogolo	(Senior/elder brother or sister)
Mmuši-mogolo	(Senior governor/paramount chief)
Mokgalemi-mogolo	(Chief whip)
Lebone-kgolo	(Big lamp)
Leeto-legolo	(Important journey)
Joko-kgolo	(Big yoke)
Ketane-kgolo	(Big chain)
Kgaka-kgolo	(Big crowned guinea-fowl)
Kgare-kgolo	(Big plaited ring/crown/wreath)
Botona-kgolo	(Premiership/prime ministership)

Lehu-lebe	("Bad death")
Leano-lebe	(Evil/bad plan)
Madi-mabe	(Bad luck)
Malao-mabe	(Restless sleep)
Maswanedi-mabe	(Evil/bad responsibility (responsibilities))
Seja-gobe	(Glutton)
Moeng-mofsa	(New visitor)
Molaodi-kgoparara	(General manager/director)
Lehu-kgoswane	(Short unconsciousness)
Pelo-khutswa	(Short-tempered/irascible/touchy)
Modimo-monnyane	(Small god)
Leleme-lesese	(Thin tongue)
Kanegelo-kopana	(Short story)
Galase-koto	(Plateglass)
Petšo-kima	(Shot-putt)
Ngwaga-motelele	(Leap-year)
Leino-telele	(Long tooth)
Mokgobokanyi-tona	(Senior collector)
Hlogo-tona	(Main topic)
Namane-tona	(Big calf)

Compounds with nouns and colour adjectives:

(308) Mohlapo-khubedu	(Bilharzia)
Molomo-hubedu	(Red mouth)
Phoofolo-khulong	(Red male animal)
Ledule-putswa	(Old man)
Pelo-tshehla	(Jealousy)
Motho-moso	(Black person)
Hlogo-ntsho	(Youngster)
Lebue-lešweu	(White flower)
Leihlo-šweu	(White eye)

Pelwana-tšhwaana	(Little satisfaction)
Tedu-tšhweu	(White beard)
Legolo-tala	(Green/blue den)
Leihlo-letala	(Green/blue eye)
Leihlo-letilo	(Brown with dark brown/fawn eye)
Swiswi-tshororo	(Black darkness)
Tšhila-ntshororo	(Dirty/filthy thing)

Compounds with nouns and numbers:

(309) Mma-bedi	(One who serves two masters at the same time)
Ngwaga-pedi	(Biennial)
Mekoka-mebedi	(Two ways)
Noko-pedi	(Bisyllable)
Lefoko-tee	(Simple clause)
Noko-tee	(Monosyllable)
Khutlo-tharo	(Triangle)
Noko-tharo	(Trisyllable)
Khutlo-nne	(Quadrangle)
Noko-nne	(Quadrisyllable)

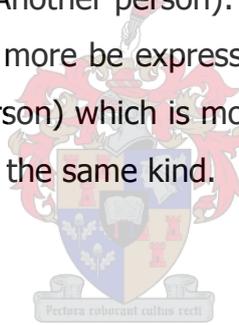
Compounds with nouns and quantifiers:

(310) Lefoko-nngwe	(Simple clause)
Lebaka-ntši	(Compound tense)
Matepe-ntši	(Much sulkiness/cheekiness/wilfulness/ capriciousness)
Bodimo-ntši	(Polytheism)

Possessive relation

The compounds that are built up of nouns and quantifiers below illustrate this relation:

- (311) a. **Lehlathi-kae** (Adverb of quantity): The relation between **lehlathi** and **kae** can be expressed by the possessive **of**; the head noun is **lehlathi** (adverb) which is modified by **kae**? (how many/how much?), i.e., an adverb of quantity.
- b. **Mma-mongwe** (Someone else's mother): The relation between **mma** and **mongwe** can also be expressed by the possessive **of**; the head noun is **mma** (mother) which is modified by **mongwe** (another), i.e., the mother of someone else.
- c. **Motho-mongwe** (Another person): The relation between **motho** and **mongwe** can once more be expressed by the possessive **of**; the head noun is **motho** (person) which is modified by **mongwe** (another), i.e., an additional one of the same kind.



3.8.7 Semantic features

Every compound noun has a semantic feature. This section intends to classify the semantic features of compounds made up of nouns and adjectives. The compounds may be classified semantically into humans, animals, plants, natural phenomena, natural objects, body parts, communication, culture, cognition, food, artifacts, state, illness, time, place, events, feelings and colour.

Humans

Compounds with nouns and descriptive adjectives

Endocentric compounds

(312) Class 1a/2a: **Mma-mogolo** (Bomma-mogolo) (Mother's elder sister).
Derivation: **Mma** (cl. 1a, mother) with agreement of cl. 1 on **-golo** of head (cl. 1a) and without agreement of cl. 2 on **-golo** of head (cl. 2).

Class 1a/2a: **Ra-mogolo** (Bo-ra-mogolo) (Father's elder brother).
Derivation: **Rra** (cl. 1a, father) with agreement of cl. 1 on **-golo** of head (cl. 1a) and without agreement of cl. 2 on **-golo** of head (cl. 2).

Class 1/2: **Mofahloši-mogolwane** (Bafahloši-bagolwane) (Senior lecturer).
Derivation: **Mofahloši** (cl. 1, lecturer), a deverbative with agreement of cl. 1 on **-golwane** of head (cl. 1) and agreement of cl. 2 on **-golwane** of head (cl. 2).



Class 1/2: **Mogolele-mogolo** (Bagolele-bagolo) (Senior/elder brother or sister). Derivation: **Mogolele** (cl. 1, elder brother/elder sister/elder sister's husband) with agreement of cl. 1 on **-golo** of head (cl. 1) and agreement of cl. 2 on **-golo** of head (cl. 2).

Class 1/2: **Mmuši-mogolo** (Babuši-bagolo) (Senior governor/paramount chief). Derivation: **Mmuši** (cl. 1, governor/chief), a deverbative with agreement of cl. 1 on **-golo** of head (cl. 1) and agreement of cl. 2 on **-golo** of head (cl. 2).

Class 1/2: **Mokgalemi-mogolo** (Bakgalemi-bagolo) (Chief whip).
Derivation: **Mokgalemi** (cl. 1, reprimander), a deverbative with agreement

of cl. 1 on **-golo** of head (cl. 1) and agreement of cl. 2 on **-golo** of head (cl. 2).

Class 1/2: **Monna-mogolo** (Banna-bagolo) (Old man). Derivation: **Monna** (cl. 1, man) with agreement of cl. 1 on **-golo** of head (cl. 1) and agreement of cl. 2 on **-golo** of head (cl. 2).

Class 1/2: **Mootledi-mogolo** (Baotledi-bagolo) (Senior driver). Derivation: **Mootledi** (cl. 1, driver), a deverbative with agreement of cl. 1 on **-golo** of head (cl. 1) and agreement of cl. 2 on **-golo** of head (cl. 2).

Class 1/2: **Moroki-mogolo** (Baroki-bagolo) (Senior tailor). Derivation: **Moroki** (cl. 1, tailor), a deverbative with agreement of cl. 1 on **-golo** of head (cl. 1) and agreement of cl. 2 on **-golo** of head (cl. 2).

Class 1/2: **Mosadi-mogolo** (Basadi-bagolo) (Old woman/chief's principal wife/venerable lady). Derivation: **Mosadi** (cl. 1, woman) with agreement of cl. 1 on **-golo** of head (cl. 1) and agreement of cl. 2 on **-golo** of head (cl. 2).



Class 7/8: **Seipone-segolo** (Diipone-dikgolo) (Haughty person). Derivation: **Seipone** (cl. 7, mirror), a deverbative with agreement of cl. 7 on **-golo** of head (cl. 7) and agreement of cl. 10 on **-golo** of head (cl. 10).

Class 9/10: **Kgoši-kgolo** (Dikgoši-kgolo) (Paramount chief). Derivation: **Kgoši** (cl. 9, chief) with agreement of cl. 9 on **-golo** of head (cl. 9); the same agreement with head (cl. 10).

Class 9/10: **Tona-kgolo** (Ditona-kgolo) (Premier/prime minister). Derivation: **Tona** (cl. 9, member of cabinet) with agreement of cl. 9 on **-golo** of head (cl. 9); the same agreement with head (cl. 10).

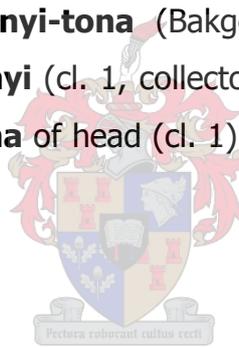
Class 1/2: **Moeng-mofsa** (Baeng-bafsa) (New visitor). Derivation: **Moeng** (cl. 1, visitor) with agreement of cl. 1 on **-fsa** of head (cl. 1) and agreement of cl. 2 on **-fsa** of head (cl. 2).

Class 1/2: **Molaodi-kgoparara** (Balaodi-kgoparara) (General manager/director). Derivation: **Molaodi** (cl. 1, manager/director), a deverbative without agreement of cl. 1 on **-kgoparara** of head (cl. 1) and without agreement of cl. 2 on **-kgoparara** of head (cl. 2).

Class 3/4: **Modimo-monnyane** (Medimo-mennyane) (Small god). Derivation: **Modimo** (cl. 3, god) with agreement of cl. 3 on **-nnyane** of head (cl. 3) and agreement of cl. 4 on **-nnyane** of head (cl. 4).

Class 1/2: **Mokgobokanyi-tona** (Bakgobokanyi-tona) (Senior collector). Derivation: **Mokgobokanyi** (cl. 1, collector/gatherer), a deverbative without agreement of cl. 1 on **-tona** of head (cl. 1) and without agreement of cl. 2 on **-tona** of head (cl. 2).

Exocentric compounds



(313) Class 1a/2a: **Thipana-kgolo** (BoThipana-kgolo) (Name of a person). Derivation: **Thipana** (cl. 9, small knife) with agreement of cl. 9 on **-golo** of head (cl. 9); the same agreement with head (cl. 2a).

Class 1a/2a: **Ntwa-mpe** (BoNtwa-mpe) (Surname). Derivation: **Ntwa** (cl. 9, war/fight), a deverbative without agreement of cl. 9 on **-be** of head (cl. 9) and without agreement of cl. 2a on **-be** of head (cl. 2a).

Class 5/6: **Lekgalama-tona** (Makgalama-tona) (Homesexual). Derivation: **Lekgalama** (cl. 5, person who romps/rushes), a deverbative without agreement of cl. 5 on **-tona** of head (cl. 5) and without agreement of cl. 6 on **-tona** of head (cl. 6).

Compounds with nouns and colour adjectives

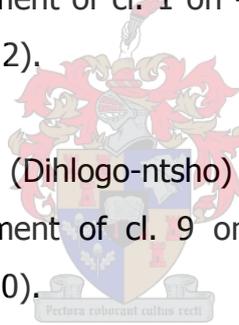
Endocentric compounds

(314) Class 1a/2a: **Ledu-leputswa** (Boledu-leputswa) (Old man). Derivation: **-ledu** without its prefix (cl. 5, beard) with agreement of cl. 5 on **-putswa** of head (cl. 1a) and with agreement of cl. 5 on **-putswa** of head (cl. 2a).

Class 9/10: **Hlogo-putswa** (Dihlogo-putswa) (Old man). Derivation: **Hlogo** (cl. 9, head) with agreement of cl. 9 on **-putswa** of head (cl. 9); the same agreement with head (cl. 10).

Class 1/2: **Motho-moso** (Batho-baso) (Black person). Derivation: **Motho** (cl. 1, person) with agreement of cl. 1 on **-so** of head (cl. 1) and agreement of cl. 2 on **-so** of head (cl. 2).

Class 9/10: **Hlogo-ntsho** (Dihlogo-ntsho) (Youngster). Derivation: **Hlogo** (cl. 9, head) with agreement of cl. 9 on **-so** of head (cl. 9); the same agreement with head (cl. 10).



Exocentric compounds

(315) Class 1a/2a: **Meno-mašweu** (Bomeno-mašweu) (Blackbiter/pretender). Derivation: **Meno** (cl. 6, teeth) with agreement of cl. 6 on **-šweu** of head (cl. 1a) and with the same agreement on **-šweu** of head (cl. 2a).

Class 9/10: **Khudu-thamaga** (Dikhudu-thamaga) (Executive body). Derivation: **Khudu** (cl. 9, tortoise) with agreement of cl. 9 on **-thamaga** of head (cl. 9); the same agreement with head (cl. 10).

Compound with noun and number

Endocentric compound

(316) Class 1a/2a: **Mma-bedi** (Bomma-bedi) (One who serves two masters at the same time). Derivation: **Mma** (cl. 1a, mother) without agreement of cl. 1a on **-bedi** of head (cl. 1a) and without agreement of cl. 2a on **-bedi** of head (cl. 2a).

Compounds with nouns and quantifiers

Endocentric compounds

(317) Class 1a/2a: **Mma-mongwe** (Bomma-mongwe) (Someone else's mother). Derivation: **Mma** (cl. 1a, mother) with agreement of cl. 1a on **-mongwe** of head (cl. 1a) and without agreement of cl. 2a on **-ngwe** of head (cl. 2a).

Class 1/2: **Motho-mongwe** (Batho-bangwe) (Another person). Derivation: **Motho** (cl. 1, person) with agreement of cl. 1 on **-ngwe** of head (cl. 1) and agreement of cl. 2 on **-ngwe** of head (cl. 2).

Animals

Compounds with nouns and descriptive adjectives

Endocentric compounds

(318) Class 7/8: **Seboko-kgolo** (Diboko-kgolo) (Big worm/caterpillar/larva). Derivation: **Seboko** (cl. 7, worm/caterpillar/larva) without agreement of cl. 7 on **-golo** of head (cl. 7) and without agreement of cl. 8 on **-golo** of head (cl. 8).

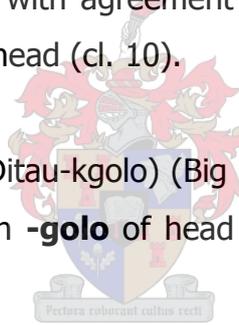
Class 9/10: **Kgaka-kgolo** (Dikgaka-kgolo) (Big crowned guinea-fowl). Derivation: **Kgaka** (cl. 9, crowned guinea-fowl) with agreement of cl. 9 on **-golo** of head (cl. 9); the same agreement with head (cl. 10).

Class 9/10: **Namane-kgolo** (Dinamane-kgolo) (Big calf). Derivation: **Namane** (cl. 9, calf) with agreement of cl. 9 on **-golo** of head (cl. 9); the same agreement with head (cl. 10).

Class 9/10: **Noga-kgolo** (Dinoga-kgolo) (Big snake). Derivation: **Noga** (cl. 9, snake) with agreement of cl. 9 on **-golo** of head (cl. 9); the same agreement with head (cl. 10).

Class 9/10: **Nong-kgolo** (Dinong-kgolo) (Big vulture/bird). Derivation: **Nong** (cl. 9, vulture/bird) with agreement of cl. 9 on **-golo** of head (cl. 9); the same agreement with head (cl. 10).

Class 9/10: **Tau-kgolo** (Ditau-kgolo) (Big lion). Derivation: **Tau** (cl. 9, lion) with agreement of cl. 9 on **-golo** of head (cl. 9); the same agreement with head (cl. 10).



Class 9/10: **Namane-tona** (Dinamane-tona) (Big calf). Derivation: **Namane** (cl. 9, calf) with agreement of cl. 9 on **-tona** of head (cl. 9); the same agreement with head (cl. 10).

Class 9/10: **Nose-tona** (Dinose-tona) (Drone (bee)). Derivation: **Nose** (cl. 9, bee) with agreement of cl. 9 on **-tona** of head (cl. 9); the same agreement with head (cl. 10).

Class 9/10: **Poo-tona** (Dipoo-tona) (Big bull). Derivation: **Poo** (cl. 9, bull) with agreement of cl. 9 on **-tona** of head (cl. 9); the same agreement with head (cl. 10).

Compounds with nouns and colour adjectives

Endocentric compounds

(319) Class 9/10: **Phoofolo-khulong** (Diphoofolo-khulong) (Red male animal).
Derivation: **Phoofolo** (cl. 9, animal) with agreement of cl. 9 on **-khulong** of head (cl. 9); the same agreement with head (cl. 10).

Class 9/10: **Namane-ntsho** (Dinamane-ntsho) (Black calf). Derivation: **Namane** (cl. 9, calf) with agreement of cl. 9 on **-so** of head (cl. 9); the same agreement with head (cl. 10).

Exocentric compounds

(320) Class 1a/2a: **Mma-kgwana** (Bomma-kgwana) (Martial eagle). Derivation: **Mma** (cl. 1a, mother) without agreement of cl. 1a on **-kgwana** of head (cl. 1a) and without agreement of cl. 2a on **-kgwana** of head (cl. 2a).

Class 1a/2a: **Mma-ngolwane** (Bomma-ngolwane) (Small red and white spotted female (dog/donkey/goat)). Derivation: **Mma** (cl. 1a, mother) without agreement of cl. 1a on **-ngolwane** of head (cl. 1a) and without agreement of cl. 2a on **-ngolwane** of head (cl. 2a).

Plants

Compounds with nouns and descriptive adjectives

Endocentric compounds

(321) Class 7/8: **-hlare-segolo** (Dihlare-dikgolo) (Big/important tree or medicine).
Derivation: **-hlare** without its prefix (cl. 7, tree/medicine) with agreement of

cl. 7 on **-golo** of head (cl. 7) and agreement of cl. 10 on **-golo** of head (cl. 10).

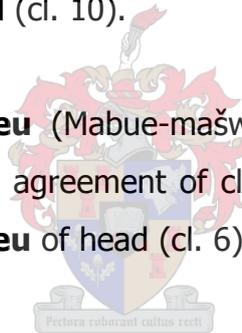
Class 9/10: **Thiti-kgolo** (Dithiti-kgolo) (Big stem/stump). Derivation: **Thiti** (cl. 9, stem/stump) with agreement of cl. 9 on **-golo** of head; the same agreement with head (cl. 10).

Compounds with nouns and colour adjectives

Endocentric compounds

(322) Class 9/10: **Thiti-ntsho** (Dithiti-ntsho) (Black stem/stump). Derivation: **Thiti** (cl. 9, stem/stump) with agreement of cl. 9 on **-so** of head (cl. 9); the same agreement with head (cl. 10).

Class 5/6: **Lebue-lešweu** (Mabue-mašweu) (White flower). Derivation: **Lebue** (cl. 5, flower) with agreement of cl. 5 on **-šweu** of head (cl. 5) and agreement of cl. 6 on **-šweu** of head (cl. 6).



Exocentric compounds

(323) Class 9/10: **Kgomo-(na)hlabana** (Dikgomo-(na)hlabana) (Tree wistaria). Derivation: **Kgomo** (cl. 9, head of cattle) with agreement of cl. 9 on **-(na)hlabana** of head (cl. 9); the same agreement with head (cl. 10).

Class 1a/2a: **Monna-moso** (Bomonna-moso) (Kind of plant). Derivation: **Monna** (cl. 1, man) with agreement of cl. 1a on **-so** of head (cl. 1a) and with the same agreement of head (cl. 2a).

Class 5/6: **Lehlaka-letala** (Mahlaka-matala) (kind of whitish sorghum). Derivation: **Lehlaka** (cl. 5, reed) with agreement of cl. 5 on **-tala** of head (cl. 5) and agreement of cl. 6 on **-tala** of head (cl. 6).

Natural phenomena

Compounds with nouns and colour adjectives

Endocentric compounds

(324) Class 6: **Meetse-mahubedu** (Red water). Derivation: **Meetse** (cl. 6, water) with agreement of cl. 6 on **-hubedu** of head (cl. 6).

Class 9: **Noka-ntsho** (Orange River). Derivation: **Noka** (cl. 9, river) with agreement of cl. 9 on **-so** of head (cl. 9).

Class 5/6: **Legolo-tala** (Magolo-tala) (Green/blue den). Derivation: **Legolo** (cl. 5, den) without agreement of cl. 5 on **-tala** of head (cl. 5) and without agreement of cl. 6 on **-tala** of head (cl. 6).

Class 14/6: **Bjang-botala** (Mabjang-matala) (Green grass). Derivation: **Bjang** (cl. 14, grass) with agreement of cl. 14 on **-tala** of head (cl. 14) and agreement of cl. 6 on **-tala** of head (cl. 6).

Class 5/6: **-swiswi-tshororo** (Maswiswi-tshororo) (Black darkness). Derivation: **-swiswi** without its prefix (cl. 5, darkness) without agreement of cl. 5 on **-tshororo** of head (cl. 5) and without agreement of cl. 6 on **-tshororo** of head (cl. 6).

Natural objects

Compound with noun and descriptive adjective

Endocentric compound

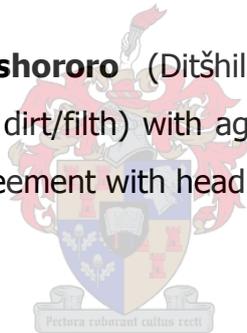
(325) Class 5/6: **Leswika-kgolo** (Maswika-kgolo) (Big stone). Derivation: **Leswika** (cl. 5, stone) without agreement of cl. 5 on **-golo** of head (cl. 5) and without agreement of cl. 6 on **-golo** of head (cl. 6).

Compound with noun and colour adjective

Endocentric compound

(326) Class 9/10: **Tšhila-ntshororo** (Ditšhila-ntshororo) (Dirty/filthy thing). Derivation: **Tšhila** (cl. 9, dirt/filth) with agreement of cl. 9 on **-tshororo** of head (cl. 9); the same agreement with head (cl. 10)

Body parts



Compounds with nouns and descriptive adjectives

Endocentric compounds

(327) Class 5/6: **Lela-kgolo** (Mala-kgolo) (Colon). Derivation: **Lela** (cl. 5, intestine) without agreement of cl. 5 on **-golo** of head (cl. 5) and without agreement of cl. 6 on **-golo** of head (cl. 6).

Class 5/6: **-šika-legolo** (Mašika-magolo) (Big vein/sinew). Derivation: **-šika** without its prefix (cl. 5, vein/sinew) with agreement of cl. 5 on **-golo** of head (cl. 5) and agreement of cl. 6 on **-golo** of head (cl. 6).

Class 9/10: **Mpa-kgolo** (Dimpa-kgolo) (Big stomach). Derivation: **Mpa** (cl. 9, stomach) with agreement of cl. 9 on **-golo** of head (cl. 9); the same agreement with head (cl. 10).

Class 5/6: **Leleme-lesese** (Maleme-masese) (Thin tongue). Derivation: **Leleme** (cl. 5, tongue) with agreement of cl. 5 on **-sese** of head (cl. 5) and agreement of cl. 6 on **-sese** of head (cl. 6).

Class 5/6: **Leino-telele** (Meno-telele) (Long tooth). Derivation: **Leino** (cl. 5, tooth) without agreement of cl. 5 on **-telele** of head (cl. 5) and without agreement of cl. 6 on **-telele** of head (cl. 6).

Compounds with nouns and colour adjectives

Endocentric compounds

(328) Class 3/4: **Molomo-mohubedu** (Melomo-mehubedu) (Red mouth). Derivation: **Molomo** (cl. 3, mouth) with agreement of cl. 3 on **-hubedu** of head (cl. 3) and agreement of cl. 4 on **-hubedu** of head (cl. 4).

Class 5/6: **Ledi-tšhweu** (Madi-tšhweu) (White blood-corpuscle). Derivation: **Ledi** (cl. 5, blood-corpuscle) without agreement of cl. 5 on **-šweu** of head (cl. 5) and without agreement of cl. 6 on **-šweu** of head (cl. 6).

Class 5/6: **Leihlo-šweu** (Mahlo-šweu) (White eye). Derivation: **Leihlo** (cl. 5, eye) without agreement of cl. 5 on **-šweu** of head (cl. 5) and without agreement of cl. 6 on **-šweu** of head (cl. 6).

Class 5/6: **Leihlo-lešweu** (Mahlo-mašweu) (White eye). Derivation: **Leihlo** (cl. 5, eye) with agreement of cl. 5 on **-šweu** of head (cl. 5) and agreement of cl. 6 on **-šweu** of head (cl. 6).

Class 9/10: **Hlogo-tšhweu** (Dihlogo-tšhweu) (White head). Derivation: **Hlogo** (cl. 9, head) with agreement of cl. 9 on **-šweu** of head (cl. 9); the same agreement with head (cl. 10).

Class 9/10: **Tedu-tšhweu** (Ditedu-tšhweu) (White beard). Derivation: **Tedu** (cl. 9, beard) with agreement of cl. 9 on **-šweu** of head (cl. 9); the same agreement with head (cl. 10).

Class 5/6: **Leihlo-letala** (Mahlo-matala) (Green/blue eye). Derivation: **Leihlo** (cl. 5, eye) with agreement of cl. 5 on **-tala** of head (cl. 5) and agreement of cl. 6 on **-tala** of head (cl. 6).

Class 5/6: **Leleme-tala** (Maleme-tala) (Blue tongue). Derivation: **Leleme** (cl. 5, tongue) without agreement of cl. 5 on **-tala** of head (cl. 5) and without agreement of cl. 6 on **-tala** of head (cl. 6).

Class 5/6: **Leihlo-letilo** (Mahlo-matilo) (Brown with dark brown/fawn eye). Derivation: **Leihlo** (cl. 5, eye) with agreement of cl. 5 on **-tilo** of head (cl. 5) and agreement of cl. 6 on **-tilo** of head (cl. 6).

Exocentric compound

(329) Class 5/6: **Leroro-lešweu** (Maroro-mašweu) (Tooth). Derivation: **Leroro** (cl. 5, corn (collective)/loose beads (i.e., not strung)) with agreement of cl. 5 on **-šweu** of head (cl. 5) and agreement of cl. 6 on **-šweu** of head (cl. 6).

Compound with noun and number

Exocentric compound

(330) Class 8: **Digo-pedi** (Two ears). Derivation: **Digo** (cl. 8, calabashes for drawing water) without agreement of cl. 8 on **-bedi** of head (cl. 8).

Communication

Compounds with nouns and descriptive adjectives

Endocentric compounds

(331) Class 9/10: **Nepo-kgolo** (Dinepo-kgolo (Main aim). Derivation: **Nepo** (cl. 9, aim), a deverbative with agreement of cl. 9 on **-golo** of head (cl. 9); the same agreement with head (cl. 10).

Class 9/10: **Taba-kgolo** (Ditaba-kgolo) (Important matter). Derivation: **Taba** (cl. 9, news/matter) with agreement of cl. 9 on **-golo** of head (cl. 9); the same agreement with head (cl. 10).

Class 9/10: **Thero-kgolo** (Dithero-kgolo) (Important sermon). Derivation: **Thero** (cl. 9, sermon), a deverbative with agreement of cl. 9 on **-golo** of head (cl. 9); the same agreement with head (cl. 10).

Class 9/10: **Tlhaka-kgolo** (Ditlhaka-kgolo) (Capital letter). Derivation: **Tlhaka** (cl. 9, letter) with agreement of cl. 9 on **-golo** of head (cl. 9); the same agreement with head (cl. 10).

Class 9/10: **Kanegelo-kopana** (Dikanegelo-kopana) (Short story). Derivation: **Kanegelo** (cl. 9, narrative), a deverbative with agreement of cl. 9 on **-kopana** of head (cl. 9); the same agreement with head (cl. 10).

Class 9/10: **Hlogo-tona** (Dihlogo-tona) (Main topic). Derivation: **Hlogo** (cl. 9, topic) with agreement of cl. 9 on **-tona** of head (cl. 9); the same agreement with head (cl. 10).

Compound with noun and colour adjective

Endocentric compound

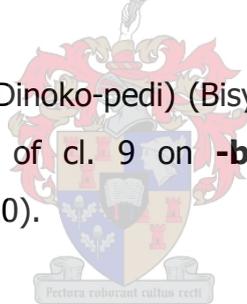
(332) Class 9/10: **Kgopolo-tala** (Dikgopolo-tala) (Old idea/thought). Derivation: **Kgopolo** (cl. 9, idea/thought), a deverbative with agreement of cl. 9 on **-tala** of head (cl. 9); the same agreement with head (cl. 10).

Compounds with nouns and numbers

Endocentric compounds

(333) Class 4: **Melomo-mebedi** (Two conflicting ideas). Derivation: **Melomo** (cl. 4, mouths) with agreement of cl. 4 on **-bedi** of head (cl. 4).

Class 9/10: **Noko-pedi** (Dinoko-pedi) (Bisyllable). Derivation: **Noko** (cl. 9, syllable) with agreement of cl. 9 on **-bedi** of head (cl. 9); the same agreement with head (cl. 10).



Class 5/6: **Lefoko-tee** (Mafoko-tee) (Simple clause). Derivation: **Lefoko** (cl. 5, sentence) without agreement of cl. 5 on **-tee** of head (cl. 5) and without agreement of cl. 6 on **-tee** of head (cl. 6).

Class 9/10: **Noko-tee** (Dinoko-tee) (Monosyllable). Derivation: **Noko** (cl. 9, syllable) with agreement of cl. 9 on **-tee** of head (cl. 9); the same agreement with head (cl. 10).

Class 9/10: **Khutlo-tharo** (Dikhutlo-tharo) (Triangle). Derivation: **Khutlo** (cl. 9, angle) with agreement of cl. 9 on **-raro** of head (cl. 9); the same agreement with head (cl. 10).

Class 9/10: **Noko-tharo** (Dinoko-tharo) (Trisyllable). Derivation: **Noko** (cl. 9, syllable) with agreement of cl. 9 on **-raro** of head (cl. 9); the same agreement with head (cl. 10).

Class 9/10: **Khutlo-nne** (Dikhutlo-nne) (Quadrangle). Derivation: **Khutlo** (cl. 9, angle) with agreement of cl. 9 on **-ne** of head (cl. 9); the same agreement with head (cl. 10).

Class 9/10: **Noko-nne** (Dinoko-nne) (Quadrisyllable). Derivation: **Noko** (cl. 9, syllable) with agreement of cl. 9 on **-ne** of head (cl. 9); the same agreement with head (cl. 10).

Class 9/10: **Khutlo-tshela** (Dikhutlo-tshela) (Hexagon). Derivation: **Khutlo** (cl. 9, angle) with agreement of cl. 9 on **-tshela** of head (cl. 9); the same agreement with head (cl. 10).

Compounds with nouns and quantifiers

Endocentric compounds



(334) Class 5/6: **Lefoko-nngwe** (Mafoko-nngwe) (Simple clause). Derivation: **Lefoko** (cl. 5, sentence) without agreement of cl. 5 on **-nngwe** of head (cl. 5) and without agreement of cl. 6 on **-nngwe** of head (cl. 6).

Class 5/6: **Lehlathi-kae** (Mahlathi-kae) (Adverb of quantity). Derivation: **Lehlathi** (cl. 5, adverb), a deverbative without agreement of cl. 5 on **-kae** of head (cl. 5) and without agreement of cl. 6 on **-kae** of head (cl. 6).

Class 5/6: **Lebaka-ntši** (Mabaka-ntši) (Compound tense). Derivation: **Lebaka** (cl. 5, tense) without agreement of cl. 5 on **-ntši** of head (cl. 5) and without agreement of cl. 6 on **-ntši** of head (cl. 6).

Class 5/6: **Lefoko-ntši** (Mafoko-ntši) (Compound clause). Derivation: **Lefoko** (cl. 5, sentence) without agreement of cl. 5 on **-ntši** of head (cl. 5) and without agreement of cl. 6 on **-ntši** of head (cl. 6).

Class 9/10: **Khutlo-ntši** (Dikhutlo-ntši) (Polygon). Derivation: **Khutlo** (cl. 9, angle) with agreement of cl. 9 on **-ntši** of head (cl. 9); the same agreement with head (cl. 10).

Class 9/10: **Noko-ntši** (Dinoko-ntši) (Polysyllable). Derivation: **Noko** (cl. 9, syllable) with agreement of cl. 9 on **-ntši** of head (cl. 9); the same agreement with head (cl. 10).

Class 9/10: **Pušo-noši** (Dipušo-noši) (Autocracy/dictatorship/absolute rule). Derivation: **Pušo** (cl. 9, rule), a deverbative with agreement of cl. 9 on **-noši** of head (cl. 9); the same agreement with head (cl. 10).

Culture

Compound with noun and colour adjective



Exocentric compound

(335) Class 9/10: **Kgokong-ntsho** (Dikgokong-ntsho) (Victim of ritual murder). Derivation: **Kgokong** (cl. 9, blue wildebeest) with agreement of cl. 9 on **-so** of head (cl. 9); the same agreement with head (cl. 10).

Compound with noun and number

Endocentric compound

(336) Class 14: **Bodimo-tee** (Monotheism): Derivation: **Bodimo** (cl. 14, godship) without agreement of cl. 14 on **-tee** of head (cl. 14).

Compound with noun and quantifier

Endocentric compound

(337) Class 14: **Bodimo-ntši** (Polytheism): Derivation: **Bodimo** (cl. 14, godship) without agreement of cl. 14 on **-ntši** of head (cl. 14).

Cognition

Compounds with nouns and descriptive adjectives

Endocentric compounds

(338) Class 5/6: **Leano-lebe** (Maano-mabe) (Evil/bad plan). Derivation: **Leano** (cl. 5, plan) with agreement of cl. 5 on **-be** of head (cl. 5) and agreement of cl. 6 on **-be** of head (cl. 6).

Class 6: **Madi-mabe** (Bad luck). Derivation: **Madi** (cl. 6, blood) with agreement of cl. 6 on **-be** of head (cl. 6).

Class 6: **Maswanedi-mabe** (Bad/evil responsibility (responsibilities)). Derivation: **Maswanedi** (cl. 6, responsibility (responsibilities)) with agreement of cl. 6 on **-be** of head (cl. 6).

Class 14: **Bomadi-mabe** (Misfortune/distress). Derivation: **Bomadi** (cl. 14, the state of being in blood) without agreement of cl. 14 on **-be** of head (cl. 14).

Food

Compound with noun and colour adjective

Exocentric compound

(339) Class 1a/2a: **Mma-tshehlana** (Bomma-tshehlana) (Beer). Derivation: **Mma** (cl. 1a, mother) without agreement of cl. 1a on **-sehla** of head (cl. 1a) and without agreement of cl. 2a on **-sehla** of head (cl. 2a).

Artifacts

Compounds with nouns and descriptive adjectives

Endocentric compounds

(340) Class 3/4: **Mothakgo-kgolo** (Methakgo-kgolo) (Stunning decoration). Derivation: **Mothakgo** (cl. 3, decoration), a deverbative without agreement of cl. 3 on **-golo** of head (cl. 3) and without agreement of cl. 4 on **-golo** of head (cl. 4).

Class 5/6: **Lebone-kgolo** (Mabone-kgolo) (Big lamp). Derivation: **Lebone** (cl. 5, lamp) without agreement of cl. 5 on **-golo** of head (cl. 5) and without agreement of cl. 6 on **-golo** of head (cl. 6).

Class 5/6: **-lapa-kgolo** (Malapa-kgolo) (Big yard/household/quadrangle). Derivation: **-lapa** without its prefix (cl. 5, yard/household/quadrangle) without agreement of cl. 5 on **-golo** of head (cl. 5) and without agreement of cl. 6 on **-golo** of head (cl. 6).

Class 9/10: **Joko-kgolo** (Dijoko-kgolo) (Big yoke). Derivation: **Joko** (cl. 9, yoke) with agreement of cl. 9 on **-golo** of head (cl. 9); the same agreement with head (cl. 10).

Class 9/10: **Ketane-kgolo** (Diketane-kgolo) (Big chain). Derivation: **Ketane** (cl. 9, chain) with agreement of cl. 9 on **-golo** of head (cl. 9); the same agreement with head (cl. 10).

Class 9/10: **Kgare-kgolo** (Dikgare-kgolo) (Big plaited ring (e.g., grass ring placed on head when carrying something)/crown/wreath). Derivation: **Kgare** (cl. 9, plaited ring (e.g., grass ring placed on head when carrying something)/crown/wreath) with agreement of cl. 9 on **-golo** of head (cl. 9); the same agreement with head (cl. 10).

Class 9/10: **Tsela-kgolo** (Ditsela-kgolo) (Main road). Derivation: **Tsela** (cl. 9, road) with agreement of cl. 9 on **-golo** of head (cl. 9); the same agreement with head (cl. 10).

Class 14/6: **Bogale-bogolo** (Magale-magolo) (Big sharp edge/blade). Derivation: **Bogale** (cl. 14, sharp edge/blade) with agreement of cl. 14 on **-golo** of head (cl. 14) and agreement of cl. 6 on **-golo** of head (cl. 6).

Class 9/10: **Galase-koto** (Digalase-koto) (Plateglass). Derivation: **Galase** (cl. 9, glass) with agreement of cl. 9 on **-koto** of head (cl. 9); the same agreement with head (cl. 10).

Class 9/10: **Petšo-kima** (Dipetšo-kima) (Shot-putt). Derivation: **Petšo** (cl. 9, throwing), a deverbative with agreement of cl. 9 on **-kima** of head (cl. 9); the same agreement with head (cl. 10).

Class 6: **Manamelo-matelele** (Long steps/stairs/places for climbing onto).
Derivation: **Manamelo** (cl. 6, steps/stairs/places for climbing onto), a
deverbative with agreement of cl. 6 on **-telele** of head (cl. 6).

Compound with noun and colour adjective

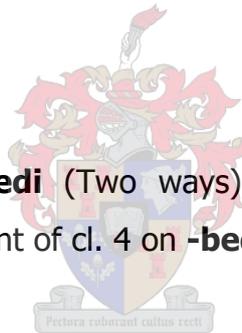
Endocentric compound

(341) Class 5/6: **Lelapi-tšhweu** (Malapi-tšhweu) (White cloth). Derivation: **Lelapi**
(cl. 5, cloth) without agreement of cl. 5 on **-šweu** of head (cl. 5) and without
agreement of cl. 6 on **-šweu** of head (cl. 6).

Compounds with nouns and numbers

Endocentric compounds

(342) Class 4: **Mekoka-mebedi** (Two ways): Derivation: **Mekoka** (cl. 4,
ways/roads) with agreement of cl. 4 on **-bedi** of head (cl. 4).



Class 6: **Magale-mabedi** (Two sharp edges). Derivation: **Magale** (cl. 6,
sharp edges), a deverbative with agreement of cl. 6 on **-bedi** of head (cl. 6).

Class 9: **Tsela-pedi** (Two ways). Derivation: **Tsela** (cl. 9, road) with
agreement of cl. 9 on **-bedi** of head (cl. 9).

State

Compounds with nouns and descriptive adjectives

Endocentric compounds

(343) Class 5/6: **Lerato-kgolo** (Marato-kgolo) (Great/serious love). Derivation: **Lerato** (cl. 5, love) without agreement of cl. 5 on **-golo** of head (cl. 5) and without agreement of cl. 6 on **-golo** of head (cl. 6).

Class 9/10: **Kgohlagano-kgolo** (Dikgohlagano-kgolo) (Big connection). Derivation: **Kgohlagano** (cl. 9, connection), a deverbative with agreement of cl. 9 on **-golo** of head (cl. 9); the same agreement with head (cl. 10).

Class 14: **Botona-kgolo** (Premiership/prime ministership). Derivation: **Botona** (cl. 14, office of being a commander) without agreement of cl. 14 on **-golo** of head (cl. 14).

Class 6: **Malao-mabe** (Restless sleep). Derivation: **Malao** (cl. 6, sleeping place (e.g., on a mat)/bed)) with agreement of cl. 6 on **-be** of head (cl. 6).

Class 5/6: **Lehu-kgoswane** (Mahu-kgoswane) (Short unconsciousness). Derivation: **Lehu** (cl. 5, death) without agreement of cl. 5 on **-kgoswane** of head (cl. 5) and without agreement of cl. 6 on **-kgoswane** of head (cl. 6).

Class 9/10: **Pelo-tona** (Dipelo-tona) (Courageousness/bravery). Derivation: **Pelo** (cl. 9, heart) with agreement of cl. 9 on **-tona** of head (cl. 9); the same agreement with head (cl. 10).

Compounds with nouns and colour adjectives

Endocentric compounds

(344) Class 9/10: **Pelo-tshehla** (Dipelo-tshehla) (Jealousy). Derivation: **Pelo** (cl. 9, heart) with agreement of cl. 9 on **-sehla** of head (cl. 9); the same agreement with head (cl. 10).

Class 9/10: **Pelo-tšhweu** (Dipelo-tšhweu) (Satisfaction). Derivation: **Pelo** (cl. 9, heart) with agreement of cl. 9 on **-šweu** of head (cl. 9); the same agreement with head (cl. 10).

Class 9/10: **Pelwana-tšhwaana** (Dipelwana-tšhwaana) (Little satisfaction). Derivation: **Pelwana** (cl. 9, small heart) with agreement of cl. 9 on **-šweu** of head (cl. 9); the same agreement with (cl. 10).

Compound with noun and number

Endocentric compound



(345) Class 9/10: **Pelo-pedi** (Dipelo-pedi) (Uncertainty/hesitancy). Derivation: **Pelo** (cl. 9, heart) with agreement of cl. 9 on **-bedi** of head (cl. 9); the same agreement with head (cl. 10).

Compound with noun and quantifier

Endocentric compound

(346) Class 6: **Matepe-ntši** (Muchsulkiness/cheekiness/wilfulness/ capriciousness). Derivation: **Matepe** (cl. 6, sulkiness/cheekiness/ wilfulness/capriciousness) without agreement of cl. 6 on **-ntši** of head (cl. 6).

Illness

Compound with noun and descriptive adjective

Exocentric compound

- (347) Class 9/10: **Noga-koto** (Dinoga-koto) ((Kind of) rheumatism of the leg).
Derivation: **Noga** (cl. 9, snake) with agreement of cl. 9 on **-koto** of head (cl. 9); the same agreement with head (cl. 10).

Compounds with nouns and colour adjectives

Endocentric compounds

- (348) Class 3: **Mohlapo-khubedu** (Bilharzia). Derivation: **Mohlapo** (cl. 3, medicated water for making rain), a deverbative without agreement of cl. 3 on **-hubedu** of head (cl. 3).

Class 9: **Teng-khubedu** (Dysentery). Derivation: **Teng** (cl. 9, inside) with agreement of cl. 9 on **-hubedu** of head (cl. 9).

Time

Compounds with nouns and descriptive adjectives

Endocentric compounds

- (349) Class 3/4: **Ngwaga-kgolo** (Mengwaga-kgolo/nywaga-kgolo) (Century).
Derivation: **Ngwaga** (cl. 3, year) without agreement of cl. 3 on **-golo** of head (cl. 3) and without agreement of cl. 4 on **-golo** of head (cl. 4).

Class 5/6: **-tšatši-legolo** (Matšatši-magolo) (Important day). Derivation: -**tšatši** without its prefix (cl. 5, day) with agreement of cl. 5 on **-golo** of head (cl. 5) and agreement of cl. 6 on **-golo** of head (cl. 6).

Class 3/4: **Ngwaga-motelele** (Mengwaga-metelele/nywaga-metelele) (Leap year). Derivation: **Ngwaga** (cl. 3, year) with agreement of cl. 3 on **-telele** of head (cl. 3) and agreement of cl. 4 on **-telele** of head (cl. 4).

Compound with noun and number

Endocentric compound

(350) Class 3: **Ngwaga-pedi** (Biennial). Derivation: **Ngwaga** (cl. 3, year) without agreement of cl. 3 on **-bedi** of head (cl. 3).

Place

Compound with noun and descriptive adjective



Endocentric compound

(351) Class 9/10: **Kgotla-kgolo** (Dikgotla-kgolo) (Parliament). Derivation: **Kgotla** (cl. 9, court) with agreement of cl. 9 on **-golo** of head (cl. 9); the same agreement with head (cl. 10).

Events

Compounds with nouns and descriptive adjectives

Endocentric compounds

(352) Class 5/6: **Leeto-legolo** (Maeto-magolo) (Important journey). Derivation: **Leeto** (cl. 5, journey), a deverbative with agreement of cl. 5 on **-golo** of head (cl. 5) and agreement of cl. 6 on **-golo** of head (cl. 6).

Class 7/8: **Sello-kgolo** (Dillo-kgolo) (Serious complaint/weeping). Derivation: **Sello** (cl. 7, complaint/weeping), a deverbative without agreement of cl. 7 on **-golo** of head (cl. 7) and without agreement of cl. 8 on **-golo** of head (cl. 8).

Class 9/10: **Tetelo-kgolo** (Ditetelo-kgolo) (Big expectation/anticipation). Derivation: **Tetelo** (cl. 9, expectation/anticipation), a deverbative with agreement of cl. 9 on **-golo** of head (cl. 9); the same agreement with head (cl. 10).



Class 5/6: **Lehu-lebe** (Mahu-mabe) ("Bad death"). Derivation: **Lehu** (cl. 5, death) with agreement of cl. 5 on **-be** of head (cl. 5) and agreement of cl. 6 on **-be** of head (cl. 6).

Compound with noun and colour adjective

Endocentric compound

(353) Class 9/10: **Tsela-tšhweu** (Ditsela-tšhweu) (Good journey). Derivation: **Tsela** (cl. 9, road) with agreement of cl. 9 on **-šhweu** of head (cl. 9); the same agreement with head (cl. 10).

Feelings

Compounds with nouns and descriptive adjectives

Endocentric compounds

(354) Class 9/10: **Pelo-kgolo** (Dipelo-kgolo) (Magnanimity). Derivation: **Pelo** (cl. 9, heart) with agreement of cl. 9 on **-golo** of head (cl. 9); the same agreement with head (cl. 10).

Class 9/10: **Pelo-mpe** (Dipelo-mpe) (Bad/evil heart). Derivation: **Pelo** (cl. 9, heart) with agreement of cl. 9 on **-be** of head (cl. 9); the same agreement with head (cl. 10).

Class 14: **Bopelo-mpe** (The state of bad/evil heart). Derivation: **Bopelo** (cl. 14, heartiness) without agreement of cl. 14 on **-be** of head (cl. 14).

Class 9/10: **Pelo-khutswa** (Dipelo-khutswa) (Short-tempered/irascible/touchy). Derivation: **Pelo** (cl. 9, heart) with agreement of cl. 9 on **-khutswa** of head (cl. 9); the same agreement with head (cl. 10).

Class 9/10: **Pelo-telele** (Dipelo-telele) (Patience/forbearing). Derivation: **Pelo** (cl. 9, heart) with agreement of cl. 9 on **-telele** of head (cl. 9); the same agreement with head (cl. 10).

Compound with noun and number

Endocentric compound

(355) Class 9/10: **Pelo-tee** (Dipelo-tee) (Unanimous/united). Derivation: **Pelo** (cl. 9, heart) with agreement of cl. 9 on **-tee** of head (cl. 9); the same agreement with head (cl. 10).

Colour

Compound with noun and quantifier

Endocentric compound

(356) Class 6: **Mabala-ntši** (Many colours). Derivation: **Mabala** (cl. 6, colours) without agreement of cl. 6 on **-ntši** of head (cl. 6).

3.8.8 Table of compounds

Endocentric compounds

(357)

	Noun	Pl.	Deriv.	Morph.			Loc.	Dim.	SRel.	SFeat.
				A R	AgrS	Agrp []				
1	Mma-mogolo	2a	1a, A	++	1	1 golo	-	+(N1/2)	IS	Human
2	Ra-mogolo	2a	1a, A	++	1	1 golo	-	+(N1/2)	IS	Human
3	Mofahloši-mogolwane	2	1, A	++	1	2 golwane	+(N1/2)	-	IS	Human
4	Mogolele-mogolo	2	1, A	++	1	2 golo	+(N1/2)	+(N1/2)	IS	Human
5	Mmuši-mogolo	2	1, A	++	1	2 golo	+(N1/2)	+(N1/2)	IS	Human
6	Mokgalemi-mogolo	2	1, A	++	1	2 golo	+(N1/2)	+(N1/2)	IS	Human
7	Monna-mogolo	2	1, A	++	1	2 golo	+(N1/2)	+(N1/2)	IS	Human
8	Mootledi-mogolo	2	1, A	++	1	2 golo	+(N1/2)	+(N1/2)	IS	Human
9	Moroki-mogolo	2	1, A	++	1	2 golo	+(N1/2)	+(N1/2)	IS	Human
10	Mosadi-mogolo	2	1, A	++	1	2 golo	+(N1/2)	+(N1/2)	IS	Human
11	Ngwaga-kgolo	4	3, A	++	9	9 golo	+(N1/2)	+(N1/2)	IS	Time
12	Mothakgo-kgolo	4	3, A	++	9	9 golo	+(N1/2)	+(N1/2)	IS	Artif.
13	Lebone-kgolo	6	5, A	++	9	9 golo	+(N1/2)	+(N1/2)	IS	Artif.
14	Leeto-legolo	6	5, A	++	5	6 golo	+(N1/2)	+(N1/2)	IS	Event
15	Lela-kgolo	6	5, A	++	9	9 golo	+(N1/2)	+(N1/2)	IS	Body part
16	Lapa-kgolo	6	5, A	- +	9	9 golo	+(N1/2)	+(N1/2)	IS	Artif.
17	Lerato-kgolo	6	5, A	++	9	9 golo	+(N1/2)	+(N1/2)	IS	State
18	Leswika-kgolo	6	5, A	++	9	9 golo	+(N1/2)	+(N1/2)	IS	Nat. obj.
19	Šika-legolo	6	5, A	- +	5	6 golo	+(N1/2)	+(N1/2)	IS	Body part
20	Tšatši-legolo	6	5, A	- +	5	6 golo	+(N1/2)	+(N1/2)	IS	Time
21	Seboko-kgolo	8	7, A	++	9	9 golo	+(N1/2)	+(N1/2)	IS	Animal
22	Hlare-segolo	8	7, A	- +	7	8 golo	+(N1/2)	+(N1/2)	IS	Plant
23	Seiponi-segolo	8	7, A	++	7	8 golo	+(N1/2)	+(N1/2)	IS	Human
24	Sello-kgolo	8	7, A	++	7	9 golo	+(N1/2)	+(N1/2)	IS	Event
25	Joko-kgolo	10	9, A	++	9	9 golo	+(N1/2)	+(N1/2)	IS	Artif.
26	Ketane-kgolo	10	9, A	++	9	9 golo	+(N1/2)	+(N1/2)	IS	Artif.
27	Kgaka-kgolo	10	9, A	++	9	9 golo	+(N1/2)	+(N1/2)	IS	Animal
28	Kgare-kgolo	10	9, A	++	9	9 golo	+(N1/2)	+(N1/2)	IS	Artif.

29	Kgohlagano-kgolo	10	9, A	++	9	9 golo	+(N1/2)	+(N1/2)	IS	State
30	Kgoši-kgolo	10	9, A	++	9	9 golo	+(N1/2)	+(N1/2)	IS	Human
31	Kgotla-kgolo	10	9, A	++	9	9 golo	+(N1/2)	+(N1/2)	IS	Place
32	Mpa-kgolo	10	9, A	++	9	9 golo	+(N1/2)	+(N1/2)	IS	Body part
33	Namane-kgolo	10	9, A	++	9	9 golo	+(N1/2)	+(N1/2)	IS	Animal
34	Nepo-kgolo	10	9, A	++	9	9 golo	+(N1/2)	+(N1/2)	IS	Communic.
35	Noga-kgolo	10	9, A	++	9	9 golo	+(N1/2)	+(N1/2)	IS	Animal
36	Nong-kgolo	10	9, A	++	9	9 golo	+(N1/2)	+(N1/2)	IS	Animal
37	Pelo-kgolo	10	9, A	++	9	9 golo	+(N1/2)	+(N1/2)	IS	Feeling
38	Taba-kgolo	10	9, A	++	9	9 golo	+(N1/2)	+(N1/2)	IS	Communic.
39	Tau-kgolo	10	9, A	++	9	9 golo	+(N1/2)	+(N1/2)	IS	Animal
40	Tetelo-kgolo	10	9, A	++	9	9 golo	+(N1/2)	+(N1/2)	IS	Event
41	Thero-kgolo	10	9, A	++	9	9 golo	+(N1/2)	+(N1/2)	IS	Communic.
42	Thiti-kgolo	10	9, A	++	9	9 golo	+(N1/2)	+(N1/2)	IS	Plant
43	Tlhaka-kgolo	10	9, A	++	9	9 golo	+(N1/2)	+(N1/2)	IS	Communic.
44	Tona-kgolo	10	9, A	++	9	9 golo	+(N1/2)	+(N1/2)	IS	Human
45	Tsela-kgolo	10	9, A	++	9	9 golo	+(N1/2)	+(N1/2)	IS	Artif.
46	Bogale-bogolo	6	14, A	++	6	6 golo	+(N1/2)	+(N1/2)	IS	Artif.
47	Botona-kgolo	-	14, A	++	9	9 golo	+(N1/2)	+(N1/2)	IS	State
48	Lehu-lebe	6	5, A	++	5	6 be	+(N1/2)	+(N1/2)	IS	Event
49	Leano-lebe	6	5, A	++	5	6 be	+(N1/2)	+(N1/2)	IS	Cognition
50	Madi-mabe	-	6, A	++	6	6 be	+(N1/2)	+(N1/2)	IS	Cognition
51	Malao-mabe	-	6, A	++	6	6 be	+(N1/2)	+(N1/2)	IS	State
52	Maswanedi-mabe	-	6, A	++	6	6 be	+(N1/2)	+(N1/2)	IS	Cognition
53	Pelo-mpe	10	9, A	++	9	9 be	+(N1/2)	+(N1/2)	IS	Feeling
54	Bomadi-mabe	-	14, A	++	6	6 be	+(N1/2)	+(N1/2)	IS	Cognition
55	Bopelo-mpe	-	14, A	++	9	9 be	+(N1/2)	+(N1/2)	IS	Feeling
56	Moeng-mofsa	2	1, A	++	1	2 fsa	+(N1/2)	+(N1/2)	IS	Human
57	Molaodi-kgoparara	2	1, A	++	9	9 kgoparara	+(N1/2)	+(N1/2)	IS	Human
58	Lehu-kgoswane	6	5, A	++	9	9 kgoswane	+(N1/2)	-	IS	State
59	Pelo-khutsa	10	9, A	++	9	9 khutsa	+(N1/2)	+(N1/2)	IS	Feeling
60	Modimo-monnyane	4	3, A	++	3	4 nnyane	+(N1/2)	+(N1/2)	IS	Human
61	Leleme-lesese	6	5, A	++	6	6 sese	+(N1/2)	+(N1/2)	IS	Body part
62	Kanegelo-kopana	10	9, A	++	9	9 kopana	+(N1/2)	+(N1/2)	IS	Communic.
63	Galase-koto	10	9, A	++	9	9 koto	+(N1/2)	+(N1/2)	IS	Artif.
64	Petšo-kima	10	9, A	++	9	9 kima	+(N1/2)	+(N1/2)	IS	Artif.
65	Ngwaga-motelele	4	3, A	++	3	4 telele	+(N1/2)	+(N1/2)	IS	Time
66	Leino-telele	6	5, A	++	9	9 telele	+(N1/2)	+(N1/2)	IS	Body part
67	Manamelo-matelele	-	6, A	++	6	6 telele	+(N1/2)	+(N1/2)	IS	Artif.
68	Pelo-telele	10	9, A	++	9	9 telele	+(N1/2)	+(N1/2)	IS	Feeling
69	Mokgobokanyi-tona	2	1, A	++	9	9 tona	+(N1/2)	+(N1/2)	IS	Human
70	Hlogo-tona	10	9, A	++	9	9 tona	+(N1/2)	+(N1/2)	IS	Communic.
71	Namane-tona	10	9, A	++	9	9 tona	+(N1/2)	+(N1/2)	IS	Animal
72	Nose-tona	10	9, A	++	9	9 tona	+(N1/2)	+(N1/2)	IS	Animal
73	Pelo-tona	10	9, A	++	9	9 tona	+(N1/2)	+(N1/2)	IS	State
74	Poo-tona	10	9, A	++	9	9 tona	+(N1/2)	+(N1/2)	IS	Animal

Exocentric compounds

(358)

	Noun	Pl.	Deriv.	Morph.			Loc.	Dim.	SFeat.
				A R	AgrS	Agp []			
1	Thipana-kgolo	2a	9, A	++	9	9 golo	-	-	Human
2	Ntwa-mpe	2a	9, A	++	9	9 be	-	+(N1/2)	Human
3	Noga-koto	10	9, A	++	9	9 koto	+(N1/2)	+(N1/2)	Illness
4	Lekgalama-tona	6	5, A	++	9	9 tona	+(N1/2)	+(N1/2)	Human

Compounds with nouns and colour adjectives

Endocentric compounds

(359)

	Noun	Pl.	Deriv.	Morph.			Loc.	Dim.	SRel.	SFeat.
				A R	AgrS	Agp []				
1	Mohlapo-khubedu	-	3, A	++	9	9 khubedu	+(N1/2)	+(N1/2)	IS	Illness
2	Molomo-mohubedu	4	3, A	++	3	4 hubedu	+(N1/2)	+(N1/2)	IS	Body part
3	Meetse-mahubedu	-	6, A	++	6	6 hubedu	+(N1/2)	+(N1/2)	IS	Nat. phen.
4	Teng-khubedu	-	9, A	++	9	9 khubedu	+(N1/2)	+(N1/2)	IS	Illness
5	Phoofolo-khulong	10	9, A	++	9	9 khulong	+(N1/2)	+(N1/2)	IS	Animal
6	Ledu-leputswa	2a	5, A	- +	5	5 putswa	-	+(N1/2)	IS	Human
7	Hlogo-putswa	10	9, A	++	9	9 putswa	+(N1/2)	+(N1/2)	IS	Human
8	Pelo-tshehla	10	9, A	++	9	9 tshehla	+(N1/2)	+(N1/2)	IS	State
9	Motho-moso	2	1, A	++	1	2 so	+(N1/2)	+(N1/2)	IS	Human
10	Hlogo-ntsho	10	9, A	++	9	9 tsho	+(N1/2)	+(N1/2)	IS	Human
11	Namane-ntsho	10	9, A	++	9	9 tsho	+(N1/2)	+(N1/2)	IS	Animal
12	Noka-ntsho	-	9, A	++	9	9 tsho	+(N1/2)	+(N1/2)	IS	Nat. phen.
13	Thiti-ntsho	10	9, A	++	9	9 tsho	+(N1/2)	+(N1/2)	IS	Plant
14	Lebue-lešweu	6	5, A	++	5	6 šweu	+(N1/2)	+(N1/2)	IS	Plant
15	Ledi-tšhweu	6	5, A	++	9	9 tšhweu	+(N1/2)	+(N1/2)	IS	Body part
16	Leihlo-šweu	6	5, A	++	9	9 šweu	+(N1/2)	+(N1/2)	IS	Body part
17	Leihlo-lešweu	6	5, A	++	5	6 šweu	+(N1/2)	+(N1/2)	IS	Body part
18	Lelapi-tšhweu	6	5, A	++	9	9 tšhweu	+(N1/2)	+(N1/2)	IS	Artif.
19	Hlogo-tšhweu	10	9, A	++	9	9 tšhweu	+(N1/2)	+(N1/2)	IS	Body part
20	Pelo-tšhweu	10	9, A	++	9	9 tšhweu	+(N1/2)	+(N1/2)	IS	State
21	Pelwana-tšhwaana	10	9, A	++	9	9 tšhwaana	+(N1/2)	-	IS	State
22	Tedu-tšhweu	10	9, A	++	9	9 tšhweu	+(N1/2)	+(N1/2)	IS	Body part
23	Tsela-tšhweu	10	9, A	++	9	9 tšhweu	+(N1/2)	+(N1/2)	IS	Event
24	Legolo-tala	6	5, A	++	9	9 tala	+(N1/2)	+(N1/2)	IS	Nat. phen.
25	Leihlo-letala	6	5, A	++	5	6 tala	+(N1/2)	+(N1/2)	IS	Body part
26	Leleme-tala	6	5, A	++	9	9 tala	+(N1/2)	+(N1/2)	IS	Body part
27	Kgopolo-tala	10	9, A	++	9	9 tala	+(N1/2)	+(N1/2)	IS	Communic.
28	Bjang-botala	6	14, A	++	5	6 tala	+(N1/2)	+(N1/2)	IS	Nat. phen.
29	Leihlo-letilo	6	5, A	++	5	6 tilo	+(N1/2)	+(N1/2)	IS	Body part
30	Swiswi-tshororo	6	5, A	- +	9	9 tshororo	+(N1/2)	+(N1/2)	IS	Nat. phen.
31	Tšhila-ntshororo	10	9, A	++	9	9 tshororo	+(N1/2)	+(N1/2)	IS	Nat. obj.

Compounds with nouns and numbers

Exocentric compounds

(360)

	Noun	Pl.	Deriv.	Morph.			Loc.	Dim.	SFeat.
				AR	AgrS	Agrp []			
1	Kgomo-(na)hlabana	10	9, A	++	9	9 hlabana	+(N1/2)	-	Plant
2	Mma-kgwana	2a	1a, A	++	9	9 kgwana	-	-	Animal
3	Mma-ngolwane	2a	1a, A	++	9	9 ngolwane	-	-	Animal
4	Mma-tshehlana	2a	1a, A	++	9	9 tshehlana	-	-	Food
5	Monna-moso	2a	1, A	++	1	1 so	-	+(N1/2)	Plant
6	Kgokong-ntsho	10	9, A	++	9	9 tsho	+(N1/2)	+(N1/2)	Culture
7	Meno-mašweu	2a	6, A	++	6	6 šweu	-	+(N1/2)	Human
8	Leroro-lešweu	6	5, A	++	5	6 šweu	+(N1/2)	+(N1/2)	Body part
9	Lehlaka-letala	6	5, A	++	5	6 tala	+(N1/2)	+(N1/2)	Plant
10	Khudu-thamaga	10	9, A	++	9	9 thamakga	+(N1/2)	+(N1/2)	Human

Endocentric compounds

(361)

	Noun	Pl.	Deriv.	Morph.			Loc.	Dim.	SRel.	SFeat.
				AR	AgrS	Agrp []				
1	Mma-bedi	2a	1a, A	++	-	- bedi	-	+(N1/2)	IS	Human
2	Ngwaga-pedi	4	3, A	++	9	9 bedi	+(N1/2)	+(N1/2)	IS	Time
3	Mekoka-mebedi	-	4, A	++	4	4 bedi	+(N1/2)	+(N1/2)	IS	Artif.
4	Melomo-mebedi	-	4, A	++	4	4 bedi	+(N1/2)	+(N1/2)	IS	Communic.
5	Magale-mabedi	-	6, A	++	6	6 bedi	+(N1/2)	+(N1/2)	IS	Artif.
6	Noko-pedi	10	9, A	++	9	9 bedi	+(N1/2)	+(N1/2)	IS	Communic.
7	Pelo-pedi	10	9, A	++	9	9 bedi	+(N1/2)	+(N1/2)	IS	State
8	Tsela-pedi	-	9, A	++	9	9 bedi	+(N1/2)	+(N1/2)	IS	Artif.
9	Lefoko-tee	6	5, A	++	9	9 tee	+(N1/2)	+(N1/2)	IS	Communic.
10	Noko-tee	10	9, A	++	9	9 tee	+(N1/2)	+(N1/2)	IS	Communic.
11	Khutlo-tharo	10	9, A	++	9	9 raro	+(N1/2)	+(N1/2)	IS	Communic.
12	Noko-tharo	10	9, A	++	9	9 raro	+(N1/2)	+(N1/2)	IS	Communic.
13	Khutlo-nne	10	9, A	++	9	9 ne	+(N1/2)	+(N1/2)	IS	Communic.
14	Noko-nne	10	9, A	++	9	9 ne	+(N1/2)	+(N1/2)	IS	Communic.
15	Khutlo-tshela	10	9, A	++	9	9 tshela	+(N1/2)	+(N1/2)	IS	Communic.
16	Pelo-tee	10	9, A	++	9	9 tee	+(N1/2)	+(N1/2)	IS	Feeling
17	Bodimo-tee	-	14, A	++	9	9 tee	+(N1/2)	+(N1/2)	IS	Culture

Exocentric compound

(362)

	Noun	Pl.	Deriv.	Morph.			Loc.	Dim.	SFeat.
				A R	AgrS	Agrp []			
	Digo-pedi	-	8, A	++	8	9 bedi	+(N1/2)	+(N1/2)	Body part

Compounds with nouns and quantifiers

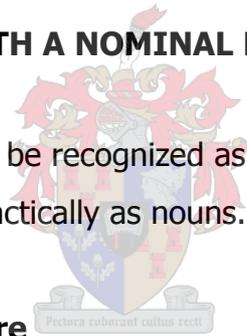
Endocentric compounds

(363)

	Noun	Pl.	Deriv.	Morph.			Loc.	Dim.	SFeat.	
				A	R	AgrS				Agrp []
1	Lefoko-nngwe	6	5, A	+	+	9	9 ngwe	+(N1/2)	+(N1/2)	Communic.
2	Lehlathi-kae	6	5, A	+	+	-	-	+(N1/2)	+(N1/2)	Communic.
3	Lebaka-ntši	6	5, A	+	+	-	-	+(N1/2)	+(N1/2)	Communic.
4	Lefoko-ntši	6	5, A	+	+	-	-	+(N1/2)	+(N1/2)	Communic.
5	Mabala-ntši	-	6, A	+	+	-	-	+(N1/2)	+(N1/2)	Colour
6	Matepe-ntši	-	6, A	+	+	-	-	+(N1/2)	+(N1/2)	State
7	Khutlo-ntši	10	9, A	+	+	9	9 ntši	+(N1/2)	+(N1/2)	Communic.
8	Noko-ntši	10	9, A	+	+	9	9 ntši	+(N1/2)	+(N1/2)	Communic.
9	Bodimo-ntši	-	14, A	+	+	-	-	+(N1/2)	+(N1/2)	Culture
10	Mma-mongwe	2a	1a, A	+	+	1	1 ngwe	+(N1/2)	-	Human
11	Motho-mongwe	2	1, A	+	+	1	2 ngwe	+(N1/2)	+(N1/2)	Human
12	Pušo-noši	10	9, A	+	+	9	9 noši	+(N1/2)	+(N1/2)	Communic.

3.9 COMPOUND NOUNS WITH A NOMINAL RELATIVE

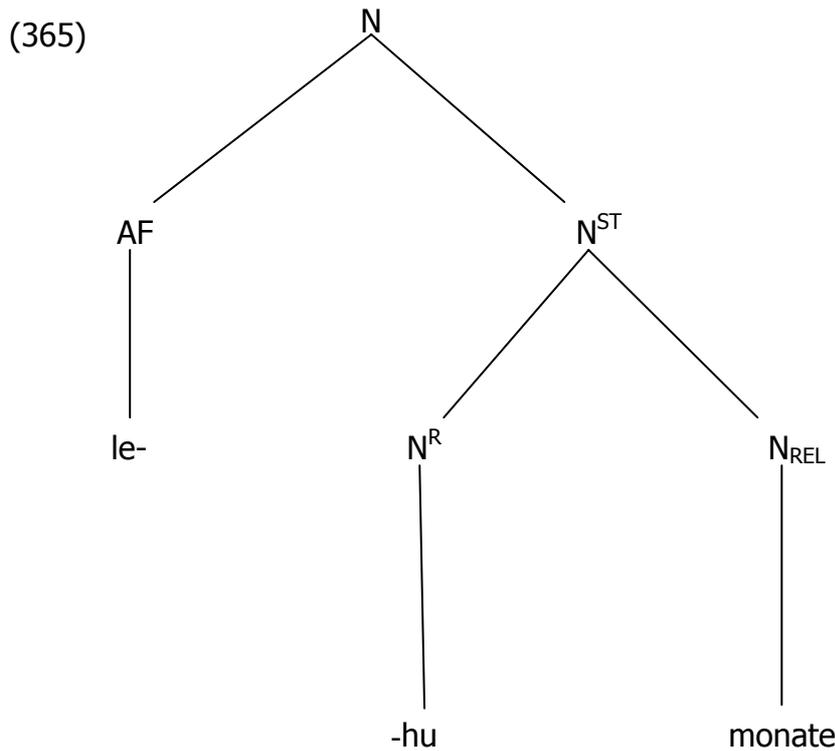
Nominal relatives may sometimes be recognized as nouns through their prefixes even though they do not function syntactically as nouns.



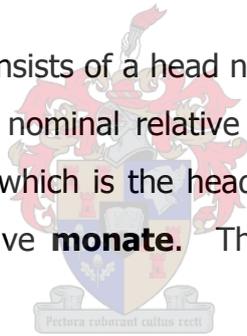
3.9.1 Morphological structure

In the compounds in this section, a nominal relative is a complement of the head noun as in the following example:

(364) **Lehu-monate** ("Nice death")



The compound in (364) above consists of a head noun **lehu** (death) which is derived from the verb **hwa** (die) and a nominal relative **monate** (nice/tasty). The noun **lehu** has a prefix **le-** of class 5 which is the head of the entire compound and the root **-hu** with the nominal relative **monate**. The nominal relative always comes after the noun.



3.9.2 Nominal relatives

a. Descriptive

(366) thata	'hard, difficult'	monate	'nice'
botho	'good, kind'	meetse	'wet'
botšwa	'lazy, blunt'	boi	'cowardly'
bonolo	'simple'	maswika	'stony'
ditšhila	'dirty'	makgethe	'neat'
bohloko	'painful'	tala	'raw'
hlaga	'wild'	bohlale	'wise, clever'
bophara	'wide'	boima	'heavy, difficult'

bogale	'sharp, fierce'	šoro	'cruel'
lekhwekhwe	'scabbed'	kgopama	'crooked, wicked'
madi	'bloody'	lepono	'naked'
bodila	'sour'	maatla	'strong'

b. Quantitative

(367) šupa	'seven'	tshela	'six'
seswai	'eight'	lesome	'ten'
senyane	'nine'	lekgolo	'hundred'
sekete	'thousand'		

No agreement in compounds

Compound nouns with nominal relatives have no agreement with the head nouns on the nominal relatives:

(368) Monkgo-monate	(Sweet/nice smell)
Lehu-monate	(Nice death)
Meetse-tšididi	(Cold water)
Seatla-marumerume	(Warm hand)
Hlogo-thata	(Block-head)
Koma-ntshetshere	(Difficult secrets of life)
Pelo-boi	(Trembling heart)
Tsela-kgopo	(Crooked way)
Bopelo-nolo	(Gentle/meek heart)
Bopelo-thata	(Stingy heart)

3.9.3 Nominal suffixes

The following suffixes are important:

- a. The augmentative suffix **-gadi**
- b. The diminutive suffix **-ana**
- c. The locative suffix **-eng**

The augmentative suffix -gadi

It is the purpose of this section to investigate if the augmentative suffix **-gadi** can be attached to one of the two words of a compound to express an augmentative meaning. It is of significance to know the word that takes such affixation. The following examples can be considered:

- | | |
|-------------------------------------|---------------------------------|
| (369) Monkgo-+- gadi -monate | (Big sweet/nice smell) |
| Meetse-+- gadi -tšididi | (Very much cold water) |
| Koma-+- gadi -ntshetshere | (Big difficult secrets of life) |
| Tsela-+- gadi -kgopo | (Big crooked way) |
| Bopelo-+- gadi -nolo | (Big gentle/meek heart) |

From the examples above, affixation co-occurs with the first noun of the compound.



The diminutive suffix -ana

The diminutive suffix can also be attached to the first word of the compound as in the following examples:

- | | |
|----------------------------------|-------------------------|
| (370) Lehw-+- ana -monate | (Small "nice death") |
| Seatl-+- ana -marumerume | (Small warm hand) |
| Hlogw-+- ana -thata | (Small block-head) |
| Pelw-+- ana -boi | (Small trembling heart) |
| Bopelw-+- ana -thata | (Small stingy heart) |

The locative suffix -eng

The locative suffix **-eng** behaves in the same way as the augmentative and diminutive suffixes:

- | | |
|-----------------------------------|-------------------------|
| (371) Monkgo-+- ng -monate | (The sweet/nice smell) |
| Seatl-+- eng -marumerume | (The warm hand) |
| Tsel-+- eng -kgopo | (The crooked way) |
| Pelo-+- ng -boi | (The trembling heart) |
| Bopelo-+- ng -nolo | (The gentle/meek heart) |

3.9.4 Semantic relation

Only one semantic relation in this section will be looked into.

Relation IS

All the compounds grouped under this relation show the **descriptive** relation, but not the identificative one:



- (372) a. **Monkgo-monate** (Sweet/nice smell): The relation between **monkgo** and **monate** can be expressed by the descriptive **is**; the head noun is **monkgo** (smell) which is modified by **monate** (sweet/nice), i.e., the smell which is sweet/nice.
- b. **Seatla-marumerume** (Warm hand): In this compound, the relation between **seatla** and **marumerume** can also be expressed by the descriptive **is**; the head noun is **seatla** (hand) which is modified by **marumerume** (warm), i.e., the hand which is warm.
- c. **Pelo-boi** (Trembling heart): The relation between **pelo** and **boi** can as well be expressed by the descriptive **is**; the head noun is **pelo** (heart) which is modified by **boi** (cowardice/timidity), i.e., the heart which is trembling.

Few compounds that share the same relation as above are the following:

(373) Lehu-monate	("Nice death")
Meetse-tšididi	(Cold water)
Hlogo-thata	(Block-head)
Koma-ntshetshere	(Difficult secrets of life)
Tsela-kgopo	(Crooked way)
Bopelo-nolo	(Gentle/meek heart)
Bopelo-thata	(Stingy heart)

3.9.5 Semantic features

Very few semantic features of compounds formed by nouns and nominal relatives exist. It is, therefore, the purpose of this section to classify these compounds semantically into human, natural phenomenon, body part, cognition, artifact, state and feeling nouns.

Human



(374) Class 9/10: **Hlogo-thata** (Dihlogo-thata) (Block-head). Derivation: **Hlogo** (cl. 9, head), **thata** (cl. 9, hard).

Natural phenomenon

(375) Class 6: **Meetse-tšididi** (Cold water). Derivation: **Meetse** (cl. 6, water), -**tšididi** without is prefix (cl. 14, cold).

Body part

(376) Class 7/8: **Seatla-marumerume** (Diatla-marumerume) (Warm hand). Derivation: **Seatla** (cl. 7, hand), **marumerume** (cl. 6, warm).

Cognition

(377) Class 9/10: **Koma-ntshetshere** (Dikoma-ntshetshere) (Difficult secrets of life). Derivation: **Koma** (cl. 9, initiation school), **ntshetshere** (cl. 9, difficulty).

Artifact

(378) Class 9/10: **Tsela-kgopo** (Ditsela-kgopo) (Crooked road). Derivation: **Tsela** (cl. 9, road), **kgopo** (cl. 9, something crooked).

State

(379) Class 5/6: **Lehu-monate** (Mahu-monate) ("Nice death"). Derivation: **Lehu** (cl. 5, death), derived from **hwa** (die, verb), **monate** (cl. 3, nicety).

Feelings

(380) Class 3/4: **Monkgo-monate** (Menkgo-monate) (Sweet/nice smell). Derivation: **Monkgo** (cl. 3, smell) derived from **nkga** (smell, verb), **monate** (cl. 3, nicety).

Class 9/10: **Pelo-boi** (Dipelo-boi) (Trembling heart). Derivation: **Pelo** (cl. 9, heart), **boi** (cl. 14, cowardice/timidity).

Class 14: **Bopelo-nolo** (Gentle/meek heart). Derivation: **Bopelo** (cl. 14, heartiness), **-nolo** without its prefix (cl. 14, easy/simple).

Class 14: **Bopelo-thata** (Stingy heart). Derivation: **Bopelo** (cl. 14, heartiness), **thata** (cl. 9, hard).

3.9.6 Table of compounds

Endocentric compounds

(381)	Noun	Pl.	Deriv.	Morph.		Loc.	Dim.	SRel.	SFeat.	
				A R	No Agr					
1	Monkgo-monate	4	3, Nom. Rel.	+	+	nate	+(N1)	+(N1)	IS	Feeling
2	Lehu-monate	6	5, Nom. Rel.	+	+	nate	+(N1)	+(N1)	IS	State
3	Meetse-tšididi	-	6, Nom. Rel.	+	+	tšididi	+(N1)	+(N1)	IS	Nat. phen.
4	Seatla-marumerume	8	7, Nom. Rel.	+	+	rumerume	+(N1)	+(N1)	IS	Body part
5	Hlogo-thata	10	9, Nom. Rel.	+	+	thata	+(N1)	+(N1)	IS	Human
6	Koma-ntshetshere	10	9, Nom. Rel.	+	+	ntshetshere	+(N1)	+(N1)	IS	Cognition
7	Pelo-boi	10	9, Nom. Rel.	+	+	boi	+(N1)	+(N1)	IS	Feeling
8	Tsela-kgopo	10	9, Nom. Rel.	+	+	kgopo	+(N1)	+(N1)	IS	Artif.
9	Bopelo-nolo	-	14, Nom. Rel.	+	-	nolo	+(N1)	+(N1)	IS	Feeling
10	Bopelo-thata	-	14, Nom. Rel.	+	+	thata	+(N1)	+(N1)	IS	Feeling

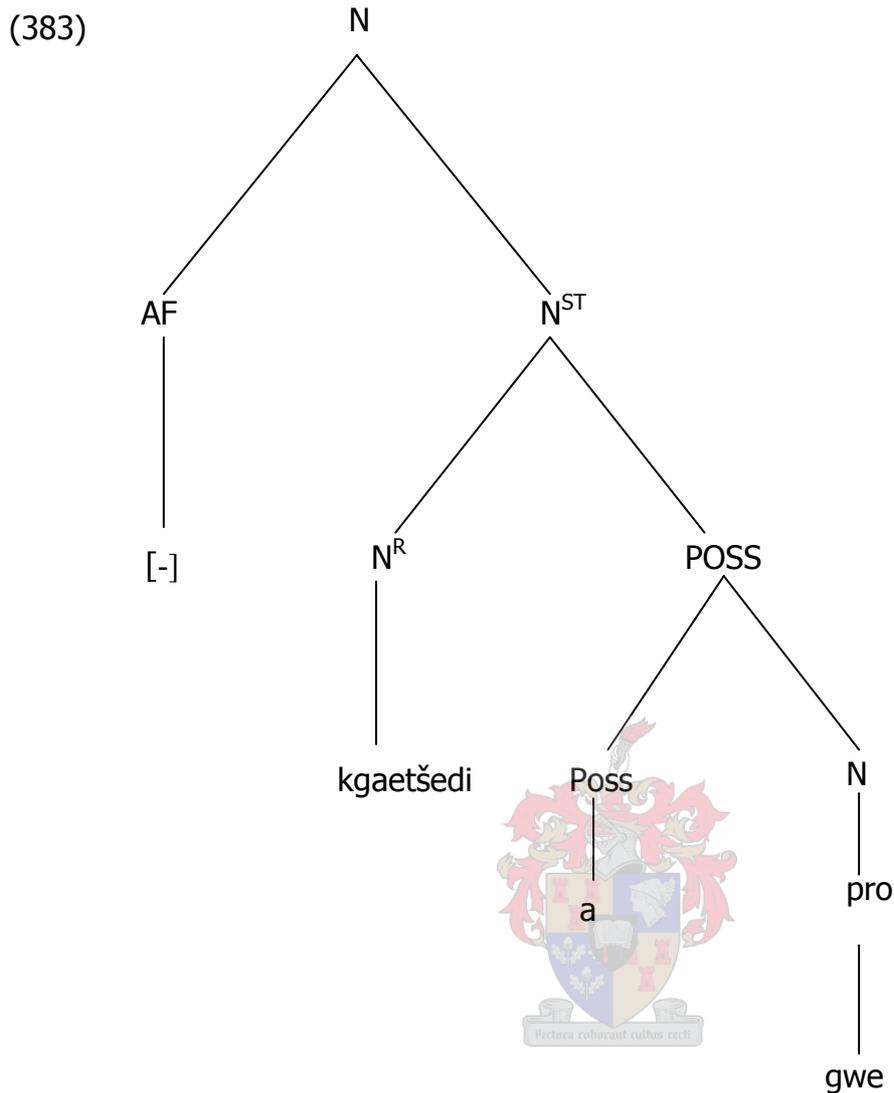
3.10 COMPOUND NOUNS WITH A POSSESSIVE

3.10.1 Morphological structure

The structure of a compound noun with a possessive can be illustrated as follows:

(382) **Kgaetšedi-a-gwe** (His sister/her brother)





The compound in the above structure is built up of the noun root **kgaetšedi** (brother/sister), possessive **-a** (of) and a root of possessive pronoun **-gwe** (his/hers). The prefix of the entire compound is class 1a.

3.10.2 Possessive [-a]

The possessive [-a] may appear or it may not appear with compound nouns. Agreement may not always be present.

a. No agreement on -a

There are compounds that do not show any agreement on **-a**. This fact is evidenced by the following examples:

- | | |
|------------------------------|--------------------------|
| (384) Kgaetšedi-a-gwe | (His sister/her brother) |
| Makgolo-a-go | (Your grandmother) |
| Malom-a-tšona | (Their uncle) |

b. No possessive -a

Possessive **-a** does not appear in certain compounds:

- | | |
|---------------------|-------------------------------|
| (385) Mma-bo | (Their mother) |
| Mma-bona | (Their mother) |
| Mma-gwe | (His/her mother) |
| Mma-rena | (Our mother) |
| Ngwana-ka | (My child) |
| Monna-go | (Your younger brother/sister) |
| Ngwan-ešo | (Our child) |

c. Agreement on -a

In some compounds, there is an agreement on **-a**:

Endocentric compound

- | | |
|------------------------|--------------|
| (386) Rra-w-ešo | (Our father) |
|------------------------|--------------|

Exocentric compounds

(387) Maswi-a-nkong	(Small child)
Mphala-tša-maru	(Wild asperagus)
Naka-la-tholo	(Bulbine tortifolia – kind of lily)
Swiswi-la-pula	(Darkness of the rain)
Hlare-sa-modikela	(Excuse)
Mahlo-a-mmutla	(Himantopus himantopus – black-winged stilt)
Noga-ya-teng	(Intestinal worm/tapeworm)
Pudi-ya-tsela	(Rumour)

3.10.3 Complement of possessive [-a]

a. Possessive pronouns with endocentric compounds

Various possessive pronouns can be used as complements of the possessive **-a** in endocentric compounds. Consider the following bolded possessive pronouns:

(388) Kgaetšedi-a- gwe	(His sister/her brother)
Makgolo-a- go	(Your grandmother)
Malom-a- tšona	(Their uncle)

b. Nouns with exocentric compounds

Nouns with exocentric compounds can be used as complements of the possessive **-a**. The bolded nouns below give evidence about this:

(389) Maswi-a- nkong	(Small child)
Mphala-tša- maru	(Wild asperagus)
Naka-la- tholo	(Bulbine tortifolia – kind of lily)
Swiswi-la- pula	(Darkness of the rain)
Hlare-sa- modikela	(Excuse)

Mahlo-a- mmutla	(Himantopus himantopus – black-winged stilt)
Noga-ya- teng	(Intestinal worm/tapeworm)
Pudi-ya- tsela	(Rumour)

All the examples given in (388) and (389) clearly show that **pronouns** and **nouns** can appear as complements of the possessive **-a** respectively.

3.10.4 Nominal suffixes

Nominal suffixes are also important in compound nouns with possessives. One of the main characteristics of a nominal suffix is that it can never, in one way or the other, function independently from another linguistic unit. This implies that it has to appear with one of the word categories. Nominal suffixes are always added to base forms. All endocentric compounds in this section cannot accept affixation; only some exocentric compounds can do.

The nominal suffixes below are important:

- The augmentative suffix **-gadi**
- The diminutive suffix **-ana**
- The locative suffix **-eng**



The augmentative suffix **-gadi**

The main purpose of this section is to investigate if the suffix **-gadi** can be affixed to compounds with possessives. The suffix **-gadi** can be affixed to the first noun of the compound, i.e., the noun on the left. All the nouns on the left are heads on the ground that their prefixes determine the compounds. This implies that each prefix determines the class of each compound as a whole:

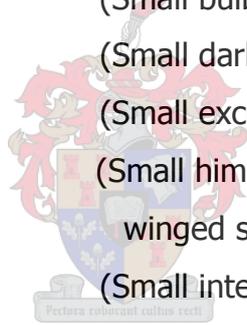
- | | |
|---------------------------------------|---|
| (390) Mphala-+- gadi -tša-maru | (Big wild asperagus) |
| Naka-+- gadi -la-tholo | (Big bulbine tortifolia – kind of lily) |

Swiswi+- gadi -la-pula	(Big darkness of the rain)
Hlare+- gadi -sa-modikela	(Big excuse)
Mahlo+- gadi -a-mmutla	(Big himantopus himantopus – black-winged stilt)
Noga+- gadi -ya-teng	(Big intestinal worm/tapeworm)
Pudi+- gadi -ya-tsela	(Big rumour)

The diminutive suffix -ana

The suffix **-ana** is also affixed to the first noun of the compound. The following examples give evidence:

(391) Mphal+- ana -tša-maru	(Small wild asperagus)
Nak+- ana -la-tholo	(Small bulbine tortifolia – kind of lily)
Swisw+- ana -la-pula	(Small darkness of the rain)
Hlaš+- ana -sa-modikela	(Small excuse)
Mahlw+- ana -a-mmutla	(Small himantopus himantopus – black-winged stilt)
Nog+- ana -ya-teng	(Small intestinal worm/tapeworm)
Putš+- ane -ya-tsela	(Small rumour)



The locative suffix -eng

This suffix is affixed to the first noun of the compound as it is indicated in the following examples:

(392) Mphal+- eng -tša-maru	(On the wild asperagus)
Nak+- eng -la-tholo	(In the bulbine tortifolia – kind of lily)
Swiswi+- ng -la-pula	(In the darkness of the rain)
Hlare+- ng -sa-modikela	(In the excuse)
Mahlo+- ng -a-mmutla	(In the himantopus himantopus – black-winged stilt)

Nog-+- eng -ya-teng	(In the intestinal worm/tapeworm)
Pudi-+- ng -ya-tsela	(In the rumour)

3.10.5 Semantic features

The aim of this section is to look at the semantic features of these compound nouns. From the semantic point of view, compounds may be grouped under humans, animal, plants, natural phenomenon and communication.

Humans

Endocentric compounds

(393) Class 1a/2a: **Kgaetšedi-a-gwe** (Bokgaetšedi-a-gwe) (His sister/her brother). Derivation: **Kgaetšedi** (cl. 1a, brother/sister) and a PP with **a** and the possessive pronoun **-gwe** of the 3rd person singular.

Class 1a/2a: **Makgolo-a-go** (Bomakgolo-a-go) (Your grandmother). Derivation: **Makgolo** (cl. 1a, grandmother) and a PP with **a** and the possessive pronoun **-go** of 2nd person singular.

Class 1a/2a: **Malom-a-tšona** (Bomalom-a-tšona) (Their uncle). Derivation: **Malome** (cl. 1a, uncle) and a PP with **a** and an absolute pronoun **tšona** of cl. 10.

Class 1a/2a: **Rra-w-ešo** (Borra-w-ešo) (Our father). Derivation: **Rra** (cl. 1a, father) and a semi-vowel of the PP with **w-** of **wa** and the possessive pronoun **-ešo** of the 1st person plural.

Class 1a/2a: **Mma-bo** (Bomma-bo) (Their mother). Derivation: **Mma** (cl. 1a, mother) and the pronoun **bo-** of cl. 2.

Class 1a/2a: **Mma-bona** (Bomma-bona) (Their mother). Derivation: **Mma** (cl. 1a, mother) and the absolute pronoun **bona** of cl. 2.

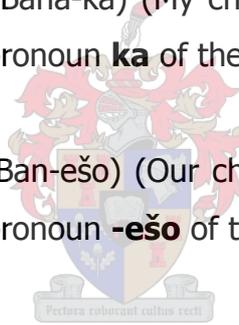
Class 1a/2a: **Mma-gwe** (Bomma-gwe) (His/her mother). Derivation: **Mma** (cl. 1a, mother) and the possessive pronoun **-gwe** of the 3rd person singular.

Class 1a/2a: **Mma-rena** (Bomma-rena) (Our mother). Derivation: **Mma** (cl. 1a, mother) and the absolute pronoun **rena** of the 1st person plural.

Class 1a/2a: **Monna-go** (Bomonna-go) (Your younger brother/sister). Derivation: **Monna** (cl. 1, man) and the possessive pronoun **-go** of the 2nd person singular.

Class 1/2: **Ngwana-ka** (Bana-ka) (My child). Derivation: **Ngwana** (cl. 1, child) and the possessive pronoun **ka** of the 1st person singular.

Class 1/2: **Ngwan-ešo** (Ban-ešo) (Our child). Derivation: **Ngwana** (cl. 1, child) and the possessive pronoun **-ešo** of the 1st person plural.



Exocentric compound

(394) Class 1a/2a: **Maswi-a-nkong** (Bomaswi-a-nkong) (Small child). Derivation: **Maswi** (cl. 6, milk) and a PP with **a** and a locative noun **nkong** (cl. 9, at the nose).

Animal

Exocentric compound

(395) Class 9/10: **Noga-ya-teng** (Dinoga-tša-teng) (Intestinal worm/tapeworm). Derivation: **Noga** (cl. 9, snake) and a PP with **ya** and a locative noun **teng** (cl. 9, inside).

Plants

Exocentric compounds

(396) Class 1a/2a: **Mahlo-a-mmutla** (Bomahlo-a-mmutla) (Himantopus himantopus – black-winged stilt). Derivation: **Mahlo** (cl. 6, eyes) and a PP with **a** and a noun **mmutla** (cl. 3, hare).

Class 3/4: **Mphala-tša-maru:** (Mefala-tša-maru) (Wild asparagus). Derivation: **Mphala** (cl. 3, kind of tree) and a PP with **tša** and a noun **maru** (cl. 6, clouds).

Class 5/6: **-naka-la-tholo** (Manaka-a-tholo) (Bulbine tortifolia – kind of lily). Derivation: **-naka** without its prefix (cl. 5, horn/bottle (e.g., of strong drink, not beer) and a PP with **la** and a noun **tholo** (cl. 9, kudu).

Natural phenomenon

Exocentric compound



(397) Class 5: **-swiswi-la-pula** (Darkness of the rain). Derivation: **-swiswi** without its prefix (cl. 5, darkness) and a PP with **la** and a noun **pula** (cl. 9, rain).

Communication

Exocentric compounds

(398) Class 7/8: **-hlare-sa-modikela** (Dihlare-tša-modikela) (Excuse). Derivation: **-hlare** without its prefix (cl. 7, tree/medicine) and a PP with **sa** and a deverbative **modikela** (cl. 3, hiding behind), derived from **dikela** (disappear behind horizon/set (sun), verb).

Class 9/10: Pudi-**ya-tse**la (Dipudi-tša-tse) (Rumour). Derivation: **Pudi** (cl. 9, goat) and a PP with **ya** and a noun **tse**la (cl. 9, road).

3.11 COMPOUND NOUNS WITH A CP

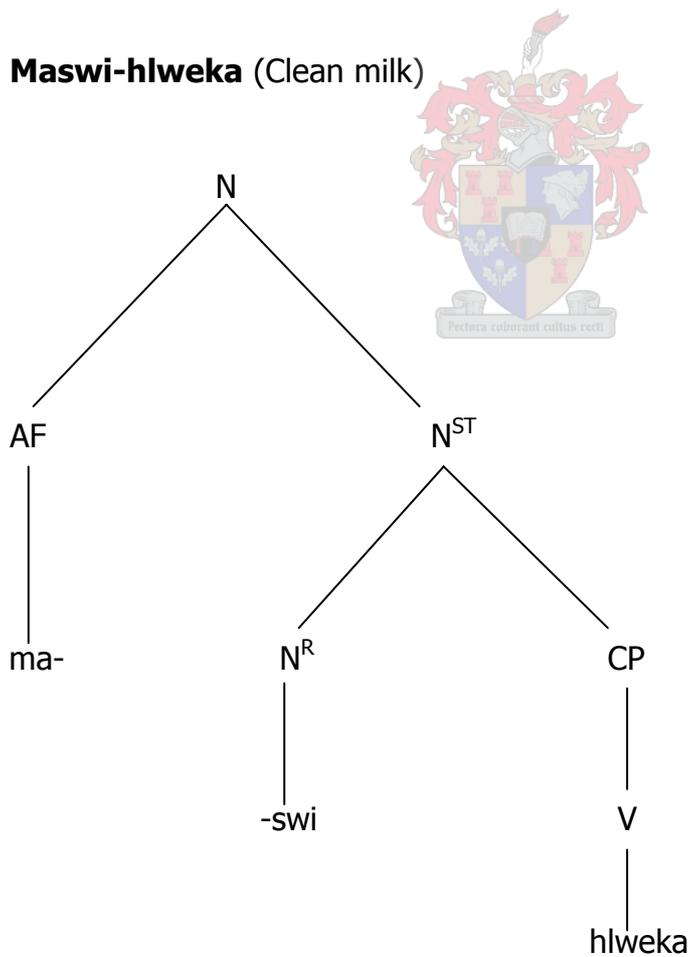
Complementizer Phrase (CP) is a phrase in which the complementizer is its head. The clause which is a complement of the complementizer may either be an indicative or subjunctive clause.

3.11.1 Morphological structure

The compound noun with a CP has the following structure:

(399) **Maswi-hlweka** (Clean milk)

(400)



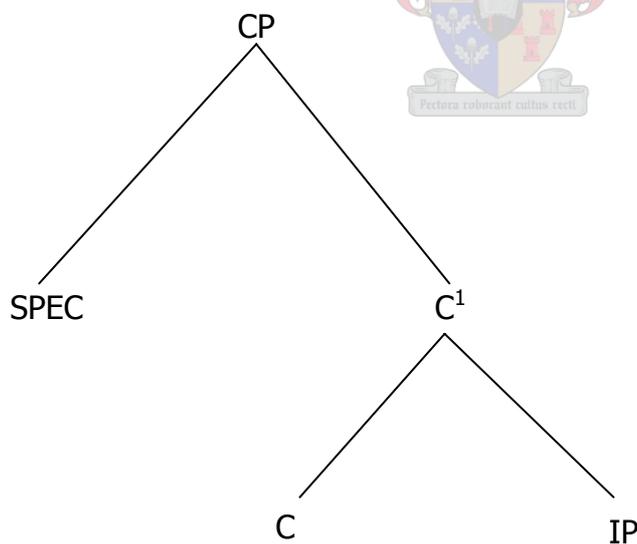
The compound is made up of a noun **maswi** (milk) and CP **hlweka** (clean). The head noun is **maswi** that has the prefix **ma-** of class 6 and its CP, which is only a verb, is **hlweka** (clean). The compound as a whole is determined by this prefix **ma-**

3.11.2 The CP in syntax

The complementizer phrase refers to a sentence or a clause. In this case, a Complementizer (C) is the head of the CP. It is important to note that the contents of the complementizer can be [+Q] (Q=questions) where [+Q] shows an interrogative sentence and [-Q] a statement.

The C dominates CP. This C is the one that introduces a sentence, i.e., an Inflectional Phrase (IP). This implies that the sister of C is an IP that may be composed of the following functional categories: Subject Agreement (AgrS), Object Agreement (AgrO), Tense Phrase (TP), Aspect Phrase (AspP) and a Negative Phrase (NegP).

(401)



The structure above clearly indicates that the specifier of C¹ permits for movement of different elements to this position, either in syntax or LF.

3.11.3 The CP in the compound noun

The definition of the CP in the above section should be applied in this section. Different CPs in the compound nouns will, therefore, be identified.

3.11.3.1 The CP has a verb only

Endocentric compounds

(402) Monna- tia	(Fully-fledged man/man who is no longer a minor)
Leina- kgoboka	(Collective noun)
Lesogana- tia	(Strong young man)
Theka- hlweka	(Clean hip)
Maswi- hlweka	(Clean milk)
Meetse- hlweka	(Clean water)
Sebjana- thetha	(Floating trophy)
Segalo- wa	(Falling tone)
Tsela- kuba	(Cul-de-sac)
Tšhipi- tia	(Strong iron)
Bonna- tia	(Strong manhood)

Exocentric compounds

(403) Gala- tswalela	(Talkative person)
Mma- bela	(Kind of shrub with leaves like tobacco, burnt when a hive is removed)
Mma- robala	(Woman with loose morals/prostitute)
Ntwa- dumela	(Aggressive/quarrelsome person)
Mokgala- kgatša	(Plant: <i>Rhoicissus erythrodes</i> (Fres.) Planch)
Lekolo- bota	(Clod)
Meetse- fula	(Great flood)
Sekgwa- hlapa	(Jack-boot)

Sephara- kgatla	(Splint)
Kgaga- rapa	(Kind of edible beetle)
Kgala- bua	(Pod of a thorn tree)
Kgala- gapa	(Palatum/palate)
Kgogo- ropa	(Somethig huge and strong)
Ntwa- pala	(Unresolved war/fight)

3.11.3.2 The CP has a passive verb

Endocentric compounds

(404) Lebati- phuthwa	(Folding door)
Lediri- bopša	(Derived/derivative verb)
Leina- kgokwa	(Compound noun)
Leotwana- dutwa	(Sparewheel)
Sekgwa- hlangwa	(Plantation)
Senkgwa- ponwa	(Shewbread)
Naga- kgethwa	(Chosen country)
Naga- šireletšwa	(Protectorate)
Nako- koketšwa	(Extra-time)
Nama- kgapeletšwa	(Forced issue)
Ntlo- kgethwa	(Church/tabernacle)
Piano- tamolwa	(Accordion)
Pitšo- kgethwa	(Holy convocation)

3.11.3.3 The CP has an indicative clause with IP

The CP has a present tense

Exocentric compound

(405) Muši- o-a-thunya	(Victoria Falls)
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The CP is a copulative clause in the present tense

Endocentric compound

(406) Naga-**e-kgole** (Country which is far)

Exocentric compound

(407) Tsogo-**le-kobong** (Bribery)

The CP has a negative present tense

Exocentric compounds

(408) Mma-**ga-ke-šome** ("Mother-I-don't work" – lazy person)
Dira-**ga-di-bonwe** (Excellence)

3.11.3.4 The CP is an imperative clause

The CP is an imperative singular



Exocentric compounds

(409) Mapelo-**mpeta** (Short-tempered person)
Mma-**mpetlele** (Spoilt person)
Mma-**nthole** (Additional name for the month of January)
Mma-**nkhumiše** (Name of a place)
Mma-**ntshegele** ((Kind of Sotho dance) usually danced by
uninitiated before going to initiation)
Sedimo-**nthole** (Additional name for the month of January)
Bopelo-**mpete** (Irascible/touchy/greedy heart)

The CP is an imperative plural

Exocentric compound

(410) Mma-**mpogeng** (Mannequin)

3.11.3.5 The CP has a verb ending on [-e]: Subjunctive clause or old perfect tense

Exocentric compounds

(411) Mma-**tswale** (Mother-in-law)
Modimo-**lle** (Name of a mountain at Nylstroom)
Mogo-**lle** (Elder brother/elder sister/elder sister's husband)
Molokwana-**rite** (Churning/stirring of a small clan/sib/ relationship)
Tšhošo-**dupe** (Red ant)
Tšhutšhu-**dupe** (Large black ant)

3.11.3.6 The CP is a consecutive clause



Exocentric compounds

(412) Matšema-**a-rerwa** (Additional name for the month of August)
Mma-**ka-i-pea** (Self-appointment)
Mma-**ka-phalane** (Competitor)
Ra-**ka-di-jela** (Very old man)
Tlapa-**la-thunya** (Name of the tribe/people/nation/community)
Lelapa-**la-oma** (Kind of bird)
Kgwebo-**ka-nanya** (Barter)

3.11.3.7 The CP has a verb in the perfect tense with no agreement

Exocentric compound

(413) Meetse-**fedile** (Name of a person)

3.11.3.8 The CP is an infinitival clause

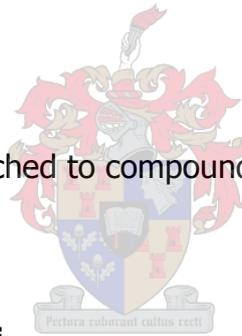
Exocentric compound

(414) Mma-**go-ja** (Right (hand) side)

The CPs in all the above examples consist of either verbs or clauses.

3.11.4 Nominal suffixes

Nominal suffixes that can be attached to compound nouns with the CPs are the following:



- a. The augmentative suffix **-gadi**
- b. The diminutive suffix **-ana**
- c. The locative suffix **-eng**

The augmentative suffix **-gadi**

The aim of this section is to find out if the augmentative suffix **-gadi** can be attached to a compound noun to express 'largeness' and if so, which part of speech will accept such affixation:

a. The CP has a verb only

Endocentric compounds

- (415) a. Leina-+-**gadi**-kgoboka (Long collective noun)
b. Theka-+-**gadi**-hlweka (Big clean hip)
c. Sebjana-+-**gadi**-thetha (Big floating trophy)
d. Tsela-+-**gadi**-kuba (Big cul-de-sac)
e. Bonna-+-**gadi**-tia (Big manhood)

In the examples above, the augmentative suffix **-gadi** is affixed to the head nouns.

Exocentric compounds

- (416) a. Mokgala-kgatša-+-**gadi** (Plant: *Rhoicissus erythrodes* (Fres.) Planch)
b. Meetse-fula-+-**gadi** (Very great flood)
c. Sephara-kgatla-+-**gadi** (Big splint)
d. Kgala-bua-+-**gadi** (Big pod of a thorn tree)
e. Kgala-gapa-+-**gadi** (Big palatum/palate)
- 

Contrary to the endocentric compounds, the exocentric compounds above have the augmentative suffix **-gadi** after the verbs.

b. The CP has a passive verb only

Endocentric compounds

- (417) a. Lebati-+-**gadi**-phuthwa (Big folding door)
b. Sekgwa-+-**gadi**-hlangwa (Big plantation)
c. Naga-+-**gadi**-šireletšwa (Big protectorate)
d. Ntlo-+-**gadi**-kgethwa (Big church/tabernacle)
e. Piano-+-**gadi**-tamolwa (Big accordion)

c. The CP has an indicative clause with IP

The CP is a copulative clause in the present tense

Endocentric compound

(418) Naga-+-**gadi**-[e-kgole] (Big country which is far)

Exocentric compound

(419) Tsogo-+-**gadi**-[le-kobong] (Big bribery)

The CP has a negative present tense

Exocentric compound

(420) Dira-+-**gadi**-[ga-di-bonwe] (Extreme excellence)



d. The CP is an imperative clause

Exocentric compound

(421) Bopelo-+-**gadi**-[mpete] (Big irascible/touchy/greedy heart)

e. The CP has a verb ending on [-e]: Subjunctive clause or old perfect tense

Exocentric compounds

(422) a. Molokwana-+-**gadi**-rite (Big churning/stirring of a small clan/sib/relationship)

b. Tšhošo-+-**gadi**-dupe (Big red ant)

- c. Tšhutšhu--**gadi**-dupe (Very large black ant)

f. The CP is a consecutive clause

Exocentric compounds

- (423) a. Lelapa--**gadi**-[la-oma] (Big kind of bird)
b. Kgwebo--**gadi**-[ka-nanya] (Big barter)

The diminutive suffix -ana

The position of the diminutive suffix **-ana** in the compound noun is also important. It is the purpose of this section to investigate whether the diminutive suffix **-ana** accommodates the compound nouns built up of nouns and CPs to express diminution. Consider the following examples.

a. The CP has a verb only



Endocentric compounds

- (424) a. Lein--**ana**-kgoboka > lein**ana**-kgoboka (Small collective noun)
b. Masw--**ana**-hlweka > masw**ana**-hlweka (Little clean milk)
c. Segalw--**ana**-wa > segalw**ana**-wa (Small falling tone)
d. Tsel--**ana**-kuba > tsel**ana**-kuba (Small cul-de-sac)
e. Tšhitsw--**ana**-tia > tšhitsw**ana**-tia (Small strong iron)

Exocentric compounds

- (425) a. Lekolo-botw--**ana** > lekolo-botw**ana** (Small clod)
b. Sekgwa-hlatsw--**ana** > sekgwa-hlatsw**ana** (Small jack-boot)
c. Kgaga-ratsw--**ana** > kgaga-ratsw**ana** (Small kind of edible beetle)
d. Kgogo-rotsw--**ana** > kgogo-rotsw**ana** (Small huge and strong thing)

e. Ntwa-pal-+-**ana** > ntwa-pal**ana** (Small unresolved war/fight)

b. The CP has a passive verb

Endocentric compounds

- (426) a. Lebatš-+-**ana**-puthwa > lebatš**ana**-phuthwa (Small folding door)
b. Senkgw-+-**ana**-ponwa > senkgw**ana**-ponwa (Small shewbread)
c. Nag-+-**ana**-šireletšwa > nag**ana**-šireletšwa (Small protectorate)
d. Nakw-+-**ana**-koketšwa > nakw**ana**-koketšwa (Small extra-time)
e. Pitšw-+-**ana**-kgethwa > pitšw**ana**-kgethwa (Small holy convocation)

c. The CP has an indicative clause with IP

The CP is a copulative clause in the present tense

Endocentric compound

(427) Nag-+-**ana**-[e-kgole] > nag**ana**-e-kgole (Small country which is far)

Exocentric compound

(428) Tsogw-+-**ana**-[le-kobong] > tsogw**ana**-le-kobong (Small bribery)

The CP has a negative present tense

Exocentric compound

(429) Dir-+-**ana**-[ga-di-bonwe] > dir**ana**-ga-di-bonwe (Small excellence)

d. The CP is an imperative clause

The CP is an imperative singular

Exocentric compound

(430) Bopelw--**ana**-[mpete] > bopelw**ana**-mpete (Small irascible/touchy/ greedy heart)

e. The CP has a verb ending on [-e]: Subjunctive clause or old perfect tense

Exocentric compounds

(431) a. Tšhošw--**ana**-dupe > tšhošw**ana**-dupe (Small red ant)
b. Tšhutšhw--**ana**-dupe > tšhutšhw**ana**-dupe (Small black ant)

f. The CP is a consecutive clause



Exocentric compounds

(432) a. Lelap--**ana**-[la-oma] > lelap**ana**-la-oma (Small kind of bird)
b. Kgwebj--**ana**-[ka-nanya] > kgwebj**ana**-ka-nanya (Small barter)

The locative suffix -eng

Like the other nominal suffixes above, the suffix **-eng** can be affixed to compounds to indicate locality. It is the purpose of this section to locate this suffix in the compounds.

a. The CP has a verb only

Endocentric compounds

- (433) a. Lesogan-+-**eng**-tia > lesogan**eng**-tia (The strong youngman)
b. Thek-+-**eng**-hlweka > thek**eng**-hlweka (The clean hip)
c. Maswi-+-**ng**-hlweka > maswi**ng**-hlweka (The clean milk)
d. Meets-+-**eng**-hlweka > meets**eng**-hlweka (The clean water)
e. Segalo-+-**ng**-wa > segalong**ng**-wa (The falling tone)

The CP has no IP but has a verb only

Exocentric compounds

- (434) a. Lekolo-bot-+-**eng** > lekolo-bot**eng** (The clod)
b. Meetse-ful-+-**eng** > meetse-ful**eng** (The great food)
c. Sekgwa-hlap-+-**eng** > sekgwa-hlap**eng** (The jack-boot)
d. Kgala-gap-+-**eng** > kgala-gap**eng** (The palatum/ palate)
e. Kgogo-rop-+-**eng** > kgogo-rop**eng** (The huge and strong thing)

b. The CP has a passive verb

Endocentric compounds

- (435) a. Lediri-+-**ng**-bopša > lediri**ng**-bopša (The derived/derivative verb)
b. Leotwan-+-**eng**-dutwa > leotwan**eng**-dutwa (The sparewheel)
c. Nag-+-**eng**-šireletšwa > nag**eng**-šireletšwa (The protectorate)
d. Ntlo-+-**ng**-kgethwa > ntl**ong**-kgethwa (The church/tabernacle)
e. Pitšo-+-**ng**-kgethwa > pitš**ong**-kgethwa (The holy convocation)

c. The CP has an indicative clause with IP

The CP is a copulative clause in the present tense

Endocentric compound

(436) Nag-+-**eng**-[e-kgole] > nag**eng**-e-kgole (The country which is far)

The CP has a negative present tense

Exocentric compound

(437) Dir-+-**eng**-[ga-di-bonwe] > dir**eng**-ga-di-bonwe (The excellence)

d. The CP is an imperative clause

The CP is an imperative singular

Exocentric compound



(438) Bopelo-+-**ng**-[mpete] > bopel**ong**-mpete (The irascible/touchy/greedy heart)

e. The CP has a verb ending on [-e]: Subjunctive clause or old perfect tense

Exocentric compounds

- (439) a. Molokwan-+-**eng**-rite > molokwan**eng**-rite (The churning/stirring of a small/clan/sib/relationship)
- b. Tšhošo-+-**ng**-dupe > tšhoš**ong**-dupe (The red ant)
- c. Tšhutšhu-+-**ng**-dupe > tšhutš**hung**-dupe (The large black ant)

f. The CP is a consecutive clause

Exocentric compounds

- (440) a. Lelap-+-**eng**-[la-oma] > lelap**eng**-la-oma (The kind of bird)
b. Kgwebo-+-**ng**-[ka-nanya] > kgweb**ng**-ka-nanya (The barter)

3.11.5 Semantic relations

It is the purpose of this section to group the compounds under possessive, descriptive and purpose relations.

Possessive relation

The CP has a verb only

Endocentric compound

- (441) **Bonna-tia** (Strong manhood): The relation between **bonna** and **tia** can be expressed by the possessive **of**; the head noun is **bonna** (manhood) which is modified by **tia** (be strong/be firm), i.e., the state of being an adult male.

Descriptive relation

a. The CP has a verb only

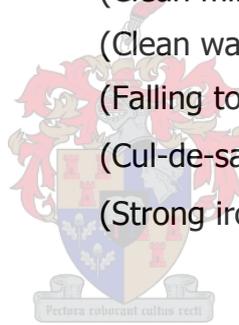
Endocentric compounds

- (442) a. **Monna-tia** (Fully-fledged man/man who is no longer a minor): The relation between **monna** and **tia** can be expressed by the descriptive **is**; the head noun is **monna** (man) which is modified by **tia** (be strong/be firm), i.e., the man who is fully-fledged/strong.

- b. **Leina-kgoboka** (Collective noun): In this compound, the relation between **leina** and **kgoboka** can also be expressed by the descriptive **is**; the head noun is **leina** (noun) which is modified by **kgoboka** (collect), i.e., a noun which is collective.
- c. **Sebjana-thetha** (Floating trophy): The relation between **sebjana** and **thetha** can as well be expressed by the descriptive **is**; the head noun is **sebjana** (trophy) which is modified by **thetha** (float), i.e., the trophy which is floating.

A list of other compound nouns that share this relation is as follows:

(443) Lesogana-tia	(Strong young man)
Theka-hlweka	(Clean hip)
Maswi-hlweka	(Clean milk)
Meetse-hlweka	(Clean water)
Segalo-wa	(Falling tone)
Tsela-kuba	(Cul-de-sac)
Tšhipi-tia	(Strong iron)



b. The CP has a passive verb

Endocentric compounds

(444) Lebati-phuthwa	(Folding door)
Lediri-bopša	(Derived/derivative verb)
Leina-kgokwa	(Compound noun)
Leotwana-dutwa	(Sparewheel)
Sekgwa-hlangwa	(Plantation)
Senkgwa-ponwa	(Shewbread)
Naga-kgethwa	(Chosen country)
Naga-šireletšwa	(Protectorate)
Nako-koketšwa	(Extra-time)
Nama-kgapeletšwa	(Forced issue)

Piano-tamolwa	(Accordion)
Pitšo-kgethwa	(Holy convocation)

c. The CP is a copulative clause in the present tense

Endocentric compound

(445) **Naga-e-kgole** (Country which is far)

d. Purpose relation

(446) **Ntlo-kgethwa** (Church/tabernacle): The relation between **ntlo** and **kgethwa** can be expressed by the purpose **for**; the head noun is **ntlo** (house) which is modified by **kgethwa** (chosen), i.e., a building for Christian worship.

3.11.6 Semantic features



Like the previous sections, it is also the purpose of this section to classify semantic features of compounds that are composed of nouns with CPs. The compounds can be classified semantically into humans, animals, plants, natural phenomena, body parts, communication, culture, direction, food, artifacts, state, time, places, actions, event and feeling.

Humans

The CP has a verb only

Endocentric compounds

(447) Class 1/2: **Monna-tia** (Banna-tia) (Fully-fledged man/man who is no longer a minor). Derivation: **Monna** (cl. 1, man), **tia** (be strong/be firm, verb).

Class 5/6: **Lesogana-tia** (Masogana-tia) (Strong young man). Derivation: **Lesogana** (cl. 5, young man), **tia** (be strong/be firm, verb).

The CP has no IP but has a verb only

Exocentric compounds

(448) Class 1a/2a: **Gala-tswalela** (Bogala-tswalela) (Talkative person). Derivation: **Gala** (cl. 9, gall-sickness), **tswalela** (close, verb).

Class 1a/2a: **Mma-robala** (Bomma-robala) (Woman with loose morals/prostitute). Derivation: **Mma** (cl. 1a, mother), **robala** (sleep, verb).

Class 1a/2a: **Ntwa-dumela** (Bontwa-dumela) (Aggressive/quarrelsome person). Derivation: **Ntwa** (cl. 9, war/fight), derived from **lwa** (fight, verb), **dumela** (accept, verb).

Class 5/6: **Lekolo-bota** (Makolo-bota) (Clod). Derivation: **Lekolo** (cl. 5, yellow-throated long claw), **bota** (plaster/trust (in), verb).

The CP has an indicative clause with IP

The CP has a negative present tense

Exocentric compound

(449) Class 1a/2a: **Mma-ga-ke-šome** (Bomma-ga-ke-šome) ("Mother-I-don't work" – lazy person). Derivation: **Mma** (cl. 1a, mother), **ga** (negative morpheme), **ke** (I, subject concord of the first person singular), **šome** (work, verb).

The CP is an imperative clause

The CP is an imperative singular

Exocentric compounds

(450) Class 1a/2a: **Mapelo-mpeta** (Bomapelo-mpeta) (Short-tempered person).
Derivation: **Mapelo** (cl. 6, a collection of hearts), **mpeta** (strangle me),
derived from **beta** (strangle, verb).

Class 1a/2a: **Mma-mpetlele** (Bomma-mpetlele) (Spoilt person). Derivation:
Mma (cl. 1a, mother), **mpetlele** (carve for me), derived from **betlela** (carve
for, applicative verb).

The CP is an imperative plural

Exocentric compound

(451) Class 1a/2a: **Mma-mpogeng** (Bomma-mpogeng) (Mannequin). Derivation:
Mma (cl. 1a, mother), **mpogeng** (look at me), derived from **boga** (look,
verb).

The CP has a verb ending on (-e): Subjunctive clause or old perfect tense

Exocentric compounds

(452) Class 1a/2a: **Mma-tswale** (Bomma-tswale) (Mother-in-law). Derivation:
Mma (cl. 1a, mother), **tswale** (give birth/generate, verb).

Class 1/2: **Mogo-ile** (Bago-ile) (Elder brother/elder sister/elder sister's
husband). Derivation: **Mogo** (cl. 3, wild fig tree [ficus capensis]), **ile** (ate,
verb).

The CP is a consecutive clause

Exocentric compounds

(453) Class 1a/2a: **Mma-ka-i-pea** (Bomma-ka-i-pea) (Self-appointment).
Derivation: **Mma** (cl. 1a, mother), **ka** (concord first person singular (1st ps) consecutive), **i** (reflexive morpheme/prefix), **bea** (put, verb).

Class 1a/2a: **Mma-ka-phalane** (Bomma-ka-phalane) (Competitor).
Derivation: **Mma** (cl. 1a, mother), **ka** (with, instrumental preposition), **phalane** (competed each other, reciprocal verb).

Class 1a/2a: **Ra-ka-di-jela** (Bora-ka-di-jela) (Very old man). Derivation: **Ra** (cl. 1a, father), **ka** (concord first person singular (1st ps) consecutive), **di** (them/they, determiner), **jela** (eat for, applicative verb).

Class 1a/2a: **-tlapa-la-thunya** (Botlapa-la-thunya) (Name of the tribe/people/ nation/community). Derivation: **-tlapa** without its prefix (cl. 5, flat stone), **la** (subject concord in the consecutive for class 5), **thunya** (give forth smoke/cause dust/bloom/blossom/shoot/ache (e.g., tooth)/explode, verb).

The CP has a verb in the perfect tense with no agreement

Exocentric compound

(454) Class 1a/2a: **Meetse-fedile** (BoMeetse-fedile) (Name of a person).
Derivation: **Meetse** (cl. 6, water), **fedile** (finished, perfective verb).

Animals

The CP has no IP but has a verb only

Exocentric compound

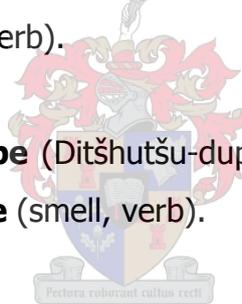
(455) Class 9/10: **Kgaga-rapa** (Dikgaga-rapa) (Kind of edible beetle). Derivation: **Kgaga** (cl. 9, scaly ant-eater/armadillo), **rapa** (invite, verb).

The CP has a verb ending on (-e): Subjunctive clause or old perfect tense

Exocentric compounds

(456) Class 9/10: **Tšhošo-dupe** (Ditšhošo-dupe) (Red ant). Derivation: **Tšhošo** (cl. 9, ant), **dupe** (smell, verb).

Class 9/10: **Tšhutšu-dupe** (Ditšhutšu-dupe) (Large black ant). Derivation: **Tšhutšu** (cl. 9, awl), **dupe** (smell, verb).



The CP is a consecutive clause

Exocentric compound

(457) Class 5/6: **Lelapa-la-oma** (Malapa-a-oma) (Kind of bird). Derivation: **Lelapa** (cl. 5, yard/household/quadrangle), **la** (subject concord in the consecutive for class 5), **oma** (dry, verb).

Plants

The CP has no IP but has a verb only

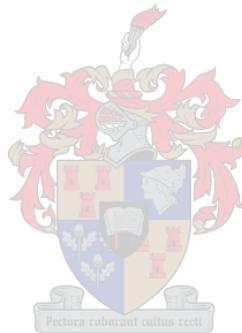
Exocentric compounds

(458) Class 1a/2a: **Mma-bela** (Bomma-bela) (Kind of shrub with leaves like tobacco, burnt when a hive is removed). Derivation: **Mma** (cl. 1a, mother), **bela** (boil/ ferment/uneatable (as cooked food which was left too long)/be angry, verb).

Class 3/4: **Mokgala-kgatša** (Mekgala-kgatša) (Plant: *Rhoicissus erythroides* (Fres.) Planch). Derivation: **Mokgala** (cl. 3, gap/ opening/vacuum), **kgatša** (throw, verb).

Natural phenomena

The CP has a verb only



Endocentric compound

(459) Class 9/10: **Tšhipi-tia** (Ditšhipi-tia) (Strong iron). Derivation: **Tšhipi** (cl. 9, iron), **tia** (be strong/be firm, verb).

Exocentric compounds

(460) Class 6: **Meetse-fula** (Great flood). Derivation: **Meetse** (cl. 6, water), **fula** (graze/pick (fruit), verb).

Class 9/10: **Kgogo-ropa** (Dikgogo-ropa) (Something huge and strong). Derivation: **Kgogo** (cl. 9, fowl), **ropa** (set off a game/serve (tennis), verb).

The CP has a verb ending on (-e): Subjunctive clause or old perfect tense

Exocentric compound

(461) Class 1a/2a: **Modimo-Ile** (BoModimo-Ile) (Name of a mountain at Nylstroom). Derivation: **Modimo** (cl. 1, god), **Ile** (ate, verb).

Body parts

The CP has a verb only

Endocentric compound

(462) Class 5/6: **-theka-hlweka** (Matheka-hlweka) (Clean hip). Derivation: **-theka** without its prefix (cl. 5, hip), **hlweka** (clean, verb).

Exocentric compound



(463) Class 9/10: **Kgala-gapa** (Dikgala-gapa) (Palatum/palate). Derivation: **Kgala** (cl. 9, crab), **gapa** (drive/seize (in war), verb).

Communication

The CP has a verb only

Endocentric compounds

(464) Class 5/6: **Leina-kgoboka** (Maina-kgoboka) (Collective noun). Derivation: **Leina** (cl. 5, noun), **kgoboka** (collect, verb).

Class 7/8: **Segalo-wa** (Digalo-wa) (Falling tone). Derivation: **Segalo** (cl. 7, tone), derived from **galoga** (fade (e.g., clothes in sun)/bleach/pale, verb), **wa** (fall, verb).

The CP has a passive verb only

Endocentric compounds

(465) Class 5/6: **Lediri-bopša** (Madiri-bopša) (Derived/derivative verb). Derivation: **Lediri** (cl. 5, verb), derived from **dira** (do, verb), **bopša** (formed/moulded, passive verb).

Class 5/6: **Leina-kgokwa** (Maina-kgokwa) (Compound noun). Derivation: **Leina** (cl. 5, noun), **kgokwa** (fastened, passive verb).

Culture

The CP has a passive verb only

Endocentric compound



(466) Class 9/10: **Pitšo-kgethwa** (Dipitšo-kgethwa) (Holy convocation). Derivation: **Pitšo** (cl. 9, calling), derived from **bitša** (call, verb), **kgethwa** (chosen, passive verb).

Direction

The CP is an infinitival clause

Exocentric compound

(467) Class 1a: **Mma-go-ja** (Right (hand) side). Derivation: **Mma** (cl. 1a, mother), **go** (infinitive), **ja** (eat, verb).

Food

The CP has a verb only

Endocentric compounds

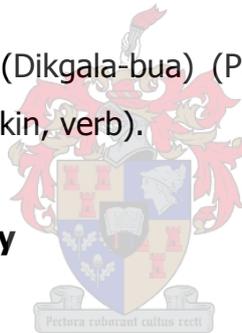
(468) Class 6: **Maswi-hlweka** (Clean milk). Derivation: **Maswi** (cl. 6, milk), **hlweka** (clean, verb).

Class 6: **Meetse-hlweka** (Clean water). Derivation: **Meetse** (cl. 6, water), **hlweka** (clean, verb).

Exocentric compound

(469) Class 9/10: **Kgala-bua** (Dikgala-bua) (Pod of a thorn tree). Derivation: **Kgala** (cl. 9, crab), **bua** (skin, verb).

The CP has a passive verb only



Endocentric compound

(470) Class 7/8: **Senkgwa-ponwa** (Dinkgwa-ponwa) (Shewbread). Derivation: **Senkgwa** (cl. 7, bread), **ponwa** (withered/wilted/faded, passive verb).

Artifacts

The CP has a verb only

Endocentric compound

(471) Class 7/8: **Sebjana-thetha** (Dibjana-thetha) (Floating trophy). Derivation: **Sebjana** (cl. 7, trophy), **thetha** (float, verb).

Exocentric compounds

(472) Class 7/8: **Sekgwa-hlapa** (Dikgwa-hlapa) (Jack-boot). Derivation: **Sekgwa** (cl. 7, thicket), **hlapa** (wash, verb).

Class 7/8: **Sephara-kgatla** (Diphara-kgatla) (Splint). Derivation: **Sephara** (cl. 7, huge), **kgatla** (stamp/crush, verb).

The CP has a passive verb only

Endocentric compounds

(473) Class 5/6: **Lebati-phuthwa** (Mabati-phuthwa) (Folding door). Derivation: **Lebati** (cl. 5, door), **phuthwa** (folded, passive verb).

Class 5/6: **Leotwana-dutwa** (Maotwana-dutwa) (Sparewheel). Derivation: **Leotwana** (cl. 5, small leg/wheel), **dutwa** (carried, passive verb).

Class 7/8: **Sekgwa-hlangwa** (Dikgwa-hlangwa) (Plantation). Derivation: **Sekgwa** (cl. 7, thicket), **hlangwa** (composed, passive verb).

Class 9/10: **Piano-tamolwa** (Dipiano-tamolwa) (Accordion). Derivation: **Piano** (cl. 9, piano), **tamolwa** (stretched (out), passive verb).

State

The CP has a verb only

Endocentric compound

(474) Class 14: **Bonna-tia** (Strong manhood). Derivation: **Bonna** (cl. 14, manhood), **tia** (be strong/be firm, verb).

Exocentric compound

(475) Class 9/10: **Ntwa-pala** (Dintwa-pala) (Unresolved war/fight). Derivation: **Ntwa** (cl. 9, war/fight), derived from **lwa** (fight, verb), **pala** (be too difficult, verb).

The CP has an indicative clause with IP

The CP is a copulative clause in the present tense

Exocentric compound

(476) Class 9/10: **Tsogo-le-kobong** (Ditsogo-tše-kobong) (Bribery). Derivation: **Tsogo** (cl. 9, resurrection), **le** (subject concord in the consecutive for class 9), **kobong** (cl. 9, in the clothing/blanket).

The CP has a negative present tense



Exocentric compound

(477) Class 8: **Dira-ga-di-bonwe** (Excellence). Derivation: **Dira** (cl. 8, enemies), **ga** (negative morpheme), **di** (them/they, determiner), **bonwe** (seen, passive verb).

Time

The CP has a passive verb only

Endocentric compound

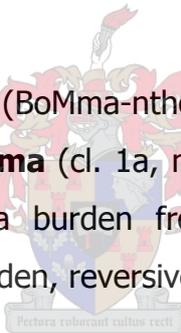
(478) Class 9/10: **Nako-koketšwa** (Dinako-koketšwa) (Extra-time). Derivation: **Nako** (cl. 9, time), **oketšwa** (added, passive verb).

The CP is an imperative clause

The CP is an imperative singular

Exocentric compounds

(479) Class 1a/2a: **Mma-nthole** (BoMma-nthole) (Additional name for the month of January). Derivation: **Mma** (cl. 1a, mother), **nthole** (take something off my head/feet or remove a burden from me), derived from **rola** (take something off/ remove a burden, reversive verb).



Class 1a/2a: **Sedimo-nthole** (BoSedimo-nthole) (Additional name for the month of January). Derivation: **Sedimo** (cl. 7, offering/sacrifice (to spirits), **nthole** (take something off my head/feet or remove a burden from me), derived from **rola** (take something off/remove a burden, reversive verb).

The CP is a consecutive clause

Exocentric compound

(480) Class 1a/2a: **Matšema-a-rerwa** (Bomatšema-a-rerwa) (Additional name for the month of August). Derivation: **Matšema** (cl. 6, work parties/ weeding

parties), **a** (determiner), **rerwa** (discussed/preached/plotted against, passive verb).

Places

The CP has a verb only

Endocentric compound

(481) Class 9/10: **Tsela-kuba** (Ditsela-kuba) (Cul-de-sac). Derivation: **Tsela** (cl. 9, road), **kuba** (end, verb).

The CP has a passive verb only

Endocentric compounds

(482) Class 9/10: **Naga-kgethwa** (Dinaga-kgethwa) (Chosen country). Derivation: **Naga** (cl. 9, country/land/veld), **kgethwa** (chosen, passive verb).



Class 9/10: **Naga-šireletšwa** (Dinaga-šireletšwa) (Protectorate). Derivation: **Naga** (cl. 9, country/land/veld), **šireletšwa** (protected, passive verb).

Class 9/10: **Ntlo-kgethwa** (Dintlo-kgethwa) (Church/tabernacle). Derivation: **Ntlo** (cl. 9, house), **kgethwa** (chosen, passive verb).

The CP has an indicative clause with IP

The CP has a present tense

Exocentric compound

(483) Class 1a/2a: **Muši-o-a-thunya** (Bomuši-o-a-thunya) (Victoria Falls).
Derivation: **Muši** (cl. 3, smoke), **o** (it, determiner), **a** (consecutive class concord of cl. 3), **thunya** (give forth smoke/shoot/bloom/ache/cause dust, verb).

The CP is a copulative clause in the present tense

Endocentric compound

(484) Class 9/10: **Naga-e-kgole** (Dinaga-di-kgole) (Country which is far).
Derivation: **Naga** (cl. 9, country/land/veld), **e** (determiner), **kgole** (cl. 'Y', far).



The CP is an imperative clause

The CP is an imperative singular

Exocentric compound

(485) Class 1a/2a: **Mma-nkhumiše** (BoMma-nkhumiše) (Name of a place).
Derivation: **Mma** (cl. 1a, mother), **nkhumiše** (make me rich), derived from **humiša** (cause/help/make to be rich, causative verb).

Actions

The CP has a passive verb only

Endocentric compound

(486) Class 9/10: **Nama-kgapeletšwa** (Dinama-kgapeletšwa) (Forced issue).
Derivation: **Nama** (cl. 9, meat), **gapaletšwa** (to be forced, passive verb).

The CP has a verb ending on (-e): Subjunctive clause or old perfect tense

Exocentric compound

(487) Class 3/4: **Molokwana-rite** (Melokwana-rite) (Churning/stirring of a small clan/sib/relationship). Derivation: **Molokwana** (cl. 3, small clan/sib/relationship), **rite** (churn/stir, verb).

The CP is a consecutive clause



Exocentric compound

(488) Class 9/10: **Kgwebo-ka-nanya** (Dikgwebo-ka-nanya) (Barter). Derivation: **Kgwebo** (cl. 9, trade), derived from **gweba** (trade, verb), **ka** (with, instrumental preposition), **nanya** (walk slowly/silently/stealthily, verb).

Event

The CP is an imperative clause

The CP is an imperative singular

Exocentric compound

(489) Class 1a/2a: **Mma-ntshegele** (Bomma-ntshegele) ((Kind of Sotho dance) usually danced by uninitiated before going to initiation). Derivation: **Mma** (cl. 1a, mother), **ntshegele** (cut for me), derived from **segela** (cut for, applicative verb).

Feeling

The CP is an imperative clause

The CP is an imperative singular

Exocentric compound

(490) Class 14: **Bopelo-mpete** (Irascible/touchy/greedy heart). Derivation: **Bopelo** (cl. 14, heartiness), **mpete** (strangle me), derived from **beta** (strangle, verb).



3.11.7 Table of compounds

a. Compound nouns with a possessive

Endocentric compounds

(491)

	Noun	Pl.	Deriv.	Morph.		Loc.	Dim.	SRel.	SFeat.
				A R	a []				
1	Kgaetšedi-a-gwe	2a	1a, Ppro	+ +	a, 3 rd ps	-	+(N1)	OF	Human
2	Makgolo-a-go	2a	1a, Ppro	+ +	a, 2 nd ps	-	+(N1)	OF	Human
3	Malom-a-tšona	2a	1a, Ppro	+ +	a, cl. 10	-	+(N1)	OF	Human
4	Rra-w-ešo	2a	1a, Ppro	+ +	Agr-a, 1 st pp	-	+(N1)	OF	Human
5	Mma-bo	2a	1a, pro	+ +	cl. 2	-	+(N1)	OF	Human
6	Mma-bona	2a	1a, pro	+ +	cl. 2	-	+(N1)	OF	Human
7	Mma-gwe	2a	1a, pro	+ +	3 rd ps	-	+(N1)	OF	Human
8	Mma-rena	2a	1a, pro	+ +	1 st pp	-	+(N1)	OF	Human
9	Monna-go	2a	1, pro	+ +	2 nd ps	-	+(N1)	OF	Human
10	Ngwana-ka	2	1, pro	+ +	1 st ps	+(N1)	+(N1)	OF	Human
11	Ngwan-ešo	2	1, pro	+ +	s1 st pp	+(N1)	+(N1)	OF	Human

Exocentric compounds

(492)

	Noun	Pl.	Deriv.	Morph.		Loc.	Dim.	SFeat.
				A R	a []			
1	Mahlo-a-mmutla	2a	6, PN	+ +	Agr. -a, N	-	+(N1)	Plant
2	Maswi-a-nkong	2a	6, PN _{Loc}	+ +	Agr. -a, N-Loc	-	+(N1)	Human
3	Mphala-tša-maru	4	3, PN	+ +	Agr. -a, N	+(N1)	+(N1)	Plant
4	Naka-la-tholo	6	5, PN	- +	Agr. -a, N	+(N1)	+(N1)	Plant
5	Swiswi-la-pula	-	5, PN	- +	Agr. -a, N	+(N1)	+(N1)	Nat. phen.
6	Hlare-sa-modikela	8	7, PN	- +	Agr. -a, N	+(N1)	+(N1)	Communic.
7	Noga-ya-teng	10	9, PN _{Loc}	+ +	Agr. -a, N-Loc	+(N1)	+(N1)	Animal
8	Pudi-ya-tsela	10	9, PN	+ +	Agr. -a, N	+(N1)	+(N1)	Communic.

b. The CP has a verb only

Endocentric compounds

(493)

	Noun	Pl.	Deriv.	Morph.			Loc.	Dim.	SRel.	SFeat.
				A	R	C P				
1	Monna-tia	2	1, CP	+	+	verb	+(N1)	+(N1)	IS	Human
2	Leina-kgoboka	6	5, CP	+	+	verb	+(N1)	+(N1)	IS	Communic.
3	Lesogana-tia	6	5, CP	+	+	verb	+(N1)	+(N1)	IS	Human
4	Theka-hlweka	6	5, CP	-	+	verb	+(N1)	+(N1)	IS	Body part
5	Maswi-hlweka	-	6, CP	+	+	verb	+(N1)	+(N1)	IS	Food
6	Meetse-hlweka	-	6, CP	+	+	verb	+(N1)	+(N1)	IS	Food
7	Sebjana-thetha	8	7, CP	+	+	verb	+(N1)	+(N1)	IS	Artif.
8	Segalo-wa	8	7, CP	+	+	verb	+(N1)	+(N1)	IS	Communic.
9	Tsela-kuba	10	9, CP	+	+	verb	+(N1)	+(N1)	IS	Place
10	Tšhipi-tia	10	9, CP	+	+	verb	+(N1)	+(N1)	IS	Nat. phen.
11	Bonna-tia	-	14, CP	+	+	verb	+(N1)	+(N1)	OF	State

The CP has no IP but has a verb only

Exocentric compounds

(494)

	Noun	Pl.	Deriv.	Morph.			Loc.	Dim.	SFeat.
				A	R	C P			
1	Gala-tswalela	2a	9, CP	+	+	verb	-	+(N2)	Human
2	Mma-bela	2a	1a, CP	+	+	verb	-	+(N2)	Plant
3	Mma-robala	2a	1a, CP	+	+	verb	-	+(N2)	Human
4	Ntwa-dumela	2a	9, CP	+	+	verb	-	+(N2)	Human
5	Mokgala-kgatša	4	3, CP	+	+	verb	+(N2)	+(N2)	Plant
6	Lekolo-bota	6	5, CP	+	+	verb	+(N2)	+(N2)	Human
7	Meetse-fula	-	6, CP	+	+	verb	+(N2)	+(N2)	Nat. phen.
8	Sekgwa-hlapa	8	7, CP	+	+	verb	+(N2)	+(N2)	Artif.
9	Sephara-kgatla	8	7, CP	+	+	verb	+(N2)	+(N2)	Artif.
10	Kgaga-rapa	10	9, CP	+	+	verb	+(N2)	+(N2)	Animal
11	Kgala-bua	10	9, CP	+	+	verb	+(N2)	+(N2)	Food
12	Kgala-gapa	10	9, CP	+	+	verb	+(N2)	+(N2)	Body part
13	Kgogo-ropa	10	9, CP	+	+	verb	+(N2)	+(N2)	Nat. phen.
14	Ntwa-pala	10	9, CP	+	+	verb	+(N2)	+(N2)	State

c. The CP has a passive verb only

Endocentric compounds

(495)

	Noun	Pl.	Deriv.	Morph.		Loc.	Dim.	SRel.	SFeat.	
				A R	C P					
1	Lebati-phuthwa	6	5, CP	+	+	passive verb	+(N1)	+(N1)	IS	Artif.
2	Lediri-bopša	6	5, CP	+	+	passive verb	+(N1)	+(N1)	IS	Communic.
3	Leina-kgokwa	6	5, CP	+	+	passive verb	+(N1)	+(N1)	IS	Communic.
4	Leotwana-dutwa	6	5, CP	+	+	passive verb	+(N1)	-	IS	Artif.
5	Sekgwa-hlangwa	8	7, CP	+	+	passive verb	+(N1)	+(N1)	IS	Artif.
6	Senkgwa-ponwa	8	7, CP	+	+	passive verb	+(N1)	+(N1)	IS	Food
7	Naga-kgethwa	10	9, CP	+	+	passive verb	+(N1)	+(N1)	IS	Place
8	Naga-šireletšwa	10	9, CP	+	+	passive verb	+(N1)	+(N1)	IS	Place
9	Nako-koketšwa	10	9, CP	+	+	passive verb	+(N1)	+(N1)	IS	Time
10	Nama-kgapeletšwa	10	9, CP	+	+	passive verb	+(N1)	+(N1)	IS	Action
11	Ntlo-kgethwa	10	9, CP	+	+	passive verb	+(N1)	+(N1)	FOR	Place
12	Piano-tamolwa	10	9, CP	+	+	passive verb	+(N1)	+(N1)	IS	Artif.
13	Pitšo-kgethwa	10	9, CP	+	+	passive verb	+(N1)	+(N1)	IS	Culture

d. The CP has an indicative clause with IP

The CP has a present tense

Exocentric compound



(496)

Noun	Pl.	Deriv.	Morph.		Loc.	Dim.	SFeat.	
			A R	C P				
Muši-o-a-thunya	2a	3, CP	+	+	present tense	-	+(N1)	Place

The CP is a copulative clause in the present tense

Endocentric compound

(497)

Noun	Pl.	Deriv.	Morph.		Loc.	Dim.	SFeat.	
			A R	C P				
Naga-e-kgole	10	9, CP	+	+	present tense	+(N1)	+(N1)	Place

Exocentric compound

(498)	Noun	Pl.	Deriv.	Morph.		Loc.	Dim.	SFeat.
				A	R	C	P	
	Tsogo-le-kobong	10	9, CP	+	+	present tense	-	+(N1) State

The CP has a negative present tense

Exocentric compounds

(499)	Noun	Pl.	Deriv.	Morph.		Loc.	Dim.	SFeat.
				A	R	C	P	
1	Mma-ga-ke-šome	2a	1a, CP	+	+	negative present tense	-	+(N1) Human
2	Dira-ga-di-bonwe	-	8, CP	+	+	negative present tense	+(N1)	+(N1) State

The CP is an imperative clause

The CP is an imperative singular

Exocentric compounds

(500)	Noun	Pl.	Deriv.	Morph.		Loc.	Dim.	SFeat.
				A	R	C	P	
1	Mapelo-mpeta	2a	6, CP	+	+	verb	-	+(N1) Human
2	Mma-mpetlele	2a	1a, CP	+	+	applicative verb	-	+(N1) Human
3	Mma-nthole	2a	1a, CP	+	+	reversive verb	-	+(N1) Time
4	Mma-nkhumiše	2a	1a, CP	+	+	causative verb	-	+(N1) Place
5	Mma-ntshegele	2a	1a, CP	+	+	applicative verb	-	+(N1) Event
6	Sedimo-nthole	2a	7, CP	+	+	reversive verb	-	+(N1) Time
7	Bopelo-mpete	-	14, CP	+	+	verb	+(N1)	+(N1) Feeling

The CP is an imperative plural

Exocentric compound

(501)	Noun	Pl.	Deriv.	Morph.		Loc.	Dim.	SFeat.
				A	R	C	P	
	Mma-mpogeng	2a	1a, CP	+	+	verb	-	+(N1) Human

e. The CP has a verb ending on [-e]: Subjunctive clause or old perfect tense

Exocentric compounds

(502)

	Noun	Pl.	Deriv.	Morph.		Loc.	Dim.	SFeat.
				A R	C P			
1	Mma-tswale	2a	1a, CP	+ +	V-e	-	+(N2)	Human
2	Modimo-lle	2a	1, CP	+ +	V-e	-	+(N2)	Nat. phen.
3	Mogo-lle	2	3, CP	+ +	V-e	+(N2)	+(N2)	Human
4	Molokwana-rite	4	3, CP	+ +	V-e	+(N1)	-	Action
5	Tšhošo-dupe	10	9, CP	+ +	V-e	+(N1)	+(N1)	Animal
6	Tšhutšhu-dupe	10	9, CP	+ +	V-e	+(N1)	+(N1)	Animal

f. The CP is a consecutive clause

Exocentric compounds

(503)

	Noun	Pl.	Deriv.	Morph.		Loc.	Dim.	SFeat.
				A R	C P			
1	Matšema-a-rerwa	2a	6, CP	+ +	a-V	-	+(N1)	Time
2	Mma-ka-i-pea	2a	1a, CP	+ +	ka-V	-	+(N1)	Human
3	Mma-ka-phalane	2a	1a, CP	+ +	ka-V	-	+(N1)	Human
4	Ra-ka-di-jela	2a	1a, CP	+ +	ka-V	-	+(N1)	Human
5	Tlapa-la-thunya	2a	5, CP	- +	la-V	-	+(N1)	Human
6	Lelapa-la-oma	6	5, CP	+ +	la-V	+(N1)	+(N1)	Animal
7	Kgwebo-ka-nanya	10	9, CP	+ +	ka-V	+(N1)	+(N1)	Action

g. The CP has a verb in the perfect tense with no agreement

Exocentric compound

(504)

	Noun	Pl.	Deriv.	Morph.		Loc.	Dim.	SFeat.
				A R	C P			
	Meetse-fedile	2a	6, CP	+ +	perfect tense	-	+(N1)	Human

h. The CP is an infinitival clause

Exocentric compound

(505)

	Noun	Pl.	Deriv.	Morph.		Loc.	Dim.	SFeat.
				A R	C P			
	Mma-go-ja	-	1a, CP	+ +	go-verb	-	-	Direction

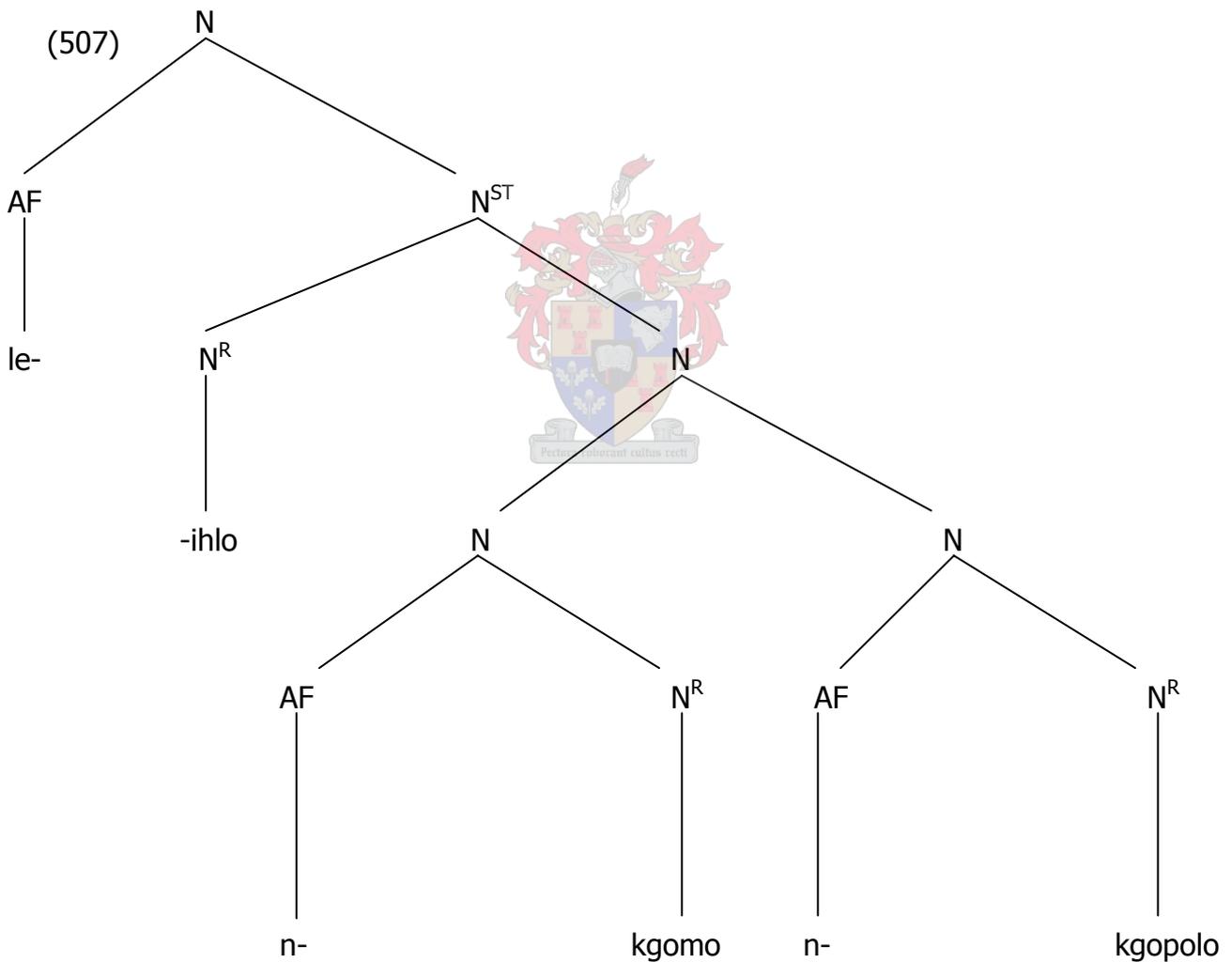
3.12 COMPOUND NOUNS WITH THREE ITEMS

The aim of this section is to discuss the compound nouns that are formed by three items.

3.12.1 [N [NN]]

The compound that consists of three nouns is as follows:

(506) **Leihlo-kgomo-kgopolo** (Big/serious imaginary eye)



The compound above has **leihlo** (eye), **kgomo** (head of cattle) and **kgopolo** (thought/idea) which is derived from the verb **gopola** (think). The head noun **leihlo** has the prefix **le-** of class 5 and the root **-ihlo** whereas both nouns, **kgomo**

and **kgopolo**, which are roots according to the structure, have prefix **n-** of class 9. The whole compound, however, is determined by the prefix **le-** of class 5 of the first noun. The nominal affix **le-** has a sister N^{ST} that dominates N^R s of the second noun and third noun respectively.

Few examples of the same type as above are the following:

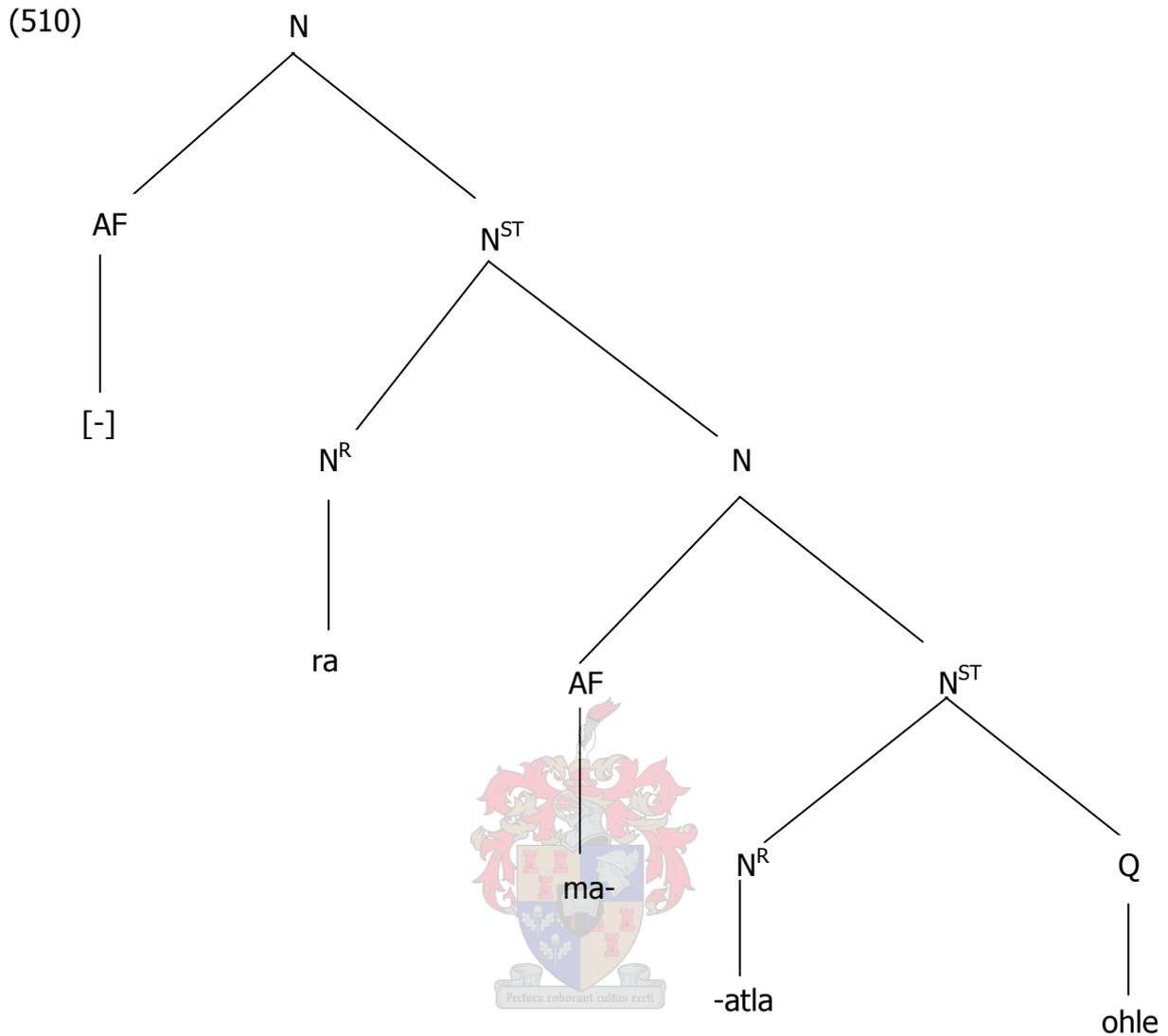
- | | |
|-----------------------------|--|
| (508) Mma-budi-koti | (River rat) |
| Mare-meokgo-keledi | (Very serious crying) |
| Meetse-mahulo-dibilo | (Water with foams/lathers and graphite powder)/black waxes)) |
| Noto-kota-kgatelelo | (Bossing mallet) |
| Pelo-khutšo-lehutšo | (Peaceful anticipation) |
| Tshwaro-puku-tlotlo | (Bookkeeping) |

3.12.2 [N [NQ]

Two nouns and a quantifier form the compound:

- (509) **Ra-maatla-ohle** (God)



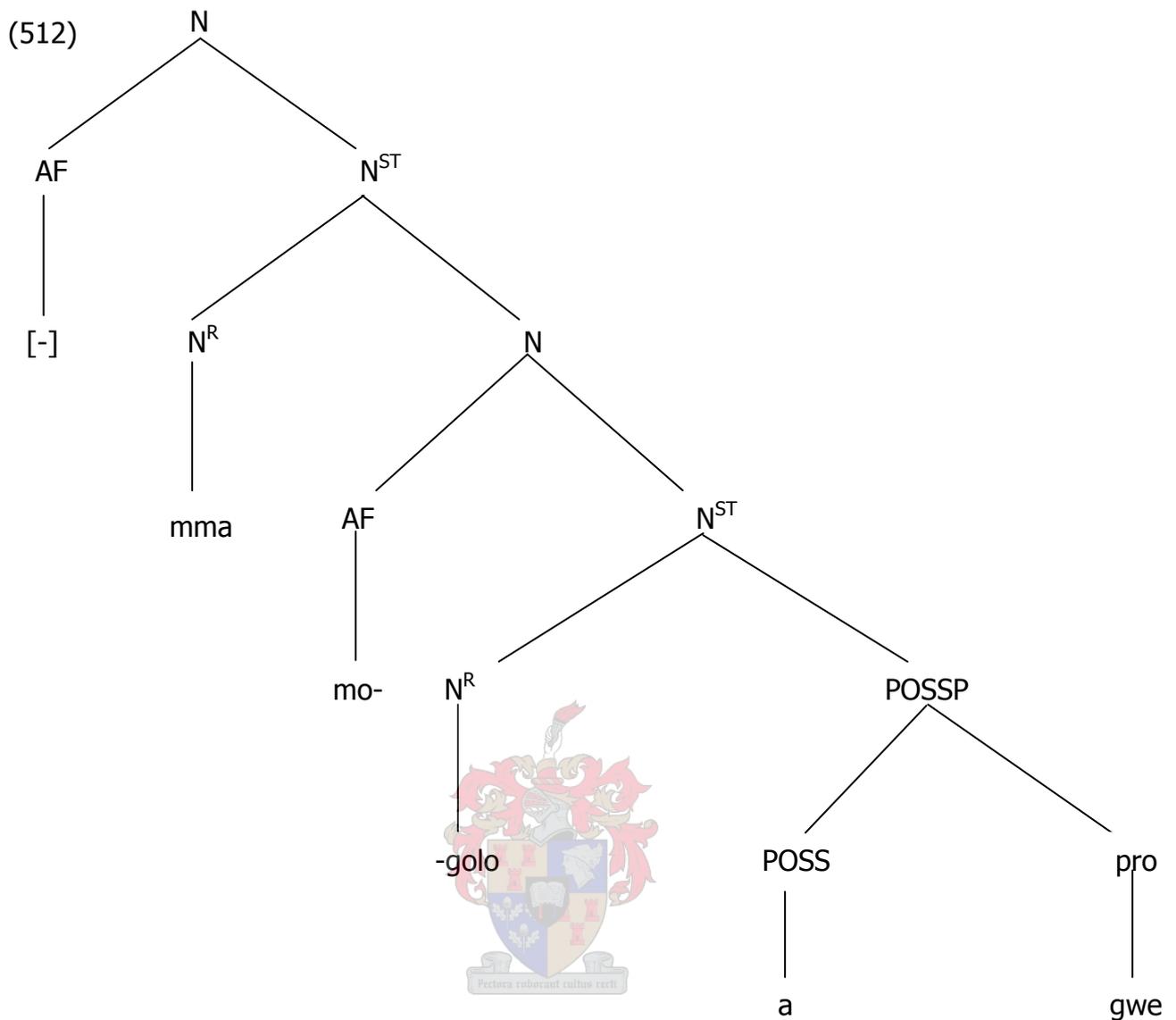


The entire compound above is determined by the empty category. This empty category belongs to class 1a of the head noun **ra** (father) which is derived from **rra wa** (father of). The second noun is **maatla** (power) which is composed of the prefix **ma-** of class 6 and the root **-atla** while the third item is the quantifier **ohle** (all).

3.12.3 [N [N POSS]]

The compound may be made up of two nouns and a possessive as in the following example:

(511) **Mma-mogolo-a-gwe** (His/her mother's elder sister/father's elder brother's wife/mother [name given by children of lesser wives to chief wife])



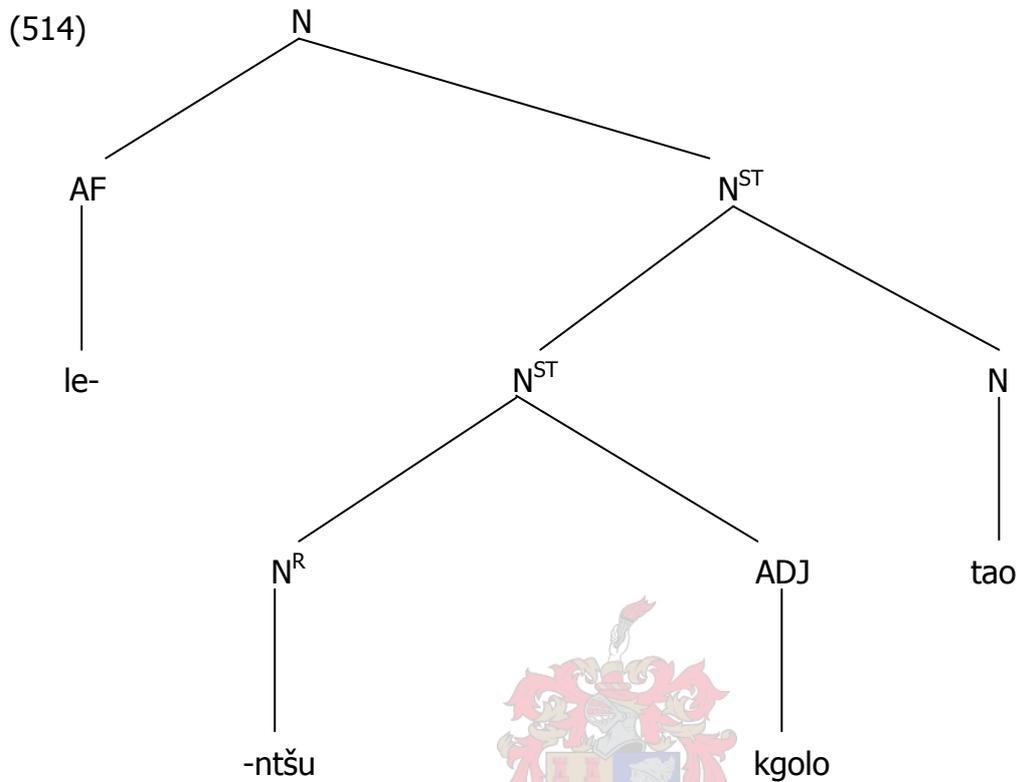
In (512) above, the compound as a whole belongs to the affix of an empty category. It consists of the head noun **mma** (mother) of class 1a, the second noun **mogolo** (big) which is formed by the prefix **mo-**, of class 1 and the root **-golo**, the possessive **a** from **wa** (of) and a root of the possessive pronoun for the third person singular **-gwe** (his/hers).

3.12.4 The nouns are found on either side of the compound

3.12.4.1 [N ADJ [N]]

The following compound consists of a noun, an adjective and a noun:

(513) **Lentšu-kgolo-tao** (Important advice)



In (514) above, the first item **lentšu** (voice/word/part (singing)), which is made up of the prefix **le-** of class 5 and the root **-ntšu**, is the head noun. The second item is the adjective **kgolo** (important) while the noun **tao** (advice), which is derived from the verb **laya** (advise), is the third item of the compound. **Tao** belongs to prefix **n-** of class 9. The whole compound is controlled by the prefix **le-** of class 5. N dominates AF which is the sister to NST whereas NST dominates N^R and ADJ.

Other examples that follow suit are:

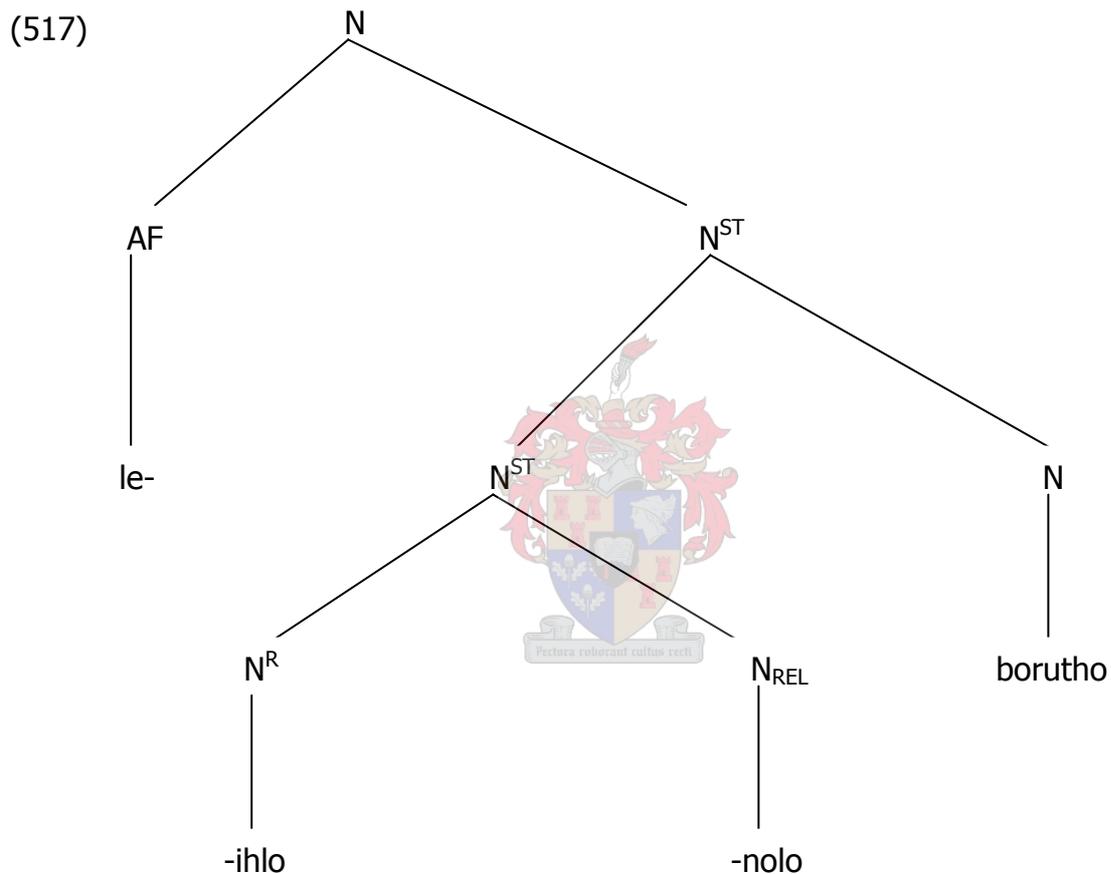
(515) **Bomeno-mašweu-kgeru** (Ugly pretenders)

Dikgopolo-be-tebetebe (Bad/evil ideas or thoughts)

3.12.4.2 [N N_{REL} [N]

The compound below is formed by a noun, nominal relative and a noun:

(516) **Leihlo-nolo-borutho** (Kind supervision)



The compound above consists of the head noun **leihlo** (eye) which is made up of the prefix **le-** of class 5 and the root **-ihlo**, the nominal relative **-nolo** (simple) which is without its prefix **bo-** of class 14 and the noun **borutho** (warm) which is composed of the prefix **bo-** of class 14 and the root **-rutho**. The entire compound is determined by prefix **le-** of class 5 of the head noun. N dominates AF which is the sister to NST whereas NST dominates N^R and N_{REL}.

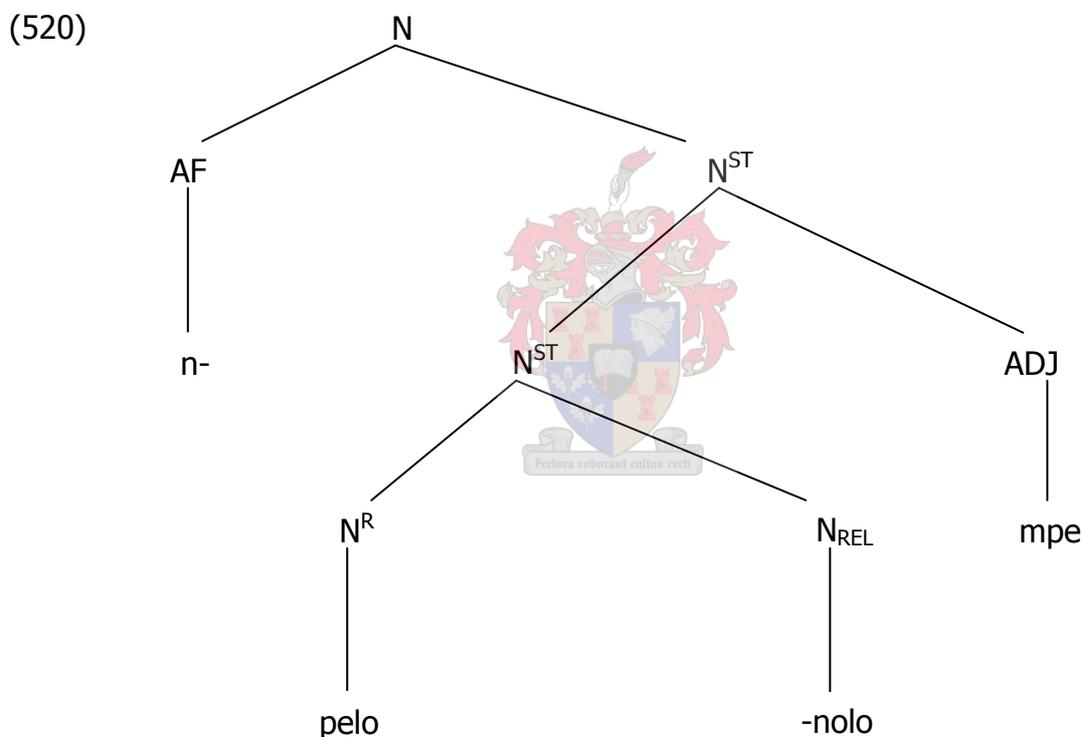
Compounds which have the same features as above are:

- (518) **Lentšu-botse-kagišo** (Good/nice word for peace/conciliation)
Maphakga-tšididi-tšhipi (Different hardships)

3.12.5 [N [N_{REL} ADJ]]

The example of compound that is formed by a noun, nominal relative and an adjective is as follows:

- (519) **Pelo-nolo-mpe** (Gentle and evil heart)



The only noun in the structure above is **pelo** (heart) which is the root of the prefix **n-** of class 9. The second item is the relative noun **-nolo** without its prefix **bo-** of class 14 (gentleness/tenderheartedness/easiness) while the third item is the adjectival root **mpe** (bad/evil). Prefix **n-** of the head noun **pelo** determines the compound as a whole. N dominates AF, NST and ADJ whereas NST dominates N^R and N_{REL}.

CHAPTER 4

4. COMPOUND NOUNS WITH VERBAL HEADS

4.1 AIM

This chapter will be concerned with the compound nouns which have verbs as their heads. The following types of verbs will receive attention: intransitive verbs, transitive verbs, ditransitive verbs as well as the derived verbs such as causative, applicative, passive, neuter-passive, reciprocal, reversive and reflexive. These verbs may appear with certain complements or adjuncts. In each case, the morphological structure of such compounds will be investigated with focus on the assignment of the argument structure of the verbs in the morphological structure of these compound nouns. The semantic features of these compounds will be investigated as well as the possible affixing of the nominal suffixes **-gadi**, **-ana** and **-eng**.

4.2 COMPOUND NOUNS WITH INTRANSITIVE VERBS

4.2.1 Definition of an intransitive verb

The argument structure of intransitive verbs has to be addressed in two various ways depending on the list of arguments which such predicates may assign.

Firstly, the category of intransitive verbs is differentiated by means of the logical notion that intransitive verbs are regarded as one-place predicates. Such predicates assign only one theta-role to a linguistic expression such as a noun phrase or a clause. These linguistic expressions are known as arguments. In this case, the argument structure of these predicates indicates only one argument which has to appear as a subject argument:

- (1) Nama e tla **bol**-a
meat Agr-Fut-rot
'The meat will rot'

In the sentence mentioned in (1), the predicate **bol-** assigns only one argument which appears in the subject position, i.e., **nama** (meat).

Secondly, there are intransitive verbs which assign two arguments: an external argument in the subject position and an internal argument which is a locative noun phrase. It must be very clear that such locative noun phrases are not objects of the verb. These intransitive verbs are motion verbs:

- (2) Badiša ba **tšen**-a mo lešakeng
shepherds Agr-enter-Pres in-kraal
'The shepherds enter the kraal'

In (2), the predicate assigns two arguments, i.e., **badiša** (shepherds) in the subject position, and the locative noun phrase, **lešakeng** (in the kraal), as an internal argument.



The information given above shows the **predicate argument structure** of a verb.

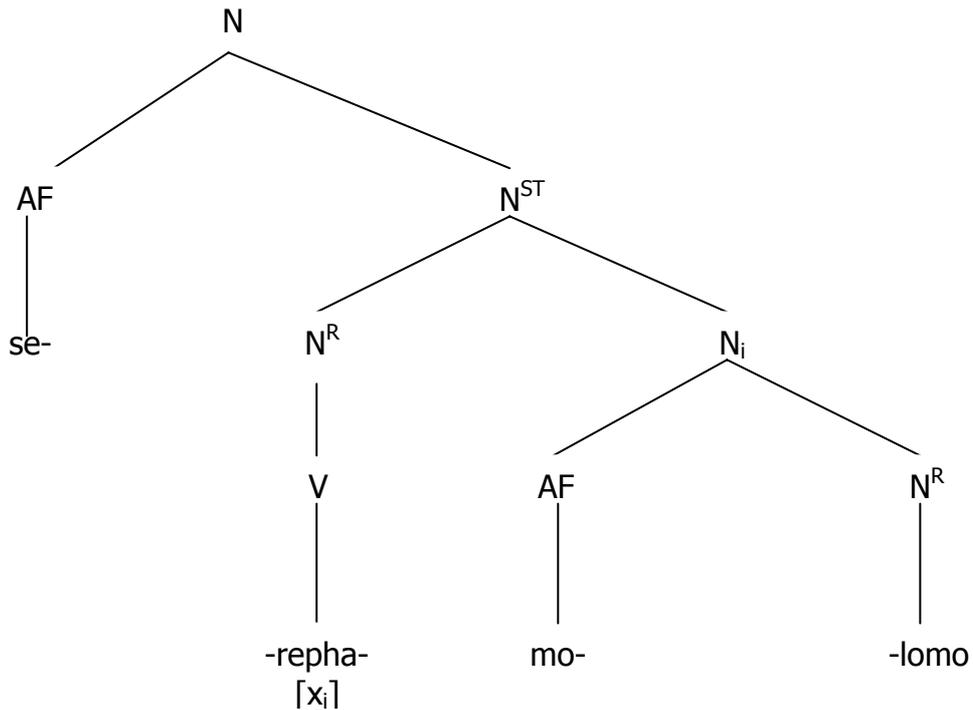
4.2.2 Intransitive verbs with one argument

4.2.2.1 Morphological structure

ARGSTR = [ARG 1 = x]

- (3) [Serepha-molomo] (Person with a loose hanging mouth)

(4)

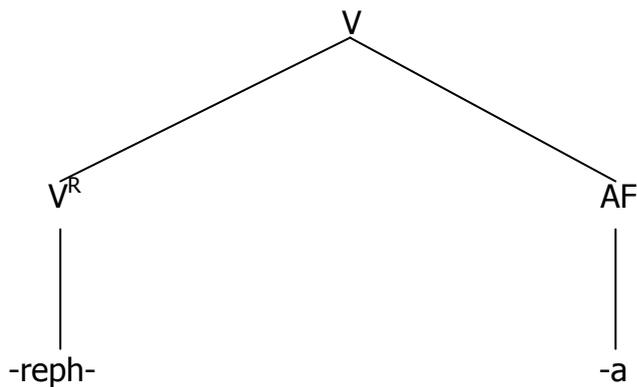


Compound noun: [AF-[N^R-N]

[se-[repha-molomo] (person with a loose hanging mouth)

In this structure, the nominal root is represented by an intransitive verb **repha**. This verb appears in the structure with the verbal suffix [-a], i.e., the lexical item is **-reph-**:

(5)



The nominal root always has a sister constituent which is a noun, i.e., **molomo** in the structure above. This noun will always represent the position which may be taken by the external argument which is assigned by the verb **repha**.

The verb **repha** has one argument, i.e., [x] in the structure above. As it has been mentioned, this argument represents the external argument which is assigned to an NP in the subject position of a clause via a rule of predication. In the compound noun above, the [x] argument of **repha** is assigned to the noun **molomo**. This noun may feature as the head noun in an NP in the subject position of a clause:

- (6) [Molomo [o-a-repha]]
(The mouth is hanging loose)

The [x] argument of **repha** is, thus, not available anymore because it has been assigned to N in the compound. This assignment can be seen through the co-indexing with [_i] on N_i and [x_i] above.

The noun **molomo** has to appear in a position after the verb **repha** in the structure above because the prefix **se-** of the compound cannot be affixed to the noun **molomo**. This noun has its own prefix **mo-** and it cannot accept another prefix **se-**:

- (7) *[se-mo-lomo]

The noun class prefix **se-** has to be affixed to the verb. This noun class prefix represents the head of the compound noun. The prefix also determines the semantic feature of the compound noun, i.e., [**human**].

4.2.2.2 Semantic features

Other examples of compound nouns with the same structure as above are given below as well as the semantic feature of the noun as determined by the prefix of the compound:

- (8) **Humans:** [mo-[rotha-dinala] (lazy person)
 [se-[fela-pelwana] (person who is short-tempered)
- Animal:** [le-[lla-kwana] (bleeting bush warbler)
- Plants:** [mo-[lala-kgwedi] (wild chestnut)
 [mo-[lala-noga] (species of a shrub)
- Natural phenomenon:** [mo-[lala-tladi] (rainbow)
- Body part:** [le-[šita-phiri] (cervical vertebra)
- State:** [ma-[ora-hlolo] (warmth of the morning/late
 afternoon sun)
- Place:** [bo-[lla-noto] (praise name for Phalaborwa mine)
- Illness:** [se-[opa-hlogwana] (kind of sickness among sheep
 (the animal jumps, falls and dies))

4.2.2.3 Nominal suffixes

The augmentative suffix **-gadi**



The augmentative suffix with the noun in the compound:

- (9) a. Molala-kgwedi-+-**gadi** (Big wild chestnut)
 b. Molala-noga-+-**gadi** (Big species of a shrub)
 c. Molala-tladi-+-**gadi** (Long rainbow)
 d. Lella-kwana-+-**gadi** (Big bleeting bush warbler)
 e. Lešita-phiri-+-**gadi** (Big cervical vertebra)

The diminutive suffix **-ana**

This diminutive suffix **-ana** also appears with the noun in the compound:

- (10) a. Molala-kgwetš-+-**ana** (Small wild chestnut)
 b. Molala-nog-+-**ana** (Small species of a shrub)

- c. Molala-tlatš-+-**ana** (Small rainbow)
- d. Lešita-phiš-+-**ana** (Small cervical vertebra)
- e. Maora-hlolw-+-**ana** (Little warmth of the morning/late afternoon sun)

The locative suffix -eng

The locative suffix may appear with the compound noun:

- (11)
- a. Molala-kgwedi-+-**ng** (The wild chestnut)
 - b. Lella-kwan-+-**eng** (The bleeting bush warbler)
 - c. Lešita-phiri-+-**ng** (The cervical vertebra)
 - d. Sefela-pelwan-+-**eng** (The person who is short-tempered)
 - e. Maora-hlolo-+-**ng** (The warmth of the morning/late afternoon sun)

4.2.3 Intransitive verbs with an adjunct noun

ARGSTR = [ARG 1 = x]
[ADJUNCT = y]

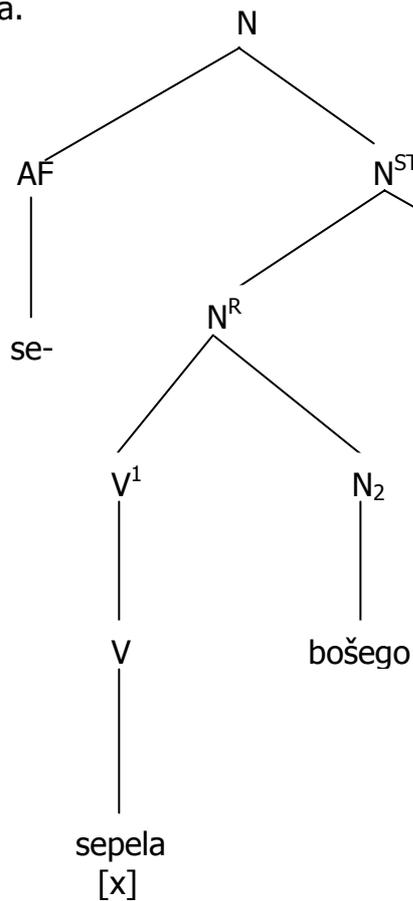


4.2.3.1 Morphological structure

- (12) a. [Sesepela-bošego] (Night-prowler)
 b. [Malla-kokwane] (Black-shouldered kite)

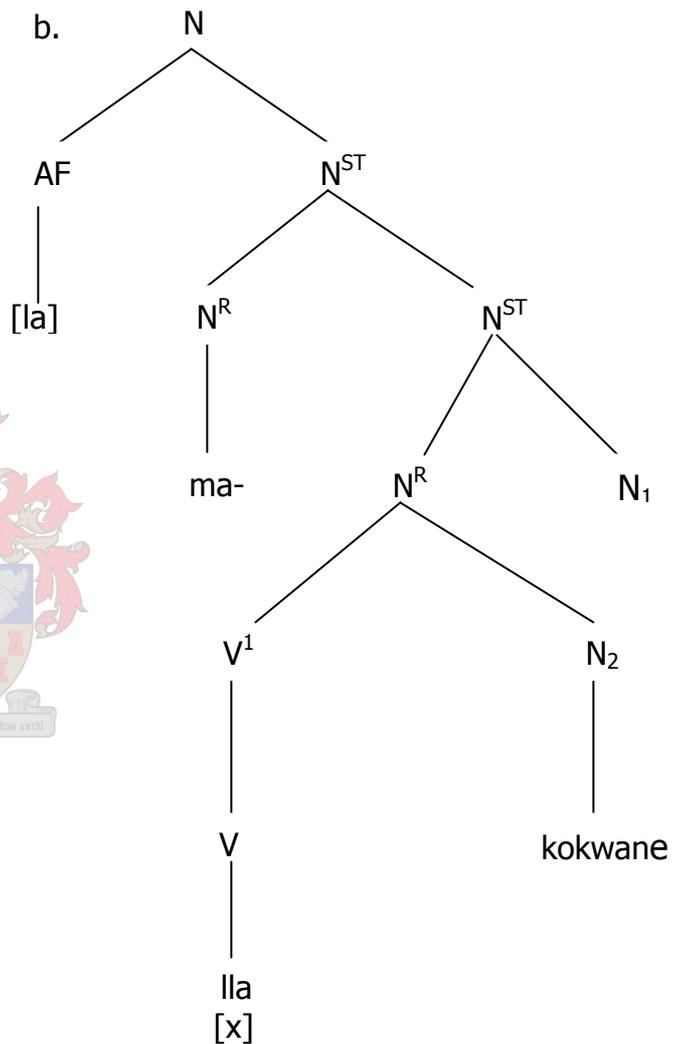
(13)

a.



with **ma-**:

b.

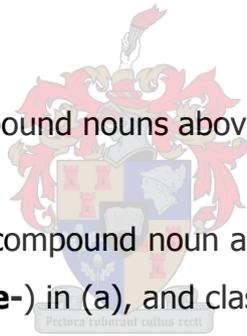


- Compound nouns: a. [AF-[V¹-N]
 [se-[sepela-bošego] (night-prowler)
 b. [AF-[ma-[V¹-N]
 [ma-[lla-kokwane] (black-shouldered kite)

In the morphological structure above, [N₁] occupies the position which is normally

assigned the external argument of the verb. [N₂] is the position of the adjunct noun. This adjunct is a sister of [V₁] and not of [V]. The position of sister of [V] is reserved for the internal argument of [V] and not for an adjunct.

The morphological structures of the two compound nouns above are the same except that the structure (b) has a root **ma-**, derived from the noun **mma** which is in class 1a. The root **ma-** appears frequently in compound nouns. The verbs **sepela** and **lla** above have one argument, i.e., [x]. This argument is usually assigned to the NP which occupies the external argument in a clause, i.e., in [motho [o-a-sepela], the argument [x] will be assigned to **motho**. However, in the compound nouns above, the noun which should receive this [x] argument was not assigned any argument: the [N₁] in both structures represent this noun. Because the [x] argument has not been assigned to any noun in the compound, it is still available.



The noun class prefix in the compound nouns above has three separate functions:

- a. The prefix is the head of the compound noun and it determines the noun class of the compound, i.e., class 7 (**se-**) in (a), and class 1a in (b).
- b. The noun class prefix controls the [x] argument of **sepela** and **lla**. In such a case, this argument is then no longer available for assignment to any position.
- c. The semantic feature of the compound noun is determined by this prefix. In the case of (a) above, the prefix **se-** has a reference to **humans**, while in (b) the prefix of class 1a has a reference to **birds**. This reference is determined in conjunction with the idiomatic reference of the complement of the prefix.

The second noun in the structures above, i.e., [N₂] represents the adjunct. This adjunct [y] is a noun **bošego** in (a) above and it refers to time. The adjunct in (b) is **kokwane** but this adjunct has a locative reference as it can be seen from a clause with this noun:

- (14) Nonyana e-lla [mo kokwaneng]
'The bird is crying on the butt'

4.2.3.2 Semantic features

Other examples of compound nouns with the structure in (a) above:

- (15) a. **Place:** [se-[hwa-lete] (deep hole)
The adjunct is **-lete** from **molete** in class 3, and it has a locative reference from the locative noun **moleteng**.
- b. **Person:** [se-[khora-bophelo] (old person)
As above, the adjunct has a locative reference **bophelong**.

4.2.3.3 Nominal suffixes

The augmentative suffix -gadi

- (16) a. Sehwa-lete-+-**gadi** (Big deep hole)
b. Sekhora-bophelo-+-**gadi** (Big old person)
c. Sesepela-bošego-+-**gadi** (Big night-prowler)

The diminutive suffix -ana

- (17) a. Sehwa-letš-+-**ana** (Small deep hole)
b. Sekhora-bophelw-+-**ana** (Small old person)
c. Sesepela-bošegw-+-**ana** (Small night-prowler)

The locative suffix -eng

- (18) a. Sehwa-let-+-**eng** (The deep hole)
b. Sekhora-bophelo-+-**ng** (The old person)
c. Sesepela-bošego-+-**ng** (The night-prowler)

4.2.4 Intransitive verbs with a noun which has a locative reference

These intransitive verbs appear with an internal argument in an argument structure such as the following:

ARGSTR = [ARG 1 = x]
 [ARG 2 = y]

The locative argument [ARG 2] above may have no overt form in the compound, or it may have an overt form but no locative suffix. However, this locative argument may have the following references: location, source and direction, depending on the semantic features of the verb.

4.2.4.1 Morphological structure

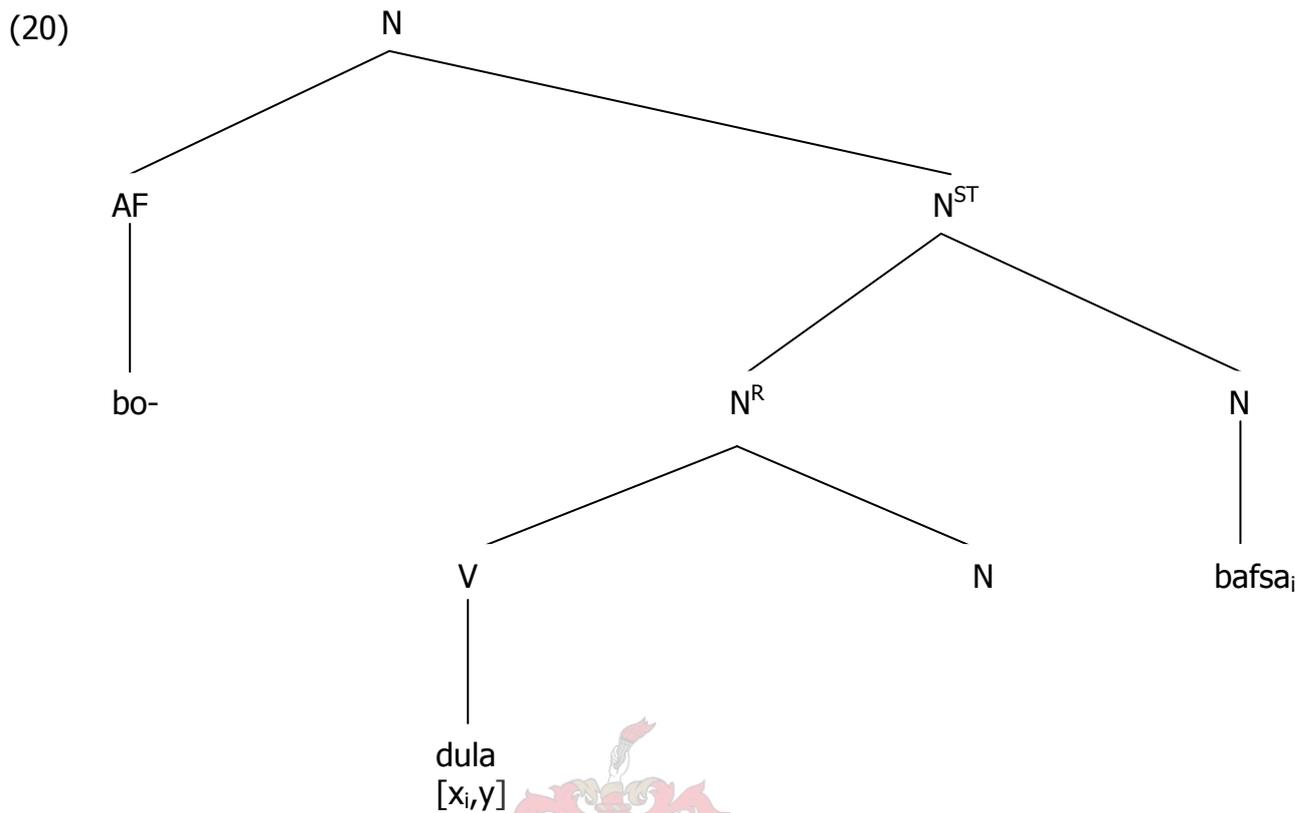
The y-argument has a reference of location

Three morphological structures may be discerned:

- a. The y-argument has no overt form.
- b. The y-argument has an overt form but no locative suffix.
- c. The y-argument has no overt form while the verb appears with an adjunct.

a. The y-argument has no overt form

(19) [Bodula-bafsa] (Youth centre (place))



Compound noun: [AF-[N^R-N]
[bo-[dula-bafsa] (youth centre (place))

The verb **dula** has two arguments, i.e., [x] and [y]. The [x] argument represents the external argument which occupies the subject position and the [y] argument is the internal argument and has the meaning of location.

In the structure above, the [x] argument of **dula** is assigned to **bafsa** which is the complement of N^R. It is co-indexed by [i]. The [y] argument is not assigned to N which is the complement of V.

The prefix **bo-** has the following properties:

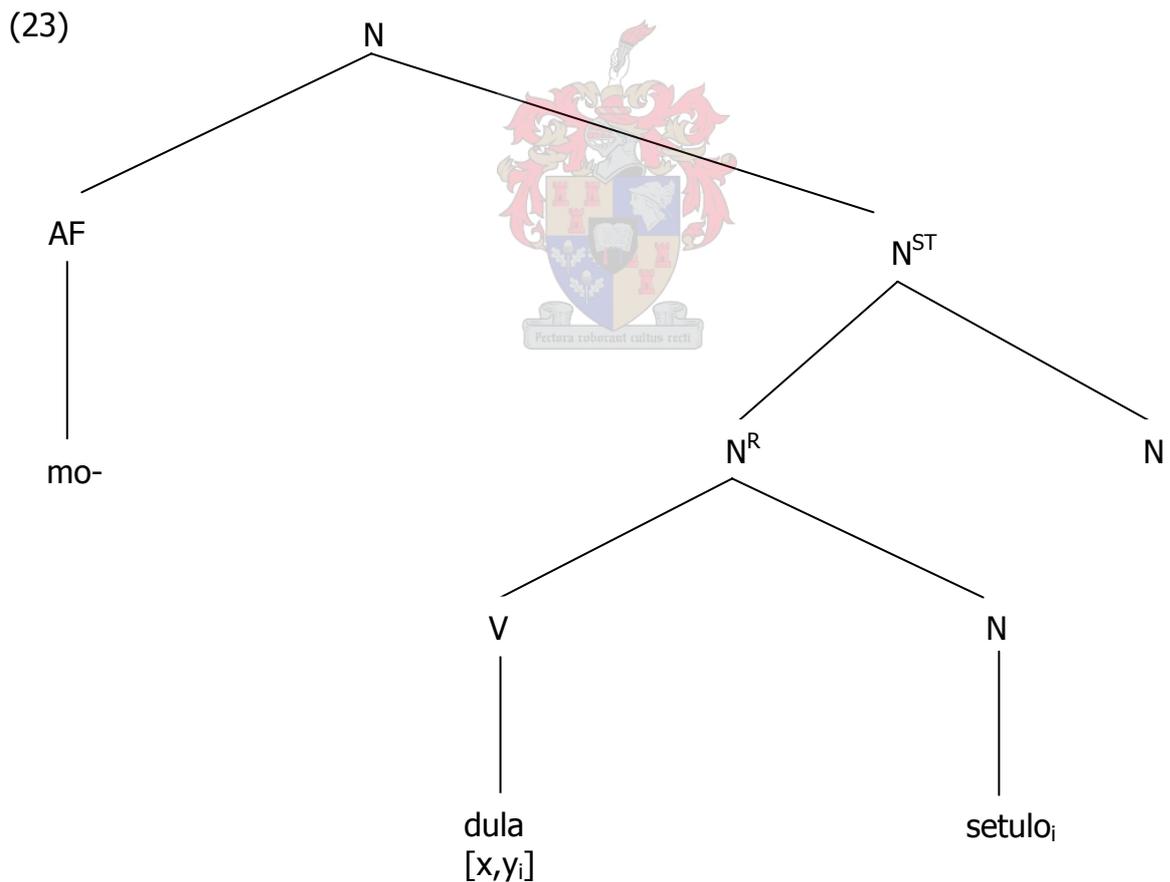
- a. **bo-** controls the [y] argument. Both the [y] argument and **bo-** have a reference to location.
- b. **bo-** is the head of the compound noun.

Few examples of compound nouns with the same structure as above and the semantic feature of the noun as determined by the prefix of the compound are given underneath:

- (21) **Plant:** [mo-[dula-tšhwene] (wild gardenia)
- Places:** [bo-[wa-tshepe] (where important occasion has taken place)
- [bo-[dula-bahu] (graveyard)
- [bo-[ema-dipese] (bus stop)

b. The y-argument has an overt form but no locative suffix

(22) [Modula-setulo] (Chairperson)



Compound noun: [AF-[V-N]
 [mo-[dula-setulo] (chairperson)

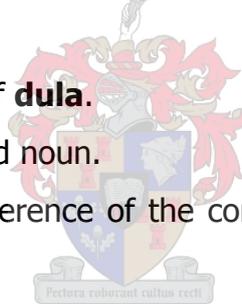
The verb **dula** has two arguments, i.e., [x] and [y]. The [x] argument represents the external argument which occupies the subject position and the [y] argument is the internal argument and has the meaning of location, e.g.:

- (24) [Ngwana] o-dula [setulong]
'The child is sitting on the chair'

In the structure above, the [x] argument of **dula** is not assigned to any position. It should have been assigned to N which is the complement of N^R . The [y] argument is the one that is assigned to N which is the complement of V. This [y] argument is co-indexed by [i].

The prefix **mo-** has the following characteristics:

- a. It controls the [x] argument of **dula**.
- b. It is the head of the compound noun.
- c. The prefix determines the reference of the compound. The compound has two features:
 - (i) Human, from the prefix **mo-** of class 1.
 - (ii) Location, from the reference of **setulo**.



The meaning of the compound is a combination of these two features: a **person** in a certain **place**. The verb **dula** may appear in a clause such as the following which shows its various arguments:

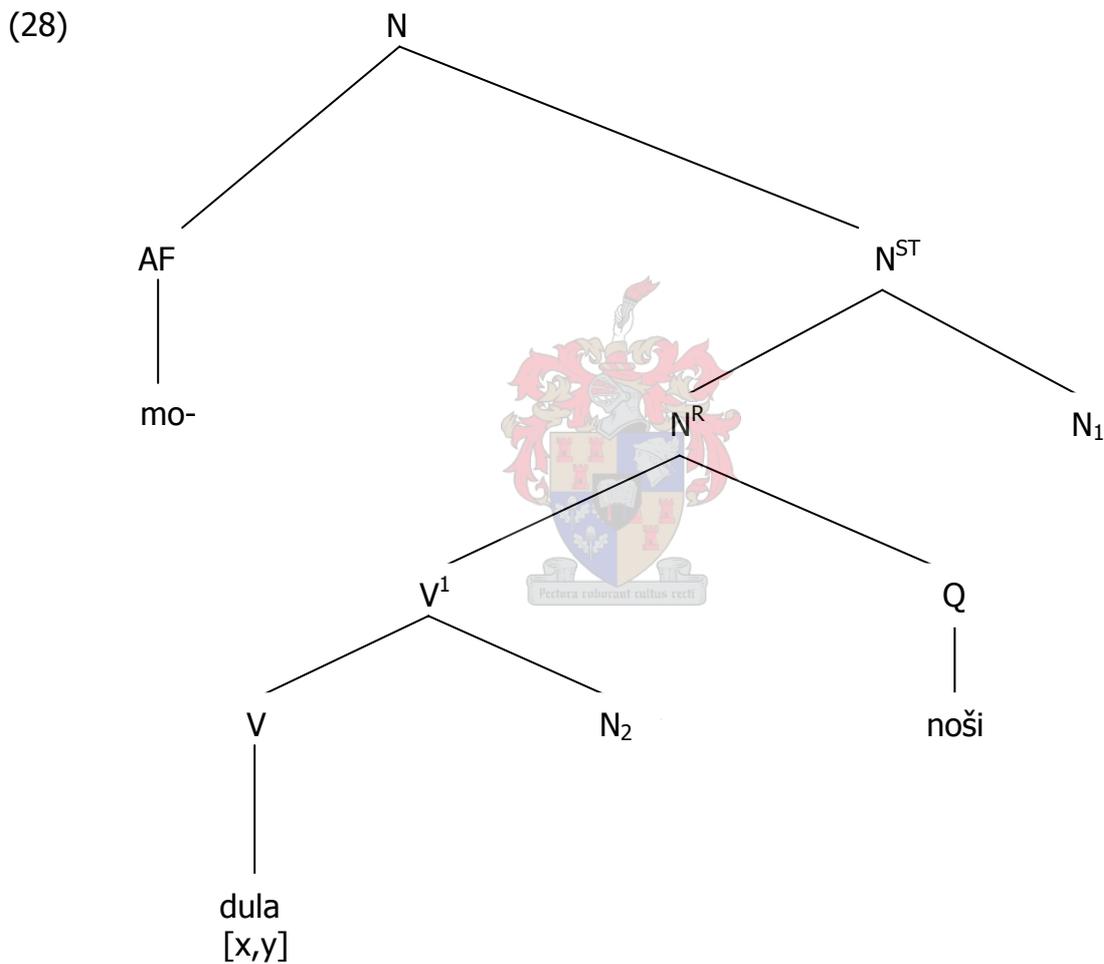
- (25) Ke [motho] yo a-dulago [setulong]
'It is the person who is sitting on the chair'

Some examples of compound nouns with the same structure as above as well as the semantic feature of the noun as determined by the prefix of the compound are the following:

- (26) **Human:** [mo-[dula-humo] (rich person)
- Animal:** [n-[thala-bodiba] (whirligig beetle)
- Artifact:** [n-[pala-monwana] (ring)

c. The y-argument has no overt form while the verb appears with an adjunct

(27) [Modula-noši] (Monk/nun/hermit)



Compound noun: [AF-[V¹-Q]
 [mo-[dula-noši] (monk/nun/hermit)

The two arguments of **dula** are [x] and [y]. The x-argument of **dula** should have been assigned to [N₁] above. The position of [N₁] is left open but the x-argument of the verb is controlled by the prefix **mo-** which has a reference to humans.

The y-argument should be assigned to [N₂] above with a reference of location from the features of the verb **dula**, but this reference is only implied in the meaning of the compound. The adjunct is a sister of [V¹] above and it is a quantifier. This quantifier may appear in a CP which is an adjunct of **dula** in a clause:

(29) Ke motho yo a dulago [a-le noši]

'It is a person who is sitting alone'

Functions of the prefix **mo-** are the following:

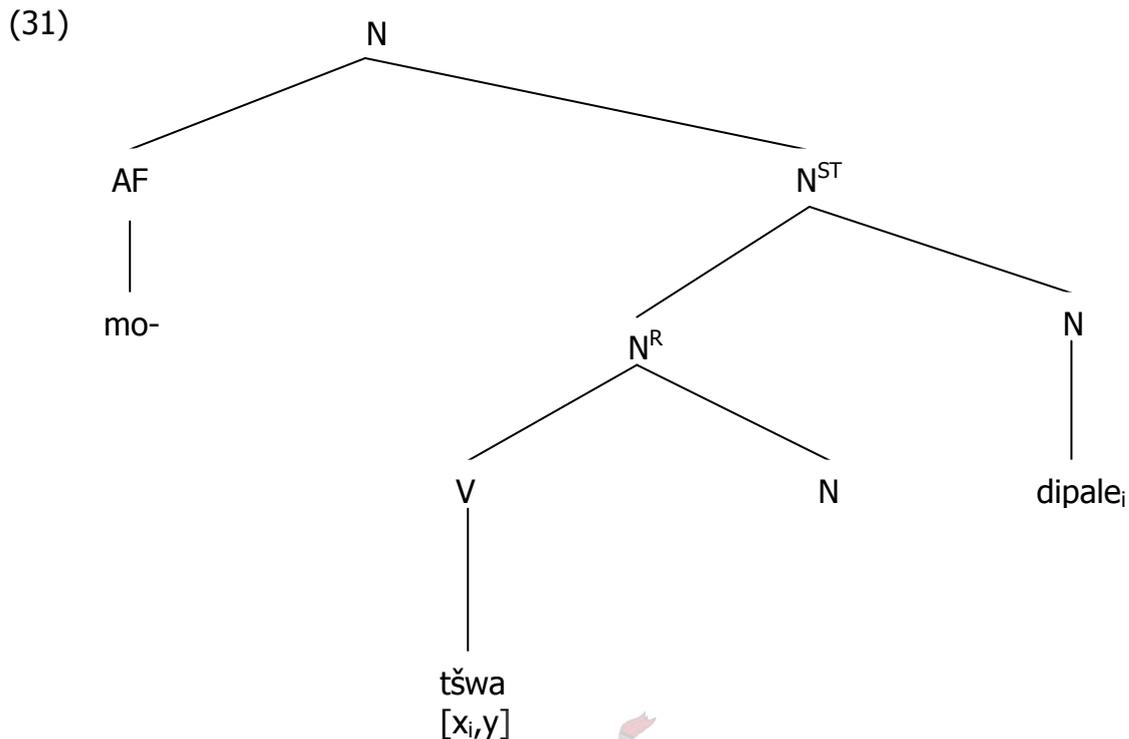
- a. The [x] argument of **dula** is not assigned to N₁ but is controlled by the prefix **mo-**.
- b. This prefix is the head of the compound noun.
- c. It determines the reference of this compound. Two features indicated by this compound can be observed:
 - (i) Human, from the prefix **mo-** of class 1.
 - (ii) Location, which is implied in the meaning of the compound.

The y-argument has a reference of source

The same three structures are possible here as in the case where the [y] argument has a reference of location.

a. The y-argument has no overt form

(30) [Motšwa-dipale] (One who has cracks on the feet caused by fire)



Compound noun: [AF-[N^R-N]_j]
 [mo-[tšwa-dipale] (one who has cracks on the feet caused by fire)

There are two arguments of the verb **tšwa** in this structure. These are [x] and [y] arguments. The x-argument is assigned to **dipale** (co-indexed by [_i]), while the y-argument is not assigned.

The prefix **mo-** plays the following roles:

- It controls the [y] argument of **tšwa**.
- It is the head of the compound noun.
- This prefix also determines the reference of the compound. The compound indicates two features:
 - Human, from the prefix **mo-** of class 1.
 - Source, from the [y] argument.

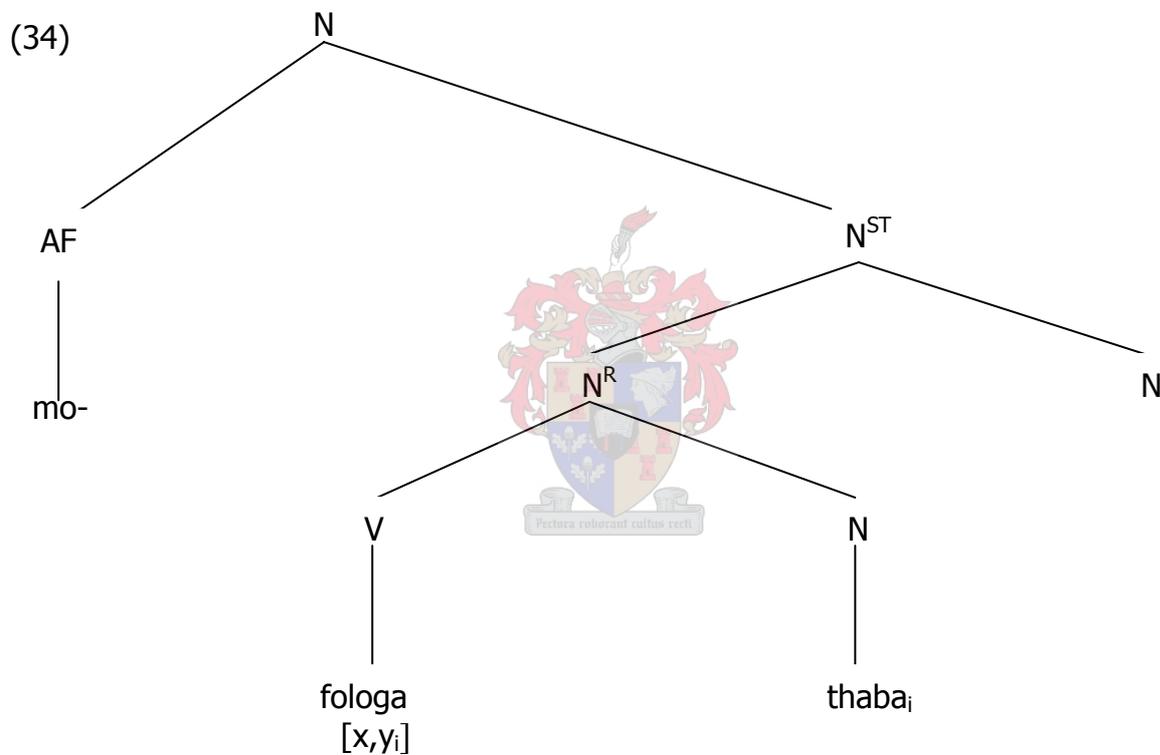
The meaning of the compound is a combination of these two features. This implies that the compound has a reference of a **human** from a certain **place**, e.g., in the

following clause this becomes evident where **motho** is the y-argument, co-indexed with **yena** in a locative phrase **go-yena**:

- (32) Ke [motho]_i yoo dipale di-tšwago [go yena]_i
 'It is the person that the cracks come out from'

b. The y-argument has an overt form but no locative suffix

- (33) [Mofologa-thaba] (One who comes/climbs down from the mountain)



Compound noun: [AF-[V-N]

[mo-[fologa-thaba] (one who comes/climbs down from the mountain)

The verb **fologa** has two arguments. These arguments are [x] and [y]. The [x] argument always represents the external argument. This argument also takes the subject position. The internal argument is represented by [y] argument and has the meaning of source, e.g.:

(35) [Banna] ba-fologa [thabeng]

'The men come/climb down from the mountain'

The [x] argument is not assigned to any position. It should have been assigned to N which is the complement of N^R. According to the structure, the [y] argument is assigned to the noun **thaba** which is the complement of V. This [y] argument is co-indexed by [i].

The functions of the prefix **mo-** are the following:

- a. This prefix controls the [x] argument of **fologa**.
- b. It is the head of the compound noun.
- c. The compound noun has two features:
 - (i) Human, from the prefix **mo-** of class 1.
 - (ii) Source, from the reference of **thaba**.

The meaning of this compound is a combination of the features mentioned above. As a reference of source, the compound, thus, refers to a **human** from a certain **source**, as in a clause like the following:

(36) Ke [motho] yo a-fologago [thabeng]

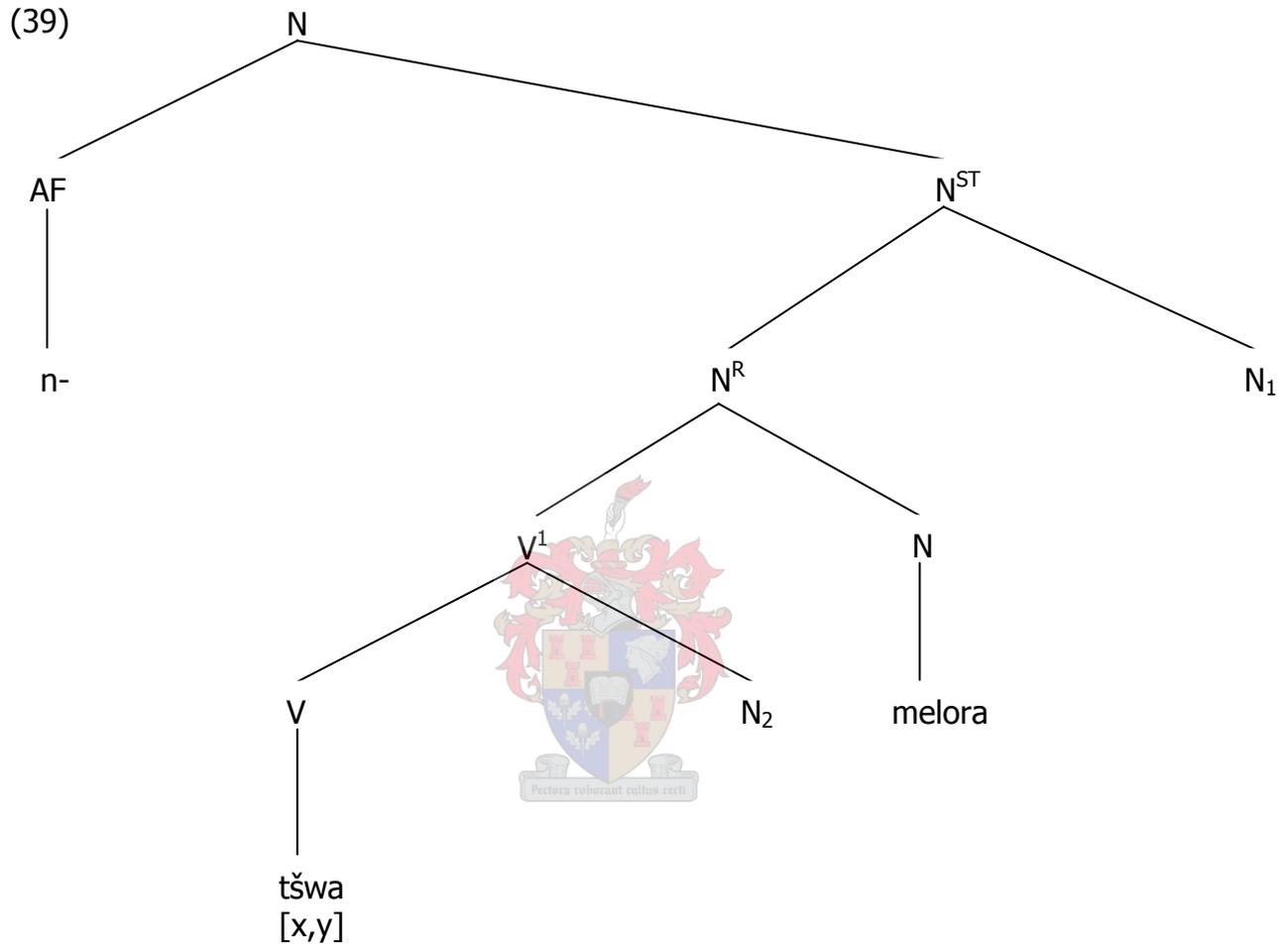
'It is the person who comes/climbs down from the mountain'

An example of compound noun with the same structure as above is given below as well as the semantic feature of the noun as determined by the prefix of the compound:

(37) **Human**: [se-[tšwa-bothukhu] (graduate)]

c. The y-argument has no overt form while the verb appears with an adjunct

(38) [Tšwa-melora] (Girl in early puberty stage)



Compound noun: [AF-[V¹-N]
[n-[tšwa-melora] (girl in early puberty stage)

The structure above shows two arguments, i.e., [x] and [y]. Both arguments are not assigned, i.e., [x] should be assigned to [N₁] and [y] to [N₂].

The following properties of the prefix **n-** are important:

- a. The [x] argument of **tšwa** is controlled by the prefix **n-**.
- b. This prefix is the head of the compound noun.
- c. The compound has two features:

- (i) Human, from the prefix **n-** of class 9.
- (ii) Source, which is implied in the meaning of the compound from the features of the verb **tšwa**.

The adjunct is a noun **melora** and it is a sister of V^1 . This may appear in the following clause:

- (40) Ke [motho] yo a-tšwago [melora]
 'It is the person that an early puberty stage comes from'

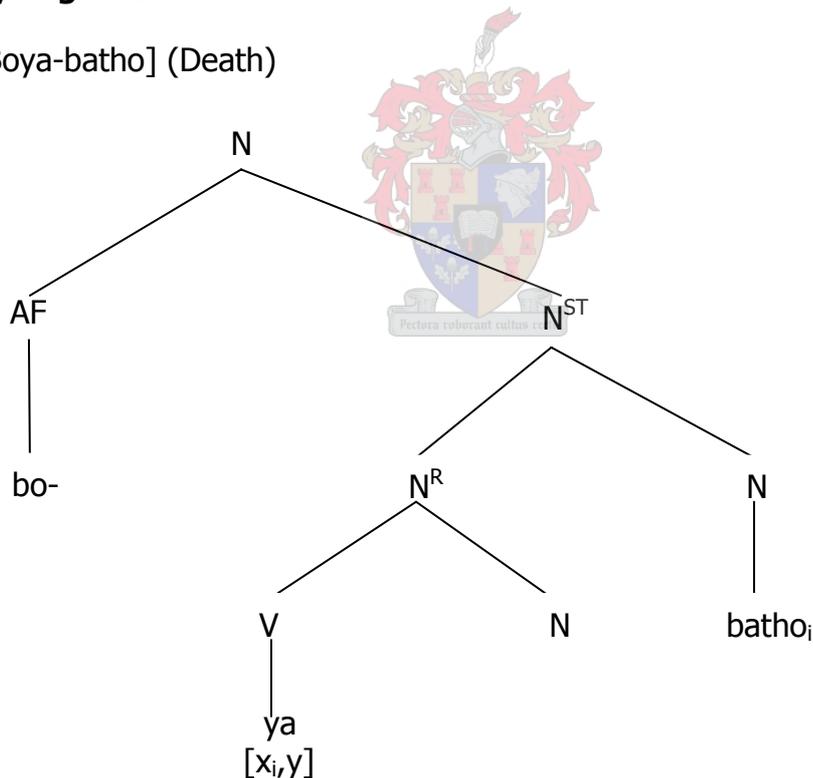
The y-argument has a reference of direction

Two structures are discerned in this case:

a. The y-argument has no overt form

- (41) [Boya-batho] (Death)

(42)



Compound noun: [AF-[N-V]
 [bo-[ya-batho] (death)

The verb **ya** has two arguments, i.e., [x] and [y].

In the structure above, the [x] argument of **ya** is assigned to N which is the complement of N^R. It is co-indexed by [i]. The [y] argument is not assigned to N which is the complement of V.

The prefix **bo-** has the following characteristics:

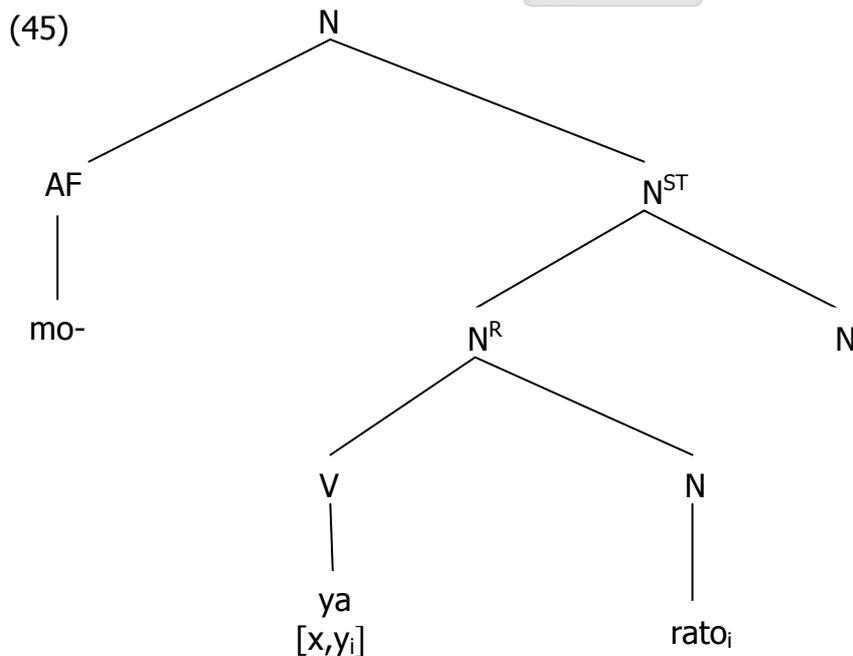
- a. **bo-** controls the [y] argument. Both the [y] argument and **bo-** have a reference of direction, i.e., a place towards a certain direction.
- b. This prefix is the head of the compound noun.

Two other examples of compound nouns with the same structure as above are given underneath and also the semantic feature of the noun as determined by the prefix of the compound:

- (43) **Cognition:** [se-[tla-boima] (heavy/difficult result)
[se-[tla-bonyane] (small beginning)

b. The y-argument has an overt form but no locative suffix

(44) [Moya-rato] (One's place of choice (e.g., where one whiles away time/visits)).



Compound noun: [AF-[V-N]

[mo-[ya-rato] (one's place of choice (e.g., where one whiles away time/visits)

The verb **ya** has two arguments, i.e., [x] and [y]. The [x] argument represents the external argument and occupies the subject position. The [y] argument which represents the internal argument has a meaning of location, e.g.:

(46) [Ngwanenyana [o-ya leratong]]

'The girl goes to while away time/visit'

The [x] argument is not assigned to any position. This argument should have been assigned to N which is the complement of N^R. The [y] argument is assigned to the noun **-rato** (from **lerato**) which is the complement of V. It is co-indexed by [i] with a reference of direction.

The prefix **mo-** has various properties. They are the following:

- 
- a. The prefix controls the [x] argument of **ya**.
 - b. It is the head of the compound noun.
 - c. The reference of the compound is determined by this prefix. This implies that the compound has two features:
 - (i) Human, from the prefix **mo-** of class 1.
 - (ii) Direction, from the reference of a locative noun as in the following clause:

(47) Ke [motho] yo a-yago [leratong]

'It is the person who goes to while away time/visit'

4.2.4.2 Nominal suffixes

The augmentative suffix **-gadi**

The suffix **-gadi** can be affixed only to the second constituent part of the compound noun to express augmentative meaning, i.e., to the noun but not to the verb.

- (48) a. Modula-tšhwene-+-**gadi** (Big wild gardenia)
b. Boema-fofane-+-**gadi** (Big airport)

The examples of compound nouns mentioned above show that the augmentative suffix **-gadi** can only be affixed to the noun in the compound.

The diminutive suffix **-ana**

The diminutive suffix **-ana** may appear with compound nouns, and in such cases, this suffix will occur with the noun in the compound, but not with the verb as in the following examples:

- (49) a. Setšwa-bothukhw-+-**ana** (Small graduate)
b. Thala-bodib-+-**ana** (Small whirligig beetle)
c. Bodula-bafs-+-**ana** (Small youth centre (place))
d. Boema-diketsw-+-**ana** (Small sea port)

The locative suffix **-eng**

Like the augmentative suffix **-gadi** and the diminutive suffix **-ana**, the locative suffix **-eng** may appear with compound nouns and always with the noun in the compound.

The following compounds can be noted:

- (50) a. Motla-kgomo-+-**ng** (On the green boomslang)
b. Tšwa-melor-+-**eng** (On the girl in early puberty stage)

4.2.4.3 Semantic features

It is the aim of this section to classify the semantic features of compounds formed by intransitive verbs with nouns which have a locative reference. Semantically, the compounds may be classified into humans, animals, plants, natural phenomenon, body part, cognition, artifact, state, illness and places.

Humans

Endocentric compounds

(51) Class 1/2: **Modula-humo** (Badula-humo) (Rich person). Derivation: **dula** (sit/stay/live, verb), **-humo** without its prefix (richness, cl. 5, noun). Locative: **Modula-humong**. Diminutive: **Modula-hungwana**.

Class 1/2: **Modula-noši** (Badula-noši) (Monk/nun/hermit). Derivation: **dula** (sit/stay/live, verb), **noši** (alone, quantitative pronoun). Locative: **Modula-nošing**. Diminutive: **Modula-nošinyana**.

Class 1/2: **Modula-setulo** (Badula-ditulo) (Chairperson). Derivation: **dula** (sit/stay/live, verb), **setulo** (chair, cl. 7, noun). Locative: **Modula-setulong**. Diminutive: **Modula-setulwana**.

Class 1/2: **Mofologa-thaba** (Bafologa-thaba) (One who comes/climbs down from the mountain). Derivation: **fologa** (come/climb down, verb), **thaba** (mountain, cl. 9, noun). Locative: **Mofologa-thabeng**. Diminutive: **Mofologa-thabana**.

Class 1/2: **Motšwa-dipale** (Batšwa-dipale) (One who has cracks on the feet caused by fire). Derivation: **tšwa** (come out/from, verb), **dipale** (cracks on the feet caused by fire, cl. 10, noun). Locative: **Motšwa-dipaleng**. Diminutive: **Motšwa-dipalwana**.

Class 1/2: **Moya-rato** (Baya-rato) (One's place of choice (e.g., where one whiles away time/visits)). Derivation: **ya** (go, verb), **-rato** without its prefix (love/liking, cl. 5, noun). Locative: **Moya-ratong**. Diminutive: **Moya-ratwana**.

Class 7/8: **Sefela-pelwana** (Difela-pelwana) (Person who is short-tempered). Derivation: **fela** (finish, verb), **pelwana** (small heart, cl. 9, noun). Locative: **Sefela-pelwaneng**. Diminutive: No diminutive suffix.

Class 7/8: **Sekhora-bophelo** (Dikhora-bophelo) (Old person). Derivation: **khora** (be satisfied (with food)/be drunk, verb), **bophelo** (life, cl. 14, noun). Locative: **Sekhora-bophelong**. Diminutive: **Sekhora-bophelwana**.

Class 7/8: **Serepha-molomo** (Direpha-melomo) (Person with a loose hanging mouth). Derivation: **repha** (hang loosely, verb), **molomo** (mouth, cl. 3, noun). Locative: **Serepha-molomong**. Diminutive: **Serepha-molongwana**.

Class 7/8: **Sesepela-bošego** (Disepela-bošego) (Night-prowler). Derivation: **sepela** (walk, verb), **bošego** (night, cl. 14, noun). Locative: **Sesepela-bošegong**. Diminutive: **Sesepela-bošegwana**.

Class 7/8: **Setšwa-bothukhu** (Ditšwa-bothukhu) (Graduate). Derivation: **tšwa** (come out/from, verb), **bothukhu** (initiation lodge, cl. 14, noun). Locative: **Setšwa-bothukhung**. Diminutive: **Setšwa-bothukhwana**.

Exocentric compounds

(52) Class 1/2: **Molla-ngaka** (Balla-ngaka) (One who needs a doctor). Derivation: **lla** (cry, verb), **ngaka** (doctor, cl. 9, noun). Locative: **Molla-ngakeng**. Diminutive: **Molla-ngakana**.

Class 1/2: **Morotha-dinala** (Barotha-dinala) (Lazy person). Derivation: **rotha** (drip/leak, verb), **dinala** (nails, cl. 10, noun). Locative: **Morotha-dinaleng**. Diminutive: **Morotha-dinalana**.

Class 9/10: **Tšwa-melora** (Ditšwa-melora) (Girl in early puberty stage). Derivation: **tšwa** (come out/from, verb), **melora** (ashes, cl. 4, noun). Locative: **Tšwa-meloreng**. Diminutive: **Tšwa-melorana**.

Animals

Endocentric compound

(53) Class 9/10: **Thala-bodiba** (Dithala-bodiba) (Whirligig beetle). Derivation: **thala** (swim, verb), **bodiba** (depth/pool, cl. 14, noun). Locative: **Thala-bodibeng**. Diminutive: **Thala-bodibana**.

Exocentric compounds

(54) Class 3/4: **Motla-kgomo** (Metla-kgomo) (Green boomslang-name of a snake). Derivation: **tla** (come, verb), **kgomo** (head of cattle, cl. 9, noun). Locative: **Motla-kgomong**. Diminutive: **Motla-kgongwana**.

Class 5/6: **Lella-kwana** (Malla-kwana) (Bleeting bush warbler). Derivation: **lla** (cry, verb), **kwana** (little sheep/lamb, cl. 9, noun). Locative: **Lella-kwaneng**. Diminutive: No diminutive suffix.

Plants

Exocentric compounds

(55) Class 3/4: **Modula-tšhwene** (Medula-tšhwene) (Wild gardenia). Derivation: **dula** (sit/stay/live, verb), **tšhwene** (baboon, cl. 9, noun). Locative: **Modula-tšhweneng**. Diminutive: **Modula-tšhwenyana**.

Class 3/4: **Molala-kgwedi** (Melala-kgwedi) (Wild chestnut). Derivation: **lala** (lie down and sleep, verb), **kgwedi** (moon, cl. 9, noun). Locative: **Molala-kgweding**. Diminutive: **Molala-kgwetšana**.

Class 3/4: **Molala-noga** (Melala-noga) (Species of a shrub). Derivation: **lala** (lie down and sleep, verb), **noga** (snake, cl. 9, noun). Locative: **Molala-nogeng**. Diminutive: **Molala-nogana**.

Natural phenomenon

Exocentric compound

(56) Class 3/4: **Molala-tladi** (Melala-tladi) (Rainbow). Derivation: **lala** (lie down and sleep, verb), **tladi** (lightning, cl. 9, noun). Locative: **Molala-tlading**. Diminutive: **Molala-tlatšana**.



Body part

Exocentric compound

(57) Class 5/6: **Lešita-phiri** (Mašita-phiri) (Cervical vertebra). Derivation: **šita** (be too heavy/difficult/much, verb), **phiri** (hyena, cl. 9, noun). Locative: **Lešita-phiring**. Diminutive: **Lešita-phišana**.

Cognition

Endocentric compounds

(58) Class 7/8: **Setla-boima** (Ditla-boima) (Heavy/difficult result). Derivation: **tla** (come, verb), **boima** (heavy, cl. 14, noun). Locative: **Setla-boimeng**. Diminutive: **Setla-boimanyana**.

Class 7/8: **Setla-bonyane** (Ditla-bonyane) (Small beginning). Derivation: **tle** (come, verb), **bonyane** (smallness, cl. 14, noun). Locative: **Setla-bonyaneng**. Diminutive: **Setla-bonyanenyana**.

Artifact

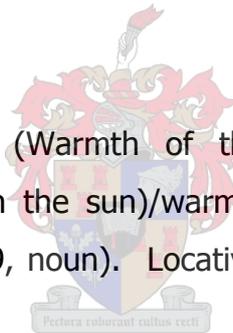
Endocentric compound

(59) Class 9/10: **Pala-monwana** (Dipala-monwana) (Ring). Derivation: **pala** (be too difficult, verb), **monwana** (finger, cl. 3, noun). Locative: **Pala-monwaneng**. Diminutive: **Pala-monwananyana**.

State

Exocentric compound

(60) Class 6: **Maora-hlolo** (Warmth of the morning/late afternoon sun). Derivation: **ora** (bask (in the sun)/warm oneself (at a fire), verb), **hlolo** ((kind of) rock rabbit, cl. 9, noun). Locative: **Maora-hlolong**. Diminutive: **Maora-hlolwana**.



Illness

Endocentric compound

(61) Class 7/8: **Seopa-hlogwana** (Diopa-hlogwana) (Kind of sickness among sheep (the animal jumps, falls and dies)). Derivation: **opa** (ache/clap, verb), **hlogwana** (small head, cl. 9, noun). Locative: **Seopa-hlogwaneng**. Diminutive: No diminutive suffix.

Places

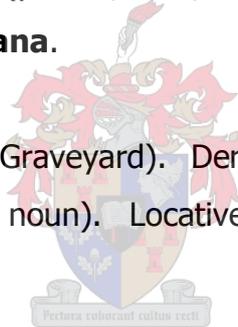
Endocentric compounds

(62) Class 7/8: **Sehwa-lete** (Dihwa-lete) (Deep hole). Derivation: **hwa** (die, verb), **-lete** without its prefix (hole, cl. 3, noun). Locative: **Sehwa-leteng**. Diminutive: **Sehwa-letšana**.

Class 9/10: **Nka-sehlakahlaka** (Dinka-dihlakahlaka) (Peninsula). Derivation: **nka** (as if/like, verb), **sehlakahlaka** (island, cl. 7, noun). Locative: **Nka- sehlakahlakeng**. Diminutive: **Nka-sehlakahlakana**.

Class 14: **Bodula-bafsa** (Youth centre (place)). Derivation: **dula** (sit/stay/live, verb), **bafsa** (youths, cl. 2, noun). Locative: No locative suffix. Diminutive: **Bodula-bafsana**.

Class 14: **Bodula-bahu** (Graveyard). Derivation: **dula** (sit/stay/live, verb), **bahu** (dead people, cl. 2, noun). Locative: No locative suffix. Diminutive: **Bodula-bahwana**.



Class 14: **Bodula-barutiši** (Teachers' residence). Derivation: **dula** (sit/stay/live, verb), **barutiši** (teachers, cl. 2, noun), derived from the causative verb **rutiša** (help to teach). Locative: No locative suffix. Diminutive: **Bodula-barutišinyana**.

Class 14/6: **Bodula-pese** (Madula-pese) (Bus depot). Derivation: **dula** (sit/stay/live, verb), **pese** (bus, cl. 9, noun). Locative: No locative suffix. Diminutive: **Bodula-pesana**.

Class 14/6: **Boema-fofane** (Maema-fofane) (Airport). Derivation: **ema** (stop/stand, verb), **-fofane** without its prefix (aeroplane, cl. 7, noun). Locative: No locative suffix. Diminutive: **Boema-fofanenyana**.

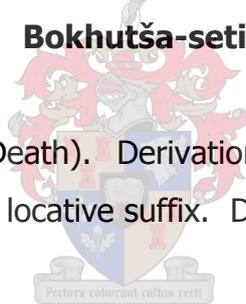
Class 14/6: **Boema-dikepe** (Maema-dikepe) (Seaport). Derivation: **ema** (stop/stand, verb), **dikepe** (ships/boats, cl. 8, noun). Locative: No locative suffix. Diminutive: **Boema-diketswana**.

Class 14/6: **Boema-dipese** (Maema-dipese) (Bus stop). Derivation: **ema** (stop/stand, verb), **dipese** (buses, cl. 10, noun). Locative: No locative suffix. Diminutive: **Boema-dipesana**.

Class 14/6: **Bofula-kgomo** (Mafula-dikgomo) (Place where cattle graze). Derivation: **fula** (graze, verb), **kgomo** (head of cattle, cl. 9, noun). Locative: No locative suffix. Diminutive: **Bofula-kgongwana**.

Class 14/6: **Bokhutša-setimela** (Makhutša-ditimela) ((Railway) halt). Derivation: **khutša** (rest, verb), **setimela** (train, cl. 7, noun). Locative: No locative suffix. Diminutive: **Bokhutša-setimelana**.

Class 14: **Boya-batho** (Death). Derivation: **ya** (go, verb), **batho** (people, cl. 2, noun). Locative: No locative suffix. Diminutive: **Boya-bathwana**.



Exocentric compounds

(63) Class 14: **Bolla-noto** (Praise name for Phalaborwa mine). Derivation: **lla** (cry, verb), **noto** (hammer, cl. 9, noun). Locative: No locative suffix. Diminutive: **Bolla-notwana**.

Class 14/6: **Bowa-tshepe** (Mawa-tshepe) (Where important occasion has taken place). Derivation: **wa** (fall/be bankrupt, verb), **tshepe** (unreliable person, cl. 9, noun). Locative: No locative suffix. Diminutive: **Bowa-tshetswana**.

4.2.4.4. Table of compounds

Endocentric compounds

(64)	Noun	Pl.	Deriv.	Morph.				Loc.	Dim.	SFeat.
				AF	V	AF	R			
1	Modula-humo	2	1[V [N(5)]]	+	+	-	+	+(N2)	+(N2)	Human
2	Modula-noši	2	1[V [N(Q)]]	+	+	+	+	+(N2)	+(N2)	Human
3	Modula-setulo	2+8	1[V [N(7)]]	+	+	+	+	+(N2)	+(N2)	Human
4	Mofologa-thaba	2	1[V [N(9)]]	+	+	+	+	+(N2)	+(N2)	Human
5	Motšwa-dipale	2	1[V [N(10)]]	+	+	+	+	+(N2)	+(N2)	Human
6	Moya-rato	2	1[V [N(5)]]	+	+	-	+	+(N2)	+(N2)	Human
7	Sefela-pelwana	8	7[V [N(9)]]	+	+	+	+	+(N2)	-	Human
8	Sehwa-lete	8	7[V [N(3)]]	+	+	-	+	+(N2)	+(N2)	Place
9	Sekhora-bophelo	8	7[V [N(14)]]	+	+	+	+	+(N2)	+(N2)	Human
10	Seopa-hlogwana	8	7[V [N(9)]]	+	+	+	+	+(N2)	-	Illness
11	Serepha-molomo	8+4	7[V [N(3)]]	+	+	+	+	+(N2)	+(N2)	Human
12	Sesepela-bošego	8	7[V [N(14)]]	+	+	+	+	+(N2)	+(N2)	Human
13	Setla-boima	8	7[V [N(14)]]	+	+	+	+	+(N2)	+(N2)	Cognition
14	Setla-bonyane	8	7[V [N(14)]]	+	+	+	+	+(N2)	+(N2)	Cognition
15	Setšwa-bothukhu	8	7[V [N(14)]]	+	+	+	+	+(N2)	+(N2)	Human
16	Nka-sehlakahlaka	10+8	9[V [N(7)]]	+	+	+	+	+(N2)	+(N2)	Place
17	Pala-monwana	10	9[V [N(3)]]	+	+	+	+	+(N2)	+(N2)	Artif.
18	Thala-bodiba	10	9[V [N(14)]]	+	+	+	+	+(N2)	+(N2)	Animal
19	Bodula-bafsa	-	14[V [N(2)]]	+	+	+	+	-	+(N2)	Place
20	Bodula-bahu	-	14[V [N(2)]]	+	+	+	+	-	+(N2)	Place
21	Bodula-barutiši	-	14[V [N(2)]]	+	+	+	+	-	+(N2)	Place
22	Bodula-pese	6	14[V [N(9)]]	+	+	+	+	-	+(N2)	Place
23	Boema-fofane	6	14[V [N(7)]]	+	+	-	+	-	+(N2)	Place
24	Boema-dikepe	6	14[V [N(8)]]	+	+	+	+	-	+(N2)	Place
25	Boema-dipese	6	14[V [N(10)]]	+	+	+	+	-	+(N2)	Place
26	Bofula-kgomo	6+10	14[V [N(9)]]	+	+	+	+	-	+(N2)	Place
27	Bokhutša-setimela	6+8	14[V [N(7)]]	+	+	+	+	-	+(N2)	Place
28	Boya-batho	-	14[V [N(2)]]	+	+	+	+	-	+(N2)	Place

Exocentric compounds

(65)	Noun	Pl.	Deriv.	Morph.	Loc.	Dim.	SFeat.
				AF [V [AF R]]			
1	Molla-ngaka	2	1[V [N(9)]]	+ + + +	+(N2)	+(N2)	Human
2	Morotha-dinala	2	1[V [N(10)]]	+ + + +	+(N2)	+(N2)	Human
3	Modula-tšhwene	4	3[V [N(9)]]	+ + + +	+(N2)	+(N2)	Plant
4	Molala-kgwedi	4	3[V [N(9)]]	+ + + +	+(N2)	+(N2)	Plant
5	Molala-noga	4	3[V [N(9)]]	+ + + +	+(N2)	+(N2)	Plant
6	Molala-tladi	4	3[V [N(9)]]	+ + + +	+(N2)	+(N2)	Nat. phen.
7	Motla-kgomo	4	3[V [N(9)]]	+ + + +	+(N2)	+(N2)	Animal
8	Lella-kwana	6	5[V [N(9)]]	+ + + +	+(N2)	-	Animal
9	Lešita-phiri	6	5[V [N(9)]]	+ + + +	+(N2)	+(N2)	Body part
10	Maora-hlolo	-	6[V [N(9)]]	+ + + +	+(N2)	+(N2)	State
11	Tšwa-melora	10	9[V [N(4)]]	+ + + +	+(N2)	+(N2)	Human
12	Bolla-noto	-	14[V [N(9)]]	+ + + +	-	+(N2)	Place
13	Bowa-tshepe	6	14[V [N(9)]]	+ + + +	-	+(N2)	Place

4.2.5 Intransitive verb with a locative noun with -eng

4.2.5.1 Morphological structure

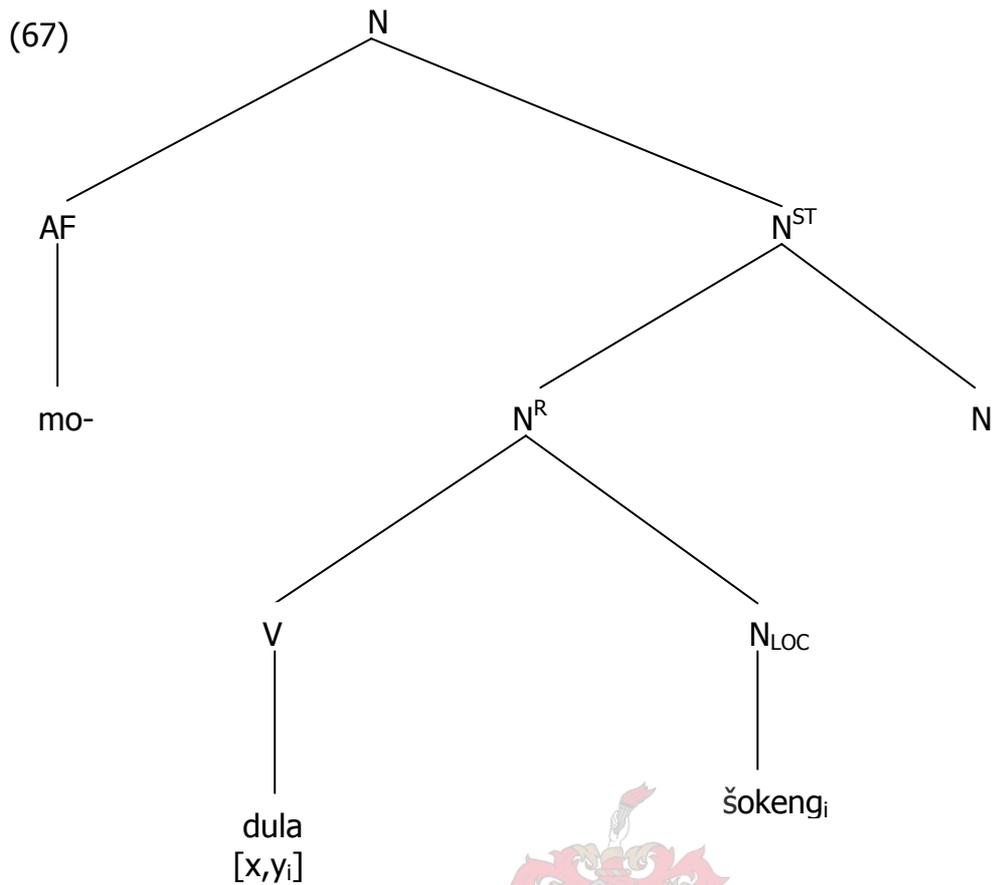
There are two structures depending on whether the locative noun represents the y-argument or an adjunct.

a. The locative noun represents the y-argument

ARGSTR = [ARG 1 = x]

[ARG 2 = y]

(66) [Modula-šokeng] (Hobo/tramp)



Compound noun: [AF-[V-N_{LOC}]
[mo-[dula-šokeng] (hobo/tramp)



The verb **dula** above has two arguments. These are [x] and [y] arguments. The [x] argument always represents the external argument which takes up the subject position. The [y] argument is the one that always represents the internal argument in a clause, e.g.:

(68) [Mošemane [o-dula šokeng]
'The boy stays in the bush'

The [x] argument in the structure above is not assigned to any position.

The noun class prefix in the compound noun above has three important roles that it plays:

- a. The prefix is the head of the compound and it determines the noun class of the compound, i.e., class 1 (**mo-**).
- b. The noun class prefix controls the [x] argument of **dula**. In this case, this argument is then no longer available for assignment to any position.
- c. This prefix determines the semantic feature of the compound noun as well. In this case, the compound shows two features:
 - (i) Human, from the prefix **mo-** of class 1.
 - (ii) Location, from the reference of the locative noun **-šokeng**. The two features above are combined in the meaning of the compound; a **person** in a certain **place**.

This reference is, thus, determined in conjunction with the reference of the complement of the prefix. The following clause can be taken into consideration:

- (69) Ke [motho] yo-a-dulago [-šokeng]
'It is the person who stays in the bush'

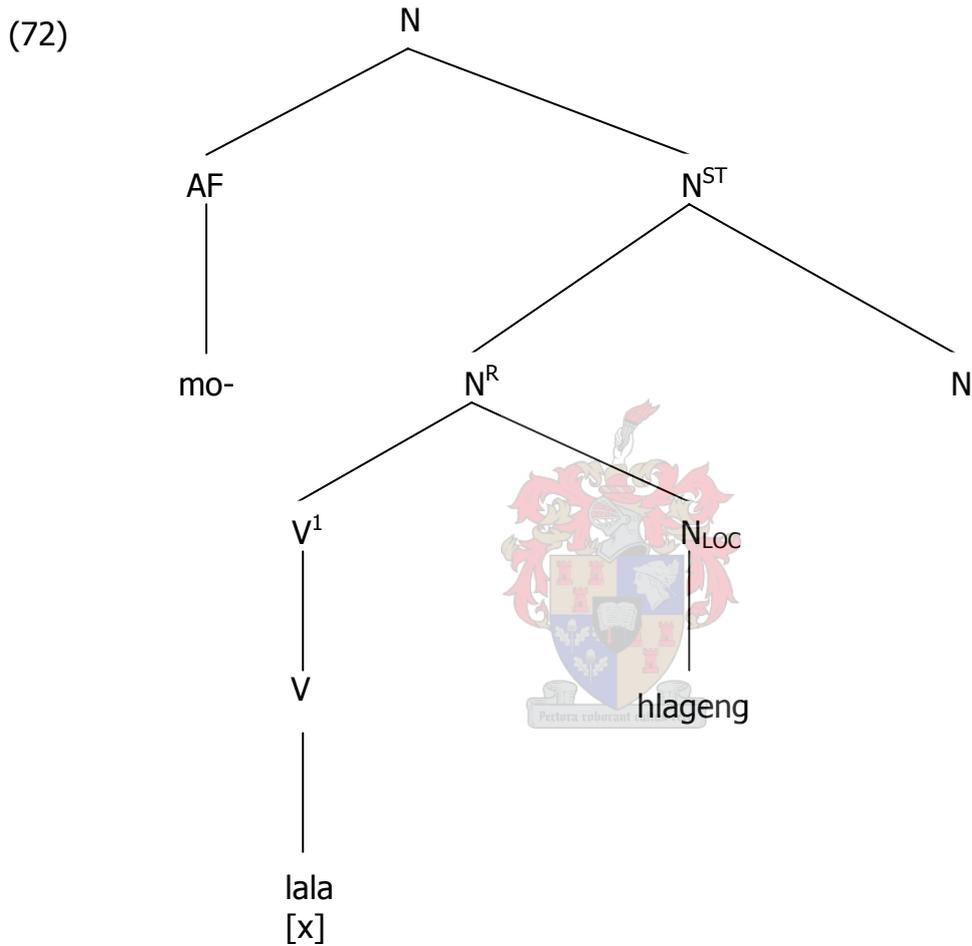
Other examples of compound nouns with the similar structure as above are given below as well as the semantic feature of the noun as determined by the prefix of the compound:

- (70) **Humans:** [mo-[dula-tagong] (saint/angel)
[mo-[sepela-mawatleng] (navigator/mariner)
- Body part:** [se-[dula-bjokong] (that which sits/stays/lives in the brain/head)
- Communication:** [se-[ya-kgatišong] (manuscript)
- Food:** [se-[tšwa-leeng] (that which comes from the egg)
[se-[tšwa-phoofolong] (animal product)
[se-[ya-maleng] (food)
- Artifact:** [se-[ya-bathong] (one's best)
- Place:** [bo-[dula-thuding] (place to sit at the verandah/place to sit of a person who butts or repairs)

b. The locative noun represents an adjunct

ARGSTR = [ARG 1 = x]
 [Adjunct = y]

(71) [Molala-hlageng] (Person of no fixed abode)



Compound noun: [AF-[V¹-N_{LOC}]
 [mo-[lala-hlageng] (person of no fixed abode)

In the structure above, the verb **lala** has one argument, i.e., [x]. This argument represents the external argument that is assigned to the NP in the subject position of a clause via a rule of predication. In the compound above, the [x] argument of **lala** is not assigned but it is controlled by the prefix **mo-**. The N_{LOC} may feature as the head noun in the NP_{LOC}:

- (73) [Monna [o-lala hlageng]
'The person sleeps in the long grass'

The locative noun above is an adjunct.

The noun class prefix **mo-** has to be affixed to the verb **lala**. This noun class prefix represents the head of the compound noun. It also determines the semantic feature of this compound noun, i.e., [**human**].

Some examples of compound nouns with the same structure as above are given below and also the semantic feature of the noun as determined by the prefix of the compound:

- (74) **Humans:** [se-[hlwa-ntlong] (one who stays at home)
[se-[hlwa-šokeng] (one who spends the day in the bush)
[se-[hlwa-sedibelong] (one with a light complexion (as if he/she spends his/her time with a pot of fat))
- Plant:** [se-[mela-meetseng] (algae)



4.2.5.2 Nominal suffixes

The augmentative suffix -gadi

This suffix **-gadi** cannot be affixed to the first constituent part of the compound noun but only to the second constituent part which is a locative noun. Consider the following examples:

- (75) a. Sedula-bjokong-+-**gadi** (Big thing which sits/stays/lives in the brain/head)
b. Semela-meetseng-+-**gadi** (Big algae)
c. Setšwa-phoofolong-+-**gadi** (Big animal product)
d. Seya-kgatišong-+-**gadi** (Big manuscript)

- e. Bodula-thuding-+-**gadi** (Big place to sit at the verandah/big place to sit of a person who butts or repairs)

The diminutive suffix -ana

The diminutive suffix **-ana** can also be affixed to the locative nouns to express diminution. In the following examples, the diminutive suffix **-ana** appears before the locative suffix:

- (76) a. Sedula-bjokw-+-**an**-eng (Small thing which sits/stays/lives in the brain/head)
b. Semela-meets-+-**an**-eng (Small algae)
c. Setšwa-phoofolw-+-**an**-eng (Small animal product)
d. Seya-mal-+-**an**-eng (Small food)
e. Bodula-thutš-+-**an**-eng (Small place to sit at the verandah/small place to sit of a person who but repairs)

The locative suffix -eng

Northern Sotho does not allow two similar suffixes to follow one another in a compound noun or any other part of speech in the language. In this case, the locative suffix **-eng** of the locative compound noun cannot appear with another locative suffix **-eng** to express location. Such a combination of affixation is ungrammatical and unacceptable as in the following examples:

- (77) a. *Sedula-bjokong-+-**eng**
b. *Semela-meetseng-+-**eng**
c. *Setšwa-phoofolong-+-**eng**
d. *Seya-maleng-+-**eng**
e. *Bodula-thuding-+-**eng**

4.2.5.3 Semantic features

The aim of this section is to classify the compound nouns semantically into humans, plant, body part, communication, food, artifact and place.

Humans

Endocentric compounds

(78) Class 1a/2a: **Sehlwa-ntlong** (Bosehlwa-ntlong) (One who stays at home). Derivation: **hlwa** (spend the day, intransitive verb), **ntlong** (in/to/near the house, cl. 9, locative noun). Locative: No locative suffix. Diminutive: **Sehlwa-ntlwaneng**.

Class 1a/2a: **Sehlwa-šokeng** (Bosehlwa-šokeng) (One who spends the day in the bush). Derivation: **hlwa** (spend the day, intransitive verb), **-šokeng** without its prefix (in/to/near the bush, cl. 5, locative noun). Locative: No locative suffix. Diminutive: **Sehlwa-šokaneng**.

Class 1/2: **Modula-šokeng** (Badula-šokeng) (Hobo/tramp). Derivation: **dula** (sit/stay/live, intransitive verb), **-šokeng** without its prefix (in/to/near the bush, cl. 5, locative noun). Locative: No locative suffix. Diminutive: **Modula-šokaneng**.

Class 1/2: **Modula-tagong** (Badula-tagong) (Saint/angel). Derivation: **dula** (sit/stay/live, intransitive verb), **-tagong** without its prefix (in the brightness, cl. 5, locative noun). Locative: No locative suffix. Diminutive: **Modula-tagwaneng**.

Class 1/2: **Mosepela-mawatleng** (Basepela-mawatleng) (Navigator/mariner). Derivation: **sepela** (walk, intransitive verb), **mawatleng**

(in/to/near the seas, cl. 6, locative noun). Locative: No locative suffix.
Diminutive: **Mosepela-mawatlaneng**.

Class 1/2: **Molala-hlageng** (Balala-hlageng) (Person of no fixed abode).
Derivation: **lala** (lie down and sleep, intransitive verb), **hlageng** (in/to/near the long grass, cl. 9, locative noun). Locative: No locative suffix. Diminutive: **Molala-hlaganeng**.

Exocentric compound

(79) Class 7/8: **Sehlwa-sedibelong** (Dihlwa-sedibelong) (One with a light complexion (as if he/she spends his/her time with a pot of fat)). Derivation: **hlwa** (spend the day, intransitive verb), **sedibelong** (in/to/near the container for keeping fat/small clay-pot (for beer), cl. 7, locative noun). Locative: No locative suffix. Diminutive: **Sehlwa-sedibelwaneng**.

Plant

Endocentric compound



(80) Class 7/8: **Semela-meetseng** (Dimela-meetseng) (Algae). Derivation: **mela** (germinate, intransitive verb), **meetseng** (in/to/near the water, cl. 6, locative noun). Locative: No locative suffix. Diminutive: **Semela-meetsaneng**.

Body part

Endocentric compound

(81) Class 7/8: **Sedula-bjokong** (Didula-bjokong) (That which sits/stays/lives in the brain/head). Derivation: **dula** (sit/stay/live, intransitive verb), **bjokong** (in the brain, cl. 14, locative noun). Locative: No locative suffix. Diminutive: **Sedula-bjokwaneng**.

Communication

Endocentric compound

- (82) Class 7/8: **Seya-kgatišong** (Diya-kgatišong) (Manuscript). Derivation: **ya** (go, intransitive verb), **kgatišong** (to/near the printing press, cl. 9, locative noun). Locative: No locative suffix. Diminutive: **Seya-kgatišwaneng**.

Food

Endocentric compounds

- (83) Class 7/8: **Setšwa-leeng** (Ditšwa-leeng) (That which comes from the egg). Derivation: **tšwa** (come out, intransitive verb), **leeng** (in/to/near the egg, cl. 5, locative noun). Locative: No locative suffix. Diminutive: **Setšwa-leaneng**.

Class 7/8: **Setšwa-phoofolong** (Ditšwa-phoofolong) (Animal product). Derivation: **tšwa** (come out, intransitive verb), **phoofolong** (in/to/near an animal, cl. 9, locative noun). Locative: No locative suffix. Diminutive: **Setšwa-phoofolwaneng**.

Class 7/8: **Seya-maleng** (Diya-maleng) (Food). Derivation: **ya** (go, intransitive verb), **maleng** (in/to/near the intestines, cl. 6, locative noun). Locative: No locative suffix. Diminutive: **Seya-malaneng**.

Artifact

Endocentric compound

- (84) Class 7/8: **Seya-bathong** (Diya-bathong) (One's best). Derivation: **ya** (go, intransitive verb), **bathong** (to/near the people, cl. 2, locative noun). Locative: No locative suffix. Diminutive: **Seya-bathwaneng**.

Place

Endocentric compound

(85) Class 14: **Bodula-thuding** (Place to sit at the verandah/place to sit of a person who butts or repairs). Derivation: **dula** (sit/stay/live, intransitive verb), **-thuding** without its prefix (at/near the verandah/stoop with roof, cl. 5, locative noun). Locative: No locative suffix. Diminutive: **Bodula-thutšaneng**.

4.2.5.4 Table of compounds

Endocentric compounds

(86)	Noun	Pl.	Deriv.	Morph.	Loc.	Dim.	SFeat.
				AF [V [AF-N-eng]]			
1	Sehlwa-ntlong	2a	1a[V[LOC]]	+ + + +	-	+(N2)	Human
2	Sehlwa-šokeng	2a	1a[V[LOC]]	+ + - +	-	+(N2)	Human
3	Modula-šokeng	2	1[V[LOC]]	+ + - +	-	+(N2)	Human
4	Modula-tagong	2	1[V[LOC]]	+ + - +	-	+(N2)	Human
5	Mosepela-mawatleng	2	1[V[LOC]]	+ + + +	-	+(N2)	Human
6	Molala-hlageng	2	1[V[LOC]]	+ + + +	-	+(N2)	Human
7	Sedula-bjokong	8	7[V[LOC]]	+ + + +	-	+(N2)	Body part
8	Semela-meetseng	8	7[V[LOC]]	+ + + +	-	+(N2)	Plant
9	Setšwa-leeng	8	7[V[LOC]]	+ + + +	-	+(N2)	Food
10	Setšwa-phoofolong	8	7[V[LOC]]	+ + + +	-	+(N2)	Food
11	Seya-bathong	8	7[V[LOC]]	+ + + +	-	+(N2)	Artif.
12	Seya-kgatišong	8	7[V[LOC]]	+ + + +	-	+(N2)	Communic.
13	Seya-maleng	8	7[V[LOC]]	+ + + +	-	+(N2)	Food
14	Bodula-thuding	-	14[V[LOC]]	+ + - +	-	+(N2)	Place

Exocentric compound

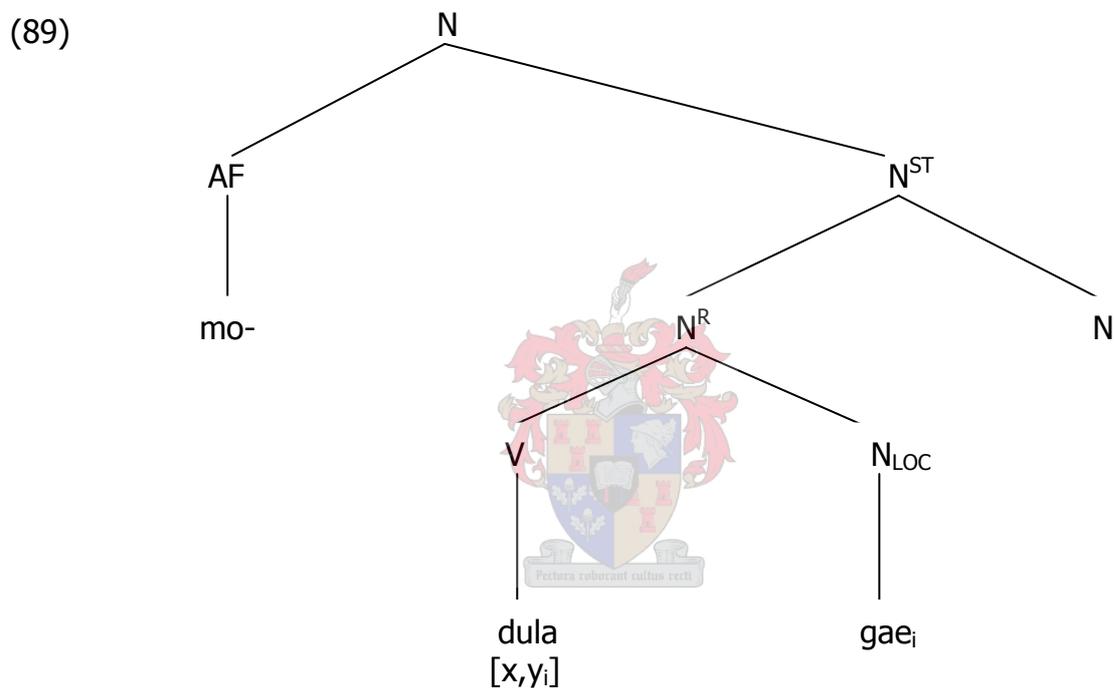
(87)	Noun	Pl.	Deriv.	Morph.	Loc.	Dim.	SFeat.
				AF [V [AF-N-eng]]			
	Sehlwa-sedibelong	8	7[V [LOC]]	+ + + +	-	+(N2)	Human

4.2.6 Intransitive verb with a locative class noun

4.2.6.1 Morphological structure

The morphological structure of compound nouns with locative class nouns is the same as the structure that appears in paragraph 4.2.5 (a) above:

(88) [Modula-gae] (One who stays at home)



Compound noun: [AF-[V-N_{LOC}]
[mo-[dula-gae] (one who stays at home)

The locative class prefixes no longer function in Northern Sotho. Remnants of these old prefixes may be regarded as fossilized. Examples of these nouns include the following: **fase, kgole, morago, pele, gare, tlase, godimo, kgauswi.**

Such compound as above may also appear with a root **ma-**:

- (90) Malala-ntle [ma-lala-ntle] (outside sleep)
Matšwa-godimo [ma-tšwa-godimo] (unexpected things)

4.2.6.2 Nominal suffixes

The augmentative suffix **-gadi**

This suffix is attached to the second constituent part of the compound, i.e., the locative, as in the following examples:

- (91) a. Motšwa-teng-+-**gadi** (Big still-born calf)
b. Sewa-godimo-+-**gadi** (Big unexpected thing)
c. Keta-pele-+-**gadi** (Long preface)
d. Ditla-morago-+-**gadi** (Serious consequences/results)
e. Boeta-pele-+-**gadi** (Big leadership)

The diminutive suffix **-ana**

Like the augmentative suffix **-gadi**, the suffix **-ana** can also be attached to the second constituent part of the compound noun which is the locative:

- (92) a. Setšwa-godingw-+-**ana** (Small unexpected thing)
b. Sewa-godingw-+-**ana** (Small unexpected thing)
c. Keta-pej-+-**ana** (Short preface)
d. Ditla-moragw-+-**ana** (Not serious consequences/results)
e. Boeta-pej-+-**ana** (Small leadership)

The locative suffix **-eng**

The locative suffix **-eng** is the only one in this section which cannot be affixed to the compounds formed by intransitive verbs and locatives. The reason for this is that the locative class noun cannot be followed by the locative suffix. The nouns are

locatives by nature. If affixation takes place, the compound nouns will be regarded ungrammatical and, therefore, will not be acceptable as in the following examples:

- (93) a. *Setšwa-godimo-+-ng
b. *Sewa-godimo-+-ng
c. *Keta-pele-+-ng
d. *Ditla-morago-+-ng
e. *Boeta-pele-+-ng

4.2.6.3 Semantic features

Humans

Endocentric compounds

(94) Class 1/2: **Modula-gae** (Badula-gae) (One who stays at home). Derivation: **dula** (sit/stay/live, intransitive verb), **gae** (home, locative noun). Locative: No locative suffix. Diminutive: **Modula-gaenyana**.

Class 1/2: **Modula-thoko** (Badula-thoko) (Unsociable person). Derivation: **dula** (sit/stay/live, intransitive verb), **thoko** (aside, locative noun). Locative: No locative suffix. Diminutive: **Modula-thokwana**.

Class 1/2: **Moeta-pele** (Baeta-pele) (Leader). Derivation: **eta** (go visiting/travel, intransitive verb), **pele** (in front, locative noun). Locative: No locative suffix. Diminutive: **Moeta-pejana**.

Class 1/2: **Motloga-pele** (Batloga-pele) (One who leaves first). Derivation: **tloga** (leave, intransitive verb), **pele** (in front, locative noun). Locative: No locative suffix. Diminutive: **Motloga-pejana**.

Class 1/2: **Motšwa-kgole** (Batšwa-kgole) (Person who comes from far).
Derivation: **tšwa** (come out, intransitive verb), **kgole** (far, locative noun).
Locative: No locative suffix. Diminutive: **Motšwa-kgojana**.

Exocentric compound

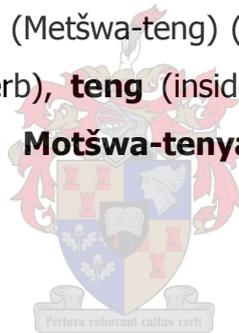
(95) Class 1a/2a: **Tuma-kgole** (BoTuma-kgole) (Name of a person). Derivation: **Tuma** (be famous, intransitive verb), **kgole** (far, locative noun). Locative: No locative suffix. Diminutive: **Tuma-kgojana**.

Animal

Endocentric compound

(96) Class 3/4: **Motšwa-teng** (Metšwa-teng) (Still-born calf). Derivation: **tšwa** (come out, intransitive verb), **teng** (inside, locative noun). Locative: No locative suffix. Diminutive: **Motšwa-tenyana**.

Natural objects



Endocentric compounds

(97) Class 7/8: **Setšwa-godimo** (Ditšwa-godimo) (Something unexpected).
Derivation: **tšwa** (come out, intransitive verb), **godimo** (up, locative noun).
Locative: No locative suffix. Diminutive: **Setšwa-godingwana**.

Class 7/8: **Sewa-godimo** (Diwa-godimo) (Something unexpected).
Derivation: **wa** (fall, intransitive verb), **godimo** (up, locative noun).
Locative: No locative suffix. Diminutive: **Sewa-godingwana**.

Communication

Endocentric compound

(98) Class 9/10: **Keta-pele** (Diketa-pele) (Preface). Derivation: **eta** (go visiting/travel, intransitive verb), **pele** (in front, locative noun). Locative: No locative suffix. Diminutive: **Keta-pejana**.

Cognition

Endocentric compound

(99) Class 10: **Ditla-morago** (Consequences/results). Derivation: **tla** (come, intransitive verb), **morago** (behind, cl. 18, locative noun). Locative: No locative suffix. Diminutive: **Ditla-moragwana**.

State

Endocentric compound



(100) Class 14: **Boeta-pele** (Leadership). Derivation: **eta** (go visiting/travel, intransitive verb), **pele** (in front, locative noun). Locative: No locative suffix. Diminutive: **Boeta-pejana**.

4.2.6.4 Table of compounds

Endocentric compounds

(101)	Noun	Pl.	Deriv.	Morph.	Loc.	Dim.	SFeat.
				AF [V [N_{Loc}]]			
1	Modula-gae	2	1[V [LOC.]]	+ + +	-	+(N2)	Human
2	Modula-thoko	2	1[V [LOC.]]	+ + +	-	+(N2)	Human
3	Moeta-pele	2	1[V [LOC.]]	+ + +	-	+(N2)	Human
4	Motloga-pele	2	1[V [LOC.]]	+ + +	-	+(N2)	Human
5	Motšwa-kgole	2	1[V [LOC.]]	+ + +	-	+(N2)	Human
6	Motšwa-teng	4	3[V [LOC.]]	+ + +	-	+(N2)	Animal
7	Setšwa-godimo	8	7[V [LOC.]]	+ + +	-	+(N2)	Nat. obj.
8	Sewa-godimo	8	7[V [LOC.]]	+ + +	-	+(N2)	Nat. obj.
9	Keta-pele	10	9[V [LOC.]]	+ + +	-	+(N2)	Communic.
10	Ditla-morago	-	10[V [LOC.]]	+ + +	-	+(N2)	Cognition
11	Boeta-pele	-	14[V [LOC.]]	+ + +	-	+(N2)	State

Exocentric compound

(102)	Noun	Pl.	Deriv.	Morph.	Loc.	Dim.	SFeat.
				AF [V [N_{Loc}]]			
	Tuma-kgole	2a	14[V [LOC.]]	+ + +	-	+(N2)	Human

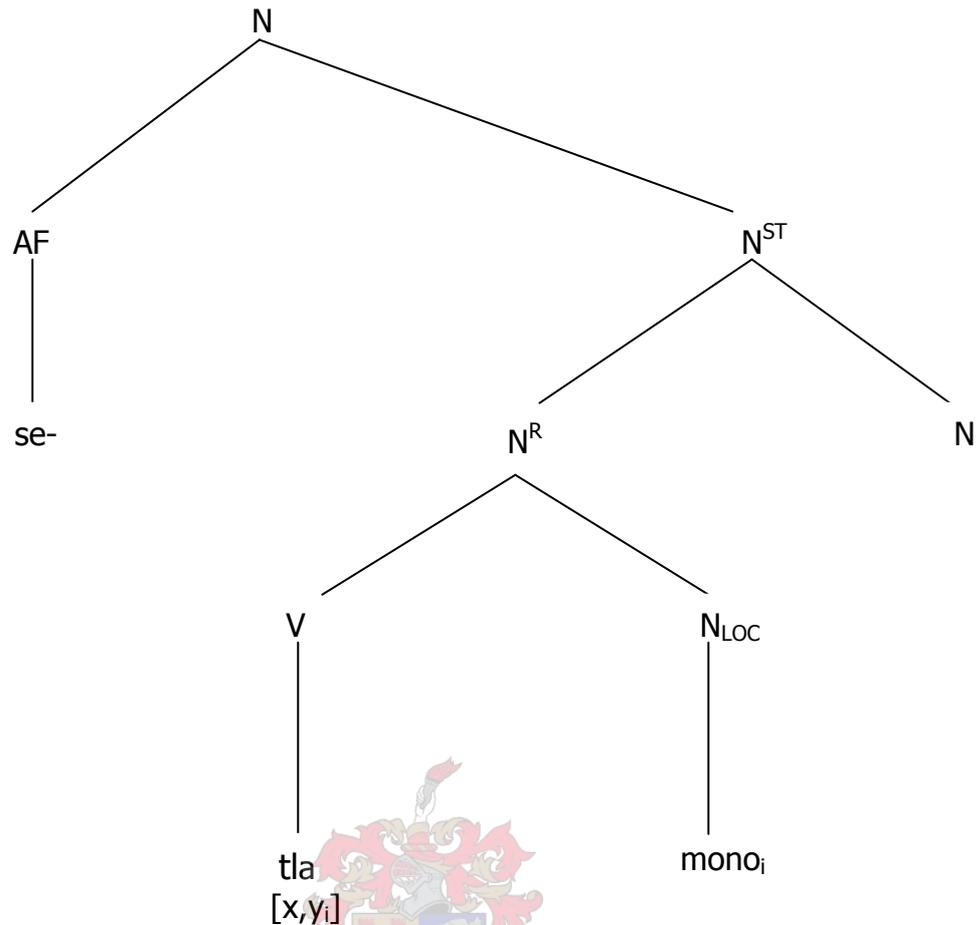
4.2.7 Intransitive verb with a locative demonstrative

4.2.7.1 Morphological structure

The morphological structure of the compound noun with a locative demonstrative is exactly the same as the structures which appear in paragraphs 4.2.5 (a) and 4.2.6 above:

(103) [Setla-mono] (Thing that comes here)

(104)



Compound noun: [AF-[V-N_{Loc}]
[se-[tla-mono] (thing that comes here)]

4.2.7.2 Nominal suffixes

The augmentative suffix **-gadi**

In the example below, the suffix **-gadi** may be affixed to the locative demonstrative without any restrictions:

(105) Setla-mono-+-**gadi** (Big thing that comes here)

The diminutive suffix **-nyana**

This suffix **-nyana** can as well be attached to the locative demonstrative without any limitations. The following example can be noted:

(106) Setla-mono-+-**nyana** (Small thing that comes here)

The locative suffix **-eng**

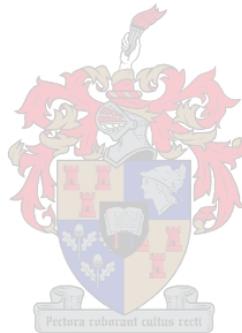
The locative suffix **-eng** cannot follow the locative demonstrative on the basis that this demonstrative has a locative character. If suffixation takes place, the compound noun will be grammatically incorrect as in the following example:

(107) *Setla-mono-+-**ng**

4.2.7.3 Semantic feature

Natural object

Endocentric compound

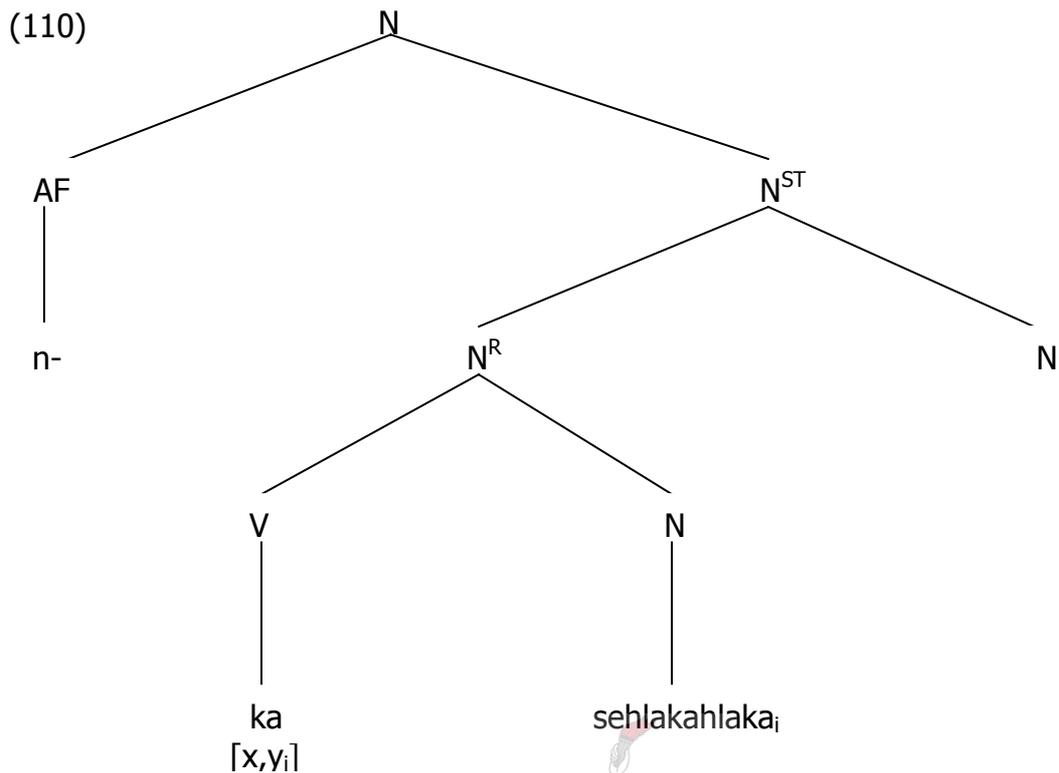


(108) Class 7/8: **Setla-mono** (Ditla-mono) (Thing that comes here). Derivation: **tla** (come, intransitive verb), **mono** (here, locative demonstrative). Locative: No locative suffix. Diminutive: **Setla-mononyana**.

4.2.8 Intransitive verb with a noun with a reference of comparison

4.2.8.1 Morphological structure

(109) [Nka-sehlakahlaka] (Peninsula)



Compound noun: [AF-[V-N]
[n-[ka-sehlakahlaka] (peninsula)

The verb **ka** has two arguments, i.e., [x] and [y]. The [x] argument represents the external argument and occupies the subject position while the [y] argument, which has the meaning of comparison, represents the internal argument, e.g.:

(111) [Lebala [le-nka sehlakahlaka]
'The open space is like a peninsula'

In the structure above, the [x] argument is not assigned to any position. It should have been assigned to N which is the complement of N^R. The [y] argument is assigned to the noun **sehlakahlaka** which is the complement of V. The argument is co-indexed by [_i].

The following characteristics of the prefix **n-** are important:

- a. The [x] argument of **ka** is controlled by the prefix **n-**.
- b. This prefix is the head of the compound noun.
- c. It determines the reference of the compound. It has a reference of place. The compound, thus, refers to a **place** which is like an **island** (i.e., the reference of comparison of the [y] argument).

4.2.8.2 Nominal suffixes

The augmentative suffix -gadi

(112) Nka-sehlakahlaka-+-**gadi** (Big peninsula)

The diminutive suffix -ana

(113) Nka-sehlakahlak-+-**ana** (Small peninsula)



The locative suffix -eng

(114) Nka-sehlakahlak-+-**eng** (In the peninsula)

4.2.9 Intransitive verb with PP with head ka

4.2.9.1 Morphological structure

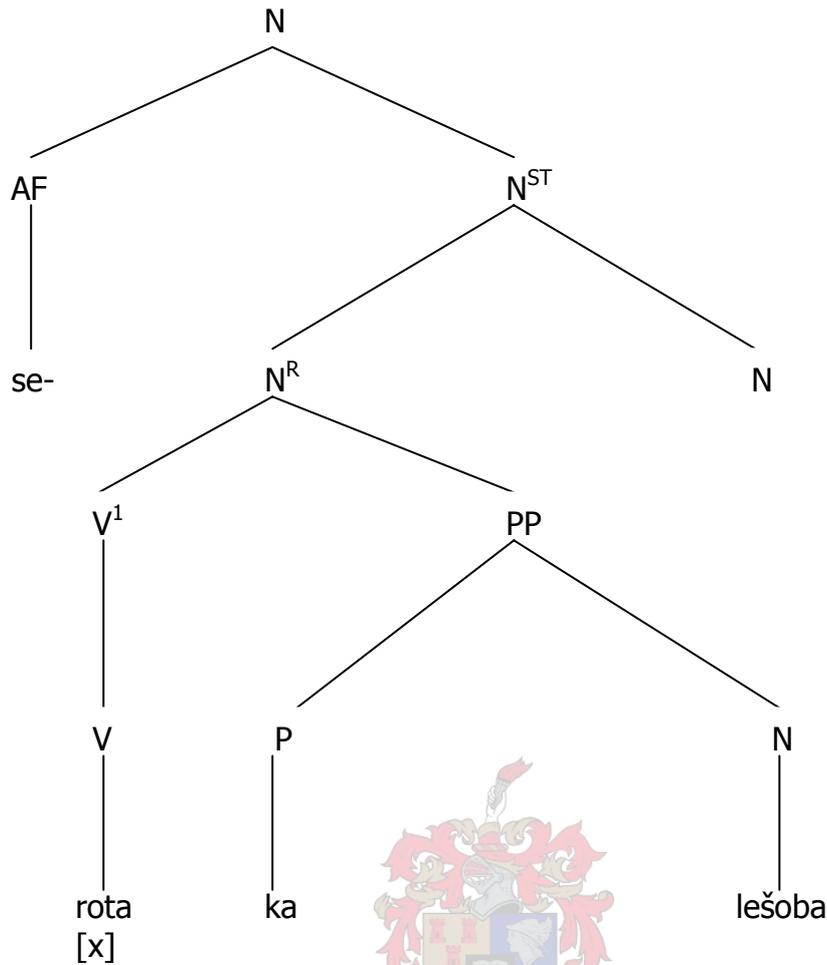
a. The verb has no internal argument

ARGSTR = [ARG 1 = x]

[D-ARG 1 = y]

(115) [Serota-ka-lešoba] (One who urinates through the hole)

(116)



Compound noun: [AF-[V¹-PN]

[se-[rota-ka-lešoba] (one who urinates through the hole)

The verb **rota** above has only one argument, i.e., [x]. This argument is usually assigned to the NP which occupies the external argument in a clause, i.e., in [motho [o rota ka lešoba]], the argument [x] will be assigned to **motho**. In this compound noun, the noun which should receive the [x] argument was not assigned to any argument: this noun, in the structure above, is represented by the [N]. Due to the fact that the [x] argument has not been assigned to any noun in the compound, it is still available.

The noun class prefix in the compound above has three different characteristics:

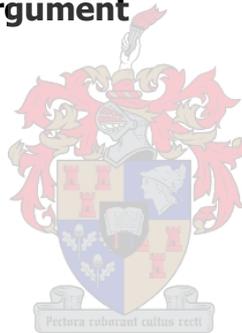
- a. The prefix **se-** is the head of the compound noun and it determines the noun class of the compound.
- b. It controls the [x] argument. In this case, this argument is then no longer available to any position.
- c. The prefix also determines the reference of the compound. It has a reference to **human**.

Other examples of compound nouns with the same structure as above are the following:

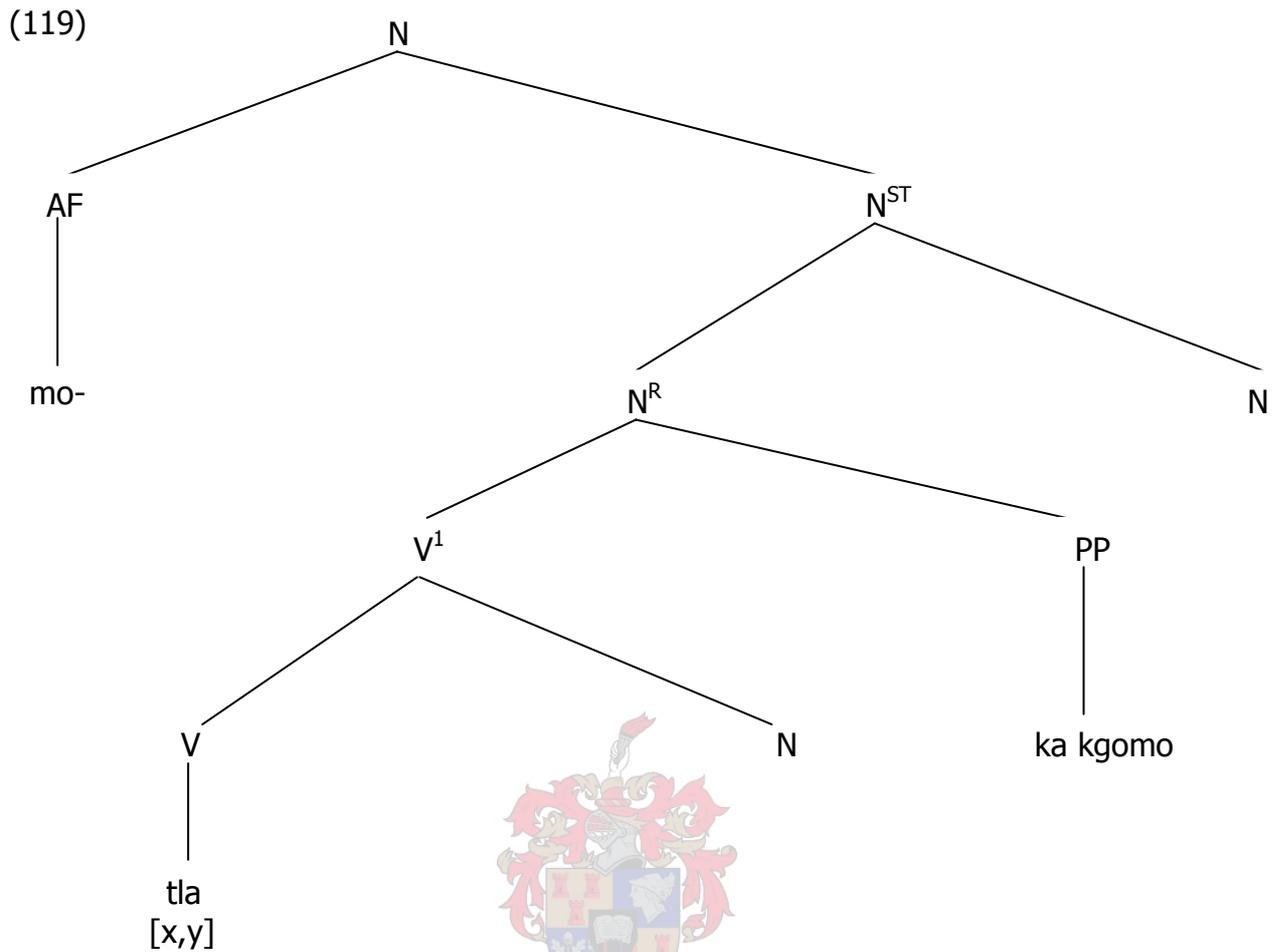
- (117) **Human:** [se-[šala-ka-thabeng] (one who remains in the mountain)
Animal: [n-[phela-ka-dingwe] (parasite)

b. The verb has an internal argument

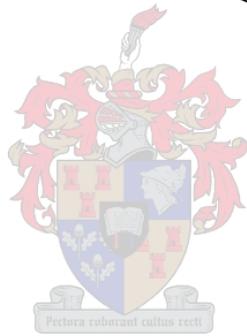
- ARGSTR = [ARG 1 = x]
 [ARG 2 = y]
 [D-ARG 1 = z]



- (118) [Motla-ka-kgomo] (Married woman)



Compound noun: [AF-[V¹-PN]
 [mo-[tla-ka-kgomo] (married woman)



In this structure, there are two arguments of the verb **tla**, i.e., [x] and [y]. None of these arguments are assigned to the two empty N positions in the structure above.

The prefix **mo-** has the following characteristics:

- a. It is the head of the compound noun.
- b. This prefix controls the [x] argument. This argument is then no longer available to any position.
- c. The semantic feature of the prefix is determined by this compound. It has a reference to **human**.

One other example of compound noun with the same structure as above is the following:

(120) **Human:** [mo-[tla-ka-molomo] (one who comes to talk)

4.2.9.2 Nominal suffixes

The augmentative suffix -gadi

- (121) a. Motla-ka-kgomo-+-**gadi** (Big married woman)
b. Motla-ka-molomo-+-**gadi** (Big one who comes to talk)
c. Seroto-ka-lešoba-+-**gadi** (Big one who urinates through the hole)
d. Sešala-ka-thabeng-+-**gadi** (Big one who remains in the mountain)
e. Phela-ka-dingwe-+-**gadi** (Big parasite)

The diminutive suffix -ana

- (122) a. Motla-ka-kgongw-+-**ana** (Small married woman)
b. Motla-ka-molongw-+-**ana** (Small one who comes to talk)
c. Serota-ka-lešob-+-**ana** (Small one who urinates through the hole)

This suffix, however, cannot be accommodated in all the compound nouns. The combination of this suffix and the compounds below is unavailable in the Northern Sotho language and is, therefore, not acceptable:

- (123) a. *Sešala-ka-thabeng-+-**ana**
b. *Phela-ka-dingw-+-**ana**

In the two compounds above, the first one is grammatically incorrect while the second one may be grammatically correct but unacceptable because the Northern Sotho people are not used to it.

The diminutive suffix -nyana

The suffix **-nyana** is the alternative of **-ana**. In the section above, the examples of compounds indicated by asterisks are unacceptable on the basis that they have the suffix **-ana** instead of **-nyana** as in the following cases:

- (124) a. Sešala-ka-thabeng-+-**nyana** (Small one who remains in the mountain)
b. Phela-ka-dingwe-+-**nyana** (Small parasite)

The examples of compounds above have accommodated the right diminutive suffix. The combination of these compounds and this suffix is grammatically correct and acceptable.

The locative suffix **-eng**

- (125) a. Motla-ka-kgomo-+-**ng** (The married woman)
b. Motla-ka-molomo-+-**ng** (The one who comes to talk)
c. Serota-ka-lešob-+-**eng** (The one who urinates through the hole)
d. Phela-ka-dingw-+-**eng** (The parasite)

In the examples above, the suffix **-eng** fits comfortably in the compound nouns. Not all the compound nouns can accept this suffix. As a rule, this locative suffix **-eng** cannot be affixed to the locative compound that also contains the same suffix. This will be rendered as the ill-formed combination as in the following example:

- (126) *Sešala-ka-thabeng-+-**eng**

4.2.9.3 Semantic features

Humans

Endocentric compounds

(127) Class 7/8: **Serota-ka-lešoba** (Dirota-ka-lešoba) (One who urinates through the hole). Derivation: **rota** (urinate, intransitive verb), **ka** (with, instrumental preposition), **lešoba** (hole, cl. 5, noun). Locative: **Serota-ka-lešobeng**. Diminutive: **Serota-ka-lešobana**.

Class 7/8: **Sešala-ka-thabeng** (Dišala-ka-thabeng) (One who remains in the mountain). Derivation: **šala** (remain, intransitive verb), **ka** (formative used before locatives), **thabeng** (on/in/near the mountain, cl. 9, locative noun). Locative: No locative suffix. Diminutive: **Sešala-ka-thabengnyana**.

Exocentric compounds

(128) Class 1/2: **Motla-ka-kgomo** (Batla-ka-kgomo) (Married woman). Derivation: **tla** (come, intransitive verb), **ka** (with, instrumental preposition), **kgomo** (head of cattle, cl. 9, noun). Locative: **Motla-ka-kgomong**. Diminutive: **Motla-ka-kgongwana**.

Class 1/2: **Motla-ka-molomo** (Batla-ka-molomo) (One who comes to talk). Derivation: **tla** (come, intransitive verb), **ka** (with, instrumental preposition), **molomo** (mouth, cl. 3, noun). Locative: **Motla-ka-molomong**. Diminutive: **Motla-ka-molongwana**.

Animal

Endocentric compound

(129) Class 9/10: **Phela-ka-dingwe** (Diphela-ka-dingwe) (Parasite). Derivation: **phela** (live, intransitive verb), **ka** (with, instrumental preposition), **dingwe** (others, numeral adjective). Locative: **Phela-ka-dingweng**. Diminutive: **Phela-ka- dingwenyana**.

4.2.9.4 Table of compounds

Endocentric compounds

(130)	Noun	Pl.	Deriv.	Morph.	Loc.	Dim.	SFeat.
				AF [V [ka-----]]			
1	Serota-ka-lešoba	8	7[V [PN]]	+ + ka N	+(N2)	+(N2)	Human
2	Sešala-ka-thabeng	8	7[V [PN _{Loc}]]	+ + ka N _{Loc}	-	+(N2)	Human
3	Phela-ka-dingwe	10	9[V [PN]]	+ + ka N	+(N2)	+(N2)	Animal

Exocentric compounds

(131)	Noun	Pl.	Deriv.	Morph.	Loc.	Dim.	SFeat.
				AF [V [ka-----]]			
1	Motla-ka-kgomo	2	1[V [PN]]	+ + ka N	+(N2)	+(N2)	Human
2	Motla-ka-molomo	2	1[V [PN]]	+ + ka N	+(N2)	+(N2)	Human

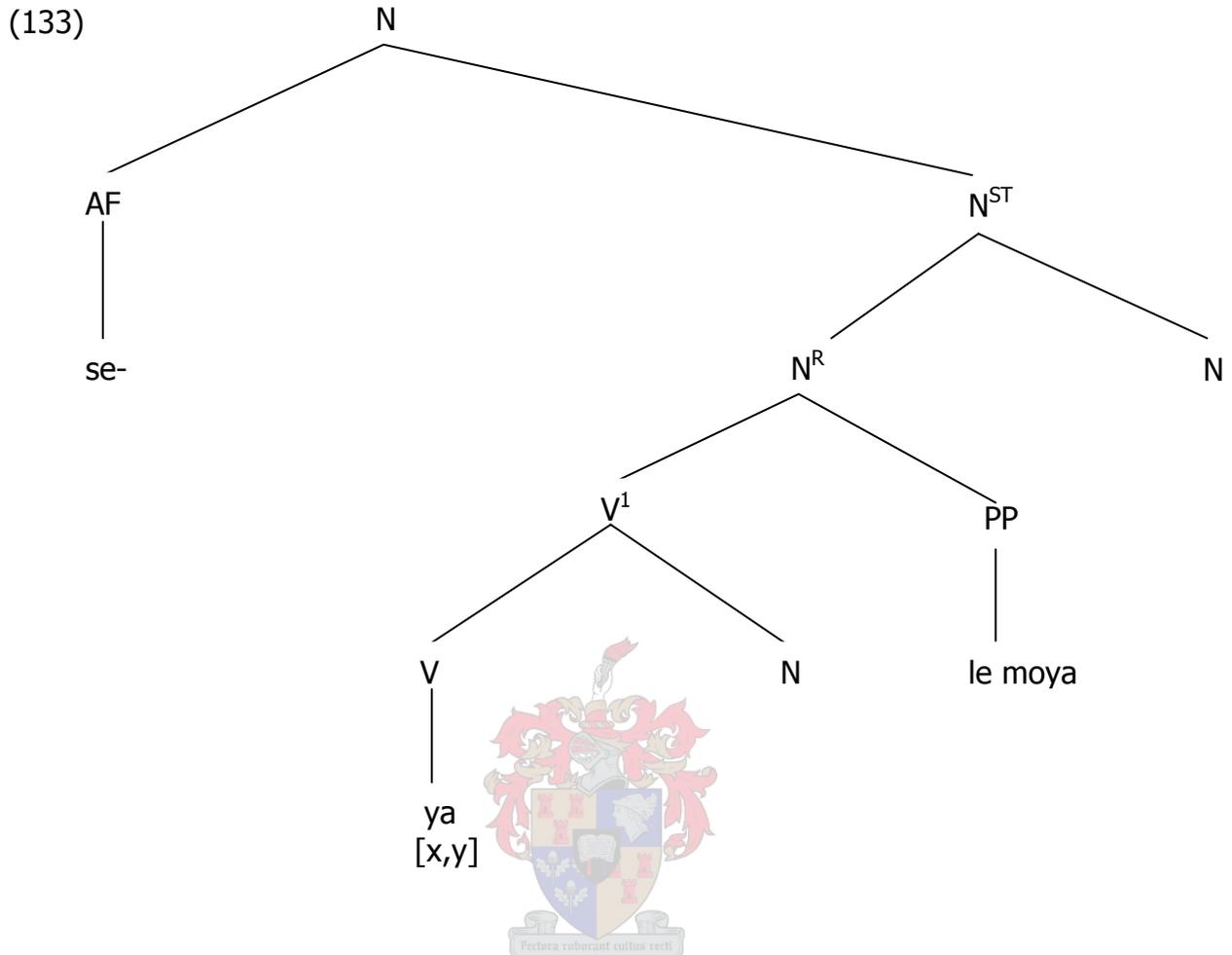
4.2.10 Intransitive verb with PP with head le

4.2.10.1 Morphological structure

Compounds with this PP have the same morphological structure as compounds with a PP with head **ka** with the following ARGSTR:

- ARGSTR = [ARG 1 = x]
- [ARG 2 = y]
- [D-ARG 1 = z]

(132) [Seya-le-moya] (Radio)



Compound noun: [AF-[V¹-PN]
[se-[ya-le-moya] (radio)

The verb **ya** in (133) has two arguments with a default argument which appears as a PP. The [x] and [y] arguments of the verb **ya** are not assigned to the two empty Ns in the structure above.

The prefix **se-** has the following properties:

- a. It is the head of the compound noun.
- b. It controls the [x] argument. This argument is then no longer available to any position.

- c. It determines the semantic feature of this compound. It has the reference to **artifact**.

The following examples of compound nouns have the same structure as above:

- (134) **Humans:** [mo-[tla-le-pula] (name of a person)
 [mo-[tla-nalo] (name of a person)
 [se-[hlwa-le-banenyana] ("one who is fond of staying with girls", i.e., a lazy herdboy)
 [mo-[ya-le-noka] (drowning person)
- Plant:** [se-[ba-le-meetse] (succulent)
- Communication:** [di-[tla-le-meso] (morning news)

4.2.10.2 Nominal suffixes

The augmentative suffix -gadi



- (135) a. Moya-le-noka-+-**gadi** (Big drowning person)
 b. Sehlwa-le-banenyana-+-**gadi** ("Big one who is fond of staying with girls", i.e., a big lazy herdboy)
 c. Seba-le-meetse-+-**gadi** (Big succulent)
 d. Seya-le-moya-+-**gadi** (Big radio)
 e. Ditla-le-meso-+-**gadi** (Big morning news)

The diminutive suffixes -ana/-nyana

- (136) a. Moya-le-nok-+-**ana** (Small drowning person)
 b. Sehlwa-le-banenyana-+-**nyana** ("Small one who is fond of staying with girls", i.e., a small lazy herdboy)
 c. Seba-le-meets-+-**ana** (Small succulent)
 d. Seya-le-moy-+-**ana** (Small radio)
 e. Ditla-le-mesw-+-**ana** (Small morning news)

The locative suffix -eng

The suffix **-eng** can indicate a place when it appears at the end of a compound as a whole. The following examples are, without any doubt, very common:

- (137) a. Moya-le-nok-+-**eng** (The drowning person)
b. Seba-le-meets-+-**eng** (The succulent)
c. Seya-le-moy-+-**eng** (The radio)
d. Ditla-le-meso-+-**ng** (The morning news)

4.2.10.3 Semantic features

Humans

Endocentric compounds

(138) Class 1a/2a: **Sehlwa-le-banenyana** (Bosehlwa-le-banenyana) ("One who is fond of staying with girls", i.e., a lazy herdboyc). Derivation: **hlwa** (spend the day/remain for a time, intransitive verb), **le** (with, associative preposition), **banenyana** (girls, cl. 2, noun). Locative: No locative suffix. Diminutive: **Sehlwa-le-banenyanyana**.

Class 1/2: **Moya-le-noka** (Baya-le-noka) (Drowning person). Derivation: **ya** (go, intransitive verb), **le** (with, associative preposition), **noka** (river, cl. 9, noun). Locative: **Moya-le-nokeng**. Diminutive: **Moya-le-nokana**.

Exocentric compounds

(139) Class 1a/2a: **Motla-le-pula** (BoMotla-le-pula) (Name of a person). Derivation: **tla** (come, intransitive verb), **le** (with, associative preposition), **pula** (rain, cl. 9, noun). Locative: No locative suffix. Diminutive: **Motla-le-pulana**.

Class 1a/2a: **Motla-nalo** (BoMotla-nalo) (Name of a person). Derivation: **tla** (come, intransitive verb), **nalo** (it, absolute pronoun of cl. 5). Locative: No locative suffix. Diminutive: **Motla-nalonyana**.

Plant

Endocentric compound

(140) Class 7/8: **Seba-le-meetse** (Diba-le-meetse) (Succulent). Derivation: **ba** (have, intransitive verb), **le** (with, associative preposition), **meetse** (water, cl. 6, noun). Locative: **Seba-le-meetseng**. Diminutive: **Seba-le-meetsana**.

Communication

Exocentric compound

(141) Class 10: **Ditla-le-meso** (Morning news). Derivation: **tla** (come, intransitive verb), **le** (with, associative preposition), **meso** (mornings, cl. 4, noun). Locative: **Ditla-le-mesong**. Diminutive: **Ditla-le-meswana**.



Artifact

Exocentric compound

(142) Class 7/8: **Seya-le-moya** (Diya-le-moya) (Radio). Derivation: **ya** (go, intransitive verb), **le** (with, associative preposition), **moya** (wind/air/spirit, cl. 3, noun). Locative: **Seya-le-moyeng**. Diminutive: **Seya-le-moyana**.

4.2.10.4 Table of compounds

Endocentric compounds

(143)	Noun	Pl.	Deriv.	Morph.	Loc.	Dim.	SFeat.
				AF [V [le-----]]			
1	Sehlwa-le-banenyana	2a	1a[V [PN]]	+ + le N	-	+(N2)	Human
2	Moya-le-noka	2	1[V [PN]]	+ + le N	+(N2)	+(N2)	Human
3	Seba-le-meetse	8	7[V [PN]]	+ + le N	+(N2)	+(N2)	Plant

Exocentric compounds

(144)	Noun	Pl.	Deriv.	Morph.	Loc.	Dim.	SFeat.
				AF [V [le-----]]			
1	Motla-le-pula	2a	1a[V [PN]]	+ + le N	-	+(N2)	Human
2	Motla-nalo	2a	1a[V [PN]]	+ + le N	-	+(N2)	Human
3	Seya-le-moya	8	7[V [PN]]	+ + le N	+(N2)	+(N2)	Artif.
4	Ditla-le-meso	-	10[V [PN]]	+ + le N	+(N2)	+(N2)	Communic.

4.2.11 Intransitive verbs with a complementizer phrase (CP)

4.2.11.1 Morphological structure

ARGSTR = [ARG 1 = x]

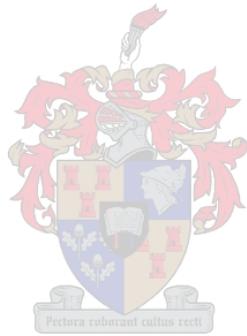
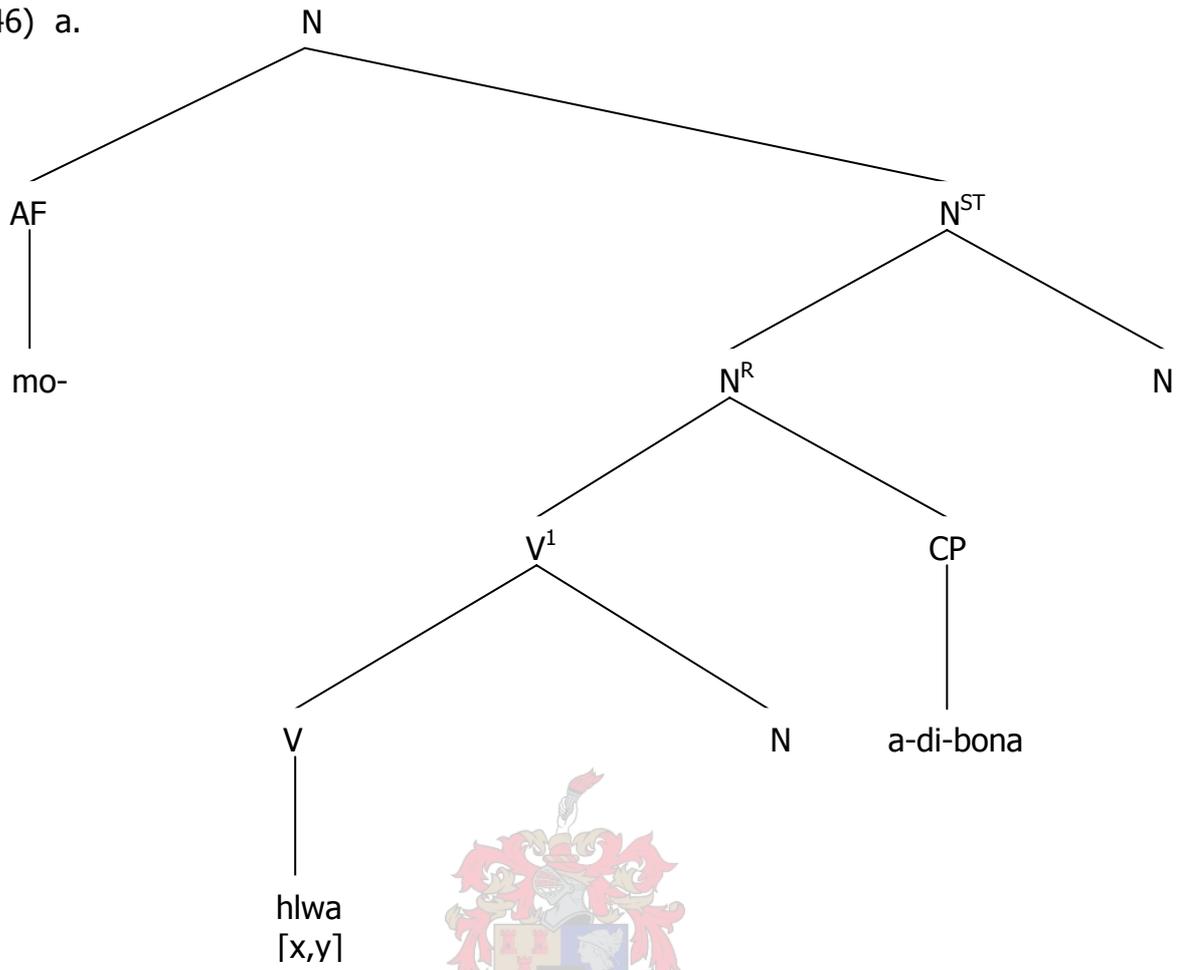
[ARG 2 = y]

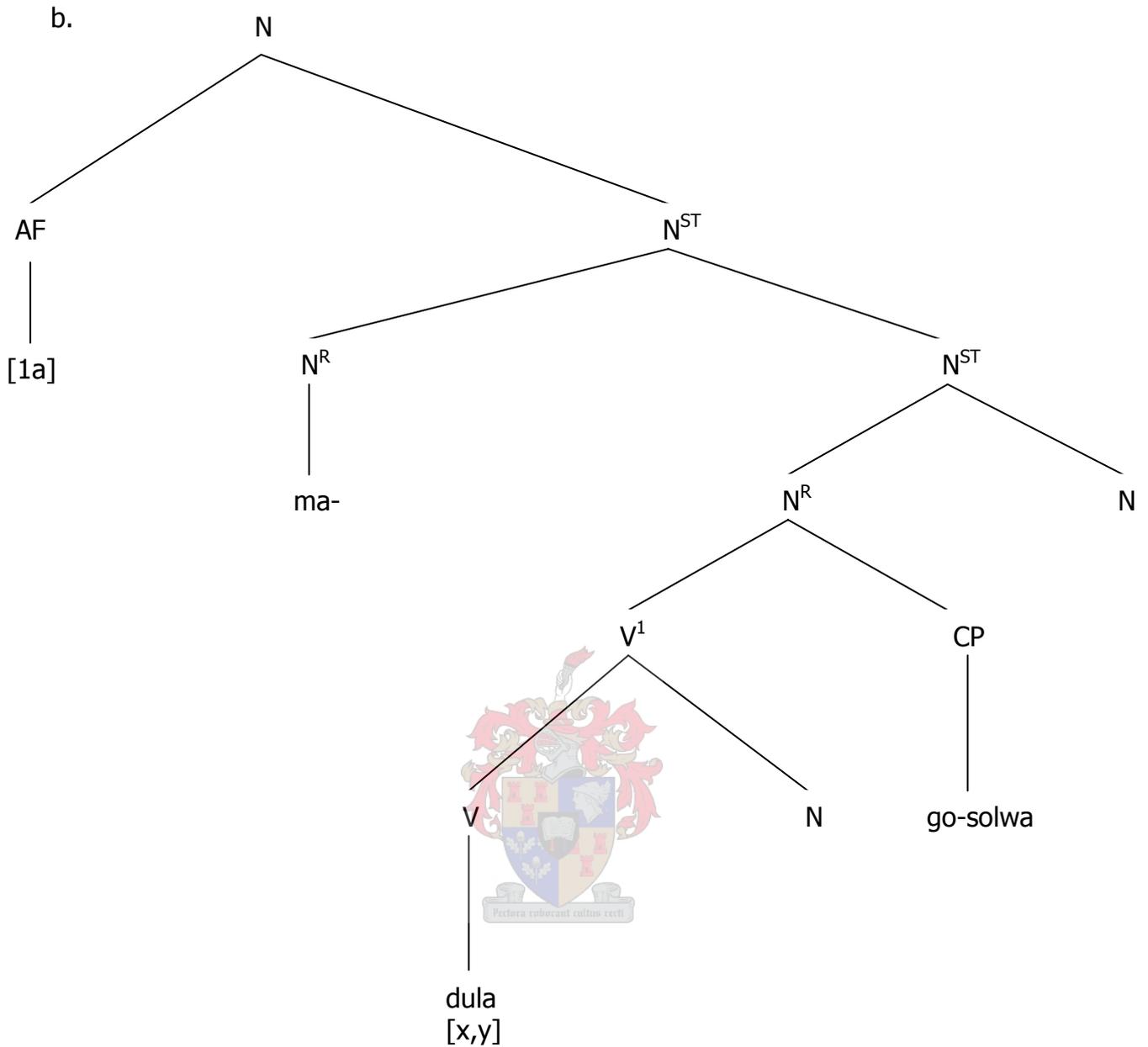
[ADJUNCT = 2]

(145) a. [Mohlwa-a-di-bona] (Person overtaken by misfortune)

b. [Madula-go-solwa] (One who sits when the food is ready)

(146) a.





- Compound nouns:
- a. [AF-[V¹-CP]
[mo-[hlwa-[a-di-bona] (person overtaken by misfortune)
 - b. [AF-[ma-[V¹-CP]
[ma-[dula-[go-solwa] (one who sits when the food is ready)

The morphological structures of the two compound nouns above are exactly the same except that the structure (b) has a root **ma-**, derived from the noun **mma**

which is in class 1a. This root **ma-** appears frequently in compound nouns like the one mentioned above.

The CP in these structures is an adjunct phrase. The [x] and [y] arguments are not assigned but the [x] argument is controlled by the prefix. The CP is a present participial clause but it may also be a perfect participial clause:

- (147) a. [Monna] yo-a-hlwago [a-di-bona]
 'The man who always sees them'
 b. [Ngwanenyana] yo-a-dulago [go-solwa]
 'The girl who usually sits when the food is ready'

Each noun class prefix in the compound nouns above has three different characteristics:

- a. The prefix is the head of the compound noun and it determines the noun class of the compound, i.e., class 1 (**mo-**) in (a), and class 1a in (b).
- b. The noun class prefix controls the [x] argument of **hlwa** and **dula**. In this case, this argument is then no longer available for assignment to any position.
- c. It determines the semantic feature of the compound noun. The prefix has a reference to **human**.

Some examples of compound nouns that share the same sentiments with the structure above are:

- (148) **Humans:** [ma-[hlwa-a-di-bona] (veteran)
 [ma-[hlwa-a-di-dira] (veteran)
 [ma-[ora-o-tuka] (parasite/chancer/opportunist)

4.2.11.2 Nominal suffixes

The augmentative suffix -gadi

- (149) a. Maora-o-tuka-+-**gadi** (Big parasite/chancer/opportunist)
b. Mohlwa-a-di-bona-+-**gadi** (Big person overtaken by misfortune)
c. Molwa-o-dutše-+-**gadi** (Big medicine believed to cause quarrels or unrest among tribes)
d. Sehlwa-se-eme-+-**gadi** (Big statue)
e. Diema-di-rile-+-**gadi** (Big thing/what-you-call-it)

The diminutive suffix -nyana

- (150) a. Maora-o-tuka-+-**nyana** (Small parasite/chancer/opportunist)
b. Mohlwa-a-di-bona-+-**nyana** (Small person overtaken by misfortune)
c. Molwa-o-dutše-+-**nyana** (Small medicine believed to cause quarrels or unrest among tribes)
d. Sehlwa-se-eme-+-**nyana** (Small statue)
e. Diema-di-rile-+-**nyana** (Small thing/what-you-call-it)

The locative suffix -eng

The position occupied by the augmentative and diminutive suffixes in the compound noun is different from the position occupied by the locative suffix. The locative suffix in the compound nouns below appears with the first verb:

- (151) a. Mohlw-+-**eng**-a-di-bona (The person overtaken by misfortune)
b. Molw-+-**eng**-o-dutše (The medicine believed to cause quarrels or unrest among tribes)
c. Sehlw-+-**eng**-se-eme (The statue)
d. Diem-+-**eng**-di-rile (The thing/what-you-call-it)

All the compound nouns that belong to class 1a cannot take the locative suffix:

- (152) a. *Madul-+-**eng**-go-solwa
b. *Mafihl-+-**eng**-di-sotšwe
c. *Mahlw-+-**eng**-a-di-bona
d. *Maor-+-**eng**-o-tuka
e. *Matl-+-**eng**-di-fedile

4.2.11.3 Semantic features

Present participial clause

Human

Endocentric compound

(153) Class 1: **Mohlwa-a-di-bona** (Person overtaken by misfortune). Derivation: **hlwa** (spend the day/remain for a time, intransitive verb), **a** (AgrS of cl. 1), **di** (them/they, objectival concord), **bona** (see, verb). Locative: **Mohlweng-a-di-bona**. Diminutive: **Mohlwa-a-di-bonanyana**.

Present participial clauses (with ma-)

Humans

Endocentric compounds

(154) Class 1a/2a: **Madula-go-solwa** (Bomadula-go-solwa) (One who sits when the food is ready). Derivation: **dula** (sit/stay/live, intransitive verb), **go** (AgrS, existential), **solwa** (dished out/served up, passive verb). Locative: No locative suffix. Diminutive: **Madula-go-solwanyana**.

Class 1a/2a: **Mahlwa-a-di-bona** (Bomahlwa-a-di-bona) (Veteran).
Derivation: **hlwa** (spend the day/remain for a time, intransitive verb), **a** (AgrS of cl. 1a), **di** (them/they, objectival concord), **bona** (see, verb).
Locative: No locative suffix. Diminutive: **Mahlwa-a-di-bonanyana**.

Class: 1a/2a: **Mahlwa-a-di-dira** (Bomahlwa-a-di-dira) (Veteran).
Derivation: **hlwa** (spend the day/remain for a time, intransitive verb), **a** (AgrS of cl. 1a), **di** (them/they, objectival concord), **dira** (do, verb). Locative:
No locative suffix. Diminutive: **Mahlwa-a-di-diranyana**.

Exocentric compound

(155) Class 1a/2a: **Maora-o-tuka** (Bomaora-o-tuka) (Parasite/chancer/opportunist). Derivation: **ora** (warm oneself (at a fire)/bask (in the sun)), **o** (it, objectival concord), **tuka** (burn, verb). Locative: No locative suffix.
Diminutive: **Maora-o-tukanyana**.

Perfect participial clauses

Natural object

Exocentric compound

(156) Class 8: **Diema-di-rile** (Something/what-you-call-it). Derivation: **ema** (stand, intransitive verb), **di** (them/they, subjectival concord), **rile** (said, perfective verb). Locative: **Diemeng-di-rile**. Diminutive: **Diema-di-rilenyana**.



Culture

Exocentric compound

(157) Class 3/4: **Molwa-o-dutše** (Melwa-o-dutše) (Medicine believed to cause quarrels or unrest among tribes). Derivation: **lwa** (fight, intransitive verb), **o** (AgrS of cl. 3), **dutše** (seated, perfective verb). Locative: **Molweng-o-dutše**. Diminutive: **Molwa-o-dutšenyana**.

Artifact

Endocentric compound

(158) Class 7/8: **Sehlwa-se-eme** (Dihlwa-di-eme) (Statue). Derivation: **hlwa** (spend the day/remain for a time, intransitive verb), **se** (it, subjectival concord), **eme** (stood, perfective verb). Locative: **Sehlweng-se-eme**. Diminutive: **Sehlwa-se-emenyana**.

Perfect participial clauses with (ma-)



Humans

Endocentric compound

(159) Class 1a/2a: **Mafihla-di-sotšwe** (Bomafihla-di-sotšwe) (One who always arrives when the food is ready/when the food has been dished out). Derivation: **fihla** (arrive, intransitive verb), **di** (them/they, objectival concord), **sotšwe** (dished out/served up, perfective verb). Locative: No locative suffix. Diminutive: **Mafihla-di-sotšwenyana**.

Exocentric compound

(160) Class 1a/2a: **Matla-di-fedile** (BoMatla-di-fedile) (Name of a person).
 Derivation: **tla** (come, intransitive verb), **di** (them/they, objectival concord),
fedile (finished, perfective verb). Locative: No locative suffix. Diminutive:
Matla-di-fedilenyana.

Plant

Exocentric compound

(161) Class 1a/2a: **Malala-a-kwaetše** (Bomalala-a-kwaetše) (Devil’s thorn).
 Derivation: **lala** (lie down and sleep, intransitive verb), **a** (AgrS of cl. 1a),
kwaetše (lie on one’s back, perfective verb). Locative: No locative suffix.
 Diminutive: **Malala-a-kwaetšenyana.**

2.4.11.4 Table of compounds

Present participial clause

Endocentric compound



(162)	Noun	Pl.	Deriv.	Morph.	Loc.	Dim.	SFeat.
				AF [V [PTC (Pres.)]]			
	Mohlwa-a-di-bona	-	1[V[PTC]]	+ + +	+(N1)	+(N2)	Human

Present participial clauses (with ma-)

Endocentric compounds

(163)	Noun	Pl.	Deriv.	Morph.	Loc.	Dim.	SFeat.
				AF [V [PTC (Pres.)]]			
1	Madula-go-solwa	2a	1a[V[PTC]]	+ + +	-	+(N2)	Human
2	Mahlwa-a-di-bona	2a	1a[V[PTC]]	+ + +	-	+(N2)	Human
3	Mahlwa-a-di-dira	2a	1a[V[PTC]]	+ + +	-	+(N2)	Human

Exocentric compound

(164)	Noun	Pl.	Deriv.	Morph.	Loc.	Dim.	SFeat.
				AF [V [PTC (Pres.)]]			
	Maora-o-tuka	2a	1a[V[PTC]]	+ + +	-	+(N2)	Human

Perfect participial clauses

Endocentric compound

(165)	Noun	Pl.	Deriv.	Morph.	Loc.	Dim.	SFeat.
				AF [V [PTC (Perf.)]]			
	Sehlwa-se-eme	8	7[V[PTC]]	+ + +	+(N1)	+(N2)	Artif.

Exocentric compounds

(166)	Noun	Pl.	Deriv.	Morph.	Loc.	Dim.	SFeat.
				AF [V [PTC (Perf.)]]			
1	Molwa-o-dutše	4	3[V[PTC]]	+ + +	+(N1)	+(N2)	Culture
2	Diema-di-rile	-	8 [V[PTC]]	+ + +	+(N1)	+(N2)	Nat. obj.

Perfect participial clauses (with ma-)

Endocentric compound

(167)	Noun	Pl.	Deriv.	Morph.	Loc.	Dim.	SFeat.
				AF [V [PTC (Perf.)]]			
	Mafihla-di-sotšwe	2a	1a[V[PTC]]	+ + +	-	+(N2)	Human

Exocentric compounds

(168)	Noun	Pl.	Deriv.	Morph.	Loc.	Dim.	SFeat.
				AF [V [PTC (Perf.)]]			
1	Matla-di-fedile	2a	1a[V[PTC]]	+ + +	-	+(N2)	Human
2	Malala-a-kwaetše	2a	1a[V[PTC]]	+ + +	-	+(N2)	Plant

4.3 COMPOUND NOUNS WITH TRANSITIVE VERBS

4.3.1 Definition of a transitive verb

Transitive verbs are regarded as two-place predicates. In this case, predicate argument structure permits two arguments where the first argument is an external argument and the second one an internal argument. In accordance with the theta-theory, transitive verbs have two theta-roles. The first one is found in the subject position while the second one is in the object position of the verb:

(169) [Mosadi] o tswalela [puku]
 'The woman closes the book'

Mosadi is the external argument and **puku** the internal argument.

4.3.2 Transitive verb with a noun

Morphological structure

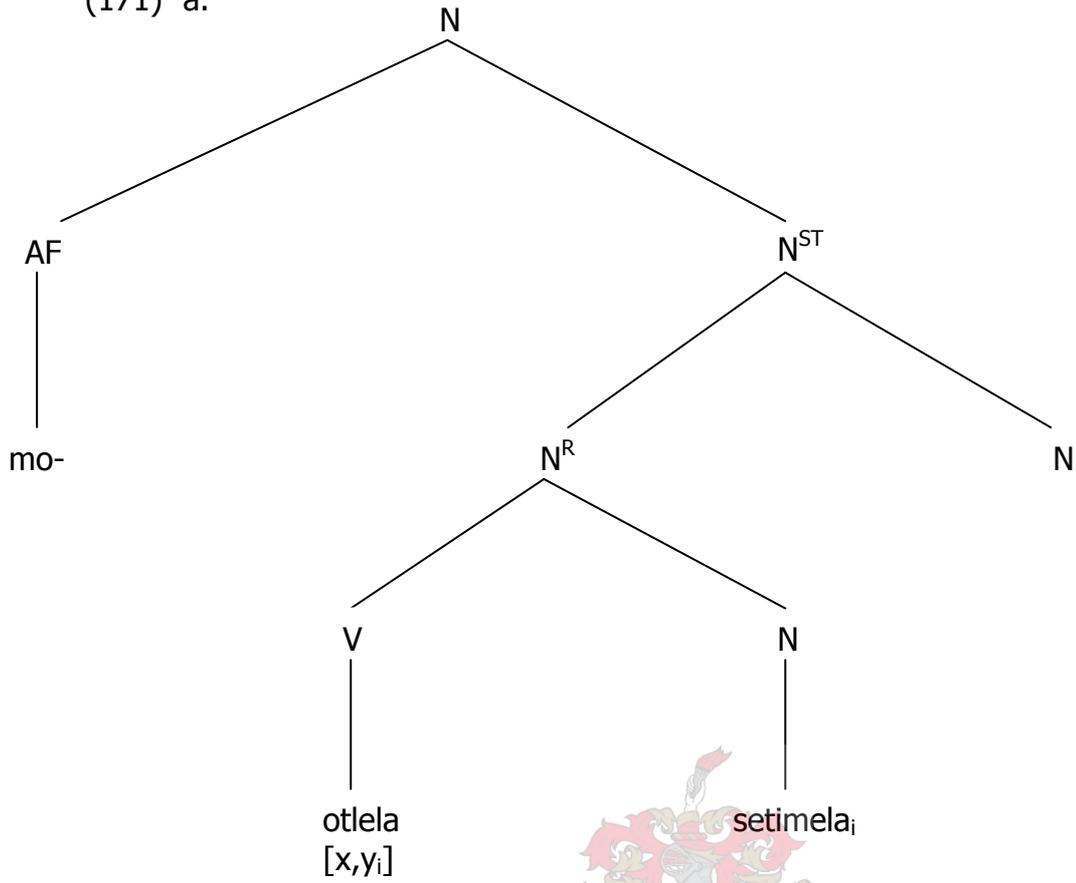
ARGSTR = [ARG 1 = x]
 [ARG 2 = y]



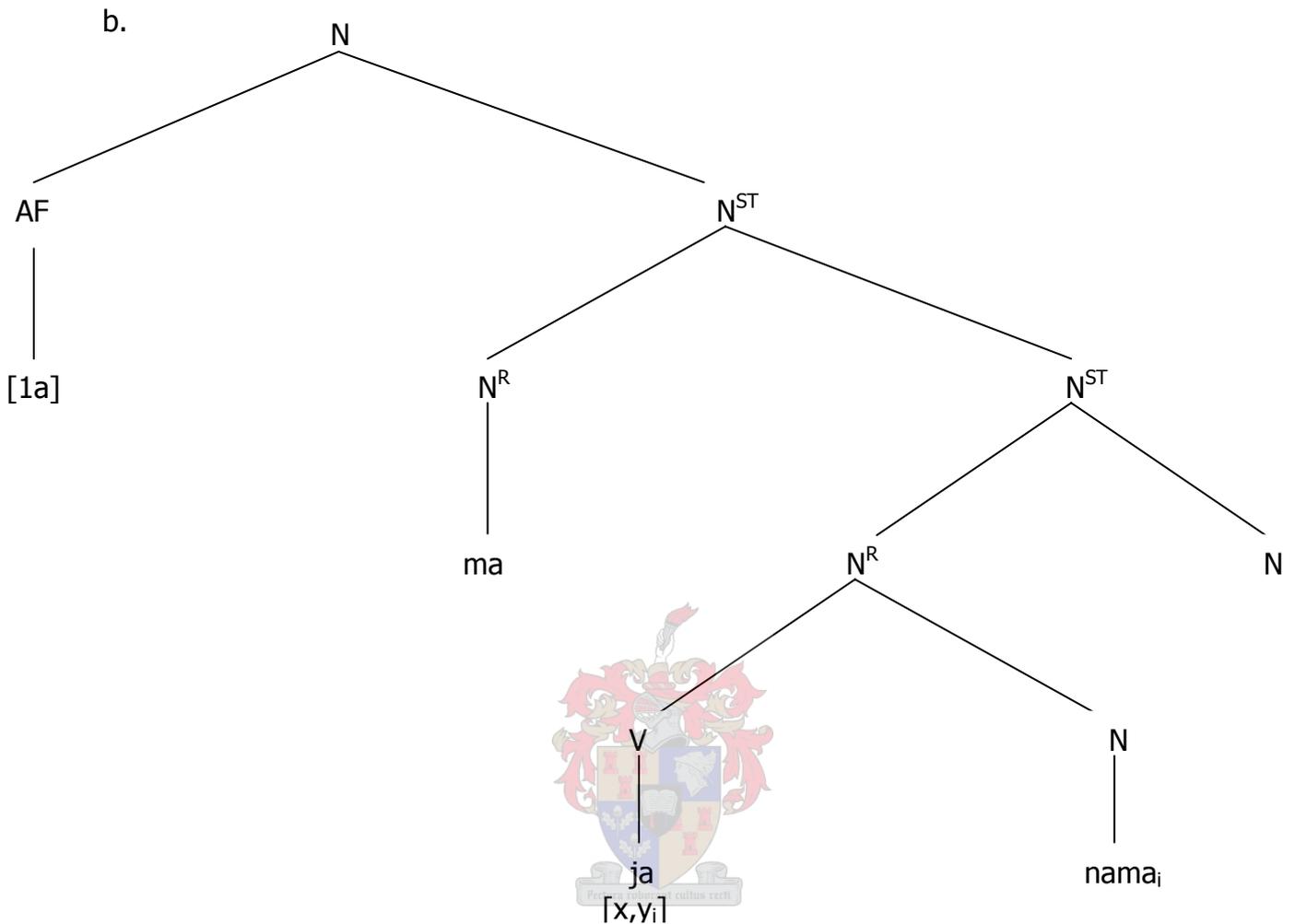
(170) a. [Mootlela-setimela] (Engine driver)
 b. [Maja-nama] (Meat-eater)

In the morphological structures of these compound nouns above, provision has to be made for the verb and its complement noun, i.e., **otlela** and **setimela**, as well as **ja** and **nama**. These combinations will form the nominal root in morphology. The verb also has an [x] argument. Such arguments may occupy a position of a noun in morphology which will form part of the stem. This noun will then be a sister of the nominal root.

(171) a.



With **ma-**:



- Compound nouns:
- a. [AF-[V-N]
[mo-[otlela-setimela] (engine driver)
 - b. [AF-[ma-[V-N]
[ma-[ja-nama] (meat-eater)

The morphological structure of the compound nouns above are similar except that the structure (b) has a root **ma-** which is derived from the noun **mma** that belongs to class 1a. As it is indicated in the previous sections, this root **ma-** is very common in compound nouns.

The verbs **otlela** and **ja** above have two arguments. The first one, which represents the external argument, is the [x] argument. This [x] argument occupies the subject position in a clause. The [y] argument represents the internal argument. These arguments appear in brackets in the following examples:

- (172) a. [Monna] o-otlela [setimela]
 'The man is driving an engine'
 b. [Monna] o-ja [nama]
 'The man is eating the meat'

In the morphological structures above, the [x] argument of **otlela** and **ja** is not assigned to any position. It should have been assigned to N which is the complement of N^R. The [y] argument is the one that is assigned to N which is the complement of V. The [y] argument in both structures is co-indexed by [i].

Each noun class prefix in the two structures above has various features:

- a. The prefix is the head of the compound noun and it determines the noun class of the compound, i.e., class 1 (**mo-**) in (a), and class 1a in (b).
 b. The noun class prefix controls the [x] argument of **otlela** and **ja**. This argument, in such a case, is no longer available for assignment to any position.
 c. It also determines the semantic feature of the compound noun. The prefix **mo-** in (a) refers to **human** as well as the prefix of class 1a in (b).

Nominal suffixes

The augmentative suffix -gadi

- (173) a. Mosetla-phala-+-**gadi** (Big centipede)
 b. Lebina-koša-+-**gadi** (Big foot)
 c. Sekgafa-ditladi-+-**gadi** (Big lightning-conductor)
 d. Phaka-barwa-+-**gadi** (Big assegai)

- e. Bohlatswa-bjana-+-**gadi** (Big scullery)

The diminutive suffix -ana

- (174) a. Mokota-tši-+-**ana** (Small white stork)
b. Lesela-watl-+-**ana** (Small ship/boat)
c. Semetša-kolw-+-**ana** (Small fearless person)
d. Tšhupa-molatl-+-**ana** (Small statement (of account))
e. Bohlaya-tumelw-+-**ana** (Small place of little faith)

The locative suffix -eng

- (175) a. Leja-pel-+-**eng** (The species of poisonous snake which lives in mountains and eats rock-rabbits)
b. Matšhatšha-khur-+-**eng** (The thing that is fat)
c. Setšhuma-mpar-+-**eng** (The self-made paraffin lamp)
d. Phenya-baloi-+-**ng** (The potent medicine)



The suffix **-eng** cannot appear with compounds which belong to class 14. All the compound nouns in this class have the prefix **bo-**. This prefix indicates locality to some of the compounds. On this ground, it is impossible to have the locative suffix **-eng** with a noun which also indicates location. Two locatives cannot appear with one compound; otherwise, the compound will be regarded as ungrammatical and will, therefore, be not acceptable:

- (176) a. *Bobaka-pušo-+-**ng**
b. *Bobeša-nam-+-**eng**
c. *Bohlapa-kolob-+-**eng**
d. *Bonepa-naledi-+-**ng**
e. *Borona-nt-+-**eng**

Semantic features

Humans

Endocentric compounds

(177) Class 1/2: **Mmala-tšhelete** (Babala-tšhelete) (Teller). Derivation: **bala** (count/ read, verb), **tšhelete** (money, cl. 9, noun). Locative: **Mmala - tšheleteng**. Diminutive: **Mmala-tšheletšana**.

Class 1/2: **Mmina-kolobe** (Babina-kolobe) (One who has the pig as his/her totem). Derivation: **bina** (dance/honour or venerate (a totem)/ celebrate, verb), **kolobe** (pig, cl. 9, noun). Locative: **Mmina-kolobeng**. Diminutive: **Mmina-kolobjana**.

Class 1/2: **Mmetša-noto** (Babetša-noto) (Hammer-thrower). Derivation: **betša** (throw, verb), **noto** (hammer, cl. 9, noun). Locative: **Mmetša-notong**. Diminutive: **Mmetša-notwana**.

Class 1/2: **Mmoka-dintši** (Baboka-dintši) (Person who chases away flies). Derivation: **boka** (chase, verb), **dintši** (flies, cl. 10, noun). Locative: **Mmoka-dintšing**. Diminutive: **Mmoka-dintšana**.

Class 1/2: **Mmona-dikgolo** (Babona-dikgolo) (One who sees big things). Derivation: **bona** (see, verb), **dikgolo** (big things, cl. 8, noun). Locative: **Mmona-dikgolong**. Diminutive: **Mmona-dikgolwane**.

Class 1/2: **Mmopa-pitša** (Babopa-pitša) (Potter). Derivation: **bopa** (form/fashion with clay/fabricate, verb), **pitša** (pot, cl. 9, noun). Locative: **Mmopa-pitšeng**. Diminutive: **Mmopa-pitšana**.

Class 1/2: **Mmuša-karolo** (Babuša-karolo) (Administrator (of province/section)). Derivation: **buša** (govern, verb), **karolo** (province/section, cl. 9, noun). Locative: **Mmuša-karolong**. Diminutive: **Mmuša -karolwana**.

Class 1/2: **Moapea-bodila** (Baapea-bodila) (Beer-maker). Derivation: **apea** (cook, verb), **bodila** (beer, cl. 14, noun). Locative: **Moapea -bodileng**. Diminutive: **Moapea-bodilana**.

Class 1/2: **Modira-dibe** (Badira-dibe) (Sinner). Derivation: **dira** (do, verb), **dibe** (sins, cl. 8, noun). Locative: **Modira-dibeng**. Diminutive: **Modira-dibjana**.

Class 1/2: **Modiša-pudi** (Badiša-pudi) (Goatherd). Derivation: **diša** (herd, verb), **pudi** (goat, cl. 9, noun). Locative: **Modiša-puding**. Diminutive: **Modiša-putšane**.

Class 1/2: **Moditela-rato** (Baditela-rato) (One who delays love). Derivation: **ditela** (delay, verb), **-rato** without its prefix (love/liking, cl. 5, noun). Locative: **Moditela-ratong**. Diminutive: **Moditela-ratwana**.

Class 1/2: **Moduma-bonkgwete** (Baduma-bonkgwete) (One who desires championship). Derivation: **duma** (desire, verb), **bonkgwete** (championship, cl. 14, noun). Locative: **Boduma-bonkgweteng**. Diminutive: **Boduma-bonkgwetšana**.

Class 1/2: **Moepa-thaba** (Baepa-thaba) (Digger of a mountain). Derivation: **epa** (dig, verb), **thaba** (mountain, cl. 9, noun). Locative: **Moepa-thabeng**. Diminutive: **Moepa-thabana**.

Class 1/2: **Mogaša-lentšu** (Bagaša-lentšu) (Preacher). Derivation: **gaša** (broadcast or spread (e.g., news)/scatter/sprinkle, verb), **lentšu** (word/voice, cl. 5, noun). Locative: **Mogaša-lentšung**. Diminutive: **Mogaša-lentšwana**.

Class 1/2: **Mohlankela-temo** (Bahlankela-temo) (Agricultural officer).
Derivation: **hlinkela** (serve, verb), **temo** (ploughing, cl. 9, noun). Locative:
Mohlankela-temong. Diminutive: **Mohlankela-tengwana**.

Class 1/2: **Mohlapetša-temo** (Bahlapetša-temo) (Agricultural foreman).
Derivation: **hlapetša** (look after/keep watch, verb), **temo** (ploughing, cl. 9,
noun). Locative: **Mohlapetša-temong**. Diminutive: **Mohlapetša-
tengwana**.

Class 1/2: **Mohlaya-tumelo** (Bahlaya-tumelo) (One of little faith).
Derivation: **hlaya** (insufficient/lack, verb), **tumelo** (faith, cl. 9, noun).
Locative: **Mohlaya-tumelong**. Diminutive: **Mohlaya-tumelwana**.

Class 1/2: **Mohloka-ina** (Bahloka-ina) (One without name). Derivation:
hloka (without, verb), **-ina** without its prefix (name, cl. 5, noun). Locative:
Mohloka-ineng. Diminutive: **Mohloka-inanyana**.

Class 1/2: **Moila-kwena** (Baila-kwena) (One who does not eat the meat of a
crocodile/one who abstains from a crocodile as it is one's totem). Derivation:
ila (abstain, verb), **kwena** (crocodile, cl. 9, noun). Locative: **Moila-
kweneng**. Diminutive: **Moila-kwenanyana**.

Class 1/2: **Moja-kgaka** (Baja-kgaka) (One who eats a crowned guinea-fowl).
Derivation: **ja** (eat, verb), **kgaka** (crowned guinea-fowl, cl. 9, noun).
Locative: **Moja-kgakeng**. Diminutive: **Moja-kgakana**.

Class 1/2: **Moja-thojana** (Baja-thojana) (One who eats a small grain of
corn). Derivation: **ja** (eat, verb), **thojana** (small grain of corn, cl. 9,
diminutive noun). Locative: **Moja-thojaneng**. Diminutive: No diminutive
suffix.

Class 1/2: **Mokwa-dikgolo** (Bakwa-dikgolo) (One who hears big things).
Derivation: **kwa** (hear/perceive, verb), **dikgolo** (big things, cl. 8, noun).
Locative: **Mokwa-dikgolong**. Diminutive: **Mokwa-dikgolwane**.

Class 1/2: **Mokwa-tšhego** (Bakwa-tšhego) (Pauper). Derivation: **kwa** (hear/perceive, verb), **tšhego** (lack of food, cl. 9, noun). Locative: **Mokwa-tšhegong**. Diminutive: **Mokwa-tšhegwana**.

Class 1/2: **Moleta-mohlape** (Baleta-mohlape) (Shepherd). Derivation: **leta** (guard/watch, verb), **mohlape** (herd, cl. 3, noun). Locative: **Moleta-mohlapeng**. Diminutive: **Moleta-mohlatswana**.

Class 1/2: **Monepa-dikago** (Banepa-dikago) (Quantity surveyor). Derivation: **nepa** (aim/hit the target/say the correct thing, verb), **dikago** (buildings, cl. 10, noun). Locative: **Monepa-dikagong**. Diminutive: **Monepa-dikagwana**.

Class 1/2: **Monepa-naledi** (Banepa-naledi) (Astronomer). Derivation: **nepa** (aim/hit the target/say the correct thing, verb), **naledi** (star, cl. 9, noun). Locative: **Monepa-naleding**. Diminutive: **Monepa-naletšana**.

Class 1/2: **Mooka-bjoko** (Baoka-bjoko) (Psychiatrist). Derivation: **oka** (nurse, verb), **bjoko** (brain/sense, cl. 14, noun). Locative: **Mooka-bjokong**. Diminutive: **Mooka-bjokwana**.

Class 1/2: **Mootlela-setimela** (Baotlela-setimela) (Engine driver).
Derivation: **otlela** (drive, verb), **setimela** (train, cl. 7, noun). Locative: **Mootlela-setimeleng**. Diminutive: **Mootlela-setimelana**.

Class 1/2: **Morua-kgomo** (Barua-kgomo) (Cattle farmer). Derivation: **rua** (keep, verb), **kgomo** (head of cattle, cl. 9, noun). Locative: **Morua-kgomong**. Diminutive: **Morua-kgongwana**.

Class 1/2: **Moswara-teu** (Baswara-teu) (Rope/milking-strap handler).
Derivation: **swara** (handle/catch, verb), **teu** (rope/milking-strap, cl. 9, noun). Locative: **Moswara-teung**. Diminutive: **Moswara-tewana**.

Class 1/2: **Moubula-dikhwama** (Baubula-dikhwama) (Bag snatcher).
Derivation: **ubula** (snatch, verb), **dikhwama** (bags, cl. 8, noun). Locative: **Moubula-dikhwameng**. Diminutive: **Moubula-dikhwamana**.

Class 7/8: **Seepa-modi** (Diepa-modi) (Traditional doctor/witch doctor).
Derivation: **epa** (dig, verb), **modi** (root/species of climbing plant (used for plaiting ropes), cl. 3, noun). Locative: **Seepa-moding**. Diminutive: **Seepa-motšana**.

Class 7/8: **Sehlahla-difofu** (Dihlahla-difofu) (Leader of the blind).
Derivation: **hlahla** (lead/guide, verb), **difofu** (blind people, cl. 8, noun).
Locative: **Sehlahla-difofung**. Diminutive: **Sehlahla-difofšana**.

Class 7/8: **Sehula-metse** (Dihula-metse) (One who robs/loots from the villages).
Derivation: **hula** (rob/loot, verb), **metse** (villages, cl. 4, noun).
Locative: **Sehula-metseng**. Diminutive: **Sehula-metsana**.

Class 7/8: **Seila-botlakala** (Diila-botlakala) (Dirt abstainer). Derivation: **ila** (abstain, verb), **botlakala** (dirty place, cl. 14, noun). Locative: **Seila-botlakaleng**. Diminutive: **Seila-botlakalana**.

Class 7/8: **Seja-morogo** (Dija-morogo) (Vegetarian). Derivation: **ja** (eat, verb), **morogo** (vegetable, cl. 3, noun). Locative: **Seja-morogong**. Diminutive: **Seja-morogwana**.

Class 7/8: **Sekgahla-baruhuhli** (Dikgahla-baruhuhli) (Person who pleases the robbers). Derivation: **kgahla** (please, verb), **baruhuhli** (robbers/looters,

cl. 2, noun). Locative: **Sekgahla-baruhuhling**. Diminutive: **Sekgahla-baruhuhlana**.

Class 7/8: **Selebala-setšhaba** (Dilebala-setšhaba) (One who forgets the nation/tribe/people/community). Derivation: **lebala** (forget, verb), **setšhaba** (nation/tribe/people/community, cl. 7, noun). Locative: **Selebala-setšhabeng**. Diminutive: **Selebala-setšhabana**.

Class 7/8: **Senyala-basadi** (Dinyala-basadi) (One who marries women/womanizer). Derivation: **nyala** (marry, verb), **basadi** (women, cl. 2, noun). Locative: **Senyala-basading**. Diminutive: **Senyala-basatšana**.

Class 7/8: **Sethopa-sebjana** (Dithopa-sebjana) (Cupwinner). Derivation: **thopa** (win, verb), **sebjana** (cup, cl. 7, noun). Locative: **Sethopa-sebjaneng**. Diminutive: **Sethopa-sebjananyana**.

Class 9/10: **Thinya-matolo** (Dithinya-matolo) (One who greets by bending the knees). Derivation: **thinya** (bend, verb), **matolo** (knees, cl. 6, noun). Locative: **Thinya-matolong**. Diminutive: **Thinya-matolwana**.

Exocentric compounds

(178) Class 1a/2a: **Hlatswa-dinoka** (Bohlatswa-dinoka) (Ancillary wife). Derivation: **hlatswa** (wash, verb), **dinoka** (hips, cl. 10, noun). Locative: No locative suffix. Diminutive: **Hlatswa-dinokana**.

Class 1a/2a: **Hlatswa-dirope** (Bohlatswa-dirope) (Ancillary wife). Derivation: **hlatswa** (wash, verb), **dirope** (thighs, cl. 8, noun). Locative: No locative suffix. Diminutive: **Hlatswa-dirotswana**.

Class 1a/2a: **Hloka-maelelo** (Bohloka-maelelo) (Someone without a position). Derivation: **hloka** (lack/want, verb), **maelelo** (flowing direction, cl. 6, noun). Locative: No locative suffix. Diminutive: **Hloka-maelelwana**.

Class 1a/2a: **Hloka-mereba** (Bohloka-mereba) (Someone who is not cheeky or stubborn). Derivation: **hloka** (lack/want, verb), **mereba** (cheek/stubbornness/arrogance, cl. 4, noun). Locative: No locative suffix. Diminutive: **Hloka-merebana**.

Class 1a/2a: **Hloka-molomo** (Bohloka-molomo) (One who keeps quiet). Derivation: **hloka** (lack/want, verb), **molomo** (mouth, cl. 3, noun). Locative: No locative suffix. Diminutive: **Hloka-molongwana**.

Class 1a/2a: **Kgapha-madi** (BoKgapha-madi) (Name of a person). Derivation: **kgapha** (wipe away (e.g., liquid with the hand or a broom/perspiration with the hand, verb), **madi** (blood, cl. 6, noun). Locative: No locative suffix. Diminutive: **Kgapha-matšana**.

Class 1a/2a: **Mmetša-tholo** (Bommetša-tholo) (Winner). Derivation: **betša** (throw, verb), **tholo** (kudu, cl. 9, noun). Locative: No locative suffix. Diminutive: **Mmetša-tholwana**.

Class 1a/2a: **Moloma-tsebe** (Bomoloma-tsebe) (Person who tells a secret). Derivation: **loma** (bite/sting, verb), **tsebe** (ear, cl. 9, noun). Locative: No locative suffix. Diminutive: **Moloma-tsebjana**.

Class 1a/2a: **Nyatša-molala** (Bonyatša-molala) (One who refuses to obey). Derivation: **nyatša** (despise, verb), **molala** (neck/unploughed land, cl. 3, noun). Locative: No locative suffix. Diminutive: **Nyatša -molalana**.

Class 1a/2a: **Phaka-maseme** (Bophaka-maseme) (Diligent person). Derivation: **phaka** (dish out/eat greedily, verb), **maseme** (feeling of

guilt/suspicion, cl. 6, noun). Locative: No locative suffix. Diminutive: **Phaka-masengwana**.

Class 1a/2a: **Phoša-dira** (BoPhoša-dira) (Name of a person). Derivation: **phoša** (throw/do wrong/miss/try to harm by means of witchcraft, verb), **dira** (enemies, cl. 8, noun). Locative: No locative suffix. Diminutive: **Phoša-dirana**.

Class 1/2: **Mmuša-pelo** (Babuša-pelo) (Genial person). Derivation: **buša** (govern, verb), **pelo** (heart, cl. 9, noun). Locative: **Mmuša -pelong**. Diminutive: **Mmuša-pelwana**.

Class 1/2: **Mobjala-phefo** (Babjala-phefo) (Trouble monger). Derivation: **bjala** (sow, verb), **phefo** (wind, cl. 9, noun). Locative: **Mobjala-phefong**. Diminutive: **Mobjala-phefšana**.

Class 1/2: **Mogata-rite** (Bagata-rite) (Liar). Derivation: **gata** (tread, verb), **-rite** without its prefix (stubble (e.g., in a land), cl. 7, noun). Locative: **Mogata-riteng**. Diminutive: **Mogata-ritšana**.

Class 1/2: **Mohlalla-ntšhi** (Bahlalla-ntšhi) (Person who criticizes what he/she receives). Derivation: **hlalla** (ask, verb), **ntšhi** (fly/eyelash, cl. 9, noun). Locative: **Mohlalla-ntšhing**. Diminutive: **Mohlalla-ntšhana**.

Class 1/2: **Mohloka-tsebo** (Bahloka-tsebo) (Disobedient/naughty person). Derivation: **hloka** (lack/want, verb), **tsebo** (knowledge, cl. 9, noun). Locative: **Mohloka-tsebong**. Diminutive: **Mohloka-tsebjana**.

Class 1/2: **Moila-ntši** (Baila-ntši) (One who is meticulously clean and neat). Derivation: **ila** (abstain, verb), **ntši** (fly, cl. 9, noun). Locative: **Moila-ntšing**. Diminutive: **Moila-ntšana**.

Class 1/2: **Moja-dihlogo** (Baja-dihlogo) (A respected person). Derivation: **ja** (eat, verb), **dihlogo** (heads, cl. 10, noun). Locative: **Moja-dihlogong**. Diminutive: **Moja-dihlogwana**.

Class 1/2: **Moja-lefa** (Baja-lefa) (Heir). Derivation: **ja** (eat, verb), **lefa** (inheritance, cl. 5, noun). Locative: **Moja-lefeng**. Diminutive: **Moja-lefana**.

Class 1/2: **Moleta-leswiswi** (Baleta-leswiswi) (One who is waiting for nothing). Derivation: **leta** (wait, verb), **leswiswi** (darkness, cl. 5, noun). Locative: **Moleta-leswiswing**. Diminutive: **Moleta-leswiswana**.

Class 1/2: **Moleta-šaka** (Baleta-šaka) (Chief's guardman). Derivation: **leta** (wait, verb), **-šaka** without its prefix (kraal, cl. 5, noun). Locative: **Moleta-šakeng**. Diminutive: **Moleta-šakana**.

Class 1/2: **Moleta-ngwedi** (Baleta-ngwedi) (One who is waiting for nothing). Derivation: **leta** (wait, verb), **ngwedi** (moon, cl. 3, noun). Locative: **Moleta-ngwedeng**. Diminutive: **Moleta-ngwetsšana**.



Class 1/2: **Moswara-marapo** (Baswara-marapo) (Chairperson). Derivation: **swara** (catch/hold, verb), **marapo** (bones, cl. 6, noun). Locative: **Moswara-marapong**. Diminutive: **Moswara-maratswana**.

Class 1/2: **Moswara-selepe** (Baswara-selepe) (Chief acting as a chairman at a meeting). Derivation: **swara** (catch/hold, verb), **selepe** (axe, cl. 7, noun). Locative: **Moswara-selepeng**. Diminutive: **Moswara-seletswana**.

Class 1/2: **Motima-lenyora** (Batima-lenyora) (One who quenches thirst by providing water to drink). Derivation: **tima** (extinguish/put out fire, verb), **lenyora** (thirst, cl. 5, noun). Locative: **Motima-lenyoreng**. Diminutive: **Motima-lenyorana**.

Class 1/2: **Motšhaba-pula** (Batšhaba-pula) (One who runs away from problems). Derivation: **tšhaba** (run away, verb), **pula** (rain, cl. 9, noun). Locative: **Motšhaba-puleng**. Diminutive: **Motšhaba-pulana**.

Class 5/6: **Leapara-nkwe** (Maapara-nkwe) (Member of the Maapara-nkwe regiment). Derivation: **apara** (wear, verb), **nkwe** (leopard, cl. 9, noun). Locative: **Leapara-nkweng**. Diminutive: **Leapara-nkwana**.

Class 5/6: **Lehlaba-pshio** (Mahlaba-pshio) (Coward/traitor). Derivation: **hlaba** (stab/slaughter/rise (sun), verb), **pshio** (kidney, cl. 9, noun). Locative: **Lehlaba-pshiong**. Diminutive: **Lehlaba-pshiana**.

Class 5/6: **Leja-nku** (Maja-nku) (Member of the Maja-nku regiment). Derivation: **ja** (eat, verb), **nku** (sheep, cl. 9, noun). Locative: **Leja -nkung**. Diminutive: **Leja-kwana**.

Class 7/8: **Seepa-mokoti** (Diepa-mokoti) (Person who lives at a shebeen and who earns his keep by doing piece jobs). Derivation: **epa** (dig, verb), **mokoti** (hole, cl. 3, noun). Locative: **Seepa-mokoting**. Diminutive: **Seepa-mokotšana**.

Class 7/8: **Sefata-mollo** (Difata-mollo) (Troublemaker). Derivation: **fata** (scratch (as a fowl)/barrow/dig out loose soil, verb), **mollo** (fire, cl. 3, noun). Locative: **Sefata-mollong**. Diminutive: **Sefata-mollwana**.

Class 7/8: **Segata-marokgwana** (Digata-marokgwana) (Insignificant person). Derivation: **gata** (tread, verb), **marokgwana** (trunks, cl. 6, diminutive noun). Locative: **Segata-marokwaneng**. Diminutive: No diminutive suffix.

Class 7/8: **Segata-meroko** (Digata-meroko) (Young boy (\pm 12 years old)).
Derivation: **gata** (tread, verb), **meroko** (brans/husks, cl. 4, noun). Locative: **Segata-merokong**. Diminutive: **Segata-merokwana**.

Class 7/8: **Segwaela-phaga** (Digwaela-phaga) (One who ridicules).
Derivation: **gwaela** (accuse falsely/be ill-mannered/incriminate, verb), **phaga** (wild cat, cl. 9, noun). Locative: **Segwaela-phageng**. Diminutive: **Segwaela-phagana**.

Class 7/8: **Seja-balata** (Dija-balata) (One who eats money of his followers).
Derivation: **ja** (eat, verb), **balata** (followers, cl. 2, noun). Locative: **Seja-balateng**. Diminutive: **Seja-balatana**.

Class 7/8: **Semetša-kolo** (Dimetša-kolo) (Fearless person). Derivation: **metša** (swallow, verb), **kolo** (bullet, cl. 9, noun). Locative: **Semetša-kolong**. Diminutive: **Semetša-kolwana**.

Class 7/8: **Senyaganyaga-maswi** (Dinyaganyaga-maswi) (Child).
Derivation: **nyaganyaga** (drink regularly, verb), **maswi** (milk, cl. 6, noun).
Locative: **Senyaganyaga-maswing**. Diminutive: **Senyaganyaga-maswana**.

Class 7/8: **Sephapha-dikgong** (Diphapha-dikgong) (Servant). Derivation: **phapha** (chop/cleave, verb), **dikgong** (pieces of firewood, cl. 10, noun).
Locative: **Sephapha-dikgonyeng**. Diminutive: **Sephapha-dikgonyana**.

Class 7/8: **Sephapha-kgogo** (Diphapha-kgogo) (Strong person).
Derivation: **phapha** (chop/cleave, verb), **kgogo** (fowl, cl. 9, noun).
Locative: **Sephapha-kgogong**. Diminutive: **Sephapha-kgogwana**.

Class 7/8: **Sephara-ngwana** (Diphara-ngwana) (Identifier/revealer).
Derivation: **phara** (plaster, verb), **ngwana** (child, cl. 1, noun). Locative:
Sephara-ngwaneng. Diminutive: **Sephara-ngwananyana**.

Class 9/10: **Phaka-maseme** (Diphaka-maseme) (Diligent person).
Derivation: **phaka** (dish out/eat greedily, verb), **maseme** (suspicion, cl. 6,
noun). Locative: **Phaka-masemeng**. Diminutive: **Phaka-masengwana**.

Class 9/10: **Phaka-maseneke** (Diphaka-maseneke) (Diligent person).
Derivation: **phaka** (dish out/eat greedily, verb), **maseneke** (notches, cl. 6,
noun). Locative: **Phaka-masenekeng**. Diminutive: **Phaka-masenekana**.

Class 9/10: **Tima-mello** (Ditima-mello) (Chief's wife whose **magadi** have
been paid by a tribe/a second wife married because the first cannot bear a
male child). Derivation: **tima** (extinguish/put out fire, verb), **mello** (fires, cl.
4, noun). Locative: **Tima-mellong**. Diminutive: **Tima-mellwana**.

Class 9/10: **Tshela-ditao** (Ditshela-ditao) (Active liar). Derivation: **tshela**
(cross over/jump, verb), **ditao** (liars, cl. 10, noun). Locative: **Tshela-
ditaong**. Diminutive: **Tshela-ditawana**.

Animals

Endocentric compounds

(179) Class 5/6: **Leja-pela** (Maja-pela) (Species of poisonous snake that lives in
mountains and eats rock-rabbits). Derivation: **ja** (eat, verb), **pela** (rock-
rabbit, cl. 9, noun). Locative: **Leja-peleng**. Diminutive: **Leja-pelana**.

Class 9/10: **Kgagola-megolo** (Dikgagola-megolo) (That which rips one's
throats (e.g., a ferocious dog/wild animal). Derivation: **gagola** (tear, verb),

megolo (throats, cl. 4, noun). Locative: **Kgagola-megolong**. Diminutive: **Kgagola-megolwana**.

Exocentric compounds

(180) Class 1a/2a: **Modiša-kgomo** (Bomodiša-kgomo) (Cattle-egret). Derivation: **diša** (herd, verb), **kgomo** (head of cattle, cl. 9, noun). Locative: No locative suffix. Diminutive: **Modiša-kgongwana**.

Class 3/4: **Mokota-tšie** (Mekota-tšie) (White stork). Derivation: **kota** (cut, verb), **tšie** (locust, cl. 9, noun). Locative: **Mokota-tšiang**. Diminutive: **Mokota-tšiana**.

Class 3/4: **Mosetla-phala** (Mesetla-phala) (Centipede). Derivation: **setla** (pound/thrash, verb), **phala** (impala, cl. 9, noun). Locative: **Mosetla-phaleng**. Diminutive: **Mosetla-phalana**.

Class 7/8: **Sehlaba-maebana** (Dihlaba-maebana) (Kind of hawk). Derivation: **hlaba** (stab/slaughter/rise (sun), verb), **maebana** (small doves, cl. 6, diminutive noun). Locative: **Sehlaba-maebaneng**. Diminutive: No diminutive suffix.

Class 7/8: **Semona-morula** (Dimona-morula) (Species of bird). Derivation: **mona** (suck (e.g., a sweet), verb), **morula** (marula (tree)/marula (beer), cl. 3, noun). Locative: **Semona-moruleng**. Diminutive: **Semona-morulana**.

Class 7/8: **Senwa-bolopi** (Dinwa-bolopi) (Sunbird). Derivation: **nwa** (drink, verb), **bolopi** (game of tag/touch, cl. 14, noun). Locative: **Senwa-boloping**. Diminutive: **Senwa-bolotswana**.

Class 9/10: **Hlahla-modupi** (Dihlahla-modupi) (Rainbird). Derivation: **hlahla** (guide, verb), **modupi** (steady rain, cl. 3, noun). Locative: **Hlahla-moduping**. Diminutive: **Hlahla-modutswana**.

Class 9/10: **Kgoba-boloko** (Dikgoba-boloko) (Dung-beetle). Derivation: **kgoba** (gather, verb), **boloko** (dung, cl. 14, noun). Locative: **Kgoba-bolokong**. Diminutive: **Kgoba-bolokwana**.

Class 9/10: **Kgonya-ihlo** (Dikgonya-ihlo) (Egyptian vulture). Derivation: **kgonya** (lock, verb), **-ihlo** without its prefix (eye, cl. 5, noun). Locative: **Kgonya-ihlong**. Diminutive: **Kgonya-ihlwana**.

Class 9/10: **Kgopa-boloko** (Dikgopa-boloko) (Beetle/tumblebug). Derivation: **kgopa** (scrape (off), verb), **boloko** (dung, cl. 14, noun). Locative: **Kgopa-bolokong**. Diminutive: **Kgopa-bolokwana**.

Class 9/10: **Phapha-dikota** (Diphapha-dikota) (Cardinal woodpecker). Derivation: **phapha** (chop, verb), **dikota** (poles, cl. 10, noun). Locative: **Phapha-dikoteng**. Diminutive: **Phapha-dikotana**.

Class 9/10: **Pshinya-leraga** (Dipshinya-leraga) (Water tortoise). Derivation: **pshinya** (take out wind from anus, verb), **leraga** (mud, cl. 5, noun). Locative: **Pshinya-lerageng**. Diminutive: **Pshinya-leragana**.

Class 9/10: **Tlhapa-watle** (Ditlhapa-watle) (Seal). Derivation: **hlapa** (wash, verb), **-watle** without its prefix (sea, cl. 5, noun). Locative: **Tlhapa-watleng**. Diminutive: **Tlhapa-watlana**.

Plants

Exocentric compounds

(181) Class 1a/2a: **Phaya-bašemane** (Bophaya-bašemane) (Lucky charm – said to avoid trouble). Derivation: **phaya** (flick away, verb), **bašemane** (boys, cl. 2, noun). Locative: No locative suffix. Diminutive: **Phaya-bašemanyana**.

Class 3/4: **Mogata-kgomo** (Megata-kgomo) (White stinkwood (Celtis Africana)). Derivation: **gata** (tread, verb), **kgomo** (head of cattle, cl. 9, noun). Locative: **Mogata-kgomong**. Diminutive: **Mogata-kgongwana**.

Class 3/4: **Mogoga-leleme** (Megoga-leleme) (Gladiolus psitticinus). Derivation: **goga** (pull, verb), **leleme** (tongue, cl. 5, noun). Locative: **Mogoga-lelemeng**. Diminutive: **Mogoga-lelengwana**.

Class 3/4: **Moja-pela** (Meja-pela) (Species of tree). Derivation: **ja** (eat, verb), **pela** (rock-rabbit, cl. 9, noun). Locative: **Moja-peleng**. Diminutive: **Moja-pelana**.

Class 3/4: **Monganga-pane** (Menganga-pane) (Kind of tree). Derivation: **nganga** (pull tight/argue, verb), **pane** (pan (for baking), cl. 9, noun). Locative: **Monganga-paneng**. Diminutive: **Monganga-panyana**.

Class 3/4: **Monganga-tau** (Menganga-tau) (Hook-thorn: - Acacia mellifera). Derivation: **nganga** (pull tight/argue, verb), **tau** (lion, cl. 9, noun). Locative: **Monganga-taung**. Diminutive: **Monganga-tawana**.

Class 3/4: **Mosetla-tlou** (Mesetla-tlou) (Kind of tree). Derivation: **setla** (pound/thrash, verb), **tlou** (elephant, cl. 9, noun). Locative: **Mosetla-tloug**. Diminutive: **Mosetla-tlowana**.

Class 3/4: **Mphala-kgopa** (Mefala-kgopa) (Species of tree with multiple stems). Derivation: **phala** (be better than, verb), **kgopa** (snail/aloe macranta/virgin, cl. 9, noun). Locative: **Mphala-kgopeng**. Diminutive: **Mphala-kgopana**.

Class 3/4: **Mphara-kgopa** (Mefara-kgopa) (Species of tree). Derivation: **phara** (plaster/patch, verb), **kgopa** (snail/aloe macranta/virgin, cl. 9, noun). Locative: **Mphara-kgopeng**. Diminutive: **Mphara-kgopana**.

Class 3/4: **Mphara-tšhwene** (Mefara-tšhwene) (Species of tree). Derivation: **phara** (plaster/patch, verb), **tšhwene** (baboon, cl. 9, noun). Locative: **Mphara-tšhweneng**. Diminutive: **Mphara-tšhwenyana**.

Class 3/4: **Mphata-nare** (Mefata-nare) (Species of thorn tree). Derivation: **fata** (scratch (as a fowl)/burrow/dig out loose soil, verb), **nare** (buffalo, cl. 9, noun). Locative: **Mphata-nareng**. Diminutive: **Mphata-našana**.

Class 9/10: **Phenya-baloi** (Diphenya-baloi) (Potent medicine). Derivation: **fenya** (defeat, verb), **baloi** (witches, cl. 2, noun). Locative: **Phenya-baloing**. Diminutive: **Phenya-balotšana**.

Natural phenomena

Endocentric compound

(182) Class 7/8: **Seraka-leswiswi** (Diraka-leswiswi) (Light). Derivation: **raka** (expel, verb), **leswiswi** (darkness, cl. 5, noun). Locative: **Seraka-leswiswing**. Diminutive: **Seraka-leswiswana**.

Exocentric compounds

(183) Class 1a/2a: **Phampha-madiba** (Bophampha-madiba) (Big pools (where the water snake **mmamokebe** lives)). Derivation: **phampha** (run fast/flee, verb), **madiba** (depths/pools, cl. 6, noun). Locative: No locative suffix. Diminutive: **Phampha-madibana**.

Class 5/6: **Letopa-nta** (Matopa-nta) (Bright moonlight). Derivation: **topa** (pick up, verb), **nta** (louse, cl. 9, noun). Locative: **Letopa-nteng**. Diminutive: **Letopa-ntana**.

Class 7/8: **Sehlaba-thakana** (Dihlaba-thakana) (Frost). Derivation: **hlaba** (stab/slaughter/rise (sun), verb), **thakana** (small seed of pumpkin/watermelon, cl. 9, diminutive noun). Locative: **Sehlaba-thakaneng**. Diminutive: No diminutive suffix.

Class 9/10: **Hlahla-muši** (Dihlahla-muši) (Smell of smoke (as on roasted meat or porridge/fumes)). Derivation: **hlahla** (guide, verb), **muši** (smoke, cl. 3, noun). Locative: **Hlahla-mušing**. Diminutive: **Hlahla-mušana**.

Class 9/10: **Kgakga-muši** (Dikgakga-muši) (Smell of smoke (as on roasted meat or porridge/fumes)). Derivation: **kgakga** (hook onto (e.g., a thorny branch), verb), **muši** (smoke, cl. 3, noun). Locative: **Kgakga-mušing**. Diminutive: **Kgakga-mušana**.

Class 9/10: **Kgokgola-mooko** (Dikgokgola-mooko) (First rain after the harvest). Derivation: **kgokgola** (erode, verb), **mooko** (measles/chaff, cl. 3, noun). Locative: **Kgokgola-mookong**. Diminutive: **Kgokgola-mookwana**.

Natural object

Exocentric compound

(184) Class 9/10: **Tula-mešidi** (Ditula-mešidi) (Stick which is stuck into a hut on the return of a boy from the initiation lodge). Derivation: **tula** (hit/strike, verb), **mešidi** (charcoals, cl. 4, noun). Locative: **Tula-mešiding**. Diminutive: **Tula-mešitšana**.

Body parts

Endocentric compound

(185) Class 7/8: **Sekhurumela-khuru** (Dikhurumela-khuru) (Knee-cap). Derivation: **khurumela** (close, verb), **khuru** (knee, cl. 9, noun). Locative: **Sekhurumela-khurung**. Diminutive: **Sekhurumela-khušwana**.

Exocentric compounds

(186) Class 5/6: **Lebina-koša** (Mabina-koša) (Foot). Derivation: **bina** (dance/honour or venerate (a totem)/celebrate, verb), **koša** (song, cl. 9, noun). Locative: **Lebina-košeng**. Diminutive: **Lebina-košana**.

Class 5/6: **Lešita-phiri** (Mašita-phiri) (Cervical vertebra). Derivation: **šita** (be too heavy/difficult, verb), **phiri** (hyena, cl. 9, noun). Locative: **Lešita-phiring**. Diminutive: **Lešita-phišana**.

Class 9/10: **Tlola-melora** (Ditlola-melora) (Small breast (of young girls)). Derivation: **tlola** (smear, verb), **melora** (ashes, cl. 4, noun). Locative: **Tlola-meloreng**. Diminutive: **Tlola-melorana**.

Class 9/10: **Tšhupa-baloi** (Ditšhupa-baloi) (Forefinger). Derivation: **šupa** (point, verb), **baloi** (witches, cl. 2, noun). Locative: **Tšhupa-baloing**.
Diminutive: **Tšhupa-balotšana**.

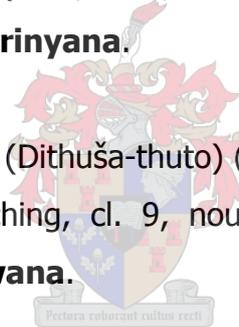
Communication

Endocentric compounds

(187) Class 5/6: **Leboka-ina** (Maboka-ina) (Compound noun). Derivation: **boka** (assemble, verb), **-ina** without its prefix (noun, cl. 5, noun). Locative: **Leboka-ineng**. Diminutive: **Leboka-inanyana**.

Class 5/6: **Lethuša-lediri** (Mathuša-lediri) (Auxiliary verb). Derivation: **thuša** (help, verb) **lediri** (verb, cl. 5, noun). Locative: **Lethuša-lediring**.
Diminutive: **Lethuša-ledirinyana**.

Class 9/10: **Thuša-thuto** (Dithuša-thuto) (Teaching aid). Derivation: **thuša** (help, verb), **thuto** (teaching, cl. 9, noun). Locative: **Thuša-thutong**.
Diminutive: **Thuša-thutwana**.



Class 9/10: **Thuta-tlhago** (Dithuta-tlhago) (Nature study). Derivation: **ruta** (teach, verb), **tlhago** (nature, cl. 9, noun). Locative: **Thuta-tlhagong**.
Diminutive: **Thuta-tlhagwana**.

Class 9/10: **Tšhupa-molato** (Ditšhupa-molato) (Statement (of account)).
Derivation: **šupa** (point, verb), **molato** (account, cl. 3, noun). Locative: **Tšhupa-molatong**.
Diminutive: **Tšhupa-molatwana**.

Exocentric compounds

(188) Class 5/6: **Lebolela-mong** (Mabolela-mong) (Possessive concord).
Derivation: **bolela** (talk, verb), **mong** (possessor/owner, cl. 1, noun).
Locative: **Lebolela-monyeng**. Diminutive: **Lebolela-monyana**.

Class 7/8: **Seja-hlapi** (Dija-hlapi) (English). Derivation: **ja** (eat, verb),
hlapi (fish, cl. 9, noun). Locative: **Seja-hlaping**. Diminutive: **Seja-hlatswana**.

Class 9/10: **Hlaba-melao** (Dihlaba-melao) (Legislation). Derivation: **hlaba**
(stab/slaughter/rise (sun), verb), **melao** (laws, cl. 4, noun). Locative:
Hlaba-melaong. Diminutive: **Hlaba-melawana**.

Culture

Exocentric compound

(189) Class 1a/2a: **Hlotla-madiba** (BoHlotla-madiba) (Almighty). Derivation:
hlotla (strain (beer), verb), **madiba** (depths/pools, cl. 6, noun). Locative:
No locative suffix. Diminutive: **Hlotla-madibeng**.

Cognition

Endocentric compounds

(190) Class 9/10: **Kila-bagolegwa** (Dikila-bagolegwa) (Anti-convict movement).
Derivation: **ila** (abstain, verb), **bagolegwa** (prisoners, cl. 2, noun).
Locative: **Kila-bagolegweng**. Diminutive: **Kila-bagolegwana**.

Class 9/10: **Tata-moloko** (Ditata-moloko) (Clan winding). Derivation: **tata**
(wind (as cotton onto a spool)/intertwine (as when making a wreath)/coil),

verb), **moloko** (clan/generation, cl. 3, noun). Locative: **Tata-molokong**.
Diminutive: **Tata-molokwana**.

Exocentric compounds

(191) Class 5: **Legoga-kobo** (Premarital pregnancy). Derivation: **goga** (pull, verb), **kobo** (clothing/blanket, cl. 9, noun). Locative: **Legoga-kobong**.
Diminutive: **Legoga-kobjana**.

Class 9/10: **Garola-matswalo** (Digarola-matswalo) (Frightening thing).
Derivation: **garola** (cut (as grass), verb), **matswalo** (diaphragms/consciencences, cl. 6, noun). Locative: **Garola-matswalong**. Diminutive: **Garola-matswalwana**.

Food

Exocentric compounds

(192) Class 3/4: **Mmetla-kgamelo** (Mebetla-kgamelo) (Apodytes dimitiata-white pear). Derivation: **betla** (carve, verb), **kgamelo** (bucket/pail, cl. 9, noun).
Locative: **Mmetla-kgamelong**. Diminutive: **Mmetla-kgamelwana**.

Class 3/4: **Mohlaba-phala** (Mehlabaphala) (Wild pear). Derivation: **hlaba** (stab/slaughter/rise (sun), verb), **phala** (impala, cl. 9, noun). Locative: **Mohlaba-phaleng**. Diminutive: **Mohlaba-phalana**.



Artifacts

Endocentric compounds

(193) Class 7/8: **Seela-botelele** (Diela-botelele) (Height gauge). Derivation: **ela** (gauge, verb), **botelele** (height/length/tallness, cl. 14, noun). Locative: **Seela-boteleleng**. Diminutive: **Seela-boteletšana**.

Class 7/8: **Seela-oli** (Diela-oli) (Oil gauge). Derivation: **ela** (gauge, verb), **oli** (oil, cl. 9, noun). Locative: **Seela-oling**. Diminutive: **Seela-ojana**.

Class 7/8: **Sefola-mafela** (Difola-mafela) (Mealie threshing machine). Derivation: **fola** (thresh, verb), **mafela** (mealie, cl. 6, noun). Locative: **Sefola-mafeleng**. Diminutive: **Sefola-mafelana**.

Class 7/8: **Segaša-korong** (Digaša-korong) (Corn planter). Derivation: **gaša** (sow, verb), **korong** (corn, cl. 9, noun). Locative: **Segaša-koronyeng**. Diminutive: **Segaša-koronyana**.

Class 7/8: **Segohla-meno** (Digohla-meno) (Toothbrush). Derivation: **gohla** (rub, verb), **meno** (tooth, cl. 6, noun). Locative: **Segohla-menong**. Diminutive: **Segohla-menwana**.

Class 7/8: **Segopa-tsela** (Digopa-tsela) (Road grader). Derivation: **gopa** (scrape (off), verb), **tsela** (road, cl. 9, noun). Locative: **Segopa-tseleng**. Diminutive: **Segopa-tsejana**.

Class 7/8: **Sehloma-pone** (Dihloma-pone) (Candle-stick). Derivation: **hloma** (plant/put firmly in position, verb), **pone** (lamp, cl. 9, noun). Locative: **Sehloma-poneng**. Diminutive: **Sehloma-ponyana**.

Class 7/8: **Sekgafa-ditladi** (Dikgafa-ditladi) (Lightning-conductor).
Derivation: **kgafa** (drive away, verb), **ditladi** (lightnings, cl. 10, noun).
Locative: **Sekgafa-ditlading**. Diminutive: **Sekgafa-ditlatšana**.

Class 7/8: **Selema-tsela** (Dilema-tsela) (Road scraper/bulldozer).
Derivation: **lema** (plough, verb), **tsela** (road, cl. 9, noun). Locative:
Selema-tseleng. Diminutive: **Selema-tsejana**.

Class 7/8: **Senganga-thale** (Dinganga-thale) (Wire-strainer). Derivation:
nganga (pull tight, verb), **-thale** without its prefix (wire, cl. 5, noun).
Locative: **Senganga-thaleng**. Diminutive: **Senganga-thajana**.

Class 7/8: **Sentšha-muši** (Dintšha-muši) (Exhaust). Derivation: **ntšha**
(take out, verb), **muši** (smoke, cl. 3, noun). Locative: **Sentšha-mušing**.
Diminutive: **Sentšha-mušana**.

Class 7/8: **Sephumola-mphufutšo** (Diphumola-mphufutšo) (Handkerchief).
Derivation: **phumola** (erase, verb), **mphufutšo** (sweat, cl. 3, noun).
Locative: **Sephumola-mphufutšong**. Diminutive: **Sephumola-
mphufutšwana**.

Class 7/8: **Sephumola-tlapa** (Diphumola-tlapa) (Blackboard duster).
Derivation: **phumola** (erase, verb), **-tlapa** without its prefix (blackboard, cl.
5, noun). Locative: **Sephumola-tlapeng**. Diminutive: **Sephumola-
tlapana**.

Class 7/8: **Seraga-mabje** (Diraga-mabje) (Catapult). Derivation: **raga**
(kick, verb), **mabje** (stones, cl. 6, noun). Locative: **Seraga-mabjeng**.
Diminutive: **Seraga-mabjana**.

Class 7/8: **Seripa-pautu** (Diripa-pautu) (Bolt-cutter). Derivation: **ripa** (cut, verb), **pautu** (bolt, cl. 9, noun). Locative: **Seripa-pautung**. Diminutive: **Seripa-pautwana**.

Class 7/8: **Sešira-phefo** (Dišira-phefo) (Windbreak). Derivation: **šira** (screen from view, verb), **phefo** (wind, cl. 9, noun). Locative: **Sešira-phefong**. Diminutive: **Sešira-phefšana**.

Class 7/8: **Sešupa-nako** (Dišupa-nako) (Watch). Derivation: **šupa** (point, verb), **nako** (time, cl. 9, noun). Locative: **Sešupa-nakong**. Diminutive: **Sešupa-nakwana**.

Class 7/8: **Setima-mollo** (Ditima-mollo) (Fire extinguisher). Derivation: **tima** (extinguish, verb), **mollo** (fire, cl. 3, noun). Locative: **Setima-mollong**. Diminutive: **Setima-mollwana**.

Class 7/8: **Setsošološa-peteri** (Ditsošološa-peteri) (Battery charger). Derivation: **tsošološa** (revive, verb), **peteri** (battery, cl. 9, noun). Locative: **Setsošološa-petering**. Diminutive: **Setsošološa-petešana**.

Class 9/10: **Polaya-khunkhwane** (Dipolaya-khunkhwane) (Insecticide). Derivation: **bolaya** (kill, verb), **khunkhwane** (insect, cl. 9, noun). Locative: **Polaya-khunkhwaneng**. Diminutive: **Polaya-khunkhwanyana**.

Exocentric compounds

(194) Class 3/4: **Mphapha-hlogo** (Mefapha-hlogo) (Wreath of beads worn around the head/bridal wreath/crown). Derivation: **phapha** (chop/cleave, verb), **hlogo** (head, cl. 9, noun). Locative: **Mphapha-hlogong**. Diminutive: **Mphapha-hlogwana**.

Class 5/6: **Lesela-watle** (Masela-watle) (Ship/boat). Derivation: **sela**

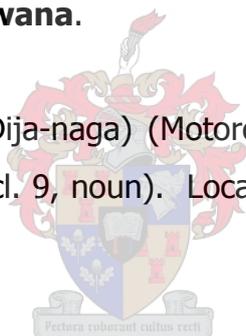
(cross over, verb), **-watile** without its prefix (sea/ocean, cl. 5, noun).
Locative: **Lesela-watleng**. Diminutive: **Lesela-watlana**.

Class 7/8: **Sebala-makgolo** (Dibala-makgolo) (Turnstile/toll-gate).
Derivation: **bala** (count, verb), **makgolo** (hundreds, cl. 6, noun). Locative:
Sebala-makgolong. Diminutive: **Sebala-makgolwana**.

Class 7/8: **Segoga-lefasetere** (Digoga-lefasetere) (Window-sash).
Derivation: **goga** (pull, verb), **lefasetere** (window, cl. 5, noun). Locative:
Segoga-lefasetereeng. Diminutive: **Segoga-lefasetešana**.

Class 7/8: **Seja-moroko** (Dija-moroko) (Bronze mannikin). Derivation: **ja**
(eat, verb), **moroko** (bran/husk, cl. 3, noun). Locative: **Seja-morokong**.
Diminutive: **Seja-morokwana**.

Class 7/8: **Seja-naga** (Dija-naga) (Motorcar). Derivation: **ja** (eat, verb),
naga (country/land/veld, cl. 9, noun). Locative: **Seja-nageng**. Diminutive:
Seja-nagana.



Class 7/8: **Sephara-kgatla** (Diphara-kgatla) (Splint). Derivation: **phara**
(plaster, verb), **kgatla** (haft (of knife/assegai)/sheath, cl. 9, noun). Locative:
Sephara-kgatleng. Diminutive: **Sephara-kgatlana**.

Class 7/8: **Sešupa-moya** (Dišupa-moya) (Weathercock). Derivation: **šupa**
(point, verb), **moya** (air/wind, cl. 3, noun). Locative: **Sešupa-moyeng**.
Diminutive: **Sešupa-moyana**.

Class 7/8: **Setšhuma-mpara** (Ditšhuma-mpara) (Self-made paraffin lamp).
Derivation: **tšhuma** (burn, verb), **mpara** (unskilled person, cl. 9, noun).
Locative: **Setšhuma-mpareng**. Diminutive: **Setšhuma-mparana**.

Class 9/10: **Phaka-barwa** (Diphaka-barwa) (Assegai). Derivation: **phaka**

(eat greedily/dish out/receive a share, verb), **barwa** (sons, cl. 2, noun).
Locative: **Phaka-barweng**. Diminutive: **Phaka-barwana**.

Class 9/10: **Pula-molomo** (Dipula-molomo) (Money presented to the bride's father by the bridegroom's people before paying the **magadi**). Derivation: **bula** (open, verb), **molomo** (mouth, cl. 3, noun). Locative: **Pula-molomong**. Diminutive: **Pula-molongwana**.

State

Endocentric compound

(195) Class 9: **Kamogela-baeng** (Hospitality). Derivation: **amogela** (welcome, verb), **baeng** (visitors, cl. 2, noun). Locative: No locative suffix. Diminutive: No diminutive suffix.

Exocentric compounds

(196) Class 14: **Bohlaba-pshio** (Cowardice/treachery). Derivation: **hlaba** (stab/slaughter/rise (sun), verb), **pshio** (kidney, cl. 9, noun). Locative: No locative suffix. Diminutive: No diminutive suffix.

Class 14: **Bohuna-matolo** (Death). Derivation: **huna** (tie, verb), **matolo** (knees, cl. 6, noun). Locative: No locative suffix. Diminutive: No diminutive suffix.

Class 14: **Boja-lefa** (State of being a heir/law or right of succession/hereditary law or right). Derivation: **ja** (eat, verb), **lefa** (inheritance, cl. 5, noun). Locative: No locative suffix. Diminutive: No diminutive suffix.

Class 14: **Bokgoba-ngati** (Position of authority/luxury). Derivation: **kgoba**

(come to an end (of bearing fruit)/gather/deride, verb), **ngati** (second stomach of a ruminant, cl. 9, noun). Locative: No locative suffix. Diminutive: No diminutive suffix.

Illness

Endocentric compound

(197) Class 7/8: **Senganga-mehlagare** (Dinganga-mehlagare) (Lockjaw).
Derivation: **nganga** (pull tight, verb), **mehlagare** (jaws, cl. 4, noun).
Locative: **Senganga-mehlagareng**. Diminutive: **Senganga-mehlagašana**.

Exocentric compound

(198) Class 9/10: **Pola-mmele** (Dipola-mmele) (Gangrene). Derivation: **pola** (thresh corn/strike/hit, verb), **mmele** (body, cl. 3, noun). Locative: **Pola-mmeling**. Diminutive: **Pola-mmejana**.



Time

Exocentric compounds

(199) Class 1a/2a: **Hlakola-dihlare** (BoHlakola-dihlare) (Additional name for the month of July). Derivation: **hlakola** (clean/rob, verb), **dihlare** (trees, cl. 8, noun). Locative: No locative suffix. Diminutive: **Hlakola -dihlašana**.

Class 9/10: **Ponya-leihlo** (Diponya-leihlo) (Moment/wink). Derivation: **ponya** (close the eyes, verb), **leihlo** (eye, cl. 5, noun). Locative: **Ponya-leihlong**. Diminutive: **Ponya-leihlwana**.

Places

Endocentric compounds

(200) Class 14: **Bobaka-pušo** (Place where there is parliamentary opposition). Derivation: **baka** (compete, verb), **pušo** (rule, cl. 9, noun). Locative: No locative suffix. Diminutive: **Bobaka-pušwana**.

Class 14: **Bobeša-nama** (Barbeque). Derivation: **beša** (roast, verb), **nama** (meat, cl. 9, noun). Locative: No locative suffix. Diminutive: **Bobešamana**.

Class 14: **Bohlatswa-bjana** (Scullery). Derivation: **hlatswa** (wash, verb), **-bjana** without its prefix (dish, cl. 7, noun). Locative: No locative suffix. Diminutive: **Bohlatswabjanyana**.

Class 14: **Bohlaya-tumelo** (Place of little faith). Derivation: **hlaya** (lack/insufficient, verb), **tumelo** (faith, cl. 9, noun). Locative: No locative suffix. Diminutive: **Bohlayatumelwana**.

Class 14: **Bokgoba-dingwalo** (Archives). Derivation: **kgoba** (gather, verb), **dingwalo** (literature, cl. 8, noun). Locative: No locative suffix. Diminutive: **Bokgobadingwalwana**.

Class 14: **Boleba-meetse** (Waterfront). Derivation: **leba** (face, verb), **meetse** (water, cl. 6, noun). Locative: No locative suffix. Diminutive: **Bolebametsana**.

Class 14: **Bolota-bahu** (Mortuary). Derivation: **lota** (look after, verb), **bahu** (deceased, cl. 2, noun). Locative: No locative suffix. Diminutive: **Bolotabahwana**.

Class 14: **Bonepa-naledi** (Astronomy). Derivation: **nepa** (aim/hit a target/say the correct thing, verb), **naledi** (star, cl. 9, noun). Locative: No locative suffix. Diminutive: **Bonepa-naletšana**.

Class 14: **Borata-pelo** (Place of one's choice (e.g., where one whiles away time/ visits)). Derivation: **rata** (love/like, verb), **pelo** (heart, cl. 9, noun). Locative: No locative suffix. Diminutive: No diminutive suffix.

Class 14: **Bosela-watile** (Overseas). Derivation: **sela** (cross over, verb), **-watile** without its prefix (sea/ocean, cl. 5, noun). Locative: No locative suffix. Diminutive: No diminutive suffix.

Class 14: **Bothula-koloi** (Wagon-making). Derivation: **thula** (repair, verb), **koloi** (wagon, cl. 9, noun). Locative: No locative suffix. Diminutive: **Bothula-koloyana**.

Exocentric compounds

(201) Class 14: **Bohlapa-kolobe** (Name of a place). Derivation: **hlapa** (wash, verb), **kolobe** (pig, cl. 9, noun). Locative: No locative suffix. Diminutive: **Bohlapa-kolobjana**.

Class 14: **Borona-nta** (Name of a place). Derivation: **rona** (crush lice between the thumbnails, verb), **nta** (louse, cl. 9, noun). Locative: No locative suffix. Diminutive: **Borona-ntana**.

Event

Endocentric compound

(202) Class 9/10: **Hloka-moseki** (Dihloka-moseki) (No responsible person). Derivation: **hloka** (without/lack, verb), **moseki** (person whose case is heard

in court, cl. 3, noun). Locative: **Hloka-moseking**. Diminutive: **Hloka-mosekana**.

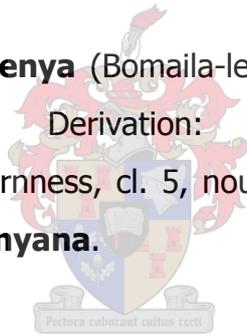
Semantic features (in compound nouns with ma-)

Humans

Endocentric compounds

(203) Class 1a/2a: **Madikologa-nna** (Bomadikologa-nna) (Someone walking around me). Derivation: **dikologa** (walk right around, verb), **nna** (I/me pronoun). Locative: No locative suffix. Diminutive: **Madikologa-nnanyana**.

Class 1a/2a: **Maila-leswenya** (Bomaila-leswenya) (One who abstains from cheekiness/stubbornness). Derivation: **ila** (abstain, verb), **leswenya** (cheekiness/ cheek/stubbornness, cl. 5, noun). Locative: No locative suffix. Diminutive: **Maila-leswenyana**.



Class 1a/2a: **Maja-nama** (Bomaja-nama) (Meat-eater). Derivation: **ja** (eat, verb), **nama** (meat, cl. 9, noun). Locative: No locative suffix. Diminutive: **Maja-namana**.

Class 1a/2a: **Maphutha-ditšhaba** (Bomaphutha-ditšhaba) (One who brings the nations together). Derivation: **phutha** (fold/bring together, verb), **ditšhaba** (nations, cl. 8, noun). Locative: No locative suffix. Diminutive: **Maphutha-ditšhabana**.

Class 1a/2a: **Marata-meetse** (Bomarata-meetse) (One who likes water). Derivation: **rata** (like/love, verb), **meetse** (water, cl. 6, noun). Locative: No locative suffix. Diminutive: **Marata-meetsana**.

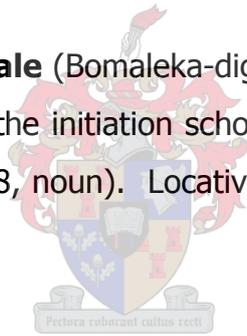
Class 1a/2a: **Marua-ntwa** (Bomarua-ntwa) (One who likes fighting).
Derivation: **rua** (own/keep, verb), **ntwa** (fight/war, cl. 9, noun). Locative:
No locative suffix. Diminutive: **Marua-ntwana**.

Exocentric compounds

(204) Class 1a/2a: **Mabeša-dinama** (Bomabeša-dinama) (Servant). Derivation:
beša (roast (on open fire), verb), **dinama** (meats, cl. 10, noun). Locative:
No locative suffix. Diminutive: **Mabeša-dinamana**.

Class 1a/2a: **Madumela-khwele** (Bomadumela-khwele) (Credulous person).
Derivation: **dumela** (agree, verb), **khwele** (favour, cl. 9, noun). Locative:
No locative suffix. Diminutive: **Madumela-khwejana**.

Class 1a/2a: **Maleka-digale** (Bomaleka-digale) (The boy who is operated on
before the chief's sons at the initiation school). Derivation: **leka** (try, verb),
digale (sharp objects, cl. 8, noun). Locative: No locative suffix. Diminutive:
Maleka-digajana.



Class 1a/2a: **Maroba-dikala** (Bomaroba-dikala) (Heavy person). Derivation:
roba (break, verb), **dikala** (branches, cl. 10, noun). Locative: No locative
suffix. Diminutive: **Maroba-dikalana**.

Animals

Exocentric compounds

(205) Class 1a/2a: **Madiša-kgongwana** (Bomadiša-kgongwana) (Cape wagtail).
Derivation: **diša** (herd/guard, verb), **kgongwana** (small head of cattle, cl. 9,
diminutive noun). Locative: No locative suffix. Diminutive: No diminutive
suffix.

Class 1a/2a: **Mašia-noka** (Bomašia-noka) (Hammerhead (bird)). Derivation: **šia** (fear/leave behind/outrun, verb), **noka** (river, cl. 9, noun). Locative: No locative suffix. Diminutive: **Mašia-nokana**.

Plants

Exocentric compounds

(206) Class 1a/2a: **Maphuma-difala** (Bomaphuma-difala) (Plant-Eucomes undulata). Derivation: **phuma** (break (into pieces), verb), **difala** (granaries, cl. 8, noun). Locative: No locative suffix. Diminutive: **Maphuma-difalana**.

Class 6: **Matubutša-batho** (Dagga). Derivation: **tubutša** (hit with the fist/pound, verb), **batho** (people, cl. 2, noun). Locative: **Matubutša-bathong**. Diminutive: **Matubutša-bathwana**.

Natural object



Exocentric compound

(207) Class 1a/2a: **Marata-sebilo** (Bomarata-sebilo) (Cape rock thrush). Derivation: **rata** (like/love, verb), **sebilo** (graphite (powder)/black wax, cl. 7, noun). Locative: No locative suffix. Diminutive: **Marata-sebilwana**.

Food

Exocentric compound

(208) Class 6: **Matšhatšha-khura** (Something fat). Derivation: **tšhatšha** (smear, verb), **-khura** without its prefix (fat, cl. 5, noun). Locative: **Matšhatšha-khureng**. Diminutive: **Matšhatšha-khušana**.

State

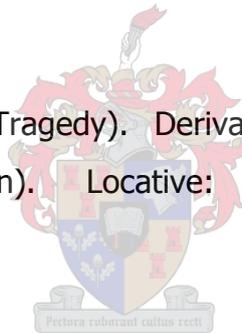
Endocentric compound

(209) Class 6: **Mahlokola-pelo** (Something that sifts the heart). Derivation: **hlokola** (sift/choose/winnow (by shaking a **leselo** but not blowing by wind), verb), **pelo** (heart, cl. 9, noun). Locative: **Mahlokola-pelong**. Diminutive: **Mahlokola-pelwana**.

Exocentric compounds

(210) Class 6: **Marema-tlou** (Matric/grade 12). Derivation: **rema** (chop/cut, verb), **tlou** (elephant, cl. 9, noun). Locative: No locative suffix. Diminutive: No diminutive suffix.

Class 6: **Masetla-pelo** (Tragedy). Derivation: **setla** (pound/thresh, verb), **pelo** (heart, cl. 9, noun). Locative: **Masetla-pelong**. Diminutive: **Masetla-pelwana**.



Place

Exocentric compound

(211) Class 6: **Marua-tona** (Name of a school). Derivation: **rua** (own/keep, verb), **tona** (male/member of cabinet, cl. 9, noun). Locative: No locative suffix. Diminutive: **Marua-tonanyana**.

Table of compounds

Endocentric compounds

(212)	Noun	Pl.	Deriv.	Morph.	Loc.	Dim.	SFeat.
				AF [V [AF R]			
1	Mmala-tšhelete	2	1 [V [N(9)]]	+ + + +	+(N2)	+(N2)	Human
2	Mmina-kolobe	2	1 [V [N(9)]]	+ + + +	+(N2)	+(N2)	Human
3	Mmetša-noto	2	1 [V [N(9)]]	+ + + +	+(N2)	+(N2)	Human
4	Mmoka-dintši	2	1 [V [N(10)]]	+ + + +	+(N2)	+(N2)	Human
5	Mmona-dikgolo	2	1 [V [N(8)]]	+ + + +	+(N2)	+(N2)	Human
6	Mmopa-pitša	2	1 [V [N(9)]]	+ + + +	+(N2)	+(N2)	Human
7	Mmuša-karolo	2	1 [V [N(9)]]	+ + + +	+(N2)	+(N2)	Human
8	Moapea-bodila	2	1 [V [N(14)]]	+ + + +	+(N2)	+(N2)	Human
9	Modira-dibe	2	1 [V [N(8)]]	+ + + +	+(N2)	+(N2)	Human
10	Modiša-pudi	2	1 [V [N(9)]]	+ + + +	+(N2)	+(N2)	Human
11	Moditela-rato	2	1 [V [N(5)]]	+ + - +	+(N2)	+(N2)	Human
12	Moduma-bonkgwete	2	1 [V [N(14)]]	+ + + +	+(N2)	+(N2)	Human
13	Moepa-thaba	2	1 [V [N(9)]]	+ + + +	+(N2)	+(N2)	Human
14	Mogaša-lentsšu	2	1 [V [N(5)]]	+ + + +	+(N2)	+(N2)	Human
15	Mohlankela-temo	2	1 [V [N(9)]]	+ + + +	+(N2)	+(N2)	Human
16	Mohlapetša-temo	2	1 [V [N(9)]]	+ + + +	+(N2)	+(N2)	Human
17	Mohlaya-tumelo	2	1 [V [N(9)]]	+ + + +	+(N2)	+(N2)	Human
18	Mohloka-ina	2	1 [V [N(5)]]	+ + - +	+(N2)	+(N2)	Human
19	Moila-kwena	2	1 [V [N(9)]]	+ + + +	+(N2)	+(N2)	Human
20	Moja-kgaka	2	1 [V [N(9)]]	+ + + +	+(N2)	+(N2)	Human
21	Moja-thojana	2	1 [V [N(9)]]	+ + + +	+(N2)	-	Human
22	Mokwa-dikgolo	2	1 [V [N(8)]]	+ + + +	+(N2)	+(N2)	Human
23	Mokwa-tšhego	2	1 [V [N(9)]]	+ + + +	+(N2)	+(N2)	Human
24	Moleta-mohlape	2	1 [V [N(3)]]	+ + + +	+(N2)	+(N2)	Human
25	Monepa-dikago	2	1 [V [N(10)]]	+ + + +	+(N2)	+(N2)	Human
26	Monepa-naledi	2	1 [V [N(9)]]	+ + + +	+(N2)	+(N2)	Human
27	Mooka-bjoko	2	1 [V [N(14)]]	+ + + +	+(N2)	+(N2)	Human
28	Mootlela-setimela	2	1 [V [N(7)]]	+ + + +	+(N2)	+(N2)	Human
29	Morua-kgomo	2	1 [V [N(9)]]	+ + + +	+(N2)	+(N2)	Human
30	Moswara-teu	2	1 [V [N(9)]]	+ + + +	+(N2)	+(N2)	Human
31	Moubula-dikhwama	2	1 [V [N(8)]]	+ + + +	+(N2)	+(N2)	Human
32	Leboka-ina	6	5 [V [N(5)]]	+ + - +	+(N2)	+(N2)	Communic.
33	Leja-pela	6	5 [V [N(9)]]	+ + + +	+(N2)	+(N2)	Animal
34	Lethuša-lediri	6	5 [V [N(5)]]	+ + + +	+(N2)	+(N2)	Communic.
35	Seela-botelele	8	7 [V [N(14)]]	+ + + +	+(N2)	+(N2)	Artif.
36	Seela-oli	8	7 [V [N(9)]]	+ + + +	+(N2)	+(N2)	Artif.
37	Seepa-modi	8	7 [V [N(3)]]	+ + + +	+(N2)	+(N2)	Human
38	Sefola-mafela	8	7 [V [N(6)]]	+ + + +	+(N2)	+(N2)	Artif.
39	Segaša-korong	8	7 [V [N(9)]]	+ + + +	+(N2)	+(N2)	Artif.
40	Segohla-meno	8	7 [V [N(6)]]	+ + + +	+(N2)	+(N2)	Artif.

41	Segopa-tsela	8	7 [V [N(9)]]	+ + + +	+(N2)	+(N2)	Artif.
42	Sehlahla-difofu	8	7 [V [N(8)]]	+ + + +	+(N2)	+(N2)	Human
43	Sehloma-pone	8	7 [V [N(9)]]	+ + + +	+(N2)	+(N2)	Artif.
44	Sehula-metse	8	7 [V [N(4)]]	+ + + +	+(N2)	+(N2)	Human
45	Seila-botlakala	8	7 [V [N(14)]]	+ + + +	+(N2)	+(N2)	Human
46	Seja-morogo	8	7 [V [N(3)]]	+ + + +	+(N2)	+(N2)	Human
47	Sekgafa-ditladi	8	7 [V [N(10)]]	+ + + +	+(N2)	+(N2)	Artif.
48	Sekgahla-baruhuhli	8	7 [V [N(2)]]	+ + + +	+(N2)	+(N2)	Human
49	Sekhukumela-khuru	8	7 [V [N(9)]]	+ + + +	+(N2)	+(N2)	Body part
50	Selebala-setšhaba	8	7 [V [N(7)]]	+ + + +	+(N2)	+(N2)	Human
51	Selema-tsela	8	7 [V [N(9)]]	+ + + +	+(N2)	+(N2)	Artif.
52	Senganga-mehlagare	8	7 [V [N(4)]]	+ + + +	+(N2)	+(N2)	Illness
53	Senganga-thale	8	7 [V [N(5)]]	+ + - +	+(N2)	+(N2)	Artif.
54	Sentšha-muši	8	7 [V [N(3)]]	+ + + +	+(N2)	+(N2)	Artif.
55	Senyala-basadi	8	7 [V [N(2)]]	+ + + +	+(N2)	+(N2)	Human
56	Sephumola-mphufutšo	8	7 [V [N(3)]]	+ + + +	+(N2)	+(N2)	Artif.
57	Sephumola-tlapa	8	7 [V [N(5)]]	+ + - +	+(N2)	+(N2)	Artif.
58	Seraga-mabje	8	7 [V [N(6)]]	+ + + +	+(N2)	+(N2)	Artif.
59	Seraka-leswiswi	8	7 [V [N(5)]]	+ + + +	+(N2)	+(N2)	Nat. phen.
60	Seripa-pautu	8	7 [V [N(9)]]	+ + + +	+(N2)	+(N2)	Artif.
61	Sešira-phefo	8	7 [V [N(9)]]	+ + + +	+(N2)	+(N2)	Artif.
62	Sešupa-nako	8	7 [V [N(9)]]	+ + + +	+(N2)	+(N2)	Artif.
63	Sethopa-sebjana	8	7 [V [N(7)]]	+ + + +	+(N2)	+(N2)	Human
64	Setima-mollo	8	7 [V [N(3)]]	+ + + +	+(N2)	+(N2)	Artif.
65	Setsošološa-peteri	8	7 [V [N(9)]]	+ + + +	+(N2)	+(N2)	Artif.
66	Hloka-moseki	10	9 [V [N(1)]]	+ + + +	+(N2)	+(N2)	Event
67	Kamogela-baeng	-	9 [V [N(2)]]	+ + + +	-	-	State
68	Kgagola-megolo	10	9 [V [N(4)]]	+ + + +	+(N2)	+(N2)	Animal
69	Kila-bagolegwa	10	9 [V [N(2)]]	+ + + +	+(N2)	+(N2)	Cognition
70	Polaya-khunkhwane	10	9 [V [N(9)]]	+ + + +	+(N2)	+(N2)	Artif.
71	Tata-moloko	10	9 [V [N(3)]]	+ + + +	+(N2)	+(N2)	Cognition
72	Thinya-matolo	10	9 [V [N(6)]]	+ + + +	+(N2)	+(N2)	Human
73	Thuša-thuto	10	9 [V [N(9)]]	+ + + +	+(N2)	+(N2)	Communic.
74	Thuta-tlhago	10	9 [V [N(9)]]	+ + + +	+(N2)	+(N2)	Communic.
75	Tšhupa-molato	10	9 [V [N(3)]]	+ + + +	+(N2)	+(N2)	Communic.
76	Bobaka-pušo	-	14 [V [N(9)]]	+ + + +	-	+(N2)	Place
77	Bobeša-nama	-	14 [V [N(9)]]	+ + + +	-	+(N2)	Place
78	Bohlatswa-bjana	-	14 [V [N(7)]]	+ + - +	-	+(N2)	Place
79	Bohlaya-tumelo	-	14 [V [N(9)]]	+ + + +	-	+(N2)	Place
80	Bokgoba-dingwalo	-	14 [V [N(8)]]	+ + + +	-	+(N2)	Place
81	Boleba-meetse	-	14 [V [N(6)]]	+ + + +	-	+(N2)	Place
82	Bolota-bahu	-	14 [V [N(2)]]	+ + + +	-	+(N2)	Place
83	Bonepa-naledi	-	14 [V [N(9)]]	+ + + +	-	+(N2)	Place
84	Borata-pelo	-	14 [V [N(9)]]	+ + + +	-	-	Place
85	Bosela-watle	-	14 [V [N(5)]]	+ + - +	-	-	Place
86	Bothula-koloi	-	14 [V [N(9)]]	+ + + +	-	+(N2)	Place

Exocentric compounds

(213)	Noun	Pl.	Deriv.	Morph.	Loc.	Dim.	SFeat.
				AF [V [AF R]			
1	Hlakola-dihlare	2a	1a [V [N(8)]]	+ + + +	-	+(N2)	Time
2	Hlatswa-dinoka	2a	1a [V [N(10)]]	+ + + +	-	+(N2)	Human
3	Hlatswa-dirope	2a	1a [V [N(8)]]	+ + + +	-	+(N2)	Human
4	Hloka-maelelo	2a	1a [V [N(6)]]	+ + + +	-	+(N2)	Human
5	Hloka-mereba	2a	1a [V [N(4)]]	+ + + +	-	+(N2)	Human
6	Hloka-molomo	2a	1a [V [N(3)]]	+ + + +	-	+(N2)	Human
7	Hlotla-madiba	2a	1a [V [N(6)]]	+ + + +	-	+(N2)	Culture
8	Kgapha-madi	2a	1a [V [N(6)]]	+ + + +	-	+(N2)	Human
9	Mmetša-tholo	2a	1a [V [N(9)]]	+ + + +	-	+(N2)	Human
10	Modiša-kgomo	2a	1a [V [N(9)]]	+ + + +	-	+(N2)	Animal
11	Moloma-tsebe	2a	1a [V [N(9)]]	+ + + +	-	+(N2)	Human
12	Nyatša-molala	2a	1a [V [N(3)]]	+ + + +	-	+(N2)	Human
13	Phaka-maseme	2a	1a [V [N(6)]]	+ + + +	-	+(N2)	Human
14	Phampha-madiba	2a	1a [V [N(6)]]	+ + + +	-	+(N2)	Nat. phen.
15	Phaya-bašemane	2a	1a [V [N(2)]]	+ + + +	-	+(N2)	Plant
16	Phoša-dira	2a	1a [V [N(8)]]	+ + + +	-	+(N2)	Human
17	Mmuša-pelo	2	1 [V [N(9)]]	+ + + +	+(N2)	+(N2)	Human
18	Mobjala-phefo	2	1 [V [N(9)]]	+ + + +	+(N2)	+(N2)	Human
19	Mogata-rite	2	1 [V [N(7)]]	+ + - +	+(N2)	+(N2)	Human
20	Mohlalla-ntšhi	2	1 [V [N(9)]]	+ + + +	+(N2)	+(N2)	Human
21	Mohloka-tsebo	2	1 [V [N(9)]]	+ + + +	+(N2)	+(N2)	Human
22	Moila-ntši	2	1 [V [N(9)]]	+ + + +	+(N2)	+(N2)	Human
23	Moja-dihlogo	2	1 [V [N(10)]]	+ + + +	+(N2)	+(N2)	Human
24	Moja-lefa	2	1 [V [N(5)]]	+ + + +	+(N2)	+(N2)	Human
25	Moleta-leswiswi	2	1 [V [N(5)]]	+ + + +	+(N2)	+(N2)	Human
26	Moleta-šaka	2	1 [V [N(5)]]	+ + - +	+(N2)	+(N2)	Human
27	Moleta-ngwedi	2	1 [V [N(3)]]	+ + + +	+(N2)	+(N2)	Human
28	Moswara-marapo	2	1 [V [N(6)]]	+ + + +	+(N2)	+(N2)	Human
29	Moswara-selepe	2	1 [V [N(7)]]	+ + + +	+(N2)	+(N2)	Human
30	Motima-lenyora	2	1 [V [N(5)]]	+ + + +	+(N2)	+(N2)	Human
31	Motšhaba-pula	2	1 [V [N(9)]]	+ + + +	+(N2)	+(N2)	Human
32	Mmetla-kgamelo	4	3 [V [N(9)]]	+ + + +	+(N2)	+(N2)	Food
33	Mogata-kgomo	4	3 [V [N(9)]]	+ + + +	+(N2)	+(N2)	Plant
34	Mogoga-leleme	4	3 [V [N(5)]]	+ + + +	+(N2)	+(N2)	Plant
35	Mohlaba-phala	4	3 [V [N(9)]]	+ + + +	+(N2)	+(N2)	Food
36	Moja-pela	4	3 [V [N(9)]]	+ + + +	+(N2)	+(N2)	Plant
37	Mokota-tšie	4	3 [V [N(9)]]	+ + + +	+(N2)	+(N2)	Animal
38	Monganga-pane	4	3 [V [N(9)]]	+ + + +	+(N2)	+(N2)	Plant
39	Monganga-tau	4	3 [V [N(9)]]	+ + + +	+(N2)	+(N2)	Plant
40	Mosetla-phala	4	3 [V [N(9)]]	+ + + +	+(N2)	+(N2)	Animal
41	Mosetla-tlou	4	3 [V [N(9)]]	+ + + +	+(N2)	+(N2)	Plant
42	Mphala-kgopa	4	3 [V [N(9)]]	+ + + +	+(N2)	+(N2)	Plant
43	Mphapha-hlogo	4	3 [V [N(9)]]	+ + + +	+(N2)	+(N2)	Artif.
44	Mphara-kgopa	4	3 [V [N(9)]]	+ + + +	+(N2)	+(N2)	Plant
45	Mphara-tšhwene	4	3 [V [N(9)]]	+ + + +	+(N2)	+(N2)	Plant

46	Mphata-nare	4	3 [V [N(9)]]	+ + + +	+(N2)	+(N2)	Plant
47	Leapara-nkwe	6	5 [V [N(9)]]	+ + + +	+(N2)	+(N2)	Human
48	Lebina-koša	6	5 [V [N(9)]]	+ + + +	+(N2)	+(N2)	Body part
49	Lebolela-mong	6	5 [V [N(1)]]	+ + + +	+(N2)	+(N2)	Communic.
50	Legoga-kobo	-	5 [V [N(9)]]	+ + + +	+(N2)	+(N2)	Cognition
51	Lehlaba-pshio	6	5 [V [N(9)]]	+ + + +	+(N2)	+(N2)	Human
52	Leja-nku	6	5 [V [N(9)]]	+ + + +	+(N2)	+(N2)	Human
53	Lesela-watle	6	5 [V [N(5)]]	+ + - +	+(N2)	+(N2)	Artif.
54	Lešita-phiri	6	5 [V [N(9)]]	+ + + +	+(N2)	+(N2)	Body part
55	Letopa-nta	6	5 [V [N(9)]]	+ + + +	+(N2)	+(N2)	Nat. phen.
56	Sebala-makgolo	8	7 [V [N(6)]]	+ + + +	+(N2)	+(N2)	Artif.
57	Seepa-mokoti	8	7 [V [N(3)]]	+ + + +	+(N2)	+(N2)	Human
58	Sefata-mollo	8	7 [V [N(3)]]	+ + + +	+(N2)	+(N2)	Human
59	Segata-marokgwana	8	7 [V [N(6)]]	+ + + +	+(N2)	-	Human
60	Segata-meroko	8	7 [V [N(4)]]	+ + + +	+(N2)	+(N2)	Human
61	Segoga-lefasetere	8	7 [V [N(5)]]	+ + + +	+(N2)	+(N2)	Artif.
62	Segwaela-phaga	8	7 [V [N(9)]]	+ + + +	+(N2)	+(N2)	Human
63	Sehlaba-maebana	8	7 [V [N(6)]]	+ + + +	+(N2)	-	Animal
64	Sehlaba-thakana	8	7 [V [N(9)]]	+ + + +	+(N2)	-	Nat. phen.
65	Seja-balata	8	7 [V [N(2)]]	+ + + +	+(N2)	+(N2)	Human
66	Seja-hlapi	8	7 [V [N(9)]]	+ + + +	+(N2)	+(N2)	Communic.
67	Seja-moroko	8	7 [V [N(3)]]	+ + + +	+(N2)	+(N2)	Artif.
68	Seja-naga	8	7 [V [N(9)]]	+ + + +	+(N2)	+(N2)	Artif.
69	Semetša-kolo	8	7 [V [N(9)]]	+ + + +	+(N2)	+(N2)	Human
70	Semona-morula	8	7 [V [N(3)]]	+ + + +	+(N2)	+(N2)	Animal
71	Senwa-bolopi	8	7 [V [N(14)]]	+ + + +	+(N2)	+(N2)	Animal
72	Senyaganyaga-maswi	8	7 [V [N(6)]]	+ + + +	+(N2)	+(N2)	Human
73	Sephapha-dikgong	8	7 [V [N(10)]]	+ + + +	+(N2)	+(N2)	Human
74	Sephapha-kgogo	8	7 [V [N(9)]]	+ + + +	+(N2)	+(N2)	Human
75	Sephara-kgatla	8	7 [V [N(9)]]	+ + + +	+(N2)	+(N2)	Artif.
76	Sephara-ngwana	8	7 [V [N(1)]]	+ + + +	+(N2)	+(N2)	Human
77	Sešupa-moya	8	7 [V [N(3)]]	+ + + +	+(N2)	+(N2)	Artif.
78	Setšhuma-mpara	8	7 [V [N(9)]]	+ + + +	+(N2)	+(N2)	Artif.
79	Garola-matswalo	10	9 [V [N(6)]]	+ + + +	+(N2)	+(N2)	Cognition
80	Hlaba-melao	10	9 [V [N(4)]]	+ + + +	+(N2)	+(N2)	Communic.
81	Hlahla-modupi	10	9 [V [N(3)]]	+ + + +	+(N2)	+(N2)	Animal
82	Hlahla-muši	10	9 [V [N(3)]]	+ + + +	+(N2)	+(N2)	Nat. phen.
83	Kgakga-muši	10	9 [V [N(3)]]	+ + + +	+(N2)	+(N2)	Nat. phen.
84	Kgoba-boloko	10	9 [V [N(14)]]	+ + + +	+(N2)	+(N2)	Animal
85	Kgokgola-mooko	10	9 [V [N(3)]]	+ + + +	+(N2)	+(N2)	Nat. phen.
86	Kgonya-ihlo	10	9 [V [N(5)]]	+ + - +	+(N2)	+(N2)	Animal
87	Kgopa-boloko	10	9 [V [N(14)]]	+ + + +	+(N2)	+(N2)	Animal
88	Phaka-barwa	10	9 [V [N(2)]]	+ + + +	+(N2)	+(N2)	Artif.
89	Phaka-maseme	10	9 [V [N(6)]]	+ + + +	+(N2)	+(N2)	Human
90	Phaka-maseneke	10	9 [V [N(6)]]	+ + + +	+(N2)	+(N2)	Human
91	Phapha-dikota	10	9 [V [N(10)]]	+ + + +	+(N2)	+(N2)	Animal
92	Phenya-baloi	10	9 [V [N(2)]]	+ + + +	+(N2)	+(N2)	Plant
93	Pola-mmele	10	9 [V [N(3)]]	+ + + +	+(N2)	+(N2)	Illness
94	Ponya-leihlo	10	9 [V [N(5)]]	+ + + +	+(N2)	+(N2)	Time

95	Pshinya-leraga	10	9 [V [N(5)]]	+	+	+	+	+(N2)	+(N2)	Animal
96	Pula-molomo	10	9 [V [N(3)]]	+	+	+	+	+(N2)	+(N2)	Artif.
97	Tima-mello	10	9 [V [N(4)]]	+	+	+	+	+(N2)	+(N2)	Human
98	Tlhapa-watle	10	9 [V [N(5)]]	+	+	-	+	+(N2)	+(N2)	Animal
99	Tlola-melora	10	9 [V [N(4)]]	+	+	+	+	+(N2)	+(N2)	Body part
100	Tshela-ditao	10	9 [V [N(10)]]	+	+	+	+	+(N2)	+(N2)	Human
101	Tšhupa-baloi	10	9 [V [N(2)]]	+	+	+	+	+(N2)	+(N2)	Body part
102	Tula-mešidi	10	9 [V [N(4)]]	+	+	+	+	+(N2)	+(N2)	Nat. obj.
103	Bohlaba-pshio	-	14 [V [N(9)]]	+	+	+	+	-	-	State
104	Bohlapa-kolobe	-	14 [V [N(9)]]	+	+	+	+	-	+(N2)	Place
105	Bohuna-matolo	-	14 [V [N(6)]]	+	+	+	+	-	-	State
106	Boja-lefa	-	14 [V [N(5)]]	+	+	+	+	-	-	State
107	Bokgoba-ngati	-	14 [V [N(9)]]	+	+	+	+	-	-	State
108	Borona-nta	-	14 [V [N(9)]]	+	+	+	+	-	+(N2)	Place

Transitive verbs and nouns (with ma-)

Endocentric compounds

(214)

Noun	Pl.	Deriv.	Morph.	Loc.	Dim.	SFeat.				
			AF [V [AF R]]							
1	Madikologa-nna	2a	1a[V [V(Pro)]]	+	+	+	+	-	+(N2)	Human
2	Maila-leswenya	2a	1a[V [V(5)]]	+	+	+	+	-	+(N2)	Human
3	Maja-nama	2a	1a[V [V(9)]]	+	+	+	+	-	+(N2)	Human
4	Maphutha-ditšhaba	2a	1a[V [V(8)]]	+	+	+	+	-	+(N2)	Human
5	Marata-meetse	2a	1a[V [V(6)]]	+	+	+	+	-	+(N2)	Human
6	Marua-ntwa	2a	1a[V [V(9)]]	+	+	+	+	-	+(N2)	Human
7	Mahllokola-pelo	-	6[V [V(9)]]	+	+	+	+	+(N2)	+(N2)	State

Exocentric compounds

(215)

Noun	Pl.	Deriv.	Morph.	Loc.	Dim.	SFeat.				
			AF [V [AF R]]							
1	Mabeša-dinama	2a	1a[V[N(10)]]	+	+	+	+	-	+(N2)	Human
2	Madiša-kgongwana	2a	1a[V[N(9)]]	+	+	+	+	-	-	Animal
3	Madumela-khwele	2a	1a[V[N(9)]]	+	+	+	+	-	+(N2)	Human
4	Maleka-digale	2a	1a[V[N(8)]]	+	+	+	+	-	+(N2)	Human
5	Maphuma-difala	2a	1a[V[N(8)]]	+	+	+	+	-	+(N2)	Plant
6	Marata-sebilo	2a	1a[V[N(7)]]	+	+	+	+	-	+(N2)	Nat. obj.
7	Maroba-dikala	2a	1a[V[N(10)]]	+	+	+	+	-	+(N2)	Human
8	Mašia-noka	2a	1a[V[N(9)]]	+	+	+	+	-	+(N2)	Animal
9	Marema-tlou	-	6[V[N(9)]]	+	+	+	+	-	-	State
10	Marua-tona	-	6[V[N(9)]]	+	+	+	+	-	+(N2)	Place
11	Masetla-pelo	-	6[V[N(9)]]	+	+	+	+	+(N2)	+(N2)	State
12	Matšhatšha-khura	-	6[V[N(5)]]	+	+	-	+	+(N2)	+(N2)	Food
13	Matubutša-batho	-	6[V[N(2)]]	+	+	+	+	+(N2)	+(N2)	Plant

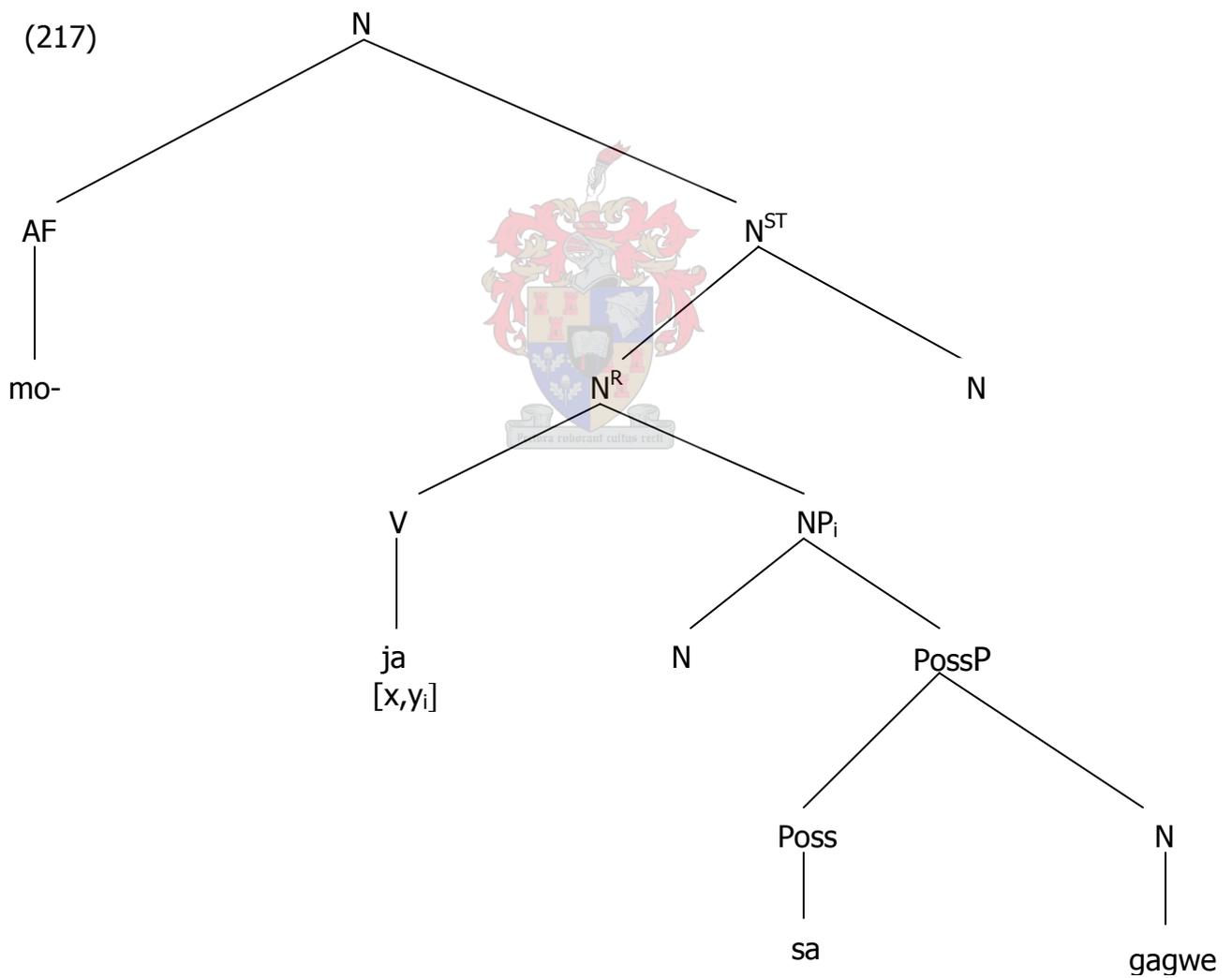
4.3.3 Transitive verb with a noun phrase

4.3.3.1 Transitive verb and a possessive phrase

Morphological structure

$$\text{ARGSTR} = \left[\begin{array}{l} \text{ARG 1} = x \\ \text{ARG 2} = y \end{array} \right]$$

(216) [Moja-sa-gagwe] (Person who eats his/hers)



Compound noun: [AF-[V-PossP]

[mo-[ja-sa-gagwe] (person who eats his/hers)

The verb **ja** in the structure illustrated above has two arguments. These arguments are [x] and [y]. The [x] argument that occupies the subject position represents the external argument whilst the internal argument that occupies the complement position is represented by the [y] argument in a clause. The following example shows the arguments:

(218) Ke [mošemane] yo-a-jago [sa-gagwe]

'It is the boy who eats his'

In this morphological structure, the [x] argument of **ja** is not assigned to any position in the complement of N^R. The [y] argument, which is the complement of V, is assigned to the NP. The [y] argument is co-indexed by [i]. The possessive phrase has to appear with an empty N as head of the NP.

The characteristics which the prefix has are indicated below:

- a. The prefix is the head of the compound noun.
- b. It controls the [x] argument of **ja**.
- c. It determines the semantic feature of the compound noun. It has a reference to **humans**.

Nominal suffixes

The augmentative suffix -gadi

- (219) a. Moja-sa-gagwe-+-**gadi** (Big person who eats his/hers)
 b. Mphala-tša-maru-+-**gadi** (Big wild asperagus)

The diminutive suffixes -nyana/-ana

The suffix **-nyana**:

(220) Moja-sa-gagwe-+-**nyana** (Small person who eats his/hers)

The suffix **-ana**:

(221) Mphala-tša-mašw-+-**ana** (Small wild asperagus)

The locative suffix -eng

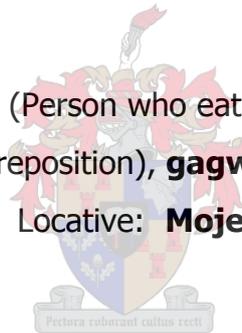
(222) Mphal-+-**eng**-tša-maru (The wild asperagus)

Semantic features

Human

Endocentric compound

(223) Class 1: **Moja-sa-gagwe** (Person who eats his/hers). Derivation: **ja** (eat, verb), **sa** (of, possessive preposition), **gagwe** (his/hers, possessive pronoun of the 3rd person singular). Locative: **Mojeng-sa-gagwe**. Diminutive: **Moja-sa-gagwenyana**.



Plant

Exocentric compound

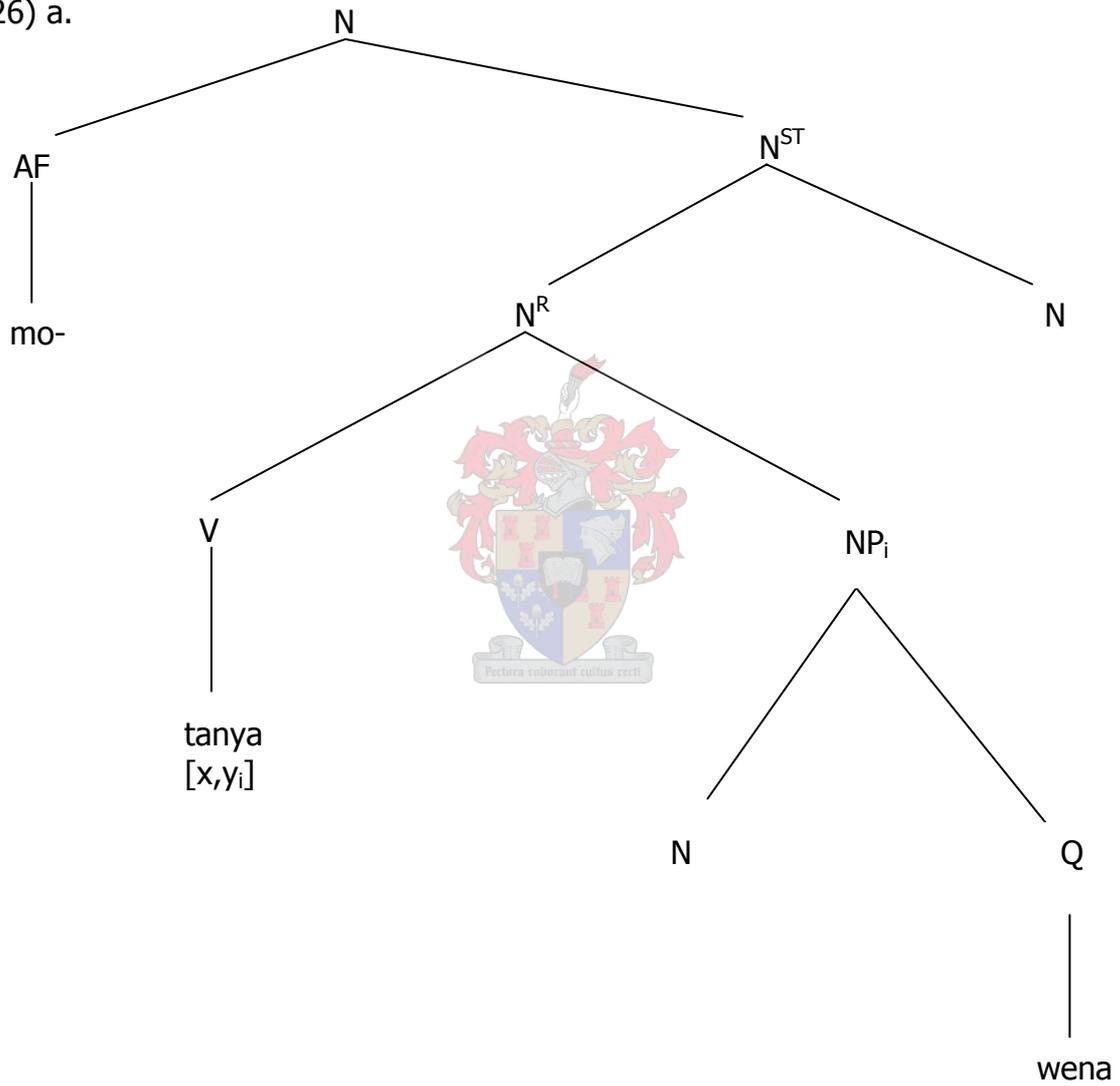
(224) Class 3/4: **Mphala-tša-maru** (Mefala-tša-maru) (Wild asperagus). Derivation: **phala** (be better than, verb), **tša** (of, possessive preposition), **maru** (cl. 6, clouds, noun). Locative: **Mphaleng-tša -maru**. Diminutive: **Mphala-tša-mašwana**.

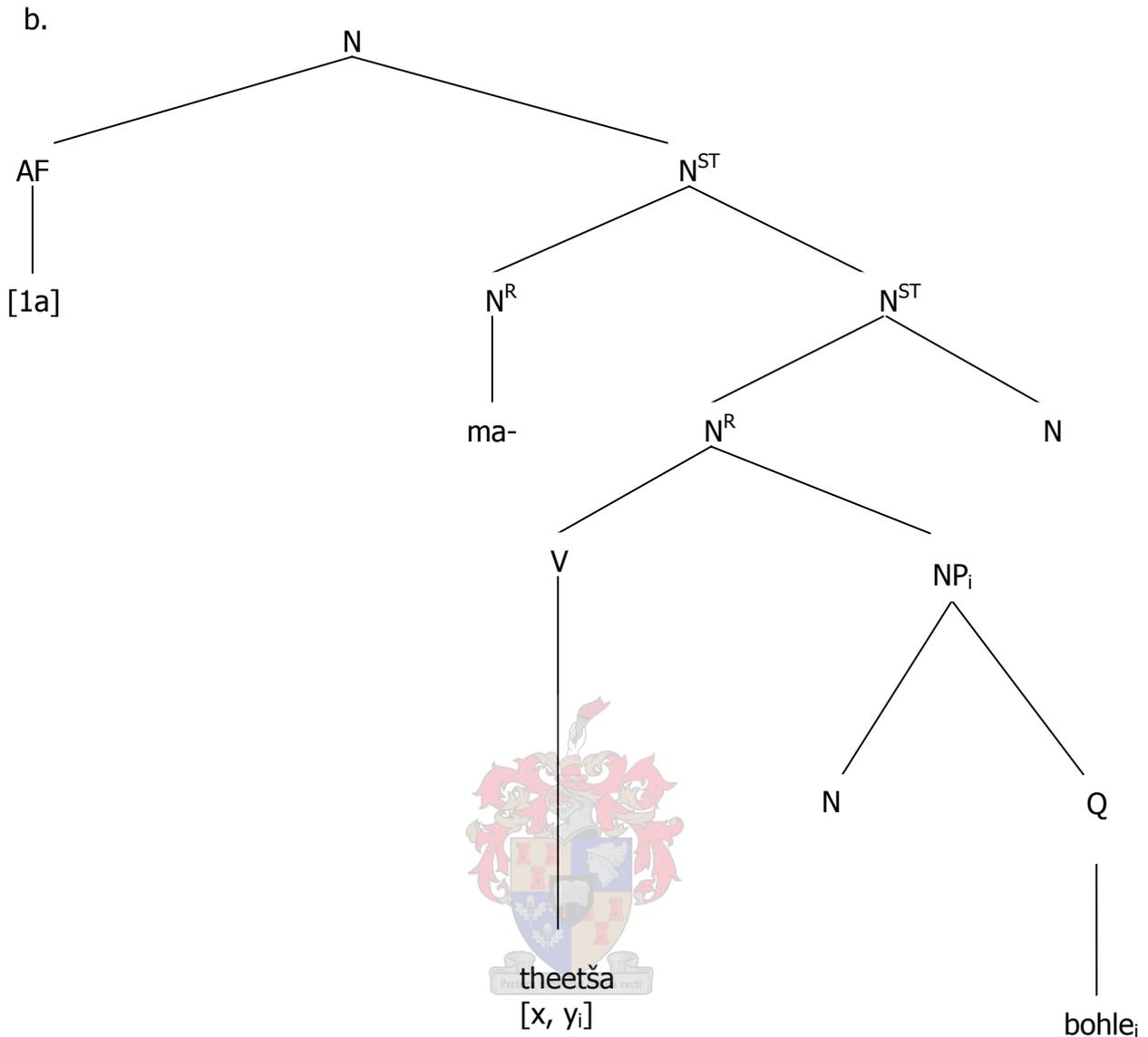
4.3.3.2 Transitive verb and a quantifier

Morphological structure

- (225) a. [Motanya-wena] (One who attracts you)
- b. [Matheetša-bohle] (Credulous person)

(226) a.





In the structures above, the verbs **tanya** and **theetša** have two arguments, i.e., [x] and [y]. The [y] argument is assigned to the NP with the quantifier in the structures above.

Every noun class prefix in the structures above has three characteristics:

- a. It is the head of the compound in that it determines its noun class, i.e., class 1 (**mo-**) in (a) and class 1a in (b).
- b. The noun class prefix controls the [x] argument of **tanya** and **theetša**.
- c. The semantic feature of the compound is determined by this prefix in that it has a reference to **human**.

Nominal suffixes

The augmentative suffix -gadi

- (227) a. Matheetša-bohle-+-**gadi** (Big credulous person)
b. Motanya-wena-+-**gadi** (Big person who attracts you)
c. Kgakga-ngwe-+-**gadi** (Big wooden fork used for pressing back the branches of a kraal)

The diminutive suffixes -nyana/-ana

The suffix **-nyana**:

- (228) a. Matheetša-bohle-+-**nyana** (Small credulous person)
b. Motanya-wena-+-**nyana** (Small person who attracts you)

The suffix **-ana**:

The compound noun below is more understandable when it is used with the suffix **-ana**:

- (229) Kgakga-ngw-+-**ana** (Small wooden fork used for pressing back the branches of a kraal)

The locative suffix -eng

Some compound nouns may take this locative suffix:

- (230) a. Kgakga-ngw-+-**eng** (The wooden fork used for pressing back the branches of a kraal)
b. Motany-+-**eng**-wena (The one who attracts you)

The following compound noun, however, can never take this suffix due to the fact that it belongs to class 1a:

(231) *Matheetša-bohl-+-eng

Semantic features

Human

Endocentric compound

(232) Class 1/2: **Motanya-wena** (Batanya-wena) (One who attracts you).
Derivation: **tanya** (catch/attract, transitive verb), **wena** (you, absolute pronoun of the 3rd person singular). Locative: **Motanyeng-wena**.
Diminutive: **Motanya-wenanyana**.

Artifact

Endocentric compound

(233) Class 9/10: **Kgakga-ngwe** (Dikgakga-ngwe) (Wooden fork used for pressing back the branches of a kraal). Derivation: **kgakga** (hook onto (e.g., a thorny branch), transitive verb), **-ngwe** (another, adjectival root). Locative: **Kgakga-ngweng**. Diminutive: **Kgakga-ngwana**.

Semantic feature (in compound nouns with ma-)

Humans

Endocentric compounds

(234) Class 1a/2a: **Makgona-tšohle** (Bomakgona-tšohle) (A jack of all trades).
Derivation: **kgona** (be able, transitive verb), **tšohle** (all, quantifier).
Locative: No locative suffix. Diminutive: **Makgona-tšohlenyana**.

Class 1a/2a: **Matheetša-bohle** (Bomatheetša-bohle) (Credulous person).

Derivation: **theetša** (listen, transitive verb), **bohle** (all, quantifier). Locative:

No locative suffix. Diminutive: **Matheetša-bohlenyana**.

4.3.4 Transitive verb with an adjunct

4.3.4.1 Locative nouns with -eng

ARGSTR = [ARG 1 = x]

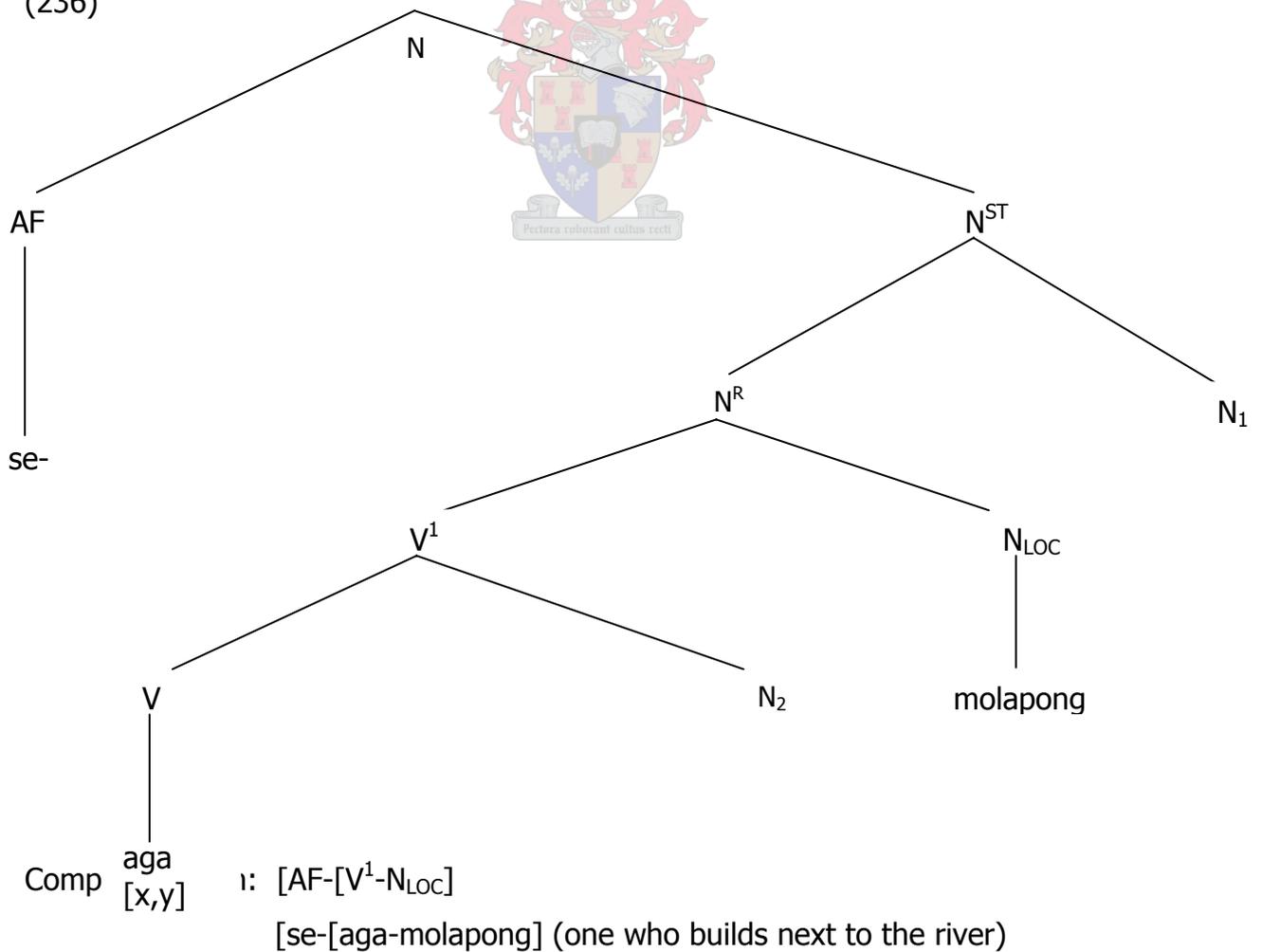
[ARG 2 = y]

[Adjunct = z]

Morphological structure

(235) [Seaga-molapong] (One who builds next to the river)

(236)



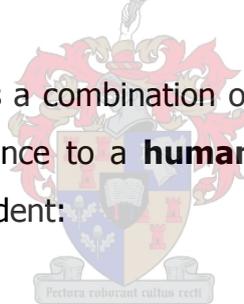
[N₁] and [N₂] above represent the position of the external argument [x] and the internal argument [y] of **aga**. None of these arguments has been assigned.

The adjunct is a locative noun (molapong) which appears as a complement of V¹.

The prefix **se-** above has the following properties:

- a. It is the head of the compound.
- b. This prefix controls the [x] argument of **aga**.
- c. It also determines the reference of the compound. This compound shows two features:
 - (i) Human, from the prefix **se-** of class 7.
 - (ii) Location, from the adjunct **molapong**.

The meaning of the compound is a combination of these two features. This means that the compound has a reference to a **human** at a certain **place**, e.g., in the following clause this becomes evident:



(237) Ke [motho] yo a agago [molapong]

'It is the person who builds next to the river'

Nominal suffixes

The augmentative suffix **-gadi**

- (238) a. Seaga-molapong-+-**gadi** (The big one who builds next to the river)
b. Sepharela-nkong-+-**gadi** (The big gecko)
c. Seraga-mabjeng-+-**gadi** (The big catapult)
d. Bothula-tšatšing-+-**gadi** (The big place where uncertified mechanicing or backyard mechanicing occurs)

The diminutive suffix **-ana**

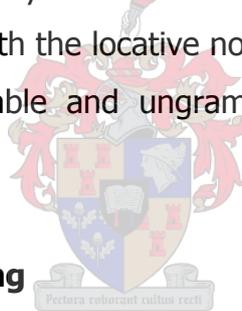
The suffix **-ana** appears before the locative **-eng**:

- (239) a. Seaga-molatsw-+-**an**-eng (The small one who builds next to the river)
b. Sepharela-nkw-+-**an**-eng (The small gecko)
c. Seraga-mabj-+-**an**-eng (The small catapult)
d. Bothula-tšatš-+-**an**-eng (The small place where uncertified
mechanicing or backyard machanicing occurs)

The locative suffix **-eng**

This section highlights the difficulty of affixing the locative suffix **-eng** to the locative nouns that are also characterized by the same locative suffix. The fact of the matter is that this suffix is never used with the locative nouns. The inclusion of this suffix to the locative nouns is unacceptable and ungrammatical as it is indicated in the following examples:

- (240) a. *Seaga-molapong-+-**eng**
b. *Sepharela-nkong-+-**eng**
c. *Seraga-mabjeng-+-**eng**
d. *Bothula-tšatšing-+-**eng**



Semantic features

Humans

Endocentric compounds

- (241) Class 1/2: **Motšhaba-mphatong** (Batšhaba-mphatong) (The one who escapes from the initiation school). Derivation: **tšhaba** (escape/flee, verb), **mphatong** (to the initiation school, cl. 3, locative noun). Locative: No

locative suffix. Diminutive: **Motšhaba-mphatwaneng**.

Class 7/8: **Seaga-molapong** (Diaga-molapong) (The one who builds next to the river). Derivation: **aga** (build, verb), **molapong** (to the river, cl. 3, locative noun). Locative: No locative suffix. Diminutive: **Seaga-molatswaneng**.

Animal

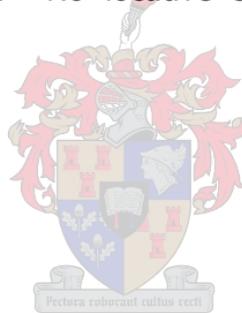
Exocentric compound

(242) Class 7/8: **Sepharela-nkong** (Dipharela-nkong) (The gecko).

Derivation: **pharela** (plaster for, applied verb), **nkong** (to the nose, cl. 9, locative noun). Locative: No locative suffix. Diminutive: **Sepharela-nkwaneng**.

Artifact

Endocentric compound



(243) Class 7/8: **Seraga-mabjeng** (Diraga-mabjeng) (The catapult).

Derivation: **raga** (kick, verb), **mabjeng** (to the stones, cl. 6, locative noun).
Locative: No locative suffix. Diminutive: **Seraga-mabjaneng**.

Place

Endocentric compound

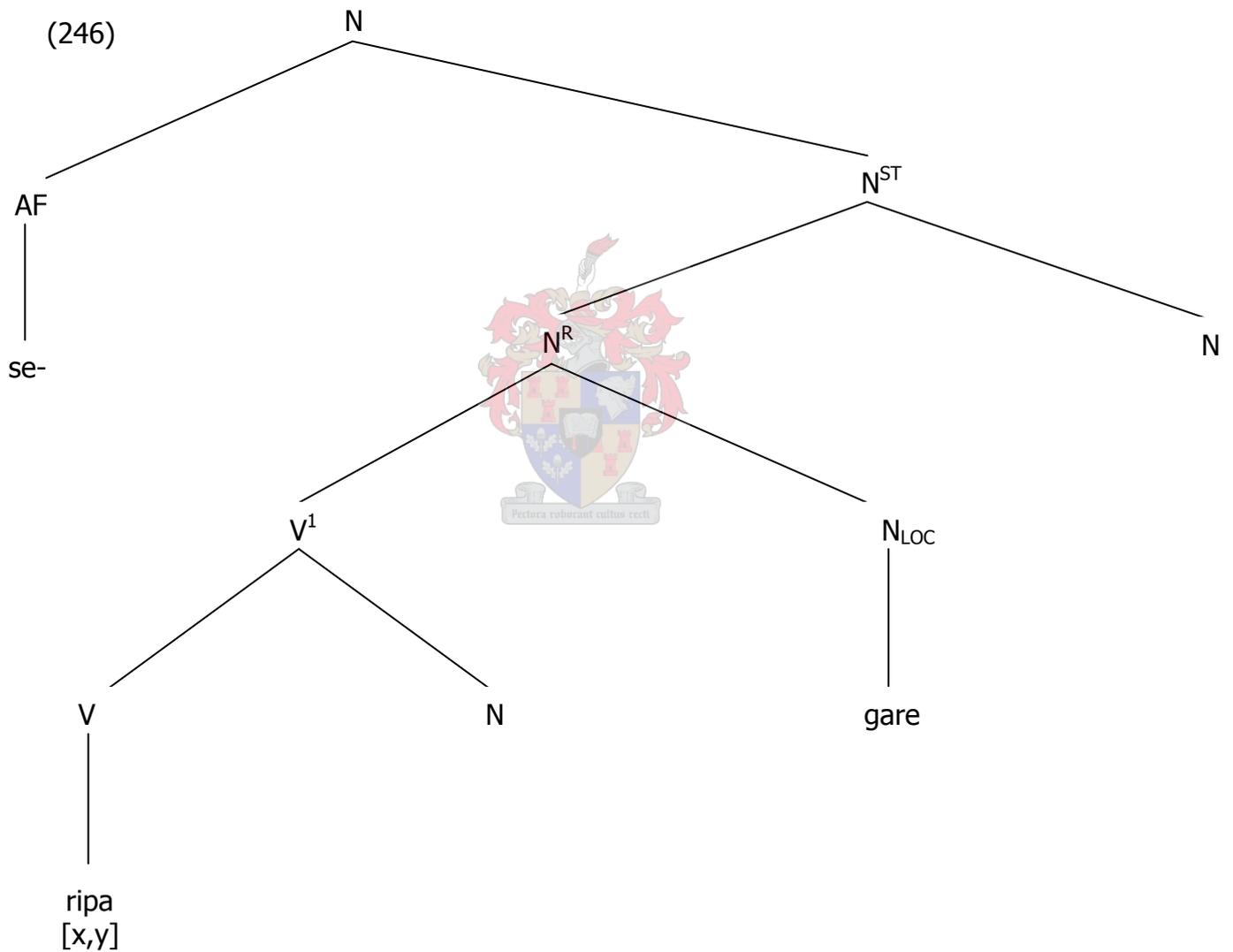
(244) Class 14: **Bothula-tšatšing** (The place where uncertified mechanicing or backyard mechanicing occurs). Derivation: **thula** (repair/collide, verb), -
tšatšing without its prefix (to the sun, cl. 5, locative noun). Locative: No locative suffix. Diminutive: **Bothula-tšatšaneng**.

4.3.4.2 Locative class noun

Morphological structure

Only one compound noun appears with a locative class noun, i.e., **seripa-gare** and this compound has the same structure as in paragraph 4.3.4.1.

(245) [Seripa-gare] (Half)



Nominal suffixes

The augmentative suffix -gadi

(247) Seripa-gare-+-**gadi** (Big half)

The diminutive suffix -nyana

(248) Seripa-gare-+-**nyana** (Small half)

The locative suffix -eng

Due to the nature of the compound, the locative suffix **-eng** cannot be accommodated. Even though the noun has a locative feature, it does not end up with a locative suffix. The example below bears the testimony:

(249) *Seripa-gar-+-**eng**



Semantic feature

Natural object

Endocentric compound

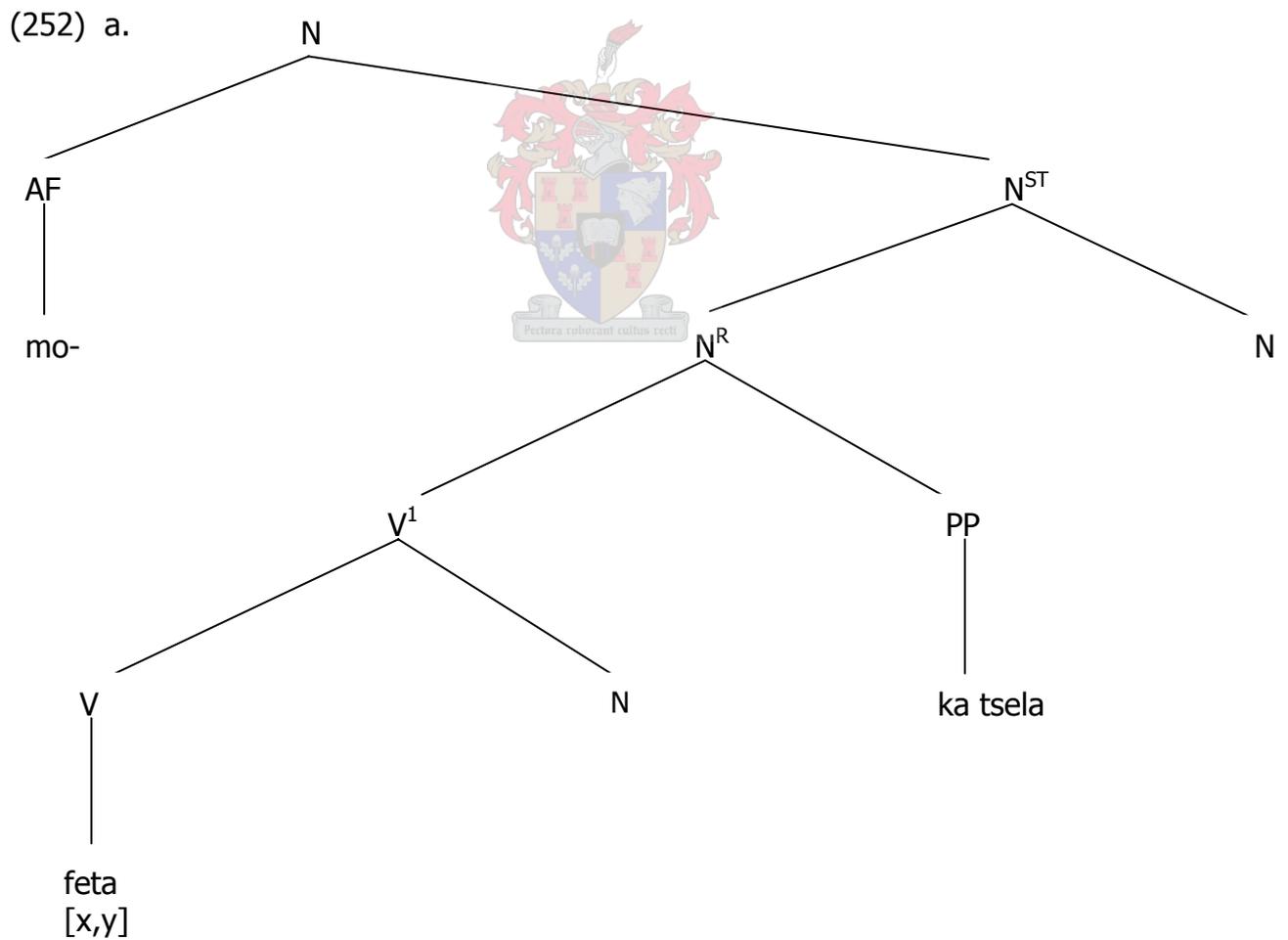
(250) Class 7/8: **Seripa-gare** (Diripa-gare) (Half). Derivation: **ripa** (cut, verb), **gare** (middle, locative noun). Locative: No locative suffix. Diminutive: **Seripa-garenyana**.

4.3.4.3 Prepositional phrase

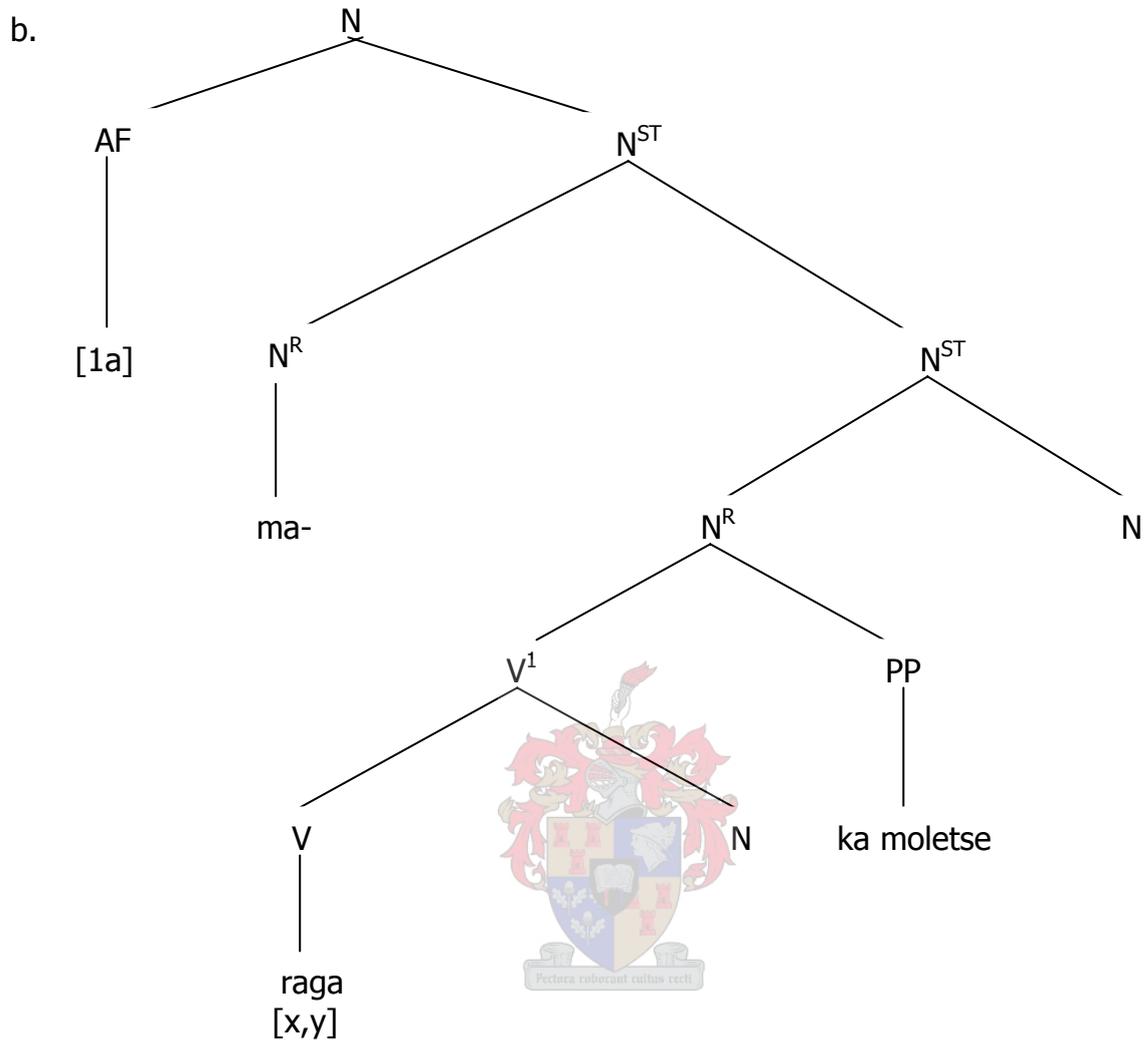
Morphological structure

AGRSTR = [ARG 1 = x]
 [ARG 2 = y]
 [Adjunct = z]

- (251) a. [Mofeta-ka-tsela] (Passer-by/traveller)
- b. [Maraga-ka-moletse] (One who kicks with the leg)



With **ma-**:



Compound nouns: a. [AF-[V¹-PP]

[mo-[feta-ka-tsela] (passer-by/traveller)

b. [AF-[ma-[V¹-PP]

[ma-[raga-ka-moletse] (one who kicks with the leg)

The morphological structures of the two compound nouns indicated above are the same except that the structure (b) has a root **ma-**, derived from the noun **mma**, which belongs to class 1a. In the examples above, the verbs **feta** and **raga** have two arguments each, i.e., [x] and [y] arguments which are not assigned to any position.

Both PPs **ka-tsela** and **ka-moletse** are adjuncts which are sisters of V¹.

Each prefix has the following characteristics:

- a. This prefix is the head of the compound noun as it determines its noun class, i.e., class 1 (**mo-**) in (a), and class 1a in (b).
- b. It controls the [x] argument.
- c. The semantic feature of the compound noun is determined by this prefix. This compound noun has a reference to **humans**.

Nominal suffixes

The augmentative suffix -gadi

- (253) a. Maraga-ka-moletse-+-**gadi** (Big one who kicks with the leg)
b. Marema-ka-dika-+-**gadi** (Big one who talks in parables)
c. Matshela-ka-tswati-+-**gadi** (Big diligent person)
d. Lerema-ka-tsaka-+-**gadi** (Big African hoopoe)

The diminutive suffix -ana

- (254) a. Maraga-ka-molets-+-**ana** (Small one who kicks with the leg)
b. Matshela-ka-tswatš-+-**ana** (Small diligent person)
c. Mofeta-ka-tsej-+-**ana** (Small passer-by/traveller)
d. Lerema-ka-tsak-+-**ana** (Small African hoopoe)

The locative suffix -eng

- (255) a. Mofeta-ka-tsel-+-**eng** (The passer-by/traveller)
b. Lerema-ka-tsak-+-**eng** (The African hoopoe)

Semantic features

Human

Endocentric compound

(256) Class 1/2: **Mofeta-ka-tsela** (Bafeta-ka-tsela) (Passer-by/traveller).
Derivation: **feta** (pass, verb), **ka** (with/by, instrumental preposition), **tsela** (road, cl. 9, noun). Locative: **Mofeta-ka-tseleng**. Diminutive: **Mofeta-ka-tsejana**.

Animal

Exocentric compound

(257) Class 5/6: **Lerema-ka-tsaka** (Marema-ka-tsaka) (African hoopoe).
Derivation: **rema** (chop, verb), **ka** (with/by, instrumental preposition), **tsaka** (battle-axe, cl. 9, noun). Locative: **Lerema-ka-tsakeng**. Diminutive: **Lerema-ka-tsakana**.



Semantic features (in compound nouns with ma-)

Human

Endocentric compounds

(258) Class 1a/2a: **Mafeta-ka-bogolo** (Bomafeta-ka-bogolo) (One who passes because of his/her greatness). Derivation: **feta** (pass, verb), **ka** (with/by, instrumental preposition), **bogolo** (greatness/importance, cl. 14, noun). Locative: No locative suffix. Diminutive: **Mafeta-ka-bogolwane**.

Class 1a/2a: **Maraga-ka-moletse** (Bomaraga-ka-moletse) (One who kicks

with the leg). Derivation: **raga** (kick, verb), **ka** (with/by, instrumental preposition), **moletse** (leg, cl. 3, noun). Locative: No locative suffix. Diminutive: **Maraga-ka-moletsana**.

Class 1a/2a: **Mašupa-ka-monwana** (Bomašupa-ka-monwana) (One who points out with a finger). Derivation: **šupa** (point, verb), **ka** (with/by, instrumental preposition), **monwana** (finger, cl. 3, noun). Locative: No locative suffix. Diminutive: **Mašupa-ka-monwananyana**.

Class 1a/2a: **Matshela-ka-tswati** (Bomatshela-ka-tswati) (Diligent person). Derivation: **tshela** (cross over, verb), **ka** (with/by, instrumental preposition), **tswati** (unpredictable, descriptive adjective). Locative: No locative suffix. Diminutive: **Matshela-ka-tswatšana**.

Exocentric compound

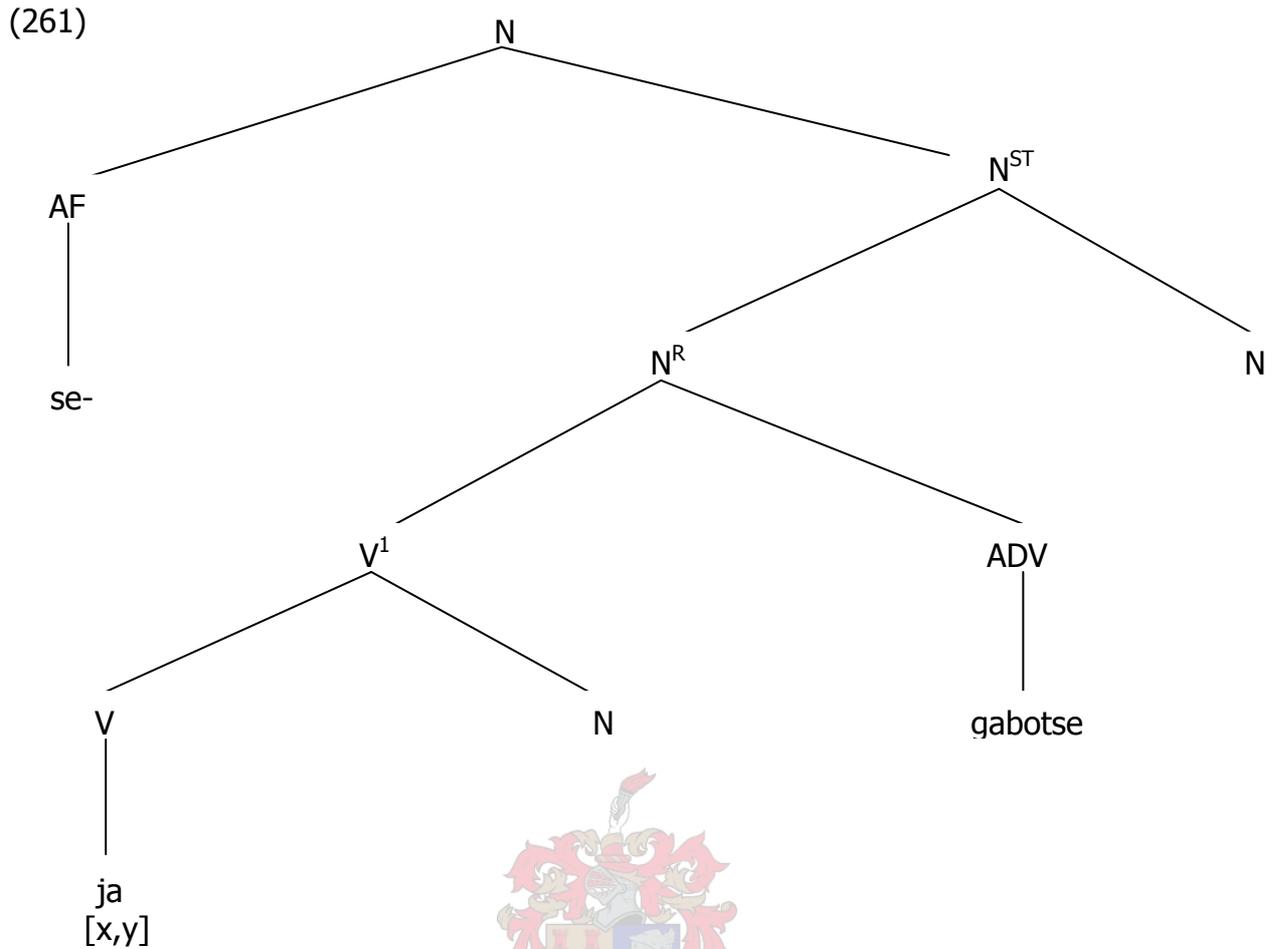
(259) Class 1a/2a: **Marema-ka-dika** (Bomarema-ka-dika) (One who talks in parables). Derivation: **rema** (chop, verb), **ka** (with/by, instrumental preposition), **dika** (idioms, cl. 8, noun). Locative: No locative suffix. Diminutive: **Marema-ka-dikana**.

4.3.4.4 Adverb

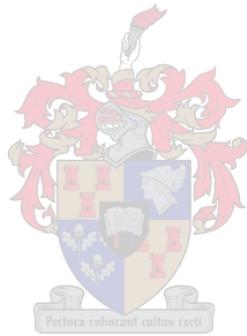
Morphological structure

$$\text{ARGSTR} = \left[\begin{array}{l} \text{ARG 1} = x \\ \text{ARG 2} = y \\ \text{Adjunct} = z \end{array} \right]$$

(260) [Seja-gabotse] (Person who lives a luxurious life)



Compound noun: [AF-[V¹-ADV]
[se-[ja-gabotse] (person who lives a luxurious life)



The prefix **se-** has the following properties:

- The prefix is the head of the compound noun.
- It controls the [x] argument.
- The prefix also determines the semantic feature of the compound noun. It has a reference to **humans**.

The adjunct is an adverb **gabotse** which is a sister of V¹. This is evidenced by the following clause:

(262) Ke [motho] yo-a-jago [gabotse]
'It is the person who lives a luxurious life'

Nominal suffixes

The augmentative suffix -gadi

- (263) a. Mafa-kudu-+-**gadi** (Big generous person)
b. Mollela-ruri-+-**gadi** (Big one who always complains)
c. Seja-gabotse-+-**gadi** (Big person who lives a luxurious life)

The diminutive suffixes -nyana/-ana

The suffix **-nyana**:

(264) Mollela-ruri-+-**nyana** (small one who always complains)

The suffix **-ana**:

- (265) a. Mafa-kutšw-+-**ana** (Small generous person)
b. Seja-gabots-+-**ana** (Small person who lives a luxurious life)



The locative suffix -eng

(266) Sej-+-**eng**-gabotse (The person who lives a luxurious life)

Semantic feature

Humans

Endocentric compounds

(267) Class 1a/2a: **Mafa-kudu** (Bomafa-kudu) (Generous person).

Derivation: **fa** (give, verb), **kudu** (much, adverb). Locative: No locative suffix. Diminutive: **Mafa-kutšwana**.

Class 1a/2a: **Mollela-ruri** (Bomollela-ruri) (One who always complains).

Derivation: **llela** (complain for, applicative verb), **ruri** (really/truly, adverb).

Locative: No locative suffix. Diminutive: **Mollela-rurinyana**.

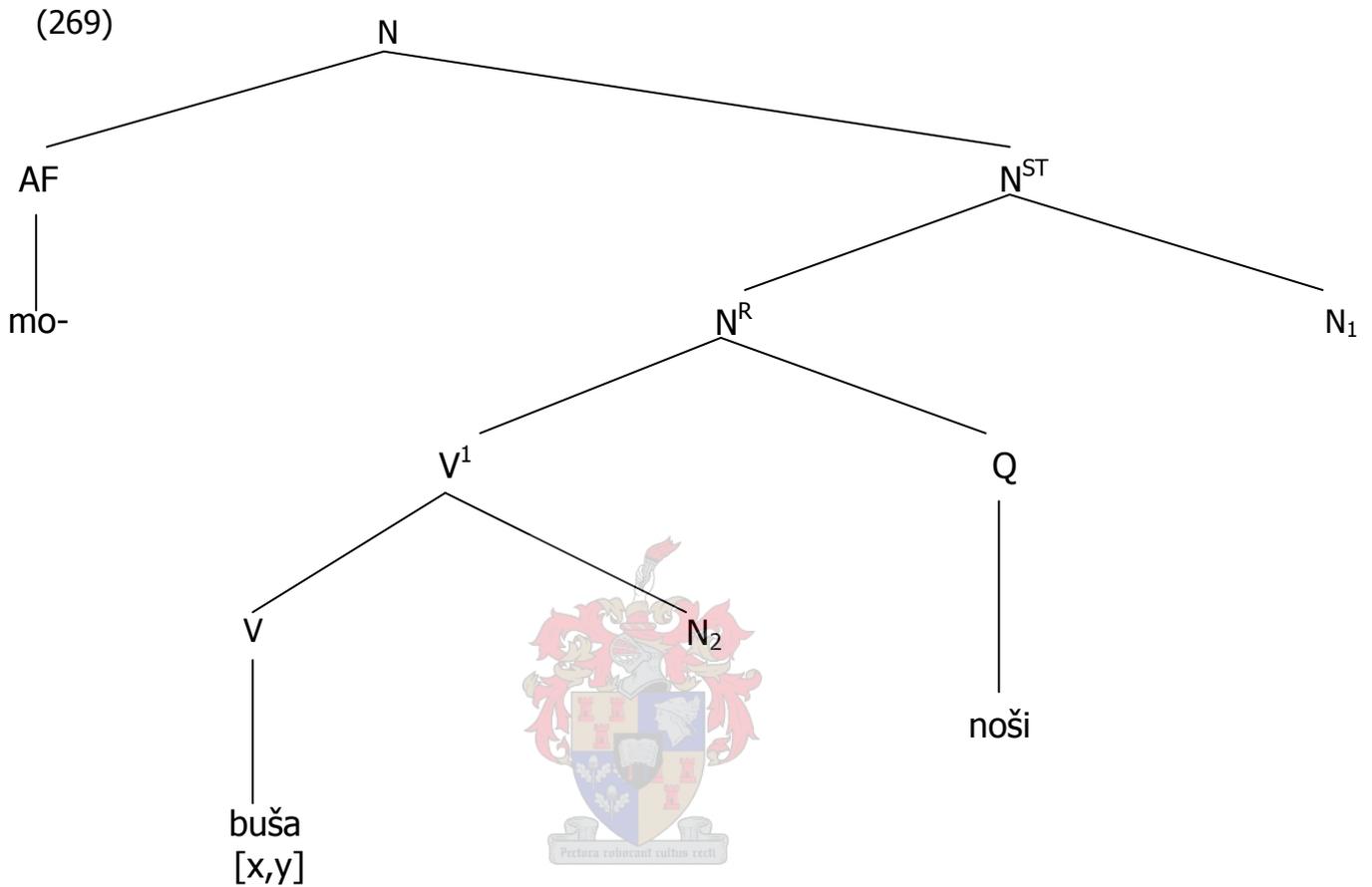
Class 7/8: **Seja-gabotse** (Dija-gabotse) (Person who lives a luxurious life).

Derivation: **ja** (eat, verb), **gabotse** (good, adverb). Locative: **Sejeng-gabotse**. Diminutive: **Seja-gabotsana**.



4.3.4.5 Quantifier

(268) [Mmuša-noši] (Autocrat/dictator/absolute monarch)



Compound noun: [AF-[V¹-Q]

[mo-[buša-noši] (autocrat/dictator/absolute monarch)

[N₁] and [N₂] in the structure above represent the position of the external argument [x] and the internal argument [y] of **buša**. None of these arguments has been assigned.

The adjunct is a quantifier (noši) which appears as a complement of V¹.

The prefix **mo-** above has the following functions:

- a. It is the head of the compound.
- b. It controls the [x] argument of **buša**.
- c. The reference of the compound is also determined by this prefix. It has a reference to **humans**.

The reference to humans is indicated in the clause below:

(270) Ke [motho] yo a bušago [a-le-noši]

'It is the person who is an autocrat/dictator/absolute monarch'

Nominal suffixes

The augmentative suffix -gadi

(271) Mmuša-noši-+-**gadi** (Big autocrat/dictator/absolute monarch)

The diminutive suffix -ana

(272) Mmuša-noš-+-**ana** (Small autocrat/dictator/absolute monarch)



The locative suffix -eng

(273) Mmuša-noši-+-**ng** (The autocrat/dictator/absolute monarch)

Semantic feature

Human

Endocentric compound

(274) Class 1/2: **Mmuša-noši** (Babuša-noši) (Autocrat/dictator/absolute monarch). Derivation: **buša** (govern, transitive verb), **noši** (alone, quantifier). Locative: **Mmuša-nošing**. Diminutive: **Mmuša-nošana**.

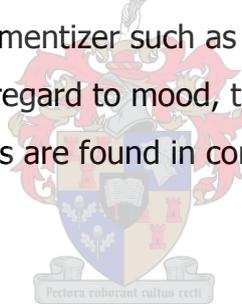
4.3.4.6 Transitive verb with a complementizer phrase (CP)

Morphological structure

The complementizer phrase (CP), which appears in compound nouns with verbal heads, does not have any complementizer such as **gore** as head. The constituents within IP are also restricted with regard to mood, tense and other inflectional categories. Only the following CPs are found in compound nouns:

The CP consists of a verb only:

(275) [Le-[setla-[oka] (Kind of ant)



The CP is an infinitive clause:

(276) [Ma-[gana-[go-botšwa] (Stubborn person/one who does not want to take advices)

The CP is a relative clause:

(277) [Pega-[di-tla-go] (Prologue)

The CP is a participial clause:

In the present tense:

(278) [Ma-[ja-[a-sa-khore] (Unsatisfied person)

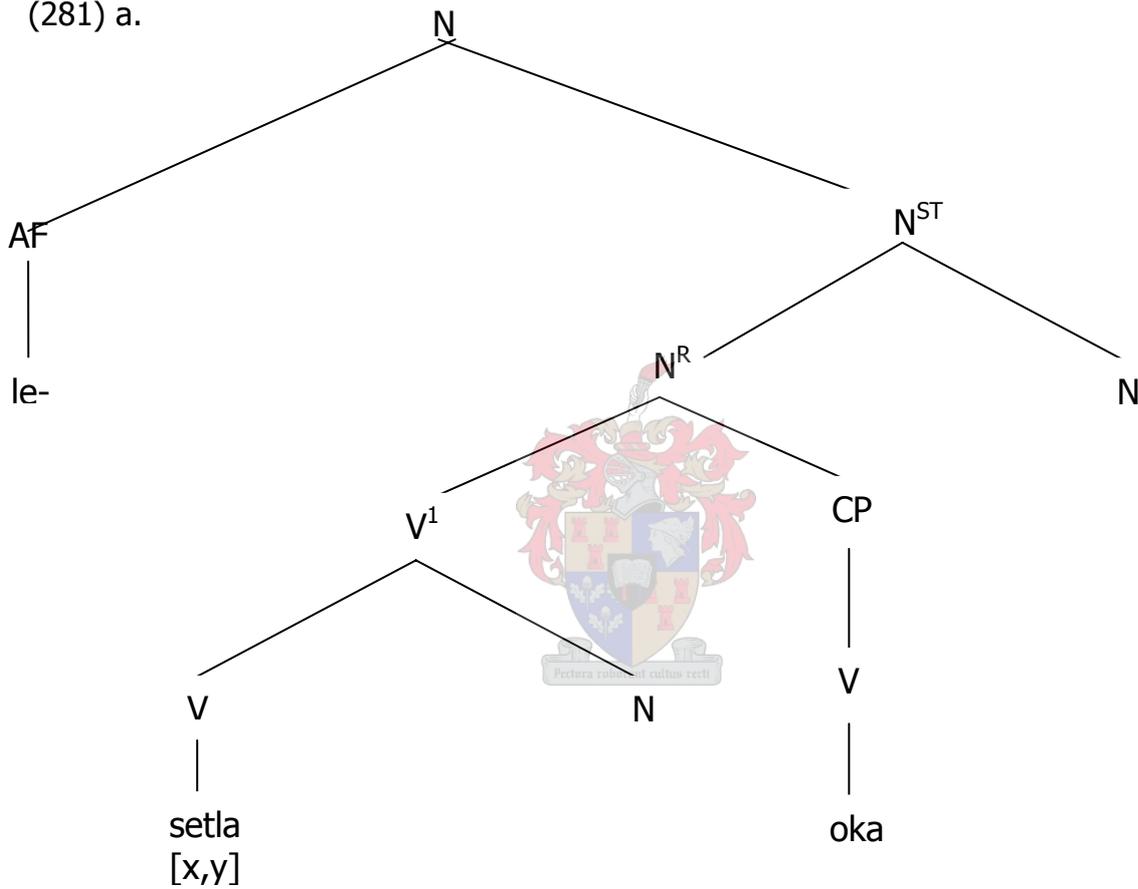
In the perfect tense:

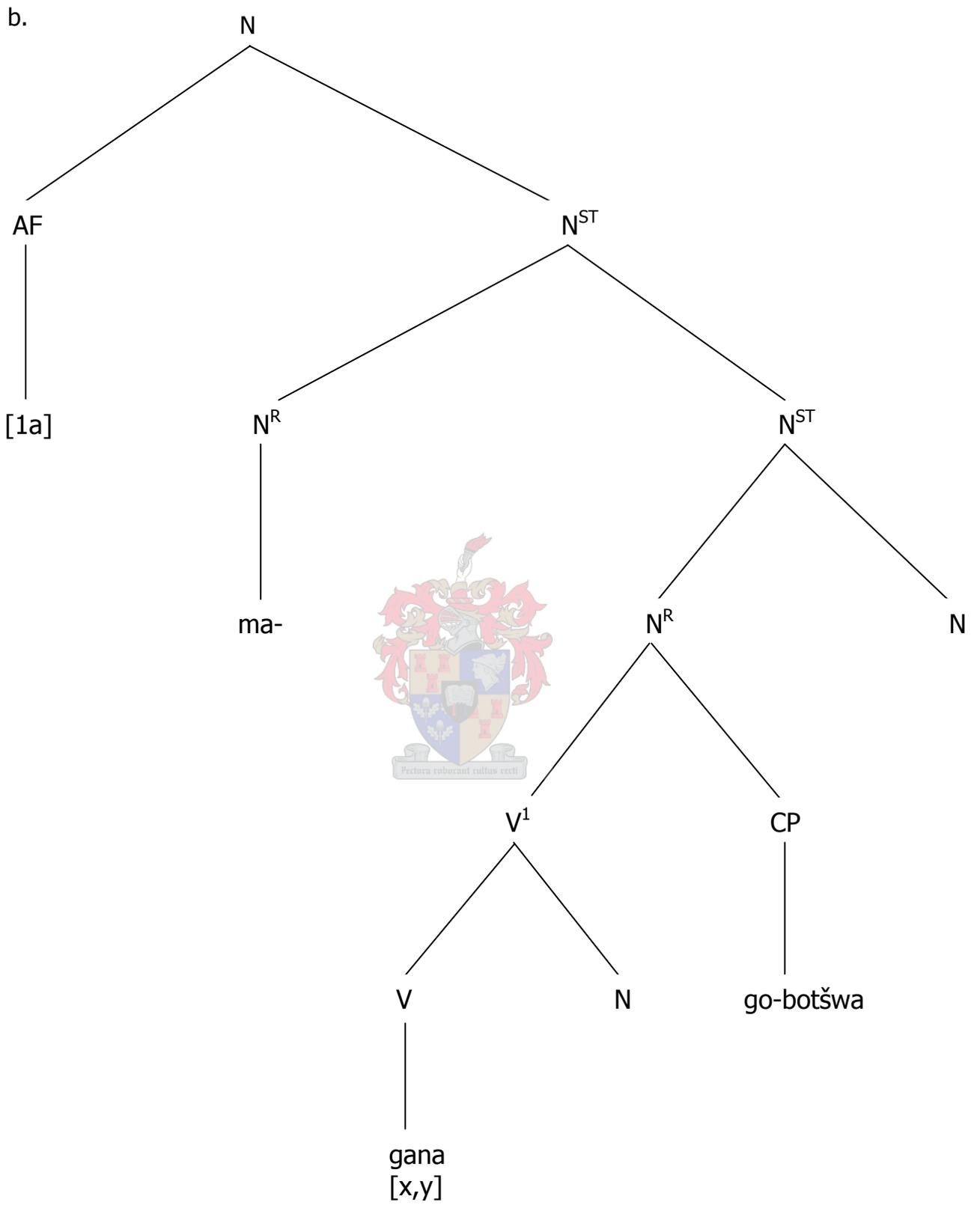
(279) [Ma-[ja-[a-dutše] (Lazy person/sluggard)

(280) a. [Lesetla-oka] (Kind of ant)

b. [Magana-go-botšwa] (Stubborn person/one who does not want to advices)

(281) a.



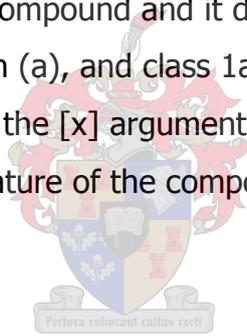


Compound nouns: [AF-[V¹-CP]
[le-[setla-oka] (kind of ant)
[AF-[ma-[V¹-CP]
[ma-[gana-go-botšwa] (stubborn person/one who does not
want to take advices)

The CP appears as an adjunct clause and as a sister of V¹ above. The arguments of the verb are not assigned to any position but the external argument of the verb is controlled by the prefix of the compound. The two structures differ only with regard to the presence of the root **ma-**.

Each noun class prefix in the structures above has three qualities:

- a. The prefix is the head of the compound and it determines the noun class of the compound, i.e., class 5 (**le-**) in (a), and class 1a in (b).
- b. The noun class prefix controls the [x] argument of **oka** and **gana**.
- c. It determines the semantic feature of the compound. It has a reference to **humans**.



Nominal suffixes

The augmentative suffix -gadi

- (282) a. Magana-go-botšwa+-**gadi** (Very stubborn person/big person who does not want to take advices)
b. Mahlopha-a-senya+-**gadi** (Very heavy rain)
c. Manyaka-di-lokile+-**gadi** (Big person who wants things already prepared)
d. Lesetla-oka+-**gadi** (Big kind of ant)
e. Sehlala-upa+-**gadi** (Big group)

The diminutive suffixes **-nyana/-ana**

The suffix **-nyana**:

- (283) a. Mahlopha-a-senya-+-**nyana** (Small rain)
b. Manyaka-di-lokile-+-**nyana** (Small person who wants things already prepared)
c. Magana-go-botšwa-+-**nyana** (Less stubborn person/small person who does not want to take advices)

The suffix **-ana**:

- (284) a. Lesetla-ok-+-**ana** (Small kind of ant)
b. Sehlala-up-+-**ana** (Small group)

The locative suffix **-eng**

- (285) a. Lesetla-ok-+-**eng** (The kind of ant)
b. Sehlala-up-+-**eng** (The group)
c. Pega-ditlago-+-**ng** (The prologue)



The following compound nouns cannot appear with the locative suffix because they belong to class 1a:

- (286) a. *Maboka-tšhab-+-**eng**
b. *Magana-go-botšw-+-**eng**
c. *Maja-a-sa-khor-+-**eng**
d. *Manyaka-di-lokil-+-**eng**
e. *Masola-o-fehl-+-**eng**

Semantic features

CP is only a verb

Animal

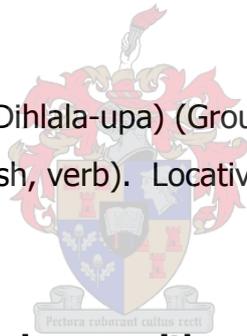
Exocentric compound

(287) Class 5/6: **Lesetla-oka** (Masetla-oka) (Kind of ant). Derivation: **setla** (thresh, transitive verb), **oka** (nurse, verb). Locative: **Lesetla-okeng**. Diminutive: **Lesetla-okana**.

Natural object

Exocentric compound

(288) Class 7/8: **Sehlala-upa** (Dihlala-upa) (Group). Derivation: **Hlala** (divorce, transitive verb), **upa** (punish, verb). Locative: **Sehlala-upeng**. Diminutive: **Sehlala-upana**.



Semantic feature (in compound noun with ma-)

Human

Exocentric compound

(289) Class 1a/2a: **Maboka-tšhaba** (BoMaboka-tšhaba) (Surname). Derivation: **boka** (chase away (e.g., an insect with hand)/assemble, transitive verb), **tšhaba** (run away, verb). Locative: No locative suffix. Diminutive: **Maboka-tšhabanyana**.

Infinitive clauses (in compound nouns with ma-)

Humans

Endocentric compounds

(290) Class 1a/2a: **Magana-go-botšwa** (Bomagana-go-botšwa) (Stubborn person/one who does not want to take advices). Derivation: **gana** (refuse, transitive verb), **go** (infinitive preposition), **botšwa** (told, passive verb). Locative: No locative suffix. Diminutive: **Magana-go-botšwanyana**.

Class 1a/2a: **Magana-go-fenywa** (Bomagana-go-fenywa) (One who does not want to accept defeat). Derivation: **gana** (refuse, transitive verb), **go** (infinitive preposition), **fenywa** (defeated, passive verb). Locative: No locative suffix. Diminutive: **Magana-go-fenywanyana**.

Class 1a/2a: **Magana-go-rongwa** (Bomagana-go-rongwa) (One who does not want to be sent, e.g., a child/sluggard). Derivation: **gana** (refuse, transitive verb), **go** (infinitive preposition), **rongwa** (sent, passive verb). Locative: No locative suffix. Diminutive: **Magana-go-rongwanyana**.

Place

Exocentric compound

(291) Class 1a/2a: **Magana-go-bušwa** (BoMagana-go-bušwa) (Name of a place). Derivation: **gana** (refuse, transitive verb), **go** (infinitive preposition), **bušwa** (governed, passive verb). Locative: No locative suffix. Diminutive: **Magana-go-bušwanyana**.

Relative clause

Communication

Endocentric compound

(292) Class 9/10: **Pega-ditlago** (Dipega-ditlago) (Prologue). Derivation: **beqa** (report, transitive verb), **di** (they/them, determiner), **tlago** (come, infinitive verb). Locative: **Pega-ditlagong**. Diminutive: **Pega-ditlagonyana**.

Present participial clauses (in compound nouns with ma-)

Humans

Endocentric compounds

(293) Class 1a/2a: **Maja-a-sa-khore** (Bomaja-a-sa-khore) (Unsatisfied person). Derivation: **ja** (eat, transitive verb), **a** (determiner), **sa** (not, negative morpheme), **khore** (be satisfied (with food)/be drunk/be satiated, verb). Locative: No locative suffix. Diminutive: **Maja-a-sa-khorenyana**.

Class 1a/2a: **Mareka-a-rekiša** (Bomareka-a-rekiša) (Speculator). Derivation: **reka** (buy, transitive verb), **a** (determiner), **rekiša** (sell, causative verb). Locative: No locative suffix. Diminutive: **Mareka-a-rekišanyana**.

Exocentric compound

(294) Class 1a/2a: **Masola-o-fehla** (Bomasola-o-fehla) (One who confuses things). Derivation: **sola** (dish out, transitive verb), **o** (determiner), **fehla** (stir, verb). Locative: No locative suffix. Diminutive: **Masola-o-fehlanyana**.

Natural phenomenon

Exocentric compound

(295) Class 1a/2a: **Mahlopha-a-senya** (Bomahlopha-a-senya) (Rain). Derivation: **hlopha** (group together, transitive verb), **a** (determiner), **senya** (destroy, verb). Locative: No locative suffix. Diminutive: **Mahlopha-a-senyanyana**.

Perfect participial clauses (in compound nouns with ma-)

Humans

Endocentric compounds

(296) Class 1a/2a: **Maja-a-dutše** (Bomaja-a-dutše) (Lazy person/sluggard). Derivation: **ja** (eat, transitive verb), **a** (determiner), **dutše** (seated/lived/stayed, perfective verb). Locative: No locative suffix. Diminutive: **Maja-a-dutšenyana**.

Class 1a/2a: **Manyaka-di-lokile** (Bomanyaka-di-lokile) (One who wants things already prepared). Derivation: **nyaka** (look for, transitive verb), **di** (they/them, determiner), **lokile** (be right, perfective verb). Locative: No locative suffix. Diminutive: **Manyaka-di-lokilenyana**.

Table of compounds

CP is only a verb

Exocentric compounds

(297)	Noun	Pl.	Deriv.	Morph.	Loc.	Dim.	SFeat.
				AF [V [V]]			
1	Lesetla-oka	6	5[V [V]]	+ + +	+(N2)	+(N2)	Animal
2	Sehlala-upa	8	7[V [V]]	+ + +	+(N2)	+(N2)	Nat. obj.

Semantic feature (in compound noun with ma-)

Exocentric compound

(298)	Noun	Pl.	Deriv.	Morph.	Loc.	Dim.	SFeat.
				AF [V [V]]			
	Maboka-tšhaba	2a	1a[V [V]]	+ + +	-	+(N2)	Human

Infinitive clauses (in compound nouns with ma-)

Endocentric compounds

(299)	Noun	Pl.	Deriv.	Morph.	Loc.	Dim.	SFeat.
				AF [V [go V]]			
1	Magana-go-botšwa	2a	1a[V [Inf.]]	+ + + +	-	+(N2)	Human
2	Magana-go-fenywa	2a	1a[V [Inf.]]	+ + + +	-	+(N2)	Human
3	Magana-go-rongwa	2a	1a[V [Inf.]]	+ + + +	-	+(N2)	Human



Exocentric compound

(300)	Noun	Pl.	Deriv.	Morph.	Loc.	Dim.	SFeat.
				AF [V [go V]]			
	Magana-go-bušwa	2a	1a[V [Inf.]]	+ + + +	-	+(N2)	Place

Relative clause

Endocentric compound

(301)	Noun	Pl.	Deriv.	Morph.	Loc.	Dim.	SFeat.
				AF [V [Rel.verb + go]]			
	Pega-ditlago	10	9[V [Rel.]]	+ + + +	+(N2)	+(N2)	Communic.

Present participial clauses (in compound nouns with ma-)

Endocentric compounds

(302)	Noun	Pl.	Deriv.	Morph.	Loc.	Dim.	SFeat.
				AF [V [Pres.verb]]			
1	Maja-a-sa-khore	2a	1a[V [Pres.]]	+ + + +	-	+(N2)	Human
2	Mareka-a-rekiša	2a	1a[V [Pres.]]	+ + + +	-	+(N2)	Human

Exocentric compounds

(303)	Noun	Pl.	Deriv.	Morph.	Loc.	Dim.	SFeat.
				AF [V [Pres.verb]]			
1	Mahlopha-a-senya	2a	1a[V [Pres.]]	+ + + +	-	+(N2)	Nat. phen.
2	Masola-o-fehla	2a	1a[V [Pres.]]	+ + + +	-	+(N2)	Human

Perfect participial clauses (in compound nouns with ma-)

Endocentric compounds

(304)	Noun	Pl.	Deriv.	Morph.	Loc.	Dim.	SFeat.
				AF [V [Pres.verb]]			
1	Maja-a-dutše	2a	1a[V [Pres.]]	+ + + +	-	+(N2)	Human
2	Manyaka-di-lokile	2a	1a[V [Pres.]]	+ + + +	-	+(N2)	Human

4.4 COMPOUND NOUNS WITH DITRANSITIVE VERBS

4.4.1 Definition of a ditransitive verb

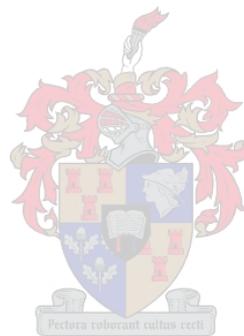
Ditransitive verbs are verbs which take double objects. They usually appear in predicates which have two internal arguments:

(305) Rakgwebo o adima mošemane ntlanya
 'The businessman lends a bicycle to the boy'

These predicates indicate three arguments with an external argument as in (305). The verb **adima** assigns two theta-roles to its complements of which the first one is usually the **recipient** and the second one the **theme**:

(306) Mosadi o fa bana diapola
 'The woman gives apples to the children'

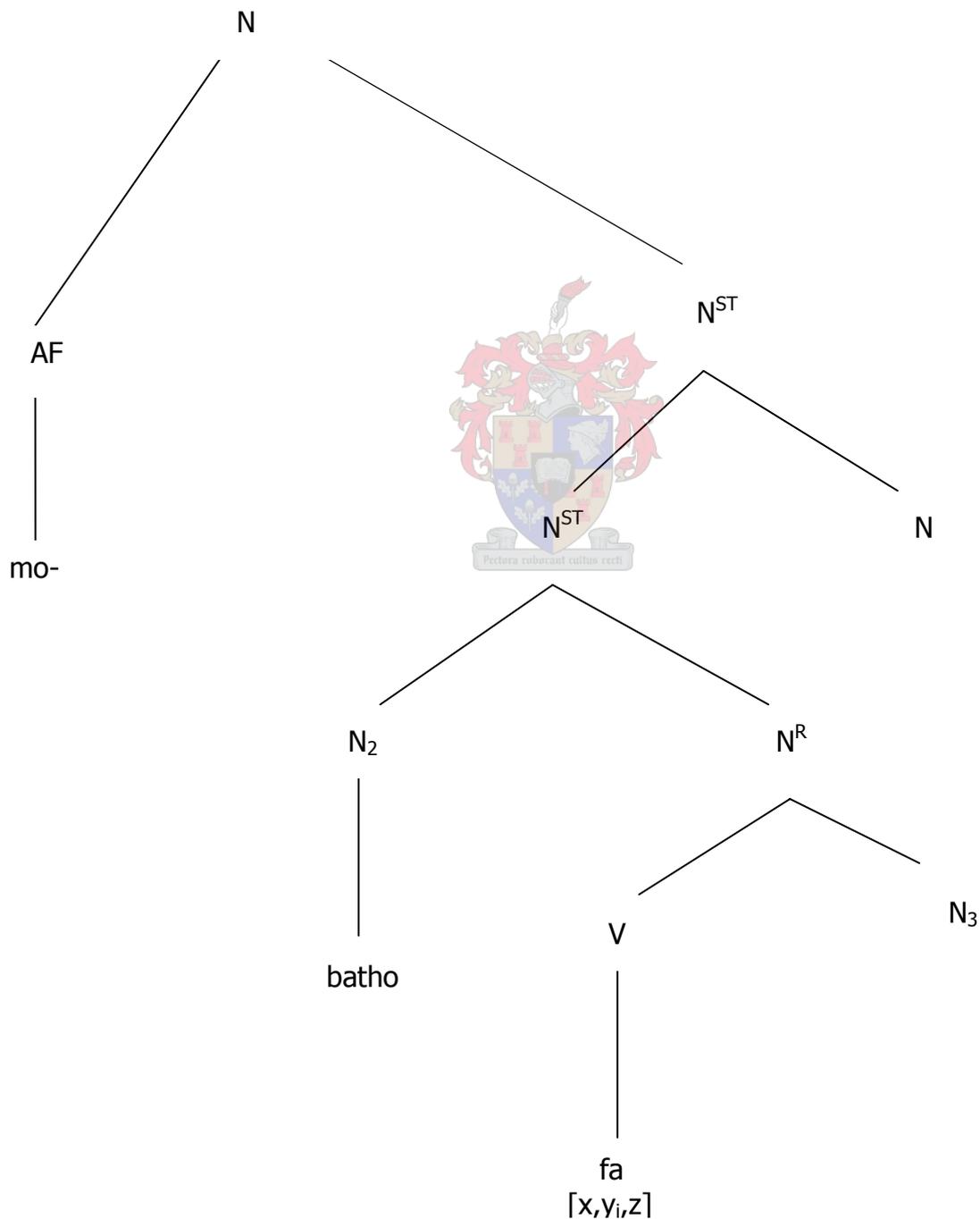
In (306), the subject has the theta-role of **agent** whereas the noun with the feature [animate] has the theta-role of **recipient**, e.g., **bana**. The noun that follows above is the **theme**, e.g., **diapola**.



4.4.2 Morphological structure

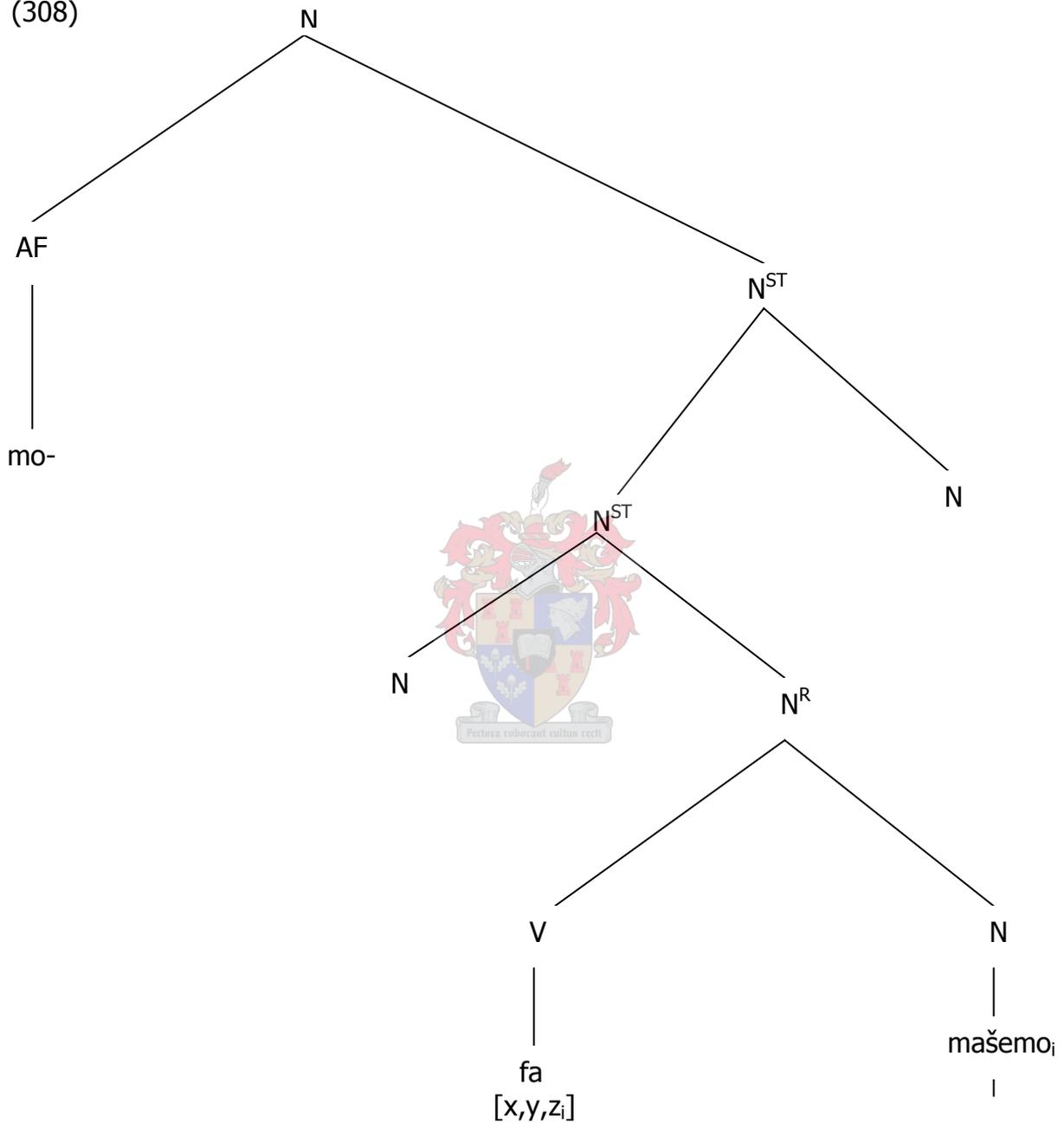
The compound noun [mo-[fa-[batho]] appears with an internal argument which represents the indirect object in a clause, i.e., **batho**. In the compound noun, the [y] argument of the verb is assigned to **batho** while the [z] argument which represents the direct object in a clause is not assigned. As in other compounds, the [x] argument is controlled by the prefix **mo-**:

(307)



In the structure below of the compound [mo-fa-[ma-šemo]], the indirect argument [y] is not assigned while the [z] argument, which represents the direct object in a clause, is assigned to **mašemo**. As above, the [x] argument is controlled by the prefix **mo-**.

(308)



4.4.3 Nominal suffixes

The augmentative suffix -gadi

- (309) a. Mofa-batho-+-**gadi** (Big generous person)
b. Moruta-bana-+-**gadi** (Big teacher)
c. Sefa-makhura-+-**gadi** (Big accelerator)
d. Mpha-badimo-+-**gadi** (Big gift of gods)
e. Boruta-barutiši-+-**gadi** (Big teacher training)

The diminutive suffix -ana

- (310) a. Mofa-bathw-+-**ana** (Small generous person)
b. Sefa-makhuš-+-**ana** (Small accelerator)
c. Mpha-badingw-+-**ana** (Small gift of gods)

The diminutive suffix -nyana

- (311) a. Moruta-bana-+-**nyana** (Small teacher)
b. Boruta-borutiši-+-**nyana** (Small teacher training)

The locative suffix -eng

- (312) a. Mofa-batho-+-**ng** (The generous person)
b. Moruta-ban-+-**eng** (The teacher)
c. Sefa-makhur-+-**eng** (The accelerator)
d. Mpha-badimo-+-**ng** (The gift of gods)
e. Boruta-borutiši-+-**ng** (The teacher training)

4.4.4 Semantic features

(313) Class 1/2: **Mofa-batho** (Bafa-batho) (Generous person). Derivation: **fa** (give,verb), **batho** (people, cl. 2, noun). Locative: **Mofa-bathong**. Diminutive: **Mofa-bathwana**.

Class 1/2: **Mofa-mašemo** (Bafa-mašemo) (Controller of the tribe's agricultural activities). Derivation: **fa** (give, verb), **mašemo** (lands, cl. 6, noun). Locative: **Mofa-mašemong**. Diminutive: **Mofa-mašengwana**.

Class 1/2: **Moruta-bana** (Baruta-bana) (Teacher). Derivation: **ruta** (teach,verb), **bana** (children, cl. 2, noun). Locative: **Moruta-baneng**. Diminutive: **Moruta-bananyana**.

Class 1/2: **Sefa-batho** (Difa-batho) (Generous person). Derivation: **fa** (give, verb), **batho** (people, cl. 2, noun). Locative: **Sefa-bathong**. Diminutive: **Sefa-bathwana**.

Class 1/2: **Sefa-makhura** (Difa-makhura) (Accelerator). Derivation: **fa** (give, verb), **makhura** (petrol, cl. 6, noun). Locative: **Sefa-makhureng**. Diminutive: **Sefa-makhušana**.

Class 9: **Mpha-badimo** (Gift of gods). Derivation: **fa** (give, verb), **badimo** (gods, cl. 2, noun). Locative: **Mpha-badimong**. Diminutive: **Mpha-badingwana**.

Class 14: **Boruta-borutiši** (Teacher training). Derivation: **ruta** (teach, verb), **borutiši** (teaching, cl. 14, noun). Locative: **Boruta-borutišing**. Diminutive: **Boruta-borutišinyana**.

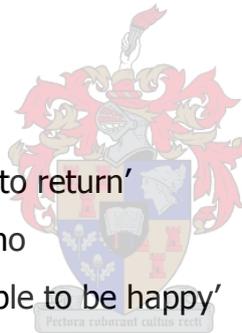
4.5 CAUSATIVE VERBS

In syntax, the intransitive verbs can be made transitive by affixing the causative affix **-iš-** to the intransitive verbs:

- (314) Morutiši o tla thabiša bana
`The teacher will make the children happy`

In (314), the intransitive verb **-thaba** (be happy) has been used with causative affix **-iš-** making it **-thab-iš-**. Generally, the effect of the process of causativization on the predicate argument structure of verbs is to introduce a special argument which is referred to as the **causative agent**. This argument can be found in the subjects of sentences and is, thus, an external argument. As usual, the causative agent causes the action:

- (315) a. Re gomiša bana
`We cause the children to return`
b. Baopedi ba thabiša batho
`The singers cause people to be happy`



In the two sentences in (315) above, the 'old' external arguments have been internalized. Thus, the 'new' causative agents are **re** and **baopedi**, the external arguments and the 'old' external arguments, **bana** and **batho**, now become the internal arguments of the causative predicates.

Thus, the effect of the causative affix **-iš-** on the predicate argument structure of predicates is to add an extra **external argument** as subject to the sentence and to change the old external argument into an **internal argument**. The result will be that transitive verbs become ditransitive verbs with two objects. In cases like these, the object which is dependent on the presence of the affix **-iš-** is the indirect object and is always next to the verb:

- (316) Bašemane ba rweša moagi ditena
boys they-carry-cause builder bricks
'The boys make/allow/help the builder carry the bricks'

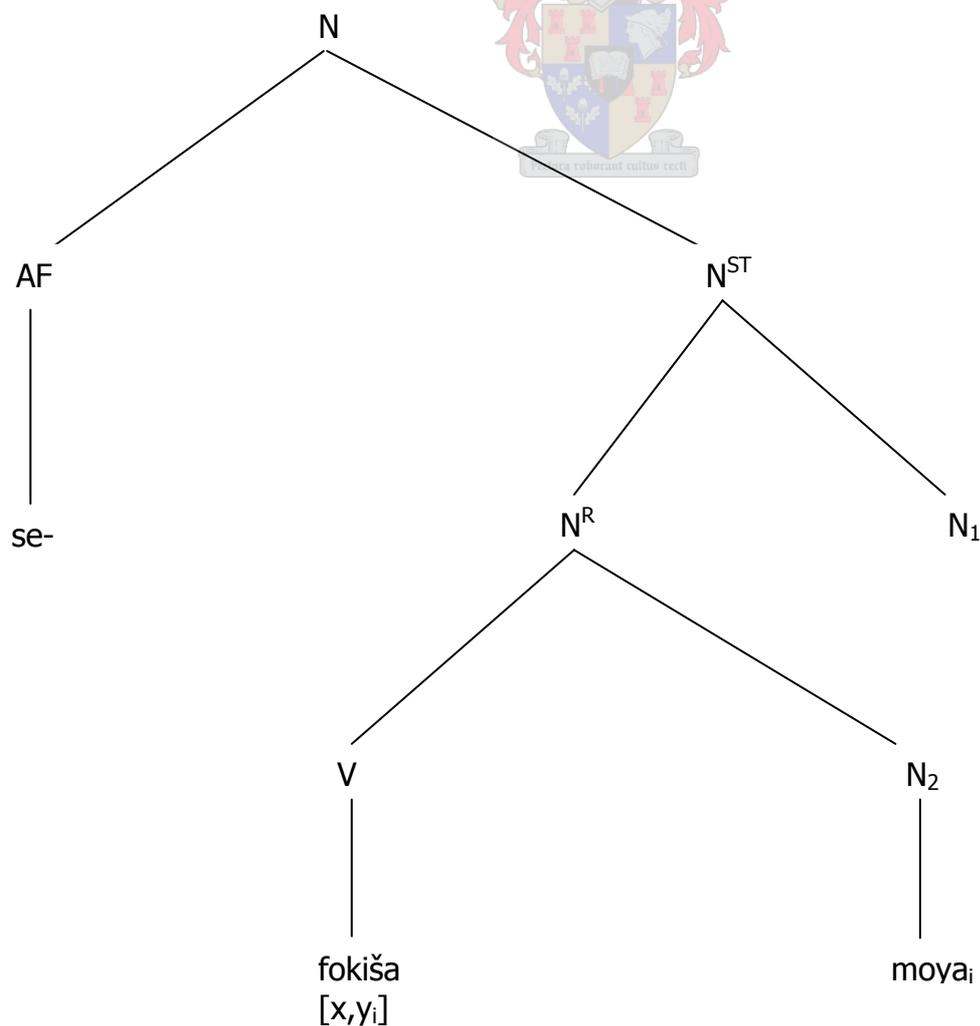
The external argument **bašemane** in (316) may be interpreted with the semantic role of causative agent, permissive agent or assistive agent. The 'old' external argument **moagi** retains its semantic role in this new position as internal argument, i.e., internal agent.

4.5.1 Causative verbs with nouns

From intransitive verbs:

- (317) [Sefokiša-moya] (Fan)

- (318)

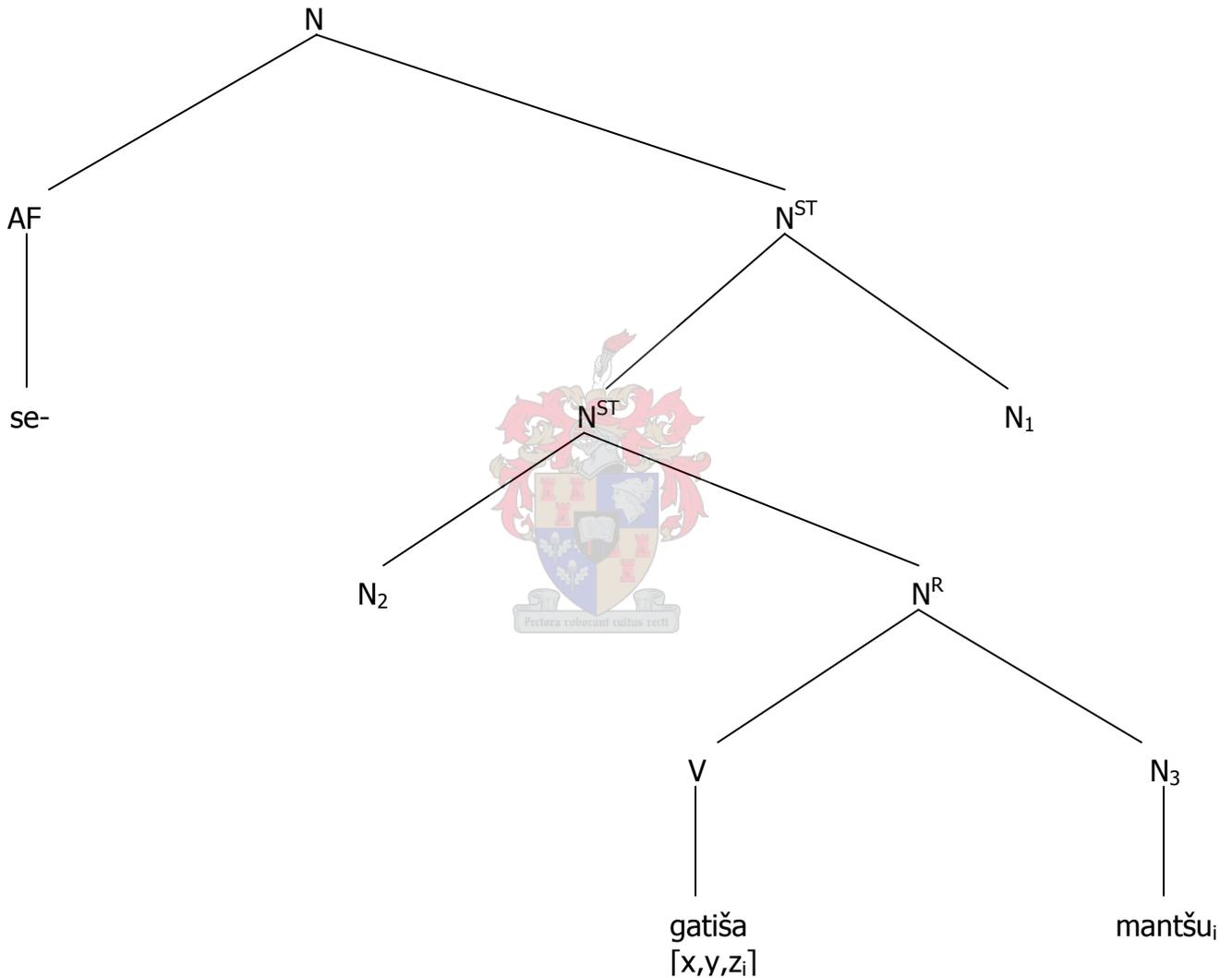


Compound noun: [AF-[V-iš-N]
[se-[fokiša-moya] (fan)

From transitive verbs:

(319) [Segatiša-mantšu] (Tape recorder)

(320)



Compound noun: [AF-[V-iš-N]
[se-[gatiša-mantšu] (tape recorder)

In the structure (318) above, [N₁] represents the new external argument [x] which is now controlled by the prefix [se-]. The old external argument, which is now the

new internal argument, i.e., [N₂] in (320), has been assigned to the y-argument of the causative verb, coindexed by [i].

In the structure (320) above, [N₁] also represents the new external argument [x] which is controlled by the prefix [se-]. The old external argument is now the new internal argument, [y], and this argument has not been assigned to [N₂]. The [z] argument has been assigned to [N₃], coindexed by [i].

Nominal suffixes

The augmentative suffix -gadi

- (321) a. Monontšha-mobu-+-**gadi** (Big fertilizer)
b. Leapeša-bjoko-+-**gadi** (Big cerebral membrane)
c. Sefokiša-moya-+-**gadi** (Big fan)
d. Podiša-hlaka-+-**gadi** (Heavy first rain that falls after eaping)
e. Malebiša-mabotse-+-**gadi** (Very good example)

The diminutive suffix -ana

- (322) a. Leapeša-pelw-+-**ana** (Small pericardium)
b. Segatiša-mantšw-+-**ana** (Small tape recorder)
c. Senkgiša-mahwaf-+-**ana** (Small perfume)
d. Podiša-hlak-+-**ana** (Light first rain that falls after reaping)
e. Mašiiša-pelw-+-**ana** (Not serious misfortune/tragedy)

The locative suffix -eng

- (323) a. Monontšha-mobu-+-**ng** (The fertilizer)
b. Leapeša-bjoko-+-**ng** (The cerebral membrane)
c. Tshegiša-baeny-+-**eng** (The dimple)
d. Dipšheša-mar-+-**eng** (The nonsensical news)
e. Mafifatša-pelo-+-**ng** (The misfortune)

Semantic features

Humans

Endocentric compounds

(324) Class 1/2: **Mmuša-mmele** (Babuša-mmele) (Body governor). Derivation: **buša** (govern, causative verb), **mmele** (body, cl. 3, noun). Locative: **Mmuša-mmeleng**. Diminutive: **Mmuša-mmejana**.

Class 1/2: **Moleša-hlong** (Baleša-hlong) (One who acts disgracefully). Derivation: **leša** (cause/help to eat, causative verb), **hlong** (shame, cl. 9, noun). Locative: **Moleša-hlonyeng**. Diminutive: **Moleša-hlonyana**.

Class 1/2: **Moletša-phalafala** (Baletša-phalafala) (Official who blows the bugle to summon the men to a meeting). Derivation: **letša** (cause to cry, causative verb), **phalafala** (horn of sable antelope, cl. 9, noun). Locative: **Moletša-phalafaleng**. Diminutive: **Moletša-phalafalana**.

Class 1/2: **Moneša-pula** (Baneša-pula) (Rainmaker). Derivation: **neša** (make rain, causative verb), **pula** (rain, cl. 9, noun). Locative: **Moneša-puleng**. Diminutive: **Moneša-pulana**.

Class 7/8: **Sephatsimiša-dipenkele** (Diphatsimiša-dipenkele) (Someone who makes the bracelets/bangles to shine). Derivation: **phatsimiša** (cause/make to shine, causative verb), **dipenkele** (bracelets/bangles, cl. 10, noun). Locative: **Sephatsimiša-dipenkeleng**. Diminutive: **Sephatsimiša-dipenkejana**.

Class 7/8: **Setlaiša-mmele** (Ditlaiša-mmele) (Someone who tortures/ill-treats the body). Derivation: **tlaiša** (torture/ill-treat, causative verb),

mmele (body, cl. 3, noun). Locative: **Setlaiša-mmeleng**. Diminutive: **Setlaiša-mmejana**.

Class 7/8: **Setlatša-lešata** (Ditlatša-lešata) (Noisemaker). Derivation: **tlatša** (cause to become full, causative verb), **lešata** (noise, cl. 5, noun). Locative: **Setlatša-lešateng**. Diminutive: **Setlatša-lešatana**.

Class 7/8: **Setšhoša-bomallane** (Ditšhoša-bomallane) (Someone who frightens crying children). Derivation: **tšhoša** (frighten, causative verb), **bomallane** (crying children, cl. 2a, noun). Locative: **Setšhošeng-bomallane**. Diminutive: **Setšhoša-bomallanenyana**.

Class 7/8: **Setšhoša-dinonyana** (Ditšhoša-dinonyana) (Someone who frightens the birds). Derivation: **tšhoša** (frighten, causative verb), **dinonyana** (birds, cl. 10, noun). Locative: **Setšhoša-dinonyaneng**. Diminutive: No locative suffix.

Exocentric compounds

(325) Class 1a/2a: **Leša-dibe** (BoLeša-dibe) (Name of a person). Derivation: **leša** (cause/ help/assist to eat, causative verb), **dibe** (sins, cl. 8, noun). Locative: No locative suffix. Diminutive: **Leša-dibjana**.

Class 1a/2a: **Letša-dibe** (BoLetša-dibe) (Name of a person). Derivation: **letša** (cause/make to cry, causative verb), **dibe** (sins, cl. 8, noun). Locative: No locative suffix. Diminutive: **Letša-dibjana**.

Animal

Endocentric compound

(326) Class 7/8: **Sešankiša-mekaka** (Dišankiša-mekaka) (That walks with udders and with legs apart). Derivation: **šankiša** (cause/assist/make to walk with

legs apart, causative verb), **mekaka** (udders, cl. 4, noun). Locative: **Sešankiša-mekakeng**. Diminutive: **Sešankiša-mekakana**.

Natural phenomenon

Exocentric compound

(327) Class 9/10: **Podiša-hlaka** (Dipodiša-hlaka) (First rain that falls after reaping). Derivation: **bodiša** (make rot/cause to rot, causative verb), **-hlaka** without its prefix (dried stalk of corn (on field)/reed), cl. 5, noun). Locative: **Podiša-hlakeng**. Diminutive: **Podiša-hlakana**.

Body parts

Endocentric compounds

(328) Class 5/6: **Leapeša-bjoko** (Maapeša-bjoko) (Cerebral membrane). Derivation: **apeša** (cover (something), causative verb), **bjoko** (brain, cl. 14, noun). Locative: **Leapeša-bjokong**. Diminutive: **Leapeša-bjokwana**.



Class 5/6: **Leapeša-pelo** (Maapeša-pelo) (Pericardium). Derivation: **apeša** (cover (something), causative verb), **pelo** (heart, cl. 9, noun). Locative: **Leapeša-pelong**. Diminutive: **Leapeša-pelwana**.

Exocentric compound

(329) Class 9/10: **Tshegiša-baeng** (Ditshegiša-baeng) (Dimple). Derivation: **segiša** (cause/make to laugh, causative verb), **baeng** (visitors, cl. 2, noun). Locative: **Tshegiša-baenyeng**. Diminutive: **Tshegiša-baenyana**.

Communication

Endocentric compound

(330) Class 9/10: **Poeletša-medumo** (Dipoeletša-medumo) (Alliteration).
Derivation: **boeletša** (repeat, causative verb), **medumo** (sounds, cl. 4, noun). Locative: **Poeletša-medumong**. Locative: **Poeletša-medungwana**.

Exocentric compound

(331) Class 10: **Dipšheša-mare** (Nonsensical news). Derivation: **pšheša** (cause/make to dry up, causative verb), **mare** (saliva, cl. 6, noun). Locative: **Dipšheša-mareng**. Diminutive: **Dipšheša-mašana**.

Cognition

Endocentric compound

(332) Class 7/8: **Sehlalefiša-lekau** (Dihlalefiša-lekau) (Something that makes a young man to be wise). Derivation: **hlalefiša** (cause/help to be wise, causative verb), **lekau** (young man, cl. 5, noun). Locative: **Sehlalefiša-lekaung**. Diminutive: **Sehlalefiša-lekawana**.

Artifacts

Endocentric compounds

(333) Class 3/4: **Monotšha-mobu** (Menontšha-mobu) (Fertilizer). Derivation: **nontšha** (fertilize, causative verb), **mobu** (soil, cl. 3, noun). Locative: **Monontšha-mobung**. Diminutive: **Monontšha-mobjana**.

Class 7/8: **Sefokiša-moya** (Difokiša-moya) (Fan). Derivation: **fokiša** (cause to blow, causative verb), **moya** (wind/air, cl. 3, noun). Locative: **Sefokiša-moyeng**. Diminutive: **Sefokiša-moyana**.

Class 7/8: **Segatiša-mantšu** (Digatiša-mantšu) (Tape recorder). Derivation: **gatiša** (record, causative verb), **mantšu** (voices/words, cl. 6, noun). Locative: **Segatiša-mantšung**. Diminutive: **Segatiša-mantšwana**.

Class 7/8: **Segodiša-mantšu** (Digodiša-mantšu) (Loud-speaker). Derivation: **godiša** (make something to grow up, causative verb), **mantšu** (voices/words, cl. 6, noun). Locative: **Segodiša-mantšung**. Diminutive: **Segodiša-mantšwana**.

Class 7/8: **Sehuduša-bophelo** (Dihuduša-bophelo) (That which kills (e.g., a gun/ poison)). Derivation: **huduša** (cause/help to migrate, causative verb), **bophelo** (life, cl. 14, noun). Locative: **Sehuduša-bophelong**. Diminutive: **Sehuduša-bophelwana**.

Class 7/8: **Selekanya-masa** (Dilekanya-masa) (Massmeter/mass scale). Derivation: **lekanya** (fit/weigh/adequate/measure, causative verb), **masa** (mass, cl. 9, noun). Locative: **Selekanya-maseng**. Diminutive: **Selekanya-masana**.

Class 7/8: **Seletša-mmimo** (Diletša-mmimo) (Music system). Derivation: **letša** (cause to play (musical) instrument/ring (a bell)/hoot, causative verb), **mmimo** (manner of dancing/tune, cl. 3, noun). Locative: **Seletša-mmimong**. Diminutive: **Seletša-mmimwana**.

Class 7/8: **Senkgiša-mahwafa** (Dinkgiša-mahwafa) (Perfume). Derivation: **nkgiša** (cause to smell, causative verb), **mahwafa** (armpits, cl. 6, noun). Locative: **Senkgiša-mahwafeng**. Diminutive: **Senkgiša -mahwafana**.

Class 7/8: **Seokobatša-hloko** (Diokobatša-hloko) (Analgesic balm/sedative). Derivation: **okobatša** (cause to calm, causative verb), **-hloko** without its prefix (pain, cl. 14, noun). Locative: **Seokobatša-hlokong**. Diminutive: **Seokobatša-hlokwana**.

Semantic features (in compound nouns with ma-)

Semantic features are also identified in compound nouns which include the **-iš-** extension with **ma-**. In this section, semantic features of compounds can be identified semantically into human, communication and cognition nouns.

Humans

Endocentric compound

(334) Class 1a/2a: **Makopanya-batho** (Bomakopanya-batho) (One who unites people). Derivation: **kopanya** (cause/make to meet, causative verb), **batho** (people, cl. 2, noun). Locative: No locative suffix. Diminutive: **Makopanya-bathwana**.



Exocentric compounds

(335) Class 1a/2a: **Mathuntšha-rara** (Bomathuntšha-rara) (Bully). Derivation: **thuntšha** (shoot, causative verb), **rara** (father, cl. 1a, noun). Locative: No locative suffix. Diminutive: **Mathuntšha-raranyana**.

Class 1a/2a: **Matliša-kgomo** (Bomatliša-kgomo) (Bridegroom). Derivation: **tliša** (bring, causative verb), **kgomo** (head of cattle, cl. 9, noun). Locative: No locative suffix. Diminutive: **Matliša-kgongwana**.

Communication

Endocentric compound

(336) Class 6: **Malebiša-mabotse** (Good example). Derivation: **lebiša** (direct, causative verb), **mabotse** (good, cl. 6, noun). Locative: **Malebišeng-mabotse**. Diminutive: **Malebiša-mabotsana**.

Cognition

Endocentric compound

(337) Class 6: **Mašiiša-pelo** (Misfortune/tragedy). Derivation: **šiiša** (frighten, causative verb), **pelo** (heart, cl. 9, noun). Locative: **Mašiiša-pelong**. Diminutive: **Mašiiša-pelwana**.

Exocentric compound

(338) Class 6: **Mafifatša-pelo** (Misfortune). Derivation: **fifatša** (cause to be dark, causative verb), **pelo** (heart, cl. 9, noun). Locative: **Mafifatša-pelong**. Diminutive: **Mafifatša-pelwana**.

Semantic feature in compounds with quantifiers

Humans

Endocentric compounds

(339) Class 1a/2a: **Magapeletša-nna** (Bomagapeletša-nna) (One who forces me). Derivation: **gapeletša** (force, causative verb), **nna** (me/I, quantifier). Locative: No locative suffix. Diminutive: **Magapeletša-nnanyana**.

Class 1a/2a: **Magodiša-wena** (Bomagodiša-wena) (One who makes you grow). Derivation: **godiša** (cause/assist to grow, causative verb), **wena**

(you, quantifier). Locative: No locative suffix. Diminutive: **Magodiša-wenanyana**.

Table of compounds

Endocentric compounds

(340)	Noun	Pl.	Deriv.	Morph.		Loc.	Dim.	SFeat.
				AF [V-iš]	AF R]			
1	Mmuša-mmele	2	1[V-iš [N(3)]]	cl.1 V iš	+ +	+(N2)	+(N2)	Human
2	Moleša-hlong	2	1[V-iš [N(9)]]	cl.1 V iš	+ +	+(N2)	+(N2)	Human
3	Moletša-phalafala	2	1[V-iš [N(9)]]	cl.1 V iš	+ +	+(N2)	+(N2)	Human
4	Moneša-pula	2	1[V-iš [N(9)]]	cl.1 V iš	+ +	+(N2)	+(N2)	Human
5	Monontšha-mobu	4	3[V-iš [N(3)]]	cl.3 V iš	+ +	+(N2)	+(N2)	Artif.
6	Leapeša-bjoko	6	5[V-iš [N(14)]]	cl.5 V iš	+ +	+(N2)	+(N2)	Body part
7	Leapeša-pelo	6	5[V-iš [N(9)]]	cl.5 V iš	+ +	+(N2)	+(N2)	Body part
8	Sefokiša-moya	8	7[V-iš [N(3)]]	cl.7 V iš	+ +	+(N2)	+(N2)	Artif.
9	Segatiša-mantšu	8	7[V-iš [N(6)]]	cl.7 V iš	+ +	+(N2)	+(N2)	Artif.
10	Segodiša-mantšu	8	7[V-iš [N(6)]]	cl.7 V iš	+ +	+(N2)	+(N2)	Artif.
11	Sehlalefiša-lekau	8	7[V-iš [N(5)]]	cl.7 V iš	+ +	+(N2)	+(N2)	Cognition
12	Sehuduša-bophelo	8	7[V-iš [N(14)]]	cl.7 V iš	+ +	+(N2)	+(N2)	Artif.
13	Selekanya-masa	8	7[V-iš [N(9)]]	cl.7 V iš	+ +	+(N2)	+(N2)	Artif.
14	Seletša-mmimo	8	7[V-iš [N(3)]]	cl.7 V iš	+ +	+(N2)	+(N2)	Artif.
15	Senkgiša-mahwafa	8	7[V-iš [N(6)]]	cl.7 V iš	+ +	+(N2)	+(N2)	Artif.
16	Seokobatša-hloko	8	7[V-iš [N(14)]]	cl.7 V iš	- +	+(N2)	+(N2)	Artif.
17	Sephatsimiša-dipenkele	8	7[V-iš [N(10)]]	cl.7 V iš	+ +	+(N2)	+(N2)	Human
18	Sešankiša-mekaka	8	7[V-iš [N(4)]]	cl.7 V iš	+ +	+(N2)	+(N2)	Animal
19	Setlaiša-mmele	8	7[V-iš [N(3)]]	cl.7 V iš	+ +	+(N2)	+(N2)	Human
20	Setlatša-lešata	8	7[V-iš [N(5)]]	cl.7 V iš	+ +	+(N2)	+(N2)	Human
21	Setšhoša-bomallane	8	7[V-iš [N(2a)]]	cl.7 V iš	+ +	+(N1)	+(N2)	Human
22	Setšhoša-dinonyana	8	7[V-iš [N(10)]]	cl.7 V iš	+ +	+(N2)	-	Human
23	Poeletša-medumo	10	9[V-iš [N(4)]]	cl.9 V iš	+ +	+(N2)	+(N2)	Communic.

Exocentric compounds

(341)	Noun	Pl.	Deriv.	Morph.		Loc.	Dim.	SFeat.
				AF [V-iš]	AF R]			
1	Leša-dibe	2a	1a[V-iš [N(8)]]	cl.1a V iš	+ +	-	+(N2)	Human
2	Letša-dibe	2a	1a[V-iš [N(8)]]	cl.1a V iš	+ +	-	+(N2)	Human
3	Podiša-hlaka	10	9[V-iš [N(5)]]	cl.9 V iš	- +	+(N2)	+(N2)	Nat. phen.
4	Tshegiša-baeng	10	9[V-iš [N(2)]]	cl.9 V iš	+ +	+(N2)	+(N2)	Body part
5	Dipšheša-mare	-	10[V-iš [N(6)]]	cl.10 V iš	+ +	+(N2)	+(N2)	Communic.

Compound nouns with ma-

Endocentric compounds

(342)	Noun	Pl.	Deriv.	Morph.	Loc.	Dim.	SFeat.
				AF [V-iš] AF R]			
1	Makopanya-batho	2a	1a[V-iš [N(2)]]	cl.1a V iš + +	-	+(N2)	Human
2	Malebiša-mabotse	-	6[V-iš [N(6)]]	cl.6 V iš + +	+(N1)	+(N2)	Communic.
3	Mašiiša-pelo	-	6[V-iš [N(9)]]	cl.6 V iš + +	+(N2)	+(N2)	Cognition

Exocentric compounds

(343)	Noun	Pl.	Deriv.	Morph.	Loc.	Dim.	SFeat.
				AF [V-iš] AF R]			
1	Mathuntšha-rara	2a	1a[V-iš [N(1a)]]	cl.1a V iš + +	-	+(N2)	Human
2	Matliša-kgomo	2a	1a[V-iš [N(9)]]	cl.1a V iš + +	-	+(N2)	Human
3	Mafifatšha-pelo	-	6[V-iš [N(9)]]	cl.6 V iš + +	+(N2)	+(N2)	Cognition

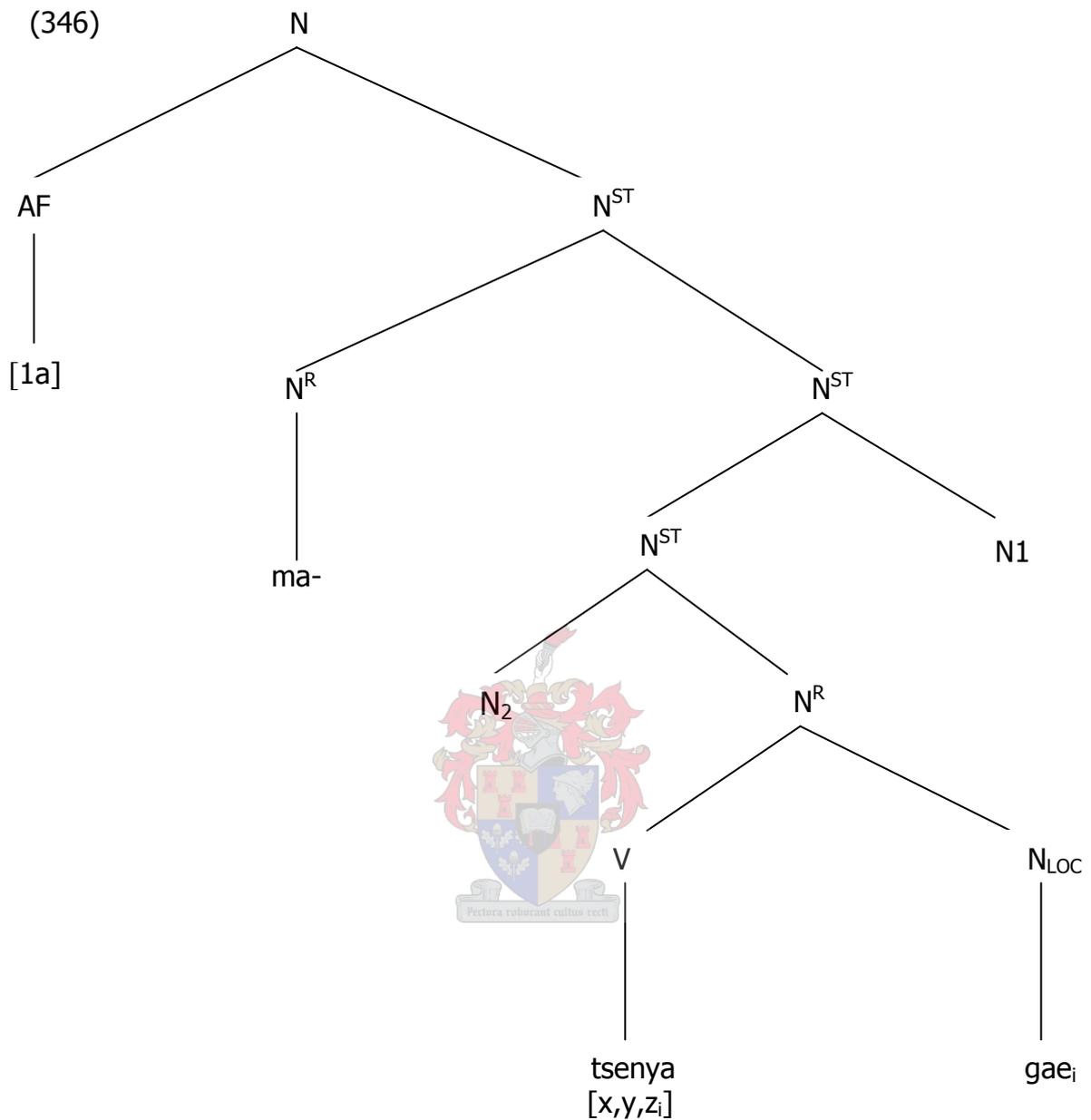
Compound nouns with quantifiers

(344)	Noun	Pl.	Deriv.	Morph.	Loc.	Dim.	SFeat.
				AF [V-iš] AF R]			
1	Magapeletša-nna	2a	1a[V-iš[Q]]	cl.1a V iš + +	-	+(N2)	Human
2	Magodiša-wena	2a	1a[V-iš[Q]]	cl.1a V iš + +	-	+(N2)	Human

4.5.2 Causative verb with a locative noun

One such compound may appear, i.e., **matsenya-gae**. This compound may have the following structure:

(345) [Matsenya-gae] (Person who does a favour in the hopes of being paid for it)



In the structure (346) above, the compound noun has a root **ma-** which is derived from the noun **mma** that belongs to class 1a. The structure above has the causative verb **[-tsen-y-a]** which is derived from the intransitive verb **[-tsen-]**. The causative extension adopts an “old” form, viz. **-y-** instead of **-iř-**. It should have been **[-tsen-iř-a]**. The **-y-** and **-iř-** forms are allomorphs. The x-argument is controlled by the prefix; the y-argument, which results from the causative affix, is not assigned while the internal locative argument of **tsen-** is assigned to **gae**.

4.6 APPLICATIVE VERBS

In syntax, the applied affix **-el-** may appear with any verb. This affix allows the non-subject arguments, i.e., the internal arguments of the predicate to be increased by one argument. If the applicative suffix is added onto an intransitive verb, it changes this intransitive verb to a transitive verb. The intransitive verb will, then, have an external and an internal argument.

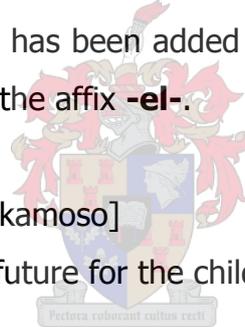
(347) Baraloki ba-w**ela** [tsela] mathapama

'The players are going in the afternoon'

In transitive verbs, the effect of the applied affix **-el-** on the predicate argument structure is to increase it by one extra internal argument. If the argument is added onto the transitive verbs, these transitive verbs will end up being ditransitive verbs. This extra internal argument that has been added is the indirect object. It is always next to the verb and depends on the affix **-el-**.

(348) Monna o-dire**ela** [bana] [bokamoso]

'Then man is building the future for the children'

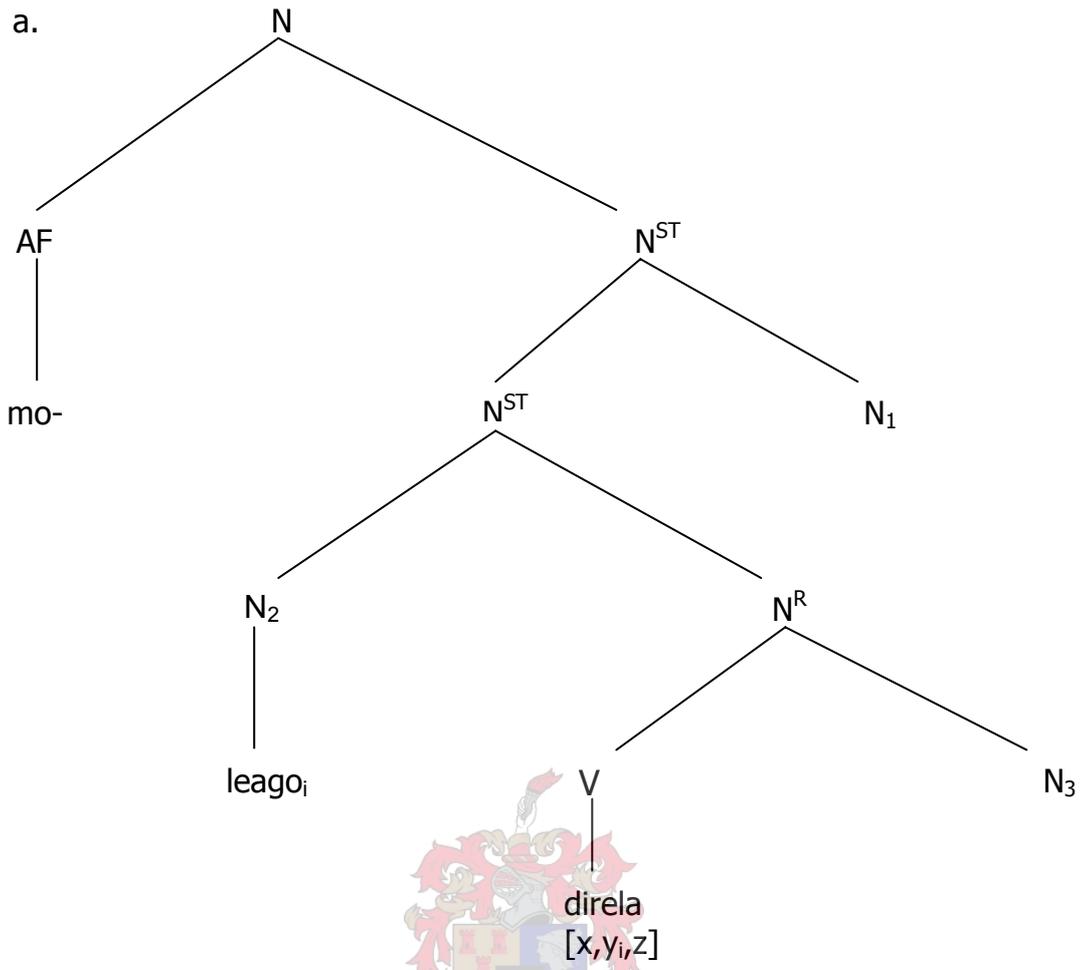


4.6.1 Morphological structure with nouns

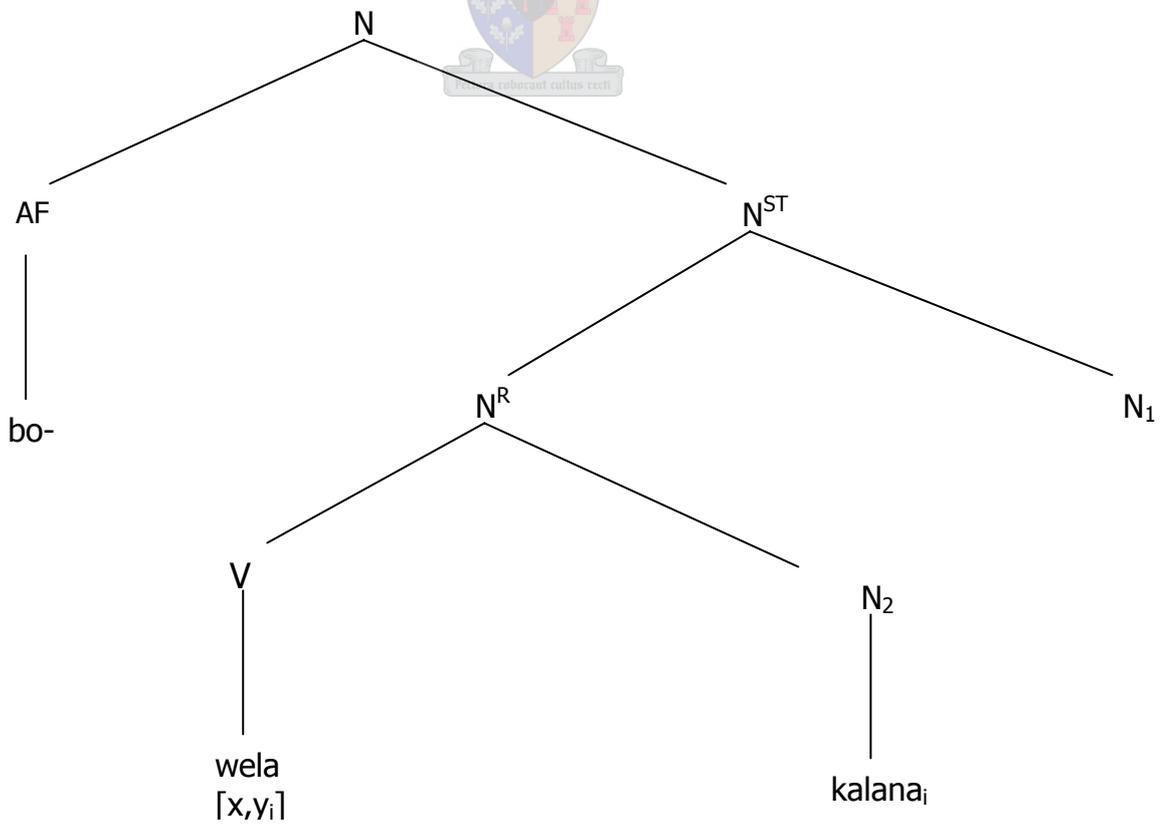
(349) a. [Modirela-leago] (Social worker)

b. [Bowela-kalana] (Place of birth)

(350) a.



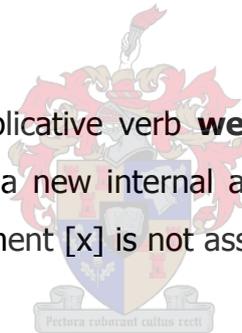
b.



- Compound nouns:
- a. [AF-[V-el-N-N]
[mo-[direla-leago] (social worker)
 - b. [AF-[V-el-N]
[bo[wela-kalana] (place of birth)

In the structure (350a) above, the applicative verb is [-**dir-el-**] which is derived from the transitive verb [-**dir-**]. This verb [-**dir-**] retains its two arguments, i.e., the external argument [x] and the internal argument [z]. These arguments have not been assigned. The external argument [x] should have gone to [N₁] but it is now controlled by the prefix **mo-**. The [z] argument has also not been assigned but it should have gone to [N₃] which is now unassigned. The new internal argument which is dependent on **-el-** is indicated as [y], and this argument has been assigned to **leago** in (350a).

In the structure (350b), the applicative verb **wela** is derived from an intransitive verb **wa**. The applicative adds a new internal argument [y] which is assigned to **kalana** [N₂]. The external argument [x] is not assigned to [N₁] but this noun is now controlled by the prefix **bo-**.



Nominal suffixes

The augmentative suffix -gadi

- (351)
- a. Kwelo-bohloko-+-**gadi** (Great sympathy)
 - b. Thibela-pelegi-+-**gadi** (Big contraceptive)
 - c. Tirela-fofane-+-**gadi** (Big airline/airway)
 - d. Boemela-fofane-+-**gadi** (Big airport)
 - e. Bohlakanela-setšhaba-+-**gadi** (Big community centre)

The diminutive suffix **-ana**

- (352) a. Kwelo-bohlok^w-+-**ana** (Little sympathy)
b. Bohlakanela-setšhab^w-+-**ana** (Small community centre)

The diminutive suffix **-nyana**

The compound nouns given in the section above can also use the diminutive suffix **-nyana** as an alternative like in the following examples:

- (353) a. Kwelo-bohloko-+-**nyana**
b. Bohlakanela-setšhaba-+-**nyana**

It should be noted that, sometimes, the type of the diminutive suffix which should be used solely depends on the nature of the compound noun that is used. In the following examples, the compounds make more sense when they occur with the suffix **-nyana** than when they occur with the suffix **-ana**.

- (354) a. Thibela-pelegi-+-**nyana** (Small contraceptive)
b. Tirela-fofane-+-**nyana** (Small airline/airway)
c. Boemela-fofane-+-**nyana** (Small airport)
d. Mawela-kgahlano-+-**nyana** (Not serious coincidence)

The locative suffix **-eng**

- (355) a. Thibela-pelegi-+-**ng** (The contraceptive)
b. Tirela-fofan-+-**eng** (The airline/airway)
c. Mawela-kgahlano-+-**ng** (The coincidence)

There are compound nouns which, because of their nature, cannot take the nominal suffix. The reason is that these compound nouns have the noun class prefix **bo-** that indicates location. This prefix **bo-** belongs to class 14 and serves as the head of the

compounds. The compounds will be regarded as incorrect and unacceptable if the suffix **-eng** can be attached to them as in the examples given below:

- (356) a. *Boemela-fofan-+-**eng**
b. *Bohlakanela-setšhab-+-**eng**
c. *Bowela-kalan-+-**eng**

Semantic features

Humans

Endocentric compounds

(357) Class 1/2: **Modirela-leago** (Badirela-leago) (Social worker). Derivation: **direla** (do for, applicative verb), **leago** (dwelling, cl. 5, noun). Locative: **Modirela-leagong**. Diminutive: **Modirela-leagwana**.

Class 1/2: **Moithutela-booki** (Baithutela-booki) (Nursing student). Derivation: **ithutela** (learn for, applicative verb), **booki** (nursing, cl. 14, noun). Locative: **Moithutela-booking**. Diminutive: **Moithutela-bookinyana**.

Class 1/2: **Mongwalela-dikuranta** (Bangwalela-dikuranta) (Correspondent (of newspapers)). Derivation: **ngwalela** (write for, applicative verb), **dikuranta** (newspapers, cl. 10, noun). Locative: **Mongwalela-dikuranteng**. Diminutive: **Mongwalela-dikurantana**.

Exocentric compounds

(358) Class 1a/2a: **Mohwela-kgoši** (BoMohwela-kgoši) (Name of a person). Derivation: **hwela** (die for, applicative verb), **kgoši** (chief, cl. 9, noun). Locative: No locative suffix. Diminutive: **Mohwela-kgošana**.

Class 1/2: **Mmolaela-tshenyi** (Babolaela-tshenyi) (One who does not care for another's property). Derivation: **bolaela** (kill for, applicative verb), **tshenyi** (spoiler, cl. 9, noun), derived from **senya** (spoil, verb). Locative: **Mmolaela-tshenyeng**. Diminutive: **Mmolaela-tshenyinyana**.

Class 1/2: **Mowela-dira** (Bawela-dira) (One who fights everybody). Derivation: **wela** (fall in, applicative verb), **dira** (enemies/armies, cl. 8, noun). Locative: **Mowela-direng**. Diminutive: **Mowela-diranyana**.

Natural phenomenon

Endocentric compound

(359) Class 9/10: **Tirela-fofane** (Ditirela-fofane) (Airline/airway). Derivation: **direla** (do for, applicative verb), **-fofane** without its prefix (aeroplane, cl. 7, noun). Locative: **Tirela-fofaneng**. Diminutive: **Tirela-fofanenyana**.

Artifact



Endocentric compound

(360) Class 9/10: **Thibela-pelegi** (Dithibela-pelegi) (Contraceptive). Derivation: **thibela** (block for, applicative verb), **pelegi** (childbirth, cl. 9, noun), derived from **belega** (give birth, verb). Locative: **Thibela-peleging**. Diminutive: **Thibela-peleginyana**.

State

Endocentric compound

(361) Class 9/10: **Kwelo-bohloko** (Dikwelo-bohloko) (Sympathy). Derivation: **kwela** (hear/perceive for, applicative verb), **bohloko** (pain, cl. 14, noun). Locative: No locative suffix. Diminutive: **Kwelo-bohlokwana**.

Places

Endocentric compounds

(362) Class 14/6: **Boemela-fofane** (Maemela-fofane) (Airport). Derivation: **emela** (stand for, applicative verb), **-fofane** without its prefix (aeroplane, cl. 7, noun). Locative: No locative suffix. Diminutive: **Boemela-fofanenyana**.

Class 14: **Bohlakanela-setšhaba** (Community centre). Derivation: **hlakanela** (co-operate, applicative verb), **setšhaba** (community, cl. 7, noun). Locative: No locative suffix. Diminutive: **Bohlakanela-setšhabana**.



Class 14: **Bowela-kalana** (Place of birth). Derivation: **wela** (fall in, applicative verb), **kalana** (small umbilical cord, cl. 9, diminutive noun). Locative: No locative suffix. Diminutive: No diminutive suffix.

Semantic feature (in compound noun with ma-)

Event

Exocentric compound

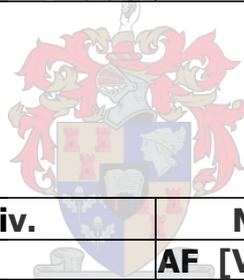
(363) Class 6: **Mawela-kgahlano** (Coincidence). Derivation: **wela** (fall in, applicative verb), **kgahlano** (meeting, cl. 9, noun), derived from **gahlana** (meet, verb). Locative: **Mawela-kgahlanong**. Diminutive: **Mawela-**

kgahlanonyana.

Table of compounds

Endocentric compounds

(364)	Noun	Pl.	Deriv.	Morph.	Loc.	Dim.	SFeat.
				AF [V-el] AF R]			
1	Modirela-leago	2	1[V-el[N(5)]]	cl. 1 V el + +	+(N2)	+(N2)	Human
2	Moithutela-booki	2	1[V-el[N(14)]]	cl. 1 V el + +	+(N2)	+(N2)	Human
3	Mongwalela-dikuranta	2	1[V-el[N(10)]]	cl. 1 V el + +	+(N2)	+(N2)	Human
4	Kwelo-bohloko	10	9[V-el[N(14)]]	cl. 9 V el + +	-	+(N2)	State
5	Thibela-pelegi	10	9[V-el[N(9)]]	cl. 9 V el + +	+(N2)	+(N2)	Artif.
6	Tirela-fofane	10	9[V-el[N(7)]]	cl. 9 V el - +	+(N2)	+(N2)	Nat. phen.
7	Boemela-fofane	6	14[V-el[N(7)]]	cl. 14 V el - +	-	+(N2)	Place
8	Bohlakanela-setšhaba	-	14[V-el[N(7)]]	cl. 14 V el + +	-	+(N2)	Place
9	Boela-kalana	-	14[V-el[N(9)]]	cl. 14 V el + +	-	-	Place



Exocentric compounds

(365)	Noun	Pl.	Deriv.	Morph.	Loc.	Dim.	SFeat.
				AF [V-el] AF R]			
1	Mohwela-kgošī	2a	1[V-el[N(9)]]	cl. 1 V el + +	-	+(N2)	Human
2	Mmolaela-tshenyi	2	1[V-el[N(9)]]	cl. 1 V el + +	+(N2)	+(N2)	Human
3	Mowela-dira	2	1[V-el[N(8)]]	cl. 9 V el + +	+(N2)	+(N2)	Human

Compound noun with ma-

Exocentric compound

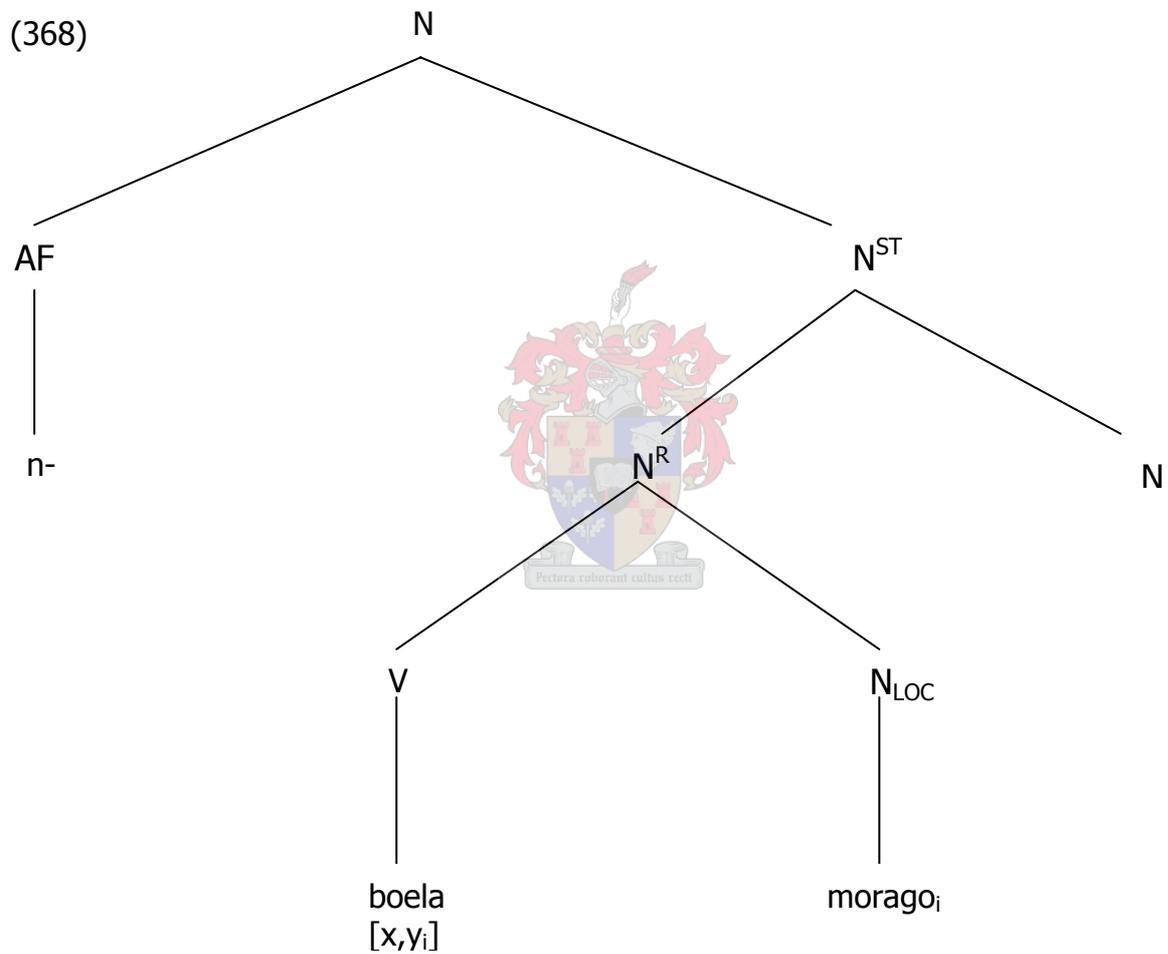
(366)	Noun	Pl.	Deriv.	Morph.	Loc.	Dim.	SFeat.
				AF [V-el] AF R]			
	Mawela-kgahlano	-	6[V-el[N(9)]]	cl. 6 V el + +	+(N2)	+(N2)	Event

4.6.2 Morphological structure with locative nouns

The internal argument, which is dependent on the presence of the applicative affix [-**el-**], may be assigned to a noun with a locative reference.

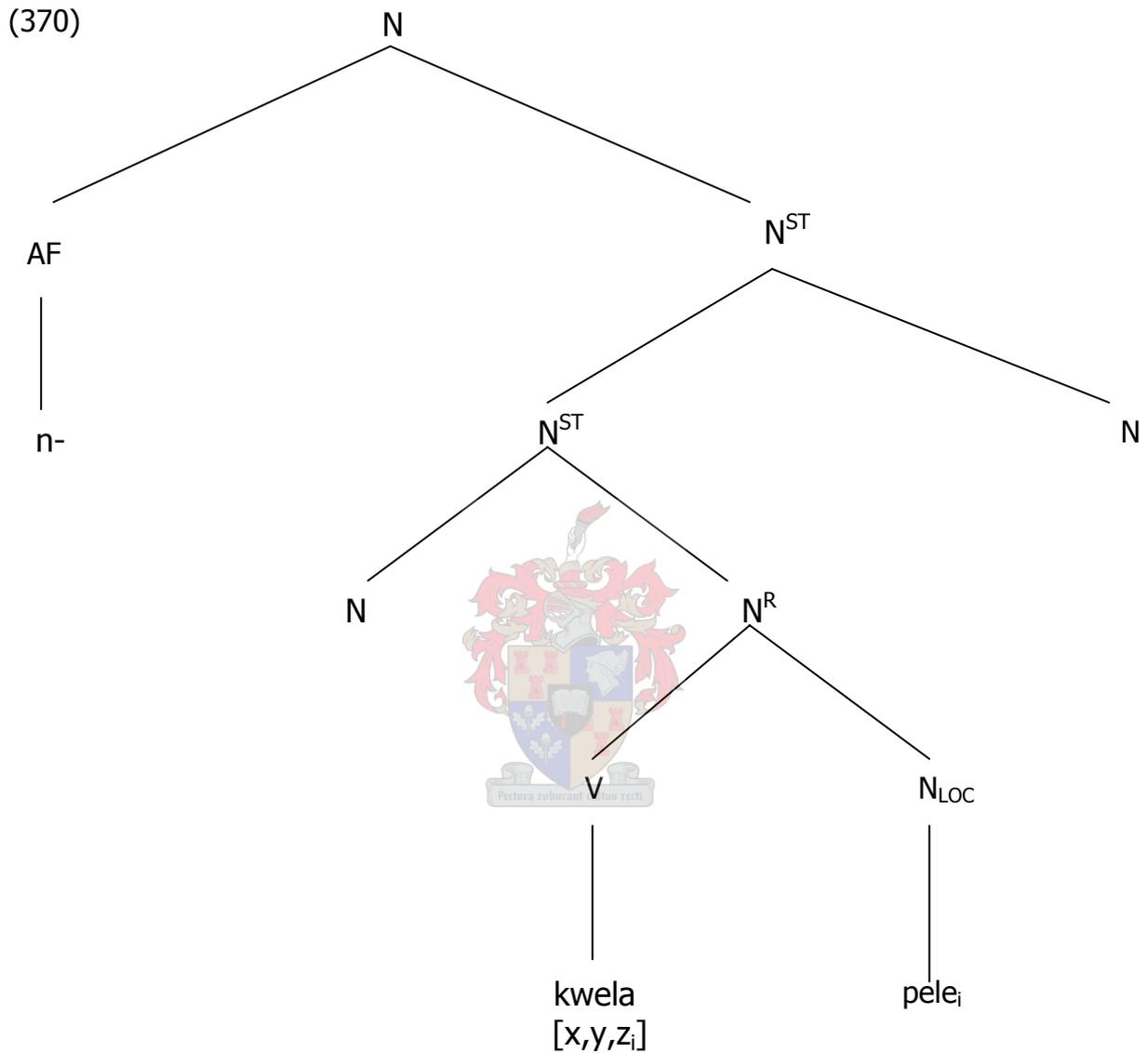
a. Intransitive verbs:

(367) [Poela-morago] (Retrogression)



b. Transitive verbs:

(369) [Kwela-pele] (Foreknowledge)



In (368) above, the internal argument which is dependent on **-el-**, i.e., [y] is assigned to **morago**. In (370), the internal argument [z], which is dependent on **-el-**, is assigned to the locative noun while [y] is not assigned, i.e., the original [y] argument of **kwa**.

Nominal suffixes

The augmentative suffix -gadi

- (371) a. Kokela-gae-+-**gadi** (Intensive home-nursing)
b. Kwela-pele-+-**gadi** (Long foreknowledge)
c. Poela-morago-+-**gadi** (Big retrogression)
d. Tswalela-banneng-+-**gadi** (Any big issue presented to men)
e. Tšwelo-pele-+-**gadi** (Big progress)

The diminutive suffix -ana

- (372) a. Mofofela-godingw-+-**ana** (Small high jumper)
b. Kwela-pej-+-**ana** (Small foreknowledge)
c. Tšwelo-pej-+-**ana** (Small progress)

The suffix **-ana** may appear before the locative **-eng**:

- (373) a. Mahwela-dijw-+-**an-eng** (Small gourmand/glutton)
b. Tswalela-bann-+-**an-eng** (Any small issue presented to men)

The diminutive suffix -nyana

The examples of compounds in the section above can also accommodate the suffix **-nyana** as an alternative:

- (374) a. Mahwela-dijong-+-**nyana**
b. Mofofela-godimo-+-**nyana**
c. Kwela-pele-+-**nyana**
d. Tswalela-banneng-+-**nyana**
e. Tšwelo-pele-+-**nyana**

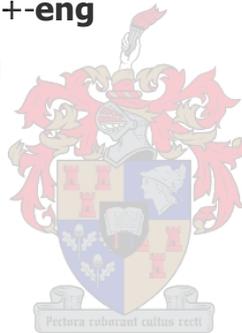
Some compounds are more acceptable when they are used with the suffix **-nyana** than when they are used with the suffix **-ana**. Note the following examples:

- (375) a. Kokela-gae-+-**nyana** (Less intensive home-nursing)
b. Poela-morago-+-**nyana** (Small retrogression)

The locative suffix **-eng**

The locative suffix **-eng** cannot be added after the locative nouns of the compounds.

- (376) a. *Kokela-ga-+-**eng**
b. *Kwela-pel-+-**eng**
c. *Poela-morago-+-**ng**
d. *Tswalela-banneng-+-**eng**
e. *Tšwelo-pel -+-**eng**



Semantic features

Humans

Endocentric compounds

- (377) Class 1/2: **Mofofela-godimo** (Bafofela-godimo) (High jumper).
Derivation: **fofela** (jump towards/over, applicative verb), **godimo** (high, cl. 17, locative noun). Locative: No locative suffix. Diminutive: **Mofofela-godingwana/mofofela-godimonyana**.

Class 1/2: **Mofofela-pele** (Bafofela-pele) (Long jumper). Derivation: **fofela** (jump towards/over, applicative verb), **pele** (front, locative noun). Locative: No locative suffix. Diminutive: **Mofofela-pejana/mofofela-pelenyana**.

Cognition

Exocentric compound

(378) Class 9/10: **Tswalela-banneng** (Ditswalela-banneng) (Any issue presented to men). Derivation: **tswalela** (give birth for/at, applicative verb), **banneng** (to/at/from men, cl. 2, locative noun). Locative: No locative suffix. Diminutive: **Tswalela-bannaneng/tswalela-bannengnyana**.

State

Exocentric compound

(379) Class 9/10: **Kwela-pele** (Dikwela-pele) (Foreknowledge). Derivation: **Kwela** (hear for, applicative verb), **pele** (front, locative noun). Locative: No locative suffix. Diminutive: **Kwela-pejana/kwela-pelenyana**.



Events

Endocentric compounds

(380) Class 9/10: **Kokela-gae** (Dikokela-gae) (Home-nursing). Derivation: **okela** (nurse for, applicative verb), **gae** (home, locative noun). Locative: No locative suffix. Diminutive: **Kokela-gaenyana**.

Class 9/10: **Poela-morago** (Dipoela-morago) (Retrogression). Derivation: **boela** (go back, applicative verb), **morago** (back, cl. 18, locative noun). Locative: No locative suffix. Diminutive: **Poela-moragonyana**.

Class 9/10: **Tšwelo-pele** (Ditšwelo-pele) (Progress). Derivation: **tšwela** (appear for, applicative verb), **pele** (front, locative noun). Locative: No locative suffix. Diminutive: **Tšwelo-pejana/tšwelo-pelenyana**.

Semantic feature (in compound noun with ma-)

Compound noun that consists of applicative verb and locative, but which commences with **ma-**, also indicates a semantic feature like other compounds. The semantic feature below is relevant.

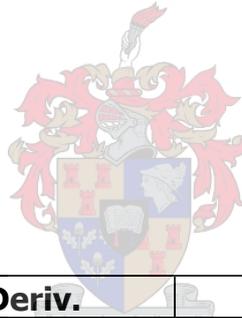
Human

Exocentric compound

(381) Class 1a/2a: **Mahwela-dijong** (Bomahwela-dijong) (Gourmand/glutton).
 Derivation: **hwela** (die for, applicative verb), **dijong** (to/at/from the foods, cl. 8, locative noun). Locative: No locative suffix. Diminutive: **Mahwela-dijwaneng/mahwela-dijongnyana**.

Table of compounds

Endocentric compounds



(382)

Noun	Pl.	Deriv.	Morph.	Loc.	Dim.	SFeat.
			AF [V-el [N_{Loc}]]			
1 Mofofela-godimo	2	1[V-el [LOC]]	cl. 1 V el +	-	+(N2)	Human
2 Mofofela-pele	2	1[V-el [LOC]]	cl. 1 V el +	-	+(N2)	Human
3 Kokela-gae	10	9[V-el [LOC]]	cl. 9 V el +	-	+(N2)	Event
4 Poela-morago	10	9[V-el [LOC]]	cl. 9 V el +	-	+(N2)	Event
5 Tšwelo-pele	10	9[V-el [LOC]]	cl. 9 V el +	-	+(N2)	Event

Exocentric compounds

(383)

Noun	Pl.	Deriv.	Morph.	Loc.	Dim.	SFeat.
			AF [V-el [N_{Loc}]]			
1 Kwela-pele	10	9[V-el [LOC]]	cl. 9 V el +	-	+(N2)	State
2 Tswalela-banneng	10	9[V-el [LOC]]	cl. 9 V el +	-	+(N2)	Cognition

Compound noun with ma-

Exocentric compound

(384)	Noun	Pl.	Deriv.	Morph.	Loc.	Dim.	SFeat.
				AF [V-el [N_{Loc}]]			
	Mahwela-dijong	2a	1a[V-el [L _{OC}]]	cl. 1a V el +	-	+(N2)	Human

4.7 PASSIVE VERB

The syntactic effect of the passive verb [-w-] is always to de-externalize the subject argument of the sentence so that it may land somewhere else as **agent** or **theme**. In this case, the position of the subject of the sentence with the passive verb is not assigned to a theta-role. The second effect of the passive morphology is that the object of the sentence may occur in this empty subject position:

- (385) [Seepša se] se ka rafša
 Mineral-this Agr-Pot-take out/extract-Pass-a
 'This mineral can be taken out/extracted'



In (385), [**seepša se**], which is now the subject of the sentence, originated as object with its theta-role. The theta-role is determined by the verb **rafa**. In (385), the argument with the theta-role of **theme** appears in the subject position. A **trace** of [**seepša se**] is then left in the vacated object position:

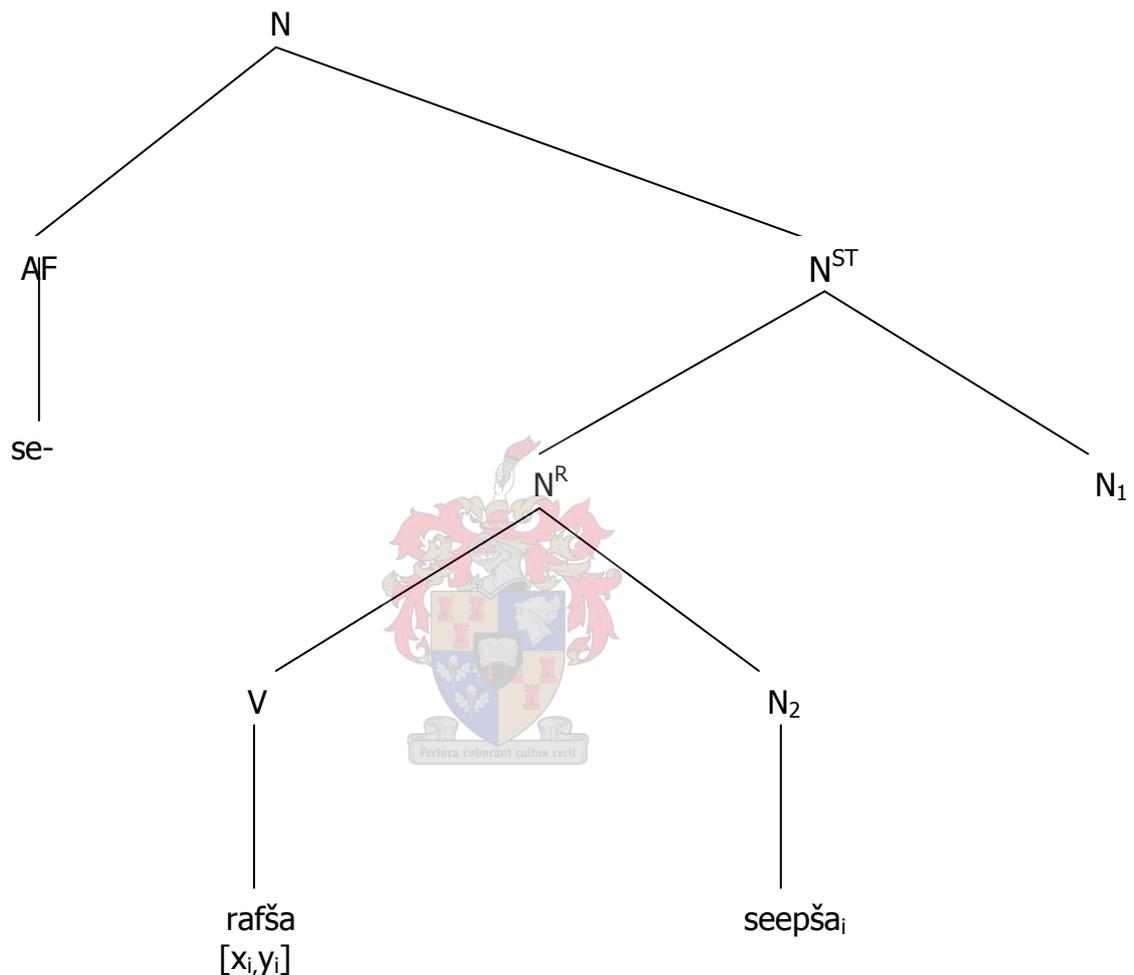
- (386) [Seepša se] se ka rafša [t]
 'This mineral can be taken out/extracted'

A very important effect of the passive morphology, however, is that it has taken away the case of this object [**seepša se**]. This implies that it now has **nominative** case by means of the **subjectival agreement** morpheme and no longer **objective** case through the verb **rafa**. The objective case has now been absorbed by the passive morphology.

4.7.1 Passive verb with a noun

(387) [Serafša-seepša] (Mineral which is taken out/extracted)

(388)



Compound noun: [A

[se-[rafša-seepša] (mineral which is taken out/extracted)

The verb **rafa** has two arguments in the structure above, i.e., the [x] (agent) and the [y] (theme) arguments. The [x] argument represents the external argument while the [y] argument represents the internal argument. The external argument of the nonhead cannot become the external argument of the whole because it is controlled by the PP with **ke**. So, the whole has no external argument. The theme argument of the passive verb is co-indexed by [i], i.e., it is assigned to **seepša**.

[N₁] will be left open because the theme argument did not move to [N₁] as it would have done in syntax. This [N₁] is now controlled by the prefix [**se-**] in the structure above.

Nominal suffixes

The augmentative suffix -gadi

- (389) a. Serafša-seepša-+-**gadi** (Big mineral which is taken out/extracted)
b. Serekwa-mosela-+-**gadi** (Big sheep)
c. Serothišwa-madi-+-**gadi** (Big thing upon which blood is dripped/
leaked)
d. Kenywa-monko-+-**gadi** (Too much fruity flavour)
e. Papatšwa-sephiri-+-**gadi** (Big black market)

The diminutive suffix -ana

- (390) a. Serafša-seepš-+-**ana** (Small mineral which is taken
out/extracted)
b. Serekwa-mosel-+-**ana** (Small sheep)
c. Serothišwa-matš-+-**ana** (Small thing upon which blood is dripped/
leaked)
d. Kenywa-monkw-+-**ana** (Little fruity flavour)
e. Papatšwa-sephiš-+-**ana** (Small black market)

The locative suffix -eng

- (391) a. Serafša-seepš-+-**eng** (The mineral which is taken out/extracted)
b. Serekwa-mosel-+-**eng** (The sheep)
c. Serothišwa-madi-+-**ng** (The thing upon which blood is
dripped/leaked)
d. Kenywa-monko-+-**ng** (The fruity flavour)

e. Papatšwa-sephiri+-ng (The black market)

Semantic features

Humans

Endocentric compounds

(392) Class 1/2: **Moanegwa-thwadi** (Baanegwa-thwadi) (Main character).
Derivation: **anegwa** (narrated, passive verb), **thwadi** (leader, cl. 9, noun).
Locative: **Moanegwa-thwading**. Diminutive: **Moanegwa-thwatšana**.

Class 1/2: **Morutwa-borutiši** (Barutwa-borutiši) (Student at a teacher training institution). Derivation: **rutwa** (taught, passive verb), **borutiši** (teaching, cl. 14, noun), derived from **rutiša** (cause/help to teach, causative verb). Locative: **Morutwa-borutišing**. Diminutive: **Morutwa-borutišinyana**.



Animal

Exocentric compound

(393) Class 7/8: **Serekwa-mosela** (Direkwa-mesela) (Sheep). Derivation: **rekwa** (bought, passive verb), **mosela** (tail, cl. 3, noun). Locative: **Serekwa-moseleng**. Diminutive: **Serekwa-moselana**.

Natural phenomenon

Endocentric compound

(394) Class 9/10: **Kenywa-monko** (Dikenywa-monko) (Fruity flavour). Derivation: **enywa** (bear fruit, passive verb), **monko** (flavour, cl. 3, noun). Locative: **Kenywa-monkong**. Diminutive: **Kenywa-monkwana**.

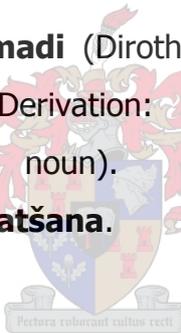
Natural objects

Endocentric compounds

(395) Class 7/8: **Seamogwa-beng** (Diamogwa-beng) (Something that is taken (by force) /seized from the owners). Derivation: **amogwa** (taken (by force)), **beng** (owners, cl. 2, noun). Locative: **Seamogwa-benyeng**. Diminutive: **Seamogwa-benyana**.

Class 7/8: **Serafša-seepša** (Dirafša-diepša) (Mineral which is taken out/extracted). Derivation: **rafša** (taken out/extracted, passive verb), **seepša** (mineral, cl. 7, noun), derived from **epša** (dug, passive verb). Locative: **Serafša-seepšeng**. Diminutive: **Serafša-seepšana**.

Class 7/8: **Serothišwa-madi** (Dirothišwa-madi) (Something upon which blood is dripped/leaked). Derivation: **rothišwa** (dripped/leaked, passive verb), **madi** (blood, cl. 6, noun). Locative: **Serothišwa-mading**. Diminutive: **Serothišwa-matšana**.



Artifact

Exocentric compound

(396) Class 9/10: **Papatšwa-sephiri** (Dipapatšwa-sephiri) (Black market). Derivation: **bapatšwa** (sold, passive verb), **sephiri** (secret, cl. 7, noun). Locative: **Papatšwa-sephiring**. Diminutive: **Papatšwa-sephišana**.

Table of compounds

Endocentric compounds

(397)	Noun	Pl.	Deriv.	Morph.	Loc.	Dim.	SFeat.
				AF [V-W] AF R]			
1	Moanegwa-thwadi	2	1[V-W[N(9)]]	cl. 1 V W + +	+(N2)	+(N2)	Human
2	Morutwa-borutiši	2	1[V-W[N(14)]]	cl. 1 V W + +	+(N2)	+(N2)	Human
3	Seamogwa-beng	8	7[V-W[N(2)]]	cl. 7 V W + +	+(N2)	+(N2)	Nat. obj.
4	Serafša-seepša	8+8	7[V-W[N(7)]]	cl. 7 V W + +	+(N2)	+(N2)	Nat. obj.
5	Serothišwa-madi	8	7[V-W[N(6)]]	cl. 7 V W + +	+(N2)	+(N2)	Nat. obj.
6	Kenywa-monko	10	9[V-W[N(3)]]	cl. 9 V W + +	+(N2)	+(N2)	Nat. phen.

Exocentric compounds

(398)	Noun	Pl.	Deriv.	Morph.	Loc.	Dim.	SFeat.
				AF [V-W] AF R]			
1	Serekwa-mosela	8+4	7[V-W[N(3)]]	cl. 7 V W + +	+(N2)	+(N2)	Animal
2	Papatšwa-sephiri	10	9[V-W[N(7)]]	cl. 9 V W + +	+(N2)	+(N2)	Artif.

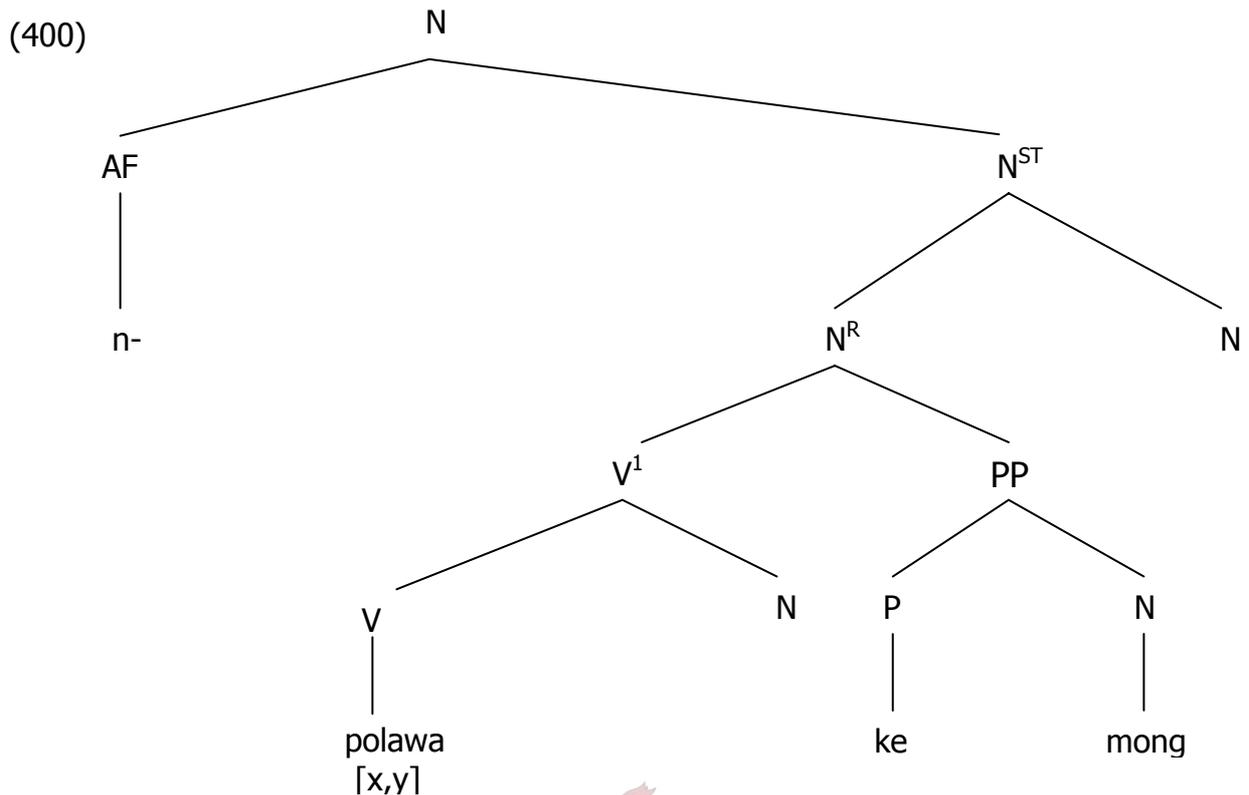
4.7.2 Passive verbs with prepositional phrases (PPs)

4.7.2.1 Preposition (P) is ke



Morphological structure

(399) [Polawa-ke-mong] (One's suffering for one's faults)



Compound noun: [AF-[V¹-PP]
[n-[polawa-ke-mong] (one's suffering for one's faults)

In the structure above, the passive verb **bolawa** has two arguments. These are the [x] and the [y] arguments. The [x] argument represents the external argument which is controlled by the PP with **ke**. The [y] argument represents the internal argument which is not assigned.

Nominal suffixes

The augmentative suffix-gadi

The noun of the prepositional phrase is the one that the suffix **-gadi** is attached onto:

- (401) a. Mabetwa-ke-pelo-+-**gadi** (Big short-tempered person)
b. Molewa-ke-bodutu-+-**gadi** (Big person who feels lonely)

- c. Sehomotšwa-ke-nama-+-**gadi** (Big person who is silenced by meat)
- d. Dibonwa-ke-yena-+-**gadi** (His/her big business)
- e. Polawa-ke-mong-+-**gadi** (Big person's suffering for his/her faults)

The diminutive suffixes -nyana/-ana

The suffixes are added after the nouns of the prepositional phrases:

The suffix **-nyana**:

- (402) Dibonwa-ke-yena-+-**nyana** (His/her small business)

The suffix **-ana**:

- (403) a. Mabetwa-ke-pelw-+-**ana** (Small short-tempered person)
- b. Molewa-ke-bodutw-+-**ana** (Small person who feels lonely)
- c. Sehomotšwa-ke-nam-+-**ana** (Small person who is silenced by meat)
- d. Polawa-ke-mony-+-**ana** (Small person's suffering for his/her faults)

The locative suffix -eng

- (404) a. Molewa-ke-bodutu-+-**ng** (The person who feels lonely)
- b. Sehomotšwa-ke-nam-+-**eng** (The person who is silenced by meat)
- c. Polawa-ke-mony-+-**eng** (The person's suffering for his/her faults)

This suffix, however, cannot be accommodated in some compound nouns. If the suffix can be attached to the following nouns, they will be regarded as incorrect:

- (405) a. *Mabetwa-ke-pelo-+-**ng**
b. *Dibonwa-ke-yen-+-**eng**

In (405a), the locative suffix cannot be attached to the compound noun because it belongs to class 1a, whereas in (405b), the absolute pronoun **yena** 'his/her' cannot accommodate this suffix.

Semantic features

Humans

Endocentric compounds

(406) Class 1/2: **Molewa-ke-bodutu** (Balewa-ke-bodutu) (One who feels lonely).
Derivation: **lewa** (eaten, passive verb), **ke** (by, preposition), **bodutu** (loneliness, cl. 14, noun). Locative: **Molewa-ke-bodutung**. Diminutive: **Molewa-ke-bodutwana**.

Class 7/8: **Sekgonwa-ke-boroko** (Dikgonwa-ke-boroko) (One who is overcame/ overpowered by sleepiness/sleep). Derivation: **kgonwa** (overcame/overpowered, passive verb), **ke** (by, preposition), **boroko** (sleepiness/sleep, cl. 14, noun). Locative: **Sekgonwa-ke-borokong**. Diminutive: **Sekgonwa-ke-borokwana**.

Class 7/8: **Sehomotšwa-ke-nama** (Dihomotšwa-ke-nama) (One who is silenced by meat). Derivation: **homotšwa** (be silenced, passive verb), **ke** (by, preposition), **nama** (meat, cl. 9, noun). Locative: **Sehomotšwa-ke-nameng**. Diminutive: **Sehomotšwa-ke-namana**.

Class 7/8: **Setenwa-ke-dijo** (Ditenwa-ke-dijo) (One who is tired (not physically) of foods). Derivation: **tenwa** (be tired of, passive verb), **ke** (by,

preposition), **dijo** (foods, cl. 8, noun). Locative: **Setenwa-ke-dijong**.
Diminutive: **Setenwa-ke-dijwana**.

Class 9/10: **Kgogwa-ke-lenyora** (Dikgogwa-ke-lenyora) (One who is pulled by thirst). Derivation: **gogwa** (pulled, passive verb), **ke** (by, preposition), **lenyora** (thirst, cl. 5, noun). Locative: **Kgogwa-ke-lenyoreng**.
Diminutive: **Kgogwa-ke-lenyorana**.

Natural objects

Endocentric compounds

(407) Class 8: **Dibonwa-ke-wena** (Your business). Derivation: **bonwa** (seen, passive verb), **ke** (by, preposition), **wena** (you, absolute pronoun of the second person singular). Locative: **Dibonweng-ke-wena**. Diminutive: **Dibonwa-ke-wenanyana**.

Class 8: **Dibonwa-ke-yena** (His/her business). Derivation: **bonwa** (seen, passive verb), **ke** (by, preposition), **yena** (he/she/him/her, absolute pronoun of the third person singular). Locative: **Dibonweng-ke-yena**. Diminutive: **Dibonwa-ke-yenanyana**.

Cognition

Endocentric compound

(408) Class 9: **Polawa-ke-mong** (One's suffering for one's faults). Derivation: **bolawa** (be killed, passive verb), **ke** (by, preposition), **mong** (owner, cl. 1, noun). Locative: **Polawa-ke-monyeng**. Diminutive: **Polawa-ke-monyana**.

Place

Endocentric compound

(409) Class 14: **Botsebjja-ke-badimo** (Unknown place). Derivation: **tsebjja** (known, passive verb), **ke** (by, preposition), **badimo** (gods, cl. 2, noun).
Locative: No locative suffix. Diminutive: **Botsebjja-ke-badingwana**.

Semantic feature (in compound noun with ma-)

The semantic feature is also available in the compound noun which is made up of a passive verb and prepositional phrase but which starts with **ma-**. The semantic feature and its compound noun are indicated below:

Human

Endocentric compound

(410) Class 1a/2a: **Mabetwa-ke-pelo** (Bomabetwa-ke-pelo) (Short-tempered person). Derivation: **betwa** (strangled, passive verb), **ke** (by, preposition), **pelo** (heart, cl. 9, noun). Locative: No locative suffix.
Diminutive: **Mabetwa-ke-pelwana**.



Table of compounds

Endocentric compounds

(411)	Noun	Pl.	Deriv.	Morph.	Loc.	Dim.	SFeat.
				AF [V-W+ke] AF R]			
1	Molewa-ke-bodutu	2	1[V-W [Pp]]	cl. 1 V W ke + +	+(N2)	+(N2)	Human
2	Sekgonwa-ke-boroko	8	7[V-W [Pp]]	cl. 7 V W ke + +	+(N2)	+(N2)	Human
3	Sehomotšwa-ke-nama	8	7[V-W [Pp]]	cl. 7 V W ke + +	+(N2)	+(N2)	Human
4	Setenwa-ke-dijo	8	7[V-W [Pp]]	cl. 7 V W ke + +	+(N2)	+(N2)	Human
5	Dibonwa-ke-wena	-	8[V-W [Pp]]	cl. 8 V W ke + +	+(N1)	+(N2)	Nat. obj.
6	Dibonwa-ke-yena	-	8[V-W [Pp]]	cl. 8 V W ke + +	+(N1)	+(N2)	Nat. obj.
7	Kgogwa-ke-lenyora	10	9[V-W [Pp]]	cl. 9 V W ke + +	+(N2)	+(N2)	Human
8	Polawa-ke-mong	-	9[V-W [Pp]]	cl. 9 V W ke + +	+(N2)	+(N2)	Cognition

Exocentric compound

(412)	Noun	Pl.	Deriv.	Morph.	Loc.	Dim.	SFeat.
				AF [V-W+ke] AF R]			
	Botsebja-ke-badimo	-	14[V-W[Pp]]	cl. 14 V W ke + +	-	+(N2)	Place

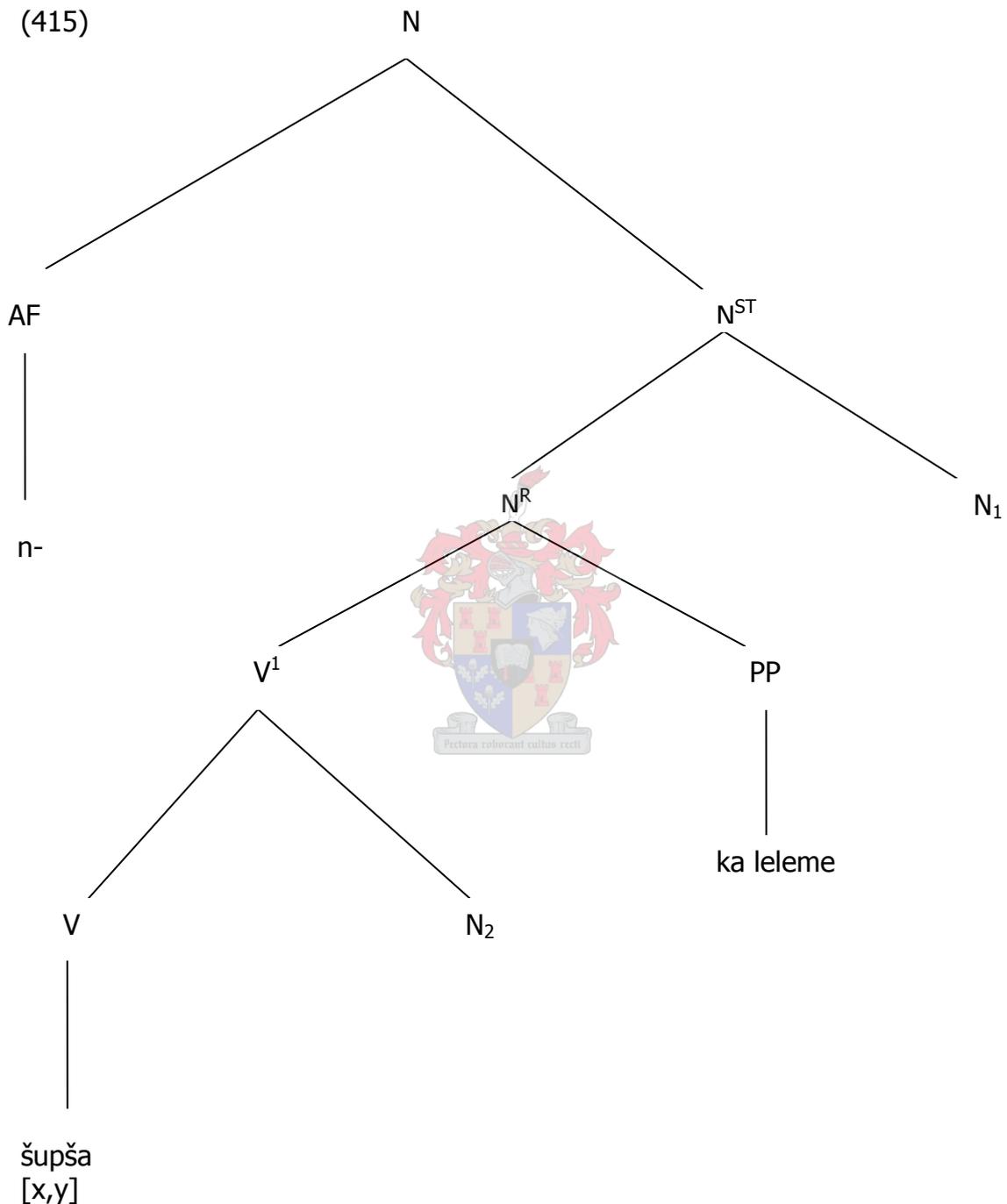
Compound noun with ma-

Endocentric compound

(413)	Noun	Pl.	Deriv.	Morph.	Loc.	Dim.	SFeat.
				AF [V-W+ke] AF R]			
	Mabetwa-ke-pelo	2a	1a[V-W[Pp]]	cl. 1a V W ke + +	-	+(N2)	Human

4.7.2.2 Preposition is ka or le

(414) [Tšhupša-ka-leleme] (Name of a person)



The PP in the structure above represents an adjunct. This adjunct is a PP **ka leleme** that refers to an instrument as it can be observed from a clause with this noun:

(416) Ngwetši e šupša [ka leleme]

'The bride is pointed out by the tongue'

One example of compound noun with the same structure as above but with different prepositional phrase is as follows:

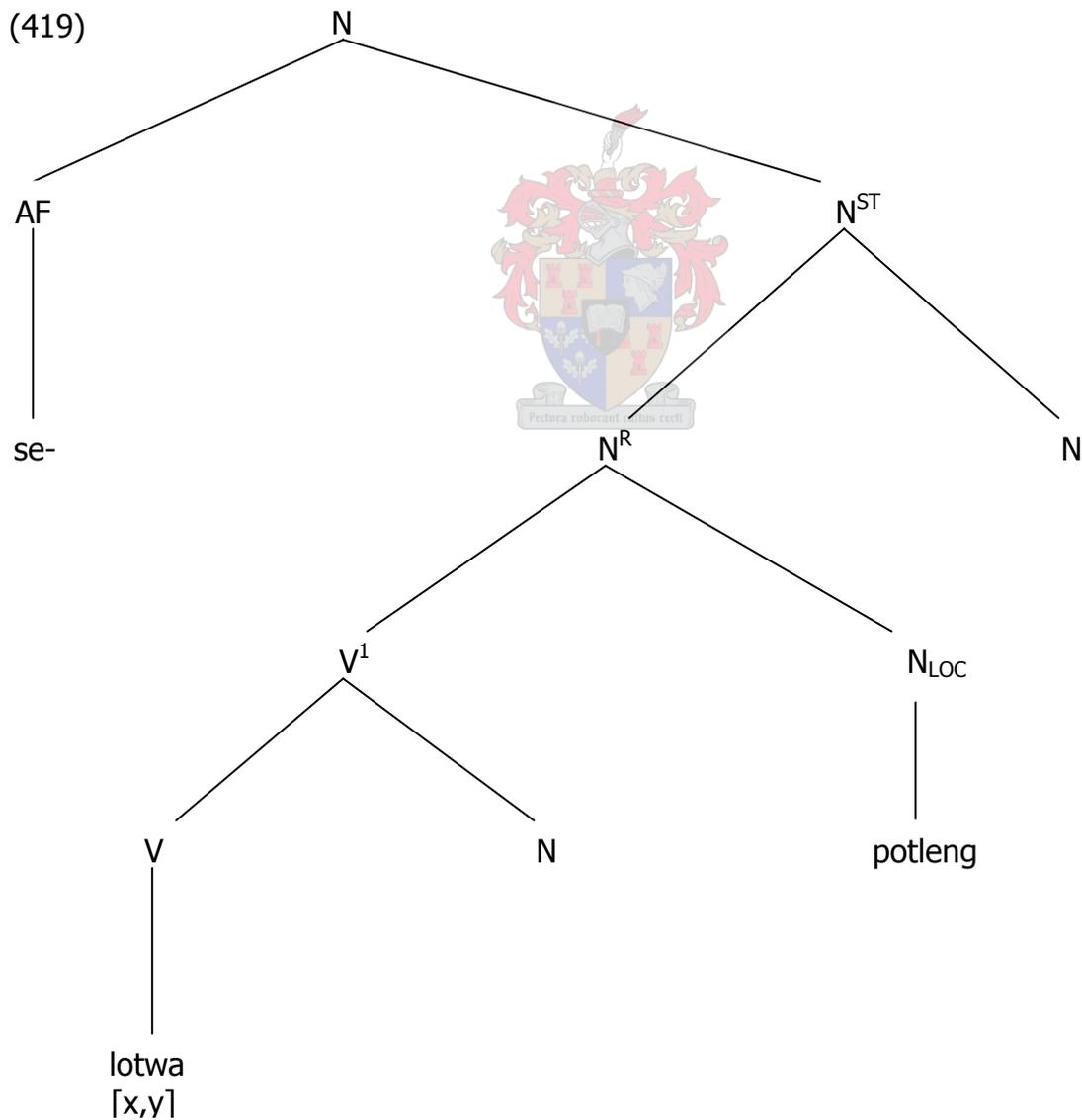
(417) **Animal:** [mo-[lahlwa-le-boya] (donkey)

4.7.3 Passive verb with a locative

Morphological structure

(418) [Selotwa-potleng] (Money)

(419)



The N_{LOC} **potleng** is an adjunct and the sister of V¹.

Nominal suffixes

The augmentative suffix -gadi

(420) Selotwa-potleng-+-**gadi** (Lot of money)

The diminutive suffix -ana

The suffix **-ana** has to appear before the locative **-eng**:

(421) Selotwa-potl-+-**an-eng** (Little money)

The locative suffix -eng

In the following example, the locative suffix **-eng** cannot be attached to the compound simply because the basic noun is already locativized:

(422) *Selotwa-potleng-+-**eng**



Semantic feature

Artifact

Endocentric compound

(423) Class 7/8: **Selotwa-potleng** (Dilotwa-potleng) (Money). Derivation: **lotwa** (taken care of/looked after, passive verb), **potleng** (in the pocket, cl. 9, noun). Locative: No locative suffix. Diminutive: **Selotwa-potlaneng**.

4.8 NEUTER-PASSIVE VERB WITH A LOCATIVE

In syntax, the neuter-passive morpheme **[-eg-]** can be used in the same structure as the passive morpheme **[-w-]**. The object argument with its thematic role may appear in the subject position:

- (424) [Setulo] se ka bonega
The chair Agr-LPres-see-NeutPass-Pres
'The chair can be visible'

[**Setulo**], in (424), which is now the subject of the sentence, originated as object of which the theta-role was determined by the verb **bona**. This theta-role of **theme** in (424) is carried over to the subject position. In the object position that has been vacated, a **trace** of [**setulo**] is left:

- (425) [Setulo] se ka bonega [t]

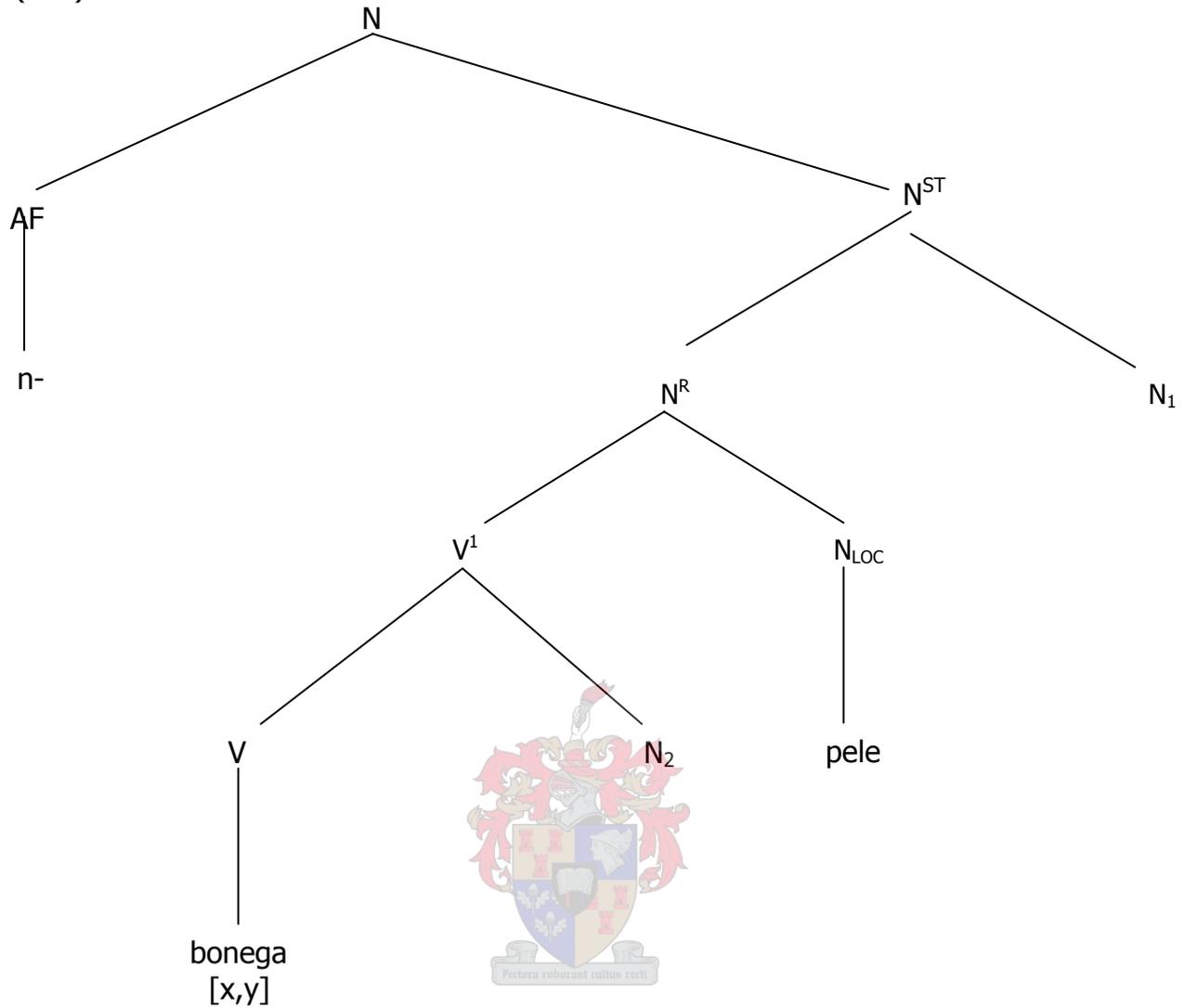
Like in the passive verb, a crucial effect of the neuter-passive morphology is that it has taken away the case of this object [**setulo**]. It now has **nominative** case through the **subjectival agreement** morpheme and no more **objective** case by means of the verb **bona**. The neuter-passive morphology has, in this way, absorbed the objective case.

Morphological structure

- (426) [Ponega-pele] (Vision)



(427)



Compound noun: [AF-[V¹-N_{LOC}]
[n-[ponega-pele] (vision)

In (427), the verb **bona** contains two arguments. The first one is the [x], i.e., the agent argument which is the external argument. The second one is the [y], i.e., the theme argument which represents the internal argument. In this structure, the agent argument is controlled by the neuter-passive; thus, no lexical item can fill N₁. N₂ is also not filled in this structure, but it is controlled by the prefix of the compound noun. The locative noun **pele** is an adjunct.

Nominal suffixes

The augmentative suffix -gadi

(428) Ponega-pele-+-**gadi** (Big vision)

The diminutive suffix -ana

(429) Ponega-pej-+-**ana** (Small vision)

The locative suffix -eng

The locative suffix **-eng** cannot co-occur with the locative noun of the compound in that the direction has already been indicated. If the suffix appears with the locative noun, the compound would be regarded as ungrammatical:

(430) *Ponega-pel-+-**eng**



Semantic feature

State

Endocentric compound

(431) Class 9/10: **Ponega-pele** (Diponega-pele) (Vision). Derivation: **bonega** (be visible, neuter-passive verb), **pele** (in front, locative noun). Locative: No locative suffix. Diminutive: **Ponega-pejana**.

4.9 RECIPROCAL VERBS

In syntax, it is possible for the reciprocal affix **-an-** to appear with the transitive verbs. Basically, the effect of this affix deals with the syntactic structure within which reciprocal verbs may appear:

- (432) a. [Dihlotlolo tše] di a tsebana
‘These prostitutes know each other’
- b. [Mošemane yola le ngwanenyana yo] ba a dumana
‘That boy and this girl admire each other’

The affix **-an-** in (432a and b) has been affixed to the verbs **tseba** and **duma** respectively. The normal effect of these reciprocal constructions in English is that the reciprocal component retains the position of the object and, thus, also its argument positions within the predicate argument structure of the predicate. This English reciprocal ‘each other’ is a lexical item that has the status of an anaphor. The implication here is that the anaphor ‘each other’ should be bound by something within the sentence within which it occurs. The subject of the sentence normally binds it.

In Northern Sotho, there is no anaphor, but the affix **-an-** which forms part of the predicate of the proposition as in (432). This is to say that the affix **-an-** has done away with the syntactic object of the sentence. In (432), the chance of using any object, either empty or filled with a lexical item, is not available. Even if it is the case, the internal argument of this predicate is still remaining and it has to be considered to affect a proper semantic reading. In (432), both the verbs **tseba** and **duma** have an internal argument with the semantic role of patient. This role has now been taken over by the affix **-an-** with the meaning of reciprocal. In other words, it indicates the meaning of mutual relationship. There is no **syntactic binding** of this reciprocal component by the subject of the sentence because there is no syntactic object within which this affix **-an-** may appear.

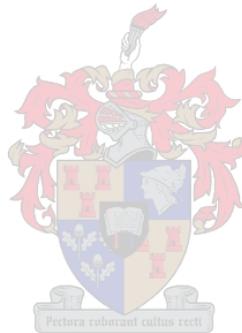
From the semantic point of view, it is very obvious that binding is still present and the only solution is to resort to **argument binding**. This type of a binding is regarded as the binding of arguments by arguments in the argument structure of verbs. Thus, in the case of Northern Sotho, the reciprocal binding is to be found

within lexical items. The lexical items **tseban-** and **duman-** have an external argument of **experiencer** and an internal argument of **patient**. The patient-argument is then bound by the experiencer-argument within the **lexical structure** of the verb. In a broad sense, the external argument may be anything like agent or theme on the one hand and the internal argument depends on the semantics of the specific verb on the other hand.

Within the structure of the verbs **tseban-** and **duman-**, an external argument and an internal argument are found. In such a case, the last argument is bound by the first one to affect the semantic reading of reciprocal.

It is necessary to mention that a condition on the subjects of reciprocal verbs is to have the feature [plural]. Any sentence that may have a singular subject would be not grammatical:

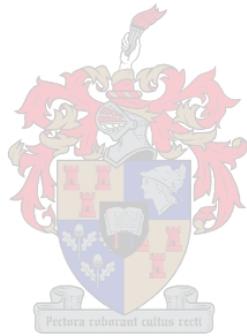
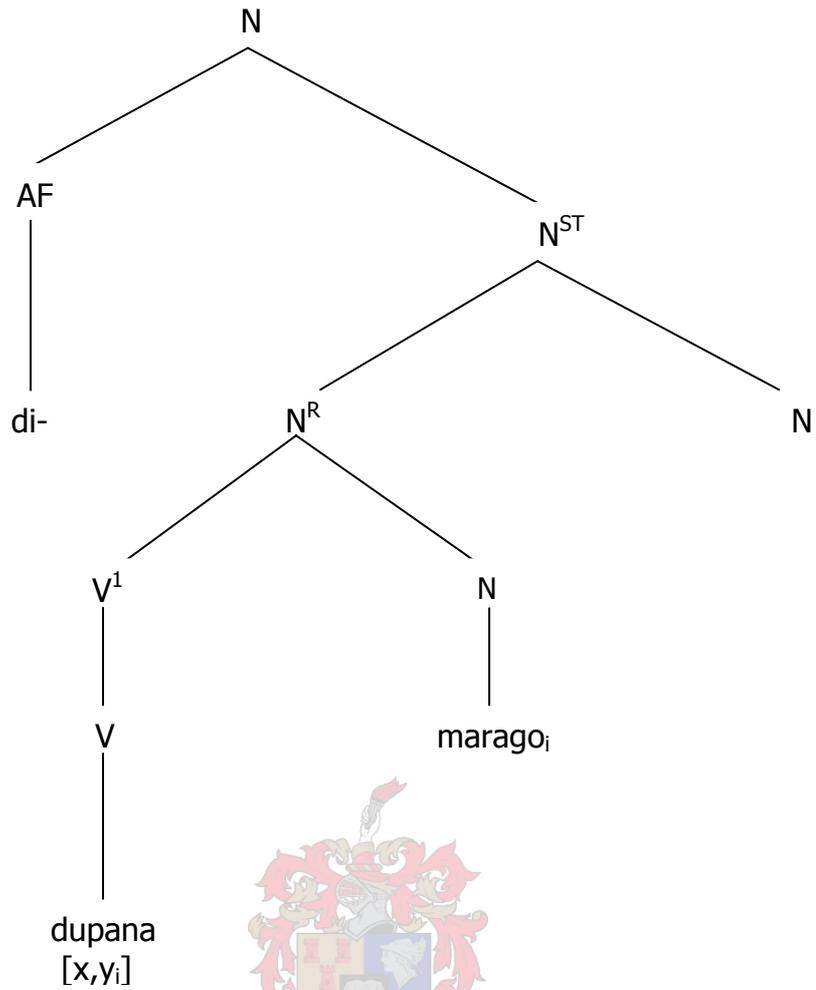
(433) *Motho yo o a hlapišana

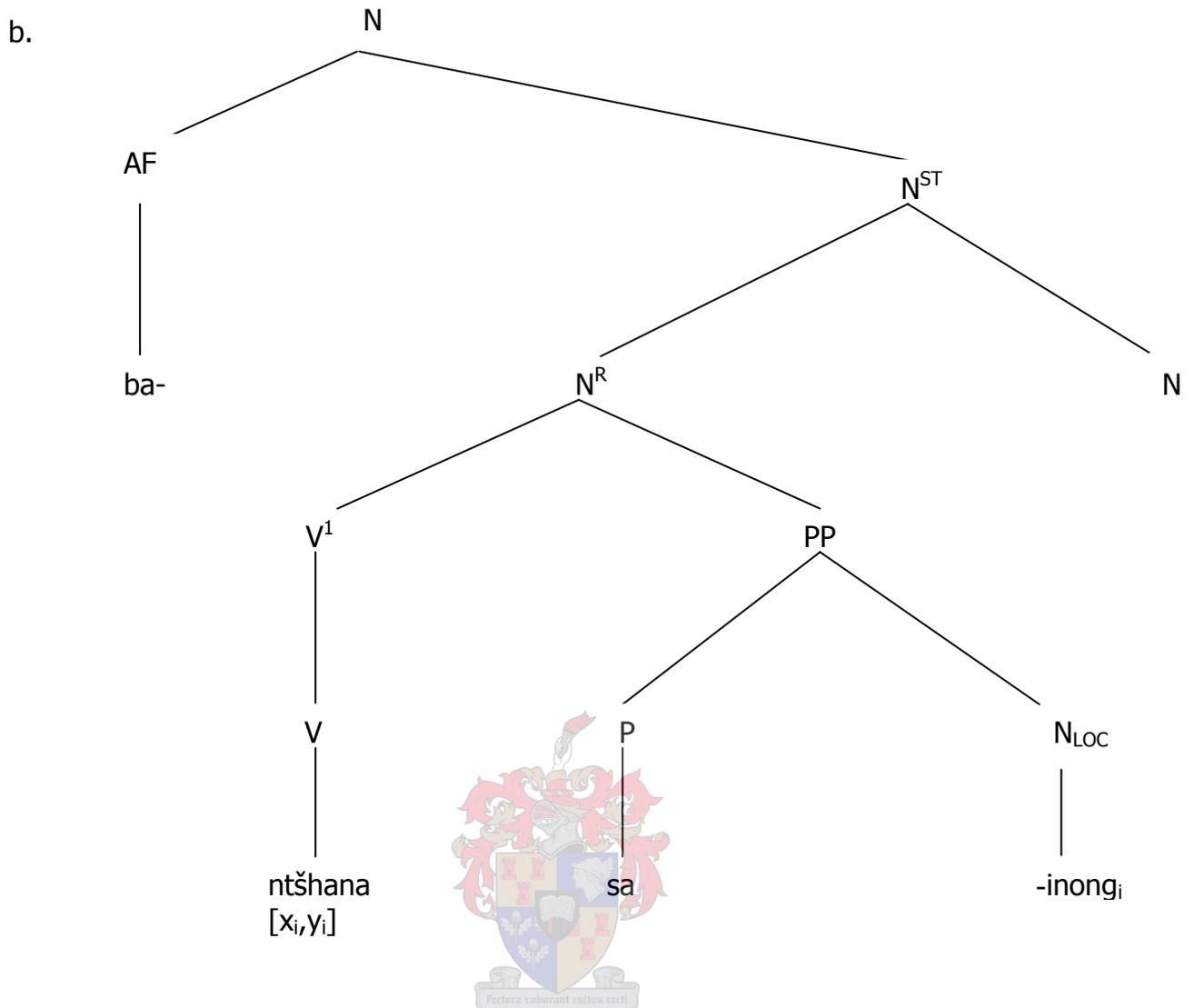


Morphological structure

- (434) a. [Didupana-marago] (Bosom friends)
b. [Bantšana-sa-inong] (Intimate friends)

(435) a.





- Compound nouns:
- a. [AF-[V¹-N]
[di-[dupana-marago] (bosom friends)
 - b. [AF-[V¹-PP]
[ba-[ntšhana-sa-inong] (intimate friends)

In the structure (435a) above, the reciprocal verb is [-**dup-an-**] which is derived from the verb [-**dup-**].

In the structure (435b), the reciprocal verb [-**ntšh-an-**] is derived from the transitive verb [-**ntšh-**]. In both cases, the internal argument is bound by the external argument. Thus, there is argument-binding in both cases.

Nominal suffixes

The augmentative suffix -gadi

- (436) a. Makatana-le-seipone-+-**gadi** (Big person who struggles with the mirror)
b. Bantšhana-sa-inong-+-**gadi** (Big intimate friends)
c. Didupana-marago-+-**gadi** (Big bosom friends)

The diminutive suffixes -nyana/-ana

The suffix **-nyana**:

- (437) Makatana-le-seipone-+-**nyana** (Small person who struggles with the mirror)

The suffix **-ana**:

The suffix **-ana** may appear before **-eng** in (438a) and after the noun in (438b):

- (438) a. Bantšhana-sa-inw-+-**an-eng** (Small intimate friends)
b. Didupana-maragw-+-**ana** (Small bosom friends)

The locative suffix -eng

- (439) Didupana-marago-+-**ng** (The bosom friends)

The locative suffix cannot co-occur with the compound below because the compound belongs to class 1a.

- (440) a. *Makatana-le-seipon-+-**eng**

Semantic feature

Humans

Exocentric compounds

(441) Class 2: **Bantšhana-sa-inong** (Intimate friends). Derivation: **ntšhana** (take out each other, reciprocal verb), **sa** (like, comparative preposition), -**inong** without its prefix (on/to/at/from the tooth, cl. 5, noun). Locative: No locative suffix. Diminutive: **Bantšhana-sa-inwaneng**.

Class 10: **Didupana-marago** (Bosom friends). Derivation: **dupana** (sniff each other, reciprocal verb), **marago** (buttocks, cl. 6, noun). Locative: **Didupana-maragong**. Diminutive: **Didupana-maragwana**.

Semantic feature (in compound noun with ma-)

Human

Endocentric compound



(442) Class 1a/2a: **Makatana-le-seipone** (Bomakatana-le-seipone) (One who struggles with the mirror). Derivation: **katana** (struggle, reciprocal verb), **le** (with, associative preposition), **seipone** (mirror, cl. 7, noun). Locative: No locative suffix. Diminutive: **Makatana-le-seiponeyana**.

Table of compounds

Exocentric compounds

(443)

	Noun	Pl.	Deriv.	Morph.	Loc.	Dim.	SFeat.
				AF [V-an] AF R]			
1	Bantšhana-sa-inong	-	2[V-an-sa[N(5)]]	cl. 1 V an sa - +	-	+(N2)	Human
2	Didupana-marago	-	10[V-an[N(6)]]	cl. 10 V an + +	+(N2)	+(N2)	Human

Compound noun with ma

Endocentric compound

(444)	Noun	Pl.	Deriv.	Morph.	Loc.	Dim.	SFeat.
				AF [V-an] AF R]			
	Makatana-le-seipone	2a	1a[V-an-le [N(7)]]	cl. 1a V an le + +	-	+(N2)	Human

4.10 REVERSIVE VERBS

In syntax, the reversive affix [-**oll-**] may appear with various types of verbs. This affix indicates that the action/process of the verbal stem is reversed, or alternatively that the opposite process is indicated:

(445) Batho ba epolla ditapola

'The people are digging out the potatoes'

In morphology, the reversive affix expresses a reversal of the action in the verb:

(446) a. Dingaka di bjalolla pelo

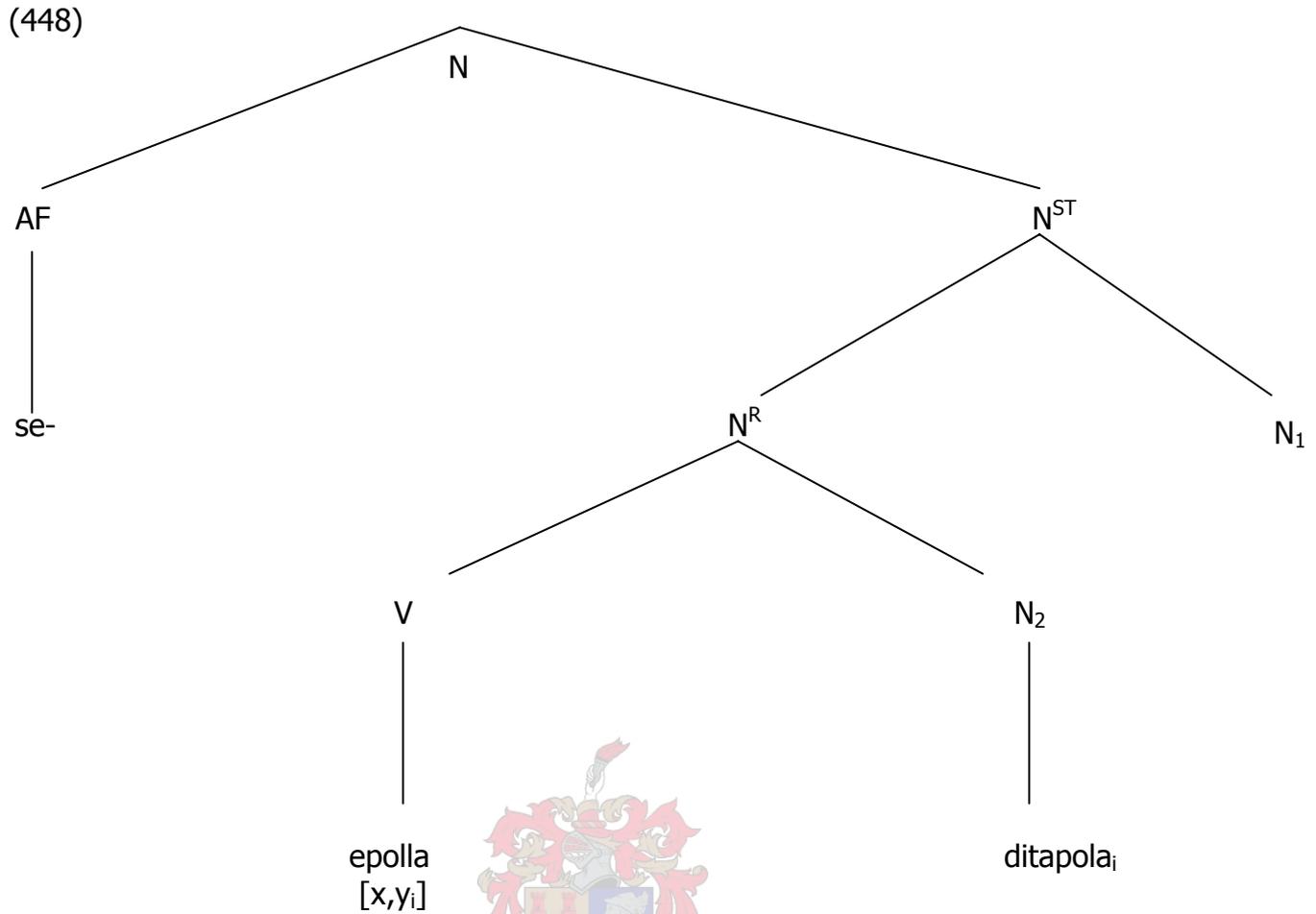
'The doctors transplant the heart'

b. Maphodisa a kgokolla bagolegwa

'The police untie the prisoners'

Morphological structure

(447) [Seepolla-ditapola] (Potato remover)



Compound noun: [AF-[V-N]
[se-[epolla-ditapola] (potato remover)

In the structure (448) above, the reversive verb [-**epoll-**] is derived from the transitive verb [-**ep-**]. The y-argument is assigned to **ditapola** [N₂]. The external argument [x] is not assigned to [N₁] but this noun is now controlled by the prefix **se-**

Nominal suffixes

The augmentative suffix -gadi

- (449) a. Mafatolla-diba-+-**gadi** (Big person who investigates deeply)
 b. Mahunolla-thebele-+-**gadi** (Substantial amount of money paid to the diviner before he/she throws his/her bones)

- c. Seepolla-ditapola-+-**gadi** (Big potato remover)
- d. Sephetlolla-dirope-+-**gadi** (Big person who makes sex with everybody)
- e. Khunolla-moraba-+-**gadi** (Substantial amount of money presented to the bride's father by the bridegroom's people before paying the **magadi**)

The diminutive suffix -ana

- (450) a. Maphurollaphurolla-mafegw-+-**ana** (Small person who repeatedly spreads hands when he/she is angry)
- b. Mahunolla-thebej-+-**ana** (Small amount of money paid to the diviner before he/she throws his/her bones)
- c. Seepolla-ditapol-+-**ana** (Small potato remover)
- d. Sephetlolla-dirotsw-+-**ana** (Small person who makes sex with everybody)
- e. Khunolla-morab-+-**ana** (Small amount of money presented to the bride's father by the bridegroom's people before paying the **magadi**)



The locative suffix -eng

- (451) a. Mahunolla-thebel-+-**eng** (The money paid to the diviner before he/she throws his/her bones)
- b. Seepolla-ditapol-+-**eng** (The potato remover)
- c. Sephetlolla-dirop-+-**eng** (The person who makes sex with everybody)

- d. **Khunolla-morab-+-eng** (The money presented to the bride's father by the bridegroom's people before paying the **magadi**)

The following compound noun cannot take the locative suffix because it belongs to class 1a:

- (452) a. ***Mafatolla-dib-+-eng**

Semantic features

Human

Exocentric compound

- (453) Class 7/8: **Sephetlolla-dirope** (Diphetlolla-dirope) (Someone who makes sex with everybody). Derivation: **phetlolla** (unfold/open again (e.g., book), reversive verb), **dirope** (thighs, cl. 8, noun). Locative: **Sephetlolla-diropeng**. Diminutive: **Sephetlolla-dirotswana**.

Culture

Exocentric compound

- (454) Class 9/10: **Khunolla-moraba** (Dikhunolla-moraba) (Money presented to the bride's father by the bridegroom's people before paying the **magadi**). Derivation: **khunolla** (loosen a knot, reversive verb), **moraba** (pocket, cl. 3, noun). Locative: **Khunolla-morabeng**. Diminutive: **Khunolla-morabana**.

Artifact

Endocentric compound

(455) Class 7/8: **Seepolla-ditapola** (Diepolla-ditapola) (Potato remover).
Derivation: **epolla** (dig out, reversive verb), **ditapola** (potatoes, cl. 10, noun). Locative: **Seepolla-ditapoleng**. Diminutive: **Seepolla-ditapolana**.

Semantic features (in compound nouns with ma-)

Humans

Exocentric compounds

(456) Class 1a/2a: **Mafatolla-diba** (Bomafatolla-diba) (One who investigates deeply). Derivation: **fatolla** (take out (e.g., soil which had been put back into a hole), reversive verb), **-diba** without its prefix (depth/pool, cl. 14, noun). Locative: No locative suffix. Diminutive: **Mafatolla-dibana**.

Class 1a/2a: **Maphurollaphurolla-mafego** (Bomaphurollaphurolla-mafego) (One who repeatedly spreads hands when he/she is angry). Derivation: **phurollaphurolla** (spread repeatedly, reversive verb), **mafego** (wings, cl. 6, noun). Locative: No locative suffix. Diminutive: **Maphurollaphurolla-mafegwana**.

Culture

Exocentric compound

(457) Class 6: **Mahunolla-thebele** (Money paid to the diviner before he/she throws his/ her bones). Derivation: **hunolla** (loosen a knot, reversive verb), **thebele** (bag of diving bones, cl. 9, noun). Locative: **Mahunolla - thebeleng**. Diminutive: **Mahunolla-thebejana**.

Table of compounds

Endocentric compound

Noun	Pl.	Deriv.	Morph.	Loc.	Dim.	SFeat.
			AF [V-oll] AF R]			
Seepolla-ditapola	8	7[V-oll [N(10)]]	cl.7 V oll + +	+(N2)	+(N2)	Artif.

Exocentric compounds

(459)

	Noun	Pl.	Deriv.	Morph.	Loc.	Dim.	SFeat.
				AF [V-oll] AF R]			
1	Sephetlolla-dirope	8	7[V-oll [N(8)]]	cl. 7 V oll + +	+(N2)	+(N2)	Human
2	Khunolla-moraba	10	9[V-oll [N(3)]]	cl. 9 V oll + +	+(N2)	+(N2)	Culture

Compound nouns with ma-:

Exocentric compounds

(460)

	Noun	Pl.	Deriv.	Morph.	Loc.	Dim.	SFeat.
				AF [V-oll] AF R]			
1	Mafatolla-diba	2a	1a[V-oll [N(14)]]	cl. 1a V oll - +	-	+(N2)	Human
2	Maphurollaphurolla-mafego	2a	1a[V-oll [N(6)]]	cl. 1a V oll + +	-	+(N2)	Human
3	Mahunolla-thebele	-	6[V-oll [N(9)]]	cl. 6 V oll + +	+(N2)	+(N2)	Culture

4.11 REFLEXIVE VERBS

In syntax, the reflexive morpheme [-i-] refers to any construction where the subject and the object of a sentence relate to the same entity. This reflexive morpheme does not possess its own inherent referential index. In this way, the reflexive conforms to the general definition of an anaphor. Nevertheless, the referential index must be present in all the noun phrases. It is clear that the reflexive should borrow its index from its antecedent.

The issue to be considered with regard to syntax is that a category may derive properties from another category only if it does not have the properties in question. In this case, a noun phrase may only share the lexical content of another noun phrase if it does not have a lexical content of its own.

In Northern Sotho, the reflexive morpheme [-i-] appears as a prefix of the verb:

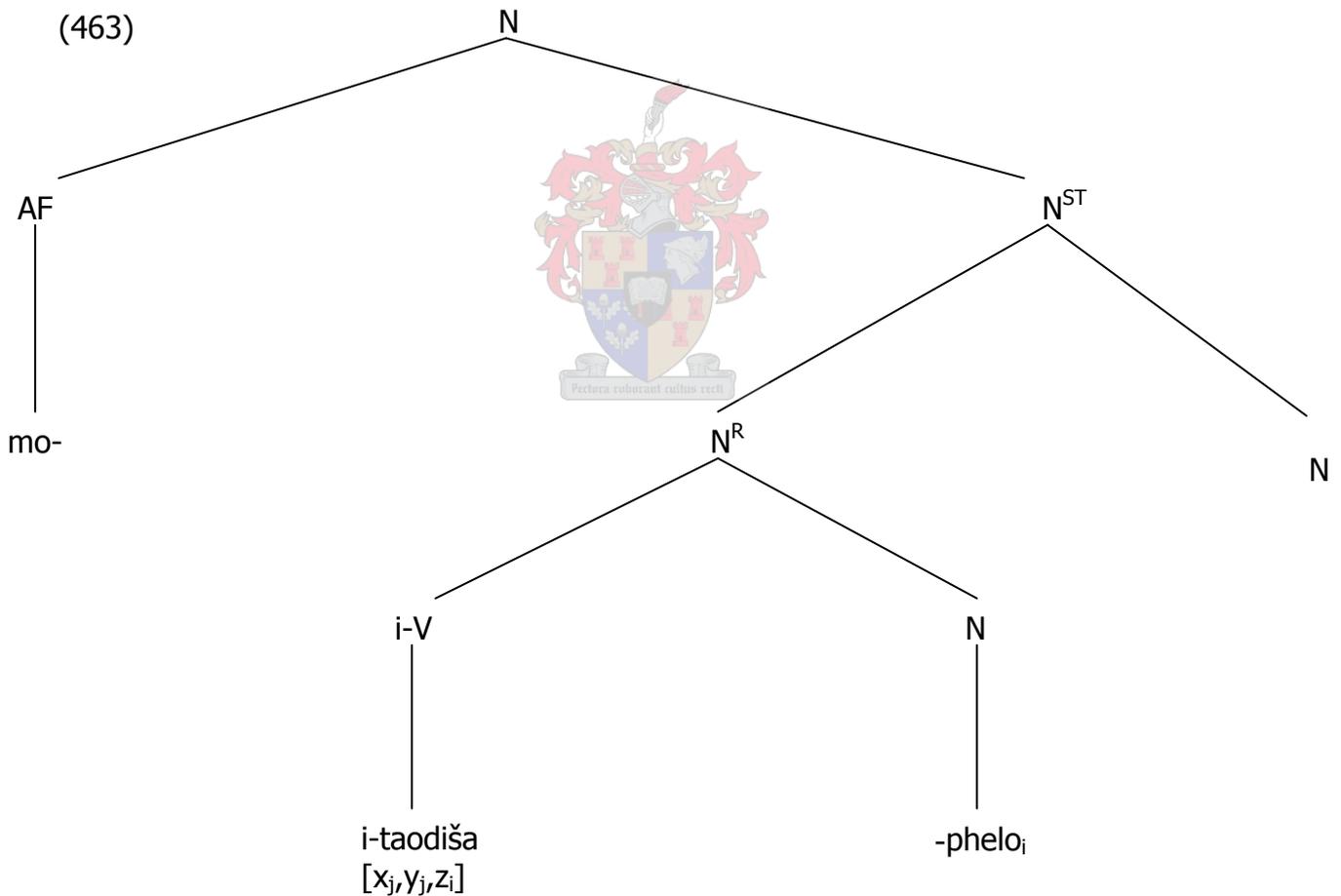
(461) Mosadi o itshwere

'The woman controlled herself'

Morphologically, this reflexive reflects the internal argument which is bound by the external argument within the lexical structure of the verb. In other words, there is binding of arguments by arguments in the argument structure of verbs.

Morphological structure

(462) [Moitaodiša-phelo] (Autobiographer)



Compound noun: [AF-[i-V-N]

[mo-[itaodiša-phelo] (autobiographer)

In (463), the reflexive affix [-i-] appears before the verb. The verb **laodiš-** has three arguments; the [x] argument, i.e., an **agent**, the [y] argument, i.e., a **cause** and the [z] argument, i.e., a **theme**. The agent argument [x] binds the cause argument (from cause **-iš-**) [y]. This binding is shown through index [j]. The theme argument is assigned to **-phelo** (direct argument). It is co-indexed with [i].

Nominal suffixes

The augmentative suffix -gadi

- (464) a. Moitaodiša-phelo-+-**gadi** (Big autobiographer)
b. Seikhutša-dinyefolo-+-**gadi** (Big person who rests/is free from uncouth words)
c. Seitatswa-melomo-+-**gadi** (Big person who licks his/her mouths)
d. Boitaodiša-phelo-+-**gadi** (Big place where biographies are kept)
e. Boitloša-bodutu-+-**gadi** (Big place to while away time)

The diminutive suffix -ana

- (465) a. Moitaodiša-phelw-+-**ana** (Small autobiographer)
b. Seikhutša-dinyefolw-+-**ana** (Small person who rests/is free from uncouth words)
c. Seitatswa-melongw-+-**ana** (Small person who licks his/her mouths)
d. Boitaodiša-phelw-+-**ana** (Small place where biographies are kept)
e. Boitloša-bodutw-+-**ana** (Small place to while away time)

The locative suffix -eng

- (466) a. Moitaodiša-phelo-+-**ng** (The autobiographer)
b. Seikhutša-dinyefolo-+-**ng** (The person who rests/is free from uncouth words)
c. Seitatswa-melomo-+-**ng** (The person who licks his/her mouths)

Semantic features

Humans

Endocentric compounds

(467) Class 1/2: **Moitaodiša-phelo** (Baitaodiša-phelo) (Autobiographer).
Derivation: **laodiša** (explain, transitive verb), **-phelo** without its prefix (life, cl. 14, noun), derived from **phela** (live, verb). Locative: **Moitaodiša-phelong**. Diminutive: **Moitaodiša-phelwana**.

Class 7/8: **Seikhutša-dinyefolo** (Diikhutša-dinyefolo) (One who rests/is free from uncouth words). Derivation: **khutša** (rest, transitive verb), **dinyefolo** (uncouth words, cl. 10, noun), derived from **nyefola** (speak ill of, verb). Locative: **Seikhutša-dinyefolong**. Diminutive: **Seikhutša-dinyefolwana**.

Class 7/8: **Seitatswa-melomo** (Diitatswa-melomo) (One who licks his/her mouths). Derivation: **latswa** (lick, transitive verb), **melomo** (mouths, cl. 4, noun). Locative: **Seitatswa-melomong**. Diminutive: **Seitatswa-melongwana**.

Places

Endocentric compounds

(468) Class 14: **Boitaodiša-phelo** (Place where biographies are kept). Derivation: **laodiša** (explain, transitive verb), **-phelo** without its prefix (life, cl. 14, noun), derived from **phela** (live, verb). Locative: No locative suffix. Diminutive: **Boitaodiša-phelwana**.

Class 14: **Boitloša-bodutu** (Place to while away time). Derivation: **tloša** (take away, transitive verb), **bodutu** (loneliness, cl. 14, noun). Locative: No locative suffix. Diminutive: **Boitloša-bodutwana**.

Table of compounds

Endocentric compounds

(469)	Noun	Pl.	Deriv.	Morph.	Loc.	Dim.	SFeat.
				AF [Refl.V] AF R			
1	Moitaodiša-phelo	2	1[Reflexive V[N(14)]]	cl.1 i V - +	+(N2)	+(N2)	Human
2	Seikhutša-dinyefolo	8	7[Reflexive V[N(10)]]	cl.7 i V + +	+(N2)	+(N2)	Human
3	Seitatswa-melomo	8	7[Reflexive V[N(4)]]	cl.7 i V + +	+(N2)	+(N2)	Human
4	Boitaodiša-phelo	-	14[Reflexive V[N(14)]]	cl.14 i V - +	-	+(N2)	Place
5	Boitloša-bodutu	-	14[Reflexive V[N(14)]]	cl.14 i V + +	-	+(N2)	Place

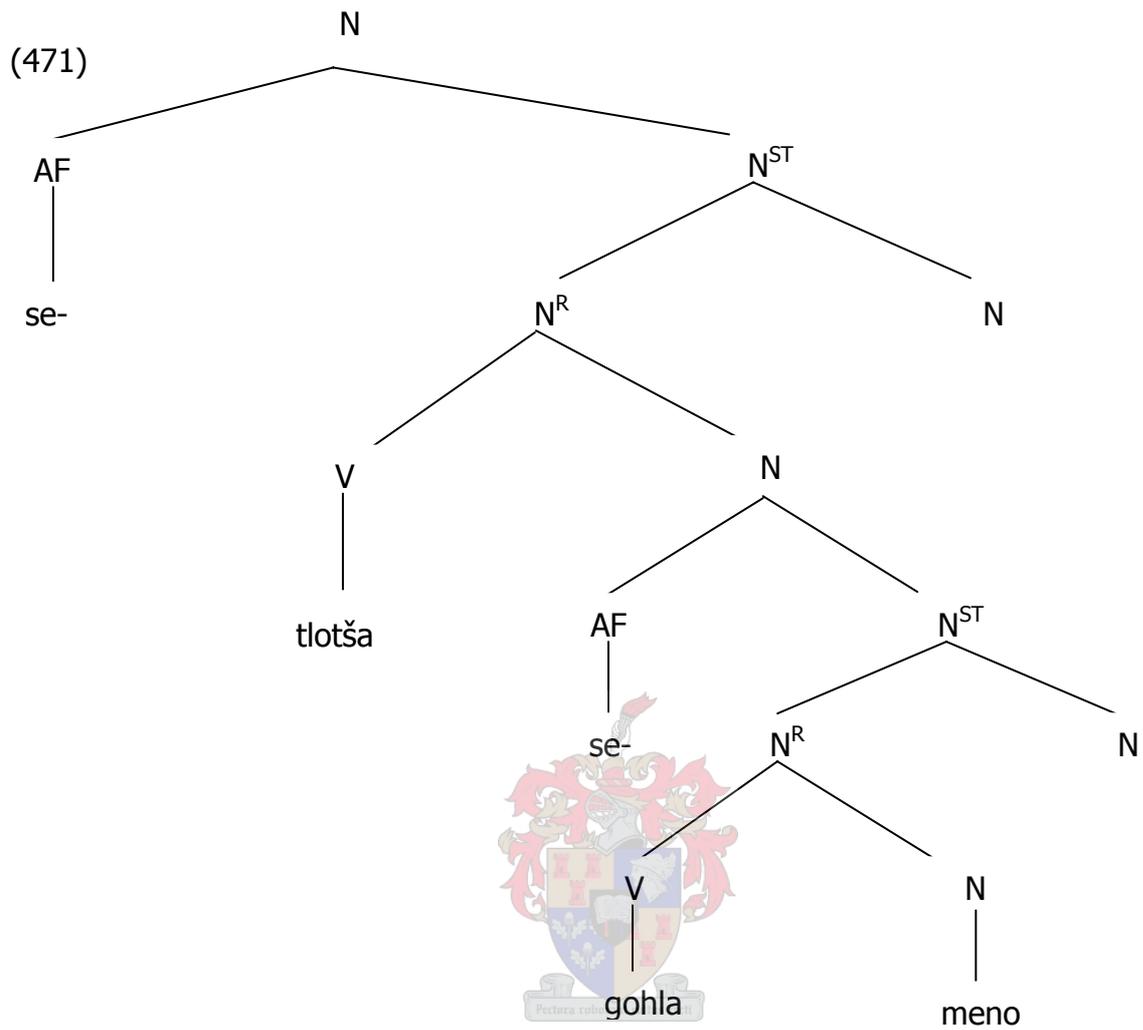
4.12 COMPOUND NOUNS WITH THREE ELEMENTS

4.12.1 Verb with a compound noun with a verbal head

Transitive verb:

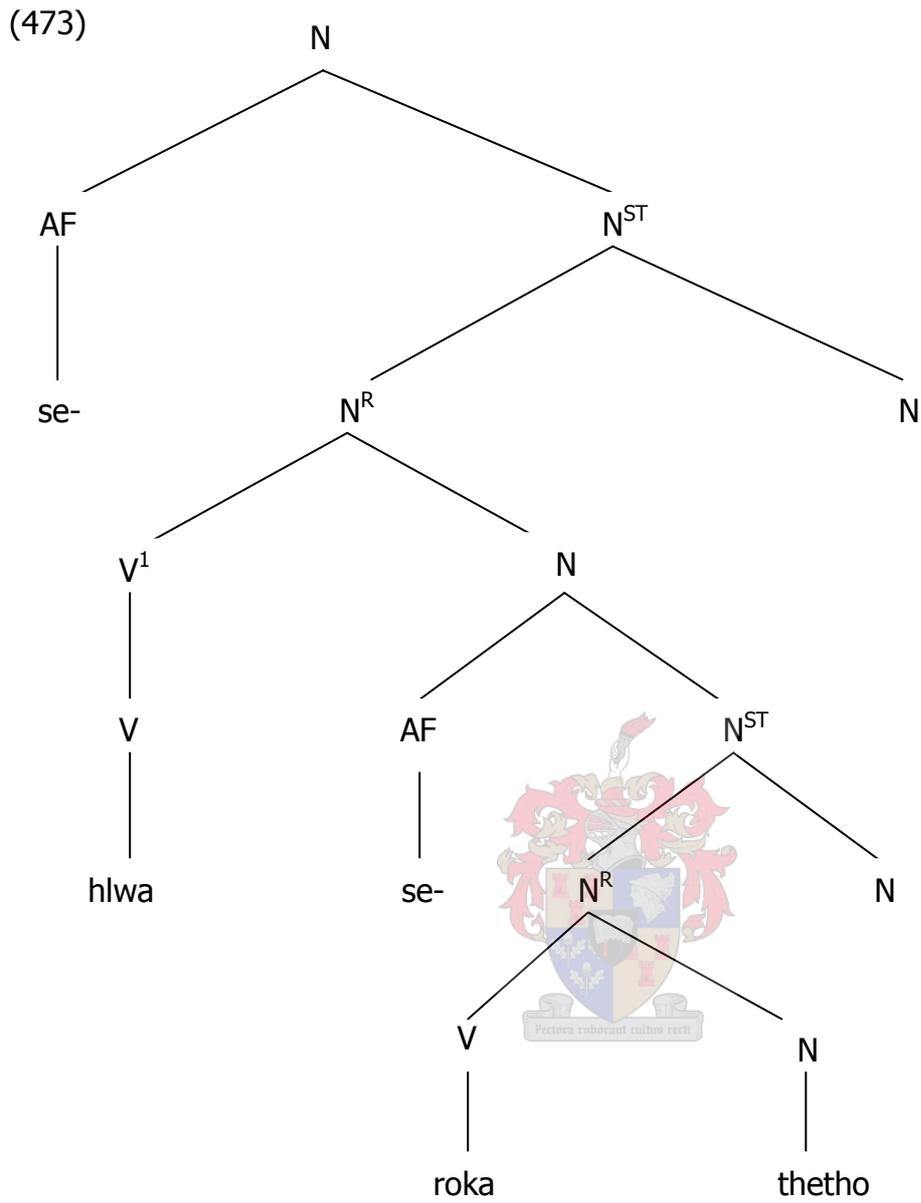
(470) [Setlotša-segohla-meno] (Toothpaste)





Intransitive verb:

(472) [Sehlwa-se-roka-thetho] (“One who sews a girl’s apron”, i.e., a lazy herdboy (who spends the day at home))

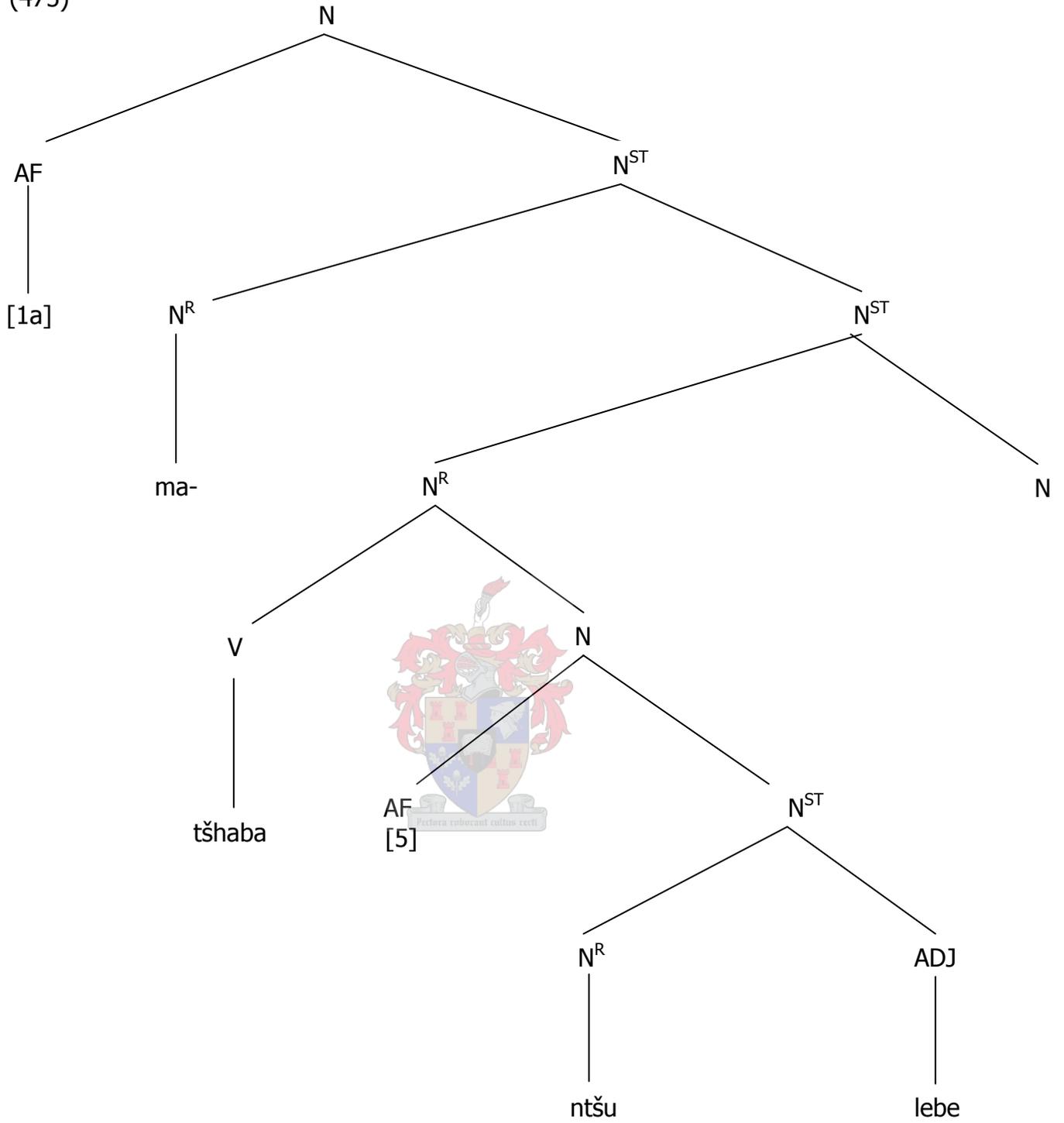


4.12.2 Verb with a compound noun with a nominal head

Nominal root ma-, nominal head with an adjective

(474) [Matšhaba-lentsšu-lebe] (Sensitive person)

(475)

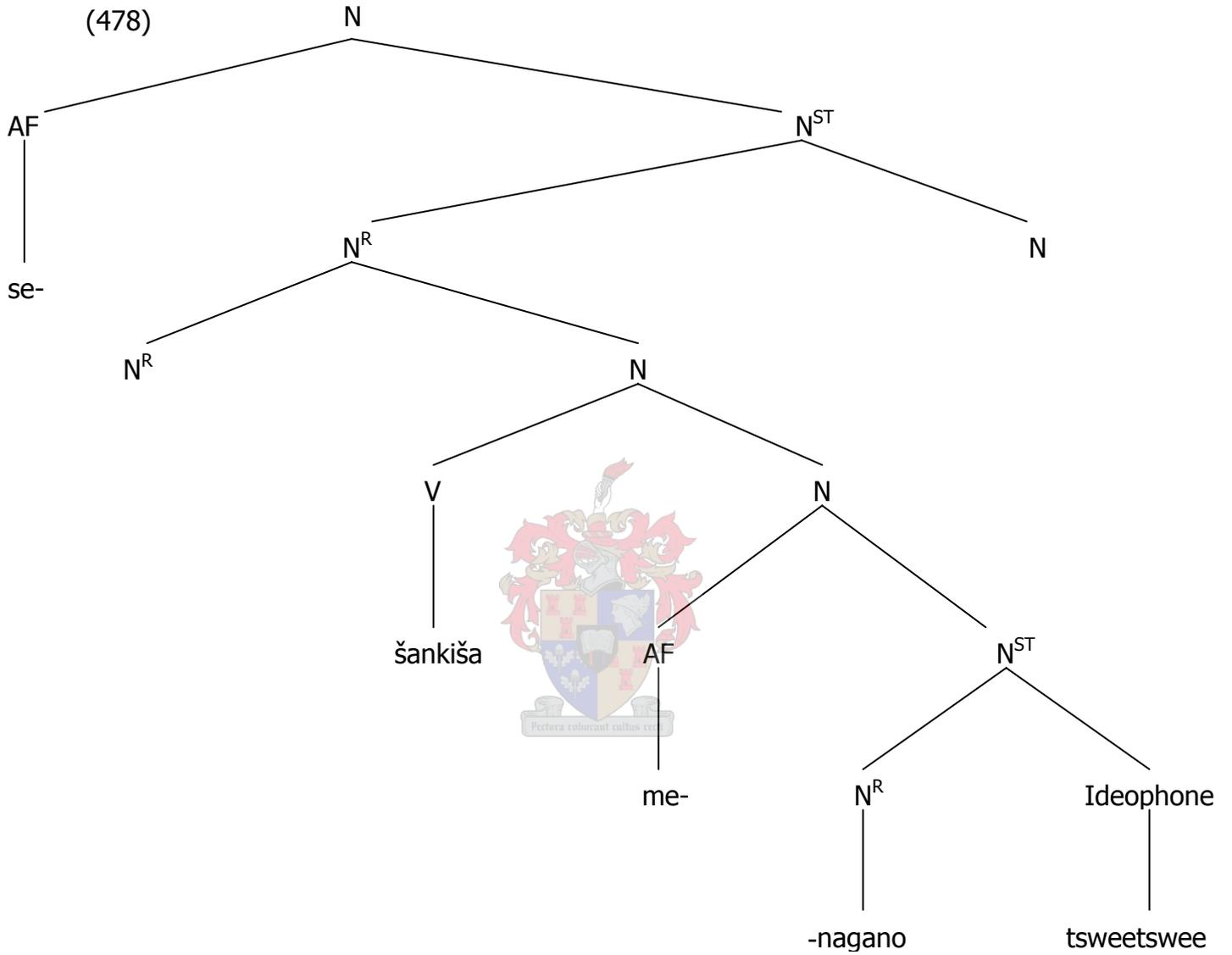


Another compound noun that shares the same characteristics is as follows:

(476) [Magogobiša-tedu-putswa] (One who drags old people)

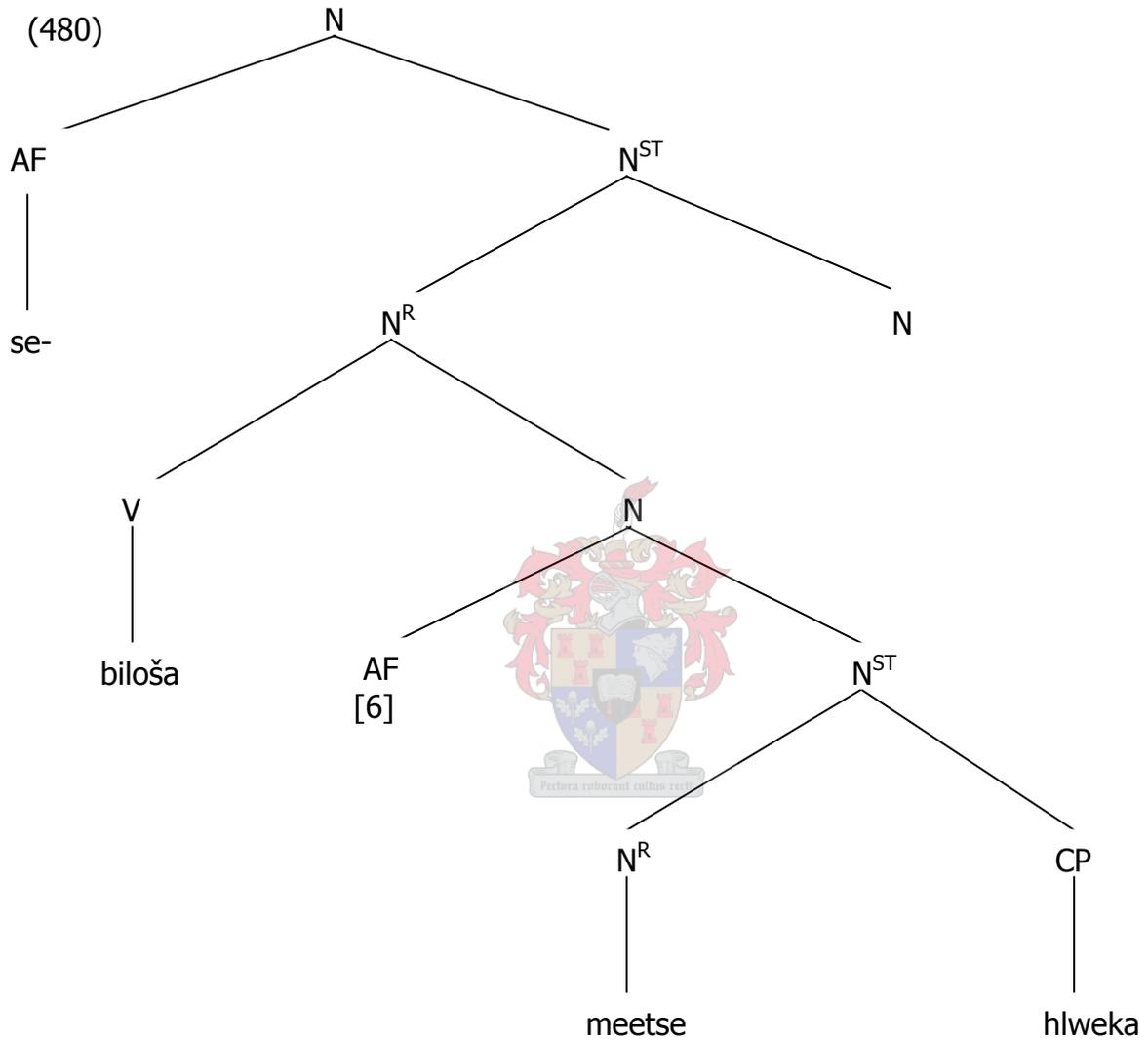
Nominal head with an ideophone

(477) [Sešankiša-menagano-tweetswee] (Someone who walks with cool ideas)



4.12.3 Nominal head with a complementizer phrase

(479) [Sebiloša-meetse-hlweka] (One who makes clean water muddy or dirty)



CHAPTER 5

5. CONCLUSION

5.1 AIM

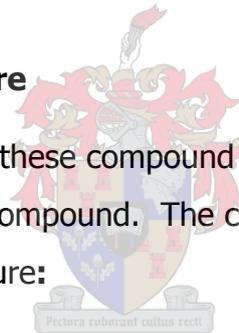
The aim of this chapter is to give an overview of the conclusions on the research on nominal compounds, i.e., it will reflect the findings on compound nouns in chapter 3 and 4. Chapter 3 dealt only with compound nouns with nominal heads while chapter 4 is concerned with those compounds with verbal heads.

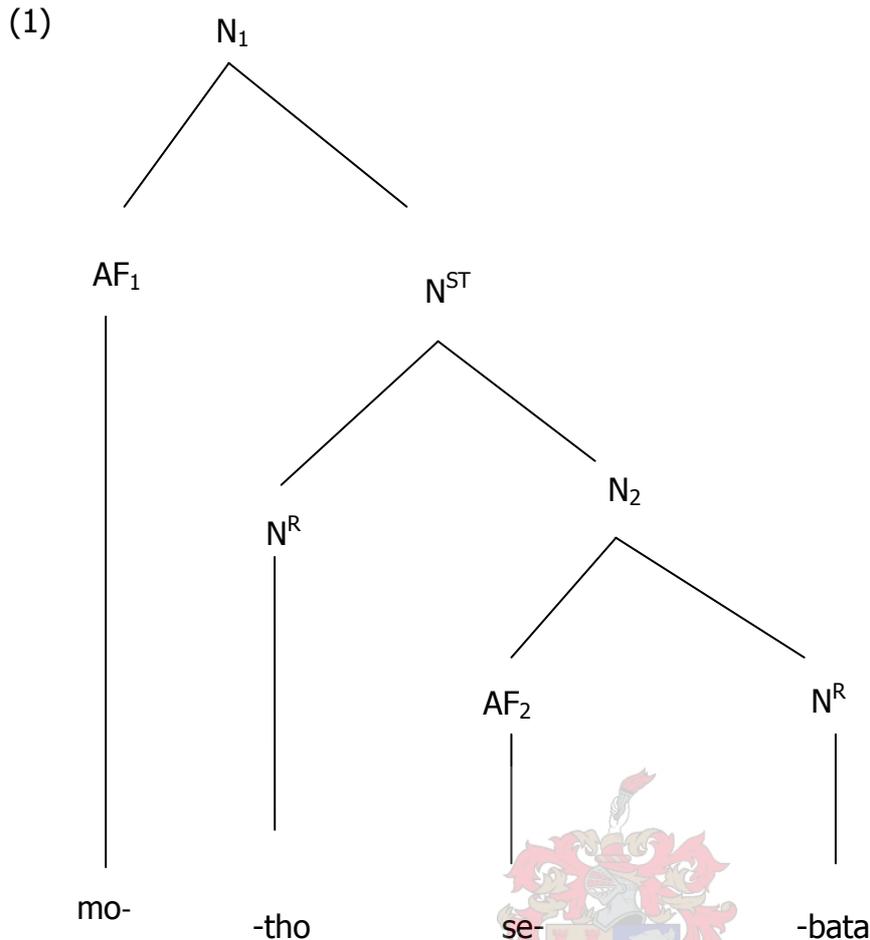
5.2 COMPOUND NOUNS WITH NOMINAL HEADS

This section is concerned with compound nouns with nominal heads, i.e., those compound nouns which have at least one noun in the compound and this noun functions as the head of the compound.

5.2.1 Morphological structure

In the morphological structure of these compound nouns, the noun class prefix of the first noun is the head of the compound. The compound noun *motho-sebata*, for instance, has the following structure:





The morphological structure above shows that the second noun **sebata** appears as complement of the nominal root (N^R), which is the root **-tho** of the first noun in the compound. The prefix **mo-** of this noun will then be the head of the compound noun.

Various syntactic categories may appear as the second element in the compound nouns which have a noun as the first element in the compound. The following syntactic categories may appear as the second element in the compound, i.e., as complement of the nominal root like in the structure above:

Noun:

- (2) Sehlo-di-[mare] (Crocodile tears)

Ideophone:

(3) Leleme-[thwi(i)] (Straight tongue)

Locative noun:

(4) a. Lešika-[pelong] (Blood vessel in the heart)
b. Morero-[fase] (Low intention)

Adverb:

(5) Tseno-[ruri] (Actual attendance)

Interjection:

(6) Thaba-[kgone] (Name of a place)



Prepositional phrase:

(7) Mma-[go-batho] (Mother of the people)

Adjective:

(8) Leeto-[legolo] (Important journey)

Nominal relative:

(9) Lehu-[monate] ("Nice death")

Possessive phrase:

(10) kgaetšedi-[a-gwe] (His sister/her brother)

Complementizer phrase:

(11) Maswi-[hlweka] (Clean milk)

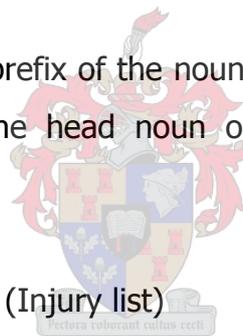
5.2.2 Headedness of the class prefix

The noun class determines the agreement in a clause. It may appear as a category, i. a., as subjectival agreement (AgrS).

In the compound **motho-sebata** above, the first affix is **mo-** of class 1 and the second one is **se-** of class 7. In all the [NN] compounds, the class prefix of the first noun is the prefix of the whole compound noun. AgrS in a sentence will then be determined by the prefix **mo-** of class 1 and not by **se-** of class 7.

AgrS is determined by the class prefix of the noun which is in the subject position of the sentence. The prefix of the head noun of the compound is the one that determines this AgrS:

(12) [**Lenane-kgobadi**] (Injury list)



The example below indicates that the compound noun takes the subjectival agreement of the first noun, i.e., **le-** of class 5:

(13) **Lenane-kgobadi le-**na le maina ka moka a baraloki ba ba gobetšego

'The injury list has all the names of the injured players'

The compound **lenane-kgobadi** above is an example of an endocentric compound where the first noun and the second noun stand in a specific semantic relation to each other, i.e., a possessive relation where **lenane** (list) is the head and **kgobadi** (injury) gives specific semantic information about the type of list which is being referred to in this compound. Exocentric compounds have no such heads but their prefixes function in the same way to determine the head of the compound, e.g., the

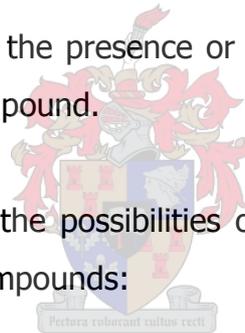
compound [leeba-rope] (rock pigeon) has no head in the way as described above although morphologically its head is determined in the same way, i.e., **le-** of **leeba** is the head of the compound. It is, thus, necessary to distinguish between the head in **morphology** (the prefix of the first noun) and the head in **semantics** (the first noun in endocentric compounds). Semantically, exocentric compounds, thus, have no heads.

5.2.3 Noun class prefix

If the compound noun consists of two nouns [NN], both nouns may appear with their own noun class prefixes although the prefix of the first noun will be the head of the compound. It may sometimes happen that a prefix may not appear in the surface form of a noun although the noun will remain in a specific noun class. Furthermore, some nouns in the compound may have binary or single members of a noun class.

Firstly, attention will be given to the presence or absence of a prefix in the surface form of the two nouns in the compound.

The following diagram indicates the possibilities of the presence or absence of the prefix in the two nouns of the compounds:



(14)

	N₁	N₂
a.	+	+
b.	-	+
c.	+	-

In (14a), the noun class prefix is present in both nouns as in the following example, although the prefix of the first noun determines the class of the compound:

(15) [**Mo-**[bu]-[**le-**[fase] (World) (class 1 and 5)

In (14b), the noun class prefix is not present in N₁, but it is present in N₂:

(16) [Ø-[tšatši]-[(n)-[kgwedi] (Date of the month) (class 5 and 9)

(14c) shows that noun class prefix appears in N₁ while in N₂ it does not:

(17) [**Se**-[bjana]-[Ø-[tsopa] (Earthenware pot) (class 7 and 5)

Secondly, it is possible that both nouns in a compound may have either binary or single class numbers. Three possibilities are indicated in the following diagram:

(18)

	N ₁	N ₂
a.	Binary	Single

b.	Binary	Binary
c.	Single	Single

In (18a), the first noun has binary noun classes whereas the second one has a single noun class prefix that may be either singular or plural:

[N₂] is singular:

N ₁	N ₂
Binary	Single
Singular Plural	Singular

(19) **Moropa-+-kgomo** (Big drum)

Meropa-+-kgomo (Big drums)

(Class 3/4 + class 9)

[N₂] is plural:

N ₁	N ₂
Binary	Single
Singular Plural	Plural

(20) **Lebatla-+-badimo** (Gods' place)

Mabatla-+-badimo (Gods' places)

(Class 5/6 + class 2)

In (18b), both nouns have binary noun classes:

N ₁	N ₂
Binary	Binary
Singular Plural	Singular Plural

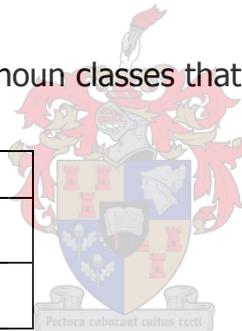
(21) **More-+-mootlwa** (Thorny tree)

Mere-+-meetlwa (Thorny trees)

(Class 3/4 + class 3/4)

In (18c), both nouns have single noun classes that may be either singular or plural:

N ₁	N ₂
Single	Single
Plural	Plural



(22) **Meetse-+-magakwa** (Stagnant water)

(Class 6 + class 6)

N ₁	N ₂
Plural	Singular

(23) **Maatla-+-pere** (Horse power)

(Class 6 + class 9)

N ₁	N ₂
Singular	Singular

(24) **Mma-+-moruti** (Minister's wife)

(Class 1a + class 1)

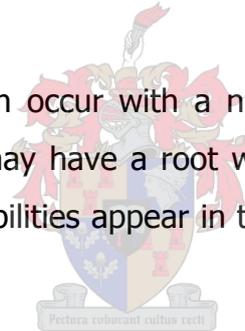
5.2.4 Second element in compound

As indicated in section 5.2.1 above, the second element in a compound noun with a nominal head may consist of various syntactic categories. These categories are indicated below.

5.2.4.1 Noun

The noun has a noun class prefix with a nominal root or stem.

The nominal stem [NST] that can occur with a noun class prefix may consist of a nominal root [N^R] or the stem may have a root with another affix like a diminutive suffix **-ana**. The following possibilities appear in the two nouns that form a nominal compound:



Noun root + noun root

Every noun that forms part of the compound has a root:

(25) [Ngwale-badimo] (Natural holes) (root: **-ale** and **-dimo**)

Noun stem + noun root

The stem that is formed by a root and diminutive **-ana** appears in the first noun of the compound whereas the second noun consists of only a root:

(26) [**Lapana**-bjang] (Small lawn yard) (**-lapa-+-ana, -ang**)

Noun root + noun stem

The first noun consists of only a root while the second one consists of a stem which is formed by a root and diminutive suffix **-ana**:

(27) [Moobu-putšane] (Hornet/wasp) (-obu + pudi-ana)

Noun root + verbal root

A root only is found in the first noun of the compound whereas the deverbative, which is formed by a verbal root and affix, appears as the second element:

(28) [Kgoro-toka] (Court of justice)

In (28), the deverbative in the second noun toka (justice), which is derived from the verb loka (be right), is made up of a verbal root **-lok-** and affix **-a**.

Verbal root + noun root

The first noun is the deverbative which has the verbal root and affix while the second noun consists of only a root:

(29) [Padi-histori] (Historical novel)



In (29), the deverbative in the first noun padi (novel), which is derived from the verb bala (read), is formed by a verbal root **-bal-** and affix **-i**.

Verbal root + verbal root

Each of the two elements that form a compound has only a verbal root:

(30) [Popo-polelo] (Grammar) (**bop-o + bolel-o**)

The type of noun which may appear in a compound is indicated below. Such nouns may be derived nouns such as deverbatives, and even co-ordinate nouns are possible:

a. Noun + Noun

- (31) (i) Mma (mother) + bjala (beer) (Shebeen queen)
(ii) Modu (root) + kala (branch) (Branched root)

b. Noun + Deverbative

- (32) (i) Lebaka (tense) + kanego (narrative) (Narrative tense)
(ii) Tema (paragraph)+ theto (poetry) (Stanza)

c. Deverbative + Noun

- (33) (i) Mmoti (wax) + mmu (soil) (Pitch)
(ii) Petšo (throwing) + noto (hammer) (Hammerthrow)

d. Deverbative + Deverbative

- (34) (i) Seno (drink) + tagi (alcohol) (Alcoholic drink)
(ii) Sello (crying) + lethabo (happiness) (Tragicomedy)

e. Co-ordinate nouns

- (35) (i) Mogokgo (tear) + keledi (tear) (Tear)
(ii) Tloo (peanut) + make (peanut) (Peanut)

5.2.4.2 Ideophone

An ideophone is an onomatopoeic word:

- (36) [Tsela-[thwi(i)]] (Straight road)

5.2.4.3 Locative noun

The second element of the compound is a locative noun that has the locative suffix **-eng**:

(37) [Khutlo-[som-+-**eng**] (Decimal point)

The example in (37) indicates that the locative suffix **-eng** is attached to the second noun of the compound.

The second element of the compound is also a locative noun but it has **no** locative suffix **-eng**. Such nouns belong to the old locative class nouns:

(38) [Morero-[fase] (Low intention)

The noun **fase** has the fossilized prefix **fa-** which belongs to class 17.

5.2.4.4 Adverb

- (39) a. [Tseno-ruri] (Actual attendance)
b. [Kgala-gangwe] (White pear)



These constructions in (39) are the only examples of compounds with adverbs which have been attested. The adverb **ruri** (indeed/really/truly) is not derived from or related to any other word category while the other adverb **gangwe** (once) is derived from the adjectival root **-ngwe** (another/other).

5.2.4.5 Interjection

(40) [Thaba-[kgone] (Name of a place)

The compound in (40) is the only one attested in Northern Sotho with an interjection.

5.2.4.6 PP with go

The PP, which appears as the second element in a compound, consists of a preposition **go** and either a noun or a pronoun:

The noun as complement

- (41) [Tata-[go-**bona**] o be a le mo
‘The father of the children was here’

The pronoun as complement

- (42) Ba nyaka go bolela le [mma-[go-**bona**]
‘They want to talk to their mother’

In (41) and (42), **go-bona** (of the children) and **go-bona** (of their) respectively, are prepositional phrases of which the preposition **go** is the head.



5.2.4.7 Adjective

The adjectival roots are classified under four separate semantic categories:

Descriptive

- (43) a. -fsa ‘new, young’
 b. -telele ‘long, tall’

Colour

- (44) a. -so ‘black’
 b. -šweu ‘white’

Number

- (45) a. -bedi `two`
 b. -hlano `five`

Quantifier

- (46) a. -kae? `how many, how much?`
 b. -noši `alone`

Agreement on adjective

The adjectival root has to appear with an agreement morpheme which is the same as the noun class prefix of the head noun, e.g.;

- (47) [Madi-mabe] (Bad luck)

The adjective **mabe** (bad), in (47), has the agreement morpheme **ma-** which is the same as the prefix of the head noun **madi** (blood). The following types of agreement appear on the adjectival root in compounds:



AgrA is class 9

The compound noun shows the agreement of class 9 on the adjective. The head noun, in (48) below, is not in class 9, but the adjective has the agreement of class 9:

- (48) [Lebone-kgolo] (Big lamp)

In the following example, the head noun is in class 9 and the agreement on the adjective has the agreement of the head noun:

- (49) [Noga-kgolo] (Big snake)

Agreement with noun class of head noun

The agreement on the adjective is the noun class prefix of the head noun:

(50) [Lehu-lebe] ("Bad death")

The noun **lehu** (death) and an adjective **lebe** (bad) have the same morpheme **le-**.

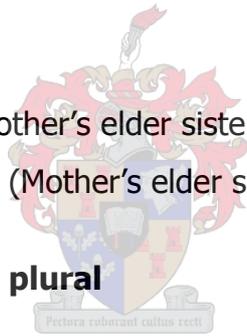
Different examples of such agreement are the following:

a. Agreement does not change in plural

The agreement on the adjective can take the prefix of the singular noun, but in the plural of the compound, the agreement of the adjective remains the agreement of the singular head noun:

(51) [Mma[mogolo] (class 1a) (Mother's elder sister)

[Bo-mma[mogolo] (class 2a) (Mother's elder sisters)



b. Agreement does change in plural

The agreement on the adjective follows the prefix of the head noun in the singular and plural:

(52) Class: 5 [Le-bue[le-šweu] (White flower)

Class: 6 [Ma-bue[ma-šweu] (White flowers)

c. Agreement in class 8: Adjective changes as in class 9

In the plural in class 8, the agreement on the adjective does not use the agreement of class 8, [di-]. It uses the prefix of class 10 [diN-] on the adjective:

(53) [Di-hlare[diN-golo] → dihlare-dikgolo (Big/important trees or medicines)

d. Agreement is class 10; same as class 9; prefix di- does not appear on adjectives

The agreement of class 9 does not appear on the adjective when the compound noun appears in class 10. In this case, the agreement of class 9 appears in the singular and plural noun:

(54) Class 9: [N-kgoši[N-golo] → kgoši-kgolo (Paramount chief)

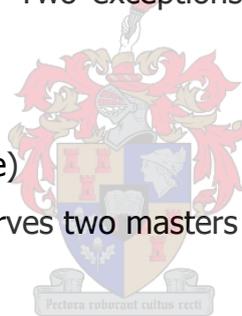
Class 10: [diN-kgoši[N-golo] → dikgoši-kgolo (Paramount chiefs)

No agreement on the adjective

There are compound nouns with adjectives in which the adjectives have no agreement with the head noun. Two exceptions to the general rule are indicated below:

(55) a. [Le-ihlo[šweu] (White eye)

b. [Mma[bedi] (One who serves two masters at the same time)



5.2.4.8 Nominal relative

The nominal relatives are divided into two types:

Descriptive

(56) a. Monate 'nice'

b. Thata 'hard, difficult'

Quantitative

(57) a. Šupa 'seven'

b. Lekgolo 'hundred'

Compound nouns with nominal relative have no agreement with the head noun on the nominal relative:

(58) [Hlogo-thata] (Block-head)

5.2.4.9 Possessive

The possessive **-a** may appear or it may not appear with compound nouns:

The compound noun may not indicate any agreement on **-a**:

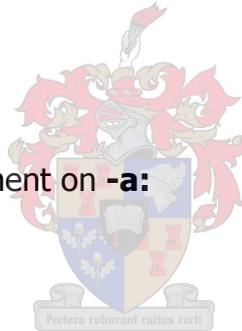
(59) [kgaetšedi-**a-gwe**] (His sister/her brother)

A compound may not have a possessive **-a**:

(60) [Mma-**rena**] (Our mother)

A compound may indicate agreement on **-a**:

(61) [Pudi-**ya-tsela**] (Rumour)



5.2.4.10 Complementizer phrase

Various CPs in the compound nouns have been identified:

The CP has a verb only

(62) [Tsela-**kuba**] (Cul-de-sac)

The CP has a passive verb

(63) [Lebati-**phuthwa**] (Folding door)

The CP has an indicative clause with IP

The CP has a present tense

(64) [Muši-**[o-a-thunya]**] (Victoria Falls)

The CP is a copulative clause in the present tense

(65) [Tsogo-**[le-kobong]**] (Bribery)

The CP has a negative present tense

(66) [Dira-**[ga-di-bonwe]**] (Excellence)

The CP is an imperative clause

The CP is an imperative singular

(67) [Mma-**[mpetlele]**] (Spoilt person)



The CP is an imperative plural

(68) [Mma-**[mpogeng]**] (Mannequin)

The CP has a verb ending on [-e]

(69) [Mma-**[tswale]**] (Mother-in-law)

The CP is a consecutive clause

(70) [Kgwebo-**[ka-nanya]**] (Barter)

The CP has a verb in the perfect tense with no agreement

(71) [Meetse-[**fedile**] (Name of a person)

The CP is an infinitival clause

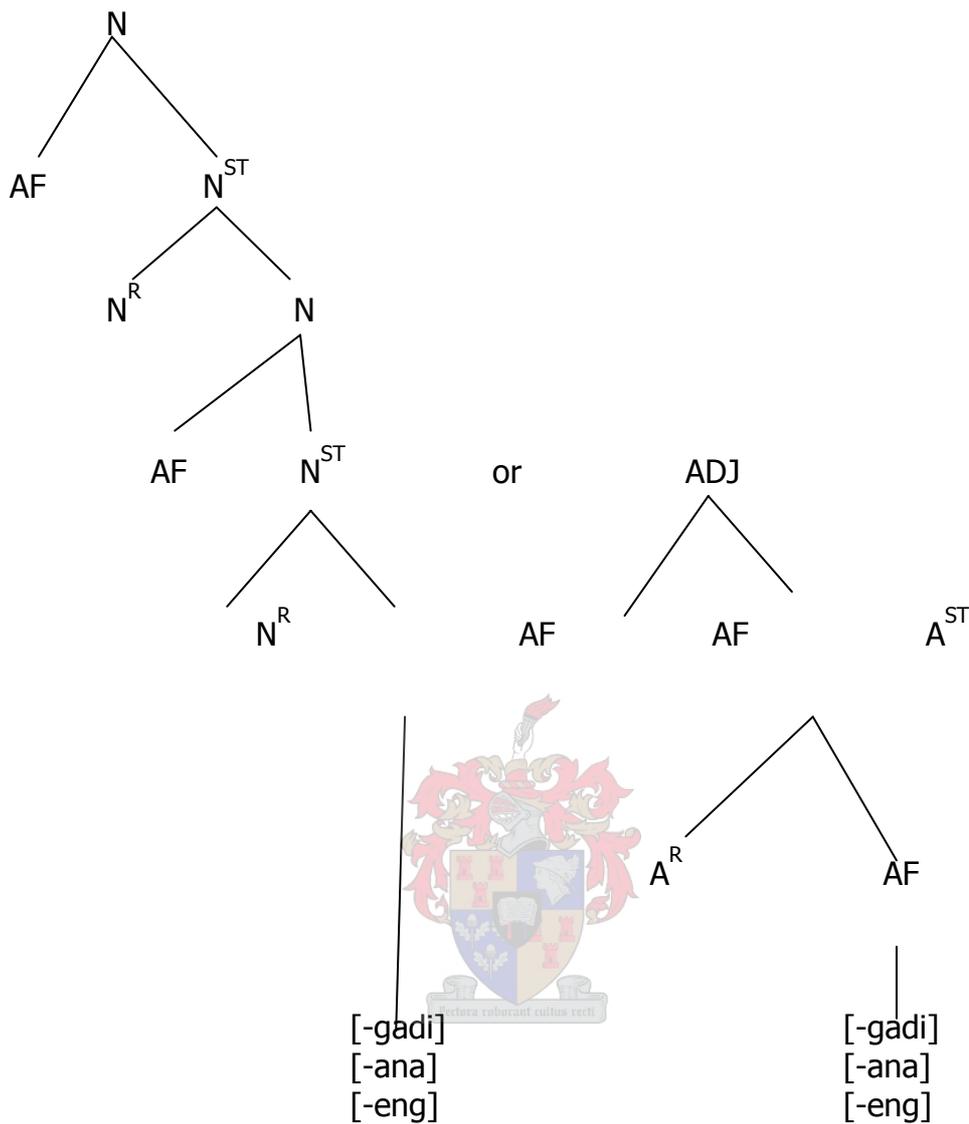
(72) [Mma-[**go-ja**] (Right (hand) side)

5.2.5 The morphological structure with nominal suffixes

Three nominal suffixes, i.e., the locative suffix **-eng**, the diminutive suffixes **-ana/-nyana** and the augmentative suffix **-gadi** have been investigated to establish their position in the compound noun. These suffixes may appear either with the first or the second element of the compound. The various types of compound nouns in paragraph 5.2.4. have been investigated with this purpose. Of the ten possible syntactic categories which may occur as the second element in the compound noun, the adverb, interjection and the prepositional phrase have not been considered because very few compound nouns with these categories have been attested. In the two sections below, the results of this investigation will be given: in the first section the nominal suffixes appear with the second element while in the second section they occur with the first element, i.e., the noun in the compound. It should also be noted that the compound nouns with adjectives may appear in both sections. No nominal suffix may appear in compound nouns when the second element is a possessive phrase.

5.2.5.1 The second element is a noun, locative noun or an adjective

(73)



The suffixes in (73) may appear with a noun, locative noun or an adjective, which is the second element of the compound, to express the intended meanings. Not all the nominal suffixes can be accepted by the word categories mentioned above.

a. The augmentative suffix -gadi

Noun

(74) More-mootlwa-+-**gadi** (Big thorny tree)

Locative nouns

Two types of locatives may appear with this suffix.

The locative with the locative suffix **-eng**:

(75) Seya-kgatišong-+-**gadi** (Big manuscript)

The locative without the locative suffix **-eng**:

(76) Keta-pele-+-**gadi** (Long preface)

Adjectives

Four types of adjectives may appear with this suffix.

Descriptive:

(77) Leino-telele-+-**gadi** (Very long tooth)



Colour:

(78) Khudu-thamaga-+-**gadi** (Big executive body)

Number:

(79) Melomo-mebedi-+-**gadi** (Two big conflicting ideas)

Quantifier:

(80) Khutlo-ntši-+-**gadi** (Big polygon)

b. The diminutive suffix **-ana**

Noun

(81) More-mootlw-+-**ana** (Small thorny tree)

Locative nouns

Two types of locatives may appear with the suffix **-ana**.

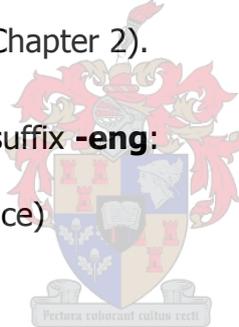
The locative with the locative suffix **-eng**:

(82) Seya-kgatišw-+-**an-eng** (Small manuscript)

When the locative suffix **-eng** appears together with the diminutive suffix **-ana**, the diminutive **-ana** has to appear before the locative **-eng** because of the structure of the noun in Northern Sotho (see Chapter 2).

The locative without the locative suffix **-eng**:

(83) Keta-pej-+-**ana** (Short preface)



Adjectives

Three types of adjectives may appear with this suffix.

Descriptive:

(84) Leino-teletš-+-**ana** (Not very long tooth)

Colour:

(85) Khudu-thamag-+-**ana** (Small executive body)

Number:

(86) Melomo-mebetš-+-**ana** (Two small conflicting ideas)

The quantifiers which are morphologically adjectives may appear only with the alternative diminutive suffix **-nyana**. One such example is the following:

(87) Khutlo-ntš^hi-+-nyana (Small polygon)

c. The locative suffix -eng

Noun

(88) More-mootlw-+-eng (The thorny tree)

Locative nouns

No locatives may appear with the locative suffix **-eng** because they have been locativized already. The compound nouns can never be accepted as in the following cases: The locative with the locative suffix **-eng**:

(89) *Seya-kgatišong-+-eng

The locative without the locative suffix **-eng**:

(90) *Keta-pel-+-eng



Adjectives

Four types of adjectives may appear with this suffix.

Descriptive:

(91) Leino-telel-+-eng (The long tooth)

Colour:

(92) Khudu-thamag-+-eng (The executive body)

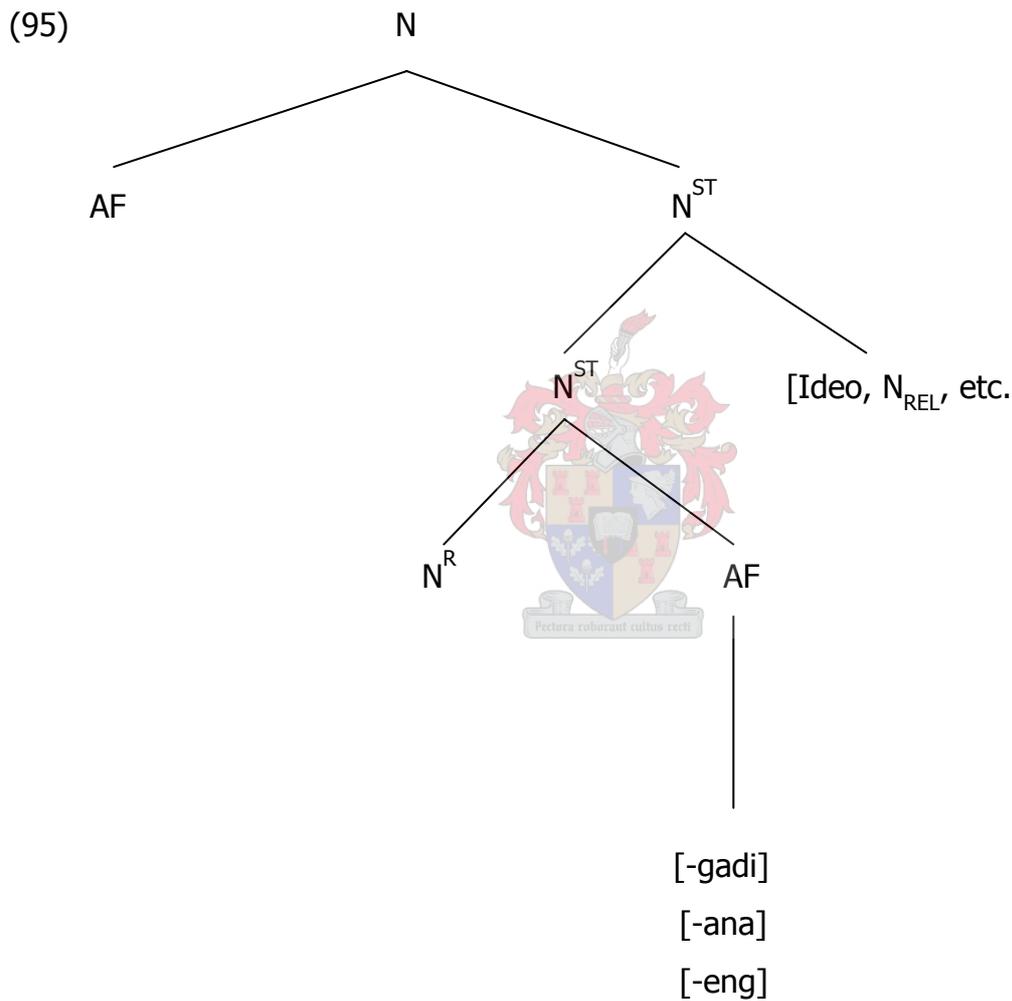
Number:

(93) Melomo-mebedi-+-ng (The two conflicting ideas)

Quantifier:

(94) Khutlo-ntši-+-ng (The polygon)

5.2.5.2 The second element is an ideophone, nominal relative, possessive, complementizer phrase (endocentric) or an adjective



In (95), the nominal suffixes may appear with the first element of the compound, i.e., the noun, but not the second element which may be an ideophone, a nominal relative, possessive, complementizer phrase or an adjective. These elements cannot take the suffix in a compound.

a. The augmentative suffix **-gadi**

Ideophone

(96) Tsela-+-**gadi**-thwi(i) (Big/long straight road)

Nominal relative

(97) Hlogo-+-**gadi**-thata (Big block-head)

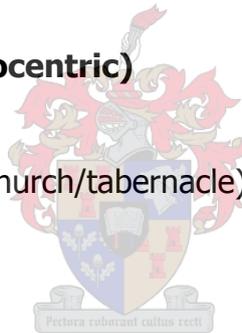
Possessive

(98) Mphala-+-**gadi**-tša-maru (Big wild asperagus)

Complementizer phrase (endocentric)

(99) Ntlo-+-**gadi**-kgethwa (Big church/tabernacle)

Adjectives



Four types of adjectives may appear with this suffix.

Descriptive:

(100) Leleme-+-**gadi**-lesese (Big/long thin tongue)

Colour:

(101) Tedu-+-**gadi**-tšhweu (Long white beard)

Number:

(102) Khutlo-+-**gadi**-nne (Big quadrangle)

Quantifier:

(103) Lebaka-+-**gadi**-ntši (Long compound tense)

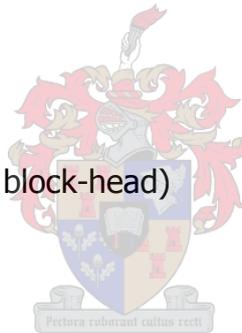
b. The diminutive suffix -ana

Ideophone

(104) Tsej-+-**ana**-thwi(i) (Small/short straight road)

Nominal relative

(105) Hlogw-+-**ana**-thata (Small block-head)



Possessive

(106) Mphal-+-**ana**-tša-maru (Small wild asperagus)

Complementizer phrase (endocentric)

(107) Ntlw-+-**ana**-kgethwa (Small church/tabernacle)

Adjectives

Four types of adjectives may appear with this suffix.

Descriptive:

(108) Lelengw-+-**ana**-lesese (Small/short thin tongue)

Colour:

(109) Tetšw-+-**ana**-tšhweu (Short white beard)

Number:

(110) Khutlw-+-**ana**-nne (Small quadrangle)

Quantifier:

(111) Lebak-+-**ana**-ntši (Short compound tense)

c. The locative suffix -eng

Ideophone



(112) Tsel-+-**eng**-thwi(i) (On the straight road)

Nominal relative

(113) Hlogo-+-**ng**-thata (The block-head)

Possessive

(114) Mphal-+-**eng**-tša-maru (On the wild asperagus)

Complementizer phrase (endocentric)

(115) Ntlo-+-**ng**-kgethwa (The church/tabernacle)

Adjectives

Four types of adjectives may appear with this suffix.

Descriptive:

(116) Lelem-+-**eng**-lesese (The thin tongue)

Colour:

(117) Tedu-+-**ng**-tšhweu (The white beard)

Number:

(118) Khutlo-+-**ng**-nne (The quadrangle)

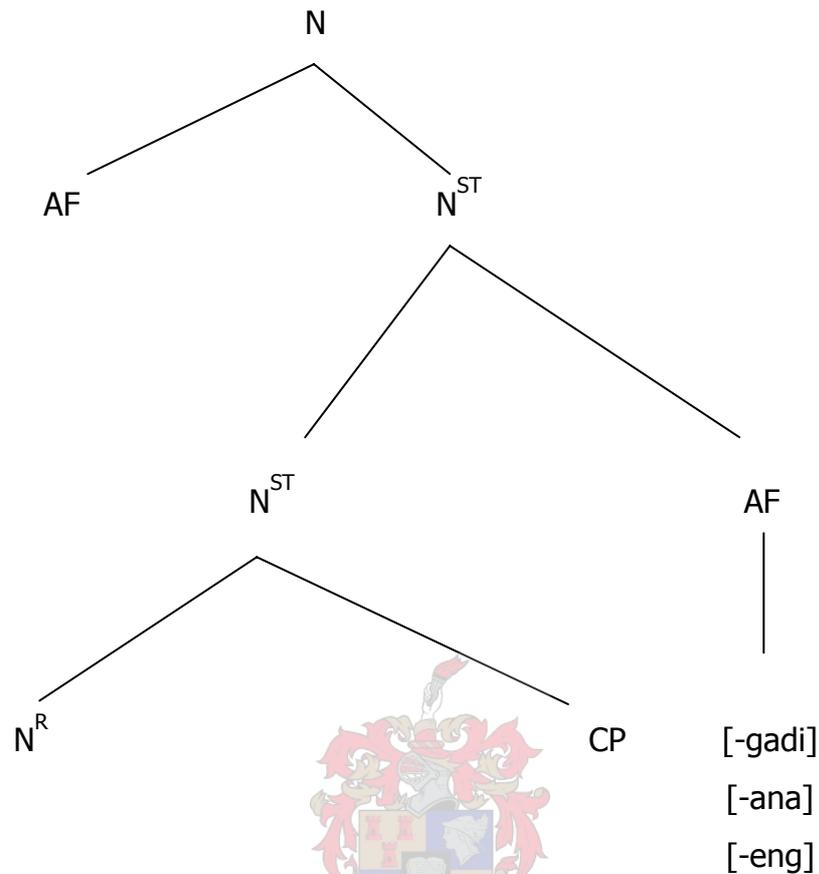


Quantifier:

(119) Lebak-+-**eng**-ntši (The compound tense)

5.2.5.3 Exocentric [N CP] compound

(120)



In (120), the nominal affix appears outside the complementizer phrase. For this reason, the affix cannot be bound to CP, but only to N:

The augmentative suffix -gadi

(121) [N-[kgala-[gapa-+-[**gadi**]

The diminutive suffix -ana

(122) [N-[kgala-[gap-+-[**ana**]

The locative suffix -eng

(123) [N-[kgala-[gap-+-[eng]

5.2.6 Semantic relations

Various semantic relations have been identified in compound nouns with nominal heads.

Associative relation

(124) **More-mootlwa** (Thorny tree): The relation between **more** and **mootlwa** can be expressed by the associative **with**; the head noun is **more** (tree) which is modified by **mootlwa** (thorn), i.e., a tree which has a thorn (a tree with thorn).



Possessive relation

(125) **Thuto-phedi** (Biology): The relation between **thuto** and **phedi** can be expressed by the possessive **of**; the head noun is **thuto** (education) which is modified by **phedi** (life), i.e., the science of life and its manifestations.

Identificative relation

(126) **Ntši-tsetse** (Tsetse-fly): The relation between **ntši** and **-tsetse** can be expressed by the identificative **is**; the head noun is **ntši** (fly) which is modified by **-tsetse** (flea), i.e., the fly which looks like a flea.

Descriptive relation

(127) **Lengope-fekefeke** (Long/big ditch): The relation between **lengope** and **fekefeke** can be expressed by the descriptive **is**; the head noun is **lengope**

(ditch) which is modified by **fekefeke** (suddenly appear and disappear (as a man running among trees)), i.e., the ditch which is long/big.

Source relation

(128) **Lehlaka-noka** (River reed): The relation between **lehlaka** and **noka** can be expressed by the source **from**; the head noun is **lehlaka** (reed) which is modified by **noka** (river), i.e., a reed which is from the river.

Location relation

(129) **Leboa-bohlabela** (North-east): The relation between **leboa** and **bohlabela** can be expressed by the location **in**; the head noun is **leboa** (north) which is modified by **bohlabela** (east), i.e., the north which is in the east.

Top-location relation

(130) **Pala-monwana** (Ring (on finger)): The relation between **pala** and **monwana** can be expressed by the top-location **on**; the head noun is **pala** (mark) which is modified by **monwana** (finger), i.e., the ring which is on the finger.

Purposive relation

(131) **Ntlo-bojelo** (Dining hall): The relation between **ntlo** and **bojelo** can be expressed by the purposive **for**; the head noun is **ntlo** (house) which is modified by **bojelo** (eating place), i.e., the place for eating.

Comparative relation

(132) **Mokgoši-sello** (Lamentation): The relation between **mokgoši** and **sello** can be expressed by the comparative **like**; the head noun is **mokgoši** (shouting) which is modified by **sello** (crying), i.e., the shouting which is like crying.

Direction relation

(133) **Tšwelo-pele** (Progress): The relation between **tšwelo** and **pele** can be expressed by the direction **to**; the head noun is **tšwelo** (the coming up) which is modified by **pele** (front), i.e., the coming up which is to front.

5.2.7 Semantic features

Compound nouns with nominal heads have the following semantic features which have been identified:



Humans

(134) [Mma-bjala]	(Shebeen queen)
[Kgaetšedi-a-gwe]	(His brother/her sister)

Animals

(135) [Khubu-kgomo]	(Big tortoise)
[Noga-teng]	(Intestinal worm/tapeworm)

Plants

(136) [More-mootlwa]	(Thorny tree)
[Lehlaka- noka]	(River reed)

Natural phenomena

- | | |
|--------------------------|------------------|
| (137) [Lengope-fekefeke] | (Long/big ditch) |
| [Meetse-fula] | (Great flood) |

Body parts

- | | |
|----------------------|------------------|
| (138) [Leino-telele] | (Long tooth) |
| [Kgala-gapa] | (Palatum/palate) |

State

- | | |
|-------------------------|------------------|
| (139) [Tsogo-le-kobong] | (Bribery) |
| [Bophelo-noni] | (Luxurious life) |

Places

- | | |
|-------------------------|------------------|
| (140) [Muši-o-a-thunya] | (Victoria Falls) |
| [Naga-šireletšwa] | (Protectorate) |



Illness

- | | |
|-------------------|----------------------------------|
| (141) [Lehu-lela] | ((Kind of) skin disease on dogs) |
| [Pola-mmele] | (Gangrene) |

Artifacts

- | | |
|------------------------|-------------------|
| (142) [Lebati-theledi] | (Sliding door) |
| [Sebjana-thetha] | (Floating trophy) |

Cognition

- | | |
|-------------------|------------|
| (143) [Madi-mabe] | (Bad luck) |
| [Tšwelo-pele] | (Progress) |

Food

- | | |
|-------------------|-----------|
| (144) [Kuku-nama] | (Meatpie) |
| [Tloo-make] | (Peanut) |

Communication

- | | |
|--------------------------|------------------|
| (145) [Mongwalo-bitleng] | (Epitaph) |
| [Lebaka-ntši] | (Compound tense) |

Natural objects

- | | |
|------------------------|--------------------------|
| (146) [Lentswe-tshipi] | (Boulder/rock) |
| [Mphaphanana-thwi(i)] | (Small straight portion) |



Culture

- | | |
|----------------------|---------------|
| (147) [Modimo-Morwa] | (God the Son) |
| [Bodimo-ntši] | (Polytheism) |

Colour

- | | |
|---------------------|----------------|
| (148) [Mabala-ntši] | (Many colours) |
|---------------------|----------------|

Directions

- | | |
|-------------------|---------------------|
| (149) [Mma-go-ja] | (Right (hand) side) |
| [Leboa-bohlabela] | (North-east) |

Events

- | | |
|-------------------|----------------|
| (150) [Lehu-lebe] | ("Bad-death") |
| [Kgatišo-puku] | (Bookprinting) |

Feelings

- | | |
|----------------------|-------------|
| (151) [Pelo-hlomogi] | (Sympathy) |
| [Pelo-lerato] | (True love) |

Actions

- | | |
|--------------------|----------------------|
| (152) [Ihlo-kgomo] | (Proper supervision) |
| [Kgwebo-ka nanya] | (Barter) |



Liquid

- | | |
|--------------------|-------------------|
| (153) [Seno-tagji] | (Alcoholic drink) |
|--------------------|-------------------|

Time

- | | |
|--------------------|------------|
| (154) [Diba-tsela] | (December) |
| [Bošego-gare] | (Midnight) |

5.2.8. Productivity of compounds

Nominal heads have appeared with different syntactic categories to form compounds.

They appeared with other nouns. Many nouns are underived while others are derived from verbs. These compounds form **43%** of the chapter.

They appeared with adjectives. The nominal head may be affixed to one of the following four types of adjectives, i.e., descriptive, colour, number and quantifier. These types of adjectives have been classified in terms of their meanings. They can be allotted **15%**.

Affixation of CPs to the nouns also occurred. The CP may have one of the following: a verb only, an indicative clause with IP, an imperative clause, a verb ending on [-e] (subjunctive clause or old perfect tense), a consecutive clause, a verb in the perfect tense with no agreement or an infinitival clause. The CPs have **11%**.

Locatives have been attached to the nominal heads to form compound nouns. There are two types of locative nouns in this regard. There are locatives which are characterized by the locative suffix -eng and locatives which do not have this locative suffix. A share of **8%** goes to them.

Ideophones get **7%**. They play an integral part in the formation of compounds. They are most conveniently treated under two parts, i.e., onomatopoeic and derived ideophones.

Nominal heads have also been affixed to possessives. A possessive may appear with a pronoun, noun or locative noun. Only **6%** is allocated to these possessives.

Nominal relatives receive **4%**. There are two types of nominal relatives: namely, descriptive and quantitative.

There are very few compound nouns with a PP with go as head. The PP consists of two main parts: namely, preposition and complement. The complement may either be a noun or pronoun. **3%** is awarded to these PPs.

There are only two examples of compounds with adverbs which have been attested. One adverb is not derived from any other word category whereas the other one is derived from an adjectival root. Only **2%** is granted to the adverbs.

A mere **1%** is given to an interjection in that only one compound noun with an interjection has been readily attested in Northern Sotho.

5.2.9 Compound nouns with three elements

Some compound nouns that have been formed by three elements are the following:

5.2.9.1 [N [NN]

(155) [Mma-[budi-koti] (River rat)



5.2.9.2 [N [NQ/POSS]

a. [N [NQ]

(156) [Ra-[maatla-ohle] (God)

b. [N [N POSS]

(157) [Mma-[mogolo-a-gwe] (His/her mother's elder sister)

5.2.9.3 [N ADJ/N_{REL} [N]

a. [N ADJ [N]

(158) [Lentsšu-kgolo-[tao] (Important advice)

b. [N N_{REL} [N]

(159) [Leihlo-nolo-[borutho] (Kind supervision)

5.2.9.4 [N [N_{REL} ADJ]

(160) [Pelo-[nolo-mpe] (Gentle and evil heart)

5.3 COMPOUND NOUNS WITH VERBAL HEADS

The compound nouns with verbal heads include intransitive, transitive and ditransitive verbs. Included within these three categories of verbs are the various verbs which appear with derivational suffixes such as the causative, applicative, neuter-passive, passive, reciprocal and reversive as well as the reflexive prefix. These verbs appear with various syntactic categories as the second element in the compound, e.g., nouns, noun phrases, prepositional phrases, locative nouns and others.

Attention in this overview will focus on the morphological structures of these compounds, the argument structure of the verbs in the compounds, the nominal suffixes which may appear with these compound nouns as well as the various semantic features of these nouns.

5.3.1 Compound nouns with intransitive verbs

Two categories of intransitive verbs have been recognized in these compound nouns, i.e., intransitive verbs which assign one argument to the position of the subject argument and intransitive verbs which assign two arguments: an external argument to the subject position and an internal argument to a locative or comparative position. These verbs may also appear with various adjuncts such as nouns or prepositional phrases.

5.3.1.1 Morphological structure

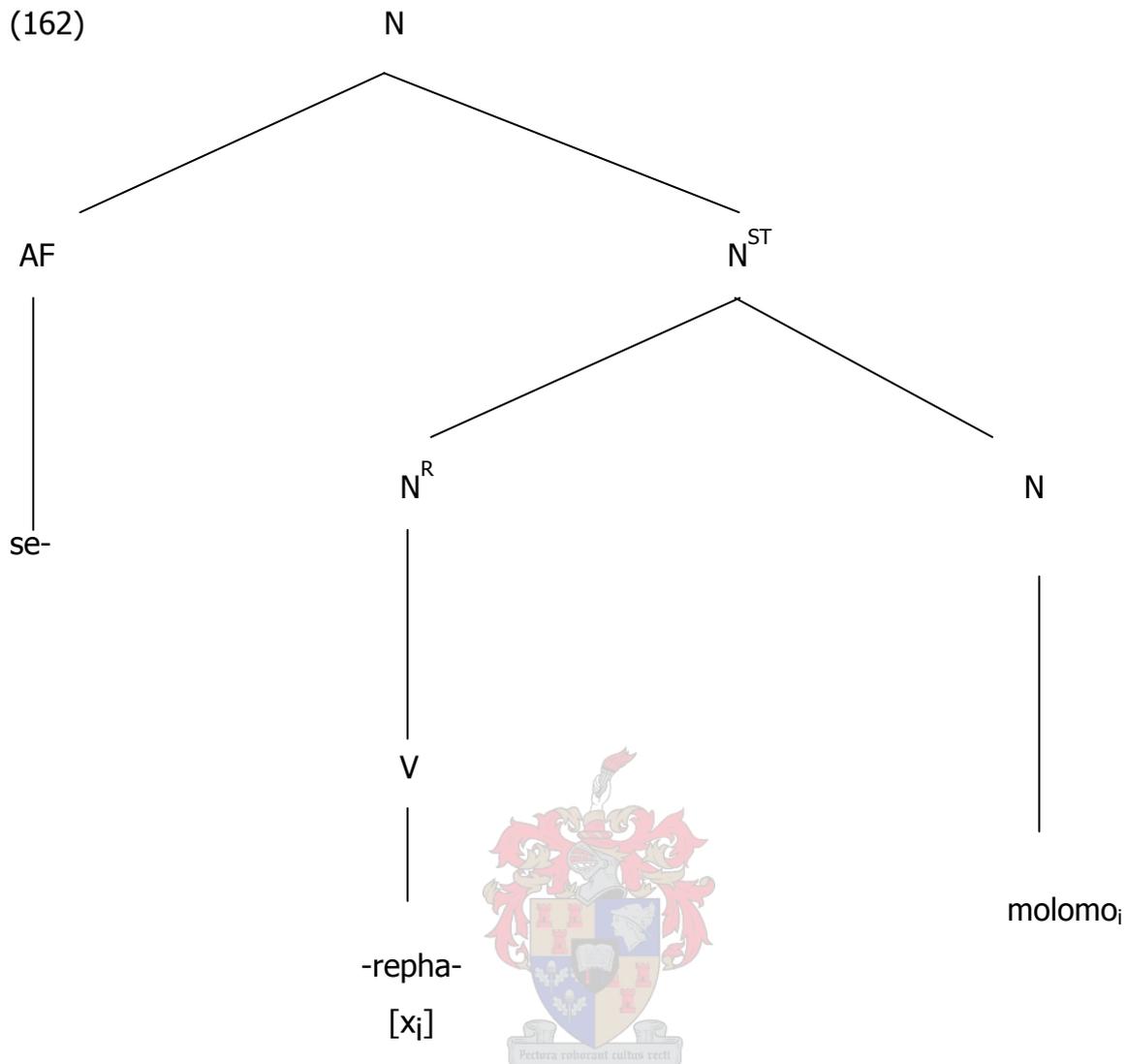
Six morphological structures have been identified in these compound nouns, depending on the argument structure of the intransitive verb.

a. Intransitive verb with one argument

The intransitive verb assigns one argument to the subject position of a clause, but in the morphological structure, this argument appears as a complement of the nominal root:



(161) [Serepha-molomo] (Person with a loose hanging mouth)



Compound noun: [AF-[N^R-[N]
[se-[repha-[molomo] (person with a loose hanging mouth)

In the structure above, the AF, **se-**, is the prefix of the compound noun. In this structure, the N appears as the sister of N^R. This N is the complement of N^R. The nominal root is the intransitive verb **repha** with its complement **molomo**.

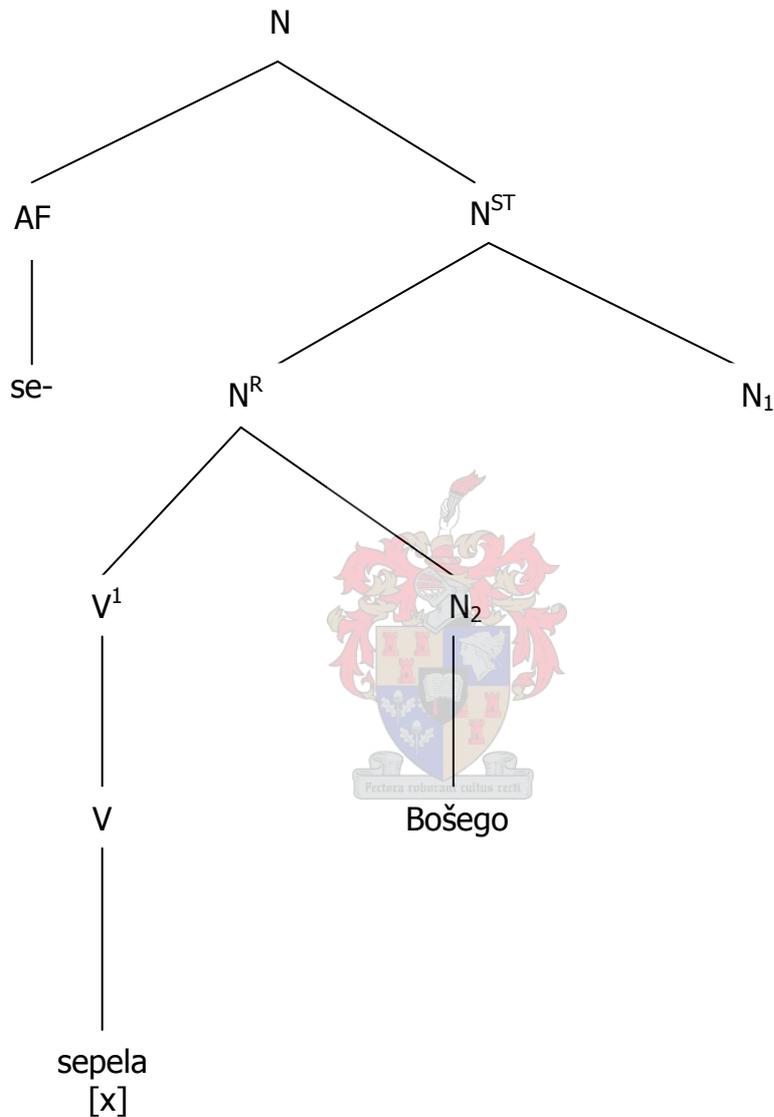
b. Intransitive verb with an adjunct

The intransitive verb also assigns only one argument to the subject position of a sentence and this argument also appears in the N-position as the complement of the nominal root in the morphological structure. An adjunct category appears with the

nominal root as a complement of the verb phrase indicated as [V¹] in the structure below:

(163) [Sesepela-bošego] (Night-prowler)

(164)



Compound noun: [AF-[V¹-[N]

[se-[sepela-[bošego] (night-prowler)

In (164), the AF, **se-**, is the prefix of the compound noun. The N is the sister and the complement of V¹. The N is an adjunct that may appear as one of the syntactic

categories in the compound nouns. The following adjuncts have been identified with this type of compound:

Noun

(165) [Se-[sepela-[bošego] (Night-prowler)

Locative noun

(166) [Mo-[lala-[hlageng] (Person of no fixed abode)

Prepositional phrase

(167) [Se-[rota-[ka-[lešoba] (One who urinates through the hole)

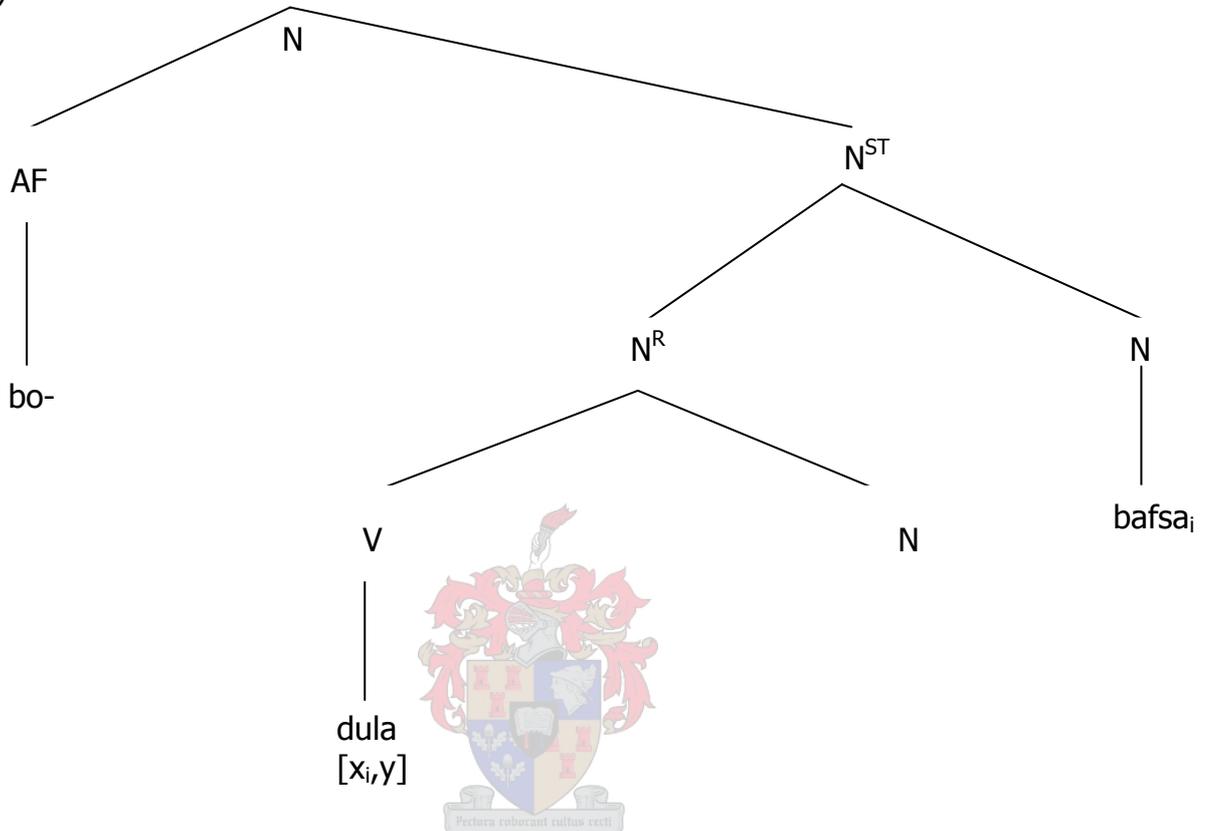
c. Intransitive verb with a noun which has a locative reference

The intransitive verbs in the two structures below assign two arguments, i.e., an external argument is assigned to the subject position of a sentence and an internal argument to a locative noun phrase. In the morphological structure, the external argument will be represented by the N which is a complement of the nominal root as in the two structures above, while the internal argument will be represented by the N which is a complement of the V. The [V-N] combination forms the nominal root. The N in this structure has a locative reference but no overt locative noun: it may appear with no locative suffix, or it may appear as an empty category in a morphological structure.

The noun has no overt form

(168) [Bodula-bafsa] (Youth centre (place))

(169)



Compound noun: [AF-[N^R-[N
 [bo-[dula-[bafsa] (youth centre (place))

In the above structure, **bo-** is the prefix of class 14 and this prefix determines the noun class of the compound. The N **bafsa** is the sister and the complement of N^R. In these compound nouns, the [y] argument may have one of the following references, depending on the semantics of the verb.

Location

(170) [Bo-[dula-[bafsa] (Youth centre (place))

Source

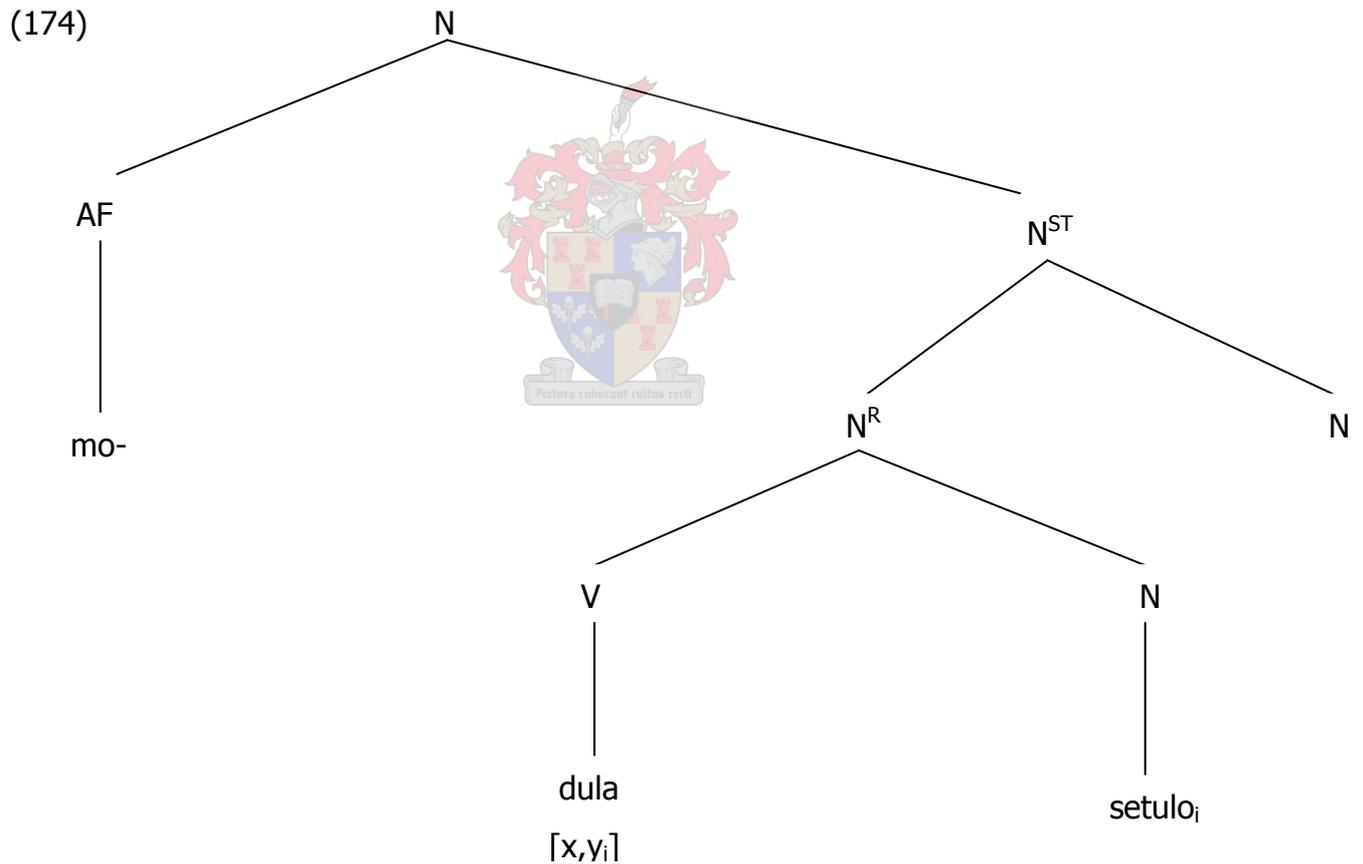
(171) [Mo-[tšwa-[dipale]] (One who has cracks on the feet caused by fire)

Direction

(172) [Bo-[ya-[batho]] (Death)

The noun has an overt form with no locative suffix

(173) [Modula-setulo] (Chairperson)



Compound noun: [AF-[V-[N]]
[mo-[dula-[setulo]] (chairperson)

The AF of the compound as a whole is the prefix **mo-**, which is the head. The empty N is the sister and the complement of N^R. The N **setulo** is the sister and the complement of V. The [y] argument in the compound nouns may also have the following references as above, depending on the semantics of the verb:

Location

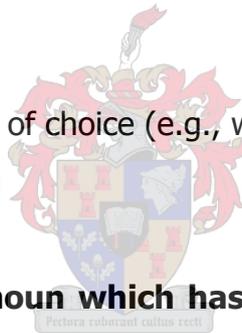
(175) [Mo-[dula-[setulo] (Chairperson)

Source

(176) [Mo-[fologa-[thaba] (One who comes/climbs down from the mountain)

Direction

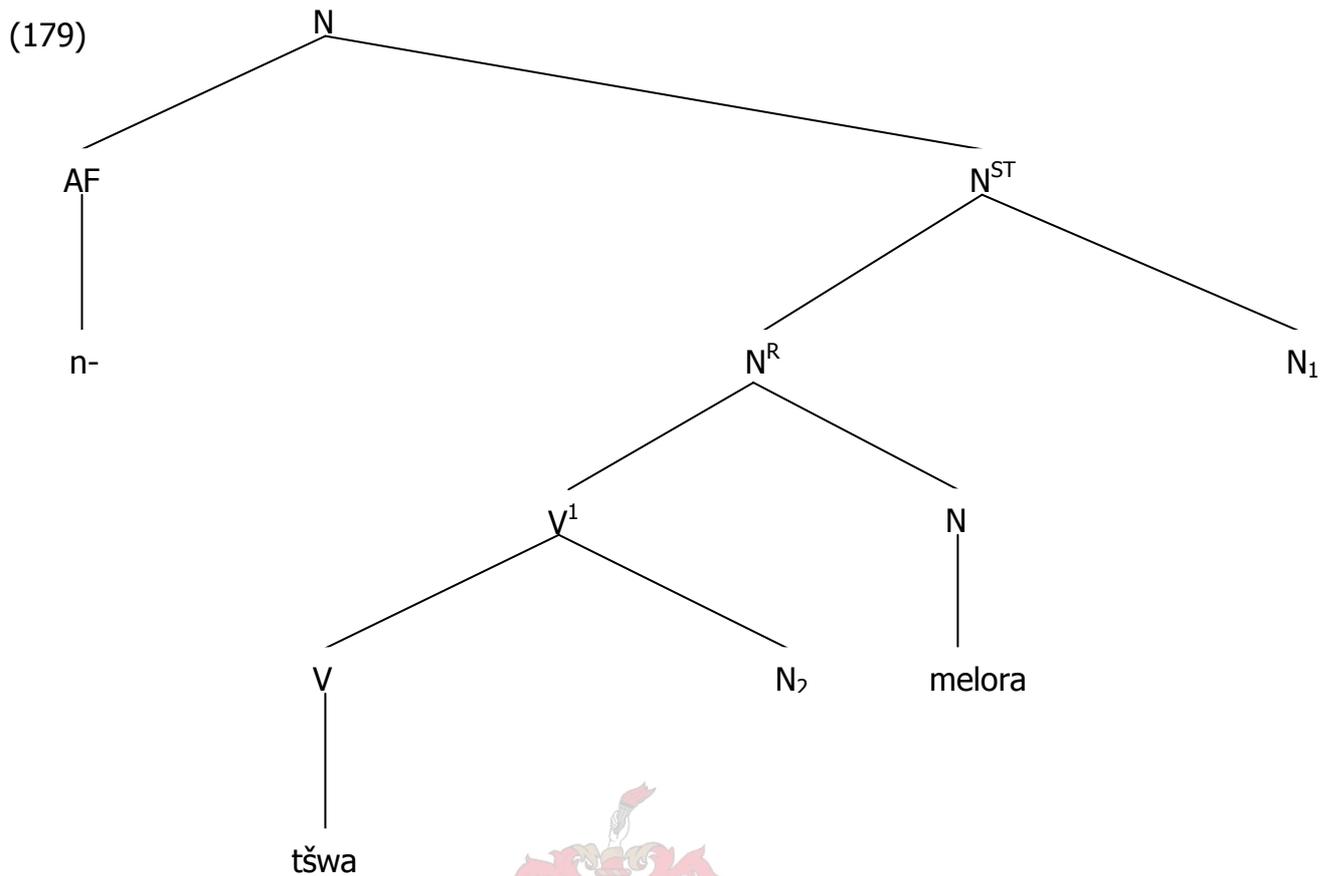
(177) [Mo-[ya-[rato] (One's place of choice (e.g., where one whiles away time/visits))



d. Intransitive verb with a noun which has a locative reference together with an adjunct

The morphological structure below represents an amalgamation of the structures in (169 and 174). The verb assigns two arguments but it also appears with an adjunct. The external argument is represented by [N₁] and the internal argument by [N₂]: both are empty. The adjunct appears as part of the nominal root which has the form [V¹-N] below:

(178) [Tšwa-melora] (Girl in early puberty stage)



Compound noun: [AF-[V¹-[N]
[n-[tšwa-[melora] (girl in early puberty stage)

In (179), the AF, **n-** of class 9, is the prefix which is the head of the compound. The adjunct is a sister and the complement of V¹ above. The adjunct in this structure is N. The adjunct, which forms part of the compound, may be one of the following syntactic categories:

Noun

(180) [N-[tšwa-[melora] (Girl in early puberty stage)

Quantifier

(181) [Mo-[dula-[noši] (Monk/nun/hermit)

Prepositional phrase

(182) [Mo-[tla-[ka-kgomo] (Married woman)
[Se-[ya-[le-moya] (Radio)

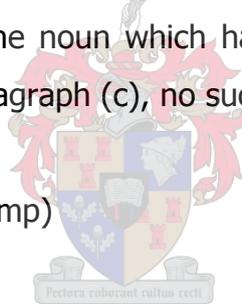
Complementizer phrase

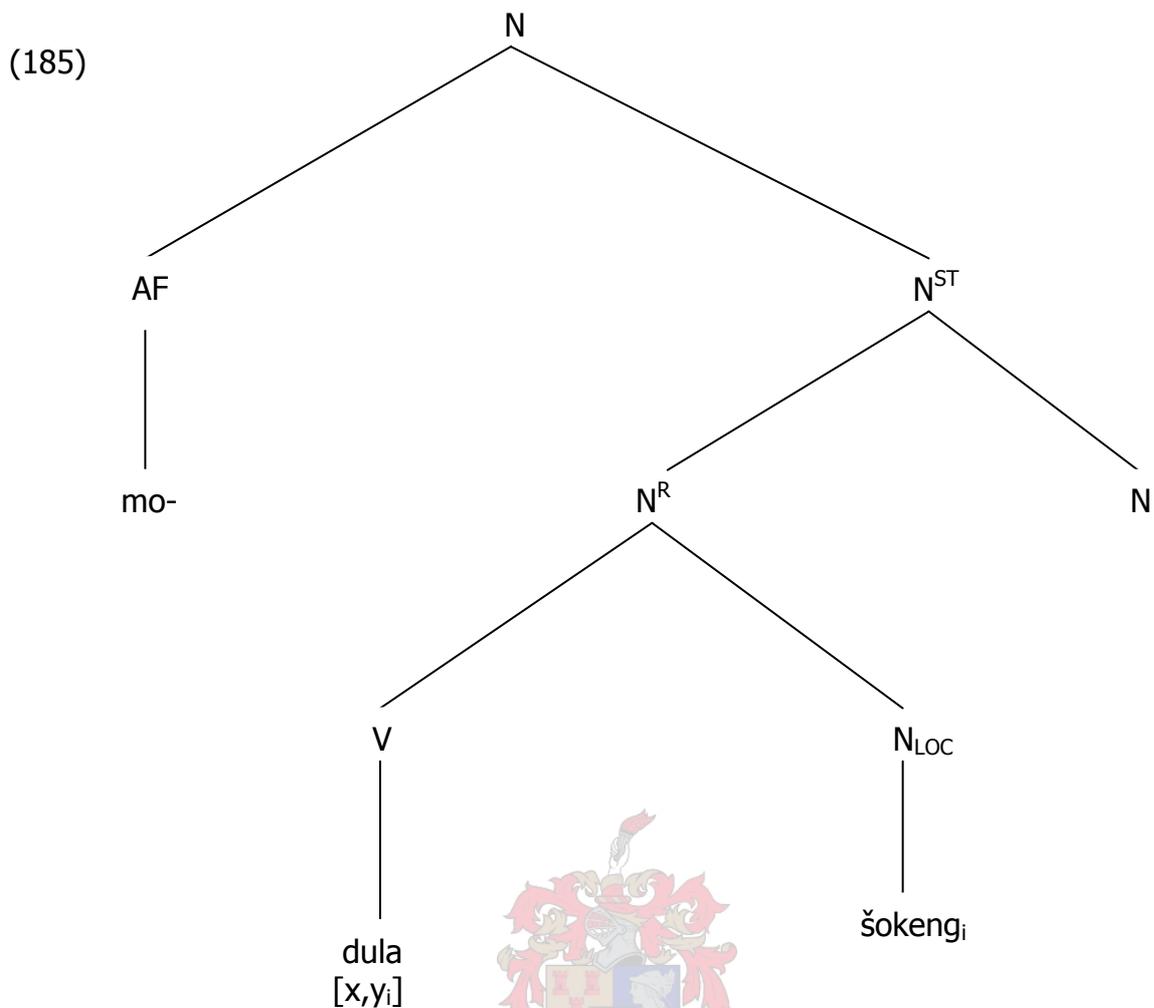
(183) [Mo-[hlwa-[a-di-bona] (Person overtaken by misfortune)

e. Intransitive verb with a locative noun

The morphological structure below is the same structure which appears in paragraph (c) above, i.e., the structure shows two positions for a noun which represents the external and internal arguments of the verb. The only difference with the structure in paragraph (c) above is that the noun which has a locative reference also has a clear locative form below. In paragraph (c), no such locative form appears.

(184) [Modula-šokeng] (Hobo/tramp)





Compound noun: [AF-[V-[N_{LOC}]
 [mo-[dula-[šokeng] (hobo/tramp)

In (185) above, **mo-**, is the prefix of the compound. This prefix is the head of the compound and it determines the noun class of this compound. The empty N is the sister and the complement of N^R. N_{LOC} is the sister and the complement of V. The locative noun above may be represented by one of the following:

Locative noun

(186) [Mo-[dula-[šokeng] (Hobo/tramp)

Locative class noun

(187) [Mo-[dula-[gae] (One who stays at home)

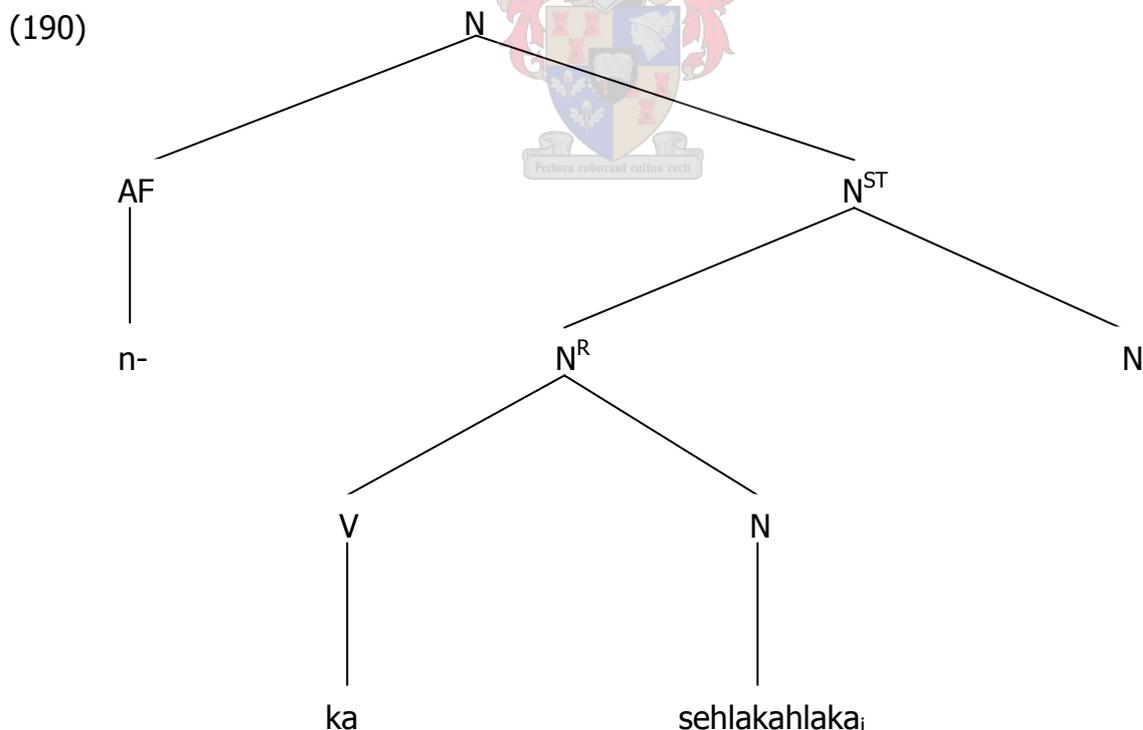
Locative demonstrative

(188) [Se-[tla-[mono] (Thing that comes here)

f. Intransitive verb with a comparative internal argument

The verb **ka** is a comparative verb which gives its internal argument a comparative reference. Morphologically, this verb will appear in the same structure as in paragraph (c) above:

(189) [Nka-[sehlakahlaka] (Peninsula)



Compound noun: [AF-[V-[N]

[n-[ka-[sehlakahlaka] (peninsula)

The AF of the compound is **n-** in this structure. The empty N is the sister and the complement of N^R. The sister and the complement of V is the noun **sehlakahlaka**.

5.3.1.2 Argument structure

a. Argument

Two types of arguments can be distinguished.

External argument only

There are intransitive verbs in compound nouns which take only external arguments as represented in the structure in (162). The verb **repha**, for instance, takes an external argument which is **molomo** below:

- (191) [molomo] o-a repha
 'The mouth is hanging loose'



In the compound noun, this external argument is realized in the position of a noun which is a complement of the nominal root:

- (192) [Se-[repha-[molomo]] (Person with a loose hanging mouth)

External and internal arguments

The intransitive verb may assign two arguments, i.e., an external argument and an internal argument. The morphological structures in (169/174, 185 and 190) have this type of verb. In all three structures, the external argument is represented by the noun which appears as a complement of the nominal root. The internal argument occurs as a noun in the complement position of the verb which forms the nominal root. The following possible structures occur:

- (i) The noun with the external argument but the noun with the internal argument is empty (see no. (169)):

(193) [Bo-dula-[N-[bafsa] (Youth centre (place))

- (ii) The noun with the external argument is empty while the noun with the internal argument has a locative reference but no locative form (see no. (174)):

(194) [Mo-[dula-[setulo-[N] (Chairperson)

- (iii) This structure appears in (185) and is the same as no. (ii) above except that the locative noun has an overt locative form (see no. (185)):

(195) [Mo-[dula-[šokeng-[N] (Hobo/tramp)

- (iv) The verb has a comparative reference and the structure is the same as in (ii) except that the noun now has a comparative reference (see no. (190)):

(196) [(N)-[ka-[sehlakahlaka-[N] (Peninsula)

Adjunct

The adjuncts which appear in the structures (164) and (179) above are part of the situational interpretation:

(197) [Se-[sepela-[N]-bošego] (Night-prowler)

The adjunct is the temporal noun **bošego** and the empty N is the position of the external argument of the verb.

In (179), the adjunct appears as a noun **melora**:

(198) [(N)-[tšwa-[N]-[N]-[melora] (Girl in early puberty stage)

The two empty Ns represent the positions of the external and internal arguments of the verb.

b. Assignment of arguments

The [x] argument

In the structure (162), the verb **repha** takes an external argument. This argument is assigned to a noun in the complement position of the nominal root:

(199) [Se-[repha-[molomo_i]] (Person with a loose hanging mouth)

[x_i]

In the structure (169), the verb **dula** also takes an external argument. This argument is assigned to a noun which is the complement of the nominal root. The internal argument is not assigned to a noun which is the complement of the verb:

(200) [Bo-[dula-[N-[bafsa_i]] (Youth centre (place))

[x_i,y]

The [y] argument

The [y] argument of the verb **dula** in structure (174) is assigned to a noun which is the complement of the verb:

(201) [Mo-[dula-[setulo_i]-[N]] (Chairperson)

[x,y_i]

The [y] argument of the verb **dula** in structure (185) is assigned to the locative noun which is the complement of the verb:

(202) [Mo-[dula-[-šokengi]-[N] (Hobo/tramp)

[x,y_i]

In the structure (190), the internal argument of the verb **ka** is assigned to the noun which is the complement of the verb:

(203) [(N)-[ka-[-sehlakahlaka]-[N] (Peninsula)

[x,y_i]

c. Control of arguments by prefix

The [x] argument

In the structure (164), the noun class prefix controls the [x] argument of the verb **sepela**. In this case, the argument is no longer available for assignment to any position:

(204) [Se-[-sepela-bošego] (Night-prowler)



The [x] argument of **tšwa** is controlled by the prefix **n-** in the structure (179):

(205) [N-[-tšwa-[-melora] (Girl in early puberty stage)

In the structure (185), the noun class prefix controls the [x] argument of the verb **dula**:

(206) [Mo-[dula-[-šokeng] (Hobo/tramp)

In the structure (190), the external argument is controlled by the prefix **n-** which has a reference of place.

(207) [(N)-[ka-[-sehlakahlaka] (Peninsula)

In the structure (174), the [x] argument has a reference to human and it is also controlled:

(208) [Mo-[dula-[setulo] (Chairperson)

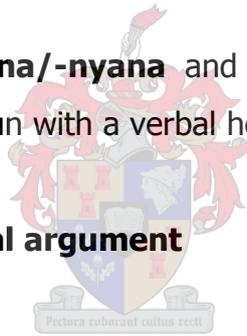
The [y] argument

In the structure (169), the prefix **bo-** controls the [y] argument which has a reference to location:

(209) [Bo-[dula-[bafsa] (Youth centre (place))

5.3.1.3 Nominal suffixes

The nominal suffixes **-gadi**, **-ana/-nyana** and **-eng** appear with the following constituents in the compound noun with a verbal head:



a. With N which is an external argument

[AF-[V-[N-gadi/-ana/-eng]

- | | |
|---|------------------|
| (210) [Mo-[lala-[tladi-+- gadi] | (Long rainbow) |
| [Mo-[lala-[tlatš-+- ana] | (Short rainbow) |
| [Mo-[lala-[tladi-+- ng] | (On the rainbow) |

[AF-[V-N-[N-gadi/-ana/-eng]

- | | |
|--|---------------------------|
| (211) [(N)-[thala-[bodiba-+- gadi] | (Big whirligig beetle) |
| [(N)-[thaba-[bodib-+- ana] | (Small whirligig beetle) |
| [(N)-[thala-[bodib-+- eng] | (On the whirligig beetle) |

b. With N which is an adjunct

[AF-[V¹-N-gadi/-ana/-eng [N]

- (212) [Se-[sepela-bošego-+-**gadi**] (Big night-prowler)
- [Se-[sepela-bošegw-+-**ana**] (Small night-prowler)
- [Se-[sepela-bošego-+-**ng**] (On the night-prowler)

c. With N which is an internal argument

N has a locative reference

N without -eng

[AF-[V-N-gadi/-ana/-eng [N]

- (213) [Mo-[tla-[kgomo-+-**gadi**] (Big green boomslang)
- [Mo-[tla-[kgongw-+-**ana**] (Small green boomslang)
- [Mo-[tla-[kgomo-+-**ng**] (On the green boomslang)



N with -eng

[-gadi]:

[AF-[VN_{LOC}-gadi [N]

- (214) [Se-[hlwa-[ntlong-+-**gadi**] (Big one who stays at home)

[-ana]:

[AF-[V-N-ana-eng [N]

(215) [Se-[hlwa-[ntlw-+-**an**-eng] (Small one who stays at home)

The diminutive suffix [-ana] does not appear after the locative suffix but before the locative suffix:

After: *N-eng-ana

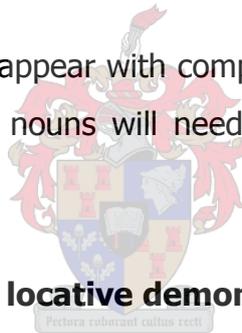
Before: N-ana-eng

[-eng]:

*[AF-[V-N-eng-eng [N]

(216) *[Se-[hlwa-[ntlo-ng-+-**eng**]

The locative suffix [-eng] cannot appear with compound nouns which already have a locative suffix. Such compound nouns will need a preposition **go** to appear in a clause with locative reference.



N is a locative class noun or a locative demonstrative

[AF-[V-N-gadi [N]

(217) [Se-[wa-[godimo-+-**gadi**] (Big unexpected thing)

[AF-[V-N-ana [N]

(218) [Se-[wa-[godingw-+-**ana**] (Small unexpected thing)

*[AF-[V-N-eng [N]

(219) *[Se-[tla-[mono-+-**ng**]

As above: **godimo** and **mono** already have a locative reference.

N has a comparative reference

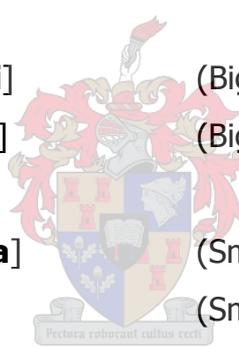
[AF-[V-N-gadi/-ana/-eng [N]

- (220) [N-[ka-sehlakahlaka-+-**gadi**] (Big peninsula)
- [N-[ka-sehlakahlak-+-**ana**] (Small peninsula)
- [N-[ka-sehlakahlak-+-**eng**] (In the peninsula)

d. N is the complement of P

[AF-[V¹-[P-N-gadi/-ana/-eng [N]

- (221) [Mo-[tla-[ka-kgomo-+-**gadi**] (Big married woman)
- [Se-[ba-[le-meetse-+-**gadi**] (Big succulent)
- [Mo-[tla-[ka-kgongw-+-**ana**] (Small married woman)
- [Se-[ba-[le-meets-+-**ana**] (Small succulent)
- [Mo-[tla-[ka-kgomo-+-**ng**] (The married woman)
- [Se-[ba-[le-meets-+-**eng**] (The succulent)



e. Nominal suffixes with the CP

[AF-[V¹-CP-gadi/-nyana [N]

- (222) [Mo-[lwa-[o-dutše-+-**gadi**] (Big medicine believed to cause quarrels or unrest among tribes)
- [Mo-[lwa-[o-dutše-+-**nyana**] (Small medicine believed to cause quarrels or unrest among tribes)

[AF-[V¹-[V-eng-[CP]

(223) [Mo-[lw-+-eng-[o-dutše] (The medicine believed to cause quarrels
or unrest among tribes)

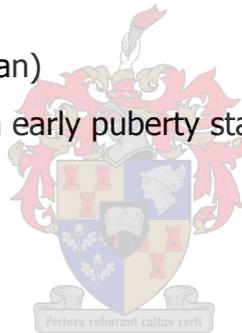
The locative suffix [-eng] cannot appear with the CP but has to appear on the verb.

5.3.1.4 Semantic features

The semantic features which have been identified in compound nouns with verbal heads are the following:

Humans

(224) [Mahlwa-a-di-bona] (Veteran)
[Tšwa-melora] (Girl in early puberty stage)



Animals

(225) [Motla-kgomo] (Green boomslang)
[Phela-ka-dingwe] (Parasite)

Plants

(226) [Modula-tšhwene] (Wild gardenia)
[Semela-meetseng] (Algae)

Natural phenomenon

(227) [Molala-tladi] (Rainbow)

Body parts

- (228) [Lešita-phiri] (Cervical vertebra)
[Sedula-bjokong] (That which sits/stays/lives in the brain/head)

State

- (229) [Maora-hlolo] (Warmth of the morning/late afternoon sun)
[Boeta-pele] (Leadership)

Places

- (230) [Bodula-bafsa] (Youth centre (place))
[Boema-fofane] (Airport)

Illness

- (231) [Seopa-hlongwana] (Kind of sickness among sheep (the animal jumps, falls and dies))



Artifacts

- (232) [Sehlwa-se-eme] (Statue)
[Pala-monwana] (Ring)

Cognition

- (233) [Setla-bonyane] (Small beginning)
[Ditla-morago] (Consequences/results)

Food

- (234) [Setšwa-leeng) (That which comes from the egg)
[Setšwa-phoofolong] (Animal product)

Communication

- (235) [Keta-pele] (Preface)
[Ditla-le-meso] (Morning news)

Natural objects

- (236) [Setšwa-godimo] (Something unexpected)
[Diema-di-rile] (Something/what-you-call-it)

Culture

- (237) [Molwa-o-dutše] (Medicine believed to cause quarrels or unrest among tribes)



5.3.2 Compound nouns with transitive verbs

Various transitive verbs appear in compound nouns. Such verbs may occur with a noun or a noun phrase in a morphological structure where the N or NP represents the internal argument of the verb. Transitive verbs may also appear with a locative internal argument as well as with variety of adjuncts. All such verbs have external arguments but these arguments are never assigned to the empty N position in the morphological structure.

Except for verbs with transitive roots, various derived verbs appear as transitive verbs:

The causative verbs have a suffix [-iš-] which bears an external argument. The external argument of the non-causative root becomes the internal argument of the causative verb. In this way, an intransitive verb becomes a transitive verb with two arguments.

The applicative verb has a suffix [-el-] which adds an extra internal argument to the verb. An intransitive verb will then be transitive with this extra internal argument. In the case of passive verbs, the external argument is controlled by a PP with *ke* as head. In syntax, the internal argument may then move to the subject position but in morphology it never moves.

The neuter-passive verb has an affix [-eg-] with the same effect as the passive. The suffix [-eg-] has an [x] argument which is indicated as "neuter". The external argument of the verb is controlled by this neuter argument. The internal argument remains in its place in morphology as with the passive verb.

The reciprocal suffix [-an-] is associated with the binding of arguments. The theme (internal argument) is bound by the actor (external argument) of the verb to which [-an-] is attached. The internal argument of the reciprocal verb then does not appear in any position in syntax or morphology.

Lastly, the reversive verb is also transitive. The reversive suffix [-oll-] does not change the argument structure of the verb. It has an influence on the semantics of the verb because it reverses the meaning of the verb.

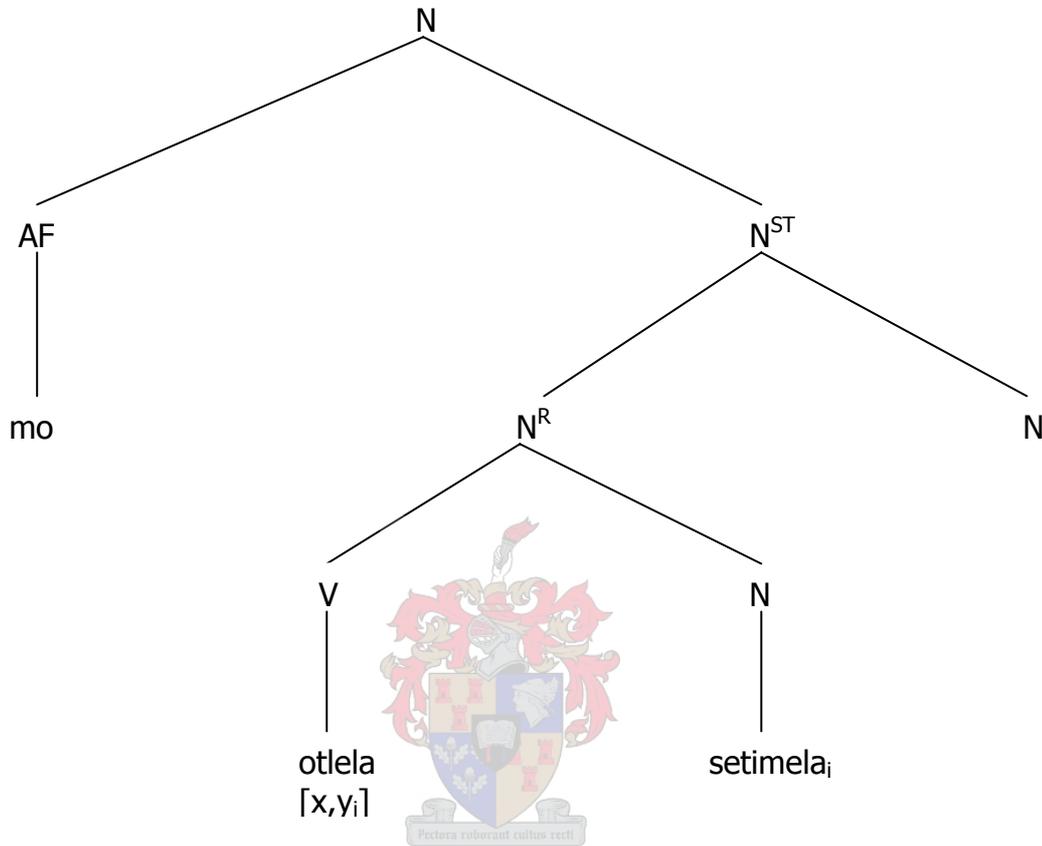
5.3.2.1 Morphological structure

Five morphological structures of compound nouns with transitive verbs have been recognized. These structures follow the type of complement or adjunct which may appear with the transitive verb. Thus, we find two structures with a difference in the nominal complement of the verb, one with a locative internal argument, one with an adjunct and one with a reciprocal verb.

a. Transitive verb with a noun

(238) [Mootlela-setimela] (Engine driver)

(239)



Compound noun: [AF-[V-N]-[N]
[mo-[otlela-setimela] (engine driver)

The morphological structure above follows the argument structure of the verb **otlela**. This verb has two arguments. The external argument goes to the subject position in syntax. In morphology, the position to which this argument may be assigned is the empty N which appears as the complement of the nominal root above. The internal argument goes to the object NP in syntax. In morphology, this argument [y] is represented by the N which is a complement of the verb, i.e., **otlela-setimela**. The noun class prefix **mo-** above is the head of the compound in morphology, while the verb is the head of the compound in semantics.

The following types of verbs may appear in the same structure as (239) above:

Causative verb

(240) [Se-[fokiša-moya] (Fan)

Applied verb

(241) [Bo-[wela-kalana] (Place of birth)

Passive verb

(242) [Se-[rafša-seepša] (Mineral which is taken out/extracted)

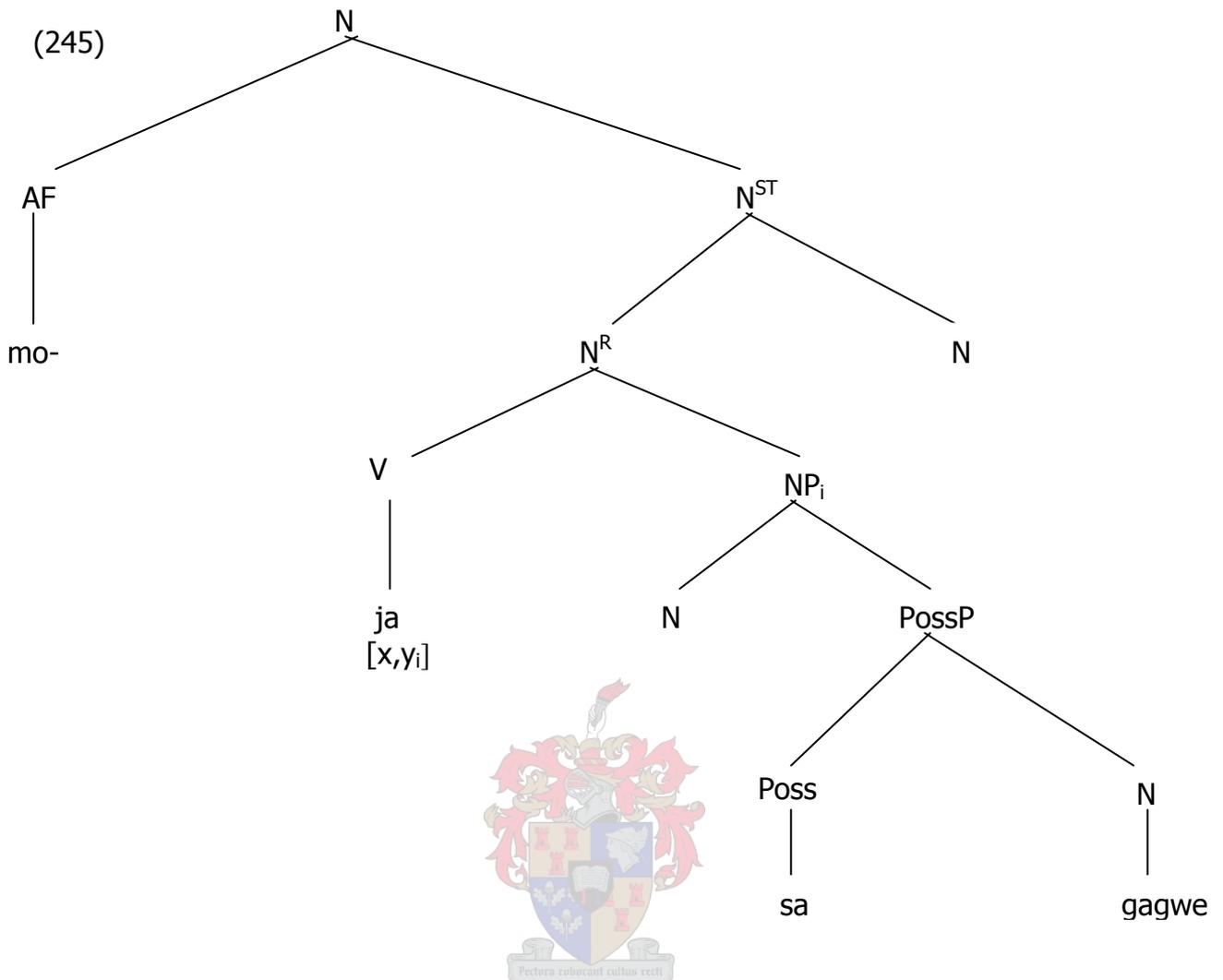
Reversive verb

(243) [Se-[epolla-ditapola] (Potato-remover)

b. Transitive verb with a noun phrase

(244) [Moja-sa-gagwe] (Person who eats his/hers)





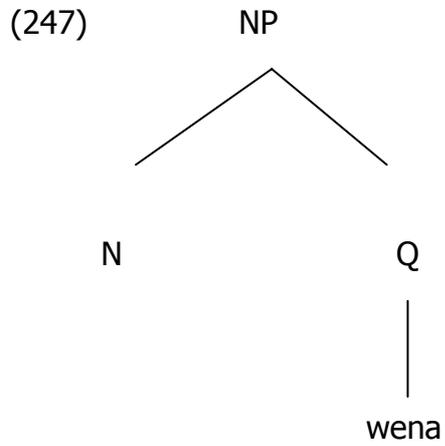
Compound noun: [AF-[V-NP]-[N]

[mo-[ja-[sa-gagwe] (person who eats his/hers)

The structure in (245) above follows the structure in (239). The difference is to be found in the complement of the verb. In (239) above, the complement of the verb is a noun, while in (245), the complement of the verb **ja** is a noun phrase (NP). This NP has an empty head noun followed by a possessive phrase. The N+PossP are the constituents of the NP. The PossP → has a possessive [a] as head which has a complement, i.e., a possessive pronoun **gagwe**. The subjectival agreement which appears on the possessive a is that of class 7: [se-a sa]. The prefix **mo-** is the head of the compound noun, as in structure (239). The possessive phrase in (245) above may be replaced by a quantifier:

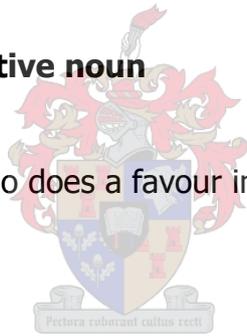
(246) [Mo-[tanya-[wena] (One who attracts you)

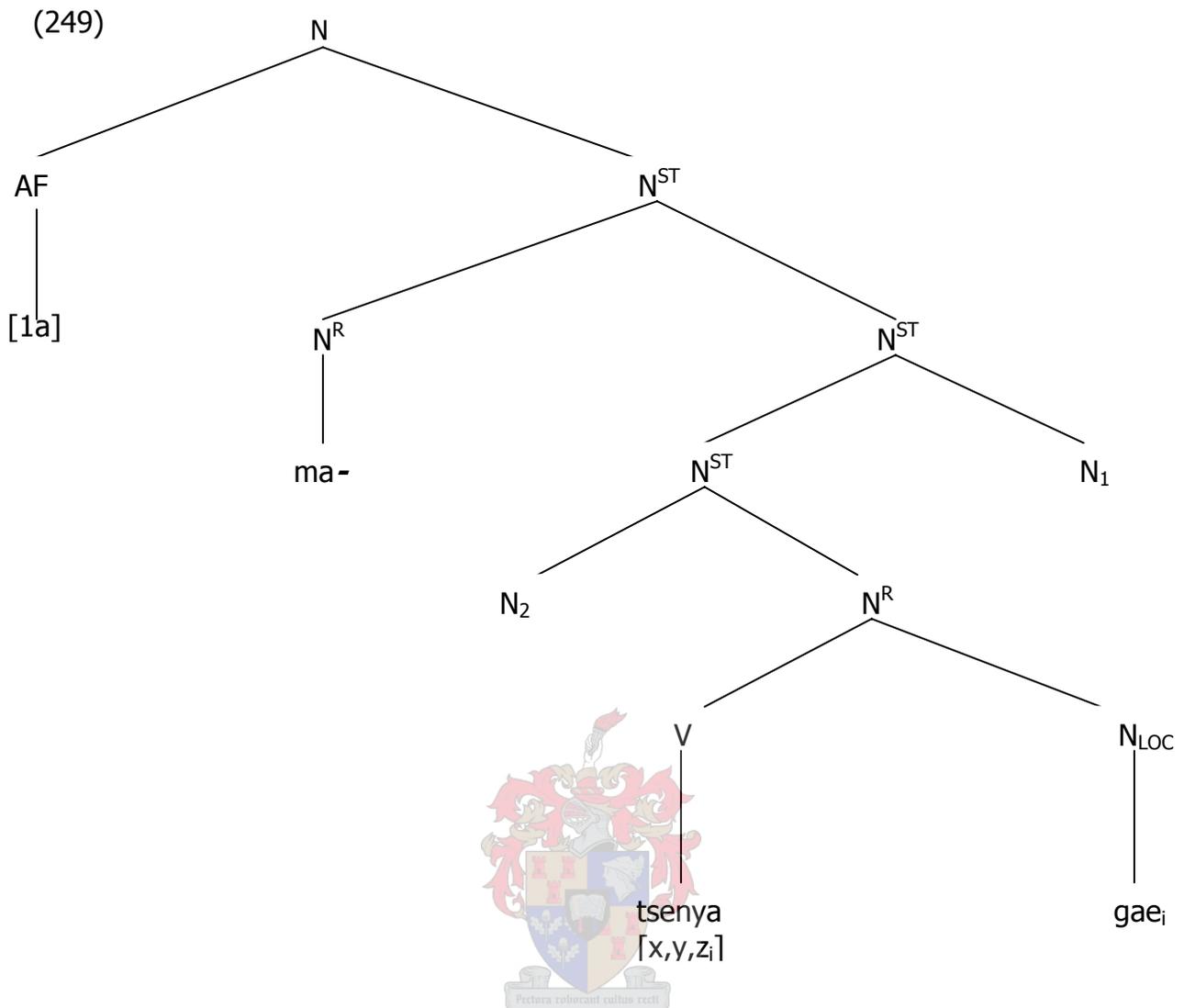
The quantifier **wena** will also appear next to an empty N:



c. Transitive verb with a locative noun

(248) [Matsenya-gae] (Person who does a favour in the hopes of being paid for it)





Compound noun: [AF-[V-iš]-[N_{LOC}]

[ma-[tsenya-gae] (person who does a favour in the hopes
of being paid for it)

The structure in (249) above has a causative verb **tsenya** which has a causative morpheme [-y-]. This morpheme is responsible for a new external argument whose possible position above is [N₁]. The old external argument may now appear in the position of [N₂] which is the position which may accept the new internal argument. Both [N₁] and [N₂] are empty in (249) above. The verb **tsenya** has a locative internal argument which has filled the position of [N_{LOC}] above, i.e., **gae**.

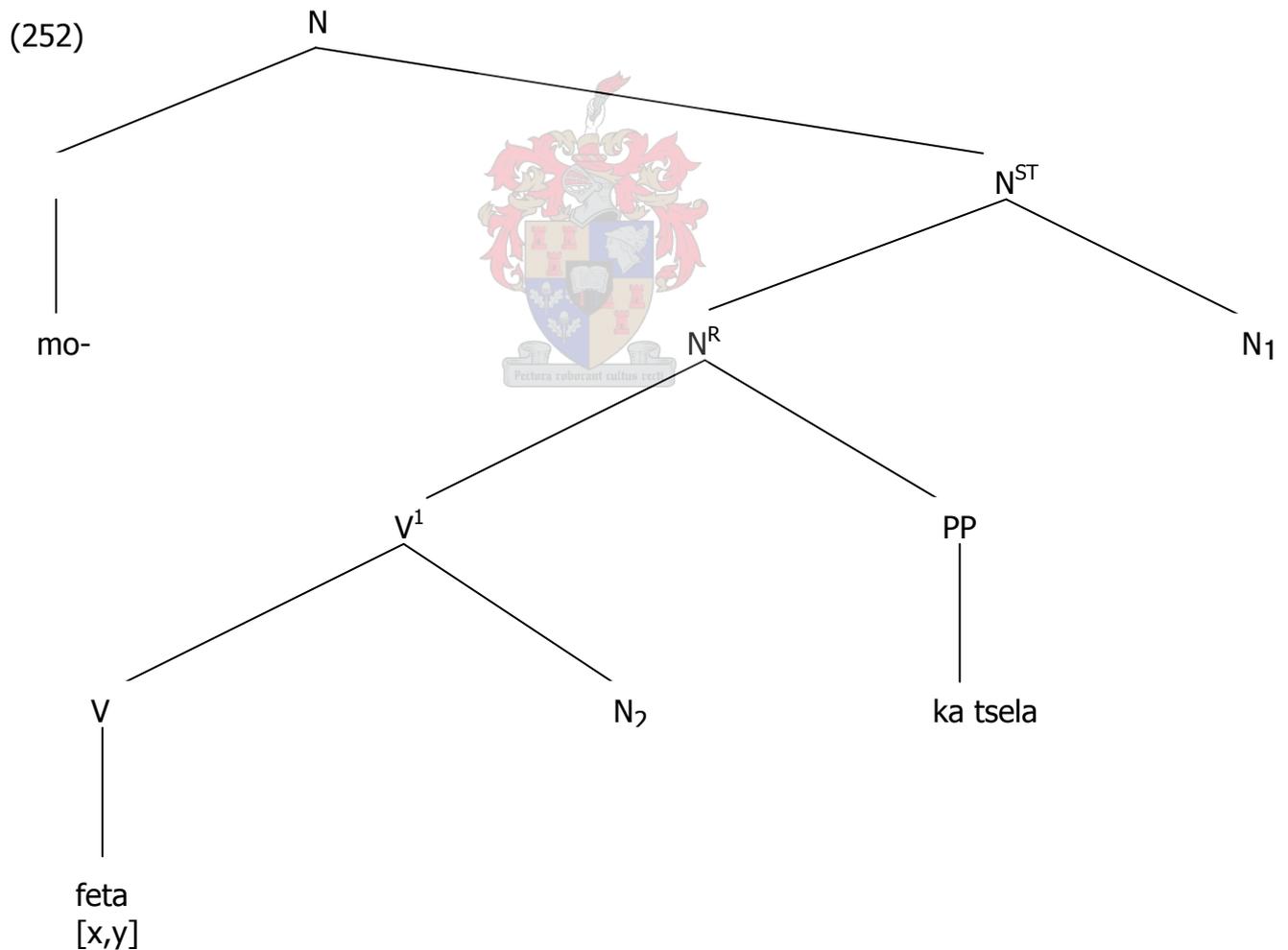
An applicative verb may appear in the place of the causative verb above. This applicative verb is responsible for the new internal argument in (249) above which is indicated as [N_{Loc}], i.e., **pele**. The verb **kwa** without **pele** has an internal argument [N₂] which is not filled:

Applicative verb

(250) [(N)-[kwela-[pele] (Foreknowledge)

d. Transitive verb with a noun and an adjunct

(251) [Mofeta-ka-tsela] (Passer-by/traveller)



Compound noun: [AF-[N]-[PP]-[N]

[mo-[feta-[ka-tsela) (passerby/traveller)

The verb **feta** has two arguments which may be assigned to the two empty nouns in (252) above: [N₁] represents the external argument and [N₂] the internal argument of **feta**. A prepositional phrase [PP] appears as an adjunct phrase next to [V¹] above. This PP has a preposition **ka** as head with a complement noun **tsela**.

The PP, which is an adjunct, may also appear with a passive verb where the head of the PP is either the preposition **ka** or **ke**:

Passive verb

- (253) [Tšhupša-[ka-leleme] (Name of a person)
[Mo-[lewa-[ke-bodutu] (Person who feels lonely)

The category PP above may be replaced by ADV:

Adverb

- (254) [Se-[ja-[gabotse] (Person who lives a luxuries life)



In the place of PP above, a Q or N_{LOC} may appear as an adjunct:

Quantifier

- (255) [Mo-[buša-[noši] (Autocrat/dictator/absolute monarch)

Locative nouns with these types of verbs

(i) Transitive verb

- (256) [Se-[aga-[molapong] (One who builds next to the river)
[Se-[ripa-[gare] (Half)

(ii) Passive verb

(257) [Se-[lotwa-[potleng] (Money)

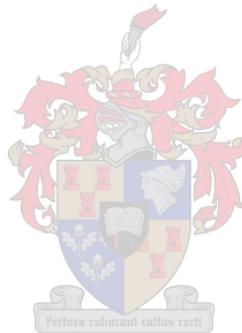
(iii) Neuter-passive verb

(258) [N-[ponega-[pele] (Vision)

Lastly, the CP may appear in the place of the PP in (252):

Complementizer phrase

(259) [Le-[setla-[oka] (Kind of ant)

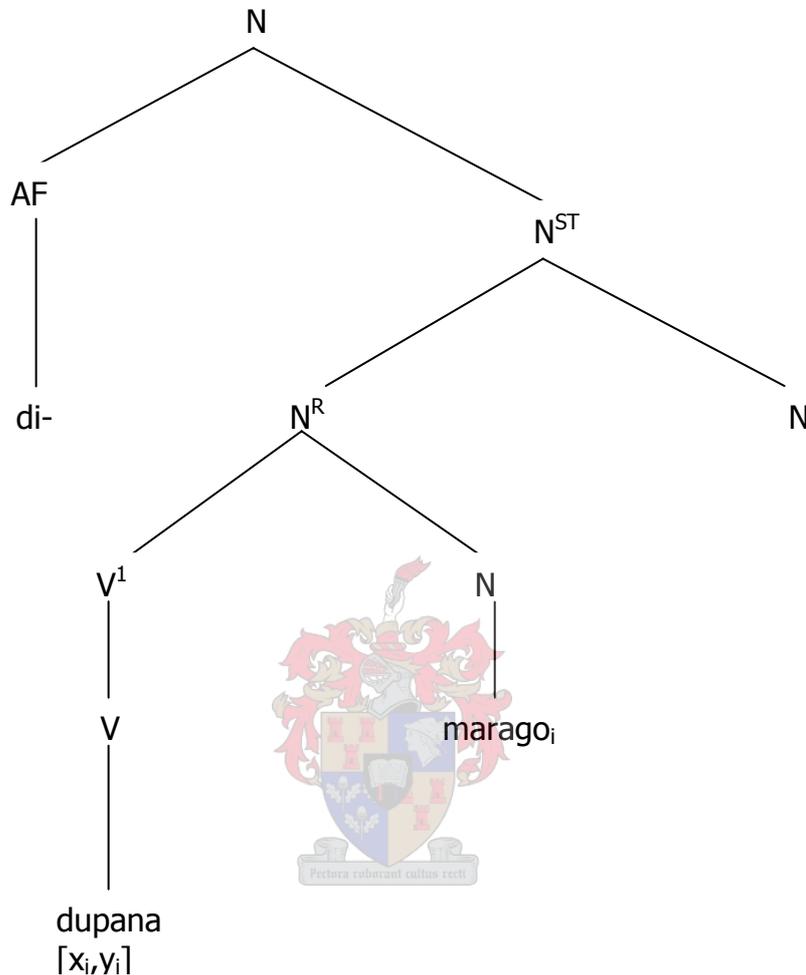


e. Reciprocal verb with an adjunct

(260) [Didupana-marago]

(Bosom friends)

(261)



Compound noun: [AF-[V¹-N]

[di-[dupana-marago] (bosom friends)

The verb in the structure (261) above is a reciprocal verb with the suffix **-an-**. This suffix forces argument binding where the [y] argument is bound by the [x] argument of the verb **dupa**. It is a condition on such reciprocal verbs that they may only appear with plural or mass nouns as subjects in syntax. This condition has as a result that in morphology the compound noun with a reciprocal verb must appear with a plural prefix which is the prefix **di-** above. The structure in (261) also has an

adjunct which is a noun **marago**. This adjunct may appear as a prepositional phrase with the preposition **sa** as head in a compound noun such as the following:

(262) [Ba-[ntšhana-[sa-inong] (Intimate friends)

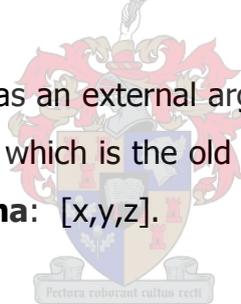
5.3.2.2 Argument structure

a. Arguments

The argument structure of the verb depends on the type of a verb which appears in a compound noun. The following types of verbs have been identified in the various morphological structures of the compound nouns:

Transitive verb, e.g., **otlela** takes an external and an internal argument: [x,y].

Causative verb, e.g., **tsenya** has an external argument which is dependent on the suffix [-y-], an internal argument which is the old external argument of **tsena** and a locative internal argument of **tsena**: [x,y,z].



Applicative verb, e.g., **kwela** appears with a new internal argument which has a locative reference. The verb **kwa** has an external and an internal argument: [x,y,z].

Passive and neuter-passive verbs, e.g., **rafša** and **bonega** have an external and an internal argument but the external argument is controlled.

Reciprocal verb, e.g., **dupana**: the internal argument is bound by the external argument.

b. Adjuncts

Various adjuncts appear in the morphological structures (252, 261) above:

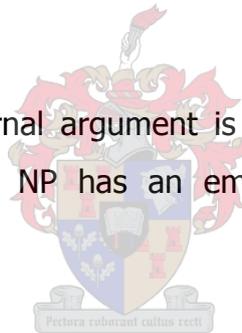
- (263) PP: ka tsela (with/by road)
ADV: gabotse (good)
Quantifier: noši (alone)
Locative noun: molapong (to the river)
CP: oka (nurse)
Noun: marago (buttocks)

c. Assignment of arguments

In the structure (239), the internal argument is assigned to the noun which is the complement of the verb:

- (264) [Mo-[otlela-[setimela_i]] (Engine driver)
[x,y_i]

In the structure (245), the internal argument is assigned to the NP which is the complement of the verb. The NP has an empty head which appears with a possessive phrase:



- (265) [Mo-[ja-[sa-gagwe_i]] (Person who eats his/hers)
[x,y_i]

In the structure (249), the locative internal argument is assigned to gae:

- (266) [Ma-[tsenya-[gae_i]] (Person who does a favour in the hopes of being paid
for it)
[x,y,z_i]

No other arguments are assigned to any position. The external argument is never assigned to a position which always appears as an empty N.

d. Argument binding

In the reciprocal verb, the internal argument is bound by the external argument:

(267) [Di-[dupana-[marago] (Bosom friends)
[X_i,Y_i]

e. Control of arguments

The external argument of the passive and neuter-passive verb is controlled by a PP with **ke** in the case of the passive verb, and by the neuter argument [x] in the case of the neuter-passive verb:

(268) [Mo-[lewa-[ke-bodutu_i] (Person who feels lonely)
[X_i,y]

In all other cases, the external argument is controlled by the prefix of the compound noun:

(269) [Mo_i-[otlela-[setimela_i] (Engine driver)
[X_i,Y_i]



5.3.2.3 Nominal suffixes

The nominal suffixes **-gadi**, **-ana/-nyana** and **-eng** appear with the following elements in the compound noun:

With the noun which is the complement of the verb:

- (270) [Mo-[setla-[phala-+-**gadi**] (Big centipede)
- [Mo-[setla-[phal-+-**ana**] (Small centipede)
- [Mo-[setla-[phal-+-**eng**] (The centipede)

With the possessive phrase in the NP while the locative suffix **-eng** appears after the verb:

- (271) [Mo-[ja-[sa-gagwe-+-**gadi**] (Big person who eats his/hers)
[Mo-[ja-[sa-gagwe-+-**nyana**] (Small person who eats his/hers)
[Mo-[j-+-**eng**]-[sa-gagwe] (The person who eats his/hers)

With a locative noun: **-gadi** appears after the noun, **-ana** appears before the locative **-eng** and **-eng** may never appear:

- (272) [Se-[raga-[mabjeng-+-**gadi**] (Big catapult)
[Se-[raga-[mabj-+-**an-eng**] (Small catapult)
*[Se-[raga-[mabjeng-+-**eng**]

With the noun which is the complement of the preposition:

- (273) [Le-[rema-[ka-tsaka-+-**gadi**] (Big African hoopoe)
[Le-[rema-[ka-tsak-+-**ana**] (Small African hoopoe)
[Le-[rema-[ka-tsak-+-**eng**] (The African hoopoe)



With the adverb which is an adjunct whereas the locative suffix **-eng** appears after the verb:

- (274) [Se-[ja-[gabotse-+-**gadi**] (Big person who lives a luxurious life)
[Se-[ja-[gabots-+-**ana**] (Small person who lives a
luxurious life)
[Se-[j-+-**eng**]-[gabotse] (The person who lives a luxurious
life)

With the quantifier *noši* which is an adjunct:

- (275) [Mo-[buša-[noši-+-**gadi**] (Big autocrat/dictator/absolute monarch)
[Mo-[buša-[noš-+-**ana**] (Small autocrat/dictator/absolute monarch)
[Mo-[buša-[noši-+-**ng**] (The autocrat/dictator/absolute monarch)

With the verb and complement of the CP:

- (276) [Ma-[nyaka-[di-lokile-+-**gadi**] (Big person who wants things already prepared)
[Le-[setla-[oka-+-**gadi**] (Big kind of ant)
[Ma-[nyaka-[di-lokile-+-**nyana**] (Small person who wants things already prepared)
[Le-[setla-[ok-+-**ana**] (Small kind of ant)
[Le-[setla-[ok-+-**eng**] (The kind of ant)
[Se-[hlala-[up-+-**eng**] (The group)



5.3.2.4 Semantic features

The following semantic features have been identified with compound nouns with transitive verbs:

Human

- (277) [Ma-[ja-[a-dutše] (Lazy person/sluggard)
[Le-[hlaba-[pshio] (Coward/traitor)

Animal

- (278) [Le-[setla-[oka] (Kind of ant)
[Se-[pharela-[nkong] (Gecko)

Plant

- (279) [Mo-[fala-[tša-maru] (Wild asperagus)
[Mo-[setla-[tlou] (Kind of tree)

Natural phenomenon

- (280) [Ma-[hlopha-[a-senya] (Rain)
[Se-[hlaba-[thakana] (Frost)

Natural object

- (281) [Ma-[rata-[sebilo] (Cape rock thrush)
[N-[tula-[mešidi] (Stick which is stuck into a hut on
the return of a boy from the
initiation lodge)



Body part

- (282) [Se-[khurumela-[khuru] (Knee-cap)
[Le-[šita-[phiri] (Cervical vertebra)

Communication

- (283) [N-[pega-[ditlago] (Prologue)
[N-[tšhupa-[molato] (Statement (of account)

Culture

(284) [Hlotla-[madiba] (Almighty)

Cognition

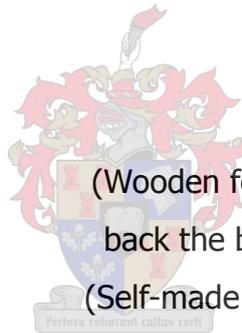
(285) [N-[kila-[bagolegwa] (Anti-convict movement)
[Le-[goga-[kobo] (Premarital pregnancy)

Food

(286) [Mo-[hlaba-[phala] (Wild pear)
[Ma-[tšhatšha-[khura] (Something fat)

Artifact

(287) [N-[kgakga-[ngwe] (Wooden fork used for pressing
[Se-[tšhuma-[mpara] (Self-made paraffin lamp)



State

(288) [N-[kamogelo-[baeng] (Hospitality)
[Ma-[setla-[pelo] (Tragedy)

Illness

(289) [N-[pola-[mmele] (Gangrene)
[Se-[nganga-[mehlagare] (Lockjaw)

Time

- (290) [Hlakola-[dihlare] (Additional name for the month of July)
[N-[ponya-[leihlo] (Moment/wink)

Place

- (291) [Ma-[gana-[go-bušwa] (Name of a place)
[Bo-[beša-[nama] (Barbeque)

Event

- (292) [N-[hloka-[moseki] (No responsible person)

5.3.3 Compound nouns with ditransitive verbs

Ditransitive verbs take three arguments: an external argument and two internal arguments which are assigned to the indirect and direct object in syntax. Only one ditransitive verb has been identified in the compound nouns, i.e., **fa**. There are two other types of ditransitive verbs which are derived verbs: the causative suffix [-iš-] forces a new external argument. Such a causative verb will then have two internal arguments. The suffix has to appear on a transitive verb: [gat-iš-a] [x,y,z].

Transitive with the applicative suffix [-el-] will also be ditransitive because the applicative suffix [-el-] allows a new internal argument: [dir-el-a] [x,y,z].

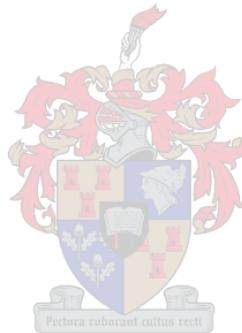
5.3.3.1 Morphological structure

There are very few compound nouns with ditransitive verbs and, thus, only three such compound nouns have been identified. Their morphological structures are the same in the first two structures: the only difference is in the assignment of the two internal arguments. The third structure has a reflexive verb.

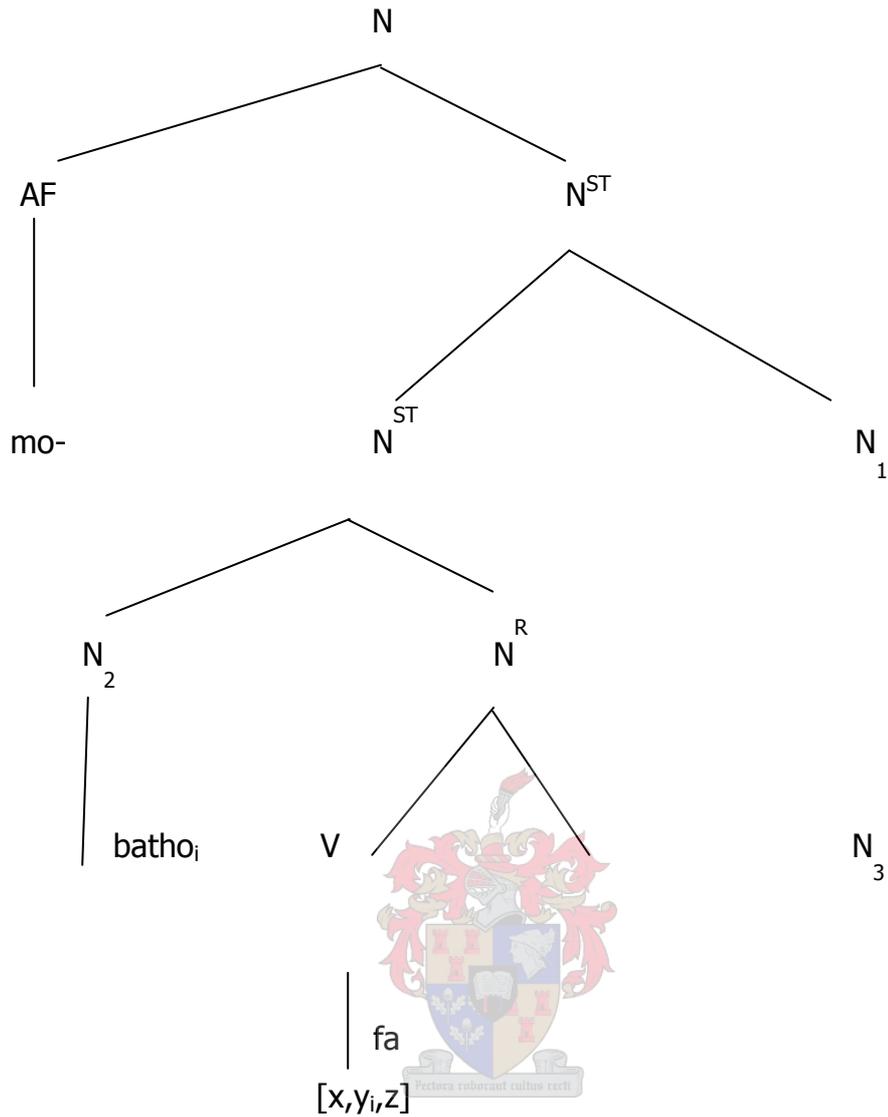
Assignment of the [y] argument

Ditransitive verbs, as indicated above, take three arguments: [x,y,z]. The [x] argument represents the external argument and it should go to [N₁] in the morphological structure. The [z] argument represents the internal argument which is assigned to the direct object in syntax. In morphology, it should go to [N₃] but both [N₁] and [N₃] represent empty positions. Only the [y] argument has been assigned: it represents the indirect object in syntax while in morphology it is assigned to [N₂] in the structure below. This morphological structure is a mirror-image of the syntactical structure:

(293) [Mofa-batho] (Generous person)



(294)



Compound noun: [AF-[V-N]

[mo-[fa-batho] (generous person)

This structure involves two types of verbs:

Ditransitive verb

(295) [Mo-[fa-[batho]

(Generous person)

Applicative verb

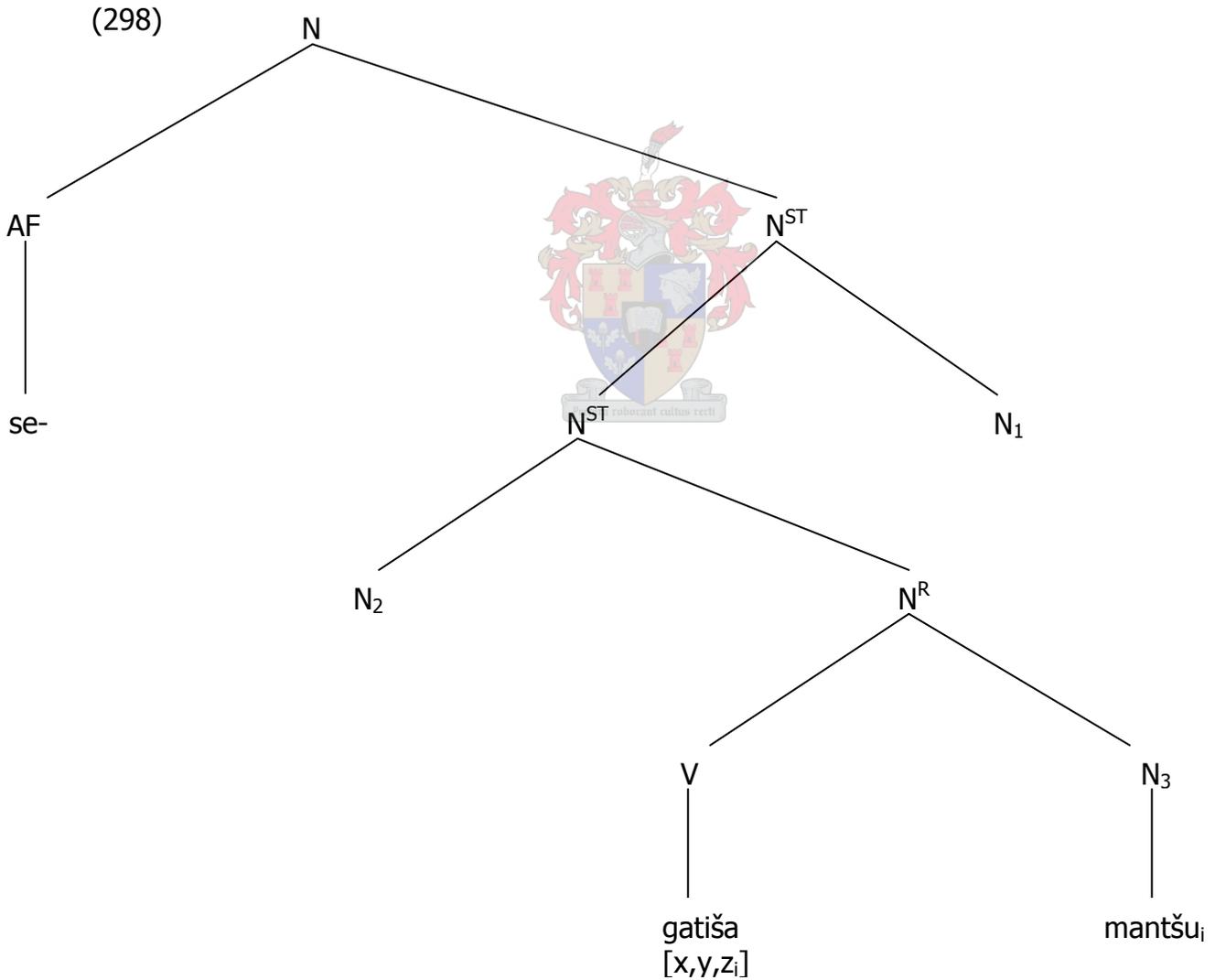
(296) [Mo-[direla-[leago]

(Social worker)

Assignment of the [z] argument

The structure below has a causative verb **gatiša** in the compound noun. The internal argument of the non-causative verb **gata** is now also the internal argument of **gatiša** and it should be assigned to the direct object in syntax. In morphology, this [z] argument is assigned to [N₃] below which is the complement of the [V]:

(297) [Segatiša-mantšu] (Tape recorder)



Compound noun: [AF-[V-iš-N]

[se-[gatiša-mantšu] (tape recorder)

Three following types of verbs are involved in this structure:

Ditransitive verb

(299) [Mo-[fa-[mašemo]

(Controller of the tribe's agricultural activities)

Applied verb

(300) [N-[thibela-[pelegi]

(Contraceptive)

Causative verb

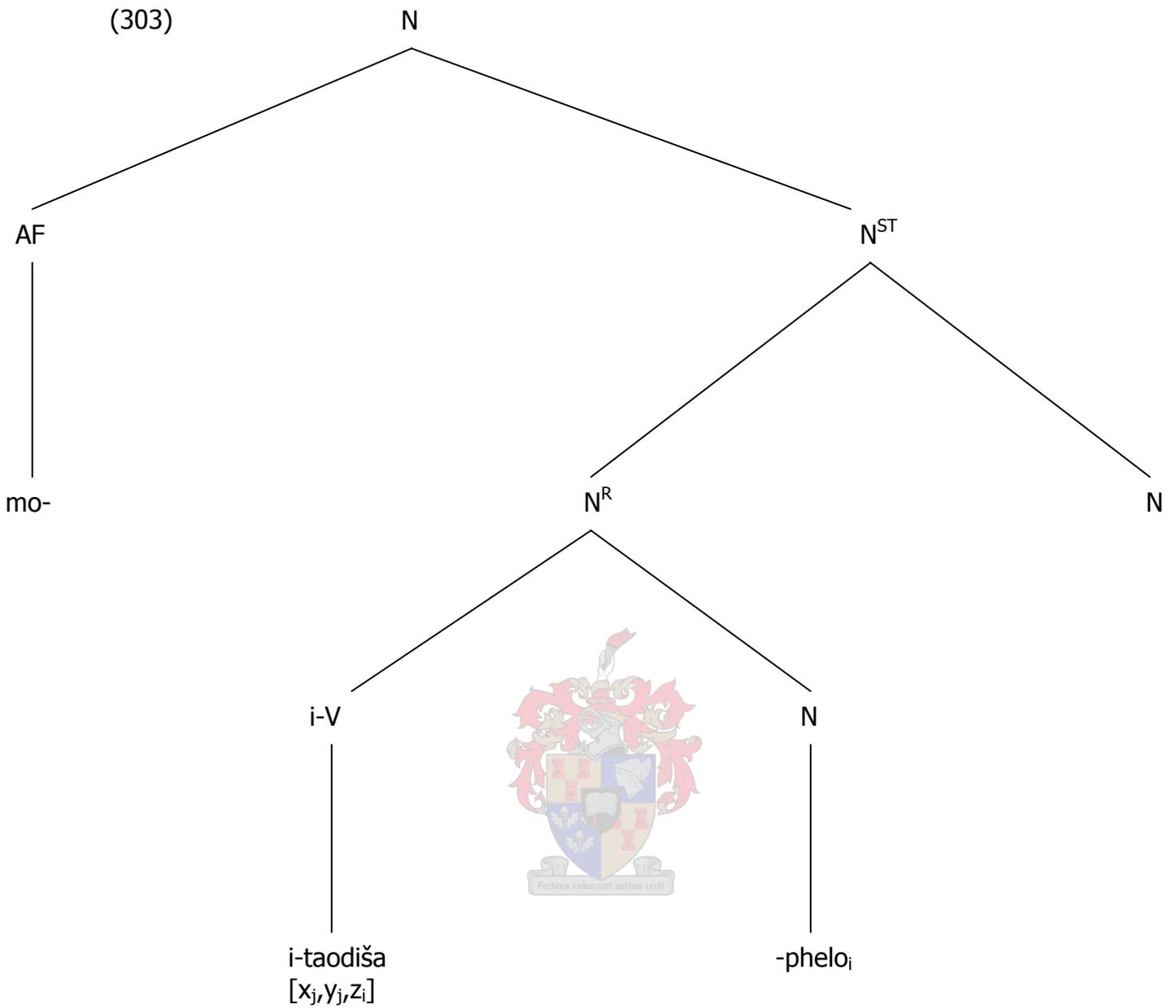
(301) [Se-[gatiša-[mantšu]

(Tape recorder)

Reflexive verb

The structure below has a reflexive verb with the prefix [-i-] in the noun. In this verb, one finds binding of the [x] and [y] arguments, i.e., the internal argument is bound by the external argument and they are, thus, not available for assignment. The [z] argument is then assigned to the [N] which is the complement of the [V] below:

(302) [Moitaodiša-phelo] (Autobiographer)



Compound noun: [AF-[i-V-N]

[mo-[itaodiša-phelo] (autobiographer)

5.3.3.2 Argument structure

a. Arguments

Ditransitive verbs like *fa* take three arguments: an external and two internal arguments $[x,y,z]$. The causative verb has an affix $[-i\check{s}-]$ on a transitive verb like ***gata*** which then changes into a ditransitive verb. This suffix allows for a new external argument while the old external argument now becomes an internal argument: ***gat-iš-a*** $[x,y,z]$. The $[y]$ argument is the old external argument.

The applicative suffix allows a new internal argument on a transitive verb: ***dir-el-a*** $[x,y,z]$. The $[y]$ argument is dependent on the applicative suffix. With the reflexive verb, the reflexive prefix $[-i-]$ allows for argument binding. A ditransitive verb with three arguments will then have one argument available for assignment. In the case of causative verbs, this argument is the internal argument of the non-causative verb, i.e., ***laola*** from ***i-taodiša***.



b. Assignment of arguments

In the compound noun:

(304) $[mo-[fa-[batho_i]]]$ (generous person)

$[x,y_i,z]$

the $[y]$ argument is assigned to $[N_2]$ in the morphological structure. The position of $[N_1]$ and $[N_2]$ is left open.

The compound noun:

(305) $[se-[gat-i\check{s}-a-[mant\check{s}u_i]]]$ (tape recorder)

$[x,y,z_i]$

has a causative verb. The internal argument of the non-causative verb **gata** is assigned to $[N_3]$ in the morphological structure.

The compound noun:

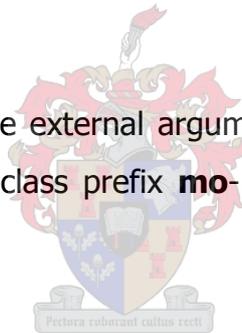
(306) [mo-[i-taod-iš-a-[phelo]] (autobiographer)

$[X_j, Y_j, Z_i]$

has an internal argument from the non-causative verb **laola**, and this argument is assigned to the noun **-phelo** above. The other two arguments are bound, i.e., we have argument binding between the external argument $[x]$ and the internal argument $[y]$ above.

c. Control of arguments

The noun class prefix controls the external argument in the first two morphological structures above, i.e., the noun class prefix **mo-** controls the $[x]$ argument of the verb **fa**.



(307) [Mo-[fa-[batho]]

(Generous person)

The $[x]$ argument of the verb **gatiša** is controlled by the noun class prefix below:

(308) [Se-[gatiša-[mantšu]]

(Tape recorder)

5.3.3.3 Nominal suffixes

V-N-[N-gadi/-ana/-eng]

(309) [Mo-[fa-[batho-+-**gadi**]]

(Big generous person)

[Mo-[fa-[bathw-+-**ana**]]

(Small generous person)

[Mo-[fa-[batho-+-**ng**]]

(The generous person)

V-[N-gadi/-nyana/-eng]-N

- | | |
|--|-----------------------|
| (310) [N-[thibela-[pelegi-+- gadi] | (Big contraceptive) |
| [N-[thibela-[pelegi-+- nyana] | (Small contraceptive) |
| [N-[thibela-[pelegi-+- ng] | (The contraceptive) |

5.3.3.4 Semantic features

Human

- | | |
|-----------------------------|------------------|
| (311) [Mo-[itaodiša-[phelo] | (Autobiographer) |
| [Mo-[ruta-[bana] | (Teacher) |

Natural phenomenon

- | | |
|---------------------------|------------------|
| (312) [N-[tirela-[fofane] | (Airline/airway) |
|---------------------------|------------------|

Body part

- | | |
|-------------------------|---------------|
| (313) [Le-[apeša-[pelo] | (Pericardium) |
| [N-[tshegiša-[baeng] | (Dimple) |



Culture

- | | |
|-------------------------|----------------|
| (314) [N-[mpha-[badimo] | (Gift of gods) |
|-------------------------|----------------|

Cognition

- | | |
|-------------------------|-----------|
| (315) [Ma-[šiiša-[pelo] | (Tragedy) |
|-------------------------|-----------|

Artifact

- (316) [Se-[gatiša-[mantšu] (Tape recorder)
[N-[thibela-[pelegi] (Contraceptive)

Communication

- (317) [Ma-[lebiša-[mabotse] (Good example)
[N-[poeletša-[modumo] (Alliteration)

State

- (318) [Bo-[ruta-[boruti] (Teacher training)

5.4 Productivity of compounds

Like nominal heads, verbal heads also appeared with various syntactic categories to form compounds. These verbal heads may be intransitive verbs, transitive verbs, ditransitive verbs as well as the derived verbs like causative, applicative, passive, neuter-passive, reciprocal, reversive or reflexive.

Verbal heads have appeared mostly with nouns. In this case, **55%** can be allocated to the nouns.

They appeared with locatives to form compound nouns. As it was previously indicated, two types of locative nouns can be found. There are locative nouns which have the locative suffix **-eng** as well as the locative nouns which do not have this locative suffix **-eng**. The locative nouns can get a share of **15%**.

There are PPs which have been affixed to the verbal heads. In these phrases, the preposition **ka** or **le** is the head of the prepositional phrase. The PPs are given **12%**.

Some of the CPs have appeared with the verbal heads. The CP may have one of the following: a verb only, an infinitival clause, a relative clause or a participial clause. The CPs deserve only **9%**.

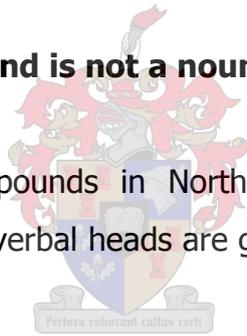
Extremely few quantifiers have been affixed to the verbal heads. They obtain **4%**.

There are only three examples of compounds with adverbs which have been found. The first two adverbs are not derived from any other word category while the third one is derived from the adjectival root. They are awarded **3%**.

Only **2%** is given to possessives due to the fact that there are only two possessive phrases which have been affixed to the verbal heads.

5.5 The head of the compound is not a noun or a verb

There are very few such compounds in Northern Sotho. Some examples of compounds with non-nominal or verbal heads are given below. Such compounds are not only nouns.



5.5.1 Ideophone with a noun:

(319) [Tšhitšhi-boya] (Large black worm)

5.5.2 Absolute pronoun with a verb:

(320) [Rena-ena]	(We/us)
[Nna-ena]	(I/me)
[Wena-ena]	(You)

5.5.3 Adjective

5.5.3.1 Adjective with a noun:

- (321) [Le-[tala-legodimo] (Blue sky)
[Kgolo-modumo] (Monster (in folklore))

5.5.3.2 Adjective with a CP:

- (322) [Tshehlana-mpolaye] (Beer)

5.6 Nominal relative with a nominal relative:

- (323) [Šoro-monate] (Very nice)

5.7 Preposition ka:

- (324) [Bo-[ka-fase] (Lowness/bottom)



5.8 Copulative verb na:

- (325) [Mo-[na-tsebe] (One who takes good advice readily)
[Mo-[na-molomo] (Talkative person)

5.9 CP + CP

- (326) [Bo-[se-m-phe + ke-khoše] (Satisfied person)

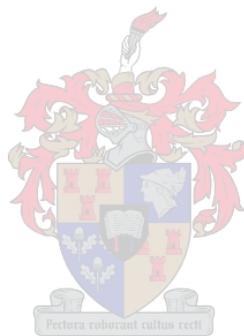
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QUESTION 1: WHAT IS A COMPOUND IN NORTHERN SOTHO?

Compound

1. At least 2 categories:
First element: Noun or Verb
Second element: any syntactic category e.g. Noun, Adjective, Adverb, Complementiser Phrase etc.
2. Endocentric, Exocentric compounds: example
3. Semantic relation when the first element is a Noun: examples
4. Head of the compound:
5. Semantic interpretation: the same semantic features as other nouns which are not compounds.
6. Noun class prefix
7. Nominal suffixes: as in non-compound nouns: -ana, gadi, eng....
8. Arguments in compounds with verbal heads:

Compound Nominal head

1. What is the morphological structure of a compound noun with a nominal head? 5.2.1, p. 654.
2. Which categories can appear as the second element in the compound with a nominal head? 5.2.4, p. 661....
3. What is the problem with Agreement on the Adjective. in a nominal compound? p. 666
4. Do the nominal suffixes in a nominal compound appear with the head noun or with the second element in the compound? p. 672, 677.
5. What are the semantic relations in compound nouns with nominal head? 5.2.6, p. 683...

Compound verbal head

1. What are the morphological structures of compound nouns with verbal heads?
 - 1.1 Intransitive verbs p. 693
 - 1.2 Transitive verbs p. 718
 - 1.3 Ditransitive verbs p. 736
2. The arguments of a verb in a compound may be assigned or controlled. What is the position with regard to
Intransitive verbs: p. 707 no. b-c
Transitive verbs p. 728 no. c-e
Ditransitive verbs p. 741 no. b-c.
3. Where do the nominal suffixes appear with compounds with verbal heads when the verb is:
 - a. **Intransitive** : p. 710 no. 210
 - b. **Transitive:** p. 730
 - c. **Ditransitive verbs:** p. 743

Compound

1. What is a compound noun in Northern Sotho?
2. What is the difference between an endocentric and exocentric compound?
3. What is the role of the noun class prefix in the nominal compound? (5.2.2 p. 656).