ON THE MORPHOLOGY AND SEMASIOLOGY OF THE SOTHO VERBAL STEM, WITH SPECIAL REFERENCE TO THE DERIVATIVE VERBAL SPECIES.

THESIS FOR THE DEGREE OF DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY IN THE UNIVERSITY OF CAPE TOWN.

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I N T R O D U C T I O N.

One of the most characteristic features of Bantu grammatical structure is the way in which several verbal stems may be formed from the same verbal root by the affixing of one or more suffixes. This results in what are called the derivative verbal species.

This phenomenon has accordingly been treated to a considerable extent in the existing literature on the Bantu languages, and as regards Sotho, the work of Endemann in his Wörterbuch der Sotho-Sprache, pp. 29 - 35 must be specially mentioned in this connection. But in spite of the attention already given to the subject in Sotho there still remains much to be explained concerning the nature of the Sotho verbal stem, its formation as well as its semasiology, especially in the case of the derivative verbal species. Something remains to be added to our knowledge even of those derivative species which have been long recognised and fully explored; while there are certain other species about which, though they have been recognised, we have comparatively little information; and, finally, there are numbers of verbal stems which have not been recognised for what they are, viz. derivative verbal species, and whose formation has accordingly not received adequate treatment.

A feature which one feels has been particularly neglected is the interrelationship of suffixes. Except at the hands of Meinhof and K. Endemann, and by them only to a limited extent, this has received no treatment at all. The practice has been to list all suffixes separately, without recognising that many of them are related to one another through possessing phonetically identical or phonologically related consonants, or through possessing common elements of other kinds like the series la, ala, ʔla, ola and ta.

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The terminologies so far employed in connection with derivative verbal stems are also hardly satisfactory. Some terms are, as I hope to show, definitely erroneous; other terms if not erroneous are misleading; while of the remainder it may be said that many are inadequate, since they neither distinguish all that has to be distinguished, nor bring out all the relationships that can be observed in the system of derivative verbal species.

An attempt has been made in the present treatise to draw attention to this incomplete and sometimes incorrect treatment of the verbal stem, especially of the derivative species, to throw light on various points as yet obscure, and to suggest what I hope to be a more correct approach to the analysis of the Sotho verbal stem, as well as a more satisfactory classification of the verbal suffixes.

I think it should be mentioned at this stage that no attempt has been made to indicate the probable origin of the Sotho derivative suffixes. This was attempted by K. Endemann in his Wörterbuch der Sotho-Sprache with, it seems to me, no success. He regards several of the suffixes as being identical in force with verbal stems of equal form, and implies that the present system of derivation is a remnant or a development of a previous process of compounding two or more independent verbal stems. I do not wish to imply that Endemann is wrong in his theory: all I suggest is that his arguments do not prove it. In any case it has not been my purpose to seek the origin of forms but only to analyse them.

The aim in this treatise has been to give a detailed analysis of the Sotho verbal stem, and this was done by adopting the following method:

1. I made a systematic card index of all verbal stems found in the existing Southern Sotho, Tswana and Northern

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Sotho dictionaries. In this way some 19,500[1)] stems were collected - this number excluding reflexive stems, since I do not regard these as constituting a derivative verbal species. It will be realised also that this number includes only those forms actually given in the dictionaries, but does not include many forms, especially compound derivative species, which are theoretically possible but not given in the dictionaries. The number of forms, referred to in this treatise, from other sources than the dictionaries (e.g. the literature in the languages, native informants, etc.) is very small. Obviously not all forms listed on the cards have been discussed or even mentioned in this treatise; it soon became evident that numerous forms require no special treatment, as they did not disclose any special features. It was, however, necessary to collect all of them in the first place in order to be sure subsequently that no noteworthy form was overlooked.

2. I next proceeded to classify and analyse the simple stems with a view to discovering, if possible, whether disyllabic and trisyllabic stems of this kind could not, in a number of cases at least, be split up into simpler elements. It will be seen that this analysis led to the breaking of a considerable number of the simple verbal stems into still simpler component elements, and in this way a number of roots were isolated.

3. An attempt was then made to analyse and classify the remaining stems with a view to ascertaining the relationship between their component elements, viz. roots and derivative formatives. Having thus determined the various species endings, I next proceeded to an examination of the various forms and

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1) Here, as in other cases, I am quoting only round figures. I have, however, deviated from this practice when the figures are very small.

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semantic functions of these endings, both in their single and in their compound states, with a view to determining the common factors underlying these various forms and functions. Here I experienced considerable difficulty: first in trying to isolate what might be called the semantic greatest common measure of the various verbal stems, exhibiting a given single or compound ending; and second in trying to fix upon suitable names for each of the semantic functions of a given species ending. I would here expressly repudiate any claim to finality in either regard. At the present stage of the lexicological history of Sotho, it proved to be a task of the greatest difficulty to ascertain the underlying semantic functions of some of the suffixes. In regard to terminology I have, as will be seen, been forced to reject some of the accepted terms as unsuitable, to re-define others which seem to me loosely and incorrectly used, and to coin still other new terms. The terminology I have used must necessarily be subject to many criticisms. But I present it in the hope that it will contribute to the evolution of a better nomenclature than they themselves constitute.

I have naturally made full use of the existing literature on Sotho. In addition to this I have not only referred to a considerable extent to the literature in the various Sotho languages but have also made use of a number of Sotho-speaking informants.

I have employed the recognised orthography for the three languages, excepting in Southern Sotho, where ê and ô have been used to indicate open e and open o, and ĕ and ŏ to indicate semivocalic e and o.

For the sake of completeness, as well as for the sake of indicating the incidence of the verbal stems[1] quoted

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1) i.e. the incidence of the stems according to the dictionaries. It is of course very likely that in some cases the dictionaries are not complete - this is especially the case with the Tšwana dictionary.

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as examples, it was thought advisable to indicate in each case the language or languages in which a given stem occurs. This has usually necessitated the writing of the same stem two or three times. The employment of a phonetic orthography would have avoided such a repetition as far as stems with identical pronunciation in the three varieties of Sotho are concerned, though it would not have avoided this repetition in cases where not only the official orthography but also the pronunciation differs. On the other hand, the employment of the current orthography has the advantage of easy correlation with the forms given in most of the Sotho literature.

To save space, I have omitted the hyphen usually employed in linguistic work on Bantu languages in connection with formatives, and have written the suffix of e.g. bônala as ala and not as -ala, and its root as bôn and not as bôn-.

To support some of my statements it was found necessary to give many examples. The majority of these examples will be found only in appendices at the end of the treatise and not in the chapters concerned. This procedure was adopted in order to avoid long lists of examples being quoted in the chapters, which would then have become unnecessarily cumbersome. Suitable references to the appendices are of course made wherever necessary.

Finally I should like to express a special word of thanks to Prof. G.P. Lestrade for the advice and guidance given to me in the compilation of this treatise.

ABBREVIATIONS.

UB. = Ur-Bantu.

S. = Southern Sotho.

T. = Tšwana.

N. = Northern Sotho.

Phon. = Meinhof C. and v. Warmelo N.J. Bantu-phonology.

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Term. = Doke C.M. Bantu linguistic terminology.

N. UB. W. = Bourquin W. Neue Ur-Bantu - Wortstämme.

W.d.S. = Endemann K. Wörterbuch der Sotho-Sprache.

Z.f.K. = Zeitschrift für Kolonialsprachen.

Z.f.E.S. = Zeitschrift für Eingeborenen-Sprachen.

M.S.O.S. = Mitteilungen des Seminars für Orientalischen Sprachen

Z.A.O.S. = Zeitschrift für afrikanische und oceanische Sprachen.

App. = Appendix.

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CHAPTER 1.

VERBAL ROOTS.[1)]

1. In analysing the Sotho verbal stems with a view to reducing them to their roots, I was fully aware of the point, rightly emphasised by Bourquin[ii)], that such an analysis, if accurate results are aimed at, should not be limited to one language only. In spite of this I have restricted myself to an examination of the vocabulary of Sotho only, referring to other Bantu languages merely when occasion demands. I thought such an analysis justifiable, as I do not aim at reducing the Sotho verbal stems to their UB. roots, but only at analysing them into such elements as, from the point of view of the Sotho verbal vocabulary only, appear to be irreducible[iii)], in the hope that an analysis of this kind will itself be a step in the direction of the ultimate establishment of UB. roots on a comparative basis — an analysis which for obvious reasons, cannot be accurately performed without detailed information on individual languages. The collecting of such information from various individual Bantu languages, with a view to comparative analysis, falls outside the scope of this treatise.

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1) Strictly speaking, the term verbal root is not correct as no particular root can be regarded as being the basis exclusively of a verbal stem: e.g. the root S.*rut* T.*rut* N.*rut* is the basis of both the verbal stem S.*ruta* T.*Ruta* N.*ruta* (teach) and the noun-stem *ruti* in S.*moruti* T.*moruti* N.*morutI* (missionary), but as I am aiming at giving a review only of the bases of verbal stems and in so doing have limited myself to examining only verbal stems the term is perhaps justified. It is quite possible, that some of the verbal roots quoted below, may be further split up into roots of a simpler nature, if a more detailed analysis of the Sotho vocabulary is made.

ii) *N.UB.W.*, pp. 191 and 198.

iii) The term "irreducible element" used by Doke (*Term.*, p. 192) is, for the purposes of this treatise, taken to mean that part of a Sotho verbal stem, other than its prefixes, suffixes or terminatives, which cannot be reduced to a simpler element by examining the Sotho verbal vocabulary only.

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The verbal root in Sotho, determined in the manner which will be fully discussed below, offers a basis upon which the Sotho verbal stem can be explained, and it will be readily agreed that ~~some~~ a basis, ~~or other~~, from which to operate, is essential in analytical work of the kind dealt with in this treatise.

2. Isolation of a verbal root: The root of a simple verbal stem[i] may be isolated by eliminating its terminative[ii], which may be either the multi-functional S.a T.a N.a, the subjunctive and objective-imperative S.ê T.ê N.ê, the negative and habitual S.e T.e N.e[iii], or the perfect S.ile T.ile N.ile[iv], or ~~one~~ ~~or other~~ some permutation of the perfect terminative. Thus the root of the multi-functional simple stem S.bala T.bala N.bala (count, read) is S.bal T.bal N.bal, of the subjunctive simple stem S.lomê T.lomê N.lomê (may bite) is S.lom T.lom N.lom, and of the perfect simple stem S.lihile T.digile N.dixile[ii] (have thrown down) is Slih T.dig N.dix.

3. The components of a verbal root:

(a) The root-consonants: Root-consonants are those consonants which remain afterthe simple verbal stem has been stripped of its terminative. Thus the root-consonants of S.roma T.roma N.roma (send) are S.r T.r N.r and S.m T.m N.m, of S.lemile T.lemile N.lemile

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i) For a definition of a simple verbal stem cf. Chapter 3 §1.

ii) For a discussion of the verbal terminatives cf. Chapter 2; it will be seen that each of these terminatives is employed with a different conjugational form.

iii) The terminative e sometimes has an influence on the root-vowel cf. §3(b) below.

iv) The perfect terminative sometimes affects the preceding root-consonant and sometimes the root-vowel; cf. §3(a) and (b) below.

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(have ploughed) are the first S.l T.l N.l and S.n T.n N.n, and the root-consonant of T.xa N.xa (drew water) is T.x N.x. All verbal roots contain a root-consonant or consonants[i].

(b) The root-vowel: The root-vowel is the vowel which remains after the simple verbal stem has been stripped of its terminative[ii]. Thus the root-vowel of S.bêtla T.betla N.bêtla (chisel) is S.ê T.e N.ê, of S.bôna T.bôna N.bôna (see) is S.ô T.ô N.ô, and of S.bônê T.bônê N.bônê (may see) is S.ô T.ô N.ô.

A verbal root can contain only one root-vowel. There are, however, consonantal roots which do not contain root-vowels at all. This is the case inter alia with the roots of all monosyllabic verbal stems, e.g. the root of S.na T.na N.na (rain) is S.n T.n N.n.

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i) One and the same consonant may of course be a root-consonant or a stem-consonant according as to whether it appears in a root or a stem respectively; so e.g. the r as well as the n are root-consonants in rna but stem-consonants in rnna (sewed). These consonants are sometimes affected by the formatives employed to derive stems from roots, this is e.g. sometimes the case when the perfect terminative is suffixed to roots. Compare in this connection the l of bal with the S.d T.d N.d found in S.balila T.badila N.badila (have counted) derived from bal. (For more examples of the influence of the perfect terminative on the preceding consonant reference should be made to Phon. pp. 77-79 and Tucker The comparative phonetics of the Suto-Chuana group of Bantu languages, pp. 88-89).

ii) Doke uses the term stem-vowel to designate the vowel, other than the vowel(s) of the terminatives, found in simple verbal stems, giving as examples a of bona and i of pinta (Term., p. 200). Thus the S.ê T.e N.ê in S.bêtla T.betla N.bêtla (chisel, carve) is a stem-vowel, but it is a root-vowel in S.bêtl T.betl N.bêtl. One and the same vowel can therefore either be a stem- or a root-vowel according as to whether it appears in a stem or a root respectively.

Root-vowels are sometimes affected by the formatives employed to derive stems from roots; so e.g. some of them vary according to the conjugational terminative employed. Thus e and o may be open in a given verbal stem in its multi-functional or subjunctive conjugational forms but must always be closed if that verbal stem is in its perfect, habitual and negative conjugational forms: cf. bêtla and betlile below and bôna (see) and bona (do not see). The perfect terminative sometimes even influences the root-vowel e.g. S.sal T.sal N.sal + S.ile T.ile N.ile > S.salile T.salile N.salile > S.salel T.salse N.salse (have remained); cf. S.sala T.sala N.sala (remain) and also Phon., pp. 77-78.

4. Types of verbal roots[1]:

(1) Simple verbal roots: a simple verbal root is the irreducible element of a verbal stem. This type of root may be of the following forms: (a) consonantal, i.e. consisting of a consonant[ii] only; (b) syllabic. syllabic verbal roots are again of two types: (i) those consisting of a consonant[ii] plus a vowel[iii], (ii) those consisting of a consonant[ii] plus a vowel plus a consonant[ii].

The consonents of simple verbal roots are such as are not due to the influence of a preceding nasal or i.

(2) Derivative verbal roots, i.e. verbal roots, derived from simple verbal roots through strengthening[iv] of one or more of the root-consonants as a result of the influence of a preceding nasal or a preceding i[v]. This type of root can be of the following forms: (a) consonantal, i.e. consisting of a consonant only; (b) syllabic, which are again of two types: (i) those consisting of a consonant plus a vowel, (ii) those consisting of a consonant plus a vowel plus a consonant.

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i) Unless otherwise stated, from now on only the multifunctional conjugational form of the simple verbal stem will be employed for the purpose of obtaining the required roots.

ii) S.ŝ T.y N.y and S.ô T.w N.w are here also included under the term consonant.

iii) There is in Sotho a certain number of verbal roots which would appear to be vocalic. The fact is, however, that such roots contain a latent consonant which reappears in certain circumstances: cf. Phon., pp. 59-61. Of this nature is the initial root of, e.g. S.ala T.ala N.ala (spread out) (cf. UB.Vala (spread) Phon., p. 187), viz. a. For other roots of this nature cf. App. A. 2 and 3.

iv) For a discussion of the strengthening of consonants as a root-forming process, cf. 6. below.

v) Strengthening of the root-consonant resulting in derivative verbal roots is no longer a living process in Sotho. One cannot automatically form derivative roots from simple roots. Not all Sotho affricatives and plosives can be ascribed to the influence of a preceding nasal or i (cf. Phon., p. 74).

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(3) Compound verbal roots, i.e. verbal roots consisting of: (i) two simple verbal roots, (ii) a simple verbal root, and a derivative verbal root, and (iii) two derivative verbal roots.

5. Simple verbal roots:

(1) Consonantal simple verbal roots. These are found: (a) in monosyllabic verbal stems, e.g. the S.b T.b N.b in S.ba T.ba N.ba (be), the T.g N.x in T.ga N.xa (draw water), the S.ǰ T.y N.y in S.ǰa T.ya N.ya (go), and the S.ǒ T.w N.w in S.ǒa T.wa N.wa (fall); (b) as the second root in a compound verbal root. Examples of this will be found under 7 below.

(2) Syllabic simple verbal roots: (a) of the form consonant plus vowel, e.g. S.bu T.bu N.bu (App. A. 10) in S. bula T.bula N.bula (open), S.li T.di N.di (App. A. 11) in S.liha T.diga N.dixa (throw down), S.fo T.fo N.fo (App. A. 51) in S.fohla T.fotlha N.fohla (strip off the leaves or small branches with the hand) etc; for more examples cf. App. A. (b) Of the form consonant plus vowel plus consonant, e.g. S. boša T.boya N.boya (return), T.fafa (make tea or coffee strong), S.fêla T.fêla N.fêla (end), S.fêla T.fêla N.fêla (become cool, heal), S.hela T.gela N.xela (grow), S.lefa T.lefa N.lefa (pay), S.lêša N.lêya (bewitch), S.mela T.mela N.mela (grow), S.nêna T.nêna N.nêna (become fat), S.roma T.roma N.roma (send), S.shêba T.šêba N.šêba (look at, round), N.wahla (crackle, rustle), N.watla (do badly, bungle), T.wêla (become finished as work), S.šêla (enter), N.yaka (tell lies) have roots S.boš T.boy N.boy, T.faf, S.fêl T.fêl N.fêl, S.fêl T.fêl N.fêl, S.hel T.gel N.xel, S.lef T.lef N.lef, S.lêš N.lêy, S.mel T.mel N.mel, S.nêa T.nêa N.nêa, S.roa T.roa N.roa, S.shêb T.šêb N.šêb, N.wahl.

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N.watl, T.wêl, S.êêl and N.yak respectively[i].

Many Sotho simple verbal stems cannot be reduced beyond roots of this type, but comparison with other Bantu languages will undoubtedly reduce a number of these roots to compound roots consisting of syllabic (of the form consonant + vowel) and consonantal roots. So, as far as can be ascertained from Sotho, the irreducible element in S. bôna T.bôna N.bôna (see) is S.bêê T.bôn N.bôn, although Dempwolff gives an UB. stem yuana (see)[ii], and Doke says Lamba bona (see) has a compound root, or, as he styles it a derived root, ôon, with a simple root ôo as its first component part[iii]. In spite of this it should be remembered that the Bantu languages are not averse to roots of the form consonant plus vowel plus consonant[iv].

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i) There is in Sotho a certain number of verbal roots which appear to be of the type consonant plus vowel, or even of a type vowel plus consonant, and not of the type consonant plus vowel plus consonant, as one of the consonants is missing; but not only has it been proved that a consonant has dropped out in such cases, reappearing in certain circumstances (cf. Phon., pp. 59-61), but this consonant is sometimes in Sotho actually retained as the semivowel y. For this reason I regard the roots of the following simple verbal stems, as conforming to the type consonant plus vowel plus consonant :

(a) simple verbal stems commencing in a vowel, e.g. S.êla N.êla (become clear), T.aka N.aka (tell lies) cf. N.yaka (tell lies);

(b) simple verbal stems where the terminative a follows immediately upon the root-vowel, e.g. T.sia (run away) cf. S.siha N.siya (run away) and UB.tiya (pass in running, leave behind) M.UB.W., p. 214, T.bôa N.boa (return) cf. S.boêla T.boya N.boya (return) and UM.vuya Phon. 238, T.lôa (bewitch), cf. S.lôêla N.lôya (bewitch), S.bua T.bua (talk), N.foa (catch).

ii) Cf. "Ostbantu-Wortstämme" Z.f.K. VII, p. 191.

iii) Textbook of Lamba Grammar (new edn.), p. 172.

iv) Phon., p. 46.

6. Derivative verbal roots:

(a) Consonantal derivative verbal roots. These are found:(i) in monosyllabic verbal stems,e.g. S.khe N.kxe (draw water) with root S.kh N.kx cf. T.ge N.xe (draw water) with root T.g N.x and UB. yika (draw water)[1]; (ii) as the second root in a compound verbal root. Examples of this will be found under 7 below.

(b) Syllabic derivative verbal roots: (i) of the form consonant plus vowel, e.g. S.phe T.phe N.phe (idea of beating, thrashing) (App. A. 116), cf. T.fe N.fe (idea of beating) (App. A. 29); S.phu T.phu N.phu (idea of breaking) (App. A. 119), cf. S.fu T.fu N.fu (idea of notching, scratching off) (App. A. 35); S.khe T.kxe N.kxe (idea of piercing, cutting) (App. A. 64), cf. S.he T.xe N.xe (idea of cutting, scratching) (App. A. 41); S.khe T.kxe N.kxe (idea of gathering) (App. A. 74), cf. T.xe N.xe (idea of gathering, drawing in) (App. A. 47); and S.tše N.tše (idea of jumping along, running) (App. A. 149), cf. S.re T.re N.re (idea of moving about, running) (App. A. 124). More examples of this nature will be found in App. A.

(ii) Of the form consonant plus vowel plus consonant, e.g. N.theema (lift up a dress) with root N. thema, cf. T.sima N.sema (lift up a dress); N.thêêba (look to the side) with root N.thêêb, cf. S.sêêba T.šêba[11] (look at, round); S.phêla (become cool) with root S.phêl, cf.

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1) Cf. H.UB.W., p. 245. In the following verbal stems the nasal is still retained: S.'na T.nna N.nna (it denotes the idea of continued action; in T. and N. also: occupy, inhabit; and in T. also: be) cf. S.na T.na N.na (be); T.nnya (distil as rain, exude as gum, perspiration etc.), cf. S.na T.na N.na (rain) and UB.nya = UB.nia (rain) H.UB.W., p. 211; and S.nya N.nya (go to stool); S.ntša T.ntsha N.ntsha (take out); T.nma N.nma (take); S.nga N.nga (it denotes the idea of: nevertheless, but; in N. also: do the opposite); S.nka (take).

ii) There is in Sotho a certain interaction between the open and closed varieties of the vowels e and o respectively cf. Tucker The comparative phonetics of the Suto-Chuana group of Bantu languages, p. 26, and Phon., p. 60, also S.bêtla N.bêtla = T.betla (chisel). More examples of this nature will be met with in the course of this treatise. It should be noted that such interaction is sometimes found within the same sub-group of Sotho, e.g. N.bxa = N.bha (look down upon).

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S.fôla T.fôla N.fôla (become cool, heal); S.sika T.sika N.šika (pass something, go a long way, go parallel, along) with root S.sik T.sik N.šik, cf. S.siŝa T.sia N.šiya (run away, outrun); and T.tita N.tita (withhold an opinion, decline to express an opinion about a matter without hearing more fully about it) with root T.tit N.tit, cf. T.tila N.tila (avoid, get out of the way of anything likely to do harm, as a stone thrown at one, refuse)[i].

The strengthening of the consonant is due to either nasal influence[ii], or else to the influence of the vowel i[iii], and as these two sounds have the same effect on the following consonant, it is impossible to say which of the two was responsible for the strengthening of the consonant or consonants in the verbal root. The following is perhaps noteworthy:

There are about 70 trisyllabic verbal stems in Sotho the second syllable of which consists of a nasal only, e.g. N.phênkxa (dispute, quarrel), cf. N.phêxa (hang on or fasten to, but note especially xa phêxa kxang = cause dissatisfaction or strife); S.thankha N.thankxa (walk swinging one's legs and arms), cf. S.thakha (stretch out one's legs like one on horseback), and S.ruha T.ruga N.ruxa (kick); T.kunga (embrace with the arms, spread the arms around), cf. S.kuna T.kuna (catch, receive with the hand), and S.kuha T.kuha N.kuha (close or shut a hole, in N. also: catch with both hands); N.nyunga (become disgusted or weary), cf. N.nyuna (become disgusted or weary)[iv].

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i) S.nkha T.nkxa N.nkxa (smell) has a root S.nkh T.nkx N.nkx, cf. UB.nuhka = UH.nuka (smell) N.UH.W., p. 211.

ii) N.UH.W., p. 192, Phon., pp. 47, 61, 62 and 81.

iii) Phon., pp. 61 and 75, and Tucker's The comparative phonetics of the Suto-Chuana group of South languages, p. 98.

iv) Reference to these verbal stems will again be made in Chapter 3, where more examples will be quoted.

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It is true that stages without the nasal could not be found for all such verbal stems; but these examples prove, I think, that one of the formatives, causing strengthening of the second consonant of a verbal stem, is the nasal. Whether the nasal was succeeded by the vowel i, which Tucker thinks is the primary cause of consonant strengthening[i], is difficult to say: there is at any rate nothing to prove it.

The examples quoted above seem to indicate three stages of development of the consonant of the second syllable of the verbal stem, viz.: (i) the stage where the consonant is still unstrengthened, (ii) the stage where the consonant is strengthened, and still preceded by the nasal, the probable cause of the strengthening, and (iii) the stage with strengthened consonant only.

The occurrence of a nasal in a stem, is sometimes due to a preceding e (UB. i)[ii]. However, in view of, not only the possible line of development indicated above, but also the fact that nasal combinations occur fairly frequently in Bantu verbal stems[iii], it seems doubtful whether e should necessarily be regarded as the cause of the occurrence of the nasals in the Sotho verbal stems referred to above. The explanation, offered by Bourquin, may perhaps be applied to the following verbal stems: T.daya = T.itaya = T.ditaya = T.ntaya (strike, knock down, churn by striking up and down). That the stem with the nasal is here probably a later development can perhaps be seen

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i) The comparative phonetics of the Suto-Chuana group of Bantu languages, p. 98.

ii) Cf. Bourquin "Entstehung von Nasalen durch den Einfluss von i im Bantu" in Z.f.E.S. XXIII, pp. 195-202.

iii) Phon., p. 47 and N.UB.W., p. 192.

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from the reflexive stem ititaya (strike oneself) which is of course derived from ditaya. Compare also T.ntêla (leave on one side, pass without touching, e.g. go ntêla kwa ntlê = east or leave outside) with S.têla N.têla (give up, renounce) and its reflexive stem S.itêla N.itêla (abstain from, keep oneself on a definite side).

As will be pointed out later, the general effect of consonant strengthening on the meaning of the verbal stem, is to make the meaning more emphatic. The nasal or the i, as the case may be, has therefore in such cases a definite semantic force. If now the following verbal stems are compared: T.kgwara N.kxwara (scrape with a knife, strike as a match), N.kxwatha (scrape, plane), and T.kgwasa N.kxwaša (rustle or make a noise like feet in the grass), N.hlara (chase away), N.hlatha (walk where there is no way) and N.hlasa (chase away), it is found that in both sets the three verbal stems are semantically related; ǂkgwas(a) kxwaš(a) and hlas(a) have been derived from kgwar(a) kxwar(a) and hlar(a) through suffix formation, the suffix being T.ya N.ya (or strictly speaking y, because as will be seen later the a does not form an integral part of the suffix); ǂkgwath(a) kxwath(a) and hlath(a) have been derived from kgwar(a) kxwar(a) and hlar(a) through the influence of either a nasal or i, on the last consonant. From the viewpoint of word-composition, there seems to be no difference between the nasal or i on the one hand, and the suffix y on the other hand. Under the influence of the nasal or i, r > th, under the influence of y, r > s or š. The question therefore arises: if y is regarded as a suffix, why cannot the nasal or i, as

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the case may be, also be regarded as such? I admit that there are not many instances where two stems have been formed from the same root, the one by adding the suffix y to the root, and the other by strengthening the final consonant of the root, but that does not affect the argument, as there are many stems having either the one or the other of these formatives. The mere fact that the nasal or the i are employed to strengthen the initial consonant of a stem does not exclude it from being a suffix as it may in this way be employed to affect the consonant of monosyllabic stems. Thus reminding one of the suffix y which also sometimes affects the consonant of monosyllabic stems although in a different way, e.g. S.nya N.nya (go to stool, idea; of making wet), cf. S.na T.na N.na (rain); T.ña (give a name to), cf. N.ra (mean), and S.re T.re N.re (say). For two reasons, however, consonant-strengthening cannot be regarded as being due to suffix formation: (i) often, even in one and the same sub-group of Sotho, there exist side by side two stems of more than one syllable, and equal in meaning, one with a strengthened initial consonant, the other with an unstrengthened initial consonant, e.g. N.fahla (fend off) N.phahla (fend off), S.rala (make a first cut in the skin, rip open) S.thala (make a first cut in the skin, rip open)[i]. In such cases there can of course be no question of suffix formation, but the process through which the consonant of a monosyllabic stem is strengthened is of identical type - therefore not suffix formation either; (ii) the occurrence of strengthened and unstrengthened consonants in phonologically related stems, often differs from sub-group to sub-group of Sotho, without involving any semantic change[ii], e.g. T.fapha = N.phapha (chop, cut lengthwise), N.rôfa = S. rôpha N.rôpha (become loose)[iii]. Such behaviour is not typical of suffixes; they keep their force from sub-group to sub-group

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i) Cf. also Phon., p. 81.

ii) Phon., p. 68.

iii) For more examples cf. Appendices C1, D1, and E1.

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of Sotho, one hardly ever finds a simple stem in one sub-group being semantically identical with the corresponding derivative stem in another sub-group.

But although consonant-strengthening cannot be regarded as due to suffix-formation, it still remains to be settled whether it should be regarded as a stem-extending or a root-extending process.

(i) Strengthening of the first consonant of a simple verbal stem: if one compares S.hofa (whip water away, take out in quantity) with S.khofa (shovel away, drive out) one finds that they are semantically related, though not synonymous, that they have a common consonantal root f (cf. App. B. 3), that the first syllables in both cases, viz. ho and kho are roots (cf. App. A. 44 and 73), of which the consonants are related, kh having been derived from h through strengthening. These remarks apply also to S.hohla T.hotlha N.kohla (rub, sharpen, file), N.kxohla (rub, make soft) (App. A. 44 and 73, App. B. 4) and S.ratha T.ratha N.ratha (cut with an axe, split up wood), N.thatha (break into pieces) (App. A.125 and 150, App.B.12) etc. For more examples cf. Appendices A, B and C2.

(ii) Strengthening of the second consonant of a simple verbal stem: if one compares S.fala T.fala N.fala (scrape, plane, take off) with S.fata T.fata N.fata (hollow, dig a hole), one finds that they are semantically related, though not synonymous, that they have a common root fa (App. A. 16), and that their last syllables contain roots l and ɬ respectively (cf. §7 below) which are phonetically related, ɬ being a consonant formed from l through strengthening. The same remarks will apply to N.dua (stir something stiff) S.luka (stir up water and make it muddy) (App. A. 14)

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S.lebe T.lebe N.lebe (look towards), S.lepa T.lepa N.lepa (observe the stars, observe, notice) (App. A. 92) etc., for more examples cf. Appendices A and B; and as for the roots contained in the second syllables of these verbal-stems cf. §7 below.

(iii) Strengthening of both consonants of a simple verbal stem: if one compares T.rara N.rara (approach and retreat from as in dancing, interweave) with S.thatha (go round in circles, walk about) one finds that they are semantically related, though not synonymous, that there is a root ra (App. A. 134), and a root r (cf. §7 below), that there is a root tha (App. A. 140) and a root th (cf. 7 below). The consonants of these four roots are phonetically related, th being derived from r through strengthening. The same remarks will apply to S.raka T.raga N.raka (kick) and S.thakha (kick out one's legs like one on horseback), where there are roots ra (App. A.133) and tha (App. A. 150), as well as roots S.h T.g N.x and S.kh (§7 below). For more examples of this nature cf. Appendices A and B.

From the above, I think, one may conclude that it is the form of the root which is primarily affected as a result of strengthening, and hence that strengthening is a root-extending process often of semantic significance[1]. Reference to this process, especially as regards its semantic force, will again be made in chapter 8, which dealing with the simple verbal stems. It should however be noted that strengthening of a consonant(s) of a root, underlying a verbal stem, is not always accompanied by a change in

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1) As will be seen later the derivative suffixes are also subject to a process of strengthening.

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meaning, e.g. N.rona (crack vermin, delouse) and N.thona (crack vermin, delouse), N.fahla (ward off) N.phahla (ward off), for more examples cf. Appendices C1, D1, and E1[1].

7. Compound roots:

(i) Consisting of two simple verbal roots, e.g. S.hôra T.gôra N.xôra (scrape with a finger and then lick the finger) the roots are S.hô T.gô N.xô (App. A. 49), and S.r T.r N.r (App. B. 10); S.hafa (scatter, disperse) the roots are ha (App. A. 40), and f (App. B. 8); N. fava (break asunder) the roots are fa (App. A. 16), and v (App. B. 14). For more examples cf. Appendices A. and B.

(ii) Consisting of a simple verbal root and a derivative verbal root, e.g. N.kxôra (chisel, hollow out) the roots are kxô (App. A. 75) and r, for roots xô and r cf. (i) above; N.xôpha (peel off, scrape off) the roots are xô (App. A. 45) and ph (App. B. 9), for root f cf. (i) above. More examples can be obtained from Appendices A. and B.

(iii) Consisting of two derivative verbal-roots, e.g. N.kxôtha (cut or chop off) without kxô (App. A. 76) and th (App. B. 12), for roots xô and r cf. (i) above. For more examples cf. Appendices A. and B.

All simple verbal stems given in App. A. have roots of the form consonant plus vowel; but all these stems have another element as well in their structure. Let us take, e.g. the simple verbal stems N.fafa (plane, cut off obliquely), S.fahla (crush grain on a mill), S.fala T.fala N.fala (scrape, plane, take off), T.fapha (chop or cut lengthwise), S.fata T.fata N.fata (hollow, dig a hole),

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1) Cf. also Phon., pp. 62 and 81.

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N. faya (break asunder), all these stems have a common root S.fa T.fa N.fa (App. A. 16). The terminal a of these stems is a detachable terminative[1]. It now still remains to be decided what the forms N.faf, S.fahl, S.fal T.fal N.fal, T.faph, S.fat T.fat N.fat, and N.fay are, S.fa T.fa N.fa as seen above, is their common root. What then are N.f, S.hl, S.l T.l N.l, T.ph, S.t T.t N.t, and N.y?[11] One might call N.faf, S.fahl, S.fal T.fal N.fal, etc. derivative verbal roots, derived from the simple verbal root S.fa T.fa N.fa. This is the solution offered by Doke when analysing Lamba wõna (see)[111] but this does not give an explanation of the formative n in wõna, and would not suffice to explain f, hl, l etc. here. Should they be regarded as formatives other than verbal roots? And, if so, what kind of formatives? Before attempting to reply to these questions, let us examine what is said by Bourquin on the second syllable of simple verbal stems. He states that the second syllables are employed to give a definiteness, in a certain direction, to the general idea expressed by what he calls "Stammwurzel"[iv]; he further maintains that already in UB., these second syllables seem to have had a definite force; but he is not prepared to regard them as roots[v]. He gives no reasons, however, for his contention. I can see no objection to regarding such final syllables as containing roots, and I propose, in what follows, to show that roots can, as far as Sotho is concerned, at any

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i) Cf. Chapter 2.

ii) In the earlier part of this chapter, these consonants have been regarded as being roots; in how far this assumption is justified will be seen from what now follows.

iii) Textbook of Lamba grammar (new ed.) footnote, p. 172.

iv) M.UB.W., p. 191.

v) M.UB.W., p. 193.

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rate, (a) be consonantal[1], and (b) occur in the second syllable of a simple verbal stem.

A comparison of the two irreducible elements, found in the simple verbal stems quoted above, will reveal one salient point of difference between these elements, viz. that the common root S.fa T.fa N.fa consists of a consonant plus a vowel, while the other element consists of a consonant only. But does this difference imply that such second elements cannot be roots? The examination of a number of syllabic roots will show that it is their consonants and not their vowels, which predominantly determine their meaning; furthermore, the examination of a number of simple verbal stems will show that the same consonants occurring in their first syllables may also occur in their second syllables. Let us take, e.g. the root-consonants S.f T.f N.f, S.kh T.kg N.kx, and S.th T.th N.th:

A. Where they occur in the second syllable of a simple verbal stem; the examples here quoted have been obtained from App. B.:

(i) S.f T.f N.f (idea of scattering), cf. UB.pa (idea of dividing, splitting), e.g.:

S.fefa N.fefa (wipe away a child's dirt),

S.hafa (scatter, disperse),

S.hofa (whip water away, take away in quantity),

N.xôfa (dip up mud with the hand),

T.jafa (wipe away filth),

S.khofa (shovel away, drive out),

T.gafa (squander, lavish),

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1) That consonantal verbal roots occur in monosyllabic stems has already been indicated above.

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(ii) S.kh T.kg N.kx (idea of breaking, breaking apart), cf. UB.ke (idea of cutting), e.g.:

N.fokxa (break with a crowbar),

N.kxakxa (hook e.g. a thorn in the clothes),

S.phêkha (split in two),

S.phukha (break, smash),

N.thêkxa (break out, off),

S.thukha (break).

Cf. also the suffix kxa found in the following derivative verbal stems :

N.phakxa (cut a slip in an animal's ear) from pha, still found in S.sepha (scar, rent),

N.rôkxa (break out, break off, smash) from rô, also found in N.larô (crack), as well as the simple stem

S.thakha (kick out one's legs like one on horseback).

(iii) S.th T.th N.th (idea of making short abrupt movements), e.g.:

N.bôtha (beat),

S.hlatha (strike, chop, pinch),

S.hlotha N.hlotha (pluck off feathers, pluck),

N.hlwatha (pluck, pull),

S.khatha T.kgatha N.kxatha (crush, break in new ground),

N.kxatha (gallop),

N.kxôtha (cut or chop off), S.khotha (prepare a threshing floor by removing the grass thereof),

S.matha N.matha (gallop, run),

T.natha N.natha (pilfer food, take a little, grind fine),

N.natha (beat), N.ngôtha (break off, pinch off)

S.ngôatha T.ngwatha N.ngwatha (pilfer, take a slice of, break off),

S.nyatha N.nyatha (pinch, gnaw, scratch),

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We find that semantically the stems in each of these sets are related, and that in each set there is a common element, viz., the last syllable i.e. S.fa T.fa N.fa, S.kha T.kga N.kxa and S.tha T.tha N.tha respectively. But a is a terminative common to all these elements, and is therefore not responsible for the semantic agreement in each of these sets, hence the only formatives that can account for this agreement are S.f T.f N.f, S.kh T.kg N.kx, and S.th T.th N.th; S.f T.f N.f has the idea of scattering, S.kh T.kg N.kx has the idea of breaking apart and S.th T.th N.th has the idea of making short abrupt movements.

B. where they occur in the first syllable of a simple verbal stem, being at the same time, the consonantal element of a syllabic verbal root:

(i) S.f T.f N.f occurring in the roots:

S.fa T.fa N.fa (UB.pa) with the idea of splitting, scraping away, (App. A. 16), e.g.:

N.fafa (plane, cut off obliquely),

S.fahla (crush grain on a mill),

S.fala T.fala N.fala (scrape, plane, take off),

T.fapha (chop or cut lengthwise),

S.fata T.fata N.fata (hollow, dig a hole),

N.fava (break asunder, beat in two).

S.fe N.fe with the idea of wiping away, (App. A. 19), e.g.:

S.fefa N.fefa (wipe away a child's dirt),

S.fetha (wipe off, away),

cf. also T.fema (avoid blows, parry).

S.fo T.fo N.fo (UB.pu) with the idea of stripping off, rubbing off, (App. A. 31), e.g.:

S.fohla T.fotlha N.fohla (strip off the leaves or small branches with the hand),
cf. also T.fofora N.fofora (rub off, take away the leaves).

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S.fu T.fu N.fu with the idea of plucking, jerking out, (App. A. 64), e.g.:

T.futlha (pluck out, off),

S.fula T.fula N.fula (pluck, jerk off),

cf. also S.futha (scatter, drive away).

In spite of the different root-vowels, there is nevertheless a semantic agreement between these various roots, viz. the idea of separating from, and the element responsible for this semantic agreement is undoubtedly S.f T.f N.f, and this is then most probably the same S.f T.f N.f referred to in A. above, there being a definite resemblance in the two ideas expressed.

(11) S.kh T.kg N.kx occurring in the roots:

S.kha T.kga N.kxa with the idea of piercing, cutting, (App. A. 64), e.g.:

T.kgaha (pierce as a branch),

N.kxakxa (hook in clothes as a thorn),

S.khatha T.kgatha N.kxatha (crush, break new ground - i.e. cut furrows),

N.kxaya (cut the ear),

T.kgê N.kxê with the idea of breaking, chopping, (App. A. 70), e.g.:

T.kgêha (cut up growing grass with a spade, chop out the backbone of an animal),

N.kxêma (bite through),

T.kgêra N.kxêra (break with the teeth, plough hard land),

T.kgêtla N.kxêtla (break or cut a twig from a stump).

Cf. also S.khêtha T.kgêtha N.kxêtha (choose, separate i.e. idea of making or breaking apart).

S.khi N.kxi with the idea of digging, (App. A. 71), e.g.:

S.khila (dig dry dung in a kraal),

S.khitla N.kxitla (strike the ground with a pick).

Cf. also S.khirila (clean a place with a spade), and T.khitla (dig superficially).

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T.kxô N.kxô with the idea of breaking off (App. A. 76), e.g.:

T.kxôpha N.kxôpha (break off),

N.kxôtha (cut or chop off).

In spite of the different root-vowels, there is nevertheless a semantic agreement between these various roots, viz. the idea of cutting, breaking, and the element responsible for this semantic agreement is undoubtedly S.kh T.kg N.kx. and ǂhis is then most probably the same S.kh T.kg N.kx referred to in A. above, there being a definite resemblance between the two ideas expressed.

(iii) S.th T.th N.th occurring in the roots:

S.tha N.tha with the idea of making short violent movements, (App. A. 150), e.g.:

N.thaka (cut into pieces),

S.thakha (kick out one's legs like a man on horseback),

S.thasa (beat with a stone to make supple),

N.thatha (break into pieces).

S.thê N.thêwith the idea of making short violent movements, (App. A. 152), e.g.:

N.thêba (budge, butt),

S.thêka (dig, dig out).

N.thi with the idea of nodding, (App. A. 154), e.g.:

N.thima (nod),

N.thina (nod).

S.thô T.thô N.thô with the idea of breaking off, away, (App. A. 156), e.g.:

S.thôba T.thôba (break through, break out and run away),

N.thôkxa (break off, out).

Cf. also N.thoba (break through, out), and N.thôna (take out with two fingers).

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In spite of the different root-vowels, there is nevertheless a certain semantic agreement between these various roots, viz. the idea of making violent movements or performing forceful action, and the element responsible for this semantic agreement is undoubtedly S.th T.th N.th. and this is then most probably the same S.th T.th N.th referred to in A. above, there being a definite resemblance between the two ideas expressed.

From the above, I think, the following points are evident: (i) of the roots taken from App. A. the semantically dominant element is the consonant; the vowel, although it may give some colouring to the meaning of the root, is not a decisive factor in determining the basic meaning of the root; (ii) the consonantal element which is responsible for the basic meaning of the roots referred to in (i), is used also in the second syllable of a verbal stem as a consonantal root. It can hardly be said that the above examples are due to mere coincidence; more examples, revealing the same phenomenon, may be obtained by comparing Appendices A. and B.

Of certain verbal stems one can only prove the first syllable to be a root, e.g. fo in: S.foga[1] (strain a liquid), S.foga (strain a liquid), S.fopha (drain, fall in drops); S.leba T.leba N.leba (look towards), S.lepa T.lepa N.lepa (pay attention, observe the stars), S.lema (observe, become acquainted with), S.leta T.leta N.leta (look after, expect, wait for). As far as I could ascertain, none of the last syllables of these verbal stems contains a root also found in another verbal stem, whether in its last or first syllable. But, in view of what has been said previously,

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1) Or foha cf. App. A. 88.

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one can perhaps assume that these last syllables do contain roots, though the actual meaning of these roots cannot be gathered from the Sotho verbal vocabulary alone: it is difficult to see what else they could be.

In certain verbal stems again, one can only prove the last syllable to contain a root, e.g. N. xêhla (get loose, become untied) where hla contains a root hl, (App. B. 4), T. jafa (wipe away filth) where fa contains a root f, (App. B. 5). There are not many examples of this type, as a rule one can either prove that both syllables contain roots, or, that the first syllable is a root, or else, that the root is of the form consonant plus vowel plus consonant. I think, however, that one can, in view of what has been said previously, assume that xê and ja are roots, although their actual value cannot be indicated from the Sotho verbal vocabulary alone: it is difficult to see what else they could be.

A word may be said in justification of the term compound root here adopted, since it may be asked why the term "derivative root", employed by Doke with regard to Lamba ton, was not used[1]. If I apply this term to N. xêr (consisting of a root xê App. A. 45 and a root r App. B. 10) it would mean that it is a root derived from the simple verbal root xê through the addition of another simple verbal root viz. r. But this does not seem right: the adding together of two formatives of equal status, to my mind, does not give a derivative form but a compound form. For this reason, and as it is essential to have a term for the stage obtained when a simple verbal stem

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1) Textbook of Lamba grammar (new ed.) footnote, p. 172.

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consisting of two verbal roots[1], is shorn of the terminative a, I am using the term compound verbal root.

8. It is perhaps noteworthy that so many simple verbal stems consist of two roots which resemble each other in meaning. Let us examine the following simple verbal stems with r as their second root: S.fura T.furu N.fura (notch, hollow out), N.xara (cut open a swelling, wound the head), N.xêra (carve), N.hlêra (cut e.g. with an axe), T.kgêra (plough hard dry land), N.kxêra (bite off, break with the teeth), N.kxêra (chisel, hollow out), S.ngêara, N.ngwara (engrave, scratch), S.phura T.phura N.phura (cut hard food, gnaw). They have a common consonantal root r conveying the idea of cutting, scratching, biting (App. B. 10) and in addition, in each case, respectively an initial syllabic root conveying the following ideas:

S.fu T.fu N.fu (idea of notching, scratching off) (App. A. 35),

S.ha T.ga N.xa (idea of cutting, scraping) (App. A. 41),

N.xê (idea of cutting, scraping) (App. A. 43),

S.hlê N.hlê (idea of stabbing, chopping) (App. A. 60),

T.kgê N.kxê (idea of breaking, chopping) (App. A. 70),

N.kxê (idea of notching, chiselling) (App. A. 75),

S.ngêa T.ngwa N.ngwa (idea of scratching) (App. A. 105),

S.phu T.phu N.phu (idea of breaking) (App. A. 119).

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1) (a) A simple verbal stem commencing in a vowel and having a demonstrable root in its second syllable, e.g. T.ara N.ara (wound the head, cut open a swelling) (for root r cf. App. B. 10) seems to have as its other root a vowel only. The fact is that in such cases the consonant, which originally preceded the vowel, has mostly disappeared in Sotho (Phon., pp. 59-61). In other cases this consonant has been retained as the semi-vowel y e.g. T.êfa N.êfa (ward off) and N.yêfa (ward off).

(b) In a simple verbal stem like N.tea (beat), which has a root te (cf. App. A. 146), the final a is of course a verbal terminative, it may seem as if there is no root in the second syllable, i.e. in spite of the fact that the stem is disyllabic it nevertheless contains one root only. That this is not the position, but rather that we have here an elision of the second root is proved by the fact that this verbal stem has another form occurring also in N., viz. teya (beat), where y is in all probability the representative of Un.ɣ, which has completely disappeared in the case of tea (Phon., p. 59). Similarly the second root of S.bua T.bua N.bua (skin) has probably been elided, cf. S.buha N.buxa (skin), and the root S.bu T.bu N.bu App. A. 10.

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Semantically the first and second roots of these verbal stems are closely related. Similar results will be obtained, if the first syllables (i.e. the initial roots) of the verbal-stems quoted in §7 above, with S.f T.f N.f, S.kh T.kh N.kh and S.th T.th N.th respectively as their second roots, are compared with roots of equal form in App. A. It is true that not all these verbal-stems show resemblance in meaning in their two roots, but most of them do. More examples, showing this phenomenon, may be obtained by comparing verbal stems contained in App. B. with those contained in App. A.

Let us now take S.fura T.fura N.fura, one of the stems analysed above for further examination. As pointed out it has an initial root S.fu T.fu N.fu with meaning more or less akin to that of S.r T.r N.r; but it will be seen from App. A. that there are two other roots of the same form, differing entirely in meaning from S.fu T.fu N.fu referred to above. In the same way there are roots r, found in the second syllable of simple verbal stems, differing semantically from S.r T.r N.r with the idea of cutting, scratching, biting, e.g. the root S.r T.r N.r found in S.hara T.gara N.xara (coil ropes, gather up clothes when going through water) (for root S.ha T.ga N.xa cf. App. A. 38), or the root T.r found in T.tlhora (worry) (for root T.tlho cf. App. A. 59). The question may now be asked, what proof there is that the roots S.fu T.fu N.fu and S.r T.r N.r, found in S.fura T.fura N.fura, are actually the S.fu T.fu N.fu and S.r T.r N.r which are related in meaning. Can one of these roots not perhaps have another meaning? I admit that no definite reply can be given to these questions; one can only put a counter question, viz.: if out of two sets of roots, each of which contains roots

equal in form but not in meaning, with however one or more roots in one set akin in meaning to one or more roots in the other set, two roots have to be chosen to build up a stem, is it not very likely that roots akin in meaning will be chosen rather than roots not akin? It should be remembered that the number of simple verbal stems in Sotho identical in form, but not in meaning (and in some cases not in intonation), is not so very big; that means that where there are two sets of roots, as described above, in by far the majority of cases only one verbal stem is formed by taking both its roots from these two sets - one from each set. But these are only tentative remarks.

9. The question now arises: What is the difference between a derivative suffix, and the verbal root found in the second syllable of a simple verbal stem? Take, e.g. the verbal stem T.koama N.koama (sit down helpless, sink down exhausted) derived from koa found in T.sekoa N.sekoa (a weak thing). Why should T.a N.a (final a is in each case a verbal terminative) be regarded as a suffix and not a root? Or is it a root? As the answer to these questions is closely linked up with the difference between a simple and a derivative verbal stem, this matter will be dealt with in Chapter 6.

10. Time and again in the preceding paragraphs, initial simple or derivative verbal roots, of the form consonant plus vowel, have been quoted with a common consonant, but different vowels and related in meaning. This phenomenon becomes more interesting when found in simple verbal stems related in meaning, and alike in form excepting for the root-vowel, e.g.[1] N.xara (open a sore, wound the head) 41,

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1) The numbers after the examples refer to the roots in App. A.

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N.xôra (carve) 43, S.hôra T.gôra N.xôra (scrape with the finger) 49; N.pata (press together, squeeze) 109, N.pôta (press together, squeeze), S.pita N.pita (hide) 120, N.pôta (squeeze between the hands); S.tepa N.tepa (scoop up much water or corn), N.tipa (dip up with a flat dish), N.tôpa (lick a pot clean, scrape with a finger and then lick the finger).

It may be that we have in each of the sets of verbal stems quoted above, (a) a common consonantal root, that will then be the consonant found in the second syllable - this is, e.g. actually the case with the r found in the first set (cf. App. B. 10), but (b) different syllabic roots, of the form consonant plus vowel, that will then be the initial roots; this is actually the case, either partly or wholly, with some of the sets quoted above.

It is of course impossible to say by examining one language only, whether one of these syllabic roots is to be regarded as the original root, and the other as having been derived from it through a process of vowel change. However, one thing seems evident from the above examples, viz. that it is the form of the root which is primarily affected as a result of this type of vowel change, which has mostly, but not always a semantic significance[i]. Of course the stem being built on the root, will be affected if the root undergoes a change, and for this reason I shall refer to this process again in chapter 3, which dealing with the simple verbal stem, in spite of the fact that it is primarily a root-extending process.

11. The root may also change in length, stress and tone[ii]. It is, however, not my aim to examine these changes in this treatise.

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i) Cf. App. C.

ii) Cf, Term., p. 192, and Tucker The comparative phonetics of the Suto-Chwana group of Bantu languages, pp. 99-103.

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CHAPTER 2.

The verbal stems general[i] - their nature and their terminal inflections.

1. The term verbal stem as used here, covers stems[ii] derived by means of: (a) derivative suffixes[iii] or conjugational terminatives[iii] from verbal roots or non-verbal stems, (b) prefixes from already existing verbal stems of type (a) above.

The same stem may occur in both verbs[iv] and in other parts of speech, e.g. S. *etsa* (do), in the verb *ke etsa* (I do), and in the noun *motsa-libe* (sinner lit. a doer of bad things). In this treatise the term "stem" will be used to denote verbal stems unless otherwise specified.

2. The following stems occur in Sotho :

A. Simple stems;

B. Derivative stems, which again are of two types:

i. Those derived from verbal roots, such stems may be termed verbal derivatives. There are here two types of verbal derivation, viz. (a) derivation through suffix-formation, such derivatives, are sometimes subject to prefix-formation as well; (b) derivation through prefix-formation, such derivatives, are sometimes subject to suffix-formation as well.

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i) Excepting where specially mentioned, verbal stems of a non-Bantu origin are not dealt with in this treatise.

ii) Doke defines a stem as follows (cf. *Term.*, p. 200): "that part of a word depleted of all prefixal inflexion". It will be observed that this definition does not cover such derivative verbal stems as: N. *hoduma* (sing), cf. S. *luma* T. *duma* N. *duma* (roar, resound), and S. *nyanyaka* (look well at), cf. S. *nyaka* (look in all directions).

iii) These terms will be defined later.

iv) For a definition of the term "verb" cf. *Term.*, p. 217.

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ii. Those derived from non-verbal stems, such stems may be termed verbalised derivatives. There is here only one type of derivation viz. through suffix-formation.

C. Compound stems, which again are of the following types:

i. Reduplicated verbal stems;

ii. Verbal stem + verbal stem (not reduplication);

iii. Noun-stem + verbal stem;

iv. Ideophonic stem + verbal stem;

v. Adjectival stem + verbal stem;

vi. Miscellaneous compound verbal stems.

Compound stems are also subject to suffix-formation.

Each of these various types of stems will be fully dealt with in the subsequent chapters, where definitions will be given of all the different terms above employed.

3. The stem in Sotho, whether simple, derivative or compound, is subject to two types of terminal inflexion, viz.:

a. Species-forming terminal inflexion, or terminal inflexion changing the species of the stem;

b. Conjugational terminal inflexion, or terminal inflexion changing the conjugation of the stem.

4. By the term species is meant those derivative stems formed from non-verbal stems, or verbal roots through suffix-formation.

Species-forming terminal inflexion therefore concerns the species of the stem, and the inflecting formatives employed are termed derivative suffixes[1]. This type of terminal inflexion will be dealt with at length later on in this treatise.

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1) For the definition of 'derivative suffixes' cf. Chapter 5.

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5. By the term conjugation is meant that set of forms which the stem assumes to indicate action (positive or negative), mood (indicative, subjunctive etc.), tense (past, present etc.), implication (simple, progressive etc.), aspect (indefinite, continuous etc.), and sequence.

Conjugational terminal inflection therefore concerns the conjugation of the stem, and the inflecting suffixes employed will here be named terminatives. There are in Sotho four[1] such terminatives, viz. S.a T.a N.a, S.e T.e N.e, S.o T.o N.o, and S.ile T.ile N.ile (or one or other of its permutations[ii]). These terminatives[iii] always have the final position in a stem, excepting S.ile T.ile N.ile which ~~when combined with the derivative stems~~ viz. the primary passive and the factitive[iv] stems[iv].

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1) There are three more suffixal formatives, viz. (a) the imperative suffix S.ng T.ng N.ng employed in the plural imperative positive and negative, e.g. S.bônang T.bônang N.bônang (see), S.se bonang T.se bonang N.se bonang (do not see), in the negative open o and open e become closed under the influence of ng. (b) The plural hortative suffix S.ng T.ng N.ng (the hortative is a variant of the subjunctive mood), e.g. S.a re bonang T.a re bonang N.a re bonang (let us see). Also here open o and open e become closed under the influence of ng. (c) The relative suffix S.ng T.ng N. (some dialects) ng, and N. (most dialects) ngo, I am quoting a few examples from S.motho ea ratang (the person who loves), motho ea sa ratang (the person who does not love), motho ea ratileng (the person who has loved). In all three these cases the suffixes are attached to one or other terminative already existing.

ii) Cf. Phon. pp. 77-79, Jacottet A grammar of the Sesuto language, pp. 99-103, Wookey and Brown Sesuaa grammar, pp. 100-101.

iii) They are also used when forming stems in Sotho from foreign words. I quote examples of stems found in T., and derived from Afrikaans vas (fasten) and kwaad (be angry): fasa (fasten) kwata (become angry), fasê (may fasten) kwatê (may get angry) fase (do not fasten - negative) kwate (do not get angry - negative) fasitse (have fastened) kwatile (have become angry).

iv) With these two stems the derivative suffixes are inserted into the perfect terminative resulting in: (a) as regards the perfect passive: S.ilwe T.ilwe N.ilwe e.g. S.ratilwe T.ratilwe N.ratilwe (have been loved), but the secondary passive suffix, as far as it can be used with the perfect conjugational terminative, precedes the latter e.g. S.fuêe (have been given) cf. fa (give), (b) as regards the perfect factitive: S.itse T.itse N.itse (cf. Phon., p. 78 regarding the development of the perfect factitive suffix), e.g. T.feditse N.feditse (have finished) from *fedilwe.

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6. The term conjugational form indicates that form, taken up by the stem itself, whether simple, derivative or compound, when provided with one of the terminatives referred to above. There are therefore four conjugational forms in Sotho, viz. in:

(a) S.a T.a N.a, i.e. the multi-functional conjugational form. The verb is in this conjugational form in the vast majority of its moods and tenses, not only in the positive but sometimes also in the negative conjugation[1].

(b) S.e T.e N.e[ii], i.e.: (i) The subjunctive conjugational form. The verb is in this conjugational form when ~~the verb~~ it is in certain tenses of the subjunctive mood[iii]. (ii) The objective-imperative conjugational form. The verb is in this conjugational form when in its imperative mood singular positive, it is preceded by the objectival concord or the reflexive prefix.

(c) S.e T.e N.e, i.e.: (i) The negative conjugational form. The verb in this form denotes denial, the opposite to positive or affirmative[iv]. It should however be noted that not all forms in the negative conjugation incorporate this form of the stem. (ii) The habitual conjugational form. The verb in this form denotes habitual action.

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i) For a definition of conjugation cf. Term., p. 75.

ii) In all three languages this terminative, whether subjunctive or objective-imperative, is changed into closed e, when followed by S.ng T.ng N.ng a suffixal formative employed to indicate the plural of the hortative mood, as well as the plural of the objective-imperative, and as indicated above, in both cases, the stem-vowel, if open e or open o is changed into closed e or closed o, e.g. (I quote from N.): hortative: singular a ke bône (let me see), plural a re boneng (let us see); objective-imperative: singular se rême (chop it), di remeng (chop them).

iii) For a definition of the subjunctive mood, cf. Term., p. 203.

iv) Cf. Term., p. 150.

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(d) S.ile T.ile N.ile (or one of its various permutations), i.e. the perfect conjugational form. The verb in this form denotes completed action[1].

7. As will be seen from the following examples, change of conjugational form does not indicate change of species[11]. (I quote examples from T.) :

ke a aga (I build)	aga is a multi-functional simple stem,
gore ke agê (so that I may build)	agê is a subjunctive simple stem,
ga ke age (I do not build)	age is a negative simple stem;
ke tle ke age (I usually build)	age is a habitual simple stem,
ke agile (I have built)	agile is a perfect simple stem,
ke mo agêla ntlo (I build a house for him)	agêla is a multi-functional applicative stem,
gore ke mo agêlê ntlo (so that I may build a house for him)	agêlê is a subjunctive applicative stem,
ga ke mo agele ntlo (I do not build a house for him)	agele is a negative applicative stem,
ke tle ke mo agele ntlo (I usually build a house for him)	agele is a habitual applicative stem,
ke mo agetse ntlo (I have built a house for him)	agetse is a perfect applicative stem.

Examples of this nature can be quoted for any simple, derivative or compound stem in Sotho, and similar or more or

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i) The initial vowel of the perfect terminative often coalesces with the multi-functional terminative in the perfect conjugational form of monosyllabic verbal stems (cf. Chapter 8), e.g. S.chele T.šele (has burnt), cf. S.cha T.ša (burn) cf. Jacottet A grammar of the Sesuto language, p. 102, Wookey and Brown Seŝwana grammar, p. 101, Endemann Grammatik des Sotho, p. 74.

ii) In view of the twofold aspect of all Sotho verbal stems, viz. species and conjugation, a double-barrelled term is necessary in each case. Thus: S.rata T.rata N.rata (love) is termed multi-functional simple; multi-functional to distinguish it from the other conjugational forms, and simple to distinguish it from the other species e.g. the applicative, reciprocal, etc. So, S. ratisa T.ratisa N.ratiša (cause to love), S.ratisê T.ratisê N. ratiŝê (may cause to love), S.ratise T.ratise N.ratiše (do not cause to love - negative) are all performative (causative) stems, i.e. as far as their species is concerned, but, in addition to this they have each a specific conjugational form which should also be referred to in any terminology aiming at accuracy.

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less similar examples can be quoted for many other Bantu languages: for a particularly complete series in one such language reference may be made to Herero[1]).

From the above it is apparent that species is always linked with conjugational form: no conjugational form can appear isolated from the species, nor can any species appear except in some conjugational form. Therefore, although I do not propose in this treatise to deal with the various conjugational forms, one has no option but to choose one of the conjugational forms with which to operate in discussing the verbal species. In dealing with the various species of the stem, it has been the practice so far to quote these species in their multi-functional conjugational form, and as there is no reason why I should deviate from this practice, I shall also operate with the multi-functional conjugational form of the stem. Reference to the other conjugational forms will of course be made as occasion demands.

8. ~~In view of the fact that~~ The possibility of the multi-functional terminative a having replaced another vowel, ~~and if so which vowel,~~ as well as the probable identity of that vowel, has already been the subject of considerable discussion. I think it is therefore advisable to give this question some attention here. This matter also deserves attention also because there are in Sotho a few stems which do not end in a in their multi-functional conjugational form, viz. S.re T.re N.re[ii]) (say), T.itse (know), T.lere[iii])

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1) Cf. Hahn: Grammatik des Herero Appendix E. at the end of his book.

ii) Cf. N. re (say).

iii) Cf. T.(Setlôkwa) lera (bring).

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(bring), S.be T.be[i] N.be (be)[ii], T.be (be)[iii], S.le T.le N.le (being)[iv], S.ché (say)[v], T.re (be)[vi], S.mpe (denoting idea of: nevertheless, however)[vii], S.hle (denoting idea of spontaneity)[viii], S.'ne(denoting idea of continuity)[ix], T.mme N.mme (take)[x].

I do not intend to go into this question as far as other Bantu languages are concerned, but must make some short critical examination of the opinions already expressed in this connection, in order to justify the point of view I take up with reference to this question in Sotho.

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i) Only found dialectally in T.

ii) S.be T.be N.be is a variant of S.ba T.ba N.ba (be), and is found in such constructions as e.g. S.re tla be re réka (we shall be buying), the be here employed must be distinguished from be < *bile the perfect of ba found in such constructions as e.g. N.re be re réka (we were buying).

iii) T.be, which is found only dialectally, is a variant of T.ba (be) and is found in such constructions as re tla be re réka (we shall be buying), ke a be ke réka (I am buying).

iv) Found only in the participial mood, cf. S.ke le monna (I being a man). It is noteworthy that le has no negative conjugational form with the same root as basis. The negative of le is expressed by S.se T.se N.se (not being, is not) found only in the negative conjugational form cf. S. ke se monna (I not being a man), and S.ha se monna (it is not a man).

v) Of Nguni origin cf. Xh.t∫ho (say).

vi) A variant of T.ba (be), cf. e.g. ke tla re ke réka (I shall be buying).

vii) A variant of S.mpa, cf. ba tla mpe ba tlá (however they will come).

viii) A variant of S.hla, cf. ke tla hle ke tlá (I shall indeed come).

ix) A variant of S.'na, cf. ke tla 'ne ke tlá (I shall keep on coming).

x) This list may have to be extended if on further investigation it is found that formatives which are at present regarded as verbal auxiliaries (cf. Term., p. 57), are actually verbal stems. Such an investigation has not been carried out here, as it would have necessitated a lengthy discussion on practically the whole of Sotho verbal morphology, and such a discussion would lead us too far astray from the subject of this treatise. Moreover, the outcome of such a discussion would at the most affect this treatise only in so far as to this list, as well as to the list of monosyllabic stems, a few more verbal stems might have to be added. It was therefore not thought worth while to give this matter any further attention here.

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All those[1] who have investigated this question agree that terminal a is a detachable formative which has its own specific function.

9. So far attention was mainly focussed upon a as terminal of the simple stem, i.e., according to my terminology for Sotho, the terminative of the multi-functional simple stem, but, as indicated above, the vowel generally terminating the multi-functional derivative stems is also a and as such it is to my mind also worthy of investigation[ii]. It will be convenient for my purpose here to discuss the terminal a in the derivative stems first, and to take in order the following two points - reference to other Bantu languages being made where necessary, to support the observations made in regard to Sotho: (i) whether the vowel a terminating the multi-functional derivative stems, and hence also the derivative suffixes of such stems, is an integral part of the suffixes proper, (ii) if not, whether the simple and derivative stems in their multi-functional conjugational form must necessarily have had another terminal vowel preceding a, and if so which vowel - with other words whether a has replaced another vowel.

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1) The following are the most important references in this respect: Bleek A Comparative grammar of South African languages, pp. 50 and 60-65; Doke Textbook of Lamba grammar (new ed.), p. 173; Hahn Grammatik des Herero, pp. 36-37; Meeuwis "Leutlehre des Nganidja und Nzwani" Abhandelung des Hamburgischen Kolonialinstituts 28, pp. 45-47 and "Alte Verbalformen mit vollständiger Vokalassimilation in Suaheli" Z.f.E. 9, pp. 118 ff.; Jacottet Études sur les langues du Haut-Zambèze part 1, p. 85; Meinhof Lautlehre der Bantusprachen, pp. 45, 56, 138, 167 and Grundzüge einer vergleichenden Grammatik der Bantusprachen, pp. 52-53; van Eeden "The terminating vowel of the Bantu verbal stem" Bantu Studies 6, pp. 367-375, "Notes on the grammar of Zulu" Annals of the University of Stellenbosch 14(B), pp. 26-31; Watkins A grammar of Chichewa, pp. 45-48.

ii) Although compound stems also end in a in their multi-functional conjugational form, we need not pay any special attention here to the terminative a of these stems, as it throws no special light on the question under discussion. In fact, most compound stems have either a simple or a derivative stem as final component part.

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10. Point (i) :

(a) The mere fact that, as already indicated above, the force of the derivative stem is not affected by the change of the terminative is, I think, sufficient proof that neither S.a T.a N.a, nor S.ê T.ê N.ê, S.e T.e N.e and S.ile T.ile N.ile (or one of its permutations) for that matter, can be regarded as being part and parcel of the derivative suffixes. There may e.g. be actional (destructive) derivative suffixes: S.ola T.ola N.ola, S.olê T.olê N.olê, S.ole T.ole N.ole and S.otse T.otse N.otse. The nature of the terminatives of these suffixes depends upon the conjugational form in which the stem is used.

(b) One further proof is however offered, which indicates that a does not form an integral part of the derivative suffix proper:

Let us compare the following multi-functional derivative stems corresponding to T.itse (know) and T.lere (bring) (i.e. multi-functional simple stems not ending in a) with parallel multi-functional derivative stems corresponding to T.rata (love), (i.e. a multi-functional stem ending in a):

(i) multi-functional derivative stems corresponding to: itse: the performative (causative) itsise (make known), the stational (capable) itsege (become known), the applicative itsetse (know with respect to), the reciprocal itsanye (know each other)[i], and the passive itsiwe (be known)[ii]; lere: the applicative leretse (bring with respect to), and the passive leriwe (be brought)[iii].

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i) According to Endemann itsanya, cf. W.d.S., p. 132.

ii) The stational (capable) - actional (capable) stem corresponding to itse however ends in an a: itsehala (become known).

iii) In T.(Setlôkwa) also leriwa.

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(ii) multi-functional derivative stems corresponding to rata: the performative (causative) ratisa (cause to love), the stational (capable) ratega (be lovable), the applicative ratela (love with respect to), the reciprocal ratana (love each other), and the passive ratwa (be loved). We see therefore that where the multi-functional simple stem does not end in a, the corresponding multi-functional derivative stems as a rule, do not end in a either[1] - the exceptional forms being probably due to analogy to the general position.

This phenomenon is also found in other Bantu languages: e.g. in Xhosa t∫ho (say) has a corresponding applicative stem t∫holo, and a corresponding passive stem t∫hiwo, the multi-functional derivative stems corresponding to thi (say) end however in a[ii]; in Yaunde, as far as the suffix ak (UB. aka) is concerned, e.g. bede (put down on something) has a corresponding durative stem bedege, walu (walk) has a corresponding durative stem walugu[iii]; in Konde, as far as the suffix ga (UB. aka) is concerned, e.g. ti (say) has durative stem tigi[iv]; in Kamba, the reciprocal stems in this language as a rule end in a in the multi-functional conjugational form e.g. onana (see each other) cf. ona (see), but the reciprocal corresponding to nenge (give) is nengana (give each other)[v][vi].

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1) But cf. the passive corresponding to S.re T.re N.re (say): S.thŏe N.thwe, T.twe, T.tua, T.tuwa, T.tya and T.tiwa.

ii) Kropf A Kaffir-English dictionary.

iii) Nekes Lehrbuch der Jaunde-Sprache, p. 161.

iv) Schumann "Grundriss einer Grammatik der Kondesprache". M.S.O.S. 2, p. 30.

v) Brutzer "Handbuch der Kambasprache" M.S.O.S. 9, p. 86.

vi) In Duala, where the vowel employed as terminative of the multi-functional conjugational form of the simple verbal stem, is very often the same as the root-vowel (Meinhof Lautlehre der Bantusprachen, p. 167), verbal suffixes in the multi-functional conjugational form are very often found ending in o (Meinhof Lautlehre der Bantusprachen, pp. 164-66).

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From the above, I think, it is evident that the terminal vowel a does not form an integral part of the derivative suffix, but is a terminative suffixed to it just as ê, o and ile may be suffixed to it. It has been the practice so far to quote derivative stems in their multi-functional conjugational form, and hence derivative suffixes as ending in a. There is no reason for deviating from the existing practice, and derivative suffixes will therefore in this treatise also be provided with a final a. It should, however, be remembered that this a is merely the multi-functional terminative, and does not actually belong to the suffix.

11. Point (ii):

I shall first of all discuss briefly the terminal vowel of the multi-functional simple stem, and subsequently refer to the position in regard to the multi-functional derivative stems.

The following are the theories which have been evolved in this connection:

(a) What we may call the unknown vowel theory. This theory was evolved by Bleek[1], and supported to a certain extent by Meinhof[ii], though later Meinhof seems to have revised his opinion[iii]. Bleek contends that "the ending vowel of the stem of almost all verbs has been entirely lost" and "as a consonantal ending is incompatible with the original principles of structure in the Bâ-ntu

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i) Cf. footnote i), p. 83.

ii) Grundzüge einer vergleichenden Grammatik der Bantusprachen, pp. 62-68.

iii) Lautlehre der Bantusprachen, p. 56

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languages, a vowel must be supposed to have been suppressed before the -a, which is the grammatical ending of the positive infect in the infinitive, indicative etc.". He indicates the "obliterated vowel" by the Hebrew ℵ (aleph).

(b) What we may call the assimilated-vowel theory. This theory was evolved by Hahn[i] and has been supported by Heepe[ii], and also by van Eeden[iii], though later van Eeden has also revised his opinion[iv]. According to this theory the vowel suppressed by a was a vowel assimilated to the root-vowel. It will be noted that the difference between these two theories is not primary, in that they both definitely postulate the existence of a displaced vowel, but only secondary, in that, according to the first theory the quality of the vowel is not postulated, while in the second theory it is. My reasons for being reluctant to assume the necessity for inferring any vowel whatever will be seen from what is said below.

Speaking generally, the multi-functional simple stem in Bantu seems to have as terminative either of the following:

i. a, which is almost the universal multi-functional terminative.

ii. A vowel identical in form with the root-vowel, this is a common phenomenon in Duala[v], but is occasionally also met with in other Bantu languages e.g. T. lere (bring), Kamba nenge (give), Ngala bete (beat), kolo (speak)[vi] and Soli iši (know)[vii].

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i) Cf. footnote i), p. 83.

ii) Cf. footnote i), p. 83.

iii) Bantu Studies, cf. footnote i), p. 85.

iv) Annals of the University of Stellenbosch, cf. footnote i), p. 85.

v) Meinhof Lautlehre der Bantusprachen, p. 167.

vi) Term., p. 115.

vii) van Eeden "The phonology of Soli" Z.f.E.S. 26, p. 269.

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iii. A vowel which is neither a nor of the form described in ii. above, examples of this are found all over the Bantu-area, e.g. T.itse (know), Zulu azi (know), Soli kute[1] (possess), and Siha nrie (bring), maki (be able), kelo (linger), keko (forget), mulo (kindle a fire)[ii].

iv. A vowel of varying form with some monosyllabic stems, e.g. S.re T.re N.re (say), Xhosa thi (say) and t/ho (say, speak), Nyamwezi yi (be) Tonga ku (say).

In several Bantu Languages, e.g. Herero, Old Swahili, Soli, Ngazidja, etc.[iii], disyllabic verbal stems are found with a root- and a terminal vowel identical in form. Meepe believes these forms to be radical, i.e. not to contain any affixes[iv]. The later investigations of Meinhof[v], Berger[vi] and van Eeden[vii] however demonstrate clearly that such forms are due to a terminating i or ile and therefore cannot be regarded as basic.

If one sets oneself the task of indicating the root-meaning of the multi-functional simple stem, one must first of all be clear about what one intends to include under this term. To my mind, the only formative or formatives which contain the root-meaning of the multi-functional simple stem, are those formatives which remain after the multi-functional simple stem has been shorn of its terminative which is mostly a. These formatives are the roots of the stems and unless split up into simpler roots (i.e. only as far as compound roots are concerned), never end in a vowel, hence they offer no solution for such stems as referred to in §8-i.e. practically the only multi-functional simple stems in Sotho not ending in a — a phenomenon which therefore still remains to be explained.

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i) van Eeden "The phonology of Soli" Z.f.E.S. 26, p. 269.

ii) Fokken "Das Kisiha" M.S.O.S. 8, pp. 75-76.

iii) Cf. van Eeden Bantu Studies footnote i), p. 33.

iv) Cf. footnote i), p. 33.

v) Lautlehre der Bantusprachen, pp. 56 and 136.

vi) Berger "Die mit ile gebildeten Perfektstämme in den Bantusprachen" Z.f.E.S. 28, pp. 115 and 276.

vii) Annals of the University of Stellenbosch, cf. footnote i), p. 33.

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Should e.g. lere be regarded as consisting of two roots le and re? and, should we believe that in the case of lere and itse a root-combination, and in the case of the other stems referred to in §8 a simple root, is now used as a simple verbal stem? And, if so, should these ~~xxxxx~~ stems be regarded as remnants of an early widely-prevalent stage? In view of the fact that there are in Sotho only a very few multi-functional simple stems not ending in a, it seems impossible to give ~~any~~ definite replies to these questions by considering Sotho only. In fact, as such stems are very scarce in Bantu as a whole, these questions can only be settled by extending one's investigations over an area far beyond the limits of one language-zone, let alone one language-group. It is because I am well aware of the risk one runs in attempting to settle questions like these by limiting oneself to one language, that I offer the following observations based upon Sotho, not with a view to explaining the possible origin of stems like lere and itse, but in the first place as an interesting phenomenon, and only in the second place as a possible line along which further investigations in this connection might perhaps be carried out. If we reduce the following multi-functional simple stems to their roots, we get in each case a root of a syllabic and another of a consonantal form - I analyse only a few stems below, more stems of the same nature can be obtained from App. A, to which reference should also be made for the meanings of the syllabic roots employed below:

S.khatha T.kgatha N.kxatha (break in new ground, crush), roots: S.kha T.kga N.kxa (App. A. 64), and S.th T.th N.th (App. B. 12);

S.khôtha T.kgôtha N.kxôtha (choose, separate i.e. idea of making or breaking apart), roots: S.khô T.kgô N.kxô (App. A. 70), and S.th T.th N.th (App.B.12);

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N.kxôtha (cut or chop off, plane), roots:
N.kxô (App. A. 76), and N.th (App. B. 12).

But there are also syllabic roots commencing in S.th T.th N.th, which are semantically closely akin to the consonantal root S.th T.th N.th, e.g. the syllabic roots in:

N.thatha (break into pieces), roots: N.tha (App. A. 150), and N.th (App. B. 12);

S.thakha (kick out the legs), roots: S.tha (App. A. 150), and S.kh (App. B. 5);

N.thêtha (cut off), roots: N.thê (App. A. 153), and N.th (App. B. 12);

N.thôkxa (break off, smash), roots: N.thô (App. A. 156), and N.kx (App. B. 5).

Similar analysis, although not perhaps always so elaborate, can be made of many other simple stems by consulting Appendices A. and B. If one now takes e.g. the stem kxôtha, which has as indicated above, the roots kxô and th, the question arises whether th was not once followed by a vowel, especially in view of the fact that there are syllabic roots commencing in th and semantically related to the root th, and one feels inclined to assume that this vowel was ô (there is a root thô referred to above), thus giving a form *kxôthô. The same assumption can be made for thêtha < *thêthê, thôkxa < *thôkxô, etc. But these are merely assumptions, because one can equally well assume that the vowel which followed th in kxôth was ê (cf. root thê above), thus giving *kxôthê. If, through further investigations and comparison with other Bantu languages, it can be proved that the root or each of the roots underlying a simple stem must have ended in a vowel, and that the root-vowels must needs be alike,

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then and only then can the stage preceding a simple stem (and not necessarily a multi-functional simple stem), be regarded as a root with assimilated vowels.

From the above, I think, it is evident how difficult it is to explain such stems as lere, itse, re etc. One may perhaps, without binding oneself, assume that lere and itse do consist of two syllabic roots and re, be, etc., (cf. §8), of one syllabic root which for some reason or other have been taken up as multi-functional stems. It is perhaps noteworthy that there are other Bantu languages in which multi-functional stems which are the parallels of T.lere, T.itse and S.re T.re N.re, do not end in a.

The sporadic occurrence of multi-functional stems not ending in a, does not seem to justify such a far-reaching assumption viz., that the terminative a must have replaced another vowel[i]; and, to my mind, there is no reason to speculate on such a possibility, not only as far as the simple stems are concerned, but also as regards the derivative stems[ii]. It is true that a consonantal ending is incompatible with word-structure in Bantu; but the fact that the final consonant either of a simple or a derivative stem is followed by a detachable vowel, surely does not imply that either (i) previously there must have existed a permanent vowel after the consonant, or (ii) if such a vowel did not exist we should have had a consonantal ending. Because we have no reason to believe that the root was ever used independently, and as indicated above, the stem, whether simple

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i) As far as Sotho is concerned it should be noted that by far the most of the stems referred to in §8 are only variants of stems that do end in a. Furthermore the majority of these stems are deficient verbal stems and end in e when not ending in a; and when ending in e occur only in certain tenses, notably in the future.

ii) The question whether or not a has always been the terminative of the multi-functional derivative stems has also been discussed by Bleek and Watkins, cf. footnote p. 33.

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or derivative, is always supplied with a terminative depending upon the conjugational form in which the stem is used. It seems to me therefore that there is no stage conceivable in the language where the root, ending in a consonant, could have violated the principle underlying the Bantu word-structure viz. that words cannot end in a consonant.

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CHAPTER 3.

THE SIMPLE VERBAL STEM.

1. A simple verbal stem is a verbal stem which denotes that species not denoted by any of the derivative species[i].

2. As indicated in chapter 2, I am dealing in this treatise with the simple stem in its multi-functional conjugational form.

3. A multi-functional simple stem is a stem of not more than two syllables[ii][iii], and consisting of the verbal root plus the terminative a, excepting in the following few cases where the stem ends in a vowel other than a: T.itse (know), T.lere (bring), S.re T.re N.re (say), S.be T.be N.be (be), T.bo (be), S.le T.le N.le (being), S.ebê (say),

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i) It has been the general practice so far, not only in the previous part of this treatise, but also in other publications on Bantu languages, to quote derivative stems together with their corresponding simple stems, if available. This practice will be continued, as the simple species, being the most commonly used species, offers a good basis for comparison purposes.

ii) Excepting for T.ntsaya (strike) as well as a few trisyllabic stems, the second syllable of which consists of a nasal (cf. §5).

iii) The following disyllabic stems are however derived and not simple: (a) those derived from consonantal roots, e.g. S.nôla T.nôla N.nôla (rain on to, leak), cf. S.na T.na N.na (rain); (b) those derivative stems whose disyllabic nature is due to vowel-elision: (i) Where contracted and uncontracted derivative stems as well as the corresponding simple stems can be indicated, e.g. N.tanya (dash down), cf. T.taaya (dash down) < T.*tayaya, and T.taya (beat), N.rêla (give a name to) < N.rêêla (give a name to), cf. N.rêa (give a name), T.bêla (place for) < T.bêêla (place for) < T.*baêla < T.*bayela, cf. T.baya (place), S.phatla N.phatla (expel the water [illegible]) cf. S.phaatla (expel the water pouch) < S.*phaêatla and N.phaya (rip or tear open), N.taka (beat down with the flat), cf. T.taaka (beat each other) < T.*tayaka and T.taya (beat); (ii) where only the contracted and uncontracted derivative stems could be indicated: S.khôaka < S.khôaisa (rummage in the grass in order to drive mice out), S.phetla < S.pheetla (open a book, turn up the edge), T.tšhaka < T.tšhaaka (spread out as water over a plain), N.taapa (be tired, be hungry), cf. S.taapa (get tired, walk when tired), T.reta (listen to), cf. S.reetsa T.reetsa N.reetša (listen to), T.kgwiga < T.kgwiiga (dislocate).

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T.ne (be), S.mpe (denoting idea of: nevertheless, however), S.hle (denoting idea of: spontaneity), S.'ne (denoting idea of: continuity) and T.mma N.mma (take)

4. The simple stems may be subdivided as follows:

(a) Primary stems, consisting of (i) a simple root, or (ii) a compound root composed of two simple roots, plus in each case the terminative a, excepting in the following cases where the stem ends in a vowel other than a: T.itse (know), N.lere (bring), S.re T.re N.re (say), S.be T.be N.be (be), S.le T.le N.le (being), S.ehô (say), T.ne (be), S.mpe (denoting idea of: nevertheless, however), S.hle (denoting idea of: spontaneity), S.'ne denoting idea of: continuity) and T.mma N.mma (take).

(b) Secondary stems, consisting of (i) a derivative root or (ii) a compound root consisting of a simple root and a derivative root, or two derivative roots plus in each case the terminative a.

How necessary it is to distinguish between these two types of simple stems will be clearly seen when comparing the following simple stems: S.luba T.duba N.duba (make a mess of, knead) and S.tuba T.tuba (harass, torment, knead), N.xara (wound the head, cut open a swelling) and S.khatha T.kratha N.kratha (plough up in furrows, break up new soil), N.fafa (cut off obliquely, plane) and T.fapha (chop or cut lengthwise)[1]. On the other hand, although these two forms of the simple stem are not semantically and phonetically alike, their terminal formatives are identical, and their behaviour, in the conjugation of the verb as well as in the various processes involved in the extension of the stem, is in all respects alike. For this reason they are classified as two subdivisions of a main stem, and not as two independent main stems.

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1) More examples of this nature may be obtained from Appendices C2, D2, E2, and F.

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5. As can be seen from §4 above the difference between a primary and a secondary simple stem depends upon the difference between a simple and a derivative root and as was indicated in chapter 1, the difference between these two roots is due to either a nasal or the vowel i, both of which have a strengthening influence on the following root-consonant. Semantically the influence of this strengthening of the root-consonant or root-consonants, is to emphasise or intensify the meaning expressed by the primary simple stem. It sometimes happens that a simple stem appears in one subgroup of Sotho with unstrengthened consonant or consonants, and in another subgroup with strengthened consonant or consonants[1] without, however, any difference in meaning, e.g. T.bupa (cover) N.pupa (cover), N.rôfa (become loose) S.rôpha N.rôpha (become loose), S.gasa (smear a skin in order to make it supple) N.thwathwa (smear a skin in order to make it supple)[ii]. In form therefore the one subgroup has a primary simple stem, the other a secondary simple stem. But it happens more often than not that such verbal stems differ not only in form but also in meaning, a glance at Appendices C1 and C2, D1 and D2, and E1 and E2 will prove this.

It sometimes happens that in the same subgroup the semantic difference between a primary and a secondary simple stem is lost, but this is rather the exception than the rule, e.g. S.thuba (break, smash) and S.thukha (break, smash)[iii].

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i) Cf. Phon., p. 62.

ii) For more examples cf. Appendices C1, D1, and E1.

iii) For more examples cf. Appendices C1, D1, and E1.

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Although, as seen in chapter 1, consonant-strengthening is in Sotho a root-extending process, I am nevertheless dealing with it here as well. I think such a procedure is justifiable, as a root is one of the component parts of a verbal stem, and it is furthermore only possible to realise its real significance if the influence it has on the stem is taken into consideration. In fact, as the root can never be used independently, its very meaning can be ascertained only from the meaning conveyed by the stem.

Strengthening of the consonant or consonants of the Sotho verbal stems falls under three heads:

(i) Strengthening of the first consonant:

(a) Where primary and secondary stems are synonymous, e.g. N.fahla (feed off) N.phahla (feed off), N.kora (be satisfied) S.khora T.kgora (be satisfied), etc.[1]

(b) Where primary and secondary simple stems are not synonymous: N.kaya (cut open a swelling, graze the skin, scratch) N.khaya (mark by cutting the ear), T.lapa N.lapa (become tired or weary, be faint) S.tapa N.thapa (become tasteless, tired, weary), S.ôpa T.ôpa N.ôpa (strike, clap the hands, throb or ache as the head or pulse), N.kôpa (beat suddenly, stab), etc.[11]

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1) For more examples cf. App. C1.

11) For more examples cf. App. C2. Under this heading will fall the trisyllabic primary stem T.ntsha (strike), cf. S.laêa T.laya N.laya (instruct, direct, reprimand) and T.daya (strike).

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(ii) Strengthening of the second consonant[1]:

(a) Where primary and secondary simple stems are synonymous: T.bêba (cool of anger) T.bêpa (cool of anger), S.fuba (put into the mouth) S.fupa T.fupa (put into the mouth), etc.[ii]

(b) Where primary and secondary simple stems are not synonymous: T.phoa (become blistered) T.phoka (foam or froth as milk in a pail), S.thaba T.thaba N.thaba (be glad, cheerful) N.thapa (play), etc.[iii]

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i) Trisyllabic simple stems with a nasal as second syllable fall under this heading. I have already referred to such stems in chapter 1 §6 where the influence of the nasal on the following consonant has been discussed. I am quoting here a few more examples: T.tsenka (wound badly or in many pieces) and N.tšanka (scratch, tear, notch), cf. N.tšaka (break, smash) and N.tšaya (crack vermin), S.rentha (make cuts in the ear of an animal), cf. S.retha T.retha N.retha (cut with an axe) and S.rera (tattoo a brave warrior's arm), S.ngangpa (gesticulate before fighting), cf. S.ngaba N.ngaba (strike), also S.ngapa T.ngapa N.ngapa (take hold of with the nails, catch, scratch); S.tamma (walk slowly), cf. N.taba (jump, go begging from one house to another), also S.tapa N.tapa (become tired, weak, tasteless); N.phampha (fly), cf. S.phapha (fly, run, jump) and N.fafa (be light); S.bêanta T.pwanta N.pwanta (walk boldly), cf. N.pwata (walk quickly without looking at anybody); S.tanta T.tanta (twist, tie round), cf. N.tata (twist, roll up); N.rêntha (stroke as the beard), cf. N.rêtha (= rêntha); N.hlantha (cut into pieces as e.g. meat), cf. S.hletha (strike, chop); N.tsênka (cut into stripe), cf. N.tsêka (separate, cut out).

Sometimes only the trisyllabic simple stem could be indicated, e.g. T.fanka N.fanka (walk slowly with legs apart), S.kênka (look at someone attentively), S.thonkha N.thonkxa (hurt as does a wound), N.gentlha (hobble, limp along, bungle), S.hlenhla (be uneven), T.rontsa (refuse to sell or give that which one afterwards sells or gives to another), T.phantla (spread abroad as a swarm of locusts, scatter over a wide space).

The forms of the following stems are probably due to the elision of the connecting vowel (cf. chapter 4), and are therefore abbreviated derivative stems and not simple stems: S.hlômpha N.hlômpha (honour, respect), cf. S.hlômepha N.hlômepha (= hlômpha), T.gentla (stamp, pound), cf. N. gematla (beat), (probable line of development: gematla > *gemtla > gentla), also S.getla T.getla (beat out, stamp), N.tsunka (prick with a needle), cf. S.tsunuku (needle), also N.tsunuka (top as corn), N.tônka (seek), cf. N.tônaka (pick one thing out of many).

ii) For more examples cf. App. D1.

iii) For more examples cf. App. D2.

(iii) Strengthening of both consonants: this type of strengthening is not so common as those under (i) and (ii):

(a) Where primary and secondary simple stems are synonymous: S.fôra T.fôra N.fôra (plait e.g. hair, fibres etc.), N.phôtha (plait e.g. hair, fibres etc.), S.hofa (take out) S.khopha (take out)[i].

(b) Where primary and secondary simple stems are not synonymous: S.lula T.dula N.dula (sit down), N.tuta (bend the head through fatigue), N.faya (knock, beat into two) N.phaka (divide), etc.[ii].

Although the following were the only examples, I could find, of all three types of consonant-strengthening applied to the same primary verbal stem, they are nevertheless instructive: S.hoba (smear, besmear), S.khoba (smear the head with clay), S.hopa T.gopa N.gopa (scrape, brush up rubbish) S.khopa (shovel away); in all four there seems to be the idea of scraping or smearing. T.daya (strike), S.laŝa T.laya N.laya (instruct, direct, reprimand), T.ataya (strike), N.laka (supervise, rule, administer), N.taka (take charge of, e.g. of an army, inspect); in all five there seems to be the idea of keeping in order. S.lula T.dula N.dula (sit down), S.tula N.tula (stamp, crush, break), N.duta (stoop under a burden, bend the head), N.tuta (bend the head with fatigue); in all four there seems to be the idea of downward motion.

There are other more examples where two out of the three types of consonant-strengthening are applied to the same primary simple stem, e.g. S.ala T.ala N.ala (spread, scatter), S.ata T.ata N.ata (increase, become numerous) T.kala (hover with outstretched wings) N.kala (smooth out)[iii].

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i) For more examples cf. App. E1.

ii) For more examples cf. App. E2.

iii) For more examples cf. App. F.

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6. Varieties of simple verbal stems: simple stems whether primary or secondary, can be divided into the following varieties:

A. Monosyllabic simple stems, all of which consist of a consonant or a semivowel plus the terminative a, excepting S.re T.re N.re (say), S.be T.be N.be (be), T.bo (be), S.le T.le N.le (being), S.cho (say), T.ne (be), S.hle (denoting idea of spontaneity). There are not many monosyllabic stems in Sotho. The following is practically an exhaustive list[1]:

S.ba T.ba N.ba (be), S.be T.be N.be (be), T.bo (be),

S.fa T.fa N.fa (give),

N.fya (burn), T.fya (burn),

T.ga N.xa (draw water),

N.ǩwa (die, wither),

N.hlwa (delay, pass the time),

S.hla (denotes notion of spontaneity), S.hle (denotes notion of spontaneity),

S.hlǒa (ascend, climb),

S.ja T.ja N.ja (eat),

S.ka T.ka N.ka (be like), S.ka T.ka N.ka (can, be able),

S.kha N.kxa (draw water),

S.kha N.kxa (pluck, pluck out),

T.kgwa N.kxwa (spit out),

S.khǒa (get weaned),

N.khwa (spit out),

N.kxwa (dip in e.g. a pen into ink or a finger into fat),

N.kwa (come out), N.kwa (hear),

S.le T.le N.le (being)[ii],

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i) It is however possible that a few more stems may have to be added to this list. For remarks in this connection cf. Chapter 2 §8.

ii) S.se T.se N.se (not being, is not) can perhaps be regarded as a monosyllabic verbal stem in e.g. S.ke se monna T.ke se monna (I not being a man), cf. S.ke le monna T.ke le monna N.ke le monna (I being a man), but it can hardly be a verbal stem in S.ha se monna T.ga se monna N.xa se monna (it is not a man).

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S.lŏa T.lwa N.lwa (fight, quarrel),

S.na T.na N.na (be),

T.ne (be),

S.na T.na N.na (rain),

T.ngwa (bear fruit), cf. T.uma (bear fruit), T.ungwa (bear fruit), N.enya = N.enywa (bear fruit),

S.nŏa T.nwa N.nwa (drink),

S.nya N.nya (go to the stool),

S.ŏa T.wa N.wa (fall),

S.psha N.phŏa (get dry),

N.pya (dig), cf. S.ŏpa T.ŏpa N.ŏpa (dig), also UB.kimba (dig (N.UB.W. p. 308),

N.ra (say),

N.ra (arrive at years of discretion of a child),

S.re T.re N.re (say),

S.sa T.sa N.sa (leave off raining, disappear of darkness),

T.ŏa (name, give a name to),

T.ŏa (become burnt, scalded, scorched),

S.shŏa T.ŏwa (die),

N.swa (burn, scorch),

S.tla T.tla N.tla (come), cf. UB.ɣiɣa = UB.ɣa (come), (N.UB.W. p. 202),

N.tlwa (hear), cf. S.utlŏa T.utlwa N.utlwa (hear), also N.ŏwa above, and UB.ɣŏa = UB.ɨɣua (hear) (N.UB.W. p. 304),

N.tŏa (come),

N.tŏa (eat),

T.tŏha (dry up as water),

S.oha (burn), S.ohô (say),

S.tŏŏa N.tswa (condemn), cf. N.tŏŏa (condemn),

S.tsŏa T.tŏwa N.tswa N.tŏwa (go out, come out),

S.tŏŏa N.thwa (spit out),

N.twa (hear),

S.ŏa T.ya N.ya (go),

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It will be noticed from the above list that while some of these stems are monosyllabic in one dialect, they need not necessarily be so in other dialects.

The small number of monosyllabic verbal stems in Sotho in comparison with the large number of verbal roots of the form consonant or consonant plus vowel, is undoubtedly a striking phenomenon. The position would therefore seem to be that there is a monosyllabic root-basis, and a disyllabic stem-basis with very few monosyllabic stems. Some of these, monosyllabic stems might have been so originally[i], others might have worn down to their present form. It should also be noted that the monosyllabic stems are preceded by the vowel e in some of its conjugational forms.[ii]

B. Disyllabic simple stems, which again fall into four heads:

(i) Those of the form consonant or semi-vowel, plus vowel, plus consonant or semivowel, plus the multi-functional terminative, which is always a excepting in T.lere (bring)[iii], e.g. S.lema T.lema N.lema (plough), S.bala T.bala N.bala (count, read), S.tšŏala N.tswala (beget), S.roma T.roma N.roma (send), S.rata T.rata N.rata (love), T.tsena N.tsena (enter), T.kgama (become damp), N.xama (be thin), N.bova (skin), N.xaya (crackle, rustle), T.tšaya (take), S.boŏa T.boya N.boya (return), N.yŏfa (send off).

(ii) Those of the form vowel plus consonant plus the multi-functional terminative which is always a

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i) Cf. Phon., p. 46.

ii) Cf. Jacottet A Grammar of the Sesuto language, pp. 97-99; Endemann Versuch einer Grammatik der Sotho, p. 144.

iii) In Setlŏkwa also lera.

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excepting in T.itse (know). These stems are usually termed vowel verbs[i], e.g. S.aha T.aga N.axa (build), S.eba T.eba (swing), S.ila T.ila N.ila (avoid), S.ôna N.ôna (get spoiled, worn out), S.una T.una N.una (take, gather).

The initial vowel of the vowel verb seems, in some cases at any rate, to be unstable:

(a) It seems to be subject to change, e.g. S.ôpa N.ôpa (call together a public meeting), T.ôpa (as in go ôpa mokgosi = call to a tribal meeting), N.ôna (put into water, soak), S.ina T.ina N.ina (put into water, dip in)[ii].

(b) A stem may be found commencing in a vowel in one dialect while in other dialects the vowel has disappeared, cf. A. above.

(c) Sometimes, owing to strengthening, a vowel verb is changed into a stem commencing in a consonant, e.g. S.ôpa T.ôpa N.ôpa (strike, throb as a pulse), N.kôpa (beat suddenly, stab)[iii].

(iii) Those of the form consonant plus vowel plus the multi-functional terminative s[iv], e.g. T.ǩwa (stir meat in a pot), N.fea (catch), T.gia (run away), S.hoa T.goa N.xoa (shout), S.ruŋ T.rua N.rua (possess, become rich).

(iv) Those whose first syllable consists of a nasal only[v]. This is the case only with S.nka (take), S.nkha T.nkga N.nkxa (smell), S.'na T.ana N.ana (it denotes

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i) Cf. Term., p. 819. Such stems are probably due to the fact that UB.ɣ is no longer represented, cf. Phon., p. 59.

ii) For more examples cf. App. G.

iii) For more examples cf. Appendices C1 and C8.

iv) Such stems are probably due to the fact that UB.ɣ is no longer represented, cf. Phon., p. 59 also chapter 1 §5.2(b) above, although in S. some such stems are due to the elision of h (UB.k), e.g. S.phêa = S.phêha (cook), cf. Xhosa pheka (cook).

v) Cf. Chapter 1 §6.(a).

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the idea of continued action; in T. and N. it means also: occupy, inhabit; and in T.: also: be), T.nnya (distil as dew, exude as gum, perspiration, etc.), S.mpa N.mpa (it denotes the idea of nevertheless, but, in N. also: do the opposite), T.mma[1] N.mma (take, as in: mma me = take here), S.ntša T.ntsha N.ntša (take out).

C. Trisyllabic simple stems. These stems belong in all probability to a transitional stage; they have been fully dealt with in Chapter 1 as well as in §5 above, to which reference should be made for examples.

7. The number of simple stems in S.tho is enlarged as a result of the following processes:

(1) Change of the root-consonant, due to consonant-strengthening, as a result of which secondary simple stems are formed (cf. §5 above).

(2) Change of the stem-vowel, reference to this phenomenon was already made in Chapter 1, which dealing with the verbal root, as it is primarily a root-affecting process: but I intend dealing with it in this chapter as well, for the same reasons as in the case of consonant-strengthening (cf. §5 above). It will be observed that the following stems are related in meaning, though not synonymous; that their consonants remain unchanged; and that the only element undergoing a change is the stem-vowel, e.g. N.phakxa (cut a split or flap in the ear), S.phôkha (split in two), S.phukha (smash, break); S.tila (strike the ground with the feet as a sign of joy), S.tula N.tula (stamp, crush); S.batla T.batla (seek, look for), T.bitla (search for hidden things); etc. For more examples cf. App. C, where it will be noticed from the stems quoted, that in a few cases stems with different

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1) Obtained from my informants.

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stem-vowels are synonymous -- this however, is the exception, not the rule. As pointed out in Chapter 1, it is not possible to decide which of the stems in each of the sets quoted in App. G. is the original stem, by virtue of its having the original verbal root from which the others have been derived. Such a classification, if at all possible, can only be made if detailed information on this point is available for various Bantu languages. Neither is it possible in this process of vowel change, to attach any specific semantic function to the various root-vowels, as was done, to a certain extent, by Westermann for Sudanic[1].

It has already been observed by Meinhof that this process of vowel change is present in Bantu[ii]. I quote below examples from a few other Bantu languages, viz. Xhosa, Venda and Tonga: Xhosa: gaqa (creep on hands and knees), gqaa (stoop, kneel down); gqʃa (choose, pick, give preference to, hire), gqʃa (hire, employ a servant); and daka (disappear, vanish so as to be lost) duka (wander away among strangers and be unknown, be lost to view). Venda: thatha (remove the leaves from a branch or stick, chase away, banish), thutha (wipe out, destroy, pull out, annul). Tonga: hinda (pass, go through) hunda (pass by, pass away).

(5) Through a probable process of transposition of the consonants, e.g. S.lahla T.latlha N.lahla (throw away, forsake, give up), S.hlala T.tlhala N.hlala (divorce, forsake); N.thêba (butt, nudge, strike), N.bêtha (beat, cudgel), etc.[iii]

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1) Cf. Westermann "Laut, Ton und Sinn in Westafrikanischen Sudansprachen" in Festschrift Meinhof, pp. 315 ff.

ii) Phon., p. 47.

iii) For more examples cf. App. H.

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Although the stems in these pairs are related in meaning, they are mostly not synonymous. One concludes therefore, that if these stems are examples of a process of consonant transposition then this process is not merely of phonetical, but also of semantic significance. So far no semantic value has been attached to the process of consonant transposition[i], but in spite of this the above examples definitely seem to point in this direction[ii].

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i) Cf. Phon., p. 16 and Term., p. 215.

ii) There are in Sotho stems to which the process of consonant transposition, as expounded by Meinhof (Phon., p. 16), has been applied, e.g. N.xobola (bark, talk nonsense), S.bobola T.boqola N.boxola (bark); N.xafola (castrate), T.faqola N.faxola (castrate); S.fulara T.fulara N.fulara (go away from, turn from), N.furala (go away from, turn from), cf. S.furalla (= N.furala); T.atlapa N.atlapa (feel about as a blind man), T.apatla (feel about as a blind man); N.xokona (gnaw) N.xonoka (gnaw).

CHAPTER 4.

The connecting vowel.

1. By the term connecting vowel is meant:

(a) The vowel between the last stem-consonant and the first suffix-consonant[i], e.g. the first a in S.bônaana T.bônaana N.bônaang (see one another), cf. S.bôna T.bôna N.bôna (see); the o in N.fihlola (bring out of the hiding-place), cf. T.fitlha N.fihla (hide); the ê in S.fêla T.fêla N.fêla (give for, in at), cf. S.fa T.fa N.fa (give); the second a in S.khabaêla (grow in beauty and strength, prosper of plants), cf. S.khaba T.kgaba N.kxaba (be beautiful, sprout); the second i in S.pipia (hide, keep secrets), cf. N.pipa (cover)[ii].

(b) The vowel between the suffix-consonants, e.g. the second a in S. batlêlana (seek for each other), cf. S.batla T.batla N.batla (seek); the second ê in S.lahlêhêlana and the second a T.lathlêgêlana N.lahlêxêlana (lose sight of one another), cf. S.lahla T.latlha N.lahla (threw away, forsake); the ê in S.khabaêla (cf. (a) above); the second o in N.hekolola (disenchant), cf. N.leka (charm, bewitch)[iii].

Connecting vowels may be grouped under the following sub-heads:

(1) Unstandardised connecting vowels, i.e. connecting vowels which are provided merely to prevent the juxtaposition

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i) For a discussion on suffixes and suffix-consonants, cf. Chapter 5.

ii) In cases where the stem-consonant succeeding the stem-vowel has dropped out the connecting vowel and the stem-vowel will of course be juxtaposed, e.g. in S.boêla T.boêla N.boêla (return to), cf. S.boêa T.boya (bea) N.boya (bea) (return). The stem-consonant S.ê T.y N.y has dropped out.

iii) In cases where a suffix-consonant has dropped out two connecting vowels will be juxtaposed, e.g. in S.bolaêla T.bolaêla N.bolaêla (kill for), cf. S.bolaêa T.bolaya N.bolaya (kill). The suffix-consonant S.ê T.y N.y has dropped out.

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of two consonants and which have no semantic force. Unstandardised connecting vowels again may be of two types:

(a) Those which are identical with the stem-vowel, e.g. the second u in T.phuthuka (collect thoroughly), cf. S.phutha T.phutha N.phutha (gather, collect); the second ê in S.kêbêêla (bend as under the wind), cf. S.kêba (bow, incline). Such connecting vowels may be called homophonic unstandardised connecting vowels. The Sotho vowels which may function in this way, are the following: S.a T.a N.a, S.ê T.ê N.ê, S.e T.e N.e, S.i T.i N.i, S.ô T.ô N.ô, S.o T.o N.o and S.u T.u N.u, and they can be used as homophonic unstandardised connecting vowels before all Sotho derivative suffixes excepting the passive S.ŏa T.wa N.wa, and the factitive S.ŏa T.ya N.ya.

(b) Those which are not identical with the stem-vowel, e.g. the ô in N.xakôna (mix snuff with ash), cf. N.xaka (mix tobacco with ash); the e in N.bipeha (swell, puff up), cf. N.bipa (swell). Such connecting vowels may be called heterophonic unstandardised connecting vowels. The same Sotho vowels which may function as homophonic unstandardised connecting vowels may also function as heterophonic unstandardised connecting vowels[1)ii)]. They are however less commonly heterophonic than homophonic. Heterophonic unstandardised connecting vowels are met with before all Sotho derivative suffixes excepting, before the passive S.ŏa T.wa N.wa, and the factitive S.ŏa T.ya N.ya.

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1) The unstandardised connecting vowels e and o, whether homophonic or heterophonic, are always closed if the stems are in their negative, habitual or perfect conjugational forms, e.g. N.xakone (do not mix snuff with ash), cf. N.xakôna (mix snuff with ash); T.poreuile (have loved as a cow), T.poreuma (as in: e tla e poreuma = it usually lows), cf. T.pôrêma (low as a cow), and S.pôra (roar); N.kekemile (have remained burning on the same place), cf. N.kêkema (remain burning on the same place), and S.kêka N.kêka (spread of a fire).

ii) Root-vowels ê or ô are changed to stem-vowels e or o respectively if the heterophonic unstandardised connecting vowel is i, u or o, e.g. T.bedumma N.bedumma (become shrivelled as dry corn, become lazy), cf. S.bêla T.bêla N.bêla (rot, decay), S.khuthula N.kxuthula (pull down, pull off), cf. S.khêtha T.kxêtha N.kxêtha (pick out, choose); N.kxukxoma (become muddy of water), cf. N.kxôka (make water muddy).

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(2) Standardised connecting vowels i.e. connecting vowels which form an integral part of the suffixes[i]. The standardised connecting vowels may be divided into the following sub-heads :

(a) Semantic significant standardised connecting vowels, i.e. connecting vowels which have a semantic influence on the following suffix. The only vowels which do have such an influence are S.a T.a N.a, S.e T.e N.e[ii] and S.o T.o N.o, and they have this influence only when occurring in the following manner before the suffixes S.ha T.ga N.xa, N.kx, S.ka T.ka N.ka, S.la T.la N.la, S.ma T.ma N.ma, S.na T.na N.na. S.ra T.ra N.ra and S.tha T.tha N.tha: N.a S.e T.e N.e, S.o T.o N.o before S.ha T.ga N.xa, giving N. axa[iii], S.eha T.ega N.exa, S.oha T.oga N.oxa; N.a, N.o before N.kxa, giving N.akxa, N.okxa; S.a T.a N.a before S.ka T.ka N.ka, giving S.aka T.aka N.aka; S.a T.a N.a, S.e T.e N.e, S.o T.o N.o before S.la T.la N.la, giving S.ala T.ala N.ala, S.ela T.ela N.ela, S.ola T.ola N.ola; S.a T.a N.a before S.ma T.ma N.ma, giving S.ama T.ama N.ama; S.a T.a N.a before S.na T.na N.na, giving S.ana T.ana N.ana; S.a T.a N.a before S.ra T.ra N.ra, giving S.ara T.ara N.ara; S.aT.a N.a before S.tha T.tha N.tha, giving S.atha T.atha N.atha.

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i) In contra-distinction to the unstandardised connecting vowels which will not be indicated when suffixes are written separately, the standardised connecting vowels will be written joint to the suffixes when so represented, e.g. the suffix of batiêla is êla; ê is here a standardised connecting vowel but the suffix of phathuka is ka, a is an unstandardised connecting vowel.

ii) Which becomes S.e T.e N.e if the stem is in its perfect, negative or habitual conjugational forms, e.g. S.lumetse T. dumetse N.dumetse (have believed, have agreed), S.lumela T. dumela N.dumela (do not believe, do not agree), S.lumelô (as in: ke ke ke lumelô = I usually believe), cf. S.lumêla T.dumêla N.dumêla (believe, agree).

iii) No examples could be found of S.eha T.ega, although, as will be seen later, this suffix is found in S.ehala T.egala.

When these suffixes are preceded by S.a T.a N.a, S.e T.e N.e or S.o T.o N.o[1] in the manner indicated above they have, as will be seen later on in this treatise, a special force, which, while akin to, is nevertheless not identical with that of S.ha T.ga N.xa, N.kxa, S.ka T.ka N.ka, S.la T.la N.la, S.ma T.ma N.ma, S.na T.na N.na, S.ra T.ra N.ra and S.tha T.tha N.tha respectively, preceded by the unstandardised connecting vowels. For this reason the connecting vowels S.a T.a N.a, S.e T.e N.e and S.o T.o N.o, are written joint to the suffixes referred to above[11].

Semantic significant standardised connecting vowels may sometimes be homophonic with the stem-vowel, i.e. in cases where the stem-vowel happens to be identical with the connecting vowel, thus the connecting vowel S.a T.a N.a is homophonic in: T.gataka N.xataka (tramp or tread much), cf. S.hata T.gata N.xata (tramp, tread on); N.kxwahlala (become strong), cf. S.khwahla N.kxwahla (be strong); and N.batama (lie flat on the stomach), cf. S.bata T.bata N.bata (beat with a flat thing); but heterophonic in N.bipaka (cover entirely),

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1) It should be noted that these suffixes are sometimes, though seldom though, preceded by homophonic unstandardised connecting vowels a, e or o, in such a manner that it is impossible to tell only from the form of the derivative stem, whether the connecting vowel is actually unstandardised and not perhaps standardised. In such cases the force of the suffix will indicate what type of connecting vowel has been employed. So, e.g. the connecting vowel is unstandardised in the following cases: S.panara (advance stealthily), cf. N.pana (move carefully); N.tsatsara (walk elastically, softly), cf. N.tsatsa (walk on the toes); N.kxobora (become muddy of water), cf. N.kxoba (make water muddy); T. krorkra (be troubled with a ceaseless cough), no corresponding simple stem; T.phophama (flutter as hanging clothes or chaff blown by the wind), cf. S.phapha (fly, run).

11) It is of course not necessary to deal specially with the connecting vowels of compound suffixes (cf. Chapter 5) such as, e.g. the first a in S.atsa T.atsa N.atsa < S.ala T.ala N.ala + S.sa T.xa N.xa, the o in S.osa T.osa N.osa < S.ohs T.oxs N. oxs + S.sa T.xa N.xa, the i in S.isa T.isa N.isa < S.shs T. shs N.shs + S.sa T.xa N.xa, etc., as the nature of the connecting vowels of such suffixes will depend upon the nature of the connecting vowels of their first component parts.

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cf. S.bipa T.bipa N.bipa (cover), N.têkala (get half-full) cf. N.têka (fill up half). So also S.ê T.ê N.ê is homophonic in S.bêtlêla N.bêtlêla (cut for, chisel for), cf. S. bêtla N.bêtla (cut, chisel); but heterophonic in S.bopêla T.bopêla N.bopêla (make for), cf. S.bopa T.bopa N.bopa (mould, form), and S.o T.o N.o is homophonic in S.okola T.okola N.okola (skim off), cf. N.oka (skim); but heterophonic in S.akhola T.akxola N.akxola (threw up and down), cf. S.akha T.akxa N.akxa (swing about, toss up).

(b)Semantic non-significant standardised connecting vowels, i.e. connecting vowels which have no influence on the following suffixes. There are two such connecting vowels, viz. T.i N.i[i] and S.a T.a N.a, and they are only met with as follows:

The connecting vowel i when preceding the passive suffix T.wa N.wa, thus forming a passive suffix T.iwa N.iwa[ii], out of which has developed S.ŋŏa T.ywa N.uwa as a result of assimilation, e.g. N.rutuwa = N.rutiwa = N.rutwa (be taught) cf. S.ruta T.ruta N.ruta (teach).

The passive suffix will of course be fully discussed later[iii], however such examples as S.neŏa T.newa = N.naiwa (be rained), cf. S.na T.na N.na (rain), N.nwiwa = N.nwewa < N.*nwaiwa (be drunk), cf. S.mŏa T.nwa N.nwa (drink), S.jeŏa T.jewa T.jêwa N.jawa < S.*jaiŏa T.*jaiwa N. *jaiwa (be eaten), cf. S.ja T.ja N.ja (eat) prove, I think, that the passive suffix is sometimes preceded by a vowel i,

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i) In S. permuted to u.

ii) UB.iywa cf. Phon., p. 45.

iii) Cf. Chapter 18.

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which often combines with the terminative a of monosyllabic stems[1], or even with the stem-vowel a as in T.taêwa < T.*taaiwa T.*taayiwa (be taken) cf. T.taaya (take). One seems therefore justified to regard i as an integral part of wa, and to attach it joint to wa thus giving a passive iwa.

The connecting vowel a when preceding the durative suffix S.ŏa T.ya N.ya, thus results in giving a durative suffix S.aŏa T.aya N.aya. This is a very rare suffix in Sotho, it occurs only with 15 derivative stems, e.g. S.bolaŏa T.bolaya N.bolaya (kill), cf. S.bôla T.bôla N.bôla (rot, decay); N.fokaya (shake about, move to and fro), cf. S.foka T.foka N.foka (sprinkle, wave to and fro). and purely from the Sotho point of view the first a of S.aŏa T.aya N.aya could have been classed as heterophonic unstandardised connecting vowel. This has however not been done because the UB. parallel of S.aŏa T.aya N.aya, viz. aya also commences in a, and this UB. form has of course been postulated only because parallels in other Bantu languages have justified it. For this reason the first a in S.aŏa T.aya N.aya is regarded as a standardised and not as an unstandardised connecting vowel[ii].

Semantic non-significant standardised connecting vowels may of course sometimes be homophonic with the stem-vowels, but this will only be the case if the stem-vowel happens to be identical with the connecting vowel e.g. N.papaya (walk on the side of the foot, walk with an uncertain gait), cf. N.papa (feel, grope); T.bidiwa N.bidiwa

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1) A similar process of coalescence is often met with in performative stems with corresponding monosyllabic simple stems e.g. S.jesa T.jesa N.leŏa (cause to eat) cf. S.ja T.ja N.ja (eat).

ii) Cf. also N.ngôngwaya (be obstinate) probably from N.ngôngô (of being obstinate) + aya.

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(be called), cf. S.bitsa T.bitsa N.bitša (call) and UB. vila (call)[i].

2. As regards connecting vowels in UB. the position is briefly as follows[ii]:

a as a standardised connecting vowel is found in aka, ata, aya, ala, ana and ama;

e as a standardised connecting vowel is found in eka and ela;

u as a standardised connecting vowel is found in uka and ula;

i as a standardised connecting vowel is found in iywa the passive suffix which also occurs as wa.

From the way in which Meinhof has classified his UB. verbal suffixes, it would appear that he regards the suffixes commencing in a consonant as the primary forms. Those commencing in a vowel are therefore secondary. It should also be noticed that all Sotho verbal suffixes, with the exception of S.aka T.aka N.aka, N.akwa, N.okwa and S.atha T.atha N.atha[iii], which have a standardised connecting vowel, have representatives in UB. also commencing in a vowel; and also that all UB. verbal suffixes commencing in a vowel have representatives in Sotho with standardised connecting vowels[iv], excepting UB.aka whose initial vowel however belongs actually to the non-verbal stem[v].

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i) Cf. Phon., p. 230.

ii) Cf. Phon., pp. 45 ff.

iii) These four suffixes, which are strengthened forms of S.ela T.ala N.ala, N.ala, N.ola and S.ara T.ara N.ara respectively, are dependent upon their corresponding unstrengthened forms for connecting vowels.

iv) The Sotho suffixes preceded by standardised connecting vowels will be called secondary suffixes, and those preceded by unstandardised connecting vowels will be called primary suffixes. The difference between these two types of suffixes will be discussed in Chapter 5.

v) Cf. Phon., p. 45.

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3. It will be seen in what follows that I agree with Meinhof's view that the derivative suffixes primarily commence in a consonant or semivowel.

I have not been able to succeed in explaining the origin of the connecting vowels of such Sotho secondary suffixes as have also UB. representatives commencing in a vowel. In such cases then, I shall not try to come to a final settlement of the question, but shall approach it only as far as my observations in Sotho allow me, referring only occasionally to other Bantu languages[i], ~~as to the occurrence of the other connecting vowels however no explanation is offered below.~~ An explanation is, however, offered below regarding the occurrence of the other connecting vowels.

In Sotho the primary suffixes exceed the secondary suffixes in number, as only some of the primary suffixes are provided with a standardised connecting vowel and so thus becoming secondary[ii].

4. With a view to illustrating the occurrence of unstandardised connecting vowels I propose to deal very briefly, in what follows, with the manner in which primary suffixes are employed to form derivative stems. They are so employed with: (a) non-verbal stems (b) verbal roots.

(a) Primary suffixes employed with non-verbal stems[iii] N.ba, e.g. N.tlêrêba (cause to burst), cf. tlêrê found in S. letlêrê (potsherd, fragment of glass); S.fa T.fa N.fa, e.g.

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i) It should perhaps be emphasised here that S.ha T.ga N.xa and S.la T.la N.la are the only two suffixes before which all three the standardised connecting vowels a, ê and o occur, the others which do take a standardised connecting vowel take a only.

ii) It is perhaps noteworthy that all living derivative suffixes (cf. Chapter 5) in Sotho are secondary, with the exception of the passive suffix S.ŝa T.xa N.wa which is primary.

iii) I quote only a few examples here. Derivative stems formed from non-verbal stems will be fully dealt with in Chapter 20.

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S.skofa T.skofa N.skofa (make haste), cf. sko also found in N.bosko (speed); N.xa, e.g. N.fôkôxa (become weak), cf. S. fôkô (a weak thing); T.tlha, e.g. T.rukrutlha (brawl, riot), cf. S.rukhu, in S.serukhu (a big noise); N.ka e.g. N.lodika (sing as birds), cf. S.loli T.lodi N.lodi in S.mololi T. molodi N.molodi (whistle, song of birds).

In the same way all the other primary suffixes, excepting N.kxa T.ntha and S.ôa T.wa N.wa, are employed with non-verbal stems to form derivative stems. It should be noted that when the primary suffixes are employed with non-verbal stems no connecting vowels are required as such stems end in a vowel, thus rendering the juxtaposition of two consonants impossible.

(b) Primary suffixes employed with verbal roots[1]: S.a, e.g. S.pipia (hide, keep secrets), cf. N.pipa (cover up); N.ba, e.g. N.nyanyaba (drag the legs along through being exhausted), cf. T.nyanya (come or go softly); S.hla, e.g. S. khôrôhla (notch), cf. T.krôra N.kxôra (gnaw, crack, bite off, plough hard dry land); S.ka, e.g. S.tetoka (beat), cf. S.tota N.tota (strike, hit); N.ma, e.g. N.kxôhiôma (shake into a slanting position, glide), cf. N.kxôhla (shake, be loose); N.na, e.g. N.kibina (beat), cf. S.kiba T.kiba N.kiba (knock with the stick against the ground when walking); S.tha, e.g. S.suxutha (eat indiscriminately, cram), cf. S. suxa (eat meat); N.tla, e.g. N.tlôpôtla (fill in a lot, shovel in a great deal), cf. S.tlôpa N.tlôpa (fill in a pot, drink a lot of beer).

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1) I quote only a few examples here. This type of derivation will be fully dealt with in subsequent chapters.

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5. It is a striking phenomenon that in Sotho, the unstandardised connecting vowel is, (a) in by far the majority of cases identical with the stem-vowel, cf. examples in §4(b) above, (b) S.ê T.ê N.ê, S.o T.o N.o or S.i T.i N.i in some cases where the stem-vowel is a, e.g. T.kgaphêa (shake about and run over as water while being carried), cf. T.kgapha N. kxapha (push out with the hand as grain from a vessel), N. kxwarila (strike a match, write, draw a line), cf. T.kgwara N.kxwara (strike a match, scrape with a knife)[i], (c) S.ô T.ô N.ô, S.o T.o N.o or S.u T.u N.u in some cases when the preceding consonant is a labial, e.g. N.nyamoka (lament for the dead) cf. S.nyama N.nyama (become sad), and (d) only in a comparatively small number of cases of a form which would appear to be not subject to any regulating factors.

The following figures will indicate the importance of this phenomenon in the construction of the Sotho verbal derivatives :

No. of derivative stems with single[ii] suffixes (primary and secondary)[iii] : ± 8300

No. of derivative stems with single primary suffixes : ± 800

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i) This deviation, when the stem-vowel is a, from the general position of absolute vowel harmony between the stem-vowel and the vowel of the following syllable, has been observed also in other Bantu languages, where this type of vowel harmony, although not due to the same causes as quoted here for Sotho, is found, cf. Meinhof Grundzüge einer vergleichende Grammatik der Bantusprachen, p. 62, Bleek A Comparative grammar of South African languages, p. 65.

ii) A suffix is in its single state when it is employed unaccompanied by any other suffix, cf. Chapter 5. With a very few exceptions all verbal derivatives, ending in a primary suffix in its single state, are trisyllabic.

iii) Not counting (a) the derivative stems in the factitive S.ŝa T.ya N.ya or the passive S.ŝa T.wa N.wa, as these suffixes are directly attached to the roots without any intervening connecting vowel; (b) those trisyllabic stems (about 800 in number) whose first two syllables are identical, and which have probably been formed as a result of prefix-formation (cf. Chapter 19).

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Of these 800 derivative stems: (i) 580 have complete vowel harmony between the stem-vowel and the connecting vowel, and for 220 of these corresponding simple verbal stems could be found in Sotho; (ii) 80 have a as stem-vowel and S.a T.a N.a, S.e T.e N.e or S.i T.i N.i as connecting vowel, and for 30 of these corresponding simple verbal stems could be found in Sotho; (iii) 140 have neither of the qualities described in (i) and (ii), and for 80 of these corresponding simple verbal stems could be found in Sotho; 30 of these 140 derivative stems have a labial as final stem-consonant followed by S.o T.o N.o, S.o T.o N.o or S.u T.u N.u, and for 15 of these corresponding simple verbal stems could be found in Sotho[1].

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1) This phenomenon is not limited to Sotho, though I cannot say to what extent it is found in other Bantu languages. At any rate it does not require a thorough search through any Bantu dictionary to convince one that this phenomenon is also met with outside the boundaries of Sotho, as will be illustrated by the following references and examples:

In Karanga with the suffix ma, e.g. dirima (pour in torrents), cf. dira (pour) Marconnes A Grammar of Central Karanga p. 199.

In Kikuyu with the suffix nga, e.g. temanga (cut about) cf. tema (cut) Barlow Tentative studies in Kikuyu Grammar and Idiom, p. 74.

In Nyanja: (the following examples have been taken from Scott and Hetherwick Dictionary of the Nyanja language): chechata (cut, gnaw, carve), cf. checha (cut grass with a knife), dindita (strike with something heavy), cf. dinda (give a blow with the elbow); dodoma (stammer), cf. doda (jump from branch to branch).

In Venda: (the following examples have been taken from v. Warmelo Tshivenda dictionary): dodonga (feel, probe with one finger) and dodoma (run with frequent halts to cower down and hide), cf. doda (stalk, walk carefully, watchfully as when after game); funungudza (seek an object which has been mislaid, turning over everything in doing so), cf. funa (desire, want).

In Herero: (the following examples have been taken from Brincker Wörterbuch und Grammatik des Otji-Herero): siringa (be covered up, block up, bury), cf. sira (scrape in, bury); kurunga (be loose), cf. kura still found in kurakura (shake, be unsteady).

In Lamba, cf. Doke Textbook of Lamba Grammar, new ed., pp. 216-217.

In Yaunde, cf. Nekes Lehrbuch der Jaunde-Sprache, p. 161, also Meepe "Kontinuativ und Imperativ in Jaunde" Z.f.K.S. 4, pp. 75 ff.

In Swaheli, cf. Ovir "Die abgeleiteten Verba im Kiswahili" in Z.A.O.S., 2, pp. 263-264.

6. This phenomenon of trisyllabic derivative stems with complete or partial vowel harmony depends upon the nature and origin of the vowel of the second syllable. Let us now examine the various possible factors to which the occurrence of the unstandardised connecting vowel may be due :

(1) It may be an integral part of the suffix, in the same way as e.g. ɛ and ɔ are integral parts of the suffixes ɛla and ɔla respectively. It will be seen later that each of the vowels ɛ and ɔ when prefixed to the suffix la, causes the resulting secondary suffixes to differ in force not only from la, but also from one another. If the position had been that all vowels found between the final stem-consonant and the suffix-consonant, in a verbal derivative, formed integral parts of the suffixes, then one would expect these vowels to have some influence or other on the force of the suffix. Thus there should then have been a difference between S.aka T.aka N.aka, S.ɛka T.ɛka N.ɛka, S.eka T.eka N.eka, S.ika T.ika N.ika, S.ɔka T.ɔka N.ɔka, S.oka T.oka N.oka and S.uka T.uka N.uka; or between S.ama T.ama N.ama, S.ɛma T.ɛma N.ɛma, S.ema T.ema N.ema, S.ima T.ima N.ima, S.ɔma T.ɔma N.ɔma, S.oma T.oma N.oma and S. uma T.uma N.uma; or between S.ana T.ana N.ana, S.ɛna T.ɛna N.ɛna, S.ena T.ena N.ena, S.ina T.ina Nina, S.ɔna T.ɔna N.ɔna S.ona T.ona N.ona and S.una T.una N.una, etc., or at least between some of these forms in each of these sets, but this, as will be seen later, is not the case. The only difference that does exist is between ska, sma and sna on the one hand and ha, ma and na on the other hand. One concludes therefore that the unstandardised connecting vowel does not form an integral part of the suffix.

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(2) It may be due to vowel assimilation. Here one proceeds from the standpoint that the derivative suffixes under discussion all have an initial vowel, whatever that vowel may be, which is then assimilated to the stem-vowel. This view is advocated by Meinhof in connection with the change of the initial vowel of the suffixes ama and ana in e.g. Duala[1], also by Meepe in connection with the change of the initial vowel of the representative of UB.aya in Yaunde[11].

Apart from the fact that assimilation of this kind presupposes that the suffix must have an initial vowel which could have assimilated to the stem-vowel, it is also evident that the suffix with the assimilated vowel must have the same force as the suffix with its original initial vowel. The suffixes, whose initial vowels, according to Meinhof and Meepe, are, ~~subject to vowel assimilation~~ subject to vowel assimilation, in the languages dealt with by them, do have initial vowels, i.e. they are secondary suffixes, and the suffixes with assimilated initial vowels do not differ in force from the suffixes with the original initial vowels. The Sotho counterparts of these original suffixes are also secondary, viz. S.ama T.ana N.ama, S.ana T.ana N.ana and S.aba T.aya N.aya. However, the Sotho primary suffixes S. ma T.ma N.ma and S.na T.na N.na preceded by S.a T.a N.a, S.e T.e N.e, S.i T.i N.i, S.o T.o N.o, S.u T.u N.u, etc., do not have the same force as the corresponding secondary suffixes referred to above[111]. Furthermore this phenomenon of

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i) Grundriss einer Lautlehre der Bantusprachen, pp. 157 and 16

ii) "Kontinuativ und Imperativ im Jaunde" Z.f.K.S. 4, pp. 75 f

iii) I could detect no difference between S.aba T.aya N.aya and S.a T.ya N.ya (durative) preceded by the various unstandardised connecting vowels, but S.aba T.aya N.aya is a very rare suffix, occurring only in 15 derivative stems, it is therefore quite conceivable that the initial a has lost its force.

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vowel harmony is even met in such suffixes as S.hka T.tlha N.hla, S.pa T.pa N.pa, S.tla T.tla N.tla, etc., i.e. suffixes which, when occurring in UB., or in any of the individual Bantu languages examined by me, would appear to be primary only and never secondary, with such suffixes then, as far as can be ascertained, there has never been an initial vowel which could have assimilated with the stem-vowel, thus causing vowel harmony. Again, if this process had operated in Sotho, then one would have expected, that all, or at any rate most of, e.g. the multiplicative and the positional derivative stems with stem-vowels other than a, would have had as suffix not S.aka T.aka N.aka and S.ana T.ana N.ana respectively, but S.ha T.ha N.ha and S.na T.na N.na preceded by a connecting vowel determined by the nature of the stem-vowel. The fact is, however, as will be indicated later, that the multiplicative and positional suffixes are S.aka T.aka N.aka and S. ana T.ana N.ana irrespective of the nature of the stem-vowel, and also with the other secondary suffixes the nature of the connecting vowel is also not influenced by the nature of the stem-vowel.

Finally, as far as vowel assimilation is in Sotho still a living process with both the derivative suffixes as well as the verbal terminatives, it is regressive and not progressive[1], e.g. S.rekisa T.rekisa N.rekiša (sell), cf. S.rëka T.rëka N.rëka (buy), the open ë has become closed under the influence of the i of S.isa T.isa N.iša; N.epola (dig out), cf. S.êpa T.êpa N. êpa (dig), the open ê has become closed under the influence of the o of S.ola T.ola N.ola; the compound suffix êlana usually becomes elana in T.; T.epaya (cook) and T.naya (give)

1) Although progressive vowel assimilation is occasionally met with, e.g. N.rutiwa < N.rutiwa (be taught), cf. S.ruta T.ruta N.ruta (teach).

have corresponding durative-applicative stems apêêla (cook for) < *apaêla and nêêla (hand over to one) < *naêla respectively; and T.sikerela (unsling) < *sikarela may be compared with S.sikara T.sikara N.šikara (sling or carry a thing slung over the shoulder). Under the influence of the perfect, the negative and the habitual terminatives the open ɛ and open ɔ of the preceding syllable always become closed, e.g. S.bolile T.bedile N.bodile (have decayed) cf. S.bɔ̂la T.bɔ̂la N.bɔ̂la (decay, rot)[1].

From what has been said above, I think it is clear, that the unstandardised connecting vowel in Sotho cannot be attributed to a process of vowel assimilation.

(3) It may be that the vowel called by me the unstandardised connecting vowel belongs to the stem, from which the verbal stem has been derived, by affixing to it a primary derivative suffix, this underived stem being an ideophone, containing, in cases where the stem-vowel and the vowel preceding the suffix (i.e. the unstandardised connecting vowel) are alike, the same vowel in its various syllables. Such derivative verbal stems are very common in Lamba[ii].

It is true that verbal stems derived from ideophones are sometimes found in Sotho, but ideophones are not so common in Sotho that they could serve as a basis of so common a phenomenon in the Sotho verbal construction as the one referred to above. In fact as compared with e.g. Xhosa or Lamba, Sotho is relatively poor in ideophones. Furthermore, many of the ideophones used in Sotho have been derived from verbal stems and not the other

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i) For further examples of vowel assimilation cf. Phon., p. 71

ii) Cf. Doke Textbook of Lamba Grammar (new ed.), pp. 225 ff.

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way round,(I quote from S. only): tlole[i] (of jumping into) from tlolêla (jump into), cf. tlola (jump), e.g. A re ka mokoting tlole (he jumped into the hole); pote[ii] (of disappearing round) from pôtêla (disappear round), cf. pôta (go round), e.g. A re ka ntlo pote (he disappeared round the house); namo (of separating fighters) from namola (separate, interfere), cf. nama (spread out, extend), e.g. A re ho bôna "namo bo" (he said to them: "stop fighting").

In the following cases again derivation could have taken place either in the one or in the other direction (I quote from S. only): repoha (appear), cf. ropo (of appearing suddenly), cf. also ropana (become visible); hlekehla (seize and shake), cf. hleka (of getting spoiled or mixed up), cf. also N. mahlêkê (disorder); khuruhla (make a noise with the throat), cf. khuru (of clearing one's voice before talking); sethema (jump down), cf. setha (of jumping down), cf. also UB. tlôma (jump out); kutuma (roar, rumble) and kututsa (make a slight noise like a mouse), cf. kutu-kutu (of making a slight noise like a mouse), cf. also UB. kulama (produce a guttural sound), nyarêla (look into), cf. nyarê (of looking into).

From the above it is evident that it is extremely difficult in some cases to say definitely which was first, the ideophonic or the verbal stem, while in other instances it is quite clear that the ideophone is a later development. The vowel termed by me the unstandardised connecting vowel can therefore only to a certain extent be regarded as belonging to an ideophonic stem, but I think, owing to the scarcity of ideophones in Sotho, it can be safely assumed that only a small number of the unstandardised connecting vowels can at all be explained in this way.

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i) The vowel ê is not quite open - only semi-open.

ii) The vowels ô and ê are not quite open - only semi-open.

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(3)

(4) With the exception of ~~the last one~~, and there probably only to a small extent, none of the previous explanations throws any light on the possible origin of the unstandardised connecting vowels[i]. I therefore offer the following explanation[ii]:

The unstandardised connecting vowels, which occur, excepting in a very few cases[iii], only between the verbal root and a primary suffix[iv], are employed merely to prevent the juxtaposition of two consonants; they do not form an integral part either of the suffix or of the root from which derivation is affected; they have no semantic influence on the suffix; and their nature depends upon that of the vowel of the preceding syllable[v]. In the case of trisyllabic

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i) Bleek regards the connecting vowels as being the result of a process of both analogy and assimilation. Cf. A Comparative grammar of South African languages, p. 50. He quotes only two examples in support of his theory, viz. tandisa and bonakalisela which, he thinks, have attained their present forms through the following stages: *tandisa ⟵ *tandʔisa and *bonakalasilwa ⟵ *bonʔkalasilwa respectively (ʔ represents a suppressed vowel). The probable line of development postulated by Bleek does not seem to me convincing, but apart from this, these examples contain only secondary suffixes no reference being made to primary suffixes.

ii) With verbalised derivatives the vowel preceding the primary suffix belongs of course to the non-verbal stem and is not a connecting vowel (cf. §4(a) above); such derivative stems are therefore not covered by the following explanation.

iii) An exhaustive list of these exceptions will be given in chapter 6.

iv) Because of the form of the Sotho verbal stem this means that such connecting vowels occur practically exclusively in the second syllable of the stem, the only exceptions being those referred to above and here the unstandardised connecting vowel occurs never beyond the third syllable.

v) Of the 800 derivative stems with a single primary suffix in the basic position 140 are not covered by this rule. The nature of the connecting vowel of 30 of these 140 is determined by the nature of the final stem consonant (cf. below). For the connecting vowels of the remaining 110 which are, e.g. of the form N.xakêna (mix snuff with ash), cf. N.xaka (mix tobacco with ash); N.bipêna (swell, puff up), cf. N.bipa (swell) I can offer no definite explanation. It is however possible that such stems are verbalised derivatives, and not verbal derivatives i.e. that, e.g. xakêna has been derived from a non-verbal stem *xakê, and not directly from a root xak which will then of course be the basis of both xaka and *xakê; again a stem like, e.g. bipêna may have developed out of *bipina.

stems this vowel will be the stem-vowel, e.g. the first u in S.lukula T.dukula (take out a thorn, take something out of a person's tooth), cf. N.duka (poke, pick one's teeth); and in the case of stems having more than three syllables, this vowel will be the connecting vowel (standardised or unstandardised) of the first component part of a compound suffix e.g. the second o in T.ǧoboloka (ravage, destroy), cf. S. shoba (take much of something). They agree in quality with the vowel of the preceding syllable excepting when that vowel is a, when the unstandardised connecting vowel may sometimes be either S.ê T.ê N.ê, S.e T.e N.e, or S.i T.i N.i.

The above explanation is based on the following considerations:

(i) The unstandardised connecting vowel has no semantic influence on the following suffix; this has already been referred to above, and I do not intend here to explore this point any further; it will be fully proved by the examples quoted in the various chapters below dealing with the individual suffixes.

(ii) Vowel harmony is in Sotho not a rare occurrence but one of the most outstanding features of its sentence-construction, and a common feature of its word-construction. The phenomena apparent in this process are in general well enough known, but I wish to recapitulate them briefly here, and to draw attention to some of their features which are not so generally realised.

(a) With most Sotho noun-classes, resemblance, if not always identity, between the vowels of the concords and those of the noun-class prefixes to which they refer,

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is one of the most outstanding features of the so-called Alliterative concord. The following sentences will make this clear (I quote from S. only): Ke bana batho bao ke ba bolelletseng hore ba tlisê bana ba bôna ho 'na.(Here are the people whom I have told to bring their children to me); Ke sena sejana seo ke se rekileng (Here is the dish which I have bought); Ke bona bohobe boo ke bo apehileng (Here is the bread which I have baked). In these sentences we find repeated not only the consonant of the prefix of the noun round which each of these sentences turns, but also the vowels of these prefixes, with the result that we get here vowel harmony of a specific type: the recurrence right through each of these sentences of a vowel which gives to the sentence a definite colour[i].

(b) Vowel harmony is common in compound verbal stems[ii] e.g. T.fara-tlhatlhana (be in a state of confusion), N.kêlê-bêtla (keep on chopping), S.khele-kenya (speak with force, call loudly), N.fôrô-fôthêg (rub or stroke continually), T.phuru-phutsa (feel about).

(c) When words of foreign origin have two consonants in a juxtaposition foreign to the genius of Sotho, these consonants are separated by inserting a vowel between them. Very often the vowel so inserted is the same as the vowel already existing in the foreign word[iii] e.g. S.kalaka T.kalaka N.kalaka (lime) from Afrikaans kalk, S.tarata T.tarata N.tarata (wire) from Afrikaans draad, S.tôrôkô

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i) Cf. also Term., p. 47.

ii) Cf. Chapter 21.

iii) Cf. v. Warmelo "European and other influences in Sotho" Bantu Studies 3, pp. 409-410, and Endemann "Über die Wiedergabe von Fremdwörtern und -Namen in Bantusprachen" Z.f.K.S. 1, pp. 284 ff.

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T.tôrênkê N.tôrênkê (gaol) from Afrikaans trank, S.chêmêrê (ginger) from Afrikaans gemmer, S.hopulu (hoop) from Afrikaans hoepel, S.kinipi (pocket knife) from knip found in Afrikaans knipmes (pocket knife), etc.[i] It will also be noticed from the examples quoted by both Jacottet and v. Warmelo that where a foreign word ends in a consonant, it is provided with a terminal vowel when taken over into Sotho, and this vowel very often, although not always, is the same as the vowel immediately preceding the consonant, e.g. S.tomo T.tomo N.tomo (bridle) from Afrikaans toom, S.bêrê T.bêrê N.bêrê (pail) from Afrikaans emmer, S.tôrôpê T.tôrôpê N.tôrôpê (town) from Afrikaans dorp[ii][iii].

If now in connecting the suffix to the root a vowel is chosen whose nature depends upon the nature of the root-vowel — thus affording vowel harmony — nothing extraordinary takes place, but we have is merely another application of a firmly established and widely applied process[iv].

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i) For more examples in S., cf. Jacottet and Jenkie A Practical Method to Learn Sesuto, pp. 281 ff.

ii) The process of applying vowel harmony when adopting foreign words is also met with in other Bantu languages, e.g. Tonga kereke (church) from Afrikaans kerk, joko (yoke) from Afrikaans juk, and Xhosa isialeza (a poor man) from Afrikaans arm (poor), isitalato (street) from Afrikaans straat, idolopu (town) from Afrikaans dorp.

iii) It should also be noted that the disyllabic noun-prefixes found in some Bantu languages, have frequently vowel harmony between the vowels of the two syllables of the prefix, cf. Phon., pp. 40-41.

iv) As indicated above there are a few derivative stems of more than three syllables ending in a compound suffix the second member of which is a primary suffix. The process of linking up the primary suffix by means of an unstandardised connecting vowel has here been extended to the linking up of two suffixes, the last being the primary suffix (usually the position is the other way round); thus the o preceding ka in Seboloka (cf. above), is an unstandardised connecting vowel which has taken its form from the initial vowel of the secondary suffix olo. More examples of this nature will be quoted in Chapter 5 §10.

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There is a certain number of trisyllabic derivative verbal stems (for actual number cf. above) with connecting vowel S.ê T.ê N.ê, S.o T.o N.o or S.u T.u N.u, which however are not identical with the stem-vowels, the final stem-consonants of these derivative stems being a labial, e.g. T.paputla (go along as a blind man, grope one's way along), cf. N.papa (grope with the hands); N.nyameka (lament for the dead), cf. S.nyama N.nyama (become sad or discouraged); N.raboka (stop running), cf. N.raba (jump along); T.kgabuka (stab many times, make many wounds by stabbing), cf. T.kgaba (pierce as a branch).

Here again the type of vowel inserted after a labial consonant to split up a consonant combination (the first member of which is a labial), found in a foreign word, taken into the language, may throw light on the question why, in the verbs under discussion, the connecting vowel is ê, o or u. It has been indicated by both Endemann[1] and v.Warmelo[11], that a consonant combination, one member of which is a labial, and which appears in a foreign word taken over into Sotho, is very often split up by inserting one of the above three vowels. I quote some of the examples given by : v.Warmelo : pêlaase (a farm) from Afrikaans plaas, pêlana (a plan) from Afrikaans plan; Endemann : folaga (flag) from Afrikaans vlag, êpêtafa (tax) from Afrikaans opgaaf[111]. It will also be noticed from various examples quoted by v.Warmelo, Endemann and Jacottet that, a foreign word ending in a labial and taken over into Sotho, very often gets as a terminal vowel ê, o or u, e.g. S.rama (a ram) from Afrikaans ram, S. harafu T.harafu N.harafu (a spade) from Afrikaans graaf.

From what has been said above one concludes that there is in Sotho an inclination to follow a labial consonant with either ê, o or u. This is perhaps the reason why in the derivative stems referred to above the unstandardised connecting vowel is one of

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i) Endemann "Über die Wiedergabe von Fremdwörten und -Namen in Bantusprachen" Z.f.K.ê. 1, p. 284.

ii) v. Warmelo "European and other influences in Sotho" Bantu Studies 3, p. 410.

iii) Cf. also Jacottet and Jenkie A Practical method to learn Sesuto pp. 281 ff.

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these three vowels. This becomes more probable, if one takes into consideration that in S., the passive suffix is very often preceded by the vowel u especially when the final consonant of the verbal stem is a labial, e.g. bopuŏa (be created, moulded), cf. bopa (create, mould); tlamuŏa (be bound up, be tied), cf. tlama (bind, tie)[i)ii)].

6. The semantic non-significant standardised connecting vowel; this type of connecting vowel is found with the following suffixes only: (A) the passive suffix and (B) the durative suff

(A) The passive suffix. The non-significant standardised connecting vowel preceding the passive suffix is basically i[iii)]. This can best be seen in T.[iv)] and N.[v)] where iwa is still used independently, e.g. T.agiwa (be built), cf. S.aha T.a N.axa (build); T.taamaiwa (be walked, be travelled), cf. S.taama T.taamaya N.taamaya (walk); T.giwa N.xiwa (be dipped up, be dra up as water), cf. T.ga N.xa (draw water); N.bexiwa (be reported), cf. S.beha N.bexa (report); N.ripiwa (be cut), cf. S.ripa N.ripa (cut)[vi)].

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i) Cf. Chapter 18.

ii) In other Bantu languages it is sporadically found that verbal stems in their multi-functional conjugational form end in ŏ, o or u when the final consonant is a labial, e.g. Nkore ŏanu (suck), cf. Meinhof Grundriss einer Lautlehre der Bantusprachen, p. 46; Siha sima (not to be able) and itulumwa (gather) Torrend "Das Kisiha" M.S.O.S. 8, p. 76.

iii) That the standardised connecting vowel i is semantic non-significant is proved by the fact that either the primary or the secondary passive suffix may be attached to the same root without causing any difference in meaning in the resulting passive stem e.g. S.raŏa = S.ratuŏa (be loved), N.nyahwa = N.nyahiwa (be sought), cf. Chapter 18 dealing with the passive suffix.

iv) Cf. Westkey and Brown Sesuana grammar, p. 90, and Endemann Versuch einer Grammatik der Sotho, pp. 71-78.

v) Cf. T.M.H. Endemann Handleiding by die aanleer van Transvaal Sotho, p. 98, and Schwellnus Thalaga-woordeboek, p. 88.

vi) Such forms as S.iwa T.iwa N.iwa (be eaten), cf. S.ja T.ja N.ja (eat), S.noŏa T.nowa (be rained), cf. S.no T.no N.no (rain), are due to coalescence between the multi-functional terminative and the connecting vowel i of S.*iŏa T.iwa N.iwa, cf. Chapter 18. S.*iŏa is only used in such contracted forms.

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The connecting vowel i may be permuted to u. This happens rarely in T.[1] and N., but is much more frequent in S.[11], e.g. T.tuwa (be said), N.rutuwa = N.rutiwa (be taught), cf. S.ruta T.ruta N.ruta (teach); S.romuŏa (be sent), cf. S.roma T.roma N.roma (send), S.ratuŏa (be loved), cf. S.rata T.rata N.rata (love).

(B) The durative suffix: the non-significant standardised connecting vowel preceding the durative suffix is a and ~~it~~ is found in S., T. and N. It is not necessary here to enlarge on what was already said on this connecting vowel in §1(2)(b) above.

7. Semantic significant standardised connecting vowels:

(1) The connecting vowel S.a T.a N.a, for suffixes having a as a semantic significant standardised connecting vowel, cf. §1(2)(a) above. The occurrence of a vowel a preceding the representatives of these suffixes in many Bantu languages, which leading to the reconstruction of UB. suffixes commencing in a vowel a, is a definite proof, I think, that the initial vowel a of these suffixes must be a standardised connecting vowel, i.e. a vowel forming an integral part of the suffixes. This is also supported by the following:

(a) Although there is a resemblance in meaning between each of the secondary suffixes referred to above and

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1) The second u in T.utluwa (be heard), cf. utlwa (hear) is not a standardised connecting vowel, but is the semivowel w reverted back to a vowel, cf. UB.ɣwa (i ɣ(a) (hear) the parallel of S.utloa T.utlwa. These remarks will also apply to T.duwa the passive corresponding to ~~tŭwa~~ (come out) which has as UB. parallel lŏa (come out). In Chapter 18 more examples will be quoted of the vocalization of the semivowel S.ŏ T.w N.w.

11) Cf. Jacottet A grammar of the Sesuto language, p. 110.

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its corresponding primary suffix, they are nevertheless not semantically identical. In form there is only one point of difference between them and that is the presence of the connecting vowel a in the secondary suffix. It seems to me one can therefore conclude that the element causing the difference in form, viz. the connecting vowel a, is also the cause of the difference in meaning. The standardised connecting vowel has therefore a semantic force. Compare e.g. N.hlaraka (chase a long way) and T.tlharika (go very quickly) cf. N.hlara (chase away); S.alama N.alama (take up an extended position, hatch) and S.alima T.adima N.adima (lend, borrow i.e. extend the possession of), cf. S.ala T.ala N.ala (spread out); T.ôkama N.ôkama (overhang, overlook, stand over) and N.ôkôma (lean against e.g. a door), cf. N.ôka (look down upon, circle over as a bird); N.pêkana (hate each other i.e. scowl at each other) and N.pêkêna (give a light, flicker), cf. N.pêka (glance over the shoulder, scowl at). More examples of this type will be given in the chapters dealing with the individual suffixes.

(b) As far as the reciprocal suffix ana and the positional suffix ama are concerned it will be apparent, I think, from the following examples, that the initial a is an integral part of these two suffixes: (i) The reciprocal stems corresponding to T.itse (know) is itsanya, Xhosa thi (say) is thana, Duala ipe (boil) is ipana[1]; (ii) The positional stem corresponding to Duala pang (hang up) is panama[1]. In all these cases the simple stem does not end in a, now if a does not belong to the suffixes in these cases where else could it have come from? I could find no examples of this type for the other secondary suffixes referred to above.

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1) Cf. Meinhof Grundriss einer Lautlehre der Bantusprachen, p. 166.

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(2) The connecting vowels S.ê T.ê N.ê and S.o T.o N.o. These vowels occur as semantic significant standardised connecting vowels before the three suffixes S.ha T.ga N.xa, N.kxa[1], and S.la T.la N.la only, giving the secondary suffixes S.êha T.êga N.êxa, S.oha T.oga N.oxa, N.okxa, S.êla T.êla N.êla and S.ola T.ola N.ola. The occurrence of vowels ê and o (or their representatives) preceding the representatives of S.ha T.ga N.xa and S.la T.la N.la in many Bantu languages, which lead to the reconstruction of UB. suffixes commencing in a vowel (viz. eka, uka, ela and ula) is a definite proof, I think, that the initial vowels of these suffixes must be standardised connecting vowels i.e. vowels forming integral parts of these suffixes. In Sotho this is also supported by the specialised meanings conveyed by these suffixes, as compared with the more general force of the primary suffixes S.ha T.ga N.xa and S.la T.la N.la. This point will be fully illustrated in Chapters 10 and 12, dealing with these two suffixes respectively, and I quote here only a few examples: S.silêla N.šilêla (grind for, in N. also: rub in ointment on a wound) and S.silila N.šilila (rub, e.g. a sore place, iron), cf. S.sila T.sila N.šila (grind, grind to powder); S.thakhola N.thakxola (throw or kick away e.g. rubbish) and S.thakhila (kick about), cf. S.thakha stretch or kick out the legs).

It is noteworthy that in many Bantu languages, the initial vowels of the representatives of UB. eka, uka, ela and ula are subject to certain vowel harmonising influences exercised by the stem-vowel. These changes are not in all languages met with to

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1) Only o occurs before kxa and only two examples of ekxa could be found. Cf. Chapter 10, ekxa is the strengthened form of exa from which it obtains its connecting vowel.

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the same extent, in all languages but as regards the actual changing of these two vowels it always results in e either remaining unchanged or else becoming i, and o either remaining unchanged or else becoming u, according to the nature of the stem-vowel, cf. e.g.: Venda, Shona, Ila, Maenga, Dschagga, Lamba, Nyamwezi, Kikuyu, Ganda, Kongo, Herero and Kwanyama.

These changes are of course due to nothing else but a phonetic law operating in these languages. But what makes this phenomenon very interesting is the fact that the languages in which it does not occur, are comparatively few, e.g. Sotho, Nguni, Tonga and Duala. It is remarkable that Duala in the North-west, like the other three languages, quoted above, in the South, does not have this law, while in between there are numerous languages where this law applies[1].

Watkins[ii] regards the effects of this law as sufficient ground to maintain that the initial vowels, viz. i or u, of the applicative, stational (capable), passive and performative suffixes[iii] do not form integral parts of these suffixes, but that they "answer to phonetic requirements only". The validity of Watkins's statement cannot be tested in Sotho as the phonetic law, referred to above, does not operate here; let us however test it in Ila where this law does apply[iv]: kala (close) has a corresponding applicative stem kadila (shut against) and a corresponding actional (destructive)

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i) In the languages where this law operates, the initial vowels of the passive and performative suffixes are affected in the same way as the initial vowel of the applicative suffix.

ii) Cf. A Grammar of Chichewa, pp. 45 ff.

iii) The only four suffixes tested by him.

iv) Cf. Smith Handbook of the Ila language.

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stem yalula (open). The simple stem is the same in each case and so is the last part of the suffix, and yet the two derivative stems differ entirely in meaning; the same remarks apply to shimika (raise, erect, i.e. cause to be in a standing position) and shimoka (start, leave, i.e. be no longer in a standing position) cf. shima (stand). According to Watkins's view the i preceding ka does not form an integral part of the suffix, but "answers to phonetic requirements only". But what then is the o preceding ka in shimoka? And what are the i and y in yadila and yalula? The difference in form between each of these sets of vowels is not explained by the phonetic law referred to above, and upon which Watkins bases his statement, and in addition to this they vitally affect the meaning of the suffix.

If again we take the suffixes ika, oka, uka and eka found, e.g. in abika (be divisible), cf. aba (divide); bonoka (be visible), cf. bona (see); yhumbuka (be uncovered, i.e. be in a state of having been uncovered), cf. yhumba (cover); and loboka (escape after having been caught, i.e. be in a state of having escaped) cf. loba (catch fish with a hook); we see that there is a common idea to all, viz. a stational idea, which is in all probability conveyed by the element common to all, viz. ka, and which again includes two subordinate ideas, viz. a state of capability denoted by ika and eka (the form of the vowel preceding ka being determined according to the phonetic law referred to above), and a state, the reversive of that expressed by the simple stem, denoted by uka and oka (the form of the vowel preceding ka being determined according to the phonetic law referred to above). The element responsible for the difference between these two subordinate ideas, is undoubtedly the vowel preceding ka,

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viz. i, e and u, o respectively, the form of which, in each individual set, but not in the two sets taken together, is determined by the phonetic law referred to above. In view of what has been said above, it seems, that one is not justified in regarding these vowels as not being integral parts of the st-tional suffix kə. Watkins was misled because he examined suffixes with one set of connecting vowels only.

8. Suffixes used without connecting vowels:

(i) All primary suffixes, whether they occur singly or as the initial component part of a compound suffix, employed to form verbalised derivatives[1].

(ii) The primary passive suffix S.ŏə T.wə N.wə employed to form verbal derivatives[ii].

(iii) The factitive suffix S.šə T.yə N.yə, or a compound suffix with the factitive as its initial component part, employed to form verbal derivatives[iii].

(iv) The durative N.ə, S.šə T.yə N.yə, or a compound suffix with ə or yə/(ŏə)/nə its initial component part, In the few cases when employed with mono-syllabic stems, In such cases it is attached to the verbal stem and not to the verbal root [cf. also the passive S.ŏə in S.nəŏə (be rained upon) with corresponding simple stem S.nə T.nə N.nə (rain)], e.g. N.tlvayə (get accustomed), cf. N.tlvə (hear), N.bea (place, put down), cf. S.bə T.bə N.bə (be); S.nyəŏə T.nyayə (wet a thing), cf. S.nyə N.nyə (go to the stool, idea: make wet) and S.nə T.nə N.nə (rain). For more examples cf. Chapter 5 §11, and Chapter 8 A) § I a) and § II a)i.

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i) Cf. Chapter 20.

ii) Cf. Chapter 18.

iii) Cf. Chapter 17.

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CHAPTER 3.

DERIVATIVE SUFFIXES.

1. The term derivative suffix[i] is used to denote a suffix employed to form derivative stems[ii] either from verbal roots, or from non-verbal stems.

2. It will be seen later that derivative suffixes are divided into single and compound suffixes. The following are the component parts of a single derivative suffix[iii]: (a) a connecting vowel, i.e. in the case of secondary derivative suffixes only[iv]; (b) a suffix-consonant[v], found with all derivative suffixes excepting with those mentioned under (c) below; (c) a suffix-semivowel, found with the following suffixes only: the primary passive S.ŏa T.wa N.wa, the secondary passive S.ĭĭa T.iwa N.iwa and its commuted form S.ŭŏa T.uwa N.uwa, the factitive S.ŏa T.ya N.ya, the primary durative S.ŏa T.ya N.ya and the secondary durative S.ĭĭa T. aya N.aya.

As was indicated in chapter 2 §10, the a given as final vowel with the various suffixes does not actually belong to the suffixes; it is the multi-functional a, merely employed here to conform with the existing practice, but when splitting a compound suffix up into its various component parts, it will only be employed once, viz. at the end of the final component part, thus the applicative (intensive) is represented by [illegible] and it is said to consist of ŏl + ŏla.

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i) For a definition of the term suffix, cf. Term., p. 206.

ii) Cf. Chapter 5.

iii) The component parts of a compound suffix depend upon the component parts of a single suffix and need therefore not be dealt with here.

iv) Cf. Chapter 4.

v) With the primary durative suffix S.a T.a N.a the suffix-consonant has disappeared. This suffix consists therefore only of a latent consonant which is sometimes represented by S.i T.y N.y as in S.ŏa T.ya N.ya, the other form of the primary durative suffix (cf. Phon., p. 49).

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3. A suffix-consonant or suffix-semivowel is that sound which remains after the derivative suffix has been stripped of its connecting vowel, i.e. with such suffixes as have a connecting vowel, e.g. the S.l T.l N.l in the applicative suffix S.êl T.êl N.êl, the S.k T.k N.k in the multiplicative S.ak T.ak N.ak and the S.ǎ T.y N.y in the durative S.aě T.ay N.ay. Suffixes having no connecting vowel consist of a suffix-consonant or a suffix-semivowel only, e.g. the actional S.l T.l N.l, the stational S.h T.g N.x and the passive S.ŏ T.w N.w.

4. The following consonants and semivowels are found in single suffixes :

(a) Unstrengthened consonants : a latent consonant found in all three sub-groups of Sotho as one of the forms of the durative suffix (UB. representative: y), S.b T.b N.b, S.f T.f N.f, S.h T.g N.x, S.hl N.hl, S.l T.l N.l, S.r T.r N.r.

(b) Consonants derived from those under (a) through a process of strengthening[i]; such strengthened suffix-consonants are not always found in all three sub-groups; in some cases the nasal, the cause of the strengthening, is still retained: S.nk T.nk N.nk, S.k T.k N.k, S.p T.p N.p, N.kx, T.tlh, S.t T.t N.t, T.nth, S.th T.th N.th.

(c) S.tl T.tl N.tl which is neither a strengthened nor an unstrengthened consonant, in the sense in which these terms are employed in this treatise[ii].

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i) Cf. Phon., pp. 60 - 62.

ii) Cf. Phon., p. 63 and Chapter 1 § 6.

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(d) The nasals S.m T.m N.m and S.n T.n N.n[1].

(e) The semivowels S.y T.y N.y and S.w T.w N.w.

5. If the suffix-consonant is one of the unstrengthened consonants referred to in §4(a) above, the derivative suffix is said to be unstrengthened; and if it is one of the strengthened consonants referred to in §4(b) above the suffix is said to be strengthened. Suffixes which have as consonant or semivowel one of the other consonants or semivowels referred to in §4(c), (d) and (e) above, do not fall under this classification.

As will be seen the semantically dominant element in a derivative suffix is the suffix-consonant[11] or -semivowel; and unstrengthened and strengthened derivative suffixes which have phonetically related suffix-consonants are also semantically related. The strengthened suffix as a rule conveys an idea which is of a more intensive nature than that conveyed by its unstrengthened counterpart.

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i) The change of the suffix-consonant l into n if the consonant of the preceding syllable in the same verbal stem is a nasal, is a common phenomenon in some Bantu languages e.g. in Lamba, Kongo, Herero and although this phenomenon is not common in Sotho it is nevertheless sporadically met with in T., e.g. ganêna = gamêla (contend, dispute), cf. gana (refuse) (cf. Wookey and Brown Sotho grammar p. 17); simana = simala (start) cf. W.d.S.), lehwanha = lehwaha (be fitting), cf. [illegible] "Ethnographic texts in the Kolonkgwe dialect of Sekgalagadi" Bantu Studies 13, No. 3, p. 176). Also in the following cases there is an interchange between l and n: N.hinya = [illegible] (puff up), cf. S.hipa N.hipa (cause to ferment), N.rôkôna = S. rôkôla N.rôkôla (be weak) (cf. W.d.S.). For a few more examples cf. Wookey and Brown Sesvana grammar, p. 17.

ii) The undermentioned consonants, whether found in the initial roots of verbal stems, as roots in the second syllable of simple verbal stems, or as consonants in the following suffixes, convey in each case a more or less related meaning: S.hla T.tlha N.hla (Chapter 11), S.ana T.ana N.ana (Chapter 15), S.ana T.ana N.ana (Chapter 14), S.pa T.pa N.pa (Chapter 9), and S.tha T.tha N.tha (Chapter 15) (the unbracketed numbers quoted after each consonant below refer to App. A and those in brackets to App.B): S.hl T.tlh N.hl 86, 58, 60, (4), cf. the idea of making some or other rustling sound; S.m T.m N.m 96, 97, (6), cf. the idea of closing, of being in contact; S.n T.n N.n 98, (7), cf. the idea of binding, bringing together; S.p T.p N.p 109, 120, (8), cf. the idea of being or bringing into contact; S.th N.th N.th 150 151, 152, (12), cf. the idea of making short abrupt violent movements.

It is true, as will be seen from the chapters dealing with the suffixes referred to above, that some of them, especially ana and ana, have much more specialised force than that of the consonants concerned found as roots or in roots, but this is to be expected of formatives constantly used as suffixes.

6. Derivative suffixes used with unstandardised connecting vowels are called primary derivative suffixes, and those having standardised connecting vowels are called secondary derivative suffixes.

7. All suffixes, whether primary or secondary, excepting S.fa T.fa N.fa, can be used with verbal roots to form verbal derivatives and they may then be termed verbal suffixes.

Only primary suffixes can be used in a basic position[i] with non-verbal stems to form verbalised derivatives, and they may then be termed verbalising suffixes. I could find no examples of N.kxa, T.ntha and S.ŏa T.wa N.wa used as verbalising suffixes, while on the other hand S.fa T.fa N.fa is only used as a verbalising suffix.

8. Derivative suffixes may be :

(A) Single, when only one suffix is used with a verbal root or a non-verbal stem/the suffix is said to be single.

The following is an exhaustive list of all the derivative suffixes, primary or secondary, which appear singly, their designations are also given:[ii]

the durative S.a T.a N.a ,

the durative S.ŏa T.ya N.ya ,

the durative S.aŏa T.aya N.aya ,

the durative (intensive) S.aka T.aka N.aka ,

the durative (intensive) S.ka T.ka N.ka,

the durative (intensive - multiplicative) S.aka T.aka N.aka

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i) Cf. § 9 below.

ii) These designations will of course be discussed in the Chapters dealing with the individual suffixes.

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the operative S.ha T.ha N.ha,

the operative (intensive) S.pa T.pa N.pa,

the stational S.ha T.ga N.xa,

the stational (capable) N.axa,

the stational (capable) and the stational (causative) S.ǂha T.ǂga N.ǂxa,

the stational (destructive) S.oha T.oga N.oxa,

the stational (intensive) N.kxa,

the stational (capable - intensive) N.akxa,

the stational (destructive - intensive) N.okxa,

the confusive S.hla N.hla,

the confusive T.tlha,

the actional S.la T.la N.la,

the actional (capable) S.ala T.ala N.ala,

the actional (applicative) S.ǂla T.ǂla N.ǂla,

the actional (destructive) S.ola T.ola N.ola,

the actional (intensive) S.ta T.ta N.ta,

the protractive S.ma T.ma N.ma,

the protractive (positional) S.ama T.ama N.ama,

the additive S.na T.na N.na,

the additive (reciprocal) S.ana T.ana N.ana,

the punctative S.ra T.ra N.ra,

the punctative (contactive) S.ara T.ara N.ara,

the punctative (contactive - intensive) S.atha T.atha N.atha,

the punctative (intensive) T.ntha,

the punctative (intensive) S.tha T.tha N.tha,

the disruptive S.tla T.tla N.tla,

the passive S.ǂa T.wa N.wa,

the passive S.ǂǒa N.iwa N.iwa;
the reflective S.ka T.ya N.ya 1),

the exclusively verbalising S.fa T.fa N.fa.

The term verbalising is prefixed

1) To the designations of the above primary suffixes used as verbalising suffixes, is prefixed the term verbalising cf. (b) below.

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The following are the general principles according to which terms are employed to indicate the various single suffixes: (a) When employed to form verbal derivatives the basic term is taken (i) the term employed to indicate the primary unstrengthened suffix, i.e. with suffixes that fall under the classification unstrengthened and strengthened, and every change in its form accompanied by a change in its force is indicated by suffixing a term in brackets, e.g. la is called actional, ala actional (capable), ŝla actional (applicative), ola actional (destrictive) and ta actional (intensive); or (ii) the term employed to indicate the primary suffix, i.e. with suffixes that do not fall under the classification unstrengthened and strengthened, and every change in its form accompanied by a change in its force is indicated by suffixing a term in brackets, e.g. ma is called protractive and ama protractive (positional).

It sometimes happens that a single suffix has two semantically related functions; this is indicated by suffixing by a hyphen another term to the one already in brackets[1], e.g. ola may be either actional (destructive-intensive) or actional (destructive-reversive).

Sometimes the force of a secondary suffix denoted by the term in brackets, is so dominating that for practical purposes it was thought advisable to use only this term, so e.g. ŝla will be called applicative only. Such suffixes will be referred to in each of the chapters below dealing with the suffixes concerned.

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1) This could not be done with the suffix S.ŝha T.ŝga N.ŝxa, which has two subordinate functions so different from one another that it was not possible to correlate them. For this reason the two terms indicating the two subordinate functions are used separately in brackets. The fact that there is only one basic meaning, viz. stational, underlying the force of S.ŝha T.ŝga N.ŝxa, proves that we have here only one and not two suffixes (this point will be dealt with fully in chapter 10).

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(b) When employed to form verbalised derivatives, the scheme adopted here is to put in brackets the term employed to indicate the suffix when used to form verbal derivatives, and to prefix the term verbalising to it. So there may, e.g. be a verbalising (actional) S.*la* T.*la* N.*la* or a verbalising [durative (intensive)] S.*ka* T.*ka* N.*ka*. This scheme was thought justifiable as the suffixes retain their force whether they form verbal derivatives or verbalised derivatives. They are, however, used more often as verbal derivative suffixes, and for this reason the shorter term is used in such cases.

The suffix S.*fa* T.*fa* N.*fa* whose only function is to form verbalised derivative stems is denoted by the term exclusively verbalising; but, as there is no danger of ambiguity as far as this suffix is concerned if only the second member of the term is employed, this will be done in future when referring to *fa* whether used singly or in a compound.

Both *fa* as well as the other primary suffixes may be attached to various types of non-verbal stems, e.g. noun-stems or adjectival stems, etc., to form verbalised derivatives. The term verbalising is therefore only sufficient as a general term, but in any given instance a more accurate term will be necessary. For this reason the term denominative or deadjective, etc., will be put in brackets immediately after the term verbalising. Thus there may be a verbalising (denominative)(actional-reciprocal) S.*lana* T.*lana* N.*lana*, or a verbalising (denominative) S.*fa* T.*fa* N.*fa*, or a verbalising (deadjectival) S.*fa* T.*fa* N.*fa*.

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(B) Compound, a suffix consisting of two or more single suffixes is said to be compound.

In the various chapters dealing with individual suffixes only such compound suffixes as are of special phonetic or semantic importance will be dealt with, compounds of this nature consist mostly of two single suffixes. It is not considered necessary to give an exhaustive list of all the compound suffixes given in the three dictionaries. Such lists of compounds will take up much space without yielding anything of particular interest.

The following are the general principles according to which terms are employed to indicate compound suffixes:

As basic term is taken the term employed to indicate the suffix in the basic position[1] when used singly, and the term of each subsequent suffix is joined to it by a hyphen, e.g. S.elɔha T.elɔra N.elɔra is called actional (destructive)-stational (destructive); S.kɔ̂la T.kɔ̂la N.kɔ̂la when attached to a verbal root is called durative (intensive)-applicative, when attached to a non-verbal stem is called verbalising [durative (intensive)-applicative], and when the non-verbal stem to which it is attached is, e.g. a noun-stem it is called verbalising (denominative) [durative (intensive)-applicative]; S.fala T.fala N.fala is called verbalising-actional (capable); and S.ša (< S.fa + S.ša) T.tsha (< T.fa + T.ya) N.ša (< N.fa + N.ya) verbalising-factitive. S.ša T.tsha N.ša cannot be called verbalising (factitive) as this term is reserved for factitive S.ša T.ya N.ya when attached to non-verbal

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1) Cf. § 9 below.

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stems; similarly if fala is termed verbalising [actional (capable)] it would seem that the suffix referred to is ala and not fala. Finally, it should be noted that, e.g. with the verbalising (factitive) S.ša T.ya N.ya we have only a single suffix, whereas with S.aa T.taha N.aa we have a compound consisting of exclusively verbalising S.a T.a N.a + factitive S.ša T.ya N.ya -- hence the hyphen in such cases. Sometimes, however, a compound suffix has developed a standardised function, and in such cases it has been thought advisable not to adhere strictly to the above principle, but to use instead a term indicating directly the force of the compound suffix so, e.g. S.iša T.iya N.iša < S.ŝha + S.ša T.ŝya+T.ya N.ŝxa+N.ya is called performative and not stational (capable)-factitive. This happens however very seldom[1].

9. The derivative suffix appearing as the first component part of a compound suffix is said to be in a basic position, and the derivative suffix or suffixes following it are said to be in a non-basic position.

10. Secondary suffixes are found in a basic and in a non-basic position, primary suffixes on the other hand, with the exception of the following few, only in a basic position:

(a) The primary passive S.ša T.ya N.ya, which is very commonly found in a non-basic position, almost without exception occupying the final position in a compound suffix with the passive as one of its component parts;

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1) It will be noticed that when dealing with a compound which has as one of its component parts a suffix denoting one general idea with however, two or more subordinate ideas, the term employed is based on the general idea only, and the examples quoted are classified according to the general idea only. Thus the stational (destructive) S.oha T.oya N.oxa has two subordinate functions, viz. stational (destructive-reversive) and stational (destructive-extensive), but S. ohana T.oyana N.oxana is termed only stational (destructive)-reciprocal, and not stational (destructive-reversive)-reciprocal and stational (destructive-extensive)-reciprocal. Once the subordinate functions of the single suffixes were explained, it was not found necessary to continue this detailed classification also as far as the compound suffixes are concerned. There are of course exceptional exceptions to this rule.

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(b) The factitive S.ŝa T.ya Nya, also very commonly found in a non-basic position, but not necessarily in the final position;

(c) The confusive S.hla, but only when in the compound suffix ŝêla, and only in one example, viz. S.pheretlesêla (run nicely), cf. S.pheretla N.phêrêtla (move the wings without flying).

(d) The durative S.ŝa T.ya only in the following case: S.nyaŝa T.nyaya (wet a thing), cf. S.nya N.nya (go to the stool, idea; make wet) and S.na T.na N.na (rain).

(e) The durative (intensive), only the compound suffixes as used below, and only in the following examples: T.taêtaêneka (work cleverly or cunningly), cf. T.taêtaêna (= T.taêtaêneka); T.taêtaêneka (be in large numbers), cf. T.taêtaêna (= T.taêtaêneka); N.taêtaênêka (give out a whitelight), cf. N.taêtaêna (= N.taêtaênêka); N.tsubudukeka N.tsubudukanya (drag about (splash in the water), N.tsubudukana (surge) and/N.xonxokela (scratch out with a piece of wood e.g. what is still left in a shell), cf. S.honya T.xonya N.xonya (hook out) and N.xoma (cut out); N.xoboloka (take everything along), cf. S.hoba T.xoba N.xoba (beat the leaves and fruit off a tree); T.ŝoboloka (ravage, destroy), cf. S.shoba (take much of something); N.fenyeka (rummage), cf. S.fenya T.fenya N.fenya (conquer) and N.fêna (bend); S.penyeka (wring, writhe like a worm, wave), cf. S. penya N.penya (wriggle) and S.pêna T.pêna N.pêna (bend back); T.thêmêlêkana (dodge so as to get out of the way, escape by slipping to one side); S.themelekana (be bewildered, speechless), cf. N.thêmêla (be unable to move because the breath and strength have been taken away by the wind) also S.ho ya themelele (remain standing or motionless for a long time); S.tlabolika (get singed), cf. S.tlabola N.tlabola (burn slightly).

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(f) The disruptive, only in the compound suffixes as used below, and only in the following examples: N. ʧolobetla (cause strife), cf. N.ʧoloba (= N.ʧolobetla); N.kɔlɔkɔtla (greeting expressed by those sent away to guess something), cf. T.kɔlɔka (examine carefully); S.tsulubutla (agitate, plague, throw in struggling), cf. S.tsulubanya (agitate violently).

(g) The actional, only in the compound suffixes as used below, and only in the following examples: T. ɔtlɔlɔla N.ɔtlɔlɔla (stretch out as the hands or arms) [but cf. S.otlolla (stretch out, pull straight) here the o vowels are closed] and N.ɔtlɔlɔlɔla (stretch out towards), N.kxaila (pluck out, tear to pieces), cf. N.kxaya (mark by cutting the ear) and S.khe N.kxa (pluck, tear off).

(h) The stational, only in the compound suffixes as used below, and only in the following examples: N.ɔkɔlɔxa (cure slowly, happen slowly), cf. S.ɔka T.ɔka N.ɔka (nurse), T.ɔtlɔlɔga N.ɔtlɔlɔxa (be or become stretched out), cf. S. otloloha (become stretched out) here the o vowels are closed. S.mɔkɔlɔha N.mɔkɔlɔxa (walk slowly), cf. N.mɔka (walk slowly) T.nyɔkɔlɔga N.nyɔkɔlɔxa (be loth or slow to do a thing); T. tɔtɔlɔga (act defiantly, be headstrong, despise food); N. hlapirixanya (make tired, push under), cf. N.hlapira (become tired).

11. The suffixes employed with verbal derivatives corresponding to monosyllabic simple stems are with the following few exceptions all secondary: the factitive S. ɔa N.ya only in S.nya N.nya (go to the stool idea: make wet) cf. S.na T.na N.na (rain); the passive S.ŏa only in S.naŏa (be rained upon), cf. S.na T.na N.na (rain); the

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durative N.g T.ya N.ya in e.g. T.baya (place down, put down), cf. S.ha T.ha N.ha (be), N.swaya (mark, brand), cf. N.swa (burn), N.tlwaya (get accustomed), cf. N.tlwa (hear). A few more will be found in Chapter 8 § A Iα) and IIα) 1).

12. The simple stems corresponding to some verbal derivatives, with single suffixes, are mostly transitive while those corresponding to others are mostly intransitive; but as will be seen from the chapters dealing with the various individual suffixes there are, with the exception of the following few, no verbal derivatives which have either exclusively transitive corresponding simple stems, or exclusively intransitive corresponding simple stems. The exceptions to this rule are the verbal derivatives in: T.ntha, of which I could find only one example; N.kxa, of which I could find only two examples; N.akxa, of which I could find only two examples; N.akxa, of which I could find only two examples; and S.atha T.atha N. atha, of which I could find only six examples. These derivatives have only transitive corresponding simple stems.

13. As will be seen from the chapters dealing with the various individual suffixes, by far the majority of suffixes can be employed to form either transitive or intransitive derivative stems[1]. Some are however preferably used to form transitive derivative stems, and others again to form intransitive derivative stems.

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1) For a general discussion on the lack of a solid foundation in the distinction between transitive and intransitive verbal stems (not necessarily Bantu verbal stems), cf. Vendryes Language, pp. 105-106.

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14. Owing to the proximity in meaning between some of the suffixes a possible process of substitution, of one suffix for another, may have taken place. E.g.: ~~as indicated below~~:

The stational (capable) S.êha T.êga N.êxa has perhaps been substituted for the following suffixes: the stational S.ha T.ga N.xa, the stational (capable) S.*aha T.*aga N.axa (found only in N.[i]) and the actional (capable) S.ala T.ala N.ala;

The performative S.isa T.isa N.iša for the factitive S.ša T.ya N.ya and the stational (causative) S.êha T.êga N.êxa.

The verbalising- actional (capable) S.fala T.fala N.fala for the verbalising S.fa T.fa N.fa and in T. (dialectally) for the stational (capable) -actional (capable) agala.

Each of these substitutions will be dealt with in the chapters dealing with the suffixes concerned.

15. As far as I could ascertain, the following are the only derivative suffixes employed to form verbal derivatives from words with a European origin:[ii]

S.aka T.aka N.aka *e.g.*:

S.fêrêfaka T.fêrêfaka N.fêrêfaka (splash about with paint) cf. S.fêrêfa T.fêrêfa N.fêrefa (paint) from Afrikaans verf (paint);

S.ana T.ana N.ana *e.g.*:

S.kôlôtana T.kôlôtana N.kôlôtana (owe one another), cf. S.kôlôta T.kôlôta N.kôlôta (owe) from Afrikaans skuld (owe);

S.isa T.isa N.iša *e.g.*:

S.kŏatisa T.kwatisa N.kwatiša (cause to get angry), cf. S.kŏata T.kwata N.kwata (get angry) from Afrikaans kwaad (angry);

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i) S.*aha T.*aga has probably been entirely replaced by S.êha T.êga.

ii) I.e. words newly taken into the language.

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S.ɓla T.ɓla N.ɓla *e.g.*:

S.ɓntɓla, T.ɓntɓla N.ɓntɓla (vaccinate for), cf. S.ɓnta T.ɓnta N.ɓnta (vaccinate) from Afrikaans ent (vaccinate);

S.ɓlla T.ɓlɓla N.ɓlɓla *e.g.*:

S.jahɓlla T.jaqɓlɓla N.jaxɓlɓla (speed along on horseback), cf. S.jaha T.jaqa N.jaxa (race) from Afrikaans jaag (race);

S.ɓa T.wa N.wa *e.g.*:

S.ɓntɓa T.ɓntwa N.ɓntwa (be vaccinated) from Afrikaans ent cf. above;

S.ɓha T.ɓqa N.ɓxa *e.g.*:

S.faɓha T.faɓqa N.faɓxa (get fastened), cf. S.faha T.faqa N.faxa (fasten) from Afrikaans vas (fastened);

S.olla T.olola N.olola *e.g.*:

S.faɔolla T.faɔolola N.faɔolola (untie, unfasten), from Afrikaans vas cf. above;

S.oloha T.oloqa N.oloxa *e.g.*:

S.faɔoloha T.faɔoloqa N.faɔoloxa (get untied) from Afrikaans vas cf. above.

It may perhaps be concluded from this that the suffixes referred to above are the only living suffixes in Sotho, although of course not necessarily the only combinations of such suffixes.

16. The spheres of usage of the various suffixes differ very much. E.g., as far as I could ascertain, the operative ha is used with only about 25 roots, whereas according to the dictionaries the applicative ɓla is used with about 680 roots; and as ɓla is a living suffix this number can be almost arbitrarily increased by attaching ɓla to any verbal root, provided sense permits. This can however not be done with non-living suffixes such as, e.g. ha, ala, ela, ana, etc.

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I think the difference in the spheres of usage of the various suffixes may be attributed to the following :

(a) That some suffixes are living others non-living, the spheres of usage of the former being limited only by the meaning of the roots to which they are to be attached, that of the latter being limited to stems already formed at some past stage when these suffixes were still living and being incapable of further extension.

(b) A possible process of substitution such as described in 14 above.

(c) That the genius of Sotho does not seem to have felt the need of expressing certain verbal notions which could have been expressed, by regular morphological means, through adding certain suffixes to given roots; or has chosen to express these notions in some other way. There are possible verbal stems whose non-occurrence can only be attributed to what has been said above; from the semantic point of view they would appear to be quite permissible. This applies not only to cases where a living suffix might have been used, but also to cases where a non-living suffix might have been used. Thus (i) with living suffixes one gets, e.g. S.ratana T.ratana N.ratana (love one another), but not S.ratella T.ratelela N.ratelela which according to the force of its suffix, would have meant: unlove, i.e. stop loving cf. S.rata T.rata N.rata (love); S.rêkêla T.rêkêla N.rêkêla (buy for), but not S.rekeloha T.rekeloga N.rekeloxa[1] (be in a state of not having been

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1) If the stem-vowel is ê it becomes e under the influence of a connecting vowel o, cf. Chapter 12 §(A)II(5)).

bought), cf. S.rêka T.rêka N.rêka (buy), S.jêla T.jêla N.jêla (eat for), but not S.joloha T.jologa N.joloxa (be in a state of not having been eaten, get uneaten), cf. S.ja T.ja N.ja (eat). (ii) With non-living suffixes one gets, e.g. S.inola T.inola N.inola (take out of water), but not S.inala T.inala N.inala (become dipped into water), nor S.inihla T.initlha N. inihla (dip into water in a confused and disorderly way), cf. S.ina T.ina N.ina (dip into water); T.okama N.okama (overhang, overlook), but not S.okoa T.okoa N.okoa (overlook habitually), cf. N.oka (look on from above).

(d) The nature of the meaning of each suffix : There are certain suffixes, which, as a result of their meaning, are debarred from being attached to certain roots. So e.g. one gets N.kxethoxa (get separated), but not S.khêthara T.kgêthara N.kxêthara or S.khêthama T.kgêthama N.kxêthama which would make no sense, cf. S.khêtha T.kgêtha N.kxêtha (choose, pick out); similarly T.gasama (become spread out in all directions), but not S.hasara T.gasara N.xasara, cf. S.hasa T.gasa N.xasa (spread); N.utama (get bent down), but not S.utura T.utura N. utura, cf. N.uta (hide).

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CHAPTER 8.

THE DERIVATION OF VERBAL STEMS THROUGH SUFFIX-FORMATION.- GENERAL.

1. Derivation of verbal stems through suffix-formation takes place by attaching a derivative suffix, single or compound, to a verbal root or a non-verbal stem. If the suffix to be attached to a verbal root is primary then a standardised connecting vowel is of course employed.

2. Sotho verbal stems of more than two syllable s are mostly derivative stems. Thus S.rêkêla T.rêkêla N.rêkêla (buy for) is a derivative stem derived from the root S.rêk T.rêk N.rêk by means of the suffix S.êla T.êla N.êla, and so is S.natefa T.natefa N.natefa (become nice) derived from the non-verbal stem nate, found also in S.monate T.monate N.monate (sweetness, nice taste), by means of the suffix S.fa T.fa N.fa.

There are, however, a certain number of verbal stems of more than two syllables which (a) are derivative stems not through suffix-formation but through prefix-formation, (these stems will be dealt with in Chapter 19), or (b) are not derivative stems at all, but compound stems such stems will be dealt with in Chapter 21.

The following S.verbal stems of more than two syllables are not compounds, neither do I regard them as derivative stems through suffix-formation[1], as I did not succeed in identifying the consonants of their third

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1) In the majority of cases, owing to their very form, prefix-formation is excluded as a probable process through which these stems might have been formed. For the one or two cases, whose form does not exclude this process, no corresponding simple stem could be ascertained, there is therefore no proof that even such stems are the result of a process of prefix-formation.

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syllables as suffix-consonants. This I have been able to do with all the other Sotho verbal stems of more than two syllables excepting ~~this~~ the compound stems, the verbalised derivative stems derived from non-verbal stems of more than two syllables, and the verbal derivatives derived through prefix-formation. With the exception of two or three cases, I could not indicate for these stems corresponding simple verbalstems or corresponding non-verbal stems. These stems therefore fall outside the scope of this treatise, and are probably of foreign origin, especially those containing a click which may all have a Nguni origin, some of them have actually been derived from this source.

The following are the verbal stems concerned: hobeshana (quarrel, wrestle), ghobeshana (quarrel, wrangle, be crowded), ghŏbeshana (= ghobeshana), cf. Zulu ghuɓut/hana (butt one another as when crowded); ✱.ghobosha (push aside) cf. ghoba (drive, push on); ✱.ghoboshêla (fix with a pin) cf. Xhosa ghoɓo/ela (fix with a pin); gholosha (walk bravely); gobosha (supplant), cf. Xhosa ghoɓo/a (pin, button); gogosha (anoint with), cf. goga (purify a man who has killed another in battle); gobacha (go away); gamachêla (stick to, adhere to), cf. Xhosa ncamathela (adhere to); gomachêla (= gamachêla); pekecha (roam about without taking notice of people); gêgêcha (speak much), cf. gecha-gecha (prattle) and Xhosa geqe/a (train); gokocha (smear one's head with red clay), cf. goka (smear one's head with antimony); ✱.khôphôchêla (make something crooked), cf. khôpô (crookedness); chokocha (chase, drive cattle, urge), cf. chokha (pursue, drive about); ✱.khomaga (make lumps, become thick of kafircorn bread); ✱.gekega (draw out with difficulty, do something which is difficult and which causes pain, stab); ✱.ghôlôgha (speak much of an affair); segogolotsa (weep); gethantsetsa (deceive, lure).

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The following stems found in S. and N. have definitely been taken over from Nguni: S.hlôŋepha N.hlônepha (respect, honour), cf. Khosa hloniphe (be bashful, keep at a distance through reverence), S.hlôŋepha N.hlônepha has been abbreviated to S.hlômpha N.hlômpha as a result of the elision of e. S.kholophala (become fat, strong), cf. Zulu khuluphala (become fat, strong), S.ghibiliha (melt), cf. Zulu ncibilika (melt).

3. A certain number of the derivative verbal stems in otho are disyllabic, viz.:

(a) Derivative stems in single suffixes, having ~~monosyllabic~~ polysyllabic corresponding simple stems, e.g. S.fana N.fana (give to one another), cf. S.fa T.fa N.fa (give); N.kwêla (listen to), cf. N.kwa (hear); S.khola T.kgola N.kxola (pluck, pull out), cf. S.kha N.kxa (pluck fruit).

(b) Passive stems with corresponding disyllabic simple stems or corresponding disyllabic derivative stems, e.g. S.rêkŏa T.rêkwa N.rêkwa (be bought), cf. S.rêka T.rêka N.rêka (buy) S.jêlŏa T.jêlwa (be eaten with respect to), cf. S.jêla T.jêla N.jêla (eat for, at) and S.ja T.ja N.ja (eat).

(c) Factitive stems with corresponding disyllabic simple stems or corresponding disyllabic derivativ stems, e.g. S.fetsa T.fetsa N.fetŏa (finish, make an end of), cf. S.fêla T.fêla N.fêla (come to an end); N.nwetŏa (cause to sink down in liquid), cf. S.nŏêla T.nwêla N.nwêla (get drowned) and S.nŏa T.nwa N.nwa (drink).

(d) Disyllabic verbal stems abbreviated from trisyllabic verbal stems, e.g. T.bêla (place for), cf. S.bêêla T.bêêla N.bêêla (place for), and S.bêa T.baya N.bea (place).

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1) For more such examples cf. Chapter 3.

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(e) The following three stems, of which it is very difficult to say whether they are simple or derivative, but which are nevertheless, for reasons given below, regarded as derivatives: S.rŏala T.rwala N.rwala (take up a burden), cf. UB.tu-ala (carry on the head, take away) (Phon. p. 225); S.rola T.rola N.rola (unload, take off); and S.tšoana T. tšhwana N.swana (resemble), cf. UB.pû-ana (resemble) (Phon., p. 220). The elements ala, ola and ana occurring in these stems, are in all probability identical with the secondary derivative suffixes having the same forms. ~~respectively~~, they have the same semantic force, but they are attached in these cases to elements which cannot be identified as verbal roots or non-verbal stems. I regard these three verbal stems as derivative, however, notwithstanding the unidentifiability of their initial consonants, firstly because of the nature of the elements ala, ola and ana, and secondly because, although I cannot prove it, it seems as if the elements S.rŏ T.rw N.rw, S.r T.r N.r (r is probably an abbreviation from *ro thus *roola > rola) and S.tšŏ T.tšhw N.sw originally constituted roots now lost.

(f) Derivative verbal stems derived from monosyllabic non-verbal stems by means of primary suffixes, e.g. S.bipa T.bipa N.bipa (cover up, smother) and N.bitla (cover bones up with a heap of stones), cf. N.bi also found in N.sebi (a heap of stones over bones); S.hŏêla T.gwêla N.xwêla (copulate) and N.xwêra (make friends), cf. N.xwê also found in N.moxwê (friend) and S.hŏê T.gwê N.xwê also found in S. bohŏê T.bogwê N.boxwê (place, duties, etc., of the bride's father; in N. also: marriage (of the bridegroom)), S.hlôla

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T.tlhôla N.hlôla (look at, spy), cf. S.hlô T.tlhô N.hlô also found in S.leihlô T.leitlhô N.leihlô (eye); ~~S.~~ S. kaba T.kaba N.kaba (close, shut a whole), N.kaba (catch with both hands), T.kaya (tie a cow's legs together for milking), S.kaka T.kaka (take something as a whole), T. kana N.kana (seal, cement), N.kama (catch something thrown), S.kapa T.kapa (catch, receive with the hands), S.katla (keep a flock well together), T.katla (gather in, in sewing), cf. S.ka also found in S.'moka (assembly, also in: ka 'moka = all of them), and N.ka also found in N.moka (the whole, also in: ka moka = all); T.dia N.diya (detain, delay), N. diba (restrain, pull up) and S.lika T.dika N.dika (surround, tarry), cf. N.di also found in N.sedi (caution, circumspection); N.hlafa (get thick of milk, lose the taste), cf. T.tlha N.hla also found in T.botlha N.bohla (sourness); N.kwafa (be lazy), cf. N.kwa also found in N.lekwa (sluggard); N.tsefa (become pretty) cf. N.tse also found in N.botse (beauty).

4. In view of the fact that fa is a generally recognised verbalising suffix hlafa, kwafa and tsefa can be classified as derivative verbal stems without any further remarks. The mere fact that ~~with~~ *in the case of* these derivative stems fa has been attached to monosyllabic non-verbal stems[1], whereas in the case of, e.g. T.koafa (be weak) cf. S.koa T.koa also found in S.sekoa T.sekoa (a weak or sickly person), natefa (cf. §2 above), etc., it has been attached to disyllabic

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1) The nonverbal stem tse in botse (cf. above), tši in N. ntši (many) etc. may at the same time be roots, but for my purpose it is of importance that they can also be stems.

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non-verbal stems, does not affect ~~fa~~ fa in any way either structurally or semantically. But if this can be said of fa it can also be said of the other suffixes quoted in § 3, above. It is true that they are not so generally recognised as verbalising suffixes, but that does not exclude them from being such suffixes[1]. I quote also a few examples where some of these suffixes are used with non-verbal stems of more than one syllable: N.koaba (be exhausted), T.koama N.koama (sit down helpless, be exhausted), cf. sekoa above; N.xôlôka (keep on bellowing), cf. N.xôlô also found in N. moxôlô (gullet, throat)[ii].

Now, if we compare tsefa, xwêra and bitla, we may say that all three are derivative stems for the reason that in all three cases a derivative suffix has been attached to a noun-stem. The suffixes are primary, and all three can be attached to non-verbal stems of more than one syllable to form derivative verbal stems. There is therefore no difference in nature between the suffixes employed, excepting that both ra and tla may also be affixed to verbal roots to form verbal derivatives -- a quality not possessed by fa. But this will not affect their verbalising force; neither is there any difference in nature between the formatives to which these suffixes are attached -- they are in all three cases noun-stems. It does not seem as if one could say anything about the nature of one of these derivative verbal stems, or their component parts, which will not also apply to the other two, e.g. if it is said that both bitla and sebi

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i) In e.g. Herero va the parallel of S.ba T.ba N.ba is a common denominative suffix cf. Meinhof Grundriss einer Lautlehre der Bantusprachen, p. 137.

ii) For more examples cf. Chapter 20.

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have a common root bi, and that bitla is not a derivative verbal stem but merely a simple verbal stem consisting of a compound root bitl + the terminative a, the first member of the compound root being accidentally identical with that of a noun, then exactly the same can be said of xwêra and tsefa, as well as of kwafa and hlafa (also referred to in §3 above); or again if it is said that the derived form here is sebi and not bitla, the same statement can be made of xwêra, tsefa, kwafa and hlafa.

5. The question may now be asked: what is the difference between those stems which I consider to be disyllabic simple verbal stems with compound roots as bases, and disyllabic derivative stems derived from monosyllabic non-verbal stems? For the purpose of this treatise such disyllabic stems are regarded as derived if the following condition is complied with: if the formative to which the derivative suffix has been affixed, can also be a non-verbal stem i.e. if it is possible to form, e.g. a noun from it without suffixing anything to it. As will be seen the various noun-stems quoted above comply with this condition; they are provided with a prefix but not with a suffix[1]. For this reason I do not regard N.beba (form a cream) as a derivative verbal stem. It is true that be is found in S. lebese T.lobese N.lebese (fresh milk) and in T.lobebe N. lebebe (cream), but it occurs as a noun-root and not as a stem, to form the noun-stem it must be provided with another element, in the one case se and in the other case be; beba is therefore a simple verbal stem. For the same reasons N. šafa (be stupid or clumsy) is a simple and not a derivative

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1) The same applies e.g. to the adjectival stem tši found in N.ntši (many), cf. the derivative stem N.tšifa (increase).

stem, <u>ša</u> is found only as a root in,e.g. N.<u>lešaedi</u> (a stupid or clumsy thing).

6. Much more delicate than the question dealt with in § 5. above is the following question viz.: why cannot those stems which I consider to be disyllabic simple verbal stems with compound roots as bases,be regarded as derivative verbal stems. In view of the definition given to a derivative stem in § 1. above,viz. that it can be formed <u>inter alia</u> by attaching a derivative suffix to a verbal root, the main point to be settled here is whether the formatives, regarded by me as roots, and found as the second element of what I call compound roots,should not rather be regarded as derivative suffixes and not as roots. For the purpose of considering this point it is convenient to classify those stems which I regard as simple stems with compound roots as bases ,into the following sub-heads : (i) Those which have in their second syllable a formative which is semantically related to the suffix having the same consonant[i], e.g. S.<u>khatha</u> T.<u>kgatha</u> N.<u>kxatha</u> (crush, break in new ground); (ii) those which have in their second syllable a formative which is not related to the suffix having the same consonant ,but whose force can nevertheless be indicated[ii] ,e.g. S.<u>hlaba</u> T.<u>tlhaba</u> N.<u>hlaba</u> (stab)[iii]; and (iii) those which have in their second syllable an element which can be proved to be a formative, but for which no specific force can be indicated[iv], e.g. S.<u>lepa</u> T.<u>lepa</u> N.<u>lepa</u> (observe the stars, pay attention).

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i) Cf. Chapter 5 § 5. and App. B.

ii) It should be noted that most of those formatives, regarded by me as roots and found as the second element of what I call a compound root are of this type, cf. App. B.

iii) Cf. App. B.1.

iv) Cf. Chapter 1 § 7.

It has been indicated above that a verbal derivative is formed by attaching a derivative suffix to a verbal root, thus S.rêkêla T.rêkêla N.rêkêla (buy for) consists of a root rêk (+ êla), cf. also S.rêka T.rêka N.rêka (buy); similarly S.rethetha (beat a skin with a stone in order to make it supple) consists of the root reth (+ e + tha), cf. also S.retha (strike). But S.khatha T.kratha N.kxatha (crush, break in new ground) also consists of at least one root, viz. S.kha T.kga N.kxa (+ S.tha T.tha N.tha).

In both S.rethetha and S.khatha T.kratha N.kxatha a formative tha has been attached to a root to form a verbal stem. The formative tha employed in the case of S.rethetha is semantically related to the formative tha employed with S. khatha T.kratha N.kxatha, and it may even be the same formative. It would therefore appear that one has no option but to regard the formative tha employed in the above two cases, as being of the same type. The occurrence of an unstandardised connecting vowel in the one case but not in the other does not affect the value of tha; this vowel is merely used for phonetic reasons. I admit that no serious objection can be raised against the tha of S.khatha T.kratha N.kxatha being regarded as a suffix. But what now is the position with ba of S.hlaba T.tlhaba N.hlaba (stab)? There is no semantic relation between this ba and the ba used as a suffix in the manner described in Chapter 9. Should this ba now be regarded as another derivative suffix? This would mean that we have two suffixes identical in form but entirely different in meaning — indeed a very extraordinary state of affairs[1]. The position becomes still more complicated if we

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1) There is actually still another set of stems with ba as their final syllable, cf. App. B 2., although it is possible that we have here one and the same formative with two subordinate functions.

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consider such stems as S.lepa T.lepa N.lepa (pay attention, observe the stars) with a final syllable pa which can be proved to contain a formative p, but whose force cannot be indicated. Semantically it does not seem to conform with the suffix pa, although this might have been the case in the past; but, on the other hand, it is equally likely that through further investigation it may prove to have a force entirely different from that of the suffix pa. There are more cases like that of pa[1]. Now if one goes out from the standpoint, that the second member, in what I call a compound root, is a derivative suffix and not a root, where should one class such formatives as pa? And again what should be done with the ba referred to above? One will have to recognise two suffixes of the form ba, and there may perhaps be more if it is taken into consideration that there are about 200 disyllabic simple stems with ba as their last syllable, while the disyllabic stems found in App. B 1. and 2. number only just over 20. Such a classification will undoubtedly give rise to many difficulties[ii], but apart from this, one will have only a very indefinite basis from which to operate. It is true that S.khatha T. kgatha N.kxatha can with a fair amount of certainty be regarded as a derivative stem in view of the force of tha. But where is one then to draw a distinction between what can be called simple stems [and there will have to be such a classification to cover such stems as S.rêka T.rêka N.rêka

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1) Cf. Chapter 1 § 7.

ii) That roots of the same form often convey entirely different ideas has also been observed by Bourquin Cf. H.Uh.W., pp. 193 ff. This is however not the only way in which the idea of the root is expressed by the addition of a suffix.

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(buy) which,as far as our present knowledge goes,can definitely not be regarded in anyway as a possible derivative stem] and what can be called derivative stems?

In view of what has been said above,and as it seems to me essential to have some definite basis to work from,it was decided to regard all disyllabic stems of the type S. khatha T.kgatha N.kxatha,S.hlaba T.tlhaba N.hlaba and S.lepa T.lepa N.lepa as simple stems,and to take only such disyllabic stems as are referred to in § 3. above as being derivative stems.

7. From what has been said in §§ 5. and 6. above,it is evident that when analysing the Sotho disyllabic verbal stems,one will come upon a certain number of which it will be extremely difficult to say whether they are derivative or simple. In some cases, such as S.khatha T.kgatha N.kxatha, one has to be almost arbitrary in classifying these stems.

One is here also at a point where verbal stems, which are regarded as simple,may turn out to be derivative stems on the discovery of a monosyllabic non-verbal stem in Sotho,e.g. as far as can be ascertained the stems S.kôpa (embrace, seize, surround), N.kôra (catch, snatch), N.kôtla (hold tightly) are simple, but if a noun *sekô, where *kô has a meaning related to that of kô in the abovementioned verbal stems, were discovered, then these three stems would be derivative and no longer simple stems.

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CHAPTER 7.

SCHEME OF CLASSIFICATION OF VERBAL DERIVATIVE SUFFIXES.

1. The verbal derivative suffixes are classified according to the consonants or semi-vowels of their primary and secondary forms in the basic position. All suffixes, whether single or compound, which have in the basic position respectively unstrengthened and strengthened forms of the same original consonants, are grouped together.

2. Scheme of classification :

A) Unstrengthened[1] :

I Primary :

α) Single :

i) Designation and form,

ii) Definition and function.

β) Compound :

1. Primary suffix in basic position :

i) Designation and form,

ii) Definition and function;

2. Primary suffix in non-basic position[2] :

i) Designation and form,

ii) Definition and function.

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1) Only applicable to such suffixes whose consonants are unstrengthened, cf. Chapter 5 §4.

2) It will be noticed that as a rule very little is said about suffixes (primary or secondary) when occurring in a non-basic position. The reasons for this are : (a) as already stated above only a few compound suffixes, i.e. only those which are of special interest, are being dealt with, and (b) a suffix as a rule does not change its force whether used in a basic or in a non-basic position; the force of a suffix is therefore fully discussed when it occurs in a basic position and is merely referred to when it occurs in a non-basic position; in this way unnecessary repetition is avoided. In the majority of cases therefore, when referring to a suffix which occurs in a non-basic position, only a few examples will be quoted mainly with a view to illustrating its form.

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II Secondary :

α) Single :

i) Designation and form,

ii) Definition and function;

β) Compound :

1. Secondary suffix in basic position :

i) Designation and form,

ii) Definition and function;

2. Secondary suffix in non-basic position :

i) Designation and form,

ii) Definition and function.

B) Strengthened[1] :

I Primary :

α) Single :

i) Designation and form,

ii) Definition and function;

β) Compound :

1. Primary suffix in basic position :

i) Designation and form,

ii) Definition and function;

2. Primary suffix in non-basic position :

i) Designation and form,

ii) Definition and function.

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1) Only applicable to such suffixes whose consonants are strengthened, cf. Chapter 5 § 4.

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II Secondary :

α) Single :

i) Designation and form,

ii) Definition and function;

β) Compound:

1. Secondary suffix in basic position :

i) Designation and form,

ii) Definition and function;

2. Secondary suffix in non-basic position :

i) Designation and form,

ii) Definition and function.

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CHAPTER 5.

Durative S.ꞩ T.ꞩ N.ꞩ[1], S.ǎa T.ya N.ya[1], S.aǎa T.aya N.aya[11], durative (intensive) S.aka T.aka N.aka[111] and S.ka T.ka N.ka[111], durative (intensive-multiplicative), here called multiplicative, S.aka T.[illegible] N.aka[iv].

A) Unstrengthened :

I Primary : ∫) Single :

i) Durative S.ꞩ T.ꞩ N.ꞩ, S.ǎa T.ya N.ya, e.g. S. tetea (roam about in search of something), cf. N.têta (walk about, surround); S.twebea (stab repeatedly as when killing an animal by stabbing it in the heart), cf. S.twêba N.twêba (scratch, make a mark); T.kgaphea (shake about and run over as water while being carried), cf. T.kgapha N.kxapha (push out with a hand as grain from a vessel); N.rurua (depart, swarm out as bees), cf. S.rura (fly); N.swaya (mark, draw, brand), cf. N.swa (burn, scorch); T.kgaya = T.kgwa (apportion), N.kxaya (mark by cutting the ear), cf. S.kha N.kxa (pluck, tear off). In most cases one cannot be definite as to whether S.ꞩ T.y N.y of the durative suffix S.ǎa T.ya N.ya is a later addition in the form of a glide, or the original initial sound of the suffix. Sometimes durative stems derived from the same root appear with either the suffix

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i) UB.ya Phon., pp. 44 and 76.

ii) UB.aya, UB.y mostly disappears in Sotho, but is sometimes retained as S.ꞩ T.y N.y, cf. Phon., pp. 44 and 89.

iii) UB.aka Phon., pp. 46 and 79.

iv) No UB. parallel is given by Meinhof.

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S.a T.a N.a or the suffix S.ša T.ya N.ya : S.hlališa T.tlhadiya T.tlhadia (add water to a pot) no corresponding simple stem, T.khikhia T.khikhiya (run slowly)[i] no corresponding simple stem.

Whereas in these cases the semi-vowel S.š T.y N.y could perhaps be a glide[ii], it certainly is not a glide in N.hôlôya (go in a file); no palatal glide can be inserted between ô and a[iii].

ii)(a) Primary durative S.a T.a N.a and S.ša T.ya N. ya[iv] are semantically identical and they indicate that an action is performed continually and sometimes also habitually[v] This is a rare suffix in Sotho[vi], its force can however be seen from the following examples as well as from the examples

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i) Cf. also the verbalised (denominative) stems S.hloliša T.tlhodia N.hlodia N.hlodiya (annoy, worry), T.kwidia T.kwidiya (go about to and fro as a wanderer), T.dia T.diia N.diya (delay Cf. Chapter 30.

ii) Cf. Phon., p. 59.

iii) Cf. also the simple stems S.boša T.boya T.boa N.boya (return), UB.yuya (return) Phon., p. 238; S.lôša T.lôa N.lôya (bewitch), (UB.loya (bewitch) Phon., p. 210; and S.hlôša T.tlhôa N.hlôya (hate).

iv) Endemann regards final S.ša T.ya N.ya in trisyllabic verbal stems as identical with the simple stem S.ša T.ya N.ya (go), cf. W.d.S., p. 30. The meaning of most of these stems however does not justify the acceptance of S.ša T.ya N.ya (go) as one of their component parts. Furthermore, as already indicated, the suffix S.ša T.ya N.ya has an UB. parallel, viz. ya, which in form differs entirely from the UB. parallel of S.ša T.ya N.ya (go), viz. yia (go), cf. Phon., p. 196. For these reasons I consider a simple equation of the stem S.ša T.ya N.ya with the suffix S.ša T.ya N.ya as dangerous, although I do not deny that some semantic connection may exist between them, as instanced by some of the derivative stems in a which imply an idea of going or roaming about.

v) A formative which would appear to be a representative of this suffix is used in some languages as a conjugational terminative, cf. Grundzüge einer vergleichenden Grammatik der Bantusprachen, p. 67.

vi) There are only about 70 derivative stems in Sotho ending in this suffix.

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quoted in i) above :

N.kxathea (till, plough), cf. S.khatha T.kgatha N.kxatha (break in new ground);

N.papea (beat or tap lightly with the open hand), cf. N.papa (touch, knock with the hand);

S.habea T.gabea N.xabea (chase about, harass, i.e. keep on striving at), cf. S.haba N.xaba (be greedy, envious, strive for);

N.nanea (go about from place to place), cf. N. nana (move slowly, carefully);

S.pipia (hide, keep secrets, tell things in an indirect way), cf. N.pipa (cover);

T.kgokgea (gather a number of different things together at the same time) cf. T.gokga (gather pumpkins etc.);

N.pipiya (allay, appease, soothe), cf. N.pipa (cover);

N.tlwaya (get accustomed to, i.e. keep on paying attention to), cf. N.tlwa (hear);

(b) The suffix has sometimes lost its durative force, e.g. T.ngelea (soften as food), cf. T.ngêla (be wet as is e.g. ground after rain); T.forea (sit cross-legged, the idea here is perhaps that of keeping the legs bent), cf. T.fêra N.fêra (bend, bend the leg).

(c) In a few cases the semantic relations between the durative stem and the probable corresponding simple stem are vague, e.g. T.baya (place down, put down), cf. S.ba T.ba N.ba (be).

(d) Some durative stems are transitive while others are intransitive, e.g. T.kxaphea intransitive (shake about and run over as water while being carried), cf. T.kgapha N.kxapha transitive (push out as grain from a vessel); N. nanea intransitive (go about from place to place), cf. N.nana intransitive (move slowly, carefully), N.papea transitive (beat

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lightly with the open hand), cf. N.papa intransitive (knock with the hand); S.pipia transitive (hide, keep secrets etc.), cf. N.pipa transitive (cover).

(e) As can be seen from (d), some simple stems corresponding to durative stems are transitive, while those corresponding to others are intransitive.

(f) There are durative stems which are not associated with any extant simple verbal stems[1], ~~neither~~ nor could non-verbal stems be indicated as being possible bases of these derivative stems[ii]; a comparison with other derivative stems shows, however, in some cases, a probable common non-extant simple verbal stem, e.g.

T.gobeа move about excitedly and in all directions as a crowd), cf. S.hobela (dance), N.xobalala (wander about),

N.xwelea (do badly, bungle), cf. T.gwaletlha (speak about what one does not understand);

S.sêêbea (stir, roam), cf. S.ngobehla (shake, move into place);

S.khatea (lounge, roam about), cf. S.khatoha (make room, get away);

T.bitia N.bitia (patch, close a lid very tightly), cf. S.bitolla N.bitolla (undo a patch, remove a lid);

T.ngarea (run or gallop as a wildebeest);

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i) In view of the fact that I am quoting as far as possible simple verbal stems corresponding to verbal derivatives, each of the following chapters dealing with verbal derivative suffixes will be provided with a similar section.

ii) Such stems are classed as verbal derivatives on the assumption that they have been derived from verbal roots; if however it can be shown that they have been derived from nonverbal stems, they will have to be classed as verbalised derivatives, and not as verbal derivatives. These remarks will apply to all derivative stems in a primary suffix for which no corresponding simple verbal stem or corresponding non-verbal stem could be indicated, and which are referred to in subsequent chapters.

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T.tšubua N.tsubua (shake a tree, knock water about from side to side), cf. S.tsubunya (wash a pot by shaking it in water);

N.žobeya (chew, said of somebody without teeth e.g. a baby or a very old person) cf. S.khobêtha (gnaw);

N.khidiya (beat);

T.babea N.babea (walk softly on account of tender or sore feet, walk stealthily);

T.tsebea (sway as corn or trees in the wind),

β) Compound :

The compound suffixes based upon the primary durative suffix will be dealt with below together with the compound suffixes based upon the secondary durative suffix. These two types of compound suffixes are being dealt with simultaneously, not only because their bases do not differ semantically, but also because there is a fair amount of interchange between their respective forms.

II Secondary : α) Single :

1) Durative S.sea[1] T.sya[1] N.sya[1], e.g. S.bolaša T.bolaya N.bolaya (kill), cf. S.bôla T.bôla N.bôla (decay, rot); N.fokaya (sway to and fro, shake), cf. S.foka T.foka N. foka (blow, fan, wave to and fro); N.dumaya (tremble, shake, rumble), S.luma T.duma N.duma (thunder, rumble); N.papaya (walk hesitatingly, walk on the side of the foot), cf. N. papa (grope or feel about like a blind person); S.tataša (walk a little like a small child), cf. S.tata (act in a hurry, hasten); S.tsamaša T.tsamaya N.tsamaya (walk), cf. N. tsama (walk along stopping every now and then).

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1) As will be seen later the suffix semivowel often disappears in a compound suffix resulting in the juxtaposition of two vowels, e.g. S.bolašêla T.bolašêla N.bolašêla (kill for), cf. S.bolaša T.bolaya N.bolaya (kill).

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I shall now attempt to give an explanation of the difference in the form of the suffix in such semantically identical derivatives as T.spaya, S.spêha and N.spêa (cook); T.tlhatlaya, S.hlatlêha and N.hlatlêxa (put a pot on the fire). To enable me to arrive at some explanation it was found necessary to deal at the same time, not only with verbal derivatives in the primary durative suffix S.ĕa T.ya N.ya, found, e.g. in T.baya (put down), cf. S.bêha S.bêa and N.bea (put down), but also with such semantically identical simple stems as, e.g. T.thaya N.thaya, S.thêha S.thêa, and N.thêa (lay a foundation). The difference in form of the above stems seems to depend upon the following two considerations: (a) as regards both simple and derivative stems, the manner in which UB.ɣ is represented in their final syllables; (b) as regards derivative stems, in addition to the above, also the manner in which there has been an interchange between the suffixes S.ĕa T.ya N.ya or S.sĕa T.aya N.aya on the one hand and S.êha T.êga N.êxa, [the stative formative] on the other hand. These two points will be treated together, and before drawing any final conclusions I shall first quote examples of the kinds of stems referred to above, at the same time analysing such of these examples as allow of analysis[1]. N.raya (set a trap), cf. UB.taya (set a trap)[ii]; N.rêa (set a trap), cf. UB.teya (set a trap)[ii]; T.thaya N.thaya (lay a foundation), S.thêha S.thêa N.thêa (lay a foundation), cf. UB.tea = UB.ntea (put, place, lay)[iii]; T.thea (lay a foundation), cf. UB.tia (place, put, lay)[iv]; T.taaya (take), N.taêa N.taea (take); T.taya (beat),

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1) Some of these stems have different UB. representatives.

ii) Phon., p. 22.

iii) N.UB.W., p. 214.

iv) Phon., p. 224.

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S.tê̆a N.tê̆a N.tea, N.teya (beat); T.naya (give), cf. S.na T.na N.na (be); N.nea (give), cf. T.ne a variant of na (be); S.nê̆a = S.nê̆ha (give), cf. S.na T.na N.na (be); T. baya (place), cf. S.ba T.ba N.ba (be); N.bea (place), cf. S.be T.be N.be a variant of ba (be); S.bê̆a = S.bê̆ha (place), cf. UB. yeka (put away, keep)[1]. Dempwolff suggests that the original UB. form has been yaika[11]. As far as the derivative stems here referred to, are concerned it seems fairly certain that two entirely different suffixes have been employed: in S. the stational (causative) ê̆ha, and in T. and N. the durative ya and a respectively.

An interchange between these suffixes may also have taken place in the case of some of the following derivative stems; T.raya N. raya (name, say to), cf. N.ra (say); S.rê̆a N.rê̆a (name, say to), cf. S.re T.re N.re (say); T.tlhatlaya = S.hlatlê̆ha = N. hlatlê̆xa (put a pot on the fire), cf. N.hlatla (get quite full), especially in view of the reciprocal stem N.hlatlana (get on top of each other), cf. also S.hlatlola T.tlhatlola N.hlatlola (remove a pot from the fire), and UB.teleka = UB. tialeka (put on the fire)[111]; T. spaya = S.spê̆ha = N.spê̆a (cook, bake). Bourquin postulates here an UB. simple stem _spha (bring into contact)[iv]; cf. also S.spa (be in distress, think much), and N.apa (talk about a subject, touch upon a subject in a conversation).

In S. the ğ and h of the final syllable of the stem is sometimes interchangeable, e.g. : S.gağa = S.gaha = S.gaa (give pap to a child), S.gwağa = S.gwaha (be afraid, look out) S.ghağa = Sghaha (reap much), S.nyağa = S.nyaha (give a

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1) Phon., p. 229.

11) Dempwolff "Beiträge zur Kenntnis der Sprachen in Deutsch-Ostafrika" Z.f.K. 7, p. 187.

111) Phon., p. 235.

iv) Cf. N.UB.W., pp. 21 - 22.

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little, be quiet), S. biša = S.biha (put reeds in a pot to prevent water from spilling), S.taša = S.taha (intoxicate), cf. T.taga N.taxa (= S.taha), S.nyaša = S.nyaha (moisten), cf. T.nyaya (= S.nyaha).

In T. the y of the final syllable of disyllabic stems is sometimes dropped, especially if the stem-vowel is a, e.g. T.kaya = T.kaa (tie a cow's legs together for milking), T.kgaya = T.kgaa (apportion), cf. S.kha N.kxa (pluck fruit), T.kwaya = T.kwaa (espy or catch sight of anything), cf. N.kwa (feel, hear); T.baa = T.boya (return), cf. S.boša N.baa N.boya (return) and UB.yuya (return)[i].

The following general conclusions may be made from the above examples and analysis :

1) Where there is an interchange between the durative and stational (causative) suffixes S. prefers the latter and T. and N. the former (T. usually ya or aya and N.a). This division is however not always strictly adhered to. Of interest here are the following stems, probably of foreign origin : S.tlalêha T.tlalaya T.tlalaa (report, accuse), cf. Afrikaans kla (report, complain).

2) In the case of a simple stem the T. forms consist of a consonant + aya, while the forms in the other two languages consist of a consonant + either aa (only in N.), or êa (in S. and N.), or S.êha N.êxa, or aya (only in N.).

3) In S. the representative of UB.k tends to disappear[ii] a process of attrition is therefore met with in S., but in most cases both the full as well as the abbreviated forms are still in existence.

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i) Phon., p. 232.

ii) Cf. in this connection Tucker The comparative phonetics of the Suto-Chuana group of Bantu languages, p. 44.

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4) In S. as in the other two languages the representative of UB.y as a rule disappears[1], leaving two vowels in juxtaposition. But in this language there seems to be also another process at work, viz. the development of UB.y into S.h. So, in addition to S.thêa S.thêha (lay a foundation) quoted above, cf. S.fudua S.fuduha (stir), and T.kudua N.kudua (stir), as well as UB.kâluya (stir)[ii]. There is therefore in S. an interchange between the representatives of UB.k and UB.y. Cf. also taëa and taha (intricate); ayaëa and ayaha[iii] (moisten) quoted above.

ii)(a) The secondary durative S.aëa T.aya N.aya conveys exactly the same force as the primary durative[iv] e.g. N.fokaya (shake to and fro), cf. S.foka T.foka N.foka (blow, sprinkle); N.dumaya (tremble, shake), cf. S.luma T.duma N.duma (thunder, rumble, reverberate); N.papaya (walk on the side of the foot like one having a thorn in the foot), cf. N.papa (grope about e.g. a blind person); S.tsamaëa T.tsamaya N. tsamaya (walk, march), cf. N.tsama (walk along stopping in between).

(b) The suffix S.aëa T.aya N.aya has sometimes lost its durative force, e.g. S.bolaëa T.bolaya N.bolaya (kill), cf. S.bôla T.bôla N.bôla (rot); T.apaya (cook bake), cf. N. apa (touch upon a subject in a conversation).

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1) In a few cases it becomes S.ë T.y N.y, cf. Phon., p. 59, and also S.boëa T.boa N.boya (return) and [illegible]aya (return).

ii) Phon., p. 203.

iii) In the perfect conjugational form the S.ë T.y N.y of the final syllable, whether it belongs to the durative suffix or to the simple stem, always disappears, e.g. S.bolaile T.bolaile N.bolaile (has killed), cf. S.bolaëa T.bolaya N.bolaya (kill); S.kaile (has chopped), cf. S.kaëa (chop); N.faile (has chopped or beaten in two), cf. N.faya (chop or beat in two); T.tihaile (has failed to reach), cf. T.tihaya (fail to reach); and in T. the vowel preceding y, if it is a, is sometimes changed into e e.g. beile (has put down) cf. [illegible]aya (put down); gweile (has beckoned), cf. gwaya (beckon); ngwangwaile (has dug), cf. ngwangwaya (dig); this change is undoubtedly due to the influence of the i of ile.

iv) The secondary durative suffix is a very rare suffix, there belong only about 15 secondary durative stems.

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(c) The semantic relation between the secondary durative stem and the probable corresponding simple stem is sometimes vague, e.g. S.bolaša T.bolaya N.bolaya (kill), cf. S.bôla T.bôla N.bôla (rot).

(d) Some durative stems are transitive others are intransitive e.g. S.bolaša T.bolaya N.bolaya transitive cf. S.bôla T.bôla N.bôla intransitive, and S.tsamaša T.tsamaya N.tsamaya intransitive, cf. N.tsama intransitive.

(e) There are durative stems which are not associated with any extant simple verbal stem, a comparison with other derivative stems also having no corresponding simple verbal stems shows, however, in some cases a probable common non-extant simple verbal stem, e.g. T.tlhatlaya (put a pot on the fire, put on or above), cf. S.hlatlola T. tlhatlola N.hlathola (remove a pot from the fire); T. ǂwalaya (work carelessly or badly).

β) Compound[i] :

I. Primary[ii] or secondary durative in basic

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i) In this chapter, as well as in subsequent chapters, it will be necessary to employ in the § on the compound suffixes terms not yet defined. This is inevitable, and, to avoid unnecessary repetition of definitions, reference should be made, in the case of each new term, to the chapter dealing specially with the suffix denoted by the new term.

ii) Cf. § I β) above.

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position[1]:

aa) I) Durative-applicative S.ǎêla T.ǎêla N. ǎêla < *.*ǎaêla T.*ǎyêla N.*ǎyêla, S.ɛêla T.ɛêla N. ɛêla;e.g. S.bolaêla T.bolaêla N.bolaêla (kill for),cf. S. bolaêa T.bolaya N.bolaya (kill); N.blapêla (perspire in fear), no corresponding durative stem,cf. S.blapa T.tlapa N.blapa (wash, bathe); N.krapêla (surge, ripple over),cf. T.krapha (shake about and run over as water while being carried); S.katiêla (put stones against the door so as to shut it tightly), no corresponding durative stem,cf. S.kata T.kata N.kata (tread, press with the foot)[11];S.tlwaêla T.tlwaêla N.tlwaêla (become accustomed, to get used to),cf. N. tlwaya (acquire a habit) and N.tlwa (hear).

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1) The primary durative mostly contains no consonant or semivowel,and where it does contain a semivowel, viz. S.ǎ T.ɣ N.ɣ, this semivowel mostly disappears in compound suffixes; the same happens with S.ǎ T.ɣ N.ɣ of the secondary durative S.aǎa T.aɣa N.aya. The result is that we get in such compounds two vowels in juxtaposition, the first of which being a connecting vowel employed with the durative. In this way various vowels may precede the connecting vowel of the second component part of the compound suffix, depending upon the connecting vowel employed with the durative,this is the case,e.g. in S.bolaêla N.bolaêla (kill for),cf. S.bolaêa T.bolaya N.bolaya (kill); N.krapêla (shake about,e.g. of water carried in a vessel), cf. T.krapha (shake about and run over as water when being carried in a vessel); S.bitiêla T.bitiêla N.bitiêla (put on a patch, cover over),cf. T.bitia N.bitia (patch). In all three cases êla is in a second position. In the case of bolaêla the a is a standardised connecting vowel and forms an integral part of the suffix, one can therefore talk of a suffix aêla, but in the other two cases the vowels preceding êla, being unstandardised connecting vowels,do not form integral parts of the suffix. There are therefore no such suffixes as êêla or iêla,and to use merely êla would be misleading as there is actually a single suffix êla,viz. the applicative. In the case of S.bolaêla N.bolaêla êla is definitely a remnant of yêla (êhla) and this may also be the case with the other examples quoted above. For these reasons it was decided to use the sign ɛ before such suffixes, indicating that these suffixes may be preceded by various vowels and that the suffix-semivowel has disappeared, i.e. of course only in such cases where a semi-vowel has existed. So e.g. the suffix of bitiêla is indicated by ɛêla.

11) In T. retrogressive assimilation sometimes takes place if the vowel preceding êla is a. a may be the stem-vowel as e.g. the first a in baya (place), so bay + êla > *baêla > bêla (place for); or the standardised connecting vowel of the suffix aya, e.g. the second a in spaya (cook), so spay + êla > *spaêla > spêla (cook for); cf. in this connection watsa (water) from *waatsa (Phon., p. 71).

ii) a) The durative-applicative adds the applicative idem to the idea expressed by the durative stem[1], e.g. S.fokaêla N.fokaêla (waddle, sway about), cf. N.fokaya (sway about), and S.foka T.foka N.foka (blow, sprinkle)[ii]; S.lumaêla N.dumaêla (resound, murmur, in N. also: tremble for fear), cf. N.dumaya (tremble, shake), and S.luma T.duma N.duma (thunder, reverberate)[ii]; N.hlapeêla[i] (cf. above); N.kadiêla (swing), cf. T.kala N.kala (hover, float in the air); S.katiela (cf. above)[i].

(b) With durative-applicative stems like S.bolaêla T.bolaêla N.belaêla (cf. above), S.taamaêla T.taamaêla (walk towards), cf. S.taamaêa T.taameya (walk), as well as with some of the derivative stems quoted above, the applicative force of S.êla T.êla N.êla is still clearly seen. With others again, this force is hardly noticeable, e.g. N. hlapeêla (cf. above); S.belaêla T.belaêla N.belaêla (be anxious, dissatisfied), cf. S.bela T.bela N.bela (boil); T. tetaêla (contuse, bruise), cf. S.teta N.teta (beat with the fist, knock) (more examples will be quoted in (c) below). These derivatives sometimes contain an intensive force[iii] which is probably due to the presence of the durative suffix. This possibility is supported by the fact that the compound suffixes S.aela T.aela N.aela and S.eea T.eea N.eêa, both of which contain the durative suffix, have also an intensive force (cf. below); a force, which, as will be seen later, is only partly conveyed by S.ela T.ela N.ela and

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i) Where in the following cases no durative stems are indicated no such stems could be found.

ii) From the roots forming the bases of these derivative stems may of course be formed applicative stems, e.g. S.fokêla N.fokêla (blow towards, for, sprinkle on), S.lumêla T.dumêla N.dumêla (consent, agree), S.hlapêla (wash for), S.katêla T.katêla N.katêla (fill up for, press against).

iii) It has been noticed in other Bantu languages that when the counterpart of S.êla T.êla N.êla is preceded by a an extensive force is conveyed (in Sotho the preceding vowel need not necessarily be a), e.g. Marconnes A Grammar of Central Bantu, p. 197, Smith Handbook of the Ila language, pp. 181-182, Nalan Lenje handbook, p. 48, Doke Textbook of Lamba grammar (new edn.), p. 204.

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S.isa T.isa N.iša (in the latter case only to a very small extent), the other component parts of S.sola T.sola N.sola and S.esa T.esa N.eša respectively. It should furthermore be noted that the main function of S.aka T.aka N.aka, the strengthened form of the secondary durative suffix, is to denote intensive and violent action[i].

(c) For some durative-applicative stems no corresponding simple stems could be indicated, although corresponding durative stems may be extant, while for others again neither of these corresponding stems could be ascertained N.kwakwala (skid along on the knees, stagger along), cf. N. kwakwaya (skid on the knees); N.bekala (do something silly, get mentally deranged); N.ngamala (go about very carefully); S.habela (walk stupidly, thoughtlessly, quickly); S.kirila (boom, roar), cf. S.kiritla (sound, thunder); T.khawala (fall suddenly as into an unforeseen hole).

bb) i) Durative-actional (destructive)[ii]: S. sola T.sola N.sola ✕ S.*ašola T.*ayola N.*ayola, S.ʕola T.ʕola N.ʕola, e.g. S.batsola N.batsola (strike, hit very hard), cf. S.bata T.bata N.bata (strike, chop); S.ngabsola T.ngabsola (knock one about as with a knobkerrie), cf. S. ngaba N.ngaba (strike on the head); S.bsola T.bsola N.bsola (shave, shear, i.e. remove the beard etc.), cf. S.bša T.baya N.bya (place) and S.be T.be N.be (be); S.khsola T.kgsola N. kxsola (divide, separate, cut), cf. T.kgaya = T.kgaa (apportion), N.kxaya (mark by cutting the ear), and S.kha T.kga

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1) Cf. β) II below.

ii) This is a very rare suffix, only about a dozen durative-actional (destructive) stems could be indicated.

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(pluck or tear off).

ii) The durative-actional (destructive) adds the actional (destructive) idea to the idea expressed by the durative stem, e.g. S.beola T.beola N.beola (cf. above); in the majority of cases however it conveys in addition to the above also an intensive force[i]. It is possible that the durative suffix may have here contributed to the intensive force (cf. § aa)(ii)(b) above), thusstrengthening the intensive force sometimes conveyed by the actional (destructive) suffix ola[ii]. Mostly, in these cases, neither a corresponding simple stem nor a corresponding durative stem could be indicated[iii], e.g. S.batsola N.batsola[iv] (cf. above), S.hlapsola N.hlapsola[v] (insult very much, curse cf. N.hlapa (deny, disown, give up), S.hahlaola (tear across an open space e.g. a train, wander extensively), N.nalaola (cry -used when criticising somebody), S.palaola (raise the cry of alarm), S.pshabaola (strike on the head).

cc) i) Durative-stational (capable)[vi]; T.aêka N.aêka ≠ T.*ayêka N.*ayêka, S.êha T.êka N.êka, e.g. N. bolaêka (get killed), cf. S.bolaêa T.bolaya N.bolaya (kill);

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i) It has also been noticed in other Bantu languages that when the counterpart of S.ola T.ola N.ola is preceded by a an intensive force is conveyed, e.g. Madan Lenje handbook, p. 48, Smith Handbook of the Ila language, p. 132, Marconnes A Grammar of Central Karanga, p. 195, Schoeffer Bemba grammar, p. 80, Doke Textbook of Lamba grammar (new edn.), p. 204, Brincker Lehrbuch der Oshikuanjama, part 1, p. 57, Tönjes Lehrbuch der Ovambo-Sprache, p. 120.

ii) Refer in this connection to the suffixes gula and agula in Ndonga, both of which have an intensive force, aula probably and agula surely shows the presence of the durative suffix. For UB.γ > Ndonga g cf. aluka = galuka (turn back) (cf. Brincker Lehrbuch der Oshikuanyama, part 2, p. 1), and UB.yala (turn) cf. N.UB.W., p. 20.

iii) In e.g. Ovambo a durative stem corresponding to the durati actional (destructive) stem seems also to be non-extant, cf. Tönjes Lehrbuch der Ovambo-Sprache, p. 120.

iv) Cf. S.batela T.batola N.batola (forge by hammering, sharpe a grindstone).

v) Cf. N.hlapola (insult).

vi) This is a very rare suffix in Sotho, only about 20 durative

T.speêga[i] N.spêêxa (become cooked), cf. T.spaya N.spêa (cook), [illegible] N.kadiêxa (dangle, toss about of something hanging down), cf. T.kala N.kala (hover over something as a bird of prey) no corresponding durative stem; S.fuduêha T.ḧuduêga (be agitated, be stirred up), cf. S.fudua T.ḧudua (stir), T.kgaêga (be carved or cut up), cf. T.kgaya (apportion) N.kxaya (mark by cutting the ear), and S.kha N.kxa (pluck, tear of

ii) The durative-stational (capable) adds the stational (capable) idea to the idea expressed by the durative stem[ii]. In most cases no corresponding simple stem could be indicated. The following examples are given in addition to those quoted in (i) above : T. beleêga (be impudent, be of a ready mind), T.têmeêga (be proud, be haughty) T. khidiêga (be wakeful, be haunted by the memory of evil deeds) cf. T.khidia (make wakeful, haunt).

dd)(C) i) Durative-performative S.aiha T.aiha N.aiša [illegible] S.*eêiha T.*ayiha N.*ayiše, S.ɛiha T.ɛiha N.ɛiše, e.g. S.bolaiha T.bolaiha N.bolaiša (cause to kill), cf. S.bolaêa T.bolaya N.bolaya (kill); T.speiha[iii] (cause to cook) < T.*spaiha < T.*spayiha, cf. T.spaya (cook); T.buduha N.buduša (cause to ripen) < T.*buduiha N.*buduiša, cf. S.butaêa T. butêwa N.butêwa (ripen) and UB.*vulua (ripen)[iv].

ii)(a) The durative-performative adds the performative idea to the idea expressed by the durative

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i) In T. retrogressive assimilation sometimes takes place if a precedes êga, cf. also the durative-applicative.

ii) In some Bantu languages where the counterpart of S.êha T.êga N.êxa is sometimes found immediately preceded by a, the compound suffix so obtained conveys an intensive force, cf. Smith Handbook of the Ila language, p. 152, Madan Lenje handbook, p. 48, and Doke Textbook of Lamba grammar (new edn.), p. 204.

iii) In T. retrogressive assimilation sometimes takes place with this compound suffix.

iv) Cf. Phon., p. 67.

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stem, e.g. S.tatsiŋa (help a child to walk, lead gently), cf. S.tatsĕŋa (walk a little like a child) and S.tatsa (act in a hurry); S.tsamsiŋa T.tsamsiŋa N.tsamsiĕŋa (cause to go), cf. S. tsamsĕŋa T.tsamsŋa N.tsamsŋa (walk) and N.tsamsa (walk along stopping every now and then); S.beisŋa T.beisŋa N.beisĕŋa (cause to place), cf. S.bĕŋa[1] T.beŋa N.beŋa (place down) and S.be T. be N.be (be); T.kgapheisŋa (shake, spill), cf. T.kgaphesa (shake about and run over as water while being carried), and T.kgapha N.kgapha (push out as grain from a vessel).

(b) For some durative-performative stems no corresponding simple or corresponding durative stems could be indicated, e.g. T.kheleisŋa (turn over the earth, etc., in seeking); S.hakeisŋa (in: hakeisŋa mahlô = move the eyes in order to avoid those of others), T.mamsisa (use a weak thing carefully or gently).

((β)) i) Durative (extensive)-performative[10]:

S.ŋŋa T.ŋŋa N.ŋĕŋa[111] < S.siŋa T.siŋa N.siĕŋa < S.*sĕŋa

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1) S.ĕ T.ê N.ê > S.e T.e N.e under the influence of the i of S.iŋa T.iŋa N.iĕŋa, cf. Chapter 10.

11) A term applied to a special form of the durative-performative, which, as will be indicated below, also conveys a special force.

111) There are also other suffixes of the same form, viz. (a) the contactive-performative S.ŋŋa T.ŋŋa N.ŋĕŋa which is a contraction of the normal contactive-performative S. ariŋa T. ariŋa N.ariĕŋa and found in S.sweŋa T.sweŋa N.sweĕŋa (dress, give clothes to), cf. S.swara T.swara N.swara (put on, wear) (cf. Phon., p. 78 and chapter 16); (b) the performative S. ŋŋa T.ŋŋa N.ŋĕŋa, e.g. in S.beleŋa T.beleŋa N.beleĕŋa (cause to carry, lead a pack animal), cf. S.beleha T.belêga N.belêxa (take on the back).

The initial vowel of the performative suffix S.iŋa T.iŋa N.iĕŋa combines with the terminative a of some monosyllabic verbal stems [cf. Chapter 10 §A) II ((2)) (b) c) aa)], e.g. S.jeŋa T.jeŋa (cause to eat), cf. S.ja T.ja N.ja (eat), resulting in what would appear to be, but actually is not, a suffix S.ŋŋa T.ŋŋa N.ŋĕŋa.

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T.*syisa N.*syiša[1]. Examples[ii] : N.kweša[iii] (hear well), cf. T.kwaya (espy, catch sight of anything hidden) and N.kwa (hear); S.benesa T.benesa N.benša[iv] (light, make clear, enlighten), cf. S.bôna T.bôna N.bôna (see); N.hlebeša (aim, bring into line), cf. S.hlaba T.tlhaba N.hlaba (stab); N.lebeša[v] (look at very carefully), cf. S.leba T.leba N.leba (look); N.lemeša[vi] (plough thoroughly), cf. S.lema T.lema N.lema (plough); T.tlhomesa (fix rafters etc. in a house), cf. S.hlôma T.tlhôma N.hlôma (plant, stick in); N.robeša (break well, just as was required), cf. S. rôba T.rôba N.rôba (break); N.tsomeša[vii] (seek or spy very carefully), cf. S.toma T.tŏma N.toma (seek, hunt).

ii) The durative (extensive)-performative conveys the idea that something is done thoroughly and completely[viii], cf. examples quoted in (i) above.

The suffix S.ega T.ega N.eša is no longer a living suffix in Sotho; its place has probably been taken by S.isisa T.isisa N.išiša which is still a living suffix, compare S.bontšisa N. bonhtšiša (see well) with S.bonesa T.bonesa N. boneša (cf. above)

2. Primary or secondary durative in a non-basic positi

as far as I could ascertain the primary durative occurs in this

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1) Cf. Phon., p. 76.

ii) Only in one case a corresponding durative stem could be indicated.

iii) Cf. N.kwiša (cause to hear).

iv) Cf. S.bontša T.bontsha N.bonthša (show) < S.*bonisa T. *bonisa N.*bonisa. S.ô T.ô N.ô > S.o T.o N.o under the influence of the e of S.ega T.ega N.eša. The i of S.isa T.isa N. iša has a similar influence on preceding ô (cf. Chapter 10.).

v) Cf. S.lebisa T.lebisa N.lebiša (cause to look at).

vi) S.lemisa T.lemisa (cause to plough, help to plough).

vii) T.tŏmisa (cause to hunt).

viii) Cf. the intensive suffix ega in Venda, v.Warmelo Venda dictionary, p. 86.

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one case, viz.
position only in /. S.nyaša T.nyaya (wet a thing), cf. S.nya N. nya (go to the stool, idea: make wet) and S.na T.na N.na (rain).

The secondary durative occurs in this position only as part of the durative (extensive)-performative S.aga T.aga N.aša, e.g. in:

the applicative-durative (extensive)-performative eleša as in N.lebelêga (look carefully at), cf. S.lebêla T.lebêla N. lebêla (look after, watch) and S.lêba T.leba N.leba (look towards);

the durative (extensive)-performative-durative (extensive)-performative N.ešeša only found in N.kwešeša (understand well) cf. N.kwêša (understand, listen carefully) and N.kwa (hear);

the applicative-durative (extensive)-performative-stational (capable) T.elesêka N.elešêka as in T.rapaleseka N. rapaleŝêga (be entreatable, become entreated), cf. N.rapeleša (entreat urgently), S.rapêla T.rapêla N.rapêla (entreat) and N.rapa (invite, call up).

B) Strengthened :

I Primary : ℒ) Single :

i) Durative (intensive) S.aka T.aka N.aka, S.ka T. ka N.ka[1]). Semantically these two suffixes are identical. The suffix aka is very rare, the following are the only derivative stems I could find ending in ~~this suffix~~ it : T.kudunka (dig in very hard ground), no corresponding simple stem, S.katanka (walk heavily), cf. S.kata T.kata N.kata (tread, trample), N.tidinka (beat the drum), cf. S.tila (strike the ground with the foot, as a sign of joy), N.totonka (stagger along), no corresponding simple stem, S.saganka N.šašanka (walk fearlessly, walk with legs wide apart), no corresponding simple stem, N.nênênka (be slow, take matters easily), no corresponding simple stem, N.hlomanka (think, suppose), cf. S.hloma N.hloma (think, suppose). The primary

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1) There are about 180 durative (intensive) stems in ka.

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durative (intensive) has been formed from the primary durative through the influence of a nasal[1], and I think the suffix nka can be regarded as an intermediate stage between the primary durative on the one hand and the primary durative (intensive) ka on the other hand, cf. e.g. S.katanka (walk heavily) and S. kataka T.kataka N.kataka (trample, crush); N.tidinka (beat the drum) and N.tidika (beat the drum); N.nênênka (be slow, take matters easily) and N.nênêka (be slow, take matters easily), S.nênêka (pet a child, take great care of). A few more examples of stems in ka : S.kaoka (strike much) < S.*kaŏka cf. S.kaŏa[ii] (strike, chop); T.tšheeka[iii] (dodge as an animal refusing to be caught) < T.*tšhaeka < T.*tšhayka, cf. T.tšhaya[ii] (turn aside).

ii(a) The durative (intensive) S.nka T.nka N.nka, S.ka T.ka N.ka indicates that an action is done continually and intensively, e.g. S.raleka (cut furrows in the ground), cf. S.rala T.rala N.rala (make a first cut in the skin, rip open); S.shoshoka (drive a herd of cattle violently without giving them time to graze), cf. S.shoha (drive many things), T.tlharik (go very quickly), cf. N.hlara (chase away), S.katika N.katika (trample much, try to cover of a bull), cf. S.kata T.kata N.kata (trample); T.patika N.patika (oppress, compel to do, surround, press together on all sides), cf. S.pata (hide) and N.pata (oppress, press together); T.tidika (keep back the truth, prevaricate), cf. T.tila N.tila (avoid, refuse); N.monoka (suck, suck in the cheeks when eating something sweet), cf. S.mona T.mona N.mon (suck, suak up); N.nyamoka (hold a lamentation for the dead) cf S.nyama N.nyama (dwindle, be sad); N.rôbôka (Break a lot of things said e.g. of a servant continually breaking crockery), cf S.rôba T.rôba N.rôba (break); T.šeboka (come together of a numb of things, become one lot), cf. S.sheba (take much of something)

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1) Cf. Phon., p. 79.

ii) The palatal semivowel of the root is changed into e in the derivative stem.

iii) The stem-vowel a >> e as a result of retrogressive assimilation.

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S.thêa²ka (pick up), cf. N.thêng (take out with two fingers); T.phuthuka (collect thoroughly), cf. S.phutha T.phutha N.phutha (gather, collect); N.tuduka (crush in a mortar), cf. S.tula N. tula (crack a nut etc., knock against the ground), T.kgabuka (stab many times, make many wounds by stabbing), cf. T.kgaba (pierce as a branch); T.gabuka (kill off large numbers of game, finish off food at a feast), cf. S.haba N.xaba (be greedy).

(b) The suffix ka has sometimes lost its durative (intensive) force, e.g. N.fênêka (be slow), cf. N.fêna (work slowly, bend); S.menoka (twist, roll), cf. S.mêna T.mêna N.mêna (hem, roll up).

(c) In other cases again the semantic relation between the durative (intensive) stem and the probable corresponding simple stem is vague, e.g. S.khêthêka (do something nicely, speak well, remove weeds), cf. S.khêtha T.kgêtha N.kxêth (choose, pick out); T.foroka (be of no use or profit), cf. T. fora N.fora (chant); S.holoka T.goloka N.xoloka (make round), cf. N.xôla (bind).

(d) Some simple stems corresponding to durative (intensive) stems are transitive others again are intransitive, e.g.[1] N.nyamoka (nyama intransitive); S.raleka (rala transitiv T.tlharika (hlara intransitive); N.rôbêka (rôba transitive).

(e) Some durative (intensive) stems are transitive others intransitive, e.g.[1] N.fênêka intransitive, (simple stem transitive), T.tlharika intransitive (simple stem transitive), N.nyamoka intransitive (simple stem intransitive), T.tidika intransitive (simple stem transitive), S.raleka transitive (simpl stem transitive), T.gabuka transitive (simple stem intransitive

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1) For the meaning etc. of examples quoted here cf. (a) above

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Most durative (intensive) stems are however transitive.

(f) There are durative (intensive) stems which are not associated with any extant simple verbal stems, nor could non-verbal stems be indicated as being possible bases of these derivatives; a comparison with other derivative stems that also having no corresponding simple verbal stems or corresponding non-verbal stems, shows, however, in some cases a probable common non-extant simple verbal stem e.g.,

T.feleka (cf. feleka pue = speak so as to conceal one's meaning), cf. T.felepa (chest);

T.kêlêka (examine carefully, search into intently), cf. T.kêlêla (seek carefully);

N.tsuduka (scatter much), cf. S.tsulubanya (agitate violently);

N.pênêka (become entirely naked), cf. N.pêna-pêna (= pêneka);

S.têmêka T.têmêka (be shaky);

N.xwidika (swallow without chewing);

S.potleka (walk in great numbers in a line);

T.ǂunuka (pull from side to side as a tight pole);

(g) There are not many durative (intensive) stems for which corresponding durative stems could be indicated, but the following examples are instructive: N.feneka (make rebellious, mutinous, idea: mix up), cf. T.feres (sit cross-legged) and T.fêra N.fêra (bend, fold up); S.teteka (beat repeatedly), cf. S.tetea (beat without effect) and S.teta N.teta (strike, hit); N.xwêlêka (bungle), cf. N.xwêlêa (bungle) no corresponding simple stem; S.pitika T.pitika N.pitika (roll on the ground, writhe with pain, turn a thing over), cf. T.pitia (move continuously), no corresponding simple stem; S.kêlêka N.kêlêka (march one behind the other in a file), cf. N.kêlêya (march one behind the other) no corresponding simple stem; N.têubuka (haul, drag about, tease, worry), cf. T.têubua (shake a tree, knock water about) no corresponding simple stem; S.pheleka

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T.phelelka (puzzle, say something people do not understand), cf. and T.phelela (have an impediment in speech as if the tongue was too large for the mouth) no corresponding simple stem.

(h) Both Meinhof[i] and Endemann[ii] give a suffix oka for Sotho, and Endemann maintains that it conveys a meaning opposite to that expressed by the simple stem; he quotes the following three examples in support of his statement : kxobokana (come together) and kxobokêla (gather together) which according to him have been derived from a root kxôb, cf. also N.kxôba (distribute); and boloka (preserve) which according to him has been derived from a root bôl, cf. also S.bôla T.bôla N.bôla (rot). It seems however more likely that kxobokana and kxobokêla have been derived from a root S.khob N.kxob, cf. also S.khoba N.kxoba (assemble, call or invite many people), in which case there can be no question of an inversive force being attached to (o)ka[iii]. No pertinent objection can be raised against a root bôl, also found in bôla, as the basis of bolêka[iv], but (i) it would be dangerous to assume a suffix oka with inversive meaning on the strength of one example only; and (ii) on the analogy of kxob rather than kxôb (cf. kxoba and kxôba respectively) as the basis of kxobokana and kxobokêla, one might be justified in regarding the basis of boloka as bol rather than bôl, and there may perhaps even have been a corresponding simple stem *bola.

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i) Phon. p. 79.

ii) Endemann Grammatik des Sotho, p. 67.

iii) It may perhaps be mentioned here that kxo found as first syllable of kxoba, kxobokana and kxobokêla has a high tone, whereas the first syllable of kxôba has a low tone.

iv) The change of ê in a preceding syllable to o if the following suffix contains a standardised connecting vowel o, will be observed with the secondary suffixes S.ola T.ola N.ola and S.oha T.oga N.oxa below.

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B) Compound :

1. Durative (intensive) in basic position :

aa) i) Durative (intensive)-applicative-factitive S.ketsa T.ketsa N.ketša, e.g. S.fenketsa (do something roughly).

ii)(a) This suffix adds the factitive idea to the idea expressed by the durative (intensive)-applicative stem, e.g. N.feneketša (do something slowly), cf. N.fênêkêla (do slowly), N.fênêka (be slow) and N.fêna (work slowly).

(b) It occurs mostly in S. where it has acquired a special force, viz. that ofindicating the idea of speaking or pronouncing badly and in a few cases the idea of doing roughly. In T. it also sometimes conveys the former idea, and in T. and N. sometimes the latter. For most of these stems no corresponding simple, or corresponding durative (intensive)-applicative stems could be indicated, where such stems could be indicated they will be quoted together with their corresponding durative (intensive)-applicative-factitive stems :

S.peteketsa (speak a language badly) T.peteketsa (talk so fast as not to be understood); S.beleketsa (sing badly), cf. T.belêsa (talk impudently) and T.belebetlêsa (bellow much); T.geleketsa (talk much and noisily), cf. T.gêlê-gêla (make a shrieking noise); S.hêleleketsa (articulate badly), cf. S.hêelea (stammer); S.feneketsa (speak at length), cf. S.feneka (speak at length on a matter, make plans); S. tomeketsa (speak in a low voice), cf. S.tomekêla (make a noise with one's mouth) and S.tomesêla (whisper).

T.theneketsa (swallow without much chewing); T. tlapuketsa (smear with much fat); T.tlhamuketsa cause to smear the mouth with fat), cf. S.hlamukêla T.tlhamukêla (besmear one's mouth with fat when eating), S.petsketsa (force something into a place where it cannot enter), cf. N.pêta (press close); N.xeleketša (prepare the way, i.e. remove rubbish, etc.).

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bb) i) Durative (intensive)-reciprocal S.kana T.kana N.kana,e.g. S.menekana N.mẽnẽkana (get writhed, get wrung), cf. S.meneka (twist, wring) and S.mena T.mena N.mẽna (roll up, fold).

ii) The durative (intensive)-reciprocal suffix adds the reciprocal idea to the idea expressed by the durative (intensive) stem. In a few cases the reciprocal force is mutual, but in by far the majority of cases it is either associative or reagentive:[1)]

(a) Where ana has a reciprocal (mutual) force: S.bolokana T.bolokana (keep one another), cf. S.boloka T.boloka N.boloka (preserve), no corresponding simple stem; T.gadikana N.xadikana (annoy one another), cf. T.gadika (annoy) no corresponding simple stem.

(b) Where ana has a reciprocal (associative) force; N.kxatikana (trample about), cf. N.kxatika (trample, tread) and S.khata (catch with a trap that crushes), S.tsobokana (gather from all sides), cf. S.tsoboka (gather) no corresponding simple stem, S.khobokana T.kxobokana N.kxobokaba (crowd together), cf. N.kxoboka (gather corn by picking ears at different places) and S.khoba (call or invite many people) N. kxoba (sweep together, call many people together); S.putukana (sit together, e.g. a big crowd of people), cf. T.putuka (bring together as different droves of cattle) no corresponding simple stem.

(c) Where ana has a reciprocal (reagentive) force: S.bilikana (writhe on the ground from pain), cf. S.bilika (make round), no corresponding simple stem, S.holokana (become round), cf. S.holoka T.goloka N.xoloka (make round) and N.ǂũba (bind).

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1) For a definition of these terms cf. Chapter 14 § II.

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8. Durative (intensive) in a non-basic position, it is in this position only in the few cases mentioned in Chapter 5 § 10.

II Secondary : ℒ) Single :

i) Multiplicative S.aka T.aka N.aka[1], e.g. T.abaka N.abaka (distribute with both hands), cf. S.aba T.aba N.aba (divide); S.falaka N.falaka (scrape with force), cf. S.fala T.fala N.fala (scrape); N.thumaka (stone), cf. S.thuma T.thuma N.thuma (crush, grind fine); T.tibaka (stamp very hard on the ground), cf. S.tiba T.tiba N.tiba (stamp with the foot).

ii) (a) The multiplicative S.aka T.aka N.aka denotes an intensive action performed forcefully and in some cases habitually, e.g. S.bataka (strike much), cf. S.bata T.bata N. bata (strike); T.dihaka (do much, often, violently), cf. T. diha (do); T.rômaka N.rômaka (chop much, chop off), cf. S.rôma T.rôma N.rôma (chop); S.tenaka (work hard, work here and there), cf. S.tena T.tena N.tena (tire, disgust, tire out); T.gatlaka (strike much or often with a stick), cf. T.gatla N.xatla (strike with a stick); S.ôtlaka N.ôtlaka (beat much and indiscriminately), cf. S.ôtla N.ôtla (beat); N.bipaka (cover entirely and indiscriminately), cf. S.bipa T.bipa N. bipa (cover); S.bopaka (make indiscriminately), cf. S.bopa T.bopa N.bopa (mould, form); S.bukaka (talk indiscriminately), cf. S.bua T.bua (talk); S.rabaka (roam about, fly about), cf. N.raba (jump along); S.thobaka (roam about, go from place to

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1) The dictionaries consulted by me give only about 90 multiplicative stems. In view of the fact, however, that S.aka T.aka N.aka is still a living suffix, So the actually has many more multiplicative stems.

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place), cf. S.thoba T.thoba N.thoba (slip away, desert); N. tôbaka (keep on going to the same place), cf. N.tôba (keep on speaking); N.tlôbaka (rustle continually of the rain), cf. N.tlôba (rustle of the rain); N.kopaka (beg), cf. S.kopa T. kopa N.kopa (ask).

(b) The suffix -aka has in a few cases lost its multiplicative function, e.g. N.tônaka (take one thing out of a number of things), cf. T.tôna (bend down the head and body); S.limaka (put strong reeds or sticks at the entrance of a lelapa to form a kind of frame) no corresponding simple stem.

(c) Sometimes the semantic relation between the multiplicative stem and the probable corresponding simple stem is vague, e.g. N.xamaka (take in the arms), cf. S.hama T.xama N.xama (milk); N.xnamaka (think hard about something), cf. S.khama N.kxama (strangle, throttle); N.tônaka (cf. (b) above), cf. T.tôna (cf. (b) above).

(d) Most simple stems corresponding to multiplicative stems are transitive, there are however some which are intransitive: N.xafaka (rave, rage, be mad), cf. N.xafa intransitive (be mad); S.rabaka (fly about, roam about, walk quickly), cf. N.raba intransitive (jump along); S.tanaka (do many things at a time, work much), cf. S.tana intransitive (get sad, tired); T.fapaka (wrap round thoroughly, bind completely), cf. S.fapa T.fapa N.fapa transitive (bind into a bundle); S.ôtlaka N.ôtlaka (beat much and indiscriminately), cf. S.ôtla N.ôtla transitive (beat).

(e) Most multiplicative stems are transitive, there are however about 20 which are intransitive: N.kataka intransitive (gallop like a horse), cf. N.kata intransitive (gallop); N.xafaka intransitive (cf. (d) above), cf. N.xafa intransitive (cf. (d) above); T.tibaka intransitive (stamp very hard on the ground), cf. S.tiba T.tiba N.tiba transitive (stamp with the foot or fist); S.bataka transitive (cf. (a) above), cf. bata transitive (cf. (a) above); T.abaka N.abaka (cf. (a) above), cf. aba transitive (cf. (a) above).

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(f) There are multiplicative stems which are not associated with any extant simple verbal stems; a comparison with other derivative stems, That also having no corresponding simple verbal stems shows, however, in some cases, a probable common non-extant simple verbal stem, e.g. T. tlobaka (move about very much, be very busy in doing different kinds of work), cf. S.tloba-tloba (change one's residence frequently, enter here and there), N.šataka (swing the legs far apart while walking), cf. N.šatalala (stand with legs far apart); S.tlõatlaka (thunder), cf. S.tlõatlatsa (crackle, creak, make a noise); N.nyalaka (play, of children, while running from each other), cf. S.nyalaza (walk freely, in peace).

(g) The close relation between the suffixes ka and aka can best be seen by comparing durative (intensive) and multiplicative stems having the same corresponding simple stems, e.g.

N.hlaraka (chase far away) and T.tlharika (go very quickly), cf. N.hlara (chase away);

S.rôbaka N.rôbaka (break to pieces, smash) and N. rôbka (break a lot of things as e.g. a servant who keeps on breaking crockery), cf. S.rôba T.rôba N.rôba (break);

T.phuthaka (gather much or thoroughly) and T. phuthuka (collect thoroughly), cf. S.phutha T. phutha N.phutha (gather, collect);

S.kataka T.kataka N.kataka (crush, trample) and S.katika N.katika (try to cover (of a bull) tread), cf. S.kata T.kata N.kata (tramp, tramp down);

S.hlabaka N.hlabaka (kill right and left, much, indiscriminately, pierce much) and T.tlhabuka (pierce much), cf. S.hlaba T.tlhaba N.hlaba (stab).

Note also the following cases where no corresponding simple stems could be indicated :

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S.tobaka (wander about, change one's residence frequently) and N.tobeka (stir);

S.tlabaka (be agitated, walk firmly, roam) T. tlabaka (be busy, be active in doing one work after another) and S.tlabika (walk about).

It will be seen from these examples that although the derivative stems are semantically related, they are nevertheless not synonymous. It would appear, not only from these examples, but also from those quoted in § I L) ii) and § II L) ii) above, that ka almost always denotes an action performed continually and intensively, while aka denotes an action performed forcefully but not necessarily continually. One concludes that the same formative causing the difference in form between ka and aka, viz. the standardised connecting vowel a, is also the cause of the semantic difference between these two suffixes. The function of a is of a qualifying nature, it does not itself possess a multiplicative force, it merely emphasises or concentrates the intensive force denoted by ka. In the following cases derivative stems in aka and ka are actually synonymous : S. thônaka N.thônaka = S. thônôka (pick up), cf. N.thôna (take with two fingers); N.tôbaka = N.tôbôka (frequent a place), cf. N.tôba (keep on speaking, keep on interrupting).

(h) In T. the multiplicative stem is often followed by a formative ka[1], e.g. a dibaka ka dilô (he used things much).

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1) Cf. Wookey and Brown Secwana grammar, p. 118.

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β) Compound :

1. Multiplicative in basic position :

aa) i) Multiplicative-applicative S.akêla T. akêla N.akêla, e.g. S.hatakêla T.gatakêla N.xatakêla (trample on oppress), cf. T.gataka N.xataka (trample much) and S.hata T.gata N.xata (tread, tramp).

ii) The multiplicative-applicative adds the applicative idea to the idea expressed by the multiplicative stem. It is perhaps remarkable that these multiplicative-/applicative stems given in the dictionaries, have almost exclusively such corresponding simple stems as indicate the idea of trampling or crushing e.g. S.katakêla T.kat[illegible]êla N.katakêla (crush under the feet, trample on as a crowd) cf. S.kataka T.katak[illegible] N.kataka (crush, trample very much) and S.kata T.kata N.kata (tramp, tramp down); S.pitlakêla (trample under the feet), cf. N.pitlaka (squeeze entirely into a hole) and S.pitla T.pitla N.pitla (squeeze, press); S.getlakêla (trample under the feet), cf. N.getlaka (crush very fine), and S.getla T.getla N.getla (crush); S.kanakêla (trample on or in), cf. T.kana (squeeze an insect between the nails) no corresponding multiplicative stem; S.binakêla (trample under the feet), cf. S.bina T.bina N.bina (dance) no corresponding multiplicative stem.

There are however cases where the corresponding simple stems do not indicate the idea referred to above, e.g. S.tanakêla (worry much about, make a mess of), cf. S.tanaka (harass, do many things at a time) and S.tana (get tired, get sad).

bb) i) Multiplicative-reciprocal S.akana T. akana N.akana, e.g. S.rohakana N.rexakana (curse one another

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much), cf. S.rohaka T.rogaka N.rogaka (curse much) and S. roha T.roga N.roga (curse).

ii) The multiplicative-reciprocal adds the reciprocal idea to the idea expressed by the multiplicative stem. The suffix ana has only with six of the 25 multiplicative-reciprocal stems, a reciprocal (mutual) force, with all the others it has either a reciprocal (associative) or a reciprocal (reagentive) force.

(a) Where ana has a reciprocal (mutual) force : S.rohakana N.roxakana (cf. (i) above); S.hlabakana (wound one another much), cf. S.hlabaka N.hlabaka (kill right and left) and S.hlaba T.tlhaba N.hlaba (stab); T. thulakana (collide with one another, knock much against one another), cf. S.thulaka (strike much) and S.thula T.thula (knock, strike).

(b) Where ana has a reciprocal (associative) force: T.lagakana (be knit or woven together like two hearts), cf. S.loka T.loga N.loxa (knit) no corresponding multiplicative stem, S.lubakana (get mixed up), cf. S.lubaka (knead much) and S.luba T.duba N.duba (knead).

(c) Where ana has a reciprocal (reagentive) force : N.kxamakana (consider, think something over), cf. N.kxamaka (think hard about something) and S. khama N.kxama (strangle); N.fapakana (writhe, bend to and fro), cf. T.fapaka (wrap round thoroughly, bind completely) and S.fapa T.fapa N.fapa (wind round).

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cc) i) Multiplicative-reciprocal-factitive S. akanya T.akanya N.akanya, e.g. S.thubakanya T.thubakanya (break up completely, smash completely), cf. N.thubakana (smash one another's heads), N.thubaka (smash) and S.thuba T.thuba N.thuba (break).

ii) (a) The multiplicative-reciprocal-factitive adds the factitive idea to the idea expressed by the multiplicative-reciprocal stem, e.g. T.logakanya (weave or knit together like two hearts), cf. T.logakana [be knit or be woven together like two hearts, cf. bb) ii)(b) above]; S.lubakanya (mix many things, set people against one another), cf. S.lubakana [get mixed up cf. bb) ii)(b) above]; S.fapakanya (embroil, mix up), cf. S. fapakana (be very much mixed), and S.fapa T.fapa N.fapa (wind round); T.gagakanya (drive away with impatience) N.xašakanya (beat away with the open hand) cf. N.xašakana (get splashed about), N.xašaka (spread far away) and S. hasa T.gasa N.xaša (spread).

(b) In some cases the idea conveyed by the suffix would appear to be merely of a forceful nature — more forceful than the idea conveyed by the suffix aka[1], e.g. T.ragakanya (kick out in all directions), cf. N.rexeka (kick much) and S.raha T.raga N.raxa (kick), S.rôbakanya (smash up), cf. S.rôbaka N.rôbaka (break to pieces) and S.rôba T.rôba N.rôba (break), S.thumakanya (crush thoroughly), cf. N.thumaka (stone) and S.thuma T. thuma N.thuma (grind fine and in N. also : throw stones at).

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1) As will be seen in Chapter 14 § II β) 1. aa), the suffix S. anya T.anya N.anya sometimes conveys an intensive force; therefore ; the first component part of akanya always has an intensive force while the second component part may have this force.

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In some such cases no corresponding multiplicative stems could be indicated, e.g. S.tabakanya (throw down violently) cf. N.taba (smash), S.silakanya (trample to pieces) N.šilakanya (crush to dust), cf. S.sila T.sila N.šila (grind) S.thuakanya (smash) cf. S.thua (break).

2. Multiplicative in a non-basic position : it does not seem to be used very often in this position, it is much less than some of the other secondary suffixes, e.g. ŝla, ola and ana. The undermentioned are a few examples of aka in a non-basic position :

aa) Applicative-multiplicative S.ŝlaka T. ŝlaka N.ŝlaka as in : T.tebêlaka N.têbêlaka (strike violently), cf. T.tebêla N.têbêla (knock about with the fist) and N.têba (beat to pieces), S.fehêlakŏa (be puffed up, be excited), cf. N.fêxêla (groan) and T.fêga (sigh).

bb) Actional (destructive)-multiplicative S. olaka T.olaka N.olaka as in : T.garolaka (tear violently), cf. S.harola T.garola N.xarola (tear with the teeth etc.) and N.xara (wound the head), N.dibolaka (solve riddles often or well), cf. N.dibola (solve riddles) no corresponding simple stem, S.libolaka (beat severely), cf. S.libola (= libolaka) no corresponding simple stem.

The contribution of S.aka T.aka N.aka to the force of these compound suffixes is that it adds the multiplicative idea to the idea expressed by the suffix without S.aka T. aka N.aka.

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CHAPTER 9.

Operative S.ha T.ha N.ha[i], Operative (intensive) S.pa T.pa N.pa[ii].

A) Unstrengthened :

I Primary : L) Single :

i) Operative S.ha T.ha N.ha, e.g. S.hálaha (catch after a hard pursuit, run down), cf. S.hala (remain with, do repeatedly); N.nyanyaha (drag the legs along said of a tired person), cf. T.nyanya (come or go softly); N.tlêrêha (crack, split), cf. S.tlêra (strike on the head); T.ôtôha N.ôtôha (walk as e.g. a very tired person), cf. S.ôta N.ôta (become thin, weak).

ii)(a) The operative is a very rare suffix[iii], and it denotes that the subject of the derivative stem is effectively performing the action implied by the simple stem, e.g. N.hlalaha (presume upon, take into one's head, i.e. adopt a point of view with some obstinacy), cf. N.hlala (stay, sit down); N.nanaha (stretch out the legs), cf. N. nana (walk along carefully); N.šašaha (shake about, jolt), cf. N.šaša (sprinkle); N.tlêrêha (cf. (i) above); N.ritiha (roll about on the same place like one mortally wounded), cf. N.rita (be in the last agonies); N.roroha (pile up, heap up), cf. T.rora N.rora (garner corn); T.kôkôha N. kôkôha (walk with sore feet, walk carefully, creep on hands and feet), cf. N.kôka (support, lean); T.garuha N.xaruha (gnaw as a dog a bone, cut a big opening), cf. N.xara (cut open a swelling, wound the head).

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i) UB.va cf. Phon., pp. 45 and 79.

ii) UB. mba cf. Phon., p. 46.

iii) Only about 30 operative stems could be found.

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The difference between the operative and the stational (capable) S.ŝha T.ŝxa N.ŝxa, is that the former indicates that the subject of the derivative stem is performing the action implied by the simple stem; while the latter indicates that the subject can either undergo that action, or else come into the state expressed by the simple stem[1]. The following are the only examples I could find of operative and stational (capable) stems derived from the same root : N.nyanyaba (drag the legs along of a tired person) and N.nyanyêxa (become so tired that one has to sit down), cf. T.nyanya (come or go softly); N.tlêrêba (break, split something[2]) and N.tlêrêxa (get cracked or split), cf. S.tlêra (strike on the head).

(b) Sometimes ba has lost its operative force, e.g. N.thethaba (be apart, be aloof), cf. N.thêtha (chop off); T.tsalaba (be pleasing to, be satisfactory), cf. T.tsala (beget, have connections with) and T.tsalana (be friendly with).

(c) In some cases the semantic relation between the operative stem and the probable corresponding simple stem is vague: S.araba T.araba N.araba (answer, reply, idea : become open), cf. T.ara N.ara (cut open); N.okoba (get on another's back, crouch), cf. N.oka (soar over, look down from above).

(d) The simple stems corresponding to some operative stems are transitive, while those corresponding to others are intransitive[11], e.g. N.hlalaba, hlala intransitive; N.nanaba, nana intransitive; N.ǰaǰaba, ǰaǰa

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1) Cf. Chapter 10 § A) II)((2))(α) 11) A)(d).

11) For the meanings of examples here quoted cf. (a) above.

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transitive; N.tlêrêba, tlêra transitive.

(e) Operative stems are mostly intransitive. I could find only 6 transitive operative stems, cf. e.g.[1] N. tlêrêba transitive and tlêra transitive, N.roroba transitive and rora transitive, N.hlalaba intransitive and hlala intransitive, N.nanaba intransitive and nana intransitive, N.šašaba intransitive and šaša transitive, N.thethoba intransitive and thêtha transitive.

(f) There are operative stems which are not associated with any extant simple verbal stems, nor could non-verbal stems be indicated as being possible bases of these derivative stems, e.g. N.rotoba (be upright), N.kataba (lie in a mocking way), N.rêtêba (be able to walk again after having been ill).

A.) Compound :

1. Operative in basic position, as e.g. in the operative-actional (capable) S.hala T.hala N.hala, e.g. T. atlahala N.atlahala (become extended, enlarged), cf. S.atla N.atla (be prosperous); N.rotahala (become big, raised), cf. N.rota (rise, ascend).

This suffix adds the actional (capable) idea to the idea expressed by the operative stem, e.g.[11] N.okahala (lie down, bake in the sun), cf. N.okaba (get on another's back, crouch) and N.oka (bend over, look down from above); T.kakahala (lie with arms and legs stretched out), cf. T.kaka (be drawn two ways); N.tlatlahala (be obstinate), cf. N.tlatla (be weak-minded); S.hokahala (be quite alone, stand at the same place for a long time), cf. S.hoka (be standing motionless);

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1) For the meanings of examples here quoted cf. (a) above.

11) Mostly no corresponding operative stems could be indicated.

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T.rurubala (fly or flap in the wind as the garments of a runner), cf. S.rura (fly).

2. Operative in a non-basic position, this suffix does not occur in this position.

II Secondary : The operative has no secondary form.

B) Strengthened :

I Primary : α) Single :

i) Operative (intensive) S.pa T.pa N.pa[i] e.g. S.khêrêpa (scrape, nibble), cf. N.khêra (gnaw, bite off); S. khôaripa T.kgwaripa (scratch, or claw with the nails), cf. T.kgwara N.kxwara (scrape with a knife).

ii)(a) The operative (intensive) is a rare suffix[ii], it denotes intermittent action,[iii] and for most of these derivative stems no corresponding simple stems could be indicated. Examples : N.tsatsapa (walk slowly and warily), cf. N.tsatsa (tiptoe); S.khôhlôpa (shake about, shake a bag up and down when pouring grain out of it), cf. N.kxôhla (be loose, shake); T.anapa (feel after, grope), no corresponding simple stem; S.kutlapa (walk slowly, not continuously) no corresponding simple stem; S.tsŏelipa (go in zig-zags) no corresponding simple stem; S.sonopa N.sonopa (be restless, writhe), cf. N. sôna (fold). For more examples cf. (e) below.

(b) The suffix pa has sometimes lost its ~~common~~ operative ~~xixe~~ (intensive) force, e.g. N.xwahlapa (glean), cf. N.xwahla (glean); N.theelepa (go about in swarms) no corresponding

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i) Cf. N.rurumpana (flare high up of flames), N.rura (crackle of a fire) and T.rurubala (flutter in the wind). This is the only example I could find, where the nasal, the cause of the strengthening of the suffix-consonant b, has been retained.

ii) Only about 40 operative (intensive) stems could be indicated.

iii) Cf. also (f) below.

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simple stem; S.kôtlôpa (put or keep in a corner, herd near the village), cf. S.kôtla N.kôtla (press in); N.kxôrôpa (shrink together) no corresponding simple stem.

(c) The simple stems corresponding to some operative (intensive) stems are transitive, those corresponding to others are intransitive, e.g. N.xwahlapa (glean), cf. N.xwahla transitive (glean); S.kôtlôpa (put or keep in a corner, herd near the village), cf. S.kôtla N.kôtla transitive (press in), S.khôrôpa (scrape, nibble), cf. N.kxôra transitive (gnaw, bite off); N.tsatsapa (walk slowly and warily), cf. N.tsatsa intransitive (tiptoe); S.khôhlôpa (shake about, shake a bag up and down when pouring grain out of it), cf. N.kxôhla intransitive (be loose, shake).

(d) Some operative stems are transitive, others are intransitive, e.g.[1] N.xwahlapa transitive, S.khôlôpa transitive, S.kôtlôpa transitive, N.tsatsapa intransitive, S. kutlapa intransitive.

(e) There are operative (intensive) stems which are not associated with any extant simple verbal stems, ~~neither~~ nor could non-verbal stems be indicated as being possible bases of these derivatives; a comparison with other derivative stems that also have no corresponding simple verbal stems or corresponding non-verbal stems, shows, however, in some cases a probable common non-extant simple verbal stem, e.g. T.kalapa N.kalapa (skip about as young animals); N.kwalapa (change the mind); N.kwatapa (gallop), cf. S.kôatalla (run); S.hlêlêpa (strike, beat); N.kxêlêpa (swing as somebody holding on to a beam);

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1) For the meanings of these stems cf. §'s (a), (b) and (c) above.

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T.kwetsepa (hobble about as e.g. a cripple with a stick); S.konopa T.konopa N.konopa (pelt with stones), N.kutupa (jump down), cf. N.kutuma (jump down).

(f) The semantic relation between pa and its phonologically related form ba is very vague. However, it may be that previously the general force of pa was to denote an action performed effectively and with vigour, i.e. the intensive of the force denoted by ba[1] (it actually still has this force in a few cases, e.g. in the one quoted below), and that the present common force of pa has developed out of this. The following is the only example I could find of an operative and operative (intensive) stem derived from the same root : N.kôtlôba (stoop down, i.e. press down the body) and S.kôtlôpa (put or keep in a corner, herd near the village), cf. S.kôtla N.kôtla (press in).

(g) Compound :

1. Operative (intensive) in basic position : There are several such compounds, e.g. the operative (intensive) - applicative S.pêla T.pêla N.pêla as in N.tsatsapêla (stretch oneself up on the toes, walk towards on tiptoes), cf. N. tsatsapa (walk on the toes). Here the applicative idea is added to the idea expressed by the operative (intensive) stem, the operative (intensive)-reciprocal S.pana N.pana as in S.sonopana N.sonopana (writhe about), cf. S.sonopa N. sonopa (writhe). Here the reciprocal idea is added to the idea expressed by the operative (intensive) stem.

2. Operative (intensive) in a non-basic position : this suffix does not occur in this position.

II Secondary : The operative (intensive) has no secondary form.

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1) Endemann also means that pa denotes the intensive of ba cf. W.u.S. p. 34.

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CHAPTER 10.

Stational S.ha T.ga N.xa[1],
Stational (capable)[ii] N.gxa[iii],
Stational (capable)[ii] and Stational (causative) S.ŝha T.ŝga N.ŝxa[iv],
Stational (destructive) S.oha T.oga N.oxa[v],
Stational (intensive) N.kxa[vi],
Stational (capable-intensive) N.okxa[vi],
Stational (destructive-intensive) N.okxa[vi].

A) UNSTRENGTHENED

I Primary : α) Single :

1) Stational S.ha T.ga N.xa, e.g. S.phersha (become

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1) UB.ka Phon., pp. 45 and 76.

ii) The reason for employing the same term for two different suffixes is given in II ((1) ii) below.

iii) UB.aka Phon., pp. 44 and 76. A representative of this suffix is found in N. only.

iv) UB.aka cf. Phon., pp. 45, 44 and 76. As will be explained in § A) II ((2)) ii) below, I recognise only one suffix S.ŝha T.ŝga N.ŝxa with however two sub-functions indicated by the above two terms. It will be seen in the course of this treatise that there are several other single secondary suffixes having two or more sub-functions; such is, e.g. the case with the stational (destructive) S.oha T.oga N.oxa which has two sub-functions, viz. the stational (destructive-reversive) and the stational (destructive-extensive). There is, however, a difference between S.ŝha T.ŝga N.ŝxa on the one hand, and the other suffixes having two or more sub-functions on the other hand, viz. that with the latter I could still indicate the general force, covering the sub-functions, denoted by each of these suffixes; while with S.ŝha T.ŝga N.ŝxa the general force of the secondary suffix covering both the stational (causative) and the stational (capable) is no longer apparent. This may be due to the extensive interchange that has taken place between the suffixes S.ha T.ga N.xa, N.aka and the stational (capable) S.ŝha T.ŝga N.ŝxa (cf. below) as well as to the exceedingly rare occurrence of the stational (causative) S.ŝha T.ŝga N.ŝxa. Now, in view of, (a) the position with the other suffixes referred to above, as regards their general force, (b) the improbability of the existence side by side of two suffixes semantically different, but identical in form and (c) the possibility of S.ŝha T.ŝga N.ŝxa having lost its general force, I suppose that one might perhaps reconstruct the following general term for S.ŝha T.ŝga N.ŝxa: stational (???) (??? representing the lost force). The two sub-functions of the suffix may then be denoted as stational (???-capable) and stational (???-causative). It is however not essential to keep on using the sign ???. As far as this suffix is concerned, I am therefore, deviating from the practice of employing a general term when speaking of a suffix in general. Instead of this, the designation for each of the individual sub-functions will be employed as occasion demands.

v) UB.uka Phon., pp. 44 and 76.

vi) Found in N. only, no UB. representative is given by Meinhof.

very bad of a wound), cf. N.phêra (get cured with difficulty); S.theleha (fall down, tumble down of a wall), cf. N.thêla (glide, slide); N.ôbôxa (hang down i.e. be beat down), cf. S.ôba T.ôba N.ôba (bend down); S.khumuha (get worn out)[1], cf. N.khuma (peel, take off the fibres)[1]; T.ubuga N.ubûxa (pant, breathe hard), cf. S.uba T.uba N.uba (throb, beat of the heart, in N. also: blow the bellows); S.ruthuha (resound dully), cf. S.rutha (draw in air with force) and T. rutha (blow strong as the wind).

The connecting vowel e is found preceding S.ha only - it is not found preceding T.ha N.xa. A few more examples are given in addition to the above: S.kêsenha (change your opinion, retract), cf. N.kwenêxa (= S.kêsenha) and S.kêêna N.kwêna (turn, turn round); S.kêsteha (get up), cf. T.kwetêga (appear, come into sight) no corresponding simple stem; S.petleha (slip out of one's hands) no corresponding simple stem. It is possible that we do not have here a suffix ha preceded by e as an unstandardised connecting vowel, but eha a dialectal form of the stational (capable) êha, especially in view of the fact that in two cases the other two languages have T. êga N.êxa where S. has eha. But closed e occurs as unstandardised connecting vowel with practically all primary suffixes, therefore why not also with the stational suffix? It is true that with the other suffixes it is not limited to one language only, but I do not think that this is sufficient reason not to classify it here as an unstandardised connecting vowel. Unfortunately the force of the stational suffix does not help us here; it is a rare suffix, and, as will be shown below, no difference in force could be indicated between the stational and the stational (capable) suffixes. For the reasons mentioned above I have provisionally recognised

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1) The common idea between the simple and derivative stems is probably that of wearing away.

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an unstandardised connecting vowel o preceding S.ha. In such cases, however, where the S.derivative stem has a parallel in one of the other languages, ending in T.ôga N.ôxa the suffix is to be regarded as oha a variant of ôha and not as ha preceded by an unstandardised connecting vowel o.

Endemann has indicated a suffix uxa for N.[1], but, as far as I can see, there seems to be no justification for recognising a suffix S.uha T.uga N.uxa, unless perhaps as a dialectal variant of S.oha T.oga N.oxa (cf. below). It is true, as will be seen in ii) below, as well as from examples quoted above, that a few stational stems with u as unstandardised connecting vowel have a destructive force; but, as far as I could ascertain, this is only the case when such a force is also denoted by the corresponding simple stems. It would therefore appear as if this force is contained in the roots underlying these stems[ii].

ii)(a) The stational suffix S.ha T.ga N.xa is a very rare suffix[iii], and in most cases it denotes the same as the stational (capable), viz. an intransitive state or

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1) W.d.S., p. 35. In his Phon., p. 43 Meinhof says that if UB.ka is suffixed to a stem ending in UB.ô we get a suffix UB.ôka. It would, however, appear that in such cases the ô rather belongs to the stem and not to the suffix.

ii) A few derivative stems, of which the following is practically an exhaustive list, end either in the stational (destructive) suffix or in S.ha T.ga N.xa preceded by u, e.g. T.kamaga = T.kamoga (swell), S.siruha = S.sioha = N.široxa (stand aside), T.tsakuga = T.tsakoga (die suddenly), this may be due to dialectal difference or, in view of the scarcity of such examples, merely to the difference in pronunciation of individuals, cf. also N.roroxa = S.ruruha T.ururga (swell), S.thothoha = S.thuthuha (become intelligent of a child). It is difficult to say whether here S.oha T.oga N.oxa > S.uha T.uga N.uxa or S.(u)ha T.(u)ga N.(u)xa > S.(o)ha T.(o)ga N.(o)xa. There is no question in Sotho of the S.oha T.oga N.oxa becoming S.uha T.uga N.uxa because of the stem-vowel being u, as there are many derivative stems in S.oha T.oga N.oxa with stem-vowel u, e.g. T.khutloga (be in a bad temper), N.kupoxa (be in a bad temper), N.ruthoxa (break), S.kumoha (become rooted out).

iii) Only about 35 stational stems could be indicated.

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condition without any special reference to an agent determining that condition, e.g.[1] N.kubuxa (dive up, appear, i.e. be in a visible state), cf. T.kubuga (wake up from sleep, i.e. be in a state of having woken up), cf. T.kuba (rise up as smoke); S.suruha (get out of the way) no corresponding simple stem; S.bereha (become spoiled) no corresponding simple stem; S.taomuha (come out, be pulled out) no corresponding simple stem.

(b) A few stems may be cited in which it would appear that the suffix S.ha T.ga N.xa has a function other than that which it has in the majority of stational stems. These are S.heleha (fall down of a wall), cf. S.hela (mow, reap); S.theleha (fall down of a wall), cf. N.thêla (glide, slide); S.petleha (run in great numbers) no corresponding simple stem; N.pirixa (fall down sideways) no corresponding simple stem; T.gôrôga N.xôrôxa (finish a journey, go home) no corresponding simple stems. Unfortunately their number is so small that I cannot indicate with any accuracy what the function of the suffix may be. On the other hand it may be possible to regard the suffix in these stems as identical in function with those in the other stational or statimal (capable) stems by interpreting, e.g. T.gôrôga N.xôrôxa not as go home, but as be in a state of going home; and pirixa not as fall down sideways, but as be in a state of falling sideways. It is however not certain whether such an interpretation is correct, and it was therefore thought advisable to designate S.ha T.ga N.xa by a term other than that employed for N.axa and S.ôha T.ôga N.ôxa.

(c) All derivative stems in S.ha T.ga N.xa are intransitive.

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1) Refer to i) above for more examples.

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(d) The simple stems corresponding to some stational stems are transitive, while those corresponding to others are intransitive, e.g.[i] N.ôbôxa, cf. S.ôba T.ôba N.ôba transitive; S.khumuha cf. N.khuma transitive, S. phereha, cf. N.phêra intransitive; N.kubuxa, cf. T.kuba intransitive.

(e) There are stational stems which are not associated with any extant simple verbal stems neither could non-verbal stems be indicated as being possible bases of these derivative stems, a comparison with other verbal stems that also having no corresponding simple verbal stems or corresponding non-verbal stems, shows, however, in some cases, a probable common non-extant simple verbal stem, e.g. T. tšubuga (turn the head and move away), cf. T.tšubula (snatch away); S.tsomuha (be pulled out), cf. S.tsomula (pull out).

(f) For some stational stems corresponding actional[ii] stems in la could be found, In addition to those quoted in (e) above cf. also N.ôbôxa (hang down) and N.ôbôla (let something hang down), T.kubuga (wake out of sleep) and T.kubula (waken out of sleep).

B] Compound :

1. Stational suffix in basic position, as e.g. in the stational-factitive S.sa T.sa[iii] N:ŋa < S:ŋ + S:ša T.g + T.ya N.ɣ + N.ya, e.g. N.khuduŋa (expel, turn out), cf. N.khuduxa (remove one's abode) no corresponding simple stem.

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i) For meanings of examples here quoted, cf. i) as well as ii)(a) above.

ii) For a definition of la, cf. Chapter 18.

iii) In the following instances also tsha in T.: goretsha = gorosa (cause to arrive), cf. gôrôga (arrive); hudutsha = huduga (expel, turn out), cf. hudusa (remove one's abode).

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This suffix adds the factitive idea to the idea expressed by the stational stem, e.g. N.khuduŝa (expel, turn out), cf. N. khuduxa (remove one's abode) no corresponding simple stem; T.huduga (expel, turn out) cf. T.huduga (remove one's abode) no corresponding simple stem, but cf. N.fula (flee); T.gorosa[i] N.xoroŝa[i] (cause to arrive, bring home), cf. T.gôrôga N. xôrôxa (go home arrive) no corresponding simple stem.

8. Stational suffix in a non-basic position : With the exception of the few cases mentioned in chapter 5 §10(h) this suffix does not occur in this position.

II Secondary :

((1)) A) Single :

i) Stational (capable) N.axa, e.g. N.kxaraxa (get bigger, get round of fruit) no corresponding simple stem, N.kwaraxa (bend, curve, crumple) no corresponding simple stem. These are the only two stems I could find ending in axa, and it could therefore be argued that the suffix is xa and not axa, the a preceding xa being an unstandardised connecting vowel (the root-vowel in both these cases being also a). The probable existence of a suffix axa is however supported by the following :

(a) In other Bantu languages there exists a suffix which is the parallel of axa, e.g. in Xhosa as in phalaka (run or rush out as water from a vessel), cf. phala (go to and fro, go about in search); and in Tonga[ii] as in vonaka (be visible), cf. vona (see), and onhaka (get spoiled)

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i) ŝ > o under the influence xa, cf. Chapter 17.

ii) Cf. Junod Elementary grammar of the Thonga-Shangaan language, p. 74.

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cf. onha (spoil)[1].

(b) It appears as one of the component parts of such compounds as axala, axana and axêla[11].

ii) axa denotes the same as the stational (capable) S.ŝha T.ŝga N.ŝxa[111], viz. an intransitive state or condition without any special reference to an agent determining that condition. The same term is therefore employed to indicate both suffixes.

β) Compound :

1. Stational (capable) S.*aha T.*aga N.axa in basic position :

aa)(i) Stational (capable)-actional (capable) S.ahala N.axala[iv], T.agala is only found in certain dialects. In Tlhaping, one of the dialects, in which, agala does not occur, the suffix fala denotes the force elsewhere denoted by agala[v]. It is therefore possible that in

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i) In Lamba there is a suffix aka (Lamba k = N.x) but it has an extensive force, cf. Doke Textbook of Lamba grammar (new edn. p. 204.

ii) Cf. Phon., p. 76.

iii) This is also the case in Tonga, cf. Junod Elementary grammar of the Thonga-Shangaan language, p. 74.

iv) Cf. UN. akala Phon., p. 76. Jacottet maintains that S.ahala > S.aha + S.ala (cf. A Grammar of the Sesuto language, p. 61), Endemann that N.axala < N.axa + ala (cf. V.d.S., p. 81), through retrogressive assimilation. Although this is quite possible in some cases, it does not exclude S.*aha N.axa from being the base in other cases, especially in view of the fact that S.ahala N. axala has a parallel in other B. languages, e.g. Zulu akala (cf. Doke Text-book of Zulu grammar, p. 130), and Tonga akala (cf. Junod Elementary grammar of the Thonga-Shangaan language, p. 75). Meinhof has also been able to reconstruct a suffix akala for UN. cf. Phon. pp. 43 and 76. As indicated above the suffix axa is a very rare suffix and no semantic difference between axa and ŝxa can be shown, for this reason it is not possible to say in which cases the basis of S.ahala T.agala N.axala is S.ŝha T.ŝga N.ŝxa (permuted to S.aha T.aga N.axa), and in which cases original S.*aha T.*aga N.axa. I could trace no suffix S.ŝhala T.ŝgala N.ŝxala.

v) Cf. Chapter 20.

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such dialects agala has been replaced by fala. Also in S. and N. an interchange between S.ahala N.axala and fala has taken place, cf. ii)(e) below.

As the suffix agala does not occur in Tlhaping[1], the examples here quoted for T. will not be found in Brown's Secwana-English dictionary, which is written in that dialect; they have been obtained from my informants. T.diragala N. diraxala (happen, come to pass, become done), cf. T.dira N. dira (act, do); S.bônahala T.bônagala N.bônaxala (become visible, evident, appear), cf. S.bôna T.bôna N.bôna (see); S.nêpahala (become suitable, right, true) cf. S.nêpa N.nêpa (be right); S.khêthahala (be noticeable), cf. S.khêtha T.kgêtha N.kxêtha (pick out, choose); S.phêthahala N.phêthaxala (become accomplished, take place), cf. S.phêtha N.phêtha (complete); N.utaxala (become hidden), cf. S.uta N.uta (hide); S.hlôkahala T.tlhôkagala N. hlôkaxala (be scarce, be lacking, be no more), cf. S.hlôka T.tlhôka N.hlôka (lack).

(ii)(a) S.ahala T.agala N.axala denotes the idea of entering into a certain state[11], e.g. S.hlôphahala (become beautiful), cf S.hlôpha T.tlhôpha N.hlôpha (adorn, arrange); N.khutlaxala (hurt oneself by knocking against something), cf. T.khutla N.khutla (knock against something with the foot etc.); S.bônahala T.bônagala N.bônaxala (become visible), cf. S.bôna T.bôna N.bôna (see); T.diragala N.diraxala (happen), cf. T.dira N.dira (work, do); S.tsebahala N.tsebaxala (become known) cf. S.tseba N.tseba (know).

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i) Cf. Weakey and Brown Secwana grammar, p. 115.

ii) There seems to be no semantic difference between S. ahala T.agala N.axala and S.ala T.ala N.ala cf. Chapter 12.

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(b) The simple stems corresponding to stational (capable)-actional (capable) stems are almost exclusively transitive, an exception being N.imaxala (become heavy) cf. T.ima N.ima (become pregnant), intransitive.

(c) All derivative stems in S.ahala T.agala N.axala are intransitive.

(d) For the following stem in axala no corresponding simple stem could be indicated : N.ǂakaxala (contradict very strongly), cf. T.ǂakgala (be furious).

(e) In a few cases there seems to have been some interchange between S.ahala N.axala and S. fala N.fala[1], e.g. S.netahala = S.netefala (become true) cf. S.neta T.aata N.ngtá found in S.'nata T.gnata N.naata (truth); N. imaxala = N.imfala (become heavy), cf. T.ima N.ima (become pregnant) and ima found in S.boima T.boima N.boima (weight).

bb) Stational (capable)-applicative T. agêla. I have only once come across this suffix, viz. in Phon., p. 76, where the example T.diragêla (be done for someone) is quoted[11].

cc)(i) Stational (capable)-reciprocal

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1) Cf. Chapter 20.

11) Meinhof maintains that T.ǂga > aga if followed by ǂla; as far as I could ascertain however T.ǂga + ǂla > ǂgǂla, e.g. phomǂgǂla (rush upon), rôbǂgǂla (become broken off), iamǂgǂla (backslide, turn away from), ihubǂgǂla (rush together), cf. however also S.sibahetaa (strike with a stone) where the suffix in the basic position may perhaps have been ǂha, but there seems to be no reason why it could not have been aha.

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S.shana T.agana N.axana[1], e.g. N.fetaxana (pass each other), cf. S.feta T.feta N.feta (pass); S.khêthahana (get apart, differ), cf. S.khêtha T.kgêtha N.kxêtha (choose); T.bopagana (come close together, become of one shape), cf. S.bopa T.bopa N.bopa (shape, create).

(ii)(a) With S.shana T.agana N.axana the reciprocal idea is added to the stational (capable) idea. It is remarkable that this suffix is almost exclusively attached to roots denoting the following two ideas :

(A) Association, in which case the derivative stem conveys also an idea of association[ii]. It is in the majority of cases attached to such roots, e.g. T.betagana (be congested as a crowd, choke one another as a crowd), cf. S.beta T.beta N.beta (grasp by the throat, strangle); T.kokagana N.kokaxana (be connected), cf. N.koka (entice, tempt); T.kgatlhagana N. kxoklaxana (be close together, touch or press upon each other), cf. N.kxohla (rub against); S.pêtshana N.pêtaxana (be thickly sown, be too close), cf. N.pêta (press close);

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i) This suffix may in some cases be an assimilated form of S.ŝhana T.ŝgana N.ŝxana, cf. W.d.S., p. 88, Jacottet A Grammar of the Sesuto language, p. 82, and Phon., p. 76, but this does not exclude S.*aha T.*aga N.axa from being the basis in other cases, cf. S.shala T.agala N.axala above. S.shana T.agana N.axana has also parallels in other Bantu languages, cf. Torw., p. 55. As far as I could ascertain only about one half of the roots in Sotho taking S.shana T.agana N.axana also take S.ŝha T.ŝga N.ŝx

The suffix axa is a very rare suffix and no semantic difference could be indicated between N.axa and S.ŝha T.ŝga N.ŝxa, for this reason it is not possible to say in which cases the basis of S.shana T.agana N.axana is S.ŝha T.ŝga N.ŝxa (permuted to S.sha T.aga N.axa) and in which cases it is original S.*aha T.*aga N.axa. There exists a suffix S.ŝhana N.ŝxana, which, as will be indicated below, is semantically identical with S.shana T.agana N.axana. A few derivative stems in N. end either in axana or ŝxana, e.g. xêlaxana = xêlêxana (connect, attach to each other), cf. xêla (bind); mênaxana = mênaxana (be doubled up intertwined), cf. mêna (bend). In these cases axana is probably a permuted form of ŝxana.

ii) Cf. W.d.S. p. 51, and Jacottet A Grammar of the Sesuto language p. 82. The suffix S.ŝhana N.ŝxana which appears more often in N. than in S., has also an associative force, e.g. N.fêrêxana get intertwined), cf. T.fêra N.fêra (bend).

S.shana T.agana N.axana has a parallel in other Bantu languages conveying the same force, cf. Torw., p. 55 as well as Tönjes Lehrbuch der Ovambo-Sprache Grammatik, p. 124.

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S.phuthahana (become shrivelled up), cf. S.phutha T.phutha N. phutha (fold, gather), S.momahana N.momaxana (adhere to one another) cf. S.moma T.moma N.moma (pinch one's mouth, suck); S.lomahana T.lomagana N.lemaxana (adhere to one another, be joined together), cf. S.loma T.loma N.loma (bite); S.tlamahana (get strongly bound together), cf. S.tlama T.tlama (bind); T. logagana (become knit or twisted together), cf. S.loha T.loka N.loka (knit, weave).

(B) Separation, in which case the derivative stem conveys also an idea of separation[1]), e.g. N.fetaxana (pass each other), cf. S.feta T.feta N.feta (pass); N.ǂutaxana (remove from one another), cf. N.ǂuta (remove); S.phukhahana (break into pieces, get smashed), cf. S.phukha (break); T.ŝêtlhagana N.ŝêhlexana (become separated or sawn asunder), cf. S.ŝêhla T.ŝêtlha N. ŝêhla (cut); N.thêkxaxana (break asunder), cf. N.thêkxa (break off); T.kumagana N.kumaxana (break up, become broken up into parties or groups), cf. S.kuma T.kuma N.kuma (tear off, break into small pieces); T.thubagana N.thubaxana (break each other, be cracked), cf. S.thuba T.thuba N.thuba (smash).

(b) Most simple stems corresponding to derivative stems in S.ahana T.agana N.axana are transitive, a few are however intransitive, e.g. S.fatahana (get scattered), cf. S.fata T.fata N.fata (dig a hole, hollw out) transitive; T.ŝêtlhagana N.ŝêhlexana (become separated or sawn asunder), cf. S.ŝêhla T.ŝêtlha N.ŝêhla (cut) transitive; N.sekaxana (lie on the side), cf. S.seka T.seka N.seka (incline) intransitive.

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1) S.ahana is very seldom found with such a force.

(c) The following is the only simple stem, as far as I could ascertain, having both a corresponding stational (capable)reciprocal and reciprocal-stational (capable stem : N.phatha (press close, squeeze), cf. S.phathahana (be hard pressed, overworked, contracted, in straits) and S. phathanêha (be very busy, taken up by much work).

(d) For some derivative stems in S. ahana T.agana N.axana no corresponding simple verbal stems could be indicated, e.g. S.hõenahana (drew oneself together), T.karagana (make a clacking noise as the hoofs of animals running).

2. Stational (capable) S.*aha T.*aga N.axa in a non-basic position. This suffix occurs very seldom in this position, e.g. T.tlolagaaga N.tlolaxaxa (jump about, step across), cf. S.tlola T.tlola N.tlola (jump) and S.tla T.tla N.tla (come); T.tshweretlhagana (become very soft) no corresponding simple stem.

((2)) ß) Single :

i) As indicated above two designations are employed to indicate the suffix S.êha T.êga N.êxa. This procedure will be further discussed in ii) below. The terms are:

(a) Stational (capable), found e.g. in S. bopêha T.bopêga N.bopêxa (become shaped, formed), cf. S.bopa T.bopa N.bopa (shape, create); S.hlôkêha T.tlhôkêga N.hlôkêxa (be wanting, scarce), cf. S.hlôka T.tlhôka N.hlôka (lack something, be in need of something); S.îêha T.îêga N.îêxa (be edible), cf. S.îa T.îa N.îa (eat), T.kaêga N.kaêxa (become

known as, become esteemed as) < T.*kayêga N.*kayêxa, cf. T.kaya N.kaya (count as, regard as); S.buêha T.buêga (be worthy of being spoken of), cf. S.bua T.bua (speak);

(b) the stational (causative), found e.g. in S.holêha T.golêga N.xêlêxa (tie, bind, inspan), cf. N.xêla (tie); S.manêha T.manêga N.manêxa (glue, cover), cf. N.mana (cling to, embrace, wind round).

ii) The suffix S.êha T.êga N.êxa falls functionally into two sub-heads, viz. (A) the stational (capable)[i] and (B) the stational (causative)[i]. The existence of two apparently semantically different suffixes, both of a form which can be referred back to UB.eka, seems to be common in Bantu languages, so much so that Meinhof actually postulated two UB. suffixes both of the form eka[ii]. He does not regard these two suffixes as being of the same origin, because, (a) according to him these two suffixes are semantically distinct; and (b) the final vowel of the stational (causative) suffix is subject to vowel-assimilation in Herero[iii]; which is not the case with the final vowel of the stational (capable) suffix.

In view of the fact that S.êha T.êga N. êxa has two functions parallel to those given by Meinhof to his two UB. suffixes of the form eka, I shall have to discuss here briefly the plausibility or otherwise of Meinhof's postulation of two semantically different suffixes of equal form; and, as S.êha T.êga N.êxa has very rarely a stational (causative function[iv], I was forced to refer to a considerable extent to

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i) A definition of this term will be given below.

ii) Phon., pp. 43 and 44.

iii) Phon., p. 44.

iv) It has this function only in about 30 cases. It is perhaps noteworthy that also in the other members of the southern group of Bantu languages the parallel of S.êha T.êga N.êxa seldom has a stational (causative) force.

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other Bantu languages[1] as well. As far as I could ascertain the representative of UB.eka, when it has a stational (capable) force, indicates, in the various languages examined by me, the being in or passing into a certain state, and when it has a stational (causative) force, the causing to be in or the causing to pass into a certain state. The stational (capable) suffix is therefore intransitive, the stational (causative) transitive. Furthermore, stational (capable) stems mostly have transitive corresponding simple stems, and stational (causative) stems mostly intransitive corresponding simple stems.

These two functions are therefore actually closely related, inasmuch as both lay stress on the state of the subject of the derivative stem.

The difference in form noted by Meinhof for Herero exists also in Ovambo, a language belonging to the same group as Herero, but in none of the other languages examined by me did I observe a difference in form between the representative of UB.eka with stational (capable) force, and that of UB.eka with stational (causative) force. The question therefore arises, whether one is justified in excepting in these languages two distinct suffixes. As far as I could judge the position in these languages, it would appear, that there is functionally no justification for making such a distinction,

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i) The following are the most important languages examined in this connection :

Kongo , cf. Bentley Dictionary and grammar of the Kongo language, pp. 621-624.
Nsenga , cf. Ranger Chisenga handbook, pp. 183 and 184.
Nyanja , cf. Hetherwick Manual of the Nyanja language, p. 189.
Yao cf. Sanderson A Yao grammar, p. 94.
Ila, cf. Smith Handbook of the Ila language, p. 125.
Karanga, cf. Marconnès A Grammar of Central Karanga, p. 186.
Lamba. cf. Doke Textbook of Lamba grammar (new edn.), p. 194.
Lenje, cf. Madan Lenje handbook, p. 44.
Herero. cf. Hahn Grammatik der Herero, p. 39, and Brincker Wörterbuch und Grammatik der Otji-Herero, p. 14.
Ovambo, cf. Tönjes Lehrbuch der Ovambo-Sprache Oukuanjama, pp. 115-116.

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and as to the form: as far as I could ascertain, only one group of languages suggests here a probable difference. Is this not perhaps a peculiarity of this group? It may be. Therefore, as far as Sotho is concerned, there would appear to be no definite reason either for excepting two distinct suffixes[1] I regard Sotho as having one suffix S.ŝha T.ŝga N.ŝxa both of the form S.ŝha T.ŝga N.ŝxa, only, with however two semantically related functions. Both indicating a state, this resulting in the one case in an intransitive derivative stem, and in the other case in a transitive derivative stem. I shall now proceed to deal with each of these functions more in detail.

(A) Stational (capable) S.ŝha T.ŝga N.ŝxa.

(a) It denotes "an intransitive state or condition without any special reference to an agent determining that condition. In many cases the force of the English suffix able or ible expresses this ..... form; in others the idea of get or become as opposed to the passive use of be seems to be the nearest equivalent"[ii], e.g. T.bôkŝga N.bôkŝxa (become cut into thin slices), cf. S.bôha T.bôka N.bôka (cut meat into slices); T.ŝumŝga N.ŝumŝxa (become dug, be digable), cf. S.ŝpa T.ŝba N.ŝpa (dig); S.fahlŝha (get scandalised, offended), cf. S.fahla (offend, dazzle); T.fitlhŝga N.fihiŝxa (get hidden), cf. T.fitlha N.fihla (hide); S.khŝthŝha N.kxŝthŝxa (get chosen), cf. S.khŝtha T.kgŝtha N.kxŝtha (choose).

(b) The suffix S.ŝha T.ŝga N.ŝxa has sometimes lost its stational (capable) force, e.g. T.gŝlŝga (dislike e.g. motho o gŝlŝga mo dijong = the person dislikes the food); cf. T.gŝla (tire of a thing); S.hopŝha (feel pain) no corresponding simple stem.

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1) In so doing I am following the procedure adopted by Marconnès for Karanga, cf. A Grammar of Central Karanga, p. 186.

ii) Cf. Torn., p. 150, where this definition is given to the term neuter which I have replaced by the term stational (capable).

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(c) Sometimes the semantic relation between the stational (capable) stem and the probable corresponding simple stem is vague, e.g. S.bêhêha (have patience, be patient), cf. S.bêha (place); N.dubêxa (get frightened), cf. S.luba T.duba N.duba (stir, knead).

(d) The vast majority of stational (capable) stems have transitive corresponding simple stems; ~~with~~ in some however the corresponding simple stems are intransitive[1]. When the corresponding simple stem is transitive there is identity between the subject of the derivative stem and the object of the corresponding simple stem; the subject of the derivative stem ~~being~~ to fit to undergo or actually undergoes the action expressed by the simple stem, e.g. S.amêha (be concerned in an affair), cf. S.ama T.ama N.ama (concern, hint at); N. bêrêxa (become soft, get soaked), cf. N.bêra (soak); S.bulêha T.bulêxa (get open, become opened), cf. S.bula T.bula N.bula (open); T.gêrêxa (be near to death, be about to die), cf. T.gêra (bring near to death); T.kabêxa N.kabêxa (become closed up of the ear or a hole), cf. S.kaba T.kaba N.kaba (plug up); N.kxêlêxa (get satisfied), cf. N.kxêla (satisfy); S.kulêha (have grass or hair removed), cf. S.kula (clear, cleanse); N.phulêxa (get burst open), cf. N.phula (pierce); T.ralêxa (get inscribed), cf. S.rala T.rala N.rala (draw a line, rip open); S.bebêha (be admirable, beautiful), cf. S.boha N.boxa (admire, look at); S.bônêha N.bônêxa (be visible, appear), cf. S.bôna T.bôna N.bôna (see); T.gamêxa (be milkable), cf. S.hama T.gama N.xama (milk); S.hanêha (be impossible), cf. S.hana T.gana N.xana (refuse); S.ilêha T.ilêxa N.ilêxa (be

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1) Only 45 of the 300 simple stems corresponding to stational (capable) stems are intransitive.

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hateable, become repugnant, hateful), cf. S.ila T.ila N.ila (avoid, hate); T.kǀônêga N.kxênêxa (be persuasible, become persuaded), cf. T.kǀôna N.kxêna (persuade); S.kôbêha (be flexible), cf. S.kôba N.kôba (bend); S.lemêha T.lemêga N. lemêxa (be arable), cf. S.lema T.lema N.lema (plough); S. ǂlêha (be fit for gathering, be gathered), cf. S.ǂla T.ǂla N.ǂla (gather); S.pomêha (be fit to be cut, get cut), cf. S. poma T.poma N.pama (cut, amputate); T.nxêga (be fit to be cut, become cut), cf. S.xeha T.xexa N.xêxa (cut).

When the corresponding simple stem is intransitive there is identity between the subject of the simple stem and that of the derivative stem, e.g. T.atêga (become increased), cf. S.ata T.ata N.ata (increase); T.kufêga (be envious or jealous in an envious sense), cf. T.kufa (be jealous); N.phitêxa (become shy, timid), cf. N.phitêa (be shy, timid); N.xêkêxa (become clear e.g. liquid), cf. N.xêka (be clear); T.tlhagêga (become warned, get startled, break out as a light), cf. S.hlaha T.tlhaga N.hlaxa (start up, appear); T.nyêrêga (be faint or tired, melt as the heart), cf. T.nyêra (become tender, weak); S.hlorêga T.tlhorêga N. hlerêxa (become unhappy, worried), cf. S.hlora T.tlhora N. hlera (be worried, be withered up); T.ngêlêga (be fit of being moistened), cf. T.ngêla (be or become wet); N.kxatsêxa (be astonishing, marvellous), cf. S.khôiha N.kxêtsa (be surprised); S.hlêlêha (be in or get into a permanent state), cf. S.hlêla T.tlhêla N.hlêla (remain, spend some time, continue).

(e) There are stational (capable) stems which are not associated with any extant simple verbal stem; a comparison with other derivative stems that also having no corresponding simple verbal stems, shows, however, in some cases a

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probable common non-extant simple stem, e.g. : N.karêxa (become weak in the feet so that one is unable to stand), cf. N.karala (walk with legs wide apart); T.rapêga (be lying on the side), cf. S.rapama T.rapama N.rapama (recline, lie on the side); T. nyabêga (be short of time); S.fashêha (become depressed); T. êlêga (be delivered of a child while being in a stooping position); T. semêga (be of one piece with anything).

(f) Although all statimal (capable) stems are intransitive a certain number take an object, which is however merely of a subsidiary[1] and not of a priacipal nature, e.g. T.gerêga matho (dry of the saliva; used of a person who has talked much), T.kalêga matlhê (be blind, dazzled), N.hlabêxa borêkê (be troubled while sleeping), N.kubêxa taba (interrupt, stop something), S. utla robêha letsêhê (your aru will break), S. u tla sethêha molala (your neck will become sprained), S. kobo e phunyêha lesoba (the blanket bursts a hole), S. kobo e hlatsêêha tšila (the blanket gets clean of dirt).

(g) About half of the roots taking the stational (capable)-sectional (capable) suffix S.shala T.sgala N.sxala, take also the stational (capable) suffix S.êha T.êga N.êxa, and the latter suffix is much more common than the former[11], e.g. S.tšêpêha N.thaêpêxa (be reliable, trustworthy) and S.tšêpshala (be reliable, trustworthy), cf. S.tšêpa T.tshêpa N.thaêpa (hope, trust, rely), S.hlôkeha T.tlhêkêga N.hlêkêxa (be wanting, scarce, precious) and S.hlôkshala T.tlhêkagala

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I) The term subsidiary object is not only applied to the object sometimes taken by an intransitive verbal stem, but it has a wider use cf. Term., p. 205.

ii) There are about 280 stational (capable) stems and only about 30 stational (capable)-sectional (capable) stems.

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N.hlêkaxala (become scarce, be no more), cf. S.hlôka T.tlhêka N.hlêka (lack); S.patêha (be concealable) and S.patahala (be concealable), cf. S.pata N.pata (conceal); S.khopêha T.kxopêga (get scandalized, offended) and S.khopahala (become crooked, immoral), cf. S.khopa (trip) T.kxopa (displease, vex)[1].

(B) The stational (causative) suffix S.êha T.êga N.êxa.

(a) It denotes the causing to be in or the causing to pass into a certain state or condition[11], e.g. T.phakêga (hold a thing in a slanting position i.e. cause to be in a slanting state), cf. T.phaka N.phaka (hold a goat's leg under one's knee when milking); S.manêha T.manêga N.manêxa (glue, cover, i.e. cause to be in a covered state), cf. N.mana (wind round); S.pharêha (put in a patch, i.e. cause to be in a patched state), cf. S.phara T.phara N.phara (plaster, smear roughly); S.ribêha (turn upside down, i.e. cause to be in an upturned state) T.ribêga (place a thing so as to cover another thing with it, turn upside down), cf. N.riba (stoop, bend); T.taekêga (hold in a slanting position i.e. cause to be in a slanting position), cf. N.taêka (become crooked, oblique); S.holêha T.golêga N.xôlêxa (tie, inspan i.e. cause to be in a tied state), cf. N.xôla (bind).

(b) Sometimes the relation between the stational (causative) stem and the probable corresponding simple stem is vague, e.g. S.tenêha (beat violently), cf. S.tena T.tena N.tena (tire, disgust); N.anêxa (praise, glorify), cf. T.ana (tell, relate, use a proverb) S.ana N.ana (take an oath).

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1) It will be noticed that some of these derivative stems do not differ semantically, for a similar phenomenon cf. Doke Textbook of Zulu grammar, p. 150. It is perhaps possible that S.ahala T.agala N.axala has been replaced on the one hand by S.êha T.êga N.êxa, and on the other hand by S.ala T.ala N.ala (cf. Chapter 18).

11) S.êha T.êga N.êxa has only in about 30 cases a stational (causative) force.

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(c) The simple stems corresponding to the stational (causative) stems are almost exclusively transitive[1], exceptions are S. ribêha T.ribêga (cf. (a) above), cf. N.ribg intransitive, and T.teokêga (cf. (a) above), cf. N.tegkg intransitive.

(d) There are stational (causative) stems which are not associated with any extant simple verbal stems; a comparison with other derivative stems, that also having no corresponding simple stems, shows, however, in some cases, a probable common non-extant simple stem, e.g. T.kanêga (put to lie on the back), cf. S.kanama T.kanama N.kanaga (lie on the back); T. tlhamêga (put a person to lie on his back, turn over the carcase of an ox when skinning it), cf. S.hlamala T.tlhamalala N.hlamalala (be or become stiff); S.selêha (smear the teats of a cow with dung so as to prevent its calf from sucking), cf. T.seleka N. seleka (offend the taste); S.hlehêha (use certain tricks in order to have a cow covered); S.rihêha (do unwillingly, slowly). N.tsenêga (excuse, exempt).

(e) It is perhaps remarkable that in a fair number of cases the simple stems corresponding to stational (causative) stems indicate the idea of clinging to or smearing[ii]; exgx S.manêha T.manêga N.manêag (cf. (a) above), S.pharêha (cf. (a) above), T.matêga ([illegible] smear, i.e. cause to be in a smeared state) cf. N.mata (cling to).

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i) In other languages examined by us in this connection, the simple stems corresponding to the stational (causative) stems, are mostly intransitive.

ii) Cf. also the examples quoted for Ndonga by Ranger in Chindonga Handbook, p. 184, for Tavara by Mayeenda in A Grammar of Central Karanga, p. 186, and for Lenje by Madan in Lenje Handbook, p. 44.

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β) Compound :

1.((A)) S.ŝha T.ŝga N.ŝxa in its stational (capable) force in basic position :

aa)(i) Stational (capable)-passive S.ŝhŏa S.shnŏa[i] T.ŝgwa N.ŝxwa e.g. S.phuthehwŏa T.phuthêgwa N.phuthêxwa (be come together, be congregated), cf. S.phuthêha T.phuthêga N.phuthêxa (come together) and S.phutha T.phutha N.phutha (gather).

(ii) This suffix adds the passive idea to the idea expressed by the stational (capable) stem. Stational (capable)-passive stems are not commonly used in Sotho[ii], and as far as I could ascertain are less commonly found in T. and N. than in S. Such stems are always used with the subjectival verb concord of the S.ho T.go N.xo noun-class, this concord is then used in an impersonal sense, e.g. S.ho tla phuthehwŏa T.go tla phuthêgwa N.xo tlo phuthêxwa (there will be assembled). It would furthermore appear that such stems are preferably used in the perfect conjugational form, e.g. S.ho sekehilŏe têbê ke morêna T.go sekegilwe têbê ke kgosi N.xo sekexilwe têbê ke kxoši (the ear has been inclined by the chief).

As far as I could ascertain these stems are mostly used in S. when referring to somebody in a good natured way, and the one spoken of is not supposed to hear what is said; in such cases the nouns moŝa (fellow), monghali (gentleman), atate mohalo (grandfather) and mhone (grandmother) are preferably used to indicate the agent, e.g. ho atlehilŏa ke monghali (it has been prospered by the gentleman), ke fumane

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i) This form seems to be more common than ŝhŏa. It should also be noted that the ŝ of ŝha becomes s under the influence of the y of the secondary passive suffix uŏa, cf. also Chapter I

ii) Stational (capable)-passive stems are not given in the three dictionaries, but knowing about the existence of such stems I thought it worth while to mention them here in view of the interesting combination of the stational (capable), so far mostly referred to in the literature as the neuter-passive, and the passive suffixes.

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ho ekhehilŏe ke moeka (I found it fainted by the fellow), ho fahlehilŏa ke nkhono (it is vexed by grandmother), ho lehlehilŏe ke ntate moholo (it is lost by grandfather).

bb)(i) Stational (capable)-reciprocal S.ôhana N.ôxana, e.g. S.hŏerôhana (be agitated) no corresponding simple or stational (capable) stems; N.mônôxana (writhe), cf. N.mônôxa (get bent) and S.môna T.môna N.môna (bend).

(ii) S.ôhana N.ôxana is a rare suffix[1] and is only given here because it is semantically identical with the much more commonly used S.ahana T.agana N.axana (cf. above). Like S.ahana T.agana N.axana, so also S.ôhana N.ôxana is dependent upon the meaning of the root for its force. If the root denotes some idea of association the suffix has an associative force, e.g. N.fêrêxana (get intertwined), cf. N.fêrêxa (get bent) and T.fêra N.fêxa (bend); N.mônôxana (get intertwined), for mônôxa and môna cf. i) above; S.têêrêhana (be in despair be unable to understand, i.e. be confused as to the mind), no corresponding simple or stational (capable) stems could be indicated.

If the root denotes some idea of separation the suffix has a separative force; only one such example could be found, viz. N.tlêrêxana (burst asunder), cf. N.tlêrêxa (burst) and S.tlêra (strike on the head).

((B)) S.ôha T.ôga N.ôxa in its stational (causative) force in basic position :

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1) Only 9 derivative stems in S.ôhana N.ôxana could be indicated.

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aa)(i) Stational (causative)-passive[i] S.ŝhŏa or S.ŝhuŏa T.ŝgwa N.ŝxwa e.g. S.batŝhŏa or batŝhuŏa T.batŝgwa (be plastered), N.anŝŋwa (be glorified).

(ii) Definition and function : This suffix adds the passive idea to the idea expressed by the stational (causative) stem, e.g. S.holŝhŏa T.golŝgwa N. xŏlŝxwa (be fastened, tied), cf. S.holŝha T.golŝga N.xŏlŝxa (fasten, tie); S.manŝhŏa T.manŝgwa N.manŝxwa (be glued, covered), cf. S.manŝha T.manŝga N.manŝxa (glue, cover).

bb)(i) Stational (causative)-stational (capable) T.ŝgŝga N.ŝxŏxa[ii].

(ii) This suffix adds the stational (capable) idea to the idea expressed by the stational (causative) stem, e.g. T.phekŝgŝga (be held in a slanting position), cf. T.phekŝga (hold a thing in a slanting position); T.golŝgŝga N.xŏlŝxŏxa (be fastened, tied, inspanned), cf. S.holŝha T.golŝga N.xŏlŝxa (bind, tie, inspan); T. bŏlŝgŝga N.bŏlŝrŝxa (be in such a position that it can be carried), cf. T.bŏlŝga N.bŏlŝxa (carry a burden).

((c)) Compounds about which it is not certain whether the suffix in the basic position is S.ŝha T.ŝga N.ŝxa in its stational (capable) or in its stational (causative) force :

aa)(i) Performative[iii];

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i) In the dictionaries no such stems are given for S., and only a few for T. and N. Most of the examples here quoted for these languages have been obtained from my informants. The reason why this suffix is at all referred to is merely for the sake of contrasting it with the stational (capable)-passive, the former is regular, the latter not.

ii) No stational (causative)-stational (capable) stems are given in the dictionaries, but knowing about their existence in T. and N. I thought it worth while to mention them here because of the interesting combination of the two forms of T.ŝga N.ŝxa . As far as I could ascertain this combination does not occur in S.

iii) The term performative is here employed and not the term stational (capable)-factitive or stational (causative)-factitive because the suffix S.isa T.isa N.iŝa has acquired a specialised force. There are about 410 performative stems.

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(a)I. S.iga T.iga N.iša < S.ega T.eša N.eše[1] < S.ẽh + S.ẽa T.ẽg + T.ya N.ẽx + N.ya[ii], e.g. S.funiga T.humiga (make rich), cf. S.fuma T. huma (become rich); S.jariga N.jariša (cause to carry, help to carry), cf. S.jara N.jara (take on the shoulders); T.kwaiga (cause to take shelter from the sun) < T. *kwaiga, cf. T.kwaya (take shelter from the sun); S.phaiga (as in phaiga hũung = contest with, argue with), cf. S.phaa (bet); T.taaiga[iii] (cause to take) < T.*taaiga < T. *taayiga, cf. T.taaya (take); N.tãaiša (give in marriage i.e. cause to take), cf. N.tãa (take); S.tiiga T.tiiga N. tiiša (make firm, fasten) < S.*tišiga T.*tiiiga N. *tiyiša, cf. S.tiša T.tiig N.tiya (be firm, be fixed); S. buaa[iv] T.buag[iv] (T.boaa) N.buša[2] (cause to return) < S.*buiga T.*bwiga N.*buiša < S.*boiga T.*boiga N.*boiša < S.*hoišiga T.*hoyiga N.*hoyiša, cf. S.hoša T.hoya N. hoya (return); S.buiga T.bwiga (cause to speak), cf. S.bua T.bua (speak); T.utluaa (cause to hear) < T.*utluiga<S. utlõiga T.utlwiga[v] (cause to hear), cf. S.utlõa T.utlwa (hear) and US.ũa and iiga[vi], T.buduaa N.budũa (cause to

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i) Cf. (b) below.

ii) Cf. Phon., pp. 44 and 77.

iii) Due to a process of retrogressive assimilation.

iv) Due to a process of retrogressive assimilation and elision : T.boaa is however due to a process of elision only.

v) The w preceding iga is sometimes vocalised to u, whereupon the i of iga is elided giving a form utluaa.

vi) Cf. Phon., p. 196.

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ripen) cf. S.butaŏisa (cause to ripen), S.butŏa T.butŏwa N.butŏwa (ripen) and UB.*vuluaⁱ).

ii. When the performative suffix is attached to a syllabic root whose final consonant is n, the combination S.*nisa T.*nisa N.*niŏa > S.ntŏa T. ntsha N.nthŏaⁱⁱ)ⁱⁱⁱ), e.g. S.bintŏa T.bintsha (cause to sing, cause to dance), cf. S.bina T.bina N.bina (sing, dance); S. hlentŏa (make red hot), cf. S.hlena (be red hot); T.mantsha (cause to dry), cf. S.mana T.mana (become dry); S.hantŏa T. xanthsa N.xanthŏa (cause to refuse), cf. S.hana T.xana N. xana (refuse).

In the following cases, however, N. has both the combinations niŏa and nthŏa : tonthŏa = toniŏa (cause to be disgusted), cf. S.tona T.tona N.tona (tire, disgust); kxonthŏa = kxoniŏa (enable, cause to be able), cf. S.kxôna T.kxôna N. kxôna (be able, manage to do something). In the case of N.oniŏa (administer an oath), cf. N.ôna (take an oath), no contraction is effected probably in order to distinguish it from onthŏa (cause to be sufficient), cf. S.ôna N.ôna (become rich, become sufficient).

iii. When the performative suffix is attached to a syllabic root the final consonant of

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i) Cf. Phon. p. 67. T.buluna N.buduŏa may be: (a) an abbreviated form of T.*butŭvisa N.*butŭviŏa arrived at through the following processes: i. vocalisation w > o thus giving: T.*butŭoisa N.*butŭoiŏa; ii. retrogressive assimilation o > u thus giving: T.*buŭuisa N.*buŭuiŏa; iii. reversion ŭŭ > ŭ (d before u) thus giving T.buŭuisa N.buduiŏa; iv. elision of ŭ thus giving T.buduisa N.buduiŏa; in this case the root upon which the performative stem is based is butŭw; or (b) a direct derivation of an UB. form *vuluisa > T.*buduisa N.*buduiŏa the i of which is then elided.

ii) Cf. Phon., p. 69.

iii) This contraction of n + S.isa T.isa N.iŏa also takes place if n is a suffix-consonant, e.g. S.lekantŏa N.lekanthŏa make sufficient, make equal), cf. S.lekana T.lekana N.lekana (be sufficient, be equal); T.hufantsha (make each other jealous), cf. T.hufana (be jealous of each other).

which is l, the l is changed into S.l (ɬ) T.ɬ N.ɬ under the influence of the i of S.iša T.iša N.iša[1]), e.g. S. hališa (teach to read), cf. S.hala T.hala N.hala (read, count); S.fuliša T.hudiša N.fudiša (hard, cause to grade), cf. S.fula T.hula, N.fula (graze); T.krudiša (cause to abuse, revile), cf. T.krala (abuse, revile); S.bališa T.hodiša N. bodiša (make to boil), cf. S.bala T.hala N.bala (boil).

iv. Under the influence of the i of S.iša T.iša N.iša an open e or an open o in the preceding syllable becomes closed[ii]), e.g. S.hlɛkiša T. tlhɔkiša N.hlɔkiša (cause to lack), cf. S.hlɛ̂ka T.tlhɔ̂ka N.hlɔ̂ka (lack); S.hlophiša N.hlophiša (cause or help to adorn), cf. S.hlɔ̂pha T.tlhɔ̂pha N.hlɔ̂pha (adorn); S.bontša T.bontsha N.bonthša (show), cf. S.bɔ̂na T.bɔ̂na N.bɔ̂na (see); N.krɔnthša = N.krɔniša, cf. S.khɔ̂na T.krɔ̂na N.krɔ̂na (cf. ii above); S.bališa T.hodiša N.bodiša (cause to rot), cf.

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1) a) The i of S.iša T.iša N.iša has a similar effect on a preceding suffix-consonant l, e.g. S.lumeliša T.dumeliša N. dumodiša (salute, bid farewell), cf. S.lumela T.dumela N. dumela (greet). In S. the l preceding the i of iša, whether as stem-consonant or as suffix-consonant is itself sometimes, as a result of vowel-elision, immediately preceded by another l, in such cases the i has as a rule no phonetic influence on the preceding l e.g. liša (cause to cry) cf. S.lla = T.lola N.lola (cry); S.thellisa (cause to glide) cf. S.thella N. thella (glide), cf. also Tucker The comparative phonology of the Nuba-Fulani group of Bantu languages p. 49; but with some speakers the second l is in such cases slightly permuted, not so much though as is the case with l appearing singly before i.

ii) Cf. Engl., p. 71. As a rule this narrowing influence of the i of S.iša T.iša N.iša affects the vowels of all preceding syllables, if ɛ or ɔ, e.g. T.oledisa (cause to flow), cf. T.ɔla N.ɔla (flow), S.hlomeliša (replant, remunte), cf. S.hlɔmela T.tlhɔmɔla N.hlɔmɔla (plant for or on); S.thelelisa T.thelelisa (cause to escape, make smooth), cf. S.thɛla N.thela (glide, slip) T.thɛla (escape); N.dumelanthša (bring into agreement with one another, S.lumɛlana T.dumɛlana N.dumɛlana (agree with one another); S.hanelisa (cause to stick), cf. S.hanɛla N. xanɛla (stick fast). But as far as I could ascertain this narrowing effect of i is not always extended to the syllable(s) beyond the one preceding i; however, this seems to be a peculiarity of individual speakers and is certainly not common so, e.g. in T. I found both rɔledisa and roledisa (cause to slip) cf. S. rɔla T.rɔla N.rɔla (slip); in the same language also: bodisa and bodisa (cause to sing), cf. S.bɔla T.bula W. bula (sing); and in S.otlelisa and otlelisa (finish killing, beat to death), cf. S.tlola (beat for) T.tlola (put to death).

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cf. S.bôla T.bôla N.bôla (rot), S.khethisa T.krethisa N. kxethiša (tax, impose a tribute), cf. S.khêtha T.krêtha N. kxêtha (choose), S.khetlisa (send cattle to a place of safety), cf. S.khêtla (go to a place of safety of cattle); S.nyekisa (cause nausea), cf. S.nyêka (feel sick); S.rekisa T.rekisa N.rekiša (sell, cause to buy), cf. S.rêka T.rêka (buy); N.enthêa = N.eniša, cf. N.êna (cf. ii above).

v. When the verbal root is consonantal the performative suffix S.isa T.isa N.iša is in some cases used regularly, i.e. it is attached to the root; in other cases however it is attached to the corresponding simple stem, with the result that the connecting vowel i combines with the terminative of the simple stem, resulting in what would appear to be a suffix S.esa T.esa N.eša. I could not ascertain the reasons why such a procedure is adopted here[1], neither could I indicate any rules as to when this combination takes place and when not. Examples : S.jesa T.jesa N.leša (give food to eat), cf. S.ja T.ja N.ja (eat); S.nesa T.nesa N.neša (cause to rain), cf. S.na T.na N.na (rain); T.nesa (cause to disappear as darkness, night etc.), cf. S.na T. na N.na (disappear of darkness); S.shêsa (cause to die), cf. S.shêa T.šwa (die); S. nošsa N.nweša (cause to drink)[ii], cf. S.nôa T.nwa N.nwa (drink); T.fisa (cause to burn), cf. T.fa (burn)[iii]; N.fiša

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1) A similar procedure is sometimes adopted (a) with the perfect conjugational form of some monosyllabic simple stems, e.g. S.shele (have burnt), cf. S.sha (burn); N.kwele (have heard), cf. N.kwa (hear); cf. Chapter 8 §6 d); (b) with the secondary passive stems corresponding to some monosyllabic simple stems, cf. Chapter 18 §II.

ii) Cf. S.nosa T.nosa N.neša (cause to drink) probably from S. *neisa T. *neisa N. *neiša (cf. UB.mña = drink Phon. p. 244) also N.hiša (keep back, cause to stay behind) probably from N. *hiwisa, cf. N.hiwa (stay behind). In both these cases S.ô T.w N.w has been vocalised to i and the i of the suffix subsequently elided.

iii) No simple stem T.fa N.fa (burn) seems to exist.

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(cause to burn) cf. N.fga (burn)[i]; N.šwiša (cause to die), cf. N.šwa (die); N.kxiša (help to pluck), cf. S.khs N.kxa (pluck); S.khšisa T.kxwisa (wean), cf. S.khša (get weaned) T.kxwa N.kxva (spit out); N.kwiša[ii] (cause to hear), cf. N.kwa (hear); N.phšiša (cause to get dry) and S.pshasa (cause to get dry), cf. S.phsha N.phša (get dry); T.tšhisa or T.tšhasa (cause to dry up), cf. T.tšha (dry up); S.tlisa T. tlisa[iii] N.tliša (bring), cf. S.šla T.tla N.tla (come); S. šisa[iv] (cause to fall), cf. S.šs T.ya N.ya (fall); S.isa T.isa N.iša[v] (take to, lead to) < S.*yisa T.*yisa T. *yiša, cf. S.šs T.ya N.ya (go).

(b) In the following few cases S.asa T.asa N.aša < S.ah + S.ša T.ag + T.ya N.ax + N.ya[vi]. The suffix S.asa T.asa N.aša[vii] belongs probably to a stage preceding S.isa T.isa N.iša. Examples : N.kxereša (push over a wall, break through), cf. N.kxêrêxa (get broken up of a wall) and N.krêxa (plough dry ground);

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i) No simple stem T.fa N.fa (burn) seems to exist.

ii) N.kweša (hear well) is not a performative but a durative (extensive)-performative stem.

iii) Cf. also T.taisa = T.tlisa.

iv) Cf. T.asa (= S.šisa) < T.*yisa < T.*wisa, here the semivowel w has been vocalised to i and the i of isa elided; whereas with T.asa N.aša (= S.šisa) < T.*yisa N.*yiša < T.*oisa N.*oiša we have vocalisation w > i, regressive assimilation i > a and subsequent elision of i. cf. also NB. ywa (fall) Phon. p. 192.

v) Due to a process of elision, cf. also N.aša (cause to retreat, conquer).

vi) The S.š T.y N.y of S.ša T.ya N.ya is the cause of the initial vowel of S.asa T.asa N.aša being closed (cf. Phon., pp. 71 and 77). To the same cause must be attributed the change of a into e if the former is the vowel of the root to which S.asa T.asa N.aša is attached.

vii) Identical in form but not in origin, with the durative (extensive)-performative cf. Chapter 5 § A)II) β)1.dd)((β)). Such an identity in form is apt to cause confusion, and this is perhaps the reason why performative S.asa T.asa N.aša is such a scarce suffix - it having mostly developed a stage further.

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S.kõenesa[1] N.kwenẽa (cause to withdraw, turn away from), cf. S.kõenõha N.kwenõxa (become a renegade, change an opinion) and S.kõõna N.kwõna (bend, turn); S.palesa N.paleẽa (blossom, cause to burst open), cf. S.palõha N.palõxa (crack, chap, burst open) no corresponding simple stem; T.thõlesa (supply, give food) cf. N.thõlõxa (give support) and S.thõla (do homage to, pay tax); S.belesa T.belesa N.beleẽa[ii] (load a pack animal, put on a load), cf. S.bõlõha T.bõlõga N.bõlõxa (give birth to a child) (no corresponding simple stem) and T.bõlõga N.bõlõxa (carry a burden) no corresponding simple stem.

(ii)(a) The performative denotes the "promoting, speeding"[iii] of the action expressed by the simple stem. It implies one or other of the following as regards the action denoted by the simple stem : that the action is caused, the suffix may here be described as performative (causative), it is of this nature in about 550 cases; that the performance of the action is assisted, the suffix may here be described as performative (assistive), it is of this nature in about 45 cases; that an element of intensity is added to the action, the suffix may here be described as performative (intensive), it is of this nature in about 15 cases. Each of these various subordinate functions will now be dealt with in turn. It will be noticed that in several cases one and the same performative stem has two of the abovementioned subfunctions.

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1) Cf. S.kõenehisa = S.kõenesa N.kwenẽa.

ii) Cf. S.belehisa T.belegisa N.beleriẽa (act as a midwife).

iii) Cf. the definition given by Marconnes to the Karanga parallel of S.isa T.isa N.iẽa in A Grammar of Central Karanga, p. 188.

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The suffix S.isa T.isa N.iša in its performative (causative) sense denotes that the subject of the performative stem, causes the object[1] of the performative stem (i.e. the subject of the corresponding simple stem) to perform the action denoted by the corresponding simple stem[ii]. The force denoted by the suffix is mostly of an indirect nature, as distinct from the factitive (causative) which is mostly direct[iii]. Examples : S.kea ba buisa T.ke a ba buisa (I cause them to speak), cf. S.baa bua T.ba a bua (they speak); S.baa re hloisa T.ba a re tlhoisa (they cause us to hate), cf. S.rea hlôa T.re a tlhôa (we hate); S.kea u jarisa N.ke a xo jariša (I cause you to carry), cf. S.ua jara N.o a jara (you carry); S.kea mo lefisa T.ke a mo lefisa N.ke a mo lefiša (I cause him to pay i.e. I fine him), cf. S.oa lefa T.o a lefa N.o a lefa (he pays).

The suffix S.isa T.isa N.iša in its performative (assistive) sense denotes assistance to perform the action expressed by the ~~corresponding~~ simple stem[iv], e.g. S.batlisa T.batlisa (help to seek), cf. S.batla T.batla (seek), N.fatiša (cause to scratch, help to scratch), cf. S.fata T.fata N.fata (dig a hole, scratch); S.helisa (help to mow), cf. S.hela (mow); S.hlolisa (cause or help to beat), cf. S.hlola N.khola (overcome); S.jalisa (cause or help to sow), cf. S.jala T.jala N. jala (sow); S.ekisa (help to nurse), cf. S.ôka T.ôka N.ôka (nurse); T.thôdisa (help to bear a burden), cf. S.chola T. thôla N.thola (take); N.hloriša (help or cause to chop wood), cf. N.hlora (chop); S.jarisa N.jariša (help or cause to carry), cf. S.jara N.jara (carry); S.lemisa T.lemisa (cause or help to plough), cf. S.lema T.lema N.lema (plough),

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1) i.e. the principal object cf. Term., p. 177.

ii) Cf. W.d.S., p. 30.

iii) For a discussion on the semantic difference between the performative and factitive suffixes, cf. Chapter 17.

iv) Cf. W.d.S., p. 31, Jacottet A Grammar of the Sesuto language p. 76, Crisp Notes towards a Secoana grammar p. 49.

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The suffix S.*iga* T.*iga* N.*iŋa* in its performative (intensive) sense adds intensity to the action expressed by the ~~corresponding~~ simple stem[1], e.g. S.*bopiga* (mould well, help to mould), cf. S.*bopa* T.*bopa* N.*bopa* (mould); T.*gopiga* (drive away by causing to run very fast), cf. S.*hopa* T.*gopa* N.*xopa* (scrape, sweep away); S.*katiga* (shut or close very tightly), cf. S.*kata* T.*kata* N.*kata* (make a floor, fill up a hole); S. *otliga* (cause to strike well), cf. S.*otla* N.*otla* (strike), S.*poliga* (help to thrash, thrash well), cf. S.*pola* N.*pola* (thrash); S.*lemiga* (cause to plough, plough well, help to plough), cf. S.*lema* T.*lema* N.*lema* (plough); S.*tlotliga* N. *tlotliŋa* (praise, glorify), cf. S.*tlotla* T.*tlotla* N.*tlotla* (honour, make praiseworthy).

It is perhaps noteworthy that in comparison with the position in other Bantu languages, e.g. in Pare and in Ila, where the counterpart of S.*iga* T.*iga* N.*iŋa* is only used with an intensive force[ii], in Sotho this suffix is very seldom used with this force. The reason why in Sotho the performative suffix has practically lost its intensive nature, is probably due to the fact that there exists in Sotho a reduplicated form of the performative suffix, viz. S.*igiga* T.*igiga* N.*iŋiŋa* which conveys the intensive of the performative[ii], and

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1) Cf. Phon., p. 45, Jacottet A Grammar of the Sesuto language footnote (3), p. 78, Crisp Notes towards a Sesuto grammar, p. 88. It is perhaps noteworthy that in some languages the parallel of S.*iga* T.*iga* N.*iŋa* is purely intensive, e.g. in Pare, cf. Phon., p. 45, Ila, cf. Smith Handbook of the Ila language, p. 129 and Sambala, cf. Meinhof "Linguistische Studien in Ostafrika" M.S.O.S. vol. 7, p. 234. Doke in his Term., p. 106 suggests the term intensive, to indicate the suffix termed by me performative (intensive), as opposed to causative. This way of terming the suffix is however not suitable for Sotho, where, as will be observed one and the same stem ending in this suffix may sometimes be both causative and intensive and even assistive, some coordinating term would therefore seem to be necessary.

ii) In the following languages the counterpart of S.*iga* T.*iga* N. *iŋa* has both a causative and an intensive force: Yao, cf. Hetherwick A Handbook of the Yao language, p. 80, Nyanja, cf. Hetherwick Manual of the Nyanja language, p. 170, Karanga, cf. Marconnes A Grammar of the Karanga language, p. 186, and Lamba, cf. Doke Textbook of Lamba grammar (new edn.), p. 196.

iii) In e.g. Zulu the counterpart of S.*iga* T.*iga* N.*iŋa* has not got an intensive force at all, this force is conveyed by the reduplicated form of Zulu *iga*, cf. Term., p. 106.

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which has probably replaced S.isa T.isa N.iša as far as its performative (intensive) force is concerned. The procedure of reduplicating a suffix to convey an intensive idea is also adopted with the actional (capable) S.ala T.ala N.ala, the applicative S.êla T.êla N.êla, and the actional (destructive) S.ola T.ola N.ola[1].

(b) The suffix S.isa T.isa N.iša has sometimes lost its performative force, e.g. S. batlisa (try to sell), cf. S.batla T.batla (seek); T.gakisa (disguise), cf. S.haka T.gaka N.xaka (escape one's memory, puzzle); S.hlôelisa (look, observe from above), cf. S.hlôêla (spy out); N.kxopiša (drink out the dregs), cf. N.kxôpa (drink out everything); S.supisa (show to), cf. S.supa T.šupa N.šupa (point out, show); S.khôehlisa T.kgwêlhisa (cheat), cf. S. khôêhla T.kgwêtlha N.kxwêhla (become loose, unstable).

(c) Sometimes the semantic relation between the performative stem and the probable corresponding simple stem is vague, e.g. S.hlakisa (exercise oneself, practise), cf. S.hlaka (be bright, visible); S.tšelisa T.tshedisa (console, comfort), cf. T.tshela (live); N.thaiša (cause to be zigzag), cf. T.thaya N.thaya (mark out for a foundation, draw a line); N.robiša (render it more difficult for somebody), cf. S.rôba T.rôba N.rôba (break); S.khôehlisa T.kgwetlhisa (cheat), cf. S.khôêhla T.kgwêtlha N.kxwêhla (become loose, unstable).

(d) About 240 of the simple stems corresponding to performative stems are intransitive and 150 intransitive.

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1) Cf. Chapter 12.

When the corresponding simple stems are intransitive, S.isa T.isa N.iša in its performative (causative) sense conveys the idea of producing a certain state or effect, e.g. N.kxetliša (whitewash, i.e. cause to be in a white state) cf. N.kxêtla (get whitewashed); S.atisa T.atisa (increase, multiply i.e. cause to be in an increased state), cf. S.ata T.ata N.ata (become numerous, become increased); S.belisa T.bedisa N.bediša (cause to boil i.e. cause to be in a boiling state), cf. S.bela T.bela N.bela (boil); S.bolisa T.bedisa N.bediša (cause to rot i.e. cause to be in a rotting state), cf. S. bôla T.bôla N.bôla (rot); S.fihlisa T.fitlhisa N.fihliša (cause to arrive), cf. S.fihla T.fitlha N.fihla (arrive); S.folisa N.fodiša (make cool), cf. S.fôla T.fôla N.fôla (become cool); N.kxoñliša (cause to shake), cf. N.kxôhla (be loose, shaking); S.molisa T.medisa N.mediša (cause to grow, cause to sprout), cf. S.mola T.mola N.mola (grow).

When the corresponding simple stems are transitive S.isa T.isa N.iša in its performative (causative) sense conveys the idea of causing an action to take place, e.g. S.ekisa (cause to betray), cf. S.êka N.êka (betray); T.fitlhisa (cause to hide or cause to bury), cf. T.fitlha N.fihla (hide); S.fulisa T.hudisa N.fudiša (herd, cause to graze) cf. S.fula T.hula N.fula (graze); T.etisa (cause to wag), cf. T.êta (wag as a tail); S.rekisa T.rekisa N.rekiša (cause to buy, sell), cf. S.rêka T.rêka N.rêka (buy); S.lefisa T.lefisa N.lefiša (cause to pay, fine), cf. S.lefa T.lefa N.lefa (pay).

(e) All performative stems are transitive excepting N.phanthša (run, splash in water), no corresponding simple stem.

(f) There are performative stems which are not associated with any extant simple verbal stems; a comparison with other derivative stems also, that having no corresponding simple verbal stems, shows, however, in some

cases, a probable common non-extant simple verbal stem, e.g. T.phitsiga (kill an insect by rubbing it between the finger and thumb), cf. T.phitsôga (become bruised or broken); T. tsapiga (collect in small quantities), cf. T.tsapola (milk a cow dry); S.nyapiga (spit on, make wet with spittle); N. kxapiša (tame).

(g) Performative stems whose corresponding simple stems are transitive may take two objects, a principal and a subsidiary[i] object, e.g.

S.ke tsebiga batho litaba T.ke itsiga batho marêko N.ke tsebiša batho ditaba (I tell the people the news), cf. S.tseba T.itsa N.tseba (know);

S.ke šaršiga monna morêalô N.ke šariša monna morwalô (I cause the man to carry the burden), cf. S.šara N.šarŋ (carry);

S.ba lefiga monna nku T.ba lefiga monna nku N.ba lefiša monna nku (they fine the man a sheep), cf. S.lefa T.lefa N.lefa (pay).

In T. both the principal and the subsidiary objects may be represented by objectival verbal concords, the concord of the principal object being the nearest to the verbal stem, e.g. ke a a ba itsiga (I tell it - i.e. the news - to them). In S. and N. the principal object is as a rule represented by an objectival verbal concord, the subsidiary object by an absolute pronoun, e.g. S.ke ba tsebiga tsôna N.ke a ba tsebiša tšôna (I tell it - i.e. the news - to them); if however, the principal object is to be emphasised the subsidiary object may be represented by an objectival verbal concord, and the principal object by an absolute pronoun[ii], e.g. S.ke li tsebiga bôna N.ke a di tsebiša bôna (I tell it - i.e. the news - to them).

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i) Cf. Term., pp. 165 and 176.

ii) A similar process is adopted in T. for the sake of emphasis, e.g. ke a itsiga bôna (I tell it -- i.e. the news -- to them).

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In all three languages the principal object may be represented by an objectival verbal concord, the subsidiary object being retained as a noun, e.g. ke mo tsebisa litaba T.ke mo itsise mafoko N.ke a mo tsebiša ditaba (I tell him the news). For the sake of emphasis the position may be reversed, e.g. S.ke li tsebisa monna T.ke a itsise monna N.ke a di tsebiša monna (I tell it - i.e. the news - to the man).

The principal object is the object of the performative idea and this is also the general state of affairs in all three languages. In S. the position is however sometimes reversed — the subsidiary object being the object of the performative idea[1], e.g. u tla re shapisa tichere (you will make the teacher beat us), u tla ba jesa tau (you will cause the lion to eat them), cf. in this connection a semantically identical construction with the stem etsa (do, make), e.g. u tla etsa hore tichere e re shapê (you will make the teacher beat us), u tla etsa hore tau e ba jê (you will make the lion eat them).

bb)(i) The performative (intensive) S.isisa T.isisa N.išiša.

(ii) The same term is here employed as is employed for one of the subordinate functions of S.isa T.isa N.iša, because, as far as I could ascertain, the force denoted by S.isisa T.isisa N.išiša is in all respects semantically identical with that denoted by the performative (intensive) S.isa T.isa N.iša[ii], and, as indicated in § aa) above S.isisa T.isisa N.išiša has probably displaced to a large extent the performative (intensive) S.isa T.isa N.iša.

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1) Cf. Jacottet A Grammar of the Sesuto language, p. 76.

ii) Cf. § aa)(ii)(a) above.

Examples of stems in S.isisa T.isisa N.išiša S.batlisisa T.batlisisa (search carefully), cf. S.batlisa T.batlisa (help to seek) and S.batla T.batla (seek); S.fetisisa N.fetišiše (exceed very much), cf. S.fetisa T.fetisa N.fetiša (cause to pass, exceed) and S.feta T.feta N.feta (pass); N.tšebišiše (know well), cf. S.tsebisa N.tsebiša (cause to know) and S. tseba N.tseba (know); S.shebisisa (look very carefully), cf. S.shebisa (show) and S.shêba T.šêba (look at); S.bontšisa[1] N.bonthšiša (see well), cf. S.bontša T.bontsha N.bonthša (show cause to see) and S.bôna T.bêna N.bôna (see).

All simple stems corresponding to performative (intensive) stems in S.isisa T.isisa N.išiša are transitive.

ee) The performative-stational(capable) S.isêha T.isêga N.išêxa occurs, as well as the stational (capable)-performative S.ehisa T.egisa N.exiša, but not one example could be found of a root, that could taking respectively both these suffixes. Examples of derivative stems ending in S.isêha T.isêga N.išêxa : T.katisêga (be broken in, trained), cf. T.katisa (break in, train) and T.kata (become trained); S.khahlisêha (be glad, pleased), cf. S.khahlisa N.kxahliša (please) and S.khahla T.kgatlha N.kxahla (interest); N. xodišêxa (be respectable), cf. S.holisa T.godisa N.xodiša (cause to grow, educate) and S.hola T.gola N.xola (grow).

Examples of derivative stems in S.ehisa T.egisa N. exiša : S.tšabehisa (cause to be dreadful), cf. S.tšabêha T. tshabêga (be dreadful) and S.tšaba T.tshaba N.thšaba (fear, flee from); N.tsebexiše (cause to be knowable), cf. S.tsebêha N.tsebêxa (get known, be known) and S.tseba N.tseba (know); T.reregisa (cause to be afraid), cf. T.rêmêga (be afraid) and

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1) S.bontšisa = S.bontšisisa.

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T.rêra (terrify)[1].

S.(a) S.êha T.êga N.êxa in its stational (capable) sense in a non-basic position; it occurs commonly in this position, and I am quoting only a few examples below. The contribution of S.êha T.êga N.êxa to the force of these compounds, is that in each case the stational (capable) idea is added to the idea expressed by the suffix without S.êha T.êga N.êxa. The actional (capable)-stational (capable) N.alêxa, e.g. N. bônalêxa (be within the range of sight, be in a state of becoming visible), cf. S.bônala T.bônala N.bônala (appear, become visible) and S.bôna T.bôna N.bôna (see). The applicative (intensive)-stational (capable) S.êlêha, e.g. S.mamêlêha (be bearable), cf. S.mamêlla N.mamêlla (bear patiently) and S.mamêla N.mamêla (listen to) no corresponding simple stem. The reciprocal-stational (capable)-applicative T.anêgêla, e.g. T.atlanêgêla (be too much for), cf. T.atlanêga (be too much or superabundant as food) and S.atla N.atla (prosper). The stational (destructive)-applicative-stational (capable) S.ohêlêha, e.g. amohêlêha (be acceptable), cf. S.amhêla T. amogêla N.amoxêla (accept); S.amoha T.amoga N.amoxa (take away) and S.ama T.ama N.ama (touch).

The stational (capable) is not found immediately following the stational (destructive) suffix.

(b) S.êha T.êga N.êxa in its stational (causative) sense is not found in a non-basic position.

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1) On p. 71 of his Grammatik des Sotho Endemann maintains that iš + olola > išološа, and oš + olola > ošološа, and quotes in support one example in each case, viz. bušološа (cf. below) and tlošološа (move out of a place), cf. S.tlosa T.tlosa N.tlošа (remove) and S.tla T.tla N.tla (come). These two compound suffixes are extremely rare - the abovementioned are the only examples I could find. To make such an important conclusion, supported by two examples only, is certainly very dangerous, ~~and in any case~~, cf. T.bušolola (take vengeance upon), T.bušolosa N.bušolosa (avenge, rebut, or answer the words of a previous speaker, in N. also: bring the cud back into the mouth as does a beast), for S. busa T.busa N.bušа (cause to return) cf. aa)(1) above.

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((ɜ)ɬ) single :

i) Stational (destructive) S.oha T.oga N.oxa e.g. T.baboga N.baboxa (become scorched or singed), cf. S.baba T.baba N.baba (be bitter, smart as an inflamed eye, prick as fine thorns); S.hlobohe T.tlhobega N.hloboxa (part with, give up for good), cf. S.hloba T.tlhoba N.hloba (pluck off); N. phaoxa (deviate, swerve) < N.*phavoxa cf. N.phava (fling open, tear open); S.inoha T.inoga (get out of the water), cf. S.ina T.ina N.ina (put into water); N.kxanoxa (get loose of a bundle), cf. N.kxana (tie together); S.tloha T.tloga N.tlôxa (go away, leave), cf. S.tla T.tla N.tla (come).

If S.oha T.oga N.oxa is attached to a root whose vowel is S.ê T.ê N.ê or S.ô T.ô N.ô this vowel becomes S.e T.e N.e or S.o T.o N.o, e.g. T.fenoga N.fenoxa (be thrown over, be turned over), cf. N.fêna (bend, turn); S.hlephoha (crumble off), cf. S.hlêpha N.hlêpha (become loose); N.kxethoxa (get apart), cf. S.khêtha T.kgêtha N.kxêtha (choose, pick out); T.emoga (go away, get out of the way), cf. S.êma T.êma N.êma (stand); S.menoha T.menoga N.menoxa (turn round, turn back, get unfurled), cf. S.mêna T.mêna N.mêna (fold up); T.kgoboga N. kxoboxa (become frayed, be rubbed off, fall off as scab), cf. N.kxôba (notch); S.khereha (cast teeth) N.kxeroxa (fall out as grain out of a cob), cf. N.kxêra (chisel, hollow out); T.omoga N.omoxa (become warm), cf. S.ôma T.ôma N.ôma (become dry); N.xoloxa (become free), cf. N.xôla (tie).

ii)(a) The stational (destructive) denotes a state of undoing or destroying of the action or state expressed by the corresponding simple stem. It implies either of the following :

That the action or state is reversed,

The suffix may here be termed the stational(destructive-

reversive); it has this force in about 180 cases, e.g. S.amoha T.amoga N.amoxa (take away from), cf. S.ama T.ama N.ama (touch); T.kaloga (become dim of the eyes), cf. T.kala (open the eyes wide); S.khomoha T.kgomoga (get detached, break off), cf. N. kroma (touch); N.lomoxa (get loose e.g. the handle of an axe), cf. N.lôma (fix to, stick to); S.mamoha (get torn violently), cf. N.mama (stick to, suck); S.namoha T.namoga N.namoxa (get drawn back as extended legs), cf. S.nama T.nama N.nama (stretch out e.g. the legs); T.nanoga N.nanoxa (run fast), cf. N.nana (be slow); T.oboga (peel off, become peeled off), cf. N.oba (get covered); T.thiboga N.thiboxa (move out of the way), cf. S.thiba T.thiba N.thiba (stop); S.hatoha T.gatoga N.xatoxa (leave off treading on), cf. S.hata T.gata N.xata (tread); T.šeboga (turn back the head after looking round, turn away from), cf. S.shêba T.šêba (look, look around); N.raroxa (be in such a state that it can be disentangled), cf. S.rara T.rara N.rara (spin, get entwined).

That the action or state is extended, the suffix may here be called the stational (destructive-extensive); it has this force in about 150 cases, e.g. S.aroha N.aroxa (become separated, get divided) cf. T.ara N.ara (cut open a swelling); T.beloga (rise to the surface as scum in a pot or refuse in a river), cf. S.bela T.bela N.bela (boil); T.garoga N.xaroxa (become torn or rent, become torn down altogether), cf. N.xara (wound the head); T.phimoga (be blotted out, become wiped out), cf. N.phima (extinguish a fire), T.ragoga (start to run fast, run with all one's might) N.raroxa (rebound), cf. S.raha T.raga N.raxa (kick); N.tlaroxa (smash, tear to pieces), cf. S.tlâra (strike on the head); S.hlakoha N.hlakoxa (get snatched away, wiped away, swept away), cf. T.tlhaka (grab food and run away

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with it); S.nepeha (get up slowly, walk languidly), cf. N.nena (be sticky of liquid, stick together); S.phatloha T.phatloga N.phatloxa (burst open, get split or rent apart), cf. S.phatla (break, burst of the water pouch); S.phetoha (get turned over), cf. S.pheta T.pheta N.pheta (repeat, do again); N.phaphoxa (wake up from day dreaming), cf. S.phapha (jump up); S.natheha (go to pieces of old cloth), cf. N.natha (grind - idea of breaking into pieces)[1].

(b) The suffix S.eha T.oga N.oxa has sometimes lost its stational (destructive) function, and it would appear that as if the force of S.ha T.ga N.xa and not that of S.eha T.oga N.oxa is semantically dominant in these derivatives, e.g. S. bebeha (become small, light), cf. N.bêba (be as light as a feather); S.eboha (get peeled), cf. N.eba (skin); N.fafoxa (be light), cf. N.fafa (be light); T.simoga N.simoxa (begin, be begin), cf. N.sima (plant).

(c) Sometimes the semantic relation between the stational (destructive) stem and the probable corresponding simple stem is vague, e.g. S.ileha T.iloga (become strong, be revived), cf. S.ila T.ila N.ila (feel disgust for, avoid); T.laloga (wander away from, become estranged), cf. S.lala T. lala N.lala (lie down, spend the night); S.leboha T.loboga N.leboxa (thank, be grateful), cf. S.leha T.leba N.leba (look at); N.kxomoxa (gather all together), cf. N.kxoma (touch); T. phetloga (be dim of the eyes), cf. S.phetla (be purulent).

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1) As can be seen from the above I regard the difference between the two functions of S.eha T.oga N.oxa as merely secondary and not primary. This is in agreement with K.Endemann's contention as far as N. is concerned cf. N.G.S., p. 52. A similar phenomenon has also been observed as regards the function of the representative of S.eha T.oga N.oxa in other Bantu languages, e.g. by Marconnes for Karanga, cf. A Grammar of Central Karanga, p. 192, and by Barlow for Kikuyu, cf. Kikuyu grammar, p. 106. Doke disagrees on this point and thinks that we should in this case accept two suffixes identical in form but not in function, cf. Term p. 89. What the position is in Bantu languages generally I do not venture to say, but as far as Sotho is concerned, this suffix has, as indicated above, only one function, viz. undoing, which, however, falls into two sub-heads viz. reversing and extending. It may perhaps be added that it would be extraordinary to have in Sotho two suffixes identical in form but different in function. and in origin.

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(d) Simple stems corresponding to stational (destructive) stems are in some cases transitive in others intransitive[1], e.g. (for meanings of examples here quoted, cf. (a) above) : S.amoha T.amoga N.amoxa, cf. S.ama T.ama N.ama (transitive); T.kalega, cf. T.kala (transitive); S.khomoha T. kgomoga, cf. N.kxoma (transitive); S.aroha N.aroxa, cf. T.ara N.ara (transitive); T.garoga N.xaroxa, cf. N.xara (transitive); S.mamoha, cf. N.mama (intransitive); T.šeboga, cf. S.shêba T. šêba (intransitive); S.nepeha, cf. N.nepa (intransitive); N. phaphoxa, cf. S.phapha (intransitive).

(e) Most stational (destructive) stems are intransitive, the following few are however transitive: S. hlobolla T.tlhobega N.hloboxa (leave, part with), cf. S.hloba T.tlhoba N.hloba (pluck off, out); S.lemoha T.lemoga N.lemoxa (observe, pay attention), cf. S.lêma N.lêma (be well acquainted with, know well); S.amoha T.amoga N.amoxa (take away from, deprive), cf. S.ama T.ama N.ama (touch); S.tšhêphoha (twist, draw a little water), no corresponding simple stem; S.khomoha (notch), cf. N.kxoma (touch); S.khanoha (desire something much without getting it), no corresponding simple stem; S.leboha T.leboga N.leboxa (thank), cf. S.leba T.leba N.leba (look at).

(f) There are stational (destructive) stems which are not associated with any extant simple verbal stems, a comparison with other derivative stems that also having no corresponding simple stems shows, however, in some cases a probable

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1) Endemann maintains (Grammatik des Sotho, p. 66) that when stational (destructive) stems have corresponding intransitive simple stems, the stational (destructive) stems are semantically the opposite of the simple stems; but when the corresponding simple stems are transitive, the stational (destructive) stems are the opposite of derivative stems in S.êha T.êga N.êxa derived from the same roots. I have made a thorough and comprehensive examination of derivative stems in S.êha T.êga N.êxa and S.oha T.oga N.oxa derived from the same roots, but it seems to me there is no justification for making such a differentiation, e.g. S. amoha T.amoga N.amoxa (take away from, deprive), and S.amêha (be concerned in an affair) and S.ama T.ama N.ama transitive (touch); N.xoloxa (become loose), and S.holêha T.golêga N.xôlêxa (tie, bind) and N.xôla transitive (bind); T.katega N.katexa (move back, move a little distance away) and S.kaêha (get filled up) and S. kata T.kata N.kata transitive (tread, press); N.kxethexa (get separated, detached), and S.khêthêha N.kxêthêxa (be chosen or picked out) and S.khêtha T.kxêtha N.kxetha transitive (choose).

common non-extant simple stem, e.g. T.balega (be in season of a female animal), cf. S.baleka (go from one cow to another of a bull); T.kamega (swell), cf. S.kamatha (swell); S.paroha (split open), cf. N.paraxma (tear in two); N.thavamoxa (jut out); S.nyekoha (come out, e.g. a stone); N.katoxa (change the mind, become disloyal); T.gwatoga (break out into a rash or eruption).

A) Compound :

1. Stational (destructive) in basic position:

aa)(i) The stational (destructive)-reciprocal S.ohana T.ogana N.oxana.

(ii) There are only about twenty derivative stems ending in this suffix, and with the exception of three or four they all indicate some or other idea of moving or going away from each other, e.g. S.amohana T.amogana N.amoxana (take away from each other), cf. S.amoha T.amoga N.amoxa (take away from, deprive) and S.ama T.ama N.ama (touch); S.arohana N.aroxana (get separated from each other), cf. S.aroha N.aroxa (become separated, divided) and T.ara N.ara (cut open a swelling); N.lomoxana (get separated fm the handle), cf. N.lomoxa (get loose e.g. the handle of an axe) and N.lôma (stick to); T.katogana N.katoxana (move away from each other), cf. T.katoga N.katoxa (move back, away) and S.kata T.kata N.kata (tread, press); S. lemohana (notice one another), cf. S.lemoha T.lemoga N.lemoxa (observe, pay attention to) and S.lôma N.lôma (be well acquainted with); T.lebogana N.leboxana (thank one another), cf. S.lebaha T.leboga N.leboxa (thank) and S.leba T.leba N.leba (look at).

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bb)(i) The stational (destructive)-factitive S.ssa T.ssa N.šša < S.oh T.og N.ox + S.ša T.ya N.ya[1)ii)]

(ii)(a) This suffix adds the factitive idea to the idea expressed by the stational (destructive) stem, e.g. S.tlossa T.tlossa N.tloša (remove, take away), cf. S.tloha T.tlogga N.tloxa (go away) and S.tla T.tla N.tla (come); S.khelossa N.kxeloša (cause to hope, promise), cf. S. khelohe N.kxeloxa (be convinced) and N.kxêla (satisfy); S. lemossa N.lemoša (advise, draw one's attention to), cf. S. lemoha T.lemogga N.lemoxa (observe, pay attention to) and S.lêma N.lêma (be well acquainted with); S.namossa N.namoša (draw back, take back), cf. S.namoha T.namogga N.namoxa (get drawn back) and S.nama T.namma N.nama (stretch out); S.omossa T.omossa N.omoša (make warm), cf. T.omogga N.omoxa (become warm) and S.ôma T.ôma N.ôma (become dry); T.thibossa (cause to move out of the way), cf. T.thibogga Nthiboxa (come out of the way, give place) and S.thiba T.thiba N.thiba (step).

(b) The following derivative stems in S.issa T.issa N.iša and S.ossa T.ossa N.oša, with identical corresponding simple stems, are given for comparison purposes. It will be observed that in some cases S.issa T.issa N.iša indicates the opposite of S.ossa T.ossa N.oša; but this is, however, not always the case : S.hatissa T.gatissa N.xatiša (cause to tread, put the foot on, press), T.gatossa N.xatoša (cause to move off, move one thing off another), cf. S.hata T.gata N.xata (tread); S.namissa (cause to extend), S.namossa N.namoša

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1) Cf. Phon., p. 77. For S.(o)ssa < S.(o)rsa, cf. Chapter 15 § A) β).

ii) In the following case T.og + T.ya > T.otsha:lemotsha (make evident), cf. lemogga (observe).

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(draw back), cf. S.nama T.nama N.nama (extend); S.iliša N. idiša (cause to hate or to avoid), N.iloša (end the period of mourning), cf. S.ila T.ila N.ila (hate, avoid); S.katiša (shut, close very tightly), T.katoša N.katoša (remove a thing back), cf. S.kata T.kata N.kata (press); S.kholiša N.kxodiša (satisfy, convince, persuade), S.khološa N.kxološa (cause to hope, promise), cf. N.kxôla (satisfy); S.omiša T.omiša N.omiša (cause to dry), S.omoša T.omoša N.omoša (make warm), cf. S.ôma T.ôma N.ôma (become dry); T.phamiša (turn another's word artfully aside), N.phamoša (turn away from the road, withdraw), cf. N.phama (make parallel).

(c) The following two stems in S. oša N.oša are intransitive: N.tomoša (brag but be unable to hold your own), no corresponding stational (destructive) stem or corresponding simple stem; S.hlaboša (be nice or sweet to the taste), no corresponding stational (destructive) stem or corresponding simple stem.

cc) Stational (destructive)-performative S.ohiša N.oxiša : the undermentioned are the only two derivative stems I could find, ending in this suffix. They are given here because they are semantically identical with the derivative stems in S.oša N.oša derived from the same verbal roots : S. hlobohiša (help to give up, console by the gift of a present), cf. S.hloboša (= S.hlobohiša), S.hlobohe T.tlhoboxa N.hloboxa (part with, give up, leave for good) and S.hloba T.tlhoba N. hloba (pluck off); N.lemoxiša (convince, draw attention to), cf. S.lemoša N.lemoša (= N.lemoxiša) S.lemohe T.lemoxa N.lemoxa (pay attention to, observe) and S.lêma N.lêma (be well acquainted with).

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S. Stational (destructive) in a non-basic position, the contribution of S.oha T.oga N.oxa to the force of these compounds is that in each case the stational (destructive) idea is added to the idea expressed by the suffix without S.oha T.oga N.oxa.

aa) Actional (destructive)-stational (destructive) S.oloha T.ologa N.oloxa, e.g. S.imoloha T.imologa N.imoloxa (be relieved of a burden), cf. T.imola N.imola (unburden) and N.ima (become heavy).

bb) Protractive-stational (destructive) S.moha T.moga N.moxa, e.g. T.tšhogomoga (be startled), cf. S. tšoha T.tšhoga N.thšoxa (get a fright), no corresponding protractive stem; N.thedimoxa (glide out, glide away), cf. N. thedima (glide along) and N.thêla (glide); S.sisimoha T. sisimoga N.šišimoxa (pant, start), cf. S.sisa T.šiga (throb, sigh, be moved), no corresponding protractive stem.

B) Strengthened

I Primary : ∠) Single :

i) Stational (intensive) N.kxa[1]. It is found only in the following two cases : N.phêthšhkxa (do business), no corresponding simple stem; N.phumakxa (deceive by lying), no corresponding simple stem, but cf. S.fuma (be in fault, be wrong).

ii) Semantically there would seem to be no relation between xa and kxa, and it may therefore be argued that kxa is an independent suffix still found in the abovementioned two

1) S. and T. do not have a parallel form.

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stems. Although I admit this possibility, I submit, in view of the following points that it is at least just as likely that kxa is a subordinate form of xa :

1. phonologically kxa is related to xa, kx having been derived from x through a process of strengthening;

2. other suffixes having similarly related consonants are also semantically related.

I think, that when with a given suffix the examples in which it occurs are so few in number, one can hardly avoid being to a certain extent arbitrary in one's classification — such a classification is perhaps pardonable provided one bears in mind that it is not final.

β) Compound :

1. Stational (intensive) in basic position : Only one example could be indicated, viz. the stational (intensive)-reciprocal T.kgana found in T.phethêkgana (roll or toss about as a sick person, turn on one side or from side to side), no corresponding simple stem, cf. phethakgana in § II ((1)) β) below.

2. Stational (intensive) in a non-basic position : this suffix does not occur in this position.

II Secondary :

((1)) α) Single :

The stational (double-intensive) N.akxa[1]

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1) S. and T. do not have a parallel form.

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found in two examples only, viz. phathakxa (press under the knee or under the arm), cf. N.phatha (press in), phethakxa (=phathakxa), cf. S.phêtha (twist, plait) and N.phetha (get folded).

The relation between akxa and S.*aha T.*aga N.axa will be seen from phathankxana quoted in β) below.

β) Compound :

1. Stational (capable-intensive) in basic position : The stational (capable-intensive)-reciprocal T. akgana N.ankxana found only in the following examples : T.phethakgana (turn on one side, roll or toss about as a sick person) for phethakxa and phetha cf. α) above; N. phathankxana[1] (be in a difficult position, be in straits), cf. S.phathahana (be hard-pressed, be in straits, be overworked), phathakxa (cf. α) above) and phatha (cf. α) above).

2. Stational (capable-intensive) in a non-basic position : this suffix does not occur in this position.

((2)α) Single :

Stational (destructive-intensive) N.okxa[11], found only in the following examples : N.phethakxa (turn from one side to the other), cf. S.phethoha N.phethoxa (turn over), S.phêtha (twist, plait) and N.phetha (get folded); N.phonyokxa (escape, break through an enclosure), cf. S.phonyoha N.phonyoxa (escape) and N.phonya (enclose).

β) Compound :

I could not ascertain a compound suffix with the stational (destructive-intensive) as one of its component parts.

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1) Cf. Poděšť I, p. 86.

11) S. and T. do not have a parallel form.

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CHAPTER 11.

Confusive S.hla N.hla [i], confusive T.tlha [ii].

A) Unstrengthened:

I Primary: α) Single:

i) Confusive S.hla T.thla N.hla.

Interesting are the following confusive stems with different stem-vowels and connecting vowels but related in meaning:

S.khôrôhla (snore, rattle), S.khŏarahla (walk on a stony place), T.kgaritlha (scrape round and round in a pot), S.khirihla (snore), S.khôrôhla (make a noise like a boiling pot); S.phorohla (boil loudly, whirl), cf. S.fôrôhla (speak foolishly), S.phôrôhla (boil of water and meal in a pot, speak stupidly).

ii) (a) The confusive suffix denotes the idea of bringing into or being in a confused state; it is a very rare suffix and found only with about 35 derivative stems, e.g. T.kgaratlha (run hither and thither as cattle shut up in a kraal, be restless of the eyes, turn from side to side as a sick person), cf. N.xara (whirl, turn round, break out as cattle out of the kraal); S.khŏarahla (walk on a stony place, cf. the slipping on the stones and the subsequent rolling about of the stones), cf. S.khŏara N.kxwara (climb a mountain a long way up, walk about on a mountain); S.lŏobohla (put in disorder), cf. S.lŏoba (plunge up and down in water); T.ǰogotlha (rub between the hands or knuckles as in washing clothes), cf. T.ǰoga N.ǰoxa (tan, rub a skin); S.sohohla (spoil, destroy), cf. T.ǰoga N.ǰoxa (tan, rub a skin).

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i) UB. ka cf. Phon., p. 46

ii) T. does not have an unstrengthened form hla, but only the strengthened form tlha which is semantically identical with S.hla T.hla. T.tlha will therefore be treated together with the unstrengthened forms found in S. and N., and the same term will be employed for both strengthened and unstrengthened forms.

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(b) The suffix S.hla T.tlha N.hla has sometimes lost its confusive force, e.g. T.gamotlha (cling tightly with the arms and hands round something), cf. S.hama T.gama N.xama (milk); N.tšêrêhla (cry aloud), cf. N.tšêra (cry aloud); S.khêrêhla (notch), cf. N.kxêra (gnaw).

(c) Sometimes the semantic relation between the confusive stem and the probable corresponding simple stem is vague, e.g. S.khêrêhla (rattle, snore), cf. T.kgêra (plough dry ground); N.thukhuhla (tan by rubbing with the hand), cf. S.thukha (break); S.sohohla (spoil, destroy), cf. T.šoga N.šoxa (tan, rub e.g. a skin).

(d) Simple stems corresponding to some confusive stems are transitive while those corresponding to others are intransitive, e.g.[i] S.lŏebehla, cf. S.lŏeba intransitive; N.tšêrêhla, cf. N.tšêra intransitive; T.šogotlha, cf. T.šoga N.šoxa transitive; T.gamotlha, c.f. S.hama T.gama N.xama transitive.

(e) Some confusive stems are transitive others are intransitive, e.g.[ii] T.kgarithlha intransitive, N.xara intransitive; S.khŏarahla intransitive, S.khŏara N.kxŏara intransitive; S.lŏebehla transitive, S.lŏeba intransitive; S.khêrêhla transitive N.kxêra transitive; T.gamotlha transitive, S.hama T.gama N.xama transitive.

(f) There are confusive stems which are not associated with any extant simple verbal stem, nor could non-verbal stems be indicated as being possible bases of these derivative stems; a comparison with other derivative stems that also having no corresponding simple verbal stems or corresponding non-verbal stems, shows, however, in some cases a probable common non-extant simple verbal stem, e.g. T.gweletlha (speak about what one does not know or understand), cf. S.hŏelea (stammer),

S.sŏebehla (shake, move into place), cf. S.sŏebea (move about); S.khirihla (snore), cf. S.khiritsa (scrape the surface of the ground) S.phêrêhla (speak stupidly), N.forohla (wipe off).

i) For meanings of examples here quoted, cf. (a) and (b) above.
ii) For meanings of examples here quoted, cf. (a), (b) and (c) above.

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β) Compound:

1. Confusive in basic position:

aa) (i) Persistive[1] S.sêla T.sêla N.sêla derived from an UB. form *skela; Meinhof does not give such a form, but for UB. k > Sotho s under influence of ê cf. Phon. p. 64. S.sêla T.sêla N.sêla must therefore be a very old compound as in more recent formations S.hla T.tlh N.hl (UB.k) is not affected by ê[ii] . The fact that the form of the applicative, the final component part of S.sêla T.sêla N.sêla, is S.êla T.êla N.êla and not S.etsa T.etsa N.etsa, proves that the s of this suffix does not contain the factitive S.e T.y N.y[iii] .

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1) Not called confusive-applicative because of its specialised force (cf. (f) below). In fact as will be seen there actually exists a confusive-applicative S.hlêla T.tlhêla N.hlêla. There are about 50 persistive stems.

ii) cf. Phon. p. 64, also the confusive-applicative S.hlêla T.tlhêla N.hlêla as in:

S.forohlêla (make a hole wider on behalf of) > cf. S.forohla (make a hole wider);

T.rukhutlhêla (rebel against), cf. T.rukhutlha (brawl, riot, be rebellious);

N.foxohlêla (rub away, grind down), cf. N.foxohla (rub off).

iii) Compare e.g. the factitive-applicative stem S.tsosetsa T.tsosetsa N.tsoxetsa (arouse for) corresponding to the factitive stem S.tsosa T.tsosa N.tsoxa (arouse), cf. S.tsoha T.tsoga N.tsoxa (get up). See also Chapter 17 and Phon. pp. 79 - 80.

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In the majority of cases sêla has been attached to a root by means of an unstandardised connecting vowel, e.g. S.êbêsêla (swing, rock, shake as e.g. a bunch of feathers, carry something like reeds, plumes etc.), cf. S.êba T.êba (swing, rock); S.pêkêsêla (have a deep voice, change e.g. of the voice of a boy), cf. S.pêka (sing badly, scold); S.thêkêsêla N.thêkêsêla (stagger, totter), cf. S.thêka (walk in a swaggering way).

There are however one or two cases in which the suffix hes/hem attached to the simple stem [1], e.g. N.nêtasêla (glue on, rivet, to, grasp), cf. N.nêta (glue, rivet).

In four or five other cases, owing to the stem-vowel being a, I could not say whether the a preceding sêla is a connecting vowel, or the terminative of the multi-finctional simple stem, e.g. in S.khabasêla (grow in beauty and strength, prosper e.g. plants), cf. S.khaba T.kgaba N.kxaba (be adorned, be beautiful); T.kgaphasêla (splash or dash as waves, vibrate as water after being dashed against a rock), cf. T.kgapha N.kxapha (push out as water or grain from a vessel).

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1) For a similar phenomenon cf. the performative, Chapter 10 § A §II) ((2)) β) I. ((C)), and the secondary passive Chapter 18.

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ii) (a) The persistive indicates action carried out persistently [i] and is found mostly in S. [ii], e.g.

S.ŝbêsêla (shake like a bunch of feathers, carry something like reeds, plumes or feathers, swing, rock) cf. S.ŝba T.êba (swing, rock);

S.kêbêsêla (bend as under the wind, i.e. be persistently bent down), cf. S.kêba N.kêba (hang down, incline);

S.kêgêsêla [iii] (tremble, shiver, be loose), cf. S.kega (shake, be loose);

S.kkabasêla (grew in beauty and strength, prosper), cf. S.khaba T.khaba N.kxaba (be adorned, be beautiful);

T.kxaphasêla (splash or dash as waves, vibrate as water after being dashed against a rock), cf. T.kxapha N.kxapha (push out as water or grain from a vessel);

N.pôtasêla (glue on, rivet, to grasp), cf. N.pôta (glue, rivet);

S.pukasêla (flap with the wings as e.g. a big bird), cf. S.puka (blow hard of the wind);

S.thôkêsêla N.thôkêsêla (stagger, totter) cf. S.thôka (walk in a staggering way);

N.thokxosêla (be entirely consumed by fire), cf. S.thokha (burn, calcine);

S.ŝbôbôsêla (move to and fro, spread as e.g. the ear of sweet reed), cf. S.ŝbôba (throb, go about).

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i) cf. Term., p. 164. ii) More than half of the approximately 50 verbal derivatives in sêla are found in S. alone, this does not include the approximately 40 stems in sêla derived from non-verbal stems, also here S. alone has more than half of the total number.

iii) S.kêgêsêla = S.kêgêtsêla, cf. also S.bôsôsêla = S.bôsêtsêla = Zulu gcoqsela (smile); S.ǎlasêla = S.ǎlatsêla (seize hurriedly) and Zulu walasela (do a thing hurriedly). The suffix tsêla found only in S., is undoubtedly due to Nguni influence, for the phonological relation between Nguni s and Sotho ts or tš, cf. Phon. pp. 66 and 93; and for Nguni s becoming S.ts, cf. Zulu usizi (trouble, misery) > S.tsitsi (want, poverty), Xhosa siza (help, assist) > S.siŝtša (give, grant).

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(b) Sometimes the semantic relation between the derivative stem in sêla and the probable corresponding simple stem is vague, e.g.

T.tlhapasêla (melt away as a crowd), cf. S.hlapa T.tlhapa N.hlapa (wash);

S.hlêphêsêla (scatter about, hurry away) cf. S.hlepha N.hlêpha (become loose),

N.hlakxasêla (sway to and fro, tremble), cf. N.hlakxa (throw up).

(c) Derivative stems in sêla are mostly intransitive, there are however about a dozen which are transitive, e.g.

S.êbêsêla (shake like a bunch of feathers, carry something like reeds, etc.), cf. S.êba T.êba transitive (swing, rock);

N.pêtasêla (glue to, rivet to) cf. N.pêta transitive (glue, rivet);

S.xhlassêla (make a rustling noise), cf. N.xhahla intransitive (rustle).

(d) Simple stems corresponding to some persistive stems are transitive while those corresponding to others are intransitive. A few more are given in addition to those quoted in (c) above:

S.chôbôsêla (move to and fro), cf. S.chôba intransitive (go about);

S.thêkêsêla N.thêkêsêla (stagger, totter), cf. S.thêka intransitive (walk in a staggering way);

N.thokxosêla (be entirely consumed by fire), cf. S.thekha transitive (burn, calcine).

(e) There are persistive stems which are not associated with any extant simple verbal stems, ~~neither~~ nor could non-verbal stems be indicated as being possible bases of these stems e.g.

S.hlêxabêsêla (itch),

T.kotosêla (talk incessantly),

S.kutusêla (try to seize),

S.pêtlêsêla (run),

N.pukusêla (be sleepy),

S.sêbêsêla (go in numbers, passing one another as e.g. locusts on the move),

S.nyobosêla (walk or fly noiselessly up and down)

S.phêkêsêla (be shaky, stagger).

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(f) As can be seen from the examples quoted above, the suffix sêla has to a very great extent lost the respective forces of its individual component parts[i], although the force of the applicative êla is still noticeable in some cases such as,

N.nôtasela (glue to, rivet to, grasp), cf. N.nôta (glue, rivet

S.chôbôsêla (move to and fro), cf. S.chôba (go about);

while the confusive force of S.hla T.tlha N.hla is probably the reason why more than one quarter of the persistive stems contain also the idea of swinging, trembling or scattering, cf. the following in addition to those already previously quoted:

S.ephosêla (shake, wave to and fro, move about while hanging)

N.phaxêsêla (tremble, T.tlhatlhasêla (jolt or bump along as a vehicle going over stones), S.hôarasêla (roam about), S.phethasêla (jump about, work badly, seize loosely, do something hurriedly), N.thaxasêla (tremble).

For none of these derivatives a corresponding simple stem could be indicated.

bb) the persistive-applicative S.sêlla[ii] T.sêlêla N.sêlêla, e.g. S.thathasêlla (arrange in a hurry, seize, hurry), no corresponding simple or corresponding persistive stems; T.thobêsêlêla[iii] (break in upon, intrude upon a party), cf. S.thêba T.thêba N.thêba (break through), no corresponding persistive stem; T.nengesêlêla (roll to), no corresponding simple or corresponding persistive stems.

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i) It happens also in other cases that the original force of one or both of the component parts of a compound suffix have lost, their original force cf., e.g. the performative S.isa T.isa N.isa Chapter 10, and the actional (capable) factitive S.atsa N.atsa when conveying a diminutive force, cf. Chapter 12 § A) II ((1)) β)

ii) The ê of S.êla very often drops out when preceded by l cf. Chapter 12 § A) 11 ((2)) α).

iii) Perhaps from #thobesêlêla through retrogressive assimilation.

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2. Confusive in a non-basis position: The confusive suffix is found in this position only when in the compound sêla, of Chapter 5 §10.(C).

II Secondary: The confusive has no corresponding secondary form.

B) Strengthened: I Primary: The confusive suffix is found in its strengthened form tlha in T. only, where, however, the unstrengthened form hla, which occurs in S. and N., is not found. The two forms are semantically identical.

II Secondary: T.tlha has no corresponding secondary form.

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CHAPTER 12

Actional S.la T.la N.la [1] ; actional (capable) S.sla T.sla N.sla [2] ; actional (applicative), here called applicative, S.ŝla T.ŝla N.ŝla [3] ; actional (destructive) S.gla T.gla N.gla [4] ; actional (intensive) S.ta T.ta N.ta [5].

A) Unstrengthened:

I Primary: a) Single.

1) The actional S.la T.la N.la [6], e.g.

S.thakhila (kick about), cf. S.thakha (stretch out one's leg);

T.fubila (be red), cf. S.fuba (turn red);

N.xwaila (hollow out, throw up/of a galloping horse) < dust

*Nwavila cf. N.xwava (hollow out, scrape);

N.kaila (indicate, declare) < *kavila, cf. T.kava N.kava (describe, mention);

N.ŝbêla (heap something down), cf. S.ŝba T.ŝba N.ŝba (bend down);

N.kxethula (cut off), cf. N.kxêtha [7] (cut off, chop off, plane);

S.khethula N.kxethula (pull down e.g. as a branch or a tree), cf. S.khêtha T.kxêtha N.kxêtha [7] (pick out, choose);

S.ubula N.ubula (seize, snatch violently), cf. S.uba (steal).

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1) UB. la, cf. Phon., pp. 45 and 77, 2) UB. sla, cf. Phon., pp. 45 and 77, 3) UB. ela, cf. Phon., pp. 45 and 78, 4) UB. ula, cf. Phon., pp. 45 and 79, 5) UB. nda, cf. Phon., p. 46.

6) Doke suggests the term transitive to indicate the suffix la, cf. Term., p. 213. This term is however not suitable for indicating S.la T.la N.la which, as will be indicated below, is both transitive and intransitive. 7) If the stem-vowel is ê or ô it becomes e or o when u is employed as connecting vowel, cf. Chapter 4 § 1.

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with the exception of seven cases, e.g. S.retela N.retela (remain raw although cooked), cf. N.reta (stir up, stir round), T.retela (be too difficult), S.sepela (roam, wander about), T.sepela N.sepela (walk), no corresponding simple stem, N.sêtsela (whisper), no corresponding simple stem, the connecting vowel e preceding the actional suffix is found in S. only, e.g. S.phetsela (crush with one's foot) no corresponding simple stem, S.tsekela (wander about, fall and get up again), no corresponding simple stem, S.thesela (thump, butt, break to pieces), no corresponding simple stem. It is possible that we do not have here a suffix la preceded by e as an unstandardised connecting vowel, but S.ela T.ela N.ela a dialectal form of the applicative S.êla T.êla N.êla [1]. But, e occurs as unstandardised connecting vowel with practically all primary suffixes, therefore why not also with the actional suffix? And in addition to this, la preceded by a e does not seem to have an applicative force. Furthermore, as will be noticed below, the applicative S.êla T.êla N.êla as a rule becomes S.etsa T.etsa N.etsa when the consonant of the preceding syllable is S.ts T.ts N.ts or S.s T.s N.s. This does not take place with la preceded by e, cf. examples quoted above.

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1) Cf. Tucker The Comparative phonetics of the Suto-Chuana of Bantu languages, p. 24 in connection with the dialectal difference between e and ê.

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Endemann has indicated a suffix ila[i], but as far as I could ascertain there is no semantic difference between la preceded by i and la preceded by e, ê or u[ii]. For this reason it seems to me that one is not justified in recognising a suffix ila. It would appear that when the actional suffix is attached to roots the vowel of which is a, the connecting vowel i is preferred to a, probably to avoid confusion with the actional (capable) suffix ala, e.g. N.xwaila (hollow out, threw up dust of a galloping horse) < N.*xwayila, cf. N.xwaya (hollow out); N.kaila (indicate, declare) < N.*kayila, cf. T.kaya N.kaya (describe, mention); N.tǂwaila (dash to pieces, grind to powder) < N.*tǂwayila cf. N.tǂwaya (dash to pieces, smash); N.keila (knock against something) < N.*kaila[iii] < N.*kayila, cf. S.kaea (hew, chop, strike).

Endemann has also indicated a suffix ula[iv], but as far as I could ascertain there is no semantic difference between la preceded by u and la preceded by any of the other unstandardised connecting vowels quoted above. It is true, as will be seen from ii) below, that some actional stems with u as unstandardised connecting vowel have a destructive force, but, as far as could be ascertained, this is only the case when such a force is already contained in the roots

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i) cf. W.d.S. p. 35.

ii) Such stems as T.aila N.aila (walk slowly), T.baila N.baila (walk with sore feet), S.phaila (wander about), are regarded as compound stems and they will be dealt with in Chapter 21.

iii) For a similar influence of i on preceding a cf. T.neila (has given) and T.naya (give), also N.kxaila (tear apart) and N.kxeila (tear apart).

iv) cf. W.d.S. p. 35.

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from which such stems have been derived v). It seems to me, therefore, that one is not justified in recognising a suffix S.ula T.ula N.ula unless perhaps as a dialectal variant of S.ola T.ola N.ola (cf. above).

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v) A few derivative stems of which the following is practically an exhaustive list and either in the actional (destructive) suffix ola, or in la preceded by u, e.g. S.kutlola S.kutlula (remove the roughness of, polish), cf. S.kutla N.kutla (wash something, using a stone or bone to rub off); N.dukola = S.lukula T.dukula (pick out, take out e.g. a thorn), cf. N.duka (poke, pick one's teeth); T.tsirola N.tsirola = S.tsirula (tear food with one's teeth), cf. N.tsira (gnash the teeth); S.tsemola = S.tsemula (pull out, draw out as a dagger from its sheath), this may be due to dialectal difference, but, in view of the scarcity of such examples, it is perhaps more correct to ascribe it merely to the differences in pronunciation of individuals, cf. also T.memola = S.mumula T.mumula (uproot). It is difficult to say whether here S.ola T.ola N.ola > S.ula T.ula N.ula or S.(u)la T.(u)la N.(u)la > S.(o)la T.(o)la N.(o)la. There is no question in Sotho of ola becoming ula because of the stem-vowel being u, as there are many derivative stems in ola with stem-vowel u e.g. N.ruthola (tear to bits), N.kupola (take out of the mouth), T.futlola (take away a child's possessions, disinherit), T.khumola (root out), S.kumola (root out, wipe off), S.phumola N.phumola (take off the skin, wipe off).

ii) (a) The actional suffix S.la T.la N.la is not a very common suffix[1]; it denotes an action on the part of an agent, which is an illustration or consequence of the state or action expressed by the simple stem, e.g. :

N.kxwarila (strike a match, write, draw a line), cf. T.kgwara N.kxwara (scrape with a knife, make a scratching noise);

N.ŝbôla (hang something down), cf. S.ôba T.ôba N.ôba (Bend down) and N.ôbôxa (hang down);

S.kôkôla (walk slowly, feebly), cf. S.kôka N.kôka (be ill);

N.thôbôla (hook with the beak, peck open), cf. N.thoba (prick, stab with the horn) and T.thôba (break through);

S.habula (walk briskly), cf. S.haba (strive for);

S.horula (drain to the last drop), cf. S.hôra T.gôra N.xôra (take the leavings in a pot);

T.ḳudula (expel, banish from home, drive away out of one's country or home), cf. N.fula (flee, fall back) and T.ḳuduga (depart, go away);

S.kutlula (remove the roughness of, polish, file), cf. S.kutla (wash something, using a stone or bone to rub off):

Compare also examples quoted in i) above.

(b) In some cases the difference in force between the actional stem and its corresponding simple stem is not very great, e.g.

N.kxothula (cut off), cf. N.kxôtha (cut off, chop off, plane);

N.xwaila (hollow out, throw up dust of a galloping horse), cf. N.xwaya (hollow out, scratch in the ground);

N.tšwaila (dash to pieces, grind to powder), cf. N.tšwaya (dash to pieces, smash).

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1) Only found with about 100 derivative stems.

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(c) In other cases again the semantic relation between the actional stem and the probable corresponding simple stem is vague, e.g.

S.silila (rub, iron) N.šidila (rub a sore place with the hand), cf. S.sila T.sila N.šila (grind, grate);

S.hôhlôla T.gôtlhôla N.xôhlôla (cough), cf. S.hohla T.gotlha N.xohla (rub, sharpen, grate);

S.khethula N.kxethula (pull down e.g. a branch), cf. S.khêtha T.kgêtha N.kxêtha (pick out, choose);

S.khumula (wound, hurt), cf. N.khuma (take off the bark);

S.kŏebela (swagger, walk angrily or boldly), cf. S.kŏêba (come back from the summer grazing grounds, fight as bulls).

(d) Some actional stems are intransitive; most of them (about three-quarter of the total number) are however, transitive, e.g. N.kaila transitive and T.kava N. kaya transitive, cf. i) above; N.tšwaila transitive and N.tšwara transitive, cf. (b) above; N.ôbôla transitive and ôba transitive, cf. (a) above; N.kxothula transitive and N.kxotha transitive, cf. (b) above; T.(f) fudula transitive and N.fula intransitive, cf. (a) above; S.kŏebela intransitive and S.kŏêba intransitive, cf. (a) above; T.(h) fubila intransitive, cf. S.fuba intransitive, cf. i) above; S.thakhila intransitive and S.thakha transitive, cf. i) above; S.hôhlôla T.gôtlhôla N.xôhlôla intransitive and S.hohla T.gotlha N.xohla transitive, cf. (c) above.

(e) As can be seen from the examples quoted in (d) above, the simple stems corresponding to some actional stems are transitive, while those corresponding to others are intransitive.

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(f) In Sotho there are actional stems which are not associated with any extant simple verbal stems, neither could non-verbal stems be indicated as possible bases of these derivative stems; a comparison with other derivative stems, also having no corresponding simple verbal stems or corresponding non-verbal stems, shows, however, in some cases, a probable common non-extant simple verbal stem, e.g.

S.sǒephela (pinch, break a piece off), cf. S.sǒepheletsa (pinch and twist the skin); S.hakila (be violent, severe), cf. N.xakala (become angry); N.thôsôla (bore, drill); S.bulula T.budula N.budula (below).

β) Compound:

1. Actional suffix in basic position:

i) Actional-factitive S.tsa T.tsa N.tsa < S.l T.l N.l + S.ǒa T.ya N.ya[1]

ii) (a) The actional-factitive adds the factitive idea to the idea expressed by the actional stem, e.g. T.ɬubitsa (make red), cf. T.ɬubila (become red) and S.fuba (turn red); S.thefutsa (cause to pull out), cf. S.thefula (pull out, pull down) no corresponding simple stem; T.ɬudutsa (cause to expel), cf. T.ɬudula (expel) and N.fula (flee, fall back).

In the following case there is no semantic difference between the actional and actional-factitive stems; N.kxwarila (strike a match) and S.khǒaritsa (strike a match).

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1) for N.l + N.y > N.fǒ, cf. Phon., p. 66.

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Sometimes no actional stems corresponding to actional-factitive stems could be indicated, e.g. S.thukhutsa (strike badly), cf. S.thukha (break); S.sututsa (push forward), cf. T.ʏuta N.ʏuta (move away).

(b) In the following few cases the actional-factitive stems have acquired a special force, viz[r] that of denoting an action done slightly or quickly,[i] e.g. S.nyafutsa (take a little of), cf. S.nyafa (dig wet clay)[ii]; N.fukuʏa (seek superficially), cf. S.fukutla (penetrate, dig). See also S.chapitsa (draw very little milk, milk a little); it is however possible that here the idea referred to above is contained in the root.

(c) Of the 35 actional(factitive) stems 8 are intransitive, e.g. S.hikitsa (scream loudly), N.xaputʏa (creep on hands and knees), S.khaputsa (walk through a thicket), S.ʏaikhutsa (bubble up), N.kiritʏa (speak imperfectly), for these stems no corresponding simple or corresponding actional stems could be indicated.

2. Actional in a non-basic position:

With the exception of the few examples quoted in Chapter 5 § 10, this suffix does not occur in this position.

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i) Cf. also S.atsa N.atʏa S.etsa S.otsa T.otsa N.otʏa below.

ii) When digging wet clay big lumps are usually taken on the spade.

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II Secondary:

((1)) α) Single:

i) Actional (capable) S.ala N.ala T.ala.

In the case of verbal-stems whose stem-vowel is a, and whose final stem-consonant is l, the initial a of the suffix is sometimes elided in S. and N.[1], although it is mostly retained in these two languages and always retained in T., e.g. N.hlalala = N.hlalla (shout with joy, rejoice), no corresponding simple stem; S.ralala = S.ralla N.ralala (sing and play at night of young men and girls at a marriage feast), no corresponding simple stem; S.phalla N.phalala (run), cf. S.phala T.phala N.phala (excel); S.halala T.galala N.xalala (despise a gift because of its ~~being~~ small size, desire more), cf. S.hala (be a glutton); N.kwala (become audible), cf. N.kwa (hear).

ii) (a) The actional (capable) denoted the idea of entering into a certain state [cf. (d) below], e.g. N.fafala (become light), cf. N.fafa (be light); N.ǂubala (become red), cf. N.ǂuba (to dawn, i.e. to be red); S.bônala T.bônala N.bônala (become visible, evident, appear), cf. S.bôna T. bôna N.bôna (see); T.kabala (become closed or plugged) cf. S.kaba T.kaba N.kaba (plug up, stop a hole); T.dihala (happen, come to pass), cf. T.diha (do); N.kwala (become audible), cf. N.kwa (hear).

(b) The suffix ala has sometimes lost its actional (capable) force, e.g. S.bapala N.bapala (move about, play), T.bapala N.bapala (gain by trading, collect), cf. N.bapa (interweave, entwine); N.tlakala (fly by moving the wings very slightly), cf. N.tlaka (refuse);

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1) As will be seen below also the ê of êla is sometimes elided in these two languages when this suffix is attached to roots with i as final stem-vowel.

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N.pharala (walk in mud), cf. S.phareT.phara N.phara (throw clay or dung, smear roughly).

(c) Sometimes the relation between the actional (capable) stem and the probable corresponding simple stem is vague, e.g. S.lebala T.lebala N.lebala (forget, i.e. to overlook), cf. S.leba T.leba N.leba (look at), S.bapala T.bapala N.bapala and N.bapa, cf. (b) above; S.tlala T.tlala N.tlala (dance, jump about), cf. S.tla T.tla N.tla (come); S.halala T.halala N.xalala (despise a gift because of its small size, desire more), cf. N.hala (be a glutton).

(d) Most simple stems corresponding to actional (capable) stems are transitive[1]; there are however a few which are intransitive.

When the simple stem is transitive there is identity between the subject of the derivative stem and the object of the corresponding simple stem; the subject of the derivative stem is fit to enter or actually enters into such a state or condition that the action expressed by the simple verbal stem may be applied to it, e.g. T.abala (become separated, distributed), cf. S.aba T.aba N.aba (distribute, divide); S.bônala T.bônala N.bônala (become visible, evident, appear), cf. S.bôna T.bôna N.bôna (see); T.dirala N.dirala (come to pass, happen), cf. T.dira N.dira (do), S.ônala T.ônala N.ônala (get worn out, become old), cf. N.ôna (damage); T.thibala (become obstructed, stopped) cf. S.thiba T.thiba N.thiba (stop, obstruct); N.tsebala (become known), cf. S.tseba N.tseba (know); N.atlala (become increased, extended), cf. S.atla N.atla (cause to prosper or to increase); N.têkala (become only half full), cf. N.têka (make only half full).

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1) Of the 80 simple stems corresponding to actional (capable) stems, 65 are transitive.

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When the corresponding simple stem is intransitive there is identity between the subject of the simple stem and that of the derivative stem, the subject of the derivative stem being fit to enter or actually enters into the state or condition expressed by the simple verbal stem, e.g.

N.fafala (becomes light), cf

N.fafa (be light);

T.gwalala N.xwalala (exalt oneself as one who refuses to listen and persists in his own course), cf.

N.xwala (refuse to listen or to improve);

N.senala (get decayed or rotten), cf.

N.sena (decay, rot inside);

N.tšaxala (become strong), cf.

N.tšaxa (be strong).

(e) Actional (capable) stems are mostly intransitive, there are about half a dozen which are transitive, e.g.

S.lebala T.lebala N.lebala (forget), cf.

S.leba T.leba N.leba (look at);

S.halala T.galala N.xalala (despise a gift because of its small size), cf.

S.hala (be a glutton);

S.lenala (drink with a straw dipped into water), no corresponding simple stem.

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(f) There are actional (capable) stems which are not associated with any extant simple verbal stems; a comparison with other derivative stems that also having no corresponding simple verbal stems, shows, however, in some cases, a probable common non-extant simple verbal stem, e.g. T.ɣakgala (rage, be furious); T.lemala (be accustomed); S.lelala T.lelala N.lelala (look up); T.ngwalala (be absent for a long time); T.ɣwalala N.ʋwalala (get scattered, dispersed), cf. T.ʋwalava (work carelessly or badly), N.tsarala (stand with legs apart), cf. N.tsarola (run).

(g) There are about 4 to 5 times as many stational (capable) stems as there are actional (capable) stems in Sotho. In view of the fact that such stems, when derived from the same verbal roots, are sometimes semantically very closely related, it is possible that the actional (capable) suffix has been replaced by the stational (capable) suffix, which is still a living suffix. Examples of stational (capable) and actional (capable) stems derived from the same verbal roots:

N.atlala (become increased, extended),

S.atlêha T.atlêka N.atlêxa (be or become extended, increased, prosperous, fortunate), cf.

S.atla N.atla (cause to increase);

S.alala (become smooth on the surface);

S.alêha (get spread, be flat) cf. S.ala T.ala N.ala (to spread out);

S.bônala T.bônala N.bônala (appear, become visible, evident)

S.bônêha N.bônêxa (appear, be or become visible), cf. S.bôna T.bôna N.bôna (see);

T.dirala N.dirala (happen, come to pass),

N.dirêxa (be performable, be accomplished), cf. T.dira N.dira (do);

N.tsebala (become known),

S.tsebêha N.tsebêxa (be or get known), cf. S.tseba N.tseba (know).

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(h) Semantically there is no difference between the station (capable)-actional (capable) S.shala T.xala N.xala and the actional (capable) S.ala T.ala N.ala, e.g. N.diraxala = T.dirala N.dirala (happen, come to pass), cf. T.dira N.dira (do); S.tsebahala N.tsebaxala = N.tsebala (become known); S.khothahala = S.khothala T.kgothala N.kxothala (take courage, become cheerful), cf. S.khotha (get strong, fat, well-looking); N.khutlaxala = N.khutlala (get wounded by knocking against something), cf. T.khutla N.khutla (knock against something).

(i) The following are the only simple stems I could find having corresponding actional (capable), stational (capable), as well as the stational (capable)-actional (capable) stems: S.bôna T.bôna N.bôna (see), cf. S.bônala T.bônala N.bônala (appear, become visible, evident), S.bônêha N.bônêxa (appear, be or become visible), S.bônahala N.bônaxala (become visible, apparent, evident); T.dira N.dira (do), cf. T.dirala N.dirala (happen, come to pass), N.dirêxa (be performable, be accomplished), N.diraxala (happen, come to pass); S.tseba N.tseba (know), cf. N.tsebala (become known), S.tsebêha N.tsebêxa (be or get known), S.tsebahala N.tsebaxala (become known.)

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β) Compound:

1. Actional (capable) suffix in basic position:

aa) i) Actional (capable-intensive):

S.alala mostly contracted to alla, T.alala always used uncontracted, N.alala in a few cases contracted to alla and in one case to lala.

In S. the second a of the suffix drops out excepting in phahlalala (enter suddenly, intrude on people), In N. the uncontracted suffix is used excepting with N.hlagalla[i] (stand quite still absent-mindedly); N.tšapalla (stretch oneself out without caring where), cf. S.tjapalla (lie face downwards), S.tjapalatša (threw to the ground); and N.fallala = N.falalala (spread of people).

It should be noted that also the actional (capable)-applicative alêla is abbreviated to alla in S. and N.; this happens almost always in S., but not so often in N. The factitive of alala is S.alatša N.alatša, e.g. S.batalatša (smooth down, level down) N.batalatša (cause to lie flat on the ground), cf. S.batalala T.batalala N.batalala (lie flat), the factitive of alêla is S.alatša N.alatša, e.g. S.halalatša (make holy), cf. S.halalêla (be holy); N.furalatša[ii] (cause to turn away from), cf. N.furalêla (turn away from). Therefore if a derivative stem in alla has a factitive form in S.alatša N.alatša then alla is an abbreviation of alala; if however it has a factitive form in S.alatša N.alatša then alla (ll) is an abbreviation of alêla[iii].

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i) According to my informants hlagalla has a factitive form hlagalatša (cause to stand absent-mindedly).

ii) Obtained from my informants.

iii) The elided vowel whether a or ê always reappears in the corresponding factitive form.

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Endemann maintains[1] that such stems as are termed by me actional (capable-intensive) are not derivative stems in alala, but rather compound stems with lala (lie down) as their final component part. His main reason for holding this view is that, according to him, derivative stems ending in re-duplicated suffixes are always transitive, whereas derivatives in alala are mostly intransitive. However, as will be seen below, derivatives in îlîla and olola are sometimes also intransitive. Moreover, there are a few derivatives in alala which are transitives, cf. below. Endemann's objection to regarding these stems as compounds rather than derivatives therefore falls away.

ii) (a) The actional (capable-intensive) suffix indicates the idea of entering intensively into a certain state or condition, often a dispersive state or condition. It is perhaps noteworthy that of the approximately 90 derivative stems in alala (alla), only about 15 have a corresponding stem in ala, e.g. N.atlalala (become broad of a way), cf. N.atlala (increase, extend) and S.atla N.atla (cause to increase); S.hoatalla N.xwatalala (be firm, take up a firm or threatening attitude with determination), cf. N.xwatala (take up a firm or threatening attitude) and N.xwata (walk with firm steps); N.khutlalala (get very much wounded by knocking against something), cf. N.khutlala (get wounded by knocking against something) and T.khutla N.khutla (knock against something); S.phatlalla T.phatlalala N.phatlalala (become wide or dispersed), cf.

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1) Cf. Versuch einer Grammatik des Sotho pp. 68-69

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N.phatlala (be extended) and S.phatla N.phatla (break, burst); S.haballa T.gabalala (become arched or drawn up as a person drawing up his body when on hands and feet, get bent) N.xabalala (become stifled as a result of belching), cf. N.xabala (pull in the stomach) and S.haba T.gaba N.xaba (hollow out); N.kamalala (get very much perplexed), cf. N.kamala (get perplexed) and T.kama (perplex); S.saballa (spread, scatter), cf. N.šabala (scatter) and N.šaba (trade); T.tlhômalala (stand erect), cf. S.hlôma T.tlhôma N.hlôma (plant, fix in on end); T.ibalala (pounce down as a hawk), cf. T.iba (float with outstretched wings as a hawk); S.namalla T.namalala N.namalala (lie stretched out on the ground), cf. S.nama T.nama N.nama (extend, stretch out); S.khŏahlalla (run along), cf. S.khŏahla (run); T.dutlalala (rain very heavily), cf. S.dutla T.dutla N.dutla (leak); S.phutsalla (spread of water or smoke, eject water from the mouth), cf. S.phutsa (sprinkle by ejecting a mouthful of water).

(b) Sometimes the semantic relation between the actional (capable -intensive) stem and the probable corresponding simple stem is vague, e.g. T.fatalala (become spread wide apart as the fingers or legs), cf. S.fata T.fata N.fata (dig a hole, hollow); S.batalla T.batalala N.batalala (lie flat), cf. N.bata (make even or level through beating); N.phahlalala (get scattered or dispersed), cf. S.phahla (remove, unload); S.rakalla N.rakalala (spread out the legs), cf. N.raka (chase away.

(c) The following are the only transitive actional (capable-intensive) stems I could find:S.phutsalla (eject water from the mouth, spread of water or smoke), cf. S.phutsa (sprinkle by ejecting a mouthful of water); S.takalla (bestride) no corresponding simple stem.

(d) There are actional (capable-intensive) stems which are not associated with any extant simple verbal stems, or extant actional (capable) stems; a comparison with other derivative stems that also having no corresponding simple verbal

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stems, shows, however, in some cases, a probable common non-extant simple verbal stem, e.g. T.phophalala (cower, huddle up), cf. T.phophama (cower, huddle up); S.phochalla (run), cf. S.phochoha (get loose, free oneself); S.satalla N.ʸatalala (become stiff, be firm), N.ʸatalala (stand with legs apart), cf. N.ʸataka (walk with legs far apart),

(e) It is perhaps noteworthy that only one simple stem could be found ~~having~~ which has both an actional (capable-intensive) stem and a stational (capable)-actional (capable) stem corresponding to it, viz.: T.khutla, N.khutla (knock against something), cf. N.khutlaxala (get hurt by knocking against something) and N.khutlalala (get very much wounded by knock-against something).

bb) Actional (capable)-stational (capable) S.alêha T.alêga N.alêxa. This suffix is here of importance in so far as it is found attached to roots to which the stational (capable)-actional (capable) S.ahala T.agala N.axala is also attached, and this happens in two cases only, viz.: N.bônalêxa (be within eyesight, be in a position of becoming visible) and S.bônahala N.bônaxala (become visible, apparent), cf. S.bôha T.bôha N.bôha (see); and N.tsebalêxa (be in such a position that it can be recognised) and S.tsebahala N.tsebaxala (become known), cf. S.tseba N.tseba (know).

cc) i) Actional (capable)-factitive S.atsa T.atsa N.atʸa < S.al T.al N.al + S.ʸa[i] T.ya N.ya, the initial a of ala, if it has been dropped, always reappears in this compound e.g. N.hlalatʸa[ii] (please), cf. N.hlalla (rejoice).

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i) Cf. α) i) above.

ii) Obtained from informants.

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ii) (a) The actional (capable)-factitive adds the factitive idea to the idea expressed by the actional (capable) stem, e.g. S.atlatša (open the hands, stretch out) N.atlatša (cause to increase or to extend), cf. N.atlala (get increased or extended), and cf. S.atla N.atla (cause to increase); T.gakatsa N.xakatša (incite to anger, provoke), cf. S.hakala T.gakala N.xakala (get angry, be indignant), no corresponding simple stems; S.khathatsa T.kxathatsa N.kxathatša (weary or tire out), cf. S.khathala T.kxathala N.kxathala (become tired or weary), no corresponding simple stem; S.khothatsa T.kxothatsa N.kxothatša (exhort, preach, encourage), cf. S.khothala T.kxothala N.kxothala (take courage, become strong), and cf. S.khotha (get strong, well-looking); T.bonatsa N.bonatša (make visible, cause to be visible), cf. S.bônala T.bônala N.bônala (be or become visible) and cf. S.bôna T.bôna N.bôna (see); S.lebatsa T.lebatsa N.lebatša (cause to forget), cf. S.lebala T.lebala N.lebala (forget) and cf. S.leba T.leba N.leba (look at).

(b) The actional (capable)-factitive suffix has sometimes acquired in S. and N. mostly in S., a special force, viz. that of denoting an action done slightly or quickly [1], mostly no corresponding stems in ala could be ascertained in such cases, e.g. S.fafatsa (sprinkle, rain slightly, lance the hand of a child), cf. N.fafala (become light) and N.fafa (be light); S.tsaratsa N.tšaratša (spit out, spout, gush), cf. N.tšara (spit); S.khaphatsa N.kxaphatša (spill, overflow), cf. N.kxaphala (spill against, cling to of mud) and T.kxapha N.kxapha (push out with the hand as grain from a vessel); cf. S.chachatsa (sprinkle, splash), cf. N.thathša (smear with fat); S.hŏalatsa (do superficially, a little), cf. S.hŏala (snatch); S.phathatsa (give a friendly slap), cf. S.phatha (slap).

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1) Cf. in this connection T.stsa (squirt as from a syringe) < al (idea of spreading out cf. ala = spread out) + the factitive ya.

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(c) The following three derivative stems in S.atsa are intransitive: S.thalatsa (look on all sides), S.chalatsa (look about distrustfully), S.tlǒatlatsa (crack, make a noise) [i]; for none of these corresponding simple stems could be ascertained.

(d) There are actional (capable)-factitive stems which are not associated with any extant simple verbal stems or extant actional (capable) stems, e.g. S.nyahlatsa (filter without twisting the strainer much, loosen), T.bilatsa (eat up all the food, devour everything), T.phahatsa (lance, pierce open as an abcess).

(e) Only one simple stem could be found [ii] which has both an actional (capable)-factitive stem and a stational (capable)-actional (capable)-factitive stem corresponding to it, viz. S.bôna T.bôna N.bôna (see), cf. S.bonahatsa (cause to be visible, show, reveal) and T.bonatsa N.bonatsa (cause to be visible, show, make visible).

(f) The following are the only derivative stems I could find with a common basis and ending either in the actional (capable)-factitive or the actional (capable)-performative suffixes: S.lebatsa T.lebatsa N.lebatsa (cause to forget, divert) and S.lebadisa N.lebadisa (cause to forget, divert), cf. S.lebala T.lebala N.lebala (forget); S.robatsa T.robatsa N.robatsa (cause to sleep, put to sleep, cause to lie on the ground) and

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i) N.fakatsa intransitive (visit, walk about) has probably been derived from English vacation.

ii) T.ǔulahatsa = T.ǔulatsa (make evil or bad) has been derived from the nominal stem ǔula also found in boǔula (evil), the first a in both verbal stems belongs therefore to the nominal stem and is not a connecting vowel.

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N.robadiša (put to bed, put to sleep), cf. S.rôbala T.rôbala N.rôbala (sleep); S.tsaratsa (spout, deluge, gush, spit out) and S.tsaralisa (cause to spout, deluge), no corresponding actional (capable) stem; S.bapatsa T.bapatsa N.bapatša (barter, trade) and S.bapalisa N.bapadiša (cause to play, make to play), cf. S. bapala N.bapala (move about, play), T.bapala N.bapala (gain by trading, collect).

2. Actional (capable) in non-basic position, e.g.

The stational (capable)-actional (capable) S.ahala T.agala N.axala. This suffix has been fully dealt with in Chapter 10 § A) II ((1)) β) 1.

The actional (capable-intensive) S.alala, T.alala N.alala cf. 1. β)aa) above.

((2)) α) Single:

i) Applicative[i]. It has two forms, viz. S.êla T.êla N.êla and its modified form S.etsa T.etsa N.etša. aa) Excepting in such circumstances as will be described in bb) below, the applicative suffix is always êla; but, as will be seen its initial vowel is sometimes elided in S. and N., but not in T. It is never elided when the final stem-consonant is any other than l, e.g. S.abêla T.abêla N.abêla (distribute to, divide for), cf. S.aba T.abã N.aba (divide, distribute); S.hanêla T.ganêla N.xanêla (oppose, resist, i.e. refuse with respect to), cf. S.hana T.gana N.xana (refuse); S.phêêla (cook for), cf. S.phêa (cook); T.tsêêla[ii] (take for or from) <T.*tsaêla <T.*tsayêla, cf. T.tsaya (take); S.jêla T.jêla N.jêla (eat at, eat for), cf. S.ja T.ja N.ja (eat). If however the final stem-consonant is l the ê of êla is sometimes elided in N. although it is mostly retained in this language, e.g. N.hlêlla (degenerate, vary from a type), cf. N.hlêla (degenerate); N.hlalêla = N.hlalla (present, give alms, pick out)[iii] no corresponding simple stem.

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i) There are about 700 applicative stems.
ii) Due to elision and retrogressive assimilation.
iii) Cf. also T.tlhêlêla N.hlêlêla = N.hlêlla (spy out) and S.hlêla T.tlhêla N.hlêla (spy). In this case however the basis is not a verbal root but a noun-stem found also in S.leihlê T.leitlhê N.leihlê (eye).

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In S. it is practically always elided when the stem-vowel is a, ê or ô [1], e.g. S.balla T.balêla N.balêla (count for), cf. S.bala T.bala N.bala (count); S.kŏalla (shut for), cf. S.kŏala (shut); S.lalla T.lalêla N.lalêla (lie in ambush), cf. S.lala T.lala N.lala (lie); S.tšêlla T.tshêlêla N.thšêlêla (pour in, on), cf. S.tšêla T.tshêla N.thšêla (pour); S.rêlla T.rêlêla N.rêlêla (slip, slip away), cf. N.rêla (escape); S.têlla (look down upon, give up for or to), cf. S.têla N.têla (renounce, give up); S.ngêlla (write to or for), cf. S.ngêla (write); S.êlla T.êlêla (gather into), cf. S.êla T.êla N.êla (gather); S.thêlla (pick up for), cf. S.thêla (pick up). I could find only one exception to this rule, viz. S.palêla T.palêla N.palêla (be too much for), cf. S.pala T.pala N.pala (be too much).

The ê of êla is however retained in S. if the stem-vowel is u, o, e or i [1], e.g. S.bulêla T.bulêla N.bulêla (open for), cf. S.bula T.bula N.bula (open); S.tulêla (crush in, for), cf. S.tula N.tula (crush); S.polêla (thrash for), cf. S.pola N.pola (thrash); S.holêla T.xolêla N.xolêla (grow up for or at), cf. S.hola T.gola N.xola (grow up); S.tšelêla T.tshêlêla (cross over to), cf. S.tšela T.tshela (cross); S.melêla T.melêla (grow in, on), cf. S.mela T.mela N.mela (grow); S.silêla (grind for), cf. S.sila T.sila N.šila (grind); S.ilêla T.ilêla N.ilêla (abstain from, set apart for), cf. S.ila T.ila N.ila (avoid, set apart).

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1) Cf. Jacottet A Grammar of the Sesuto Language, p. 77.

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bb) The applicative suffix is modified to S.etsa T.etsa N.etsa [i] in the manner to be described below, if the final stem-consonant is one of the following: S.ŝ T.ŝ N.ŝ (or ŷ), S.ŝa T.ŝa N.ŝa, S.tsŷ T.tsŷ N.tsŷ, S.sŷ T.sŷ N.sŷ, S.ŝŷ T.ŝh N.ŝhŷ N.sw.

This modification of the applicative suffix, which does not take place if the root is consonantal, is, in all probability, due to analogy with the process of substituting S.etsa T.etsa N.etŷa for S.êla T.êla N.êla when forming such derivative stems (especially factitive-applicative stems) as containing compound suffixes in which the applicative follows the factitive, and in which the consonants preceding the applicative suffix (whether root-consonants or suffix-consonants) have been so altered by the S.ŷ T.ŷ N.ŷ of S.ŷa T.ŷa N.ŷa that they are identical in form with those quoted above. With such derivative stems the replacement of S.êla T.êla N.êla by S.etsa T.etsa N.etŷa is due to the presence of the factitive S.ŷa T.ŷa N.ŷa [ii], the S.ŷ T.ŷ N.ŷ of which is also responsible for the ŷ

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i) T.lorotsa (bring to or for) is the applicative corresponding to T.lora (bring).

ii) Cf. Phon. pp. 79-80 and Chapter 17 below. Although Meinhof does not specially mention S.ŝŷ T.ŝh N.ŝhŷ this consonant when occurring in a derivative stem in the manner indicated below, also contains the S.ŷ T.ŷ N.ŷ of S.ŷa T.ŷa N.ŷa thus:

(a) T.tsha is sometimes derived from i. ŷ + ŷa as in fulatsha (cause to turn aside), cf. N.fulasa (=fulatsha) and S.fulara T.fulara N.fulara (turn the back); gutsha (cause to eat very much), cf. T.gutsa (eat very much). ii. l + ŷa as in nametsha (encourage), cf. T.nametsa (=nametsha) and T.namala (be encouraged); hubitsha (cause to shine red), cf. T.hubila (be red); totetsha (have a large progeny), cf. T.totetsa (=totetsha). iii. ŝ + ŷa as in xoretsha (cause to arrive), cf. N.xoresa (=xoretsha) and T.xôrexa N.xôrexa (arrive); lemetsha (make evident) cf. S.lemesa N.lemesa (advise, draw one's attention to), and S.lemeha T.lemeha N.lemeha (notice, pay attention to); hududsha (cause to depart), cf. T.hudusa (=hududsha) and T.hudusa (depart). iv. f + ŷa as in: heitsha (cause to fear), cf. T.heifa N.heifa (fear); tihalatsha (make wise), cf. S.hlalafa T.tihalafa N.hlalafa (become wise).

(b) N.thŷa is in the following case derived from ŝ + ŷa: phophethsa (thresh), cf. N.phopharŝa (takes leave away).

(c) S.ntsha T.ntsha N.ntha is derived from S.n + isa T.n + isa N.n + iŷa (cf. Chapter 10 § A II ((2)) β) 1.) as in S.bontsha T.bontsha N.bonthŷa (shew). S.isa T.isa N.iŷa is a compound suffix containing S.ŷa T.ŷa N.ŷa as final component part.

The applicative employed to form applicative stems corresponding to derivative stems whose final consonant is S.ŝŷ T.ŝh N.thŷ is S.etsa T.etsa N.etŷa. Thus the applicative stem corresponding to S.bontsha T.bontsha N.bonthŷa is S.bontsetsa T.bontsetsa N.bonthŷetsa (shew to), and to T.hududsha is hududisetsa (cause to depart to).

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of ŝla becoming s in S.sisa T.sisa N.sisa [1].

When the final stem-consonant is S.s T.s N.š, e.g. S.besetsa N.bešetša (roast for), cf. S.besa T.besa N.beša (roast); N.xešetša (mix in), cf. N.xeša (mix); N.xesetše (ram up, block up), cf. N.xesa (fill up a gap in a hedge); S.lisetsa T.disetsa [ii] N.dišetša [ii] (herd for, watch for), cf. S.lisa T.disa N.diša (herd); S.thusetsa T.thusetsa N.thušetša [ii] (help for), cf. S.thusa T.thusa N.thuša (help).

In the following cases the applicative suffix is ŝla: T.šŝla (burn in), cf. T.ša (burn), N.sŝla (become early), cf. S.sa T.sa N.sa (become clear, leave off raining); S.posŝla (pour on), cf. S.posa (pour much liquid).

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1) cf. Phon., p. 77. If through further investigation it can be proved that the consonant preceding the applicative suffix in some of the examples quoted below, is due to the influence of factitive S.š T.š N.š (as their UB. counterparts indicate this is with some of these consonants definitely not the case), then such examples will actually be factitive-applicative stems, and will have to be transferred to Chapter 17.

ii) Obtained from my informants.

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When the final stem-consonant is S.ha T.ha N.hê, e.g. S.hlatsetsa N.hlatsêtsêla (vomit for, vomit on), cf. S.hlatsa T.tlhatsa N.hlatsêla (vomit) [1] and UB. kanya = UB. kanga (vomit); S.tlatsetsa (help on behalf of), cf. S.tlatsa T.tlatsa (help) T.itsetsa (know on behalf of), cf. T.itsa (know); S.hlatsetsa T.tlhatsetsa [ii] N.hlatsêtsêla [ii] (limp to), cf. S.hlatsa T.tlhatsa N.hlatsêla (limp, be lame) S.phatsetsa (vaccinate), cf. S.phatsa N.phatsêla (lance, make an incision) and UB. panga (cut off) [iii].

In the following cases however the suffix is êla: N.tsatsêla (walk softly to), cf. N.tsatsa (walk on the toes); S.ôtsêla T.ôtsêla N.ôtsêla (fall into a doze, slumber), cf. N.ôtsa (be drowsy) and UB. yala [iv] (be sleepy); S.hatsêla T.gatsêla N.xatsêla (be cold, become frozen), cf. N.xatsa (congeal, coagulate) and UB. kaka [v] (congeal).

When the final stem-consonant is S.tsê T.tsw N.tsw (or tsêw). In such cases êla seems to be more commonly used than its modified form, e.g. S.butsêtsêla [ii] T.butswetsa [ii] = N.butswêla (get cooked for), cf. S.butsêla T.butswa N.butswa (get cooked) probably from a form *budua [vi]; S.butsêlêla T.butswêla N.butswêla (blow the fire), cf. N.budulêla (blow the fire), no corresponding simple stem; N.futswêla (stir in), cf. N.fudua (stir), no corresponding simple stem; S.futsêlêla T.butswêla (stir up as porridge), cf. S.fulusêla T.budua (stir), no corresponding simple stem; S.tsêêla T.tswêla N.tswêla (go out for or into), cf. S.tswa T.tswa N.tswa (go out).

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i) N.UB.W., p. 82. If the UB. ŷ in kanya is the factitive, which it need not necessarily be, then S.hlatsa T.tlhatsa N.hlatsêla is a factitive stem and S.hlatsetsa N.hlatsêtsêla a factitive-applicative. It should be noted that Meinhof does not give an UB. nasa > N.tsa (cf. Phon., p. 68).
ii) Obtained from my informants.
iii) N.UB.W., p. 212.
iv) N.UB.W., p. 36.
v) Phon., p. 244.
vi) Cf. Phon., p. 67.

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When the final stem-consonant is S.ny T.ny N.ny, e.g. S.thunyetsa (fire, for, to, in), cf. S.thunya T.thunya N.thunya (fire a gun); T.tshwenyetsa, N.thswenyetsa (trouble for), cf. S.tsoenya T.tshwenya N.thswenya (trouble); S.sunyetsa (plant for) cf. S.synya (plant); S.senyetsa T.senyetsa (damage for, to), cf. S.senya T.senya N.senya (damage, spoil).

In the following cases however the suffix is ôla : T.nyenyôla (smile at, upon), cf. T.nyenya (smile), N.kônyôla (climb up a steep hill), cf. N.kônya (climb up), S.nyôla T.nyôla N.nyôla (go to stool, have a motion), cf. S.nya N.nya (go to stool).

When the final stem-consonant is N.sw, e.g. N.swaswetsa[i] (play the fool with somebody, mock), cf. S.soasoa N.swaswa (jest, joke) and S.soasetsa (joke for).

When the final stem-consonant is S.ts T.tsh N.th, e.g. S.ntsetsa T.nthsetsa (take out for), cf. S.ntsa T.ntsha N.nthsa (take out); N.fothsetsa[ii] (rub for), cf. N.fothsa (rub.)

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i) Only one example could be found apart from S.shôla T.swôla (die for or at), which is of course derived from a consonantal verbal root S.she T.sw, also found in S.shoa T.swa (die).

ii) Obtained from my informants.

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ii) (a) The applicative is used to "indicate the action when applied on behalf of, towards or with regard to some object"[1], e.g. T.agêla N.axêla (build for, build on), cf. S.aha T.aga N.axa (build); S.bofêla N.bofêla (bind for, fasten to), cf. S.bôfa T.bôfa N.bôfa (bind, tie); T.funêla (tie two things together, i.e. tie with regard to each other), cf. T.funa (tie); S.hemêla N.xemêla (milk for, milk in), cf. S.hema T.gama N.xema (milk), T.gôgêla N.xôxêla (draw to, into, towards), cf. T.gôga N.xôxa (draw), S.inêla T.inêla N.inêla (soak or dip into, or for), cf. S.ina T.ina N.ina (soak, dip); N.kxwabêla (distribute to), cf. N.kxwaba (distribute); S.khofêla (shovel away for, or towards), cf. S.khofa (shovel away); S.bulêla T.bulêla N.bulêla (open for), cf. S.bula T.bula N.bula (open); T.marêla (threw mud at or on), cf. T.mara N.mara (stain, bespatter), N.ngamêla (fasten or clasp to), cf. N.ngama (clasp, fasten); S.ôlla T.ôlêla (gather to, or into), cf. S.ôla T.ôla N.ôla (gather), N.roxêla (curse, or insult about), cf. S.roha T.roga N.roxa (curse, insult); T.tsêêla (take for, or from), cf. T.tsava (take); N.ǰoxêla (rub out or off, e.g. dirt on clothes), cf. N.ǰoxa (rub); T.tebêla N.têbêla (strike or knock about with the fist), cf. N.têba (batter, break); N.tenêla (make weary or disgusted about), cf. S.tena T.tana N.tena (make weary, disgusted); S.tôlla (bathe in), cf. S.tôla (bathe); S.kǰalla (shut for, in, or out), cf. S.kǰala (shut); S.tsǰalla N.tswalêla (beget for, or at) cf. S.tsǰala N.tswala (beget) T.tsalêla (beget at, or for), cf. T.tsala (beget); S.thêlla T.thêlêla N.thǰêlêla (pour on, in, or for), cf. S.thêla T.thêla N.thǰêla (pour), S.holêla T.golêla N.xolêla (grew up at,

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1) cf. Term, pp. 52-53.

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become great for), cf. S.hola T.gola N.xala (grow, become great); S.malêla T.malêla (grow for, on, in), cf. S.mala T.mala N.mala (grow); N.nyamêla (be sad about), cf. S.nyama N.nyama (dwindle, get sad.)

When translating applicative stems into English various prepositions may be employed depending upon the context in which such stems are used, e.g. (I quote from S.only) ke hamêla monna (I milk for the man); ke hamêla khamelong (I milk into the pail); ke hamêla pel'a ntlo (I milk near the house); ke hamêla fatše (I milk onto the ground); ke hamêla pele (I milk in a forward direction); ke hamêla sakeng (I milk in the kraal); ke hamêla hae (I milk at home).

(b) The suffix êla has sometimes lost its applicative force, e.g. S.fubêla T.fubêla (blush, change colour), cf. S.fuba (turn red); N.xubêla (become red), cf. N.xuba (dawn i.e. turn red); N.kubêla (beat until bleeding), cf. S.kuba T.kuba N.kuba (spear without piercing the skin, strike against but not penetrate as an arrow); N.rorêla (get cool, stop fermenting), cf. N.rora (get cool of the temperature towards the evening); T.ôtlêla (kill outright, put to death), cf. S.ôtla N.ôtla (strike, beat); S.ritêla (brew, make beer), cf. S.rita T.rita N.rita (stir up, e.g. milk or blood or meat when cooking it); N.tetêla (beat without making a wound), cf. S.teta N.teta (hit e.g. with the fist).

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(c) Sometimes the semantic relation between the applicative stem and the probable corresponding simple stem is vague, e.g. S.ngêkêla (entice), cf. T.ngêka (render friendly offices, consider a person); T.pakêla (bolt or fasten a door), cf. S.paka (stop with a cork, put a stopper in a hole); N.patêla (be thrifty, take only a small quantity of vegetables, etc. to eat with meat), cf. N.pata (press together); S.potlêla (splash, pour water on), cf. N.potla (give much milk); N.dubêla (drive back, cause to turn back), cf. S.luba T.duba N.duba (make a mess of, stir about, e.g. clay or dough); T.namêla (take courage), cf. S.nama T.name N.nama (stretch out, extend); T.fupêla (h) (be choked, smothered), cf. S.fupa N.fupa (put into the mouth and then close the mouth), T.fupa (h) (drink a little, take a mouthful of liquid).

(d) Simple stems corresponding to some applicative stems are transitive; those corresponding to others are intransitive, e.g. S.abêla T.abêla N.abêla (distribute to, divide for), cf. S.aba T.aba N.aba transitive (divide); T.axêla N.axêla (build for), cf. S.aha T.axa N.axa transitive (build); S.halla T.halêla N.halêla (count for, read for), cf. S.hala T.hala N.hala transitive (count, read); T.akêla N.akêla (lie to, about), cf. T.aka N.aka intransitive (lie); S.hatsêla T.xatsêla N.xatsêla (be cold, become frozen, congeal), cf. N.xatsa intransitive (become thick, congeal); S.hôtlêla (howl for), cf. S.hôtla N.xôtla intransitive (roar, cry loudly).

(e) The overwhelming majority of derivative stems in êla are transitive, but the following intransitive stems in êla should be noted:

T.gabêla (walk quickly), cf. S.haba (strive for); T.ngomêla

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(shrink, be diminished), cf. S.ngôma (clasp, lock); T.ɣumêla (eat very much), cf. S.suma (eat meat); T.bobêla (pit as a swelling when pressed, become indented), cf. S.boba (diminish, decrease) T.boba N.boba (hide by stooping, crouch); S.fubêla T.hubêla (become red), cf. S.fuba (turn red); S.hatsêla T.gatsêla N.xatsêla (be cold, become frozen, congeal), cf. N.xatsa (congeal, become thick).

(f) There are applicative stems which are not associated with any simple verbal stems, a comparison with other derivative stems that also having no corresponding simple stems, shows, however, in some cases, a probable common non-extant simple verbal stem, e.g.

T.botêla	(draw secrets from a person, pump a man for information), cf. T.bota-bota (be sniffing round like a dog);
S.hlɣathêla	(wander about), cf. S.hlɣathêha (walk about.);
T.kwetêla	(bring into sight), cf. T.kwetêga (come into sight);
T.sisêla	(carry a heavy thing on the head supporting it with the hands);
S.tsɣetlêla	(sprain), cf. S.tsɣetlêha (get sprained);
N.tswikêla	(walk one after the other);
N.xwabêla	(hook in);
N.têmêla	(rejoice about someone's misfortune);

(g) In all three languages if a simple verbal stem denoting an idea of motion is followed by a locative adverb it often denotes motion from, and an applicative stem built on the same root as the simple stem denotes in such circumstances motion towards, e.g. (I quote from S. only):

Re tsɣa ka ntlê (we come from outside),

Re tsɣêla ka ntlê (we go outside),

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Liphahlô tsee u li thota kae? (where do you carry these goods from?),

Liphahlô tsee u li thotêla kae? (where do you carry these goods to?),

Ke khutla hae (I come from home),

Ke khutlêla hae (I return home, i.e. I go towards home)

O ŏa betheng (he falls from the bed),

O ŏêla betheng (he falls on the bed),

O ile a ntša liperekisi ka belekaneng a li ntšetsa sekhahelong (He took peaches out of the can, and put them into the lid),

Litapole, ke tla li chaka kae, ke li chekêlô ho eng? (Where shall I dig the potatoes, and into what shall I put them?)

(h) When the applicative stem is preceded by the reflexive formative the resulting construction carries the significance of acting by oneself, e.g. S. ke tla itulêla fêêla T. ke tla itulêla fêla N. ke tla itulêla fêla (I shall just sit by myself), S. ke ithokêla mose T. ke ithokêla mosese N. ke ithokêla mosese (I sew a dress for myself), S. ke ipatlêla lijô T. ke ipatlêla dijô N. ke inyakêla dijô (I seek food for myself).

(i) When used with the interrogative pronoun S.ng T.ng N.ng S.eng T.eng N.eng (what?) the applicative suffix denotes the question "why"? or for "what reason?" S. ŏrêkêla'ng kobe? T. o rêkêla'ng kobe? N. o rêkêla'ng kobe? (why do you buy a blanket?), S. ba ôtlêla'ng ngŏana? T. ba beletsa'ng ngwana? N. ba ôtlêla'ng ngwana (why do they beat the child?), S. ba lemêla'ng T. ba lemêla'ng N. ba lemêla'ng (why do they plough?),

(j) The infinitive of the applicatiŏê stem is often used when indicating the place at which, or in which the action expressed by the corresponding simple verbal stem is performed, e.g. S. ntlo ŏa ho binêla T. ntlo ya go binêla N. ntlo ya xo binêla (a house to dance in), S. sebaka sa ho nŏêla N. sebaka sa xo nwêla T. lobaka lwa go nwêla (a place to drink at), S. sejana sa xo jêla N. sebyana sa xo jêla (a dish to eat out of), S. êmarê ŏa ho hamêla T. êmarê ya go gamêla N. êmarê ya xo gamêla (a pail to milk into).

(k) The applicative stem followed by S. ruri T.rure N.rure (certainly, truly) denotes completion of action or finality, e.g. S. ba hanôla ruri T. ba ganôla rure N. ba xanôla rure (they absolutely refuse), S. ke mo tsebôla ruri T. ke mo itsetse rure N. ke mo tsebôla rure (I know him thoroughly), S. u tla shwôla ruri T. o tla ɣwôla rure N. o tla ɣwôla rure (you will definitely die).

(l) Applicative stems whose corresponding simple stems are transitive may take two objects, a principal and a subsidiary[i], e.g. S. ke ahôla monna ntlo T. ke agôla monna ntlo N. ke aɣola monna ntlo (I build a house for the man), cf. S. aha T.aga N.axa (build); S. ke hamôla kgwana likhomo T. ke gamôla ngwana dikgomo N. ke xamôla ngwana dikxomo (I milk a beast for the child), cf. S.hama T.gama X.xama (milk).

In T. both the principal and the subsidiary objects may be represented by objectival verbal concords, and the concord of the principal object is placed nearest to the verbal stem, e.g. ke a e mo agôla (I build it for him). In S. and N. it is the principal object which is as a rule represented by an objectival verbal concord, the subsidiary object by an absolute pronoun[ii] after the verb, e.g. S. ke mo ahôla ɣona N. ke a mo axôla yona (I build it for him). If, however, the principal object is to be emphasized the subsidiary object may be represented by an objectival verbal concord[iii], e.g. S. ke e ahôla ɣona N. ke a e axôla yona (I build it for him).

In all three languages the principal object may be represented by an objectival verbal concord, the subsidiary

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i) cf. Term., pp. 153 and 176.
ii) In N. it sometimes happens that both objects are represented by objectival verbal concords, but here the objectival concord representing the principal object comes first, e.g. re a mo di diɣetša (we herd them for him), cf. T.M.H. Endemann Handleiding by die aanleer van Transvaal-Sotho, p. 143.
iii) A similar process is adopted in T. for the sake of emphasis, e.g. ke e agôla yona (build it for him).

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object being retained as a noun, e.g. S. ke mo ôtlêla ngwana T. ke mo beletsa ngwana N. ke a mo ôtlêla ngwana (I beat the child for him), S. ba re lemêla tšimo T. ba re lemêla tshimo N. ba a re lemêla tšemo (they plough the land for us). For the sake of emphasis the position may be reversed, e.g. S. ba a lemêla monna T. ba e lemêla monna N. ba a e lemêla monna (they plough it (i.e. the land), for the man). The emphasis falls upon the substantive object.

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β) Compound:

1. Applicative in basic position:

αα) i) Applicative (intensive) (a) S.êlla S.lêla both from S.*êlêla, T.êlêla, N.êlêla sometimes abbreviated to N.êlla N.lêla. In S. the second ê of the suffix is nearly always dropped[1] excepting when the final stem-consonant is l, in which case the first ê is sometimes dropped instead of the second. In N. contraction takes place in the same way as in S., but on a much smaller scale. In T. the suffix remains unchanged, e.g. S.bokêlla N.bokêlla (gather, store up, hoard), cf. N.boka (collect, rake); S. batêlla (hit on a wound on the head) N.batêlla (keep on beating something so as to smooth it), cf. S.bata T.bata N.bata (strike, slap with the hand); S.êtêlla T.êtêlêla N. êtêlêla (go in front of, precede), cf. S.êta T.êta N.êta (journey, travel); S.fetêlla T.fetêlêla N.fetêlêla (exaggerate, exceed, go ahead), cf. S.feta T.feta N. feta (pass); S.bolêlla T.belêlêla N.belêlêla, or N. bebêlla (tell to), cf. T.bola (tell news) N.bola (speak); S.follêla N.follêla (thread, string), no corresponding simple stem, but cf. N.folêla (string); N.hlallêla (present with), no corresponding simple stem; S.jalêlla (sow again on places where the grain has not grown), cf. S.jala T.jala N.jala (sow); N.lalêlêla (lie one across another in a heap), cf. S.lala T.lala N.lala (lie); S.polêlla (thrash many times in one day), cf. S.pola N.pola (thrash); S.thêllêla (slip in, to, away from), cf. N.thêla (slip).

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1) In the case of S.retelêla (beat in a debate, conquer), cf. T.retelêla (be too hard for), N.retelêla (round off), S. retela N.retela (remain raw although cooked), and T.retela (be too difficult), as well as in the case of S.tlatselêla (walk awkwardly), the suffix is not elêla but lêla, i.e. the applicative of the actional, the e preceding lêla being an unstandardised connecting vowel.

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(b) S.eletsa T.eletsa N.eletša[i] < S.ets + ôla T.etṣ + ôla N.etš + ôla, The suffix has therefore this form when the corresponding applicative ends in S.etsa T.etsa N.etša; and S.ets + ôla T.ets + ôla N.etš + ôla7 S.eletsa T.eletsa N.eletša in analogy with such cases as, e.g. N.bitš (found in bitša = call) + ôla > N.biletša (call to)[ii].

Examples: S.beseletsa (make a fire for) N.bešeletša (fire of a pot or of bricks, add fuel to a fire), cf. S.besetša[iii] (roast for) N.besetša (poke the fire), and S.besa T.besa N.beša (roast, make a fire); T.thuseletsa[iii] (help someone again with respect to something), cf. S.thusetsa T.thusetsa N.thušetša (help for) and S.thusa T.thusa N.thuša (help).

ii) (a) The applicative (intensive) denotes that two propositional ideas are involved when an action is applied on behalf of, towards, or with regard to, some object; the second propositional idea need not necessarily be an addition to that expressed by the applicative suffix, e.g. N.lalôlôla (lie one across another in a heap), cf. S.lalôla T.lalôla N.lalôla (lie in ambush, lie in wait for) and S.lala T.lala N.lala (lie); S.kênêlla (interfere i.e. go in with regard to some aim), cf. S.kônôla (go in for) and S.kêna (go in); N.ôbôlôla (reach out to something in order to take it down), cf. T.ôbêla N.ôbôla (bend towards) and S.ôba T.ôba N.ôba (bend); S.fihlêlla (arrive in succession), cf. S.fihlêla

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i) In form this suffix agrees with the applicative (intensive)-factitive S.eletsa T.eletsa N.eletša < S.êll + ša T.êlêl + ya N.êlêl + ya, cf. bb) below. The second ê which has been elided from S.êlêla always reappears, but not the first, e.g. S.kolletsa (continue gathering one by one), cf. S.koletsa (gather one by one, save money) and S.kola N.kola (gather).

ii) cf. Chapter 17.

iii) Obtained from my informants.

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T.fitlhêla (overtake, arrive at) and S.fihla T.fitlha N.fihla (arrive); S.fetêlla T.fetêlêla N.fetêlêla (go ahead, exaggerate, exceed, i.e. go on and on), cf. S.fetêla T.fetêla N.fetêla (pass on to) and cf. S.feta T.feta N.feta (pass); S.rulêlla (put new thatch on old, i.e. put thatch on and on and on), cf. S.rulêla T.rulêla N.rulêla (put thatch on, in N.also: to forge on) and N.rula (forge); S.hatêlla T.gatêlêla N.xatêlêla (trample on, opress), cf. T.gatêla N.xatêla (tread with respect to) and S.hata T.gata N.(x)ata (tread, trample); S.bokêlla N.bokêlla (store up, heap up, hoard, i.e. bring together and together and together), cf. N.bokêla (scratch to, scrape to) and N.boka (rake, rake together); S.rokêlla N.rokêlla (stitch, sew many pieces together, i.e. sew on and on) cf. S.rokêla N.rokêla (sew on) and S.roka T.roka N.roka (sew).

As a result of the repetition of the same prepositional idea the intensive force has sometimes entirely overshadowed the applicative force[1], e.g. S.polêlla (thrash many times in one day), cf. S.polêla (thrash for) and S.pola N.pola (thrash); T.ngôtêlêla (snap off in short

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1) This reminds one of the perfective suffix elela ilila, etc., found in Central Bantu, cf. Term. 163, and in Zulu, cf. Doke Text-book of Zulu Grammar, p. 145.

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lengths), cf. T.ngôta (break off), no corresponding applicative stem could be ascertained; S.latêlla T.latêlêla N.latêlêla (follow closely after), cf. S.latêla T.latêla N.latêla (follow after) and T.lata N.lata (follow) S.lata (fetch); S.bôfêlla N.bôfêlêla (bind very fast), cf. S.bôfêla N.bôfêla (bind for or to) and S.bôfa T.bôfa N.bôfa (bind); S.fophella (strike repeatedly), cf. T.fopha (strike with the hand), no corresponding applicative stem could be ascertained; S.ômêlla T.ômêlêla N.ômêlêla (wither, become completely dry), cf. S.ôma T.ôma N.ôma (become dry), no corresponding applicative stem could be indicated; N.hlexêlêla (join by healing, heal up), cf. N.hlexêla (grow on to, grow into) and T.tlhoga N.hloxa (grow, sprout).

(b) Sometimes, especially in S., this suffix has merely an applicative and not an applicative (intensive) force; in some such cases no applicative stem could here be ascertained, e.g. S.upêlla T.upêlêla (drug, put charms in, on, for), cf. S.upa T.upa (drug a house or field against evil), no upêla; S.nyêbêlla (topple down, diminish), cf. S.nyêba (diminish), no nyêbêla; T.kabêlêla (close a door, etc., against some one), cf. S.kaba T.kaba N.kaba (close a hole) and T.kabêla (dibble in grain when sowing); S.chêchêlla (move to), cf. S.chêcha (crawl, creep), no chêchêla; S.têtêlla (be astonished at, take notice of), cf. S.têta N.têta (be astonished) no têtêla; N.lêkêlêla (hang down, dangle), cf. N.lêka (linger, loiter), no lêkêla.

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In other cases again there is an applicative stem, but the stem in -êlêla nevertheless expresses only one prepositional idea, e.g. S.lefêlla N.lefêlêla (pay instead), cf. S.lefêla T.lefêla N.lefêla (pay for) and S.lefa T.lefa N.lefa (pay); S.habêlla (walk quickly to), cf. T.gabêla (walk quickly, i.e. to strive with regard to) and S.hêba (strive for); S.kônêlla (give drugs to), cf. S.kônêla (make a little packet of drugs) and S.kôna N.kôna (give sparingly).

(c) Sometimes the semantic relation between the applicative (intensive) stem and the probable corresponding simple stem is vague, e.g. S.erêlla (gather from all sides), cf. N.era (take on the shoulder), no applicative stem; S.kônêlla (cf. (b) above); S.momêlla (bind, join together), cf. S.moma T.moma N.moma (pinch the mouth, close the mouth) and S.momêla (gather); N.thsêbêlêla (stare fixedly at something), cf. S.tsêpa (hope, trust) and S.tsêpêla (trust for, entrust to); N.kxitlêlêla (tan for), cf. S.khitla N.kxitla (strike the ground with a pick) and S.khitlêla (scrape a skin).

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(d) About 40 out of the 200 derivative stems in -lêla are intransitive, e.g. T.betlêlêla (to make a wry face as if about to cry), cf. N.betla transitive (make sad); S.hlêphêlla (ease out), cf. S.hlêpha N.hlêpha intransitive (become loose); N.kuwêlêla (smoke, steam) cf. T.kuwa intransitive (smoke, steam); S.lêpêlla T.lêpêlêla N.lêpêlêla (hang down, dangle), no corresponding simple stem; S.phokêlla (emit as foam, saliva) T.phokêlêla (talk loudly, rave), cf. T.phoka intransitive (foam, froth).

(e) There are applicative (intensive) stems which are not associated with any extant simple or extant applicative stems; a comparison with other derivative stems that also have no corresponding simple stems, shows however, in some cases, a probable common non-extant simple verbal-stem, e.g. S.phêrêlla (sit idle) cf. T.pherema (fall down in weakness); S.tsubêlla (snatch up, precipitate oneself into), cf. T.tšubula N.tšubula (snatch, pluck out of the hand); T.ngôsêlêla (fade away); S.tsetlêlla (affirm, speak firmly); T.tsinêlêla (press a stooping person down to the ground); N.nyomêlêla (go down, disappear).

(f) The following applicative (intensive) and actional (capable-intensive) stems are given for comparison purposes; it will be noticed that they are semantically closely related: N.tsepêlêla (be placed straight, upright, firm), S.tsepalala T.tsepalala N.tsepalala (stand upright, straight, remain standing on one place), cf. T.tsepa N.tsepa (throw a spear so as to make it stick upright in the ground); S.namêlla (lie flat on the face, spread out), S.namalala T.namalala N.namalala (lie

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flat on the ground from fatigue, lie stretched out), cf. S.nama T.nama N.nama (stretch out); S.sênêlla (become mouldy, become dry), S.senalla (become dry, dry up, get stiff), cf. N.sena (get rotten inside).

bb) The applicative (intensive)-factitive S.eletsa T.eletsa N.eletša [1] < S.êll + ša T.êlêl + ya N.êlêl + ya, (cf. aa) (b) above).

This is not a very common suffix, about 50 applicative (intensive)-factitive stems have been found. It is however given here because in form, although not in derivation, it is identical with that of one of the applicative (intensive) suffixes [ii], and also because, as will be seen in dd) below, it is sometimes semantically interchangeable with one of the applicative (intensive)-applicative-factitive suffixes. Examples!

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i) The S.š T.y N.y which is present in this suffix has a narrowing influence on the ê of the preceding syllable (cf. Phon. p. 71). As a rule this narrowing influence is extended to the vowels of all preceding syllables if ê or ô, e.g. N.kateletša (stamp in, force in), cf. S.katêlla N.katêlêla (press down or against); S.fetelletsa (finish one's work by doing that of another), cf. S.fetêlla T.fetêlêa N.fetêlêla (exceed, exaggerate); S.lekelanya (adapt) N.lekelanya (bring near to one another), cf. S.lekêlana N.lekêlana (be in accord with, in N. also: be near to one another); S.etelletsa (send in advance), cf. S.êtêlla T.êtêlêla N.êtêlêla (go in advance); S.hlomeletsa T.tlhomeletsa (lengthen out, add to), cf. T.tlhômêlêla (lengthen). But as far as I could ascertain this effect of y is not always extended to the syllable(s) beyond the one preceding y; however, this seems to be a peculiarity of individual speakers and is certainly not a common rule, as e.g. in T.tlhomeletsa = T.tlhômêletsa (cf. above), in N.omeletša = N.ômêletša (dry out) cf. S.ômêlla T.ômêlêla N.ômêlêla (become dry); and N.lopeletša = S.lopeletsa T.lopeletsa N.lopeletsa (cf. below).

ii) It is also identical in form with the applicative-factitive-applicative, cf. Chapter 17§I β) 1. bb) i).

S.eteletsa (send in advance), cf. S.êtêlla T.étêlêla N.êtêlêla (go in front of, go before one) and S.êta T.êta N.êta (journey, travel); S.feteletsa N.feteletša (add a mistake to what one has already said, go far in speaking), cf. S.fetêlla N.fetêlêla (exaggerate, overdo one's fault, go on in speaking) and S.feta T.feta N.feta (pass); S.lepeletsa T.lepeletsa N.lepeletša or N.lêpeletša (let down, cause to hang down), cf. S.lêpêlla T.lêpêlêla N.lêpêlêla (hang down, dangle), no corresponding simple stem.

cc) Applicative (intensive)-applicative[1]; this is a very rare suffix, found, as far as I could ascertain, in S, only, and the reason for giving it here is because it is sometimes semantically identical with the corresponding applicative (intensive) suffix. It has three forms; (a) êllêla < *êlêlêla:

The following are the only examples I could find of applicative (intensive)-applicative stems in êllêla; êmêllêla (insist upon, go on scolding), cf. S.êmêlla T.êmêlêla N.êmêlêla (speak of, prevent, stand security for, stand always or repeatedly, stand aside), and S.êma T.êma N.êma (stand); romêllêla (send indirectly), cf. S.romêlla N.romêlêla (send indirectly) and S.roma T.roma N.roma (send), bokêllêla (gather for, in, on), cf. S.bokêlla N.bokêlla (gather, store up, heap, hoard) and N.boka (scrape together); tšêpêllêla (continue to hope, go on hoping) cf. S.tšêpa (hope), no corresponding applicative (intensive) stem; nônêllêla (like very much, love very much), cf. N.nôha (pick out), no corresponding applicative (intensive) stem.

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[1] It is remarkable that very often the semantic relation between the applicative (intensive)-applicative stems and the corresponding simple stems is rather vague.

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(b) S.elella < *S.elelela, found only with the following example: nehelella (send to), cf. S.nehella (send to, give the order to attack) and S.neha (give).

(c) S.elletsa [1] < *S.eleletsa < ets + êlla (< *êlêla) or elets + êla; the suffix has this form when the corresponding applicative or applicative (intensive) has the form etsa or eletsa respectively. The following are the only examples I could find of applicative (intensive)-applicative stems in elletsa: S.beselletsa (make a fire under a pot), cf. S.beseletsa (make a fire for) N.beseletša (fire a pot, fire bricks, add fuel to a fire) and S.besa T.besa N.bešа (roast, make a fire); S.phatselletsa (lance for the second time), cf. S.phatsetsa (vaccinate) and S.phatsa N.phatša (lance); S.tlatselletsa (come to help), cf. S.tlatsetsa (help with respect to) and S.tlatsa (help); S.etselletsa (calumniate, slander) no corresponding simple or applicative (intensive) stems.

1) Identical in form with the applicative (intensive)-applicative-factitive, cf. dd) below.

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dd) Applicative (intensive)-applicative-factitive.

N.elletša < *S.eleletsa N.eleletša N.elletša

< S.*êlêlêl + S.ša N.*êlêlêl + ya.

As far as I could ascertain this suffix occurs in S. and N. only, 11 times in S. and 3 times in N. It is given here because it is identical in form, although not in derivation, with one of the forms of the applicative (intensive)-applicative [1], and also because it is sometimes semantically identical with the corresponding applicative (intensive)-factitive, e.g. N.xapelletša (enforce, extort), cf. N.xapeletša (force, obtain by force) and S.hapa T.gapa N.xapa (snatch, seize,), no xapêllêla; N.kateleletša (ram into), cf. N.kateletša (press in, press against) and S.kata T.kata N.kata (tramp down as loose soil, tread), no katêlêlêla; N.ekeleletša (heap up), cf. N.eka (carry on the hand) no ekeletša or ekêlêlêla; S.etelletsa = S.eteletsa (send in advance), cf. S.êta T.êta N.êta (travel, journey) no êtêllêla; S.romelletsa = S.romeletsa (send by opportunity) cf. S.romêllêla (send indirectly), N.romeletša (set on as a dog after game) and S.roma T.roma N.roma (send); S.timelletsa = S.timeletsa (destroy), cf. T.timeletsa (cause to wander from), N.timeletša (embezzle) and S.tima T.tima N.tima (begrudge), no timêllêla; S.tlamelletsa (bind one thing on another), cf. S.tlama T.tlama (bind), no tlameletsa or tlamêllêla.

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1) This refers of course only to S.

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ee) Applicative-factitive[1] S.etsa T.etsa N.etsa[iii] < S.êl T.êl N.êl + S.a T.ya N.ya, e.g. T.aketsa N.aketsa (lie against, speak falsely about), cf. T.akêla N.akêla (lie to, lie about) and T.aka N.aka (lie); S.imetsa N.imetsa (overload, lay heavy upon), cf. S.imêla T.imêla N.imêla (be heavy upon, be too heavy for) and T.ima N.ima (become heavy); S.tshwetsa T.tshwetsa (infect as with a disease), cf. S.tshwêla T.tshwêla (mark for) and S.tshwa T.tshwaya (mark). The ê of êla, if dropped[iv], always reappears in this compound, e.g. S.laletsa T.laletsa N.laletsa (call together, call to a feast), cf. S.lella T.lalêla (eat supper).

ii) (a) The applicative-factitive adds the factitive idea to the idea expressed by the applicative stem, e.g. N.bapetsa (place against each other), cf. N.bapêla (come against each other) and S.bapa T.bapa N.bapa (be parallel, side by side); S.bipetsa (choke a person, e.g. by putting a blanket over his head), cf. S.bipêla (hide, cover with regard to something) and S.bipa T.bipa N.bipa (cover, hide); N.etetsa (help along, i.e. cause to go along), cf. S.êtêla T.êtêla N.êtêla (travel to) and S.êta T.êta N.êta (travel, journey); N.fetetsa (bring along, bring on), cf. S.fetêla T.fetêla N.fetêla (pass on) and S.feta T.feta N.feta (pass), S.fohletsa (mix, intertwine), cf. S.fohlela (build with branches) and S.fohla T.fotlha N.fohla (strip off the leaves of a tree); T.hupetsa (choke, smother, stifle) cf. T.hupêla (be choked, smothered, stifled) and S.fupa N.fupa (close the mouth after having put something in it); T.feletsa N.feletsa (cause to come to an end, spend), cf. S.fêlêla N.fêlêla (come to an end) and S.fêla T.fêla N.fêla end, get finished).

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1) This suffix is identical in form, although not in derivation with one of the applicative suffixes, cf. (bb) above; and with one of the factitive-applicative suffixes (cf. Chapter 17 I (3) 1. bb)). ii) In the following case T.etsha:nametsha = nametsa (encourage). iii) The S.e T.y N.y of S.ela T.ya N.ya, which is present in this compound suffix, is responsible for the ê of êla becoming e cf. Phon., p. 71. iv) cf. (i) aa) above.

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(b) The applicative-factitive suffix has sometimes acquired in S. a special force, viz: that of denoting an action done slightly or quickly [1], e.g. S.hafetsa (rain a little, splash), cf. S.hafêla (eat or drink by throwing food or drink into the mouth) and S.hafa (scatter); S.koletsa (gather one by one), cf. S.kolla (become numerous) and S.kola N.kola (gather as locusts, rake together); S.kubetsa (beat or wound slightly), cf. N.kubêla (beat till the blood comes out) and S.kuba T.kuba N.kuba (spear without piercing the skin); S.tleretsa (strike slightly), cf. N.tlêrêla (cause to crack) and S.tlêra (strike on the head).

(c) Sometimes the semantic relation between the applicative-factitive stem and the probable corresponding simple stem is vague, e.g. T.kgotletsa N.xxotletša (push the ends of burning sticks into a fire, stir a fire), cf. S.khôtlêla N.kxôtlêla (stir up, stir in) and T.kgôtla N.kxôtla (touch, push with the point of the finger); S.tsometsa (take by surprise), cf. S.tsomêla T.tšomêla (hunt for) and S.tsoma T.tšoma N.tsoma (hunt); T.gonetsa (sign with the fingers), cf. T.gona N.xona (draw in as the hand or foot), no applicative stem; S.heletsa (throw down, demolish), cf. S.hêlla (reap for) and S.hêla (mow, reap); N.xweletša (produce or bring a love potion), cf. N.xwela (copulate of sheep), no applicative stem.

(d) About a dozen of the 200 derivative stems in S.etsa T.etsa N.etša are intransitive and all of these with the exception of one are found in S., e.g. S.tsketsa (throb, twinkle of the eye), cf. N.têka intransitive (shake up and down on the water), no corresponding applicative stem; S.hafetsa (rain a little, splash), cf. S.hafêla (eat or drink by throwing food or drink into the mouth with the hand) and S.hafa transitive (scatter), S.pharetsa (come out in quantity of blood from a

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1) Cf. tsa and etsa above.

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wound), cf. S.phara, N.phara transitive (plaster, spread, smear roughly), no corresponding applicative stem, T.gonetsa (sign with the fingers), cf. T.gona N.xoma transitive (draw in as the hand or foot), no corresponding applicative stem.

(e) There are applicative-factitive stems which are not associated with any extant simple verbal stems or extant applicative stems; a comparison with other derivative stems that also having no corresponding simple stems, shews, however, in some cases, a probable common non-extant simple verbal stem, e.g. S.seketsa (brandish) cf. N.sêkêtla (keep on chopping with an axe); S.soletsa (do a thing at the end after others, out of time), cf. S.solebanya (put in disorder); S.lohetsa T.logetsa (drop in as oil, medicine, etc.); T.gatletsa (pierce with a sharp instrument making a clicking noise); T.retetsa (smoothen); N.seketša (spare, save).

(f) The applicative-factitive S.etsa T.etsa N.etša is much more commonly found than the applicative-performative S.elisa T.edisa N.edišа; only about 25 applicative-performative stems could be indicated, while there are about 200 applicative-factitive stems, and only the following few applicative-factitive and applicative-performative stems have common roots: S.latetsa (cause to follow) and S.latelisa (cause to follow, follow closely, everywhere), cf. S.lata (fetch) T.lata N.lata (follow); S.reletsa (cause to slip) and T.reledisa (cause to slip), cf. N.rêla (escape, get away i.e.glide off); S.theletsa N.thelетša (cause to glide) and S.thelelisa T.theledisa (cause to escape) N.theledišа (polish, smoothen), cf. N.thêla (glide); S.boletsa T.boletsa (ask for) S.bolelisa (cause to say, speak much of a matter) N.beledisa (cause to speak), cf. T.bola (tell news) N. bola (speak);

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T.getetsa (make hot, cause to be hot, inflame, excite) and T.gotedisa (make hot)[i], no corresponding simple stem.

It will be seen that some of these stems are semantically identical, and the difference between the others is due to the difference between the factitive suffix and the performative suffix[ii].

2. Applicative in a non-basic position: It is very extensively used in such a position, and I quote only a few examples below. The contribution of this suffix to such compounds is that it adds, in each case, the applicative idea to the idea expressed by the suffix without S.êla T.êla N.êla (or its permuted form). Examples: Reciprocal-applicative: S.anêla T.anêla N.anêla, e.g. S.bokanêla T.bokanêla N.bokanêla (gather in, on, etc.), cf. S.bokana T.bokana N.bokana (assemble, gather) and N.boka (rake together). Multiplicative-applicative (intensive)-reciprocal S.akêllana e.g. S.katakêllana (be crowded, crush one another), cf. S.katakêla T.katakêla N.katakêla (crush under the feet), S.kataka T.kataka N.kataka (crush, trample) and S.kata T.kata N.kata (press, tramp). Positional-actional (capable)-applicative N.amalêla, e.g. N.phaphamalêla (float out) cf. N.phaphamala (float, run), T.phaphama (flutter as hanging clothes in the wind) N.phaphama (run) and S.phapha (run, fly). Actional (destructive)-applicative S.olêla T.olêla N.olêla,

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i) See also: N.sepetsa (cause to walk, teach to walk) and N.sepedisa (cause to walk, help along), cf. T.sepela N.sepela (walk) S.sepela (wander about), these are actional stems; S.sebetsa (work) and S.sebelisa (cause to work, use), sebetsa has been derived from Nguni, sebenza (work).

ii) Cf. Chapter 17.

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(the connecting vowel ə is not elided in this compound because of the vowel in the preceding syllable $\overset{is}{\text{———}}$ ə)e.g. S.ɛlolêla (take away the eggs of a young hen that it may not hatch them) T.ɛlolêla (separate a large calf from the smaller ones and let it go with its mother) N.ɛlolêla (take asunder that which has been spread), cf. S.ɛlola (flee, run away) T.ɛlola (scatter, drive away) and S.ɛla T.ɛla N.ɛla (spread); S.ɛbolêla (peel for), cf. S.ɛbola N.ɛbola (peel, pare) and N.ɛbɛ (skin,; T.ɛmolêla N.xɛmolêla (squeeze out, squeeze into), cf. T.ɛmola N.xɛmola (squeeze out) and S.hema T.ɛma N.xɛma (milk).

Actional(capable)-applicative:S.ɛlêla, mostly abbreviated to ɛlla[i] by eliding the connecting vowel ê, and in a few cases to lêla[ii] by eliding the connecting vowel ɛ; this happens only if the final stem-consonant is l; T.ɛlêla always kept unabbreviated; N.ɛlêla mostly kept unabbreviated, but in a few cases abbreviated to ɛlla[i], e.g.

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i) Whether ɛlla is an abbreviation of ɛlɛla (cf. ((1)) β) 1. aa) i) above, or of ɛlêla can be seen: i. either from the meaning of the derivative stem; or ii. by comparing the derivative stem in ɛlla with the corresponding derivative stem ending in S.ɛl N.ɛl + S.ɛa N.ya: ɛl (<ɛlêla) + S.ɛa N.ya > S.ɛletsɛ N.ɛletsa, but ɛl (<ɛlɛl) + S.ɛa N.ya > S.ɛletsɛ N.ɛletsa (cf. ((1.)) β) 1. aa) i) above), or iii. by comparing the derivative stem in ɛlla with its T.parallel.

ii) Whether lêla is an abbreviation of ɛlêla (cf. 1. aa) i, above), or of ɛlêla can be seen: i. either from the meaning of the derivative stem, or ii. by comparing the derivative stem in lêla with its T. or N. parallels.

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S.fallelaN.falalêla (emigrate to) cf. S.falla T.falala N.falala (emigrate, become scattered), no corresponding simple stem; S.phallêla (run to, go to the rescue of, pursue), cf. S.phalla N.phalala (run, run ahead, race, flew) and S.phala T.phala N.phala (excel); S.halalêla T.galalêla (be holy), no corresponding actional (capable) or simple stems; S.halalêla (stifle, choke), no corresponding actional (capable) or simple stems; S.lebalIa N.lebalêla (forget for ** **, forgive), cf. S.lebala T.lebala N.lebala (forget) and S.leba T.leba N.leba (look at); N.ngapalla (scratch with respect to), cf. T.ngapala (hold fast) N.ngapala (get scratched) and S.ngapa T.ngapa N.ngapa (scratch); S.lêmalla (become accustomed to), cf. S.lêmala T.lêmala N.lêmala (become accustomed) and S.lêma N.lêma (be well acquainted with); N.bônalêla (appear for), cf. S.bônala T.bônala N.bônala (appear) and S.bôna T.bôna N.bôna (see); T.kalalêla (stare at, look hard at), cf. T.kalala (gaze hard or stare) and T.kala (open the eyes wide).

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((3)) *a* Single:

i) Actional (destructive) S.ola T.ola N.ola e.g. T.gamola N.xamola (squeese out, wring out), cf. S.hama T.gama N.xama (milk); S.namola (extend), cf. S.nama T.nama N.nama (spread out, extend); S.alola T.alola N.alola (fold up, roll up, take up that which has been spread out), cf. S.ala T.ala N.ala (spread out); S.kaola (cut down, cut off) < S*kaǰala N.kaola (split wood), cf. S.kaǰa (hew down, chop), S.tlola T.tlola N.tlola (jump, jump up or over), cf. S.tla T.tla N.tla (come); N.kxonvola (untie, unfasten), cf. N.kxonva (fasten), S.kunvola (lift up stones with a crowbar), cf. S.kunva (lift up).

If S.ola T.ola N.ola is attached to a verbal root whose vowel is ê or ô this vowel becomes e or o, e.g. N.fenola T.fenola (tilt up, lift up, bend back) cf. N.fêna (bend, turn); T.emola (cause to go away) cf. S.êma T.êma N.êma (stand); N.enola (take out of the water), cf. N.êna (put into water); S.perola (shout, lift up one's voice), cf. S.pêra (be timid); S.hlomola T.tlhomola N.hlomola (take out as a thorn, root out), cf. S.hlôma T.tlhôma N.hlôma (plant, fix in on end); N.lotola (look well after), cf. N.lôta (look after); S.okhola (chase, drive animals), cf. S.ôkha (drive cattle quickly); T.nopola (pick up one by one as does a fowl), cf. N.nôpa (pick up).

If the root-vowel is o or ô and the final root-consonant is l, the o of ola is elided in S., and may be elided in N., although often retained in N., and always retained in T.[1], e.g. S.halla T.golola N.xolola (untie, loosen), cf. N.xôla (tie, bind); S.kolla/N.kolola (wander away, go astray, become scattered) cf. S.kola N.kala (gather, e.g.

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1) If the root-vowel is a vowel other than o or ô the suffix ola is retained unabbreviated in all three languages.

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locusts with the hands), N.phella N.pholola (beat corn out of the ear), cf. S.phola (thrash); S.tšella T.tšholola N.thšella N.thšolola (pour out, spill, shed blood), cf. S.tšola T.tšhola (dish up); N.olola N.olla (hatchel, hackle) cf. S.ola N.ola (comb, brush, remove the bulk of the chaff before winnowing).

ii) (a) The actional (destructive) denotes an action of undoing or destroying of the state or action expressed by the corresponding simple stem. It implies either of the following:

i. That the state or action is reversed; the suffix may here be termed the actional (destructive-reversive), it has this force in about 200 cases, e.g. S.alola T.alola N.alola (fold up, take up or away that which has been spread out), cf. S.ala T.ala N.ala (spread out), N.xunola (untie), cf. N.xuna (tie); S.inola T.inola N.inola (take out of water), cf. S.ina T.ina N.ina (put into water); N.jarola (take off (a burden)), cf. S.jara N.jara (carry); S.mohola N.móxola (lift up a heavy load), cf. N.moxa (put down); T.tholola (take skins out of the damp earth where they have been put away to soften), cf. T.thôla (bury skins in damp earth to soften them); T.yola (hold back, withhold a person from doing), cf. S.ya T.ya N.ya (go); N.xatola (lift up the foot, shift the foot), cf. S.hata T.gata N.xata (tread, trample); N.thipola (take off the lid), cf. N.thipa (put the lid on); S.phetola N.phetola (turn over, turn to the original position), cf. T.pheta N.pheta (turn). ii. That the state or action is extended; the suffix may here be termed the actional (destructive-extensive); it has this force in about 300 cases, e.g. N.abola (distribute away from), cf. S.aba T.aba N.aba (divide); S.alola (flee, run away) T.alola (scatter, drive away), cf. S.ala T.ala N.ala (spread); S.arola N.arola (separate, divide, pull off, cut, divide) T.arola (make a large opening in a

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sore, make a large gaping wound), cf. T.ara N.ara (cut open a swelling); T.gamela N.xamela (squeeze out, wring out), cf. S.hama T.gama N.xama (milk); S.khofela (threw out wholly, carry away, wash away), cf. S.khofa (shovel away, drive out); N.kanola (smash), cf. N.kana (sprain); S.khobela (scold, express dissatisfaction, blame), cf. S.khôba T.kgôba N.kxôba (reproach, rail at); S.nyefola N.nyefola (speak badly of, abuse, blaspheme), cf. N.nyêfa (lie); N.lemola (cultivate land which has been ploughed during winter), cf. S.lema T.lema N.lema (plough); N.fola (give away, distribute), cf. S.fa T.fa N.fa (give); N.kxethola (separate, divide), cf. S.khêtha T.kgêtha N.kxêtha (choose, pick out); N.nyakola (seek out), cf. N.nyaka (seek); S.phatlola T.phatlola N.phatlola (split, pull asunder as a stick, cut asunder lengthwise, make one's way through people or bushes), cf. S.phatla N.phatla (break); S.batola T.batola N.batola (sharpen a grinding stone, forge by hammering), cf. S.bata T.bata N.bata (slap, beat, strike); N.lekola (examine), cf. S.leka T.leka N.leka (try); N.phatšola (split wood), cf. S.phatsa N.phatša (make an incission), N.phetlola (open, crack open as a stone), cf. S.phêtla (open as a bag, etc.) N.fokxola (dig out with a crowbar), cf. N.fokxa (dig with a crowbar.) [1].

It is perhaps remarkable that nearly half of the actional (destructive-extensive) stems convey an idea of away from.

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1) As can be seen from the above I regard the difference between the two functions of ola as merely secondary and not as primary. This is in agreement with K.Endemann's contention as far as N. is concerned, cf. W.d.S., p. 32. A similar phenomenon has also been observed as regards the function of the representatives of S.ela T.ela N.ela in other Bantu languages, e.g. by Marconnes for Karange, cf. A Grammar of Central Karanga, p. 192, and by Barlow for Kikuyu, cf. Kikuyu Grammar p. 106.

Doke disagrees on this point and thinks that we should ~~in this case~~ accept two suffixes identical in form but not in function, cf. Term. p. 89. What the position is in Bantu languages generally, I do not venture to say, but as far as Sotho is concerned, this suffix has, as indicated above, only one function, viz. undoing, which, however, falls into two sub-heads, viz. reversing and extending. It may perhaps be added that it would be extraordinary to have in Sotho two suffixes identical in form, but entirely different in function.

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The actional(destructive), both in its reversive and in its extensive sense, is sometimes attached to the same verbal-root, e.g. S.alola T.alola N.alola (fold up., take up that which has been spread out) and S.alola T.alola (flee, run away, scatter, drive away), cf. S.ala T.ala N.ala (spread, scatter); N.nanola (move quickly) and T.nanola (lift up or help to rise from a sitting posture, idea of slowness is here merely extended - not reversed), cf. N.nana (move slowly, be slow); S.simola (take from, take arms from a man) and T.simola (begin), cf. S.sima (plant).

(b) The suffix ola has sometimes lost its actional (destructive) force, e.g. T.nopola (pick up, pick up one by one), cf. N.nôpa (pick up); N.popola (take on the back), cf. S.pôpa N.pôpa (take on the back); S.phalla (pat, caress), cf. S.phala (thrash). ~~S.hahaka N.xabola (eat a little, sip) cf. N.xaba (be greedy).~~

(c) Sometimes the semantic relation between the actional(destructive) stem and the probable corresponding simple stem is vague, e.g. S.fothola (pluck off, root out), cf. S.fotha (steal); N.ruthola (rend, tear up, tear in pieces), cf. S.rutha T.rutha (beat with a stick); S.ahlola T.atlhola N.ahlola (judge, condemn, decide a question), cf. N.ahla (open); T.ngomola (cause to be cast down), cf. S.ngoma (clasp, look).

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(d) The majority, viz. (about 80%) of the simple stems corresponding to actional (destructive) stems are transitive, the others are intransitive, e.g. N.bopola (change the form or destroy), cf. S.bopa T.bopa N.bopa transitive (form, shape); N.fahlola (take something out of the eye), cf. S.fahla T.fatlha N.fahla transitive (hurt the eye); S.nepola (crush something wet) N.nepola (pull out something sticky), cf. N.nepa intransitive (be sticky of liquid); T.emola (cause to go away), cf. S.êma T.êma N.êma intransitive (stand); S.arola T.~~arola~~ N.arola (separate, cut, divide), ~~make a hole in something~~ cf. T.ara N.ara transitive (cut open a swelling, wound the head); T.xamola N.xamola (squeeze out, wring out), cf. S.hema T.xama N.xama transitive (milk); T.belola (cause to come to the surface), cf. S.bela T.bela N.bela intransitive (boil); S.fefola N.fefola (blow about or away), cf. N.fêfa intransitive (be light).

(e) Derivative stems in ola are mostly transitive, but ~~there are~~ about 50 are intransitive ~~stems in ola~~, e.g. S.hôatola (pass without stopping, in a suspicious way), cf. N.xwata intransitive (go quickly without looking at somebody); T.khutlola (project, stick out), cf. T.khutla N.khutla transitive (nudge with the elbow, knock against a thing with the foot); N.kxebela (fly quickly past ~~or~~ across), cf. S.khôba-khôba (go away quickly), no corresponding simple stem; S.phalola (pass without stopping), cf. S.phala T.phala N.phala transitive (surpass, excel); T.tumola (refrain from speaking by keeping the mouth shut), cf. S.tuma T.tuma N.tuma transitive (become known); N.katola (move away), cf. S.kata T.kata N.kata transitive (press, trample).

(f) There are actional (destructive) stems which are not associated with any extant simple verbal stems; a

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comparison with other derivative stems that also having no corresponding simple verbal stems shows, however, in some cases a probable common non-extant simple stem, e.g. S.hlaphola (cut a branch off, clean, sweep clean), cf. S.hlaphara (take a little); T.kwetola (bring into sight, cause to come into sight), cf. T.kwetôla (=kwetola) and T.kwetega (appear); S.nvokola (unearth, cause to appear); S.nvokola N.nvokola (pull out, e.g. a stone or thorn with an instrument), cf. S.nvokonva (dislodge by shaking, e.g. a stone or a tooth); T.lalola (do a thing very well); N.thenola (pour out so that that which has been poured out is scattered or splashed all over); T.tipola (cut or sever with one cut); N.tsotola (strike with a switch).

(g) It is quite common to find an actional (destructive) and a stational (destructive) stem with a common verbal root, e.g. S.arola ~~T.arola~~ N.arola (separate, divide) ~~make a large opening in a mass~~ and S.aroha N.aroxa (become separated, get divided), cf. T.ara N.ara (open a swelling); T.belola (cause to come to the surface) and T.beloga (rise to the surface), cf. S.bela T.bela N.bela (boil); S.fefola N.fefola (blow about, blow away) and S.fefoha (be blown away or about) N.fefexa (become light), cf. N.fefa (be light); S.holla T.golola N.xolola (untie, loosen) and N.xolexa (get untied), cf. N.xôla (tie), S.inola T.inola N.inola (take out of the water), and S.inoha T.inoga (get out of the water, be taken out of the water), cf. S.ina T.ina N.ina (put into the water).

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(h) In a few cases the actional (destructive) stem seems to denote the destructive of the idea expressed by the applicative stem, rather than of that expressed by the simple stem, e.g. T.lomêla N.lomêla (fix or let in as one piece of wood into another, bore a hole into a native axe handle for an axe), and N.lomola (loosen, e.g. the handle of a tool), cf. S.loma T.loma N.loma (bite); N.sônêla (border, hem) and N.sonola (undo what has been bordered), cf. N.sôna (fold when hemming); S.imêla T.imêla N.imêla (overburden, be heavy for) and T.imola N.imola (unburden), cf. T.ima N.ima (become heavy in weight, become stout, pregnant); S.phumêla (scrape, clean with a cloth, wipe off) and S.phumola N.phumola (take off the skin, wound, e.g. the back of a horse, wipe off), cf. S.phuma N.phuma (break); N.tlêrêla (let smash) and N.tlerola (smash, tear to bits), cf. S.tlêra (strike on the head); S.khophêla (raise dust with the foot) and S.khophola (dig a small hole, prepare to fight, raise dust with the foot), cf. N.xopha (wipe away with the finger).

(i) The following actional (capable), applicative and actional (destructive) stems with common verbal roots are given for purpose of comparison: T.abala (become separated), S.abêla T.abêla N.abêla (divide to, distribute to), N.abola (distribute away from), cf. S.aba T.aba N.aba (divide, distribute); S.alala (become smooth on the surface), S.alla (prepare a bed for) T.alêla (spread for, put a framework of sticks under meat in a pot) N.alêla (put a framework of sticks under meat in a pot, plaster), S.alola T.alola (run away, scatter or drive away), cf. S.ala T.ala N.ala (spread out, prepare a bedding for); T.kalala (gaze hard or stare), T.kalêla (look upon, gaze earnestly at), S.kalola (make angry eyes, big eyes), cf. T.kala (open the eyes wide); N.xwatala (take up a threatening attitude), S.hlatêla N.xwatêla (threaten, prepare to fight), S.hlatola (pass without

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stopping, in a suspicious way), cf. N.xwata (go along without looking at anybody, walk with energy).

(j) The statienal (destructive)-factitive S.osa T.osa N.ǒsa and the actional (destructive) S.ola T.ola N.ola are very closely related in meaning; the former has more reference to the result of the action than to the action itself, whereas with the latter the position is reversed, e.g. T.katosa N.xatoǒa (cause to move off, cause to step, stepping or pressing upon) and N.xatola (step off, move the foot away) cf. S.hata T.xata N.xata (tread, trample); T.katosa N.katoǒa (remove a thing back) and N. katola (move away), cf. S.kata T.kata N.kata (press); N.nanoǒa (cause to move quickly) and N.nanola (move quickly), cf. N.nana (move carefully, be slow); T.tabosa (cause to take out with the hand or spoon) and T.tabola N.tabola (take out a handful or spoonful) cf. N.taba (go begging from house to house); T.senosa (cause to be revealed) and S.senola T.senola (reveal), no corresponding simple stem; N.phethoǒa (tip over, overturn, i.e. cause to turn over) and S.phethola N.phethola (turn over), no corresponding simple stem.

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β) Compound:

1. Actional (destructive) in basic position:

αα) i) Actional (destructive-intensive) S.olla /elela, T.olola N.olola /olla. In S. the second o of the suffix is almost always elided; I could find only one exception to this rule, viz. S.tsotolla = S.tsotolola (be unwilling, be slow). In N. the second o of the suffix is also elided, but not to such an extent as in S., and often the contracted and uncontracted suffixes exist side by side in this language. In T. the suffix is never contracted, e.g. T.bipolola N.bipolola=N.bipolla (uncover), cf. S.bipa T.bipa N.bipa (cover); S.epolla T.epolola N.epolola= N.epolla (dig out, root out, in N.also: dig out again), cf. S.ôpa T.ôpa N.ôpa (dig); N.xupolola (take out of the mouth), cf. N.xupa (take something in the mouth); S.sholla N.xolola= N.xolla (pull down a building), cf. S.sha T.xa N.xa (build); N.phapholla (chop very much), cf. N.phapha (cleave).

ii) (a) The actional (destructive-intensive) adds an intensive idea to the idea expressed by the actional (destructive) stem, and it has two sub-functions viz. (1) the intensification of the idea expressed by the actional (destructive-reversive) stems, the suffix S.olla T.olola N.olola (olla), may here be termed actional (destructive-reversive-intensive), e.g. T.bopolola (unmake) N.bopolola (change the form very much), cf. N.bopola (change the form) and S.bopa T.bopa N.bopa (form, mould); S.epolla T.epolola N.epolola = N.epolla (dig out, root out, in N. also: dig out again), cf. N.epola (dig out) and N.ôpa T.ôpa N.ôpa (dig); S.hatolla N.xatolola = N.xatolla (remove that which is pressing on one or on something else), cf. N.xatola (step off) and S.hata T.xata N.xata (tread);

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S.phetella (change, modify), cf. S.phetola N.phetola (turn over, turn back to the previous position) and S.phela T.phela N.phela (turn, repeat); S.tšopholla T.tšhopholola N.thsopholola = N.thsopholla (untwist, stretch, unwind), cf. S.tšophola N.thsophola (dislocate, put out of joint, twist) and S.tšôpha T.tšhôpha N.thsôpha (twist, entwine); T.alolola (roll up a bed or mat), cf. S.alola T.alola N.alola (fold up, roll up, take up that which has been spread out) and S.ala T.ala N.ala (spread); N.xololla (solve, dissolve), cf. S.hololo T.gololo N.xololo (untie, loosen) and N.xôla (tie, bind); T.tlhomolola (pull up by the roots as in transplanting, take out as a pole), cf. S.hlomola T.tlhomola N.hlomola (take out as a thorn, root out) and S.hlôma T.tlhôma N.hlôma (stick in, plant).

(2) The intensification of the idea expressed by the actional (destructive-extensive) stems; the suffix S.olla T.olola N.olola (olla) may here be termed actional (destructive-extensive-intensive). Of the approximately 200 actional (destructive-intensive) stems about 140 are actional (destructive-reversive-intensive) and only 60 actional (destructive-extensive-intensive), e.g. N.xhololo (skin), cf. S.xhola N.xhola (peel, pare) and N.xha (peel); N.xamolola = N.xamolla (milk out entirely), cf. T.gamola N.xamola (squeese out, wring out) and S.hama T.gama N.xama (milk); T.konolola (unfasten a knot made in sewing, unfasten the reim on a pack ox), cf. N.konola (break) and N.kona (dislocate, sprain); T.gobolola N.xobolola (speak in anger, speak scornfully, revile), cf. N.xobola (bark, talk nonsense) and N.xoba (shout with joy); T.lotolola (continue a communication broken off) N.lotolola = N.lotolla (explain something repeatedly to make it quite clear), cf. N.lotola (look

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well after) and N.lota (look after); N.phaphella (chop very much), cf. N.phaphola (chop) and N.phapha (cleave).

(b) Sometimes the suffix S.ella T.elela N.elela (ella) has merely an actional (destructive) and not an actional (destructive-intensive) force; in such cases no corresponding stem in ela could be indicated. This happens more often in S. than in the other two languages, e.g.:

(1) Where S.ella T.elela N.elela (ella) is actional (destructive-reversive): S.ahella N.axella (pull down a building), cf. S.aha T.aga N.axa (build); S.behella (unload a pack ox), cf. S.bêha (put, place, set up); S.befella T.befelela N.befella (untie), cf. S.bôfa T.bôfa N.bôfa (tie); S.kobella N.kobelela (unbend, put straight), cf. S.kôba N.kôba (bend); T.dihelela (undo), cf. T.diha (do); N.mumella (open the mouth), cf. N.muma (close the mouth); S.sibella (open a hole), cf. S.siba T.siba (stop an opening); S.etsella (undo), cf. S.etsa (do); S.pakella (remove a cork), cf. S.paka N.paka (stop with a cork); S.tapella (rest), cf. S.tapa N.tapa (become tired, weak).

(2) Where S.ella T.elela N.elela (ella) is actional (destructive- extensive): S.fumella (drew or pull out a certain quantity of thatch, pluck feathers from a fowl or wool from a sheep), cf. S.fuma T.fuma N.fuma (take the fibres off a plant, strip or peel off bark); N.hlathella (take entirely to pieces, break entirely down), cf. N.hlatha (break down, take to pieces); S.nyakella (reveal secrets), cf. S.nyaka (look in all directions) N.nyaka (seek); S.rutlella T.rutlelela N.rutlella (unthatch entirely, cast down as a house), cf. S.rutla T.rutla N.rutla (unthatch, break down).

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(c) Sometimes the semantic relation between the derivative stem in S.olla T.olola N.olola (olla) and the probable corresponding simple stem is vague; in these cases no ~~preceding stage~~ corresponding stem in ola could be indicated, e.g. S.kubolla (raise the ground of growing seed), cf. T.kuba (raise up as smoke); N.phaxolla (take down), cf. N.phaxa (move the open outstretched hand sideways); S.hlahlolla (break with other people, undo, pull to pieces), cf. S.hlahla (return marriage cattle to the man's father); T.lesolola[1] (let down as a bird its wings or a person the hands, pull anything down), cf. S.lesa T.lesa N.lesa (leave); S.lotholla (choose the young man one likes best of girls in the game ho kana), cf. S.lotha (propose a riddle, puzzle); N.tsotolola (unbind or loosen the lower garments), cf. N.tsôta (pluck out, e.g. feathers or hair).

(d) The derivative stems in S.olla T.olola N.olola (olla) are as a rule transitive; only about a dozen are intransitive, e.g. N.phaikolola (roll, whirl round) no corresponding simple stem; N.tlotlolla (become big, get stretched out), cf. S.tlotla T.tlotla N.tlotla transitive (honour, make praiseworthy); T.tumolola (open the mouth to speak), cf. S.tuma T.tuma N.tuma intransitive (get known); S.tsotolla = S.tsotolola (be unwilling, be slow), cf. N.tsôta intransitive (be astonished, be sad).

(e) There are actional (destructive-intensive) stems which are not associated with any extant simple or extant actional (destructive) stems; a comparison with other

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1) T.s succeeded by o or w becomes labialised s, cf. Tucker The Comparative Phonetics of the Suto-Chuana Group of Bantu Languages, pp. 74 ff.

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derivative stems that also have no corresponding simple stem shows, however, in some cases, a probable common non-extant simple verbal stem, e.g. S.repolla (raise), cf. S.repella T.repelela N.repelela (lie down, lie stretched out); T.tlokolola (sift while holding the sieve in a slanting position), cf. T.tlokotla (=tlokolola); S.futsolla (put out, unthatch); S.ramolla (reap much), N.foxolla (unload, unpack).

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bb) i) Actional(destructive)-factitive

S.otsa T.otsa N.otša, e.g. S.tsokotsa T.tsokotsa N.tsokotša (shake, agitate), cf. S.tsokola N.tsokola (wash, clean, shake about when washing) T.tsokola (turn round or over as smoke) and S.tsoka N.tsoka (shake). The o of ola, if dropped [1], always reappears in this compound e.g. S.holotsa (unstring, e.g. beads), cf. S.holla T.golola N.xolola (untie, loosen) and N.xôla (bind).

ii) (a) The actional(destructive)-factitive adds the factitive idea to the idea expressed by the actional(destructive) stem, e.g.:

(1) Where the actional(destructive) suffix has a reversive force: the suffix S.otsa T.otsa N.otša may here be termed actional(destructive-reversive)-factitive: S.holotsa (unstring as beads, pull out as a leaf out of a book) N.xolotša (rub off, strike off, wipe), cf. S.holla T.golola N.xolola (untie, loosen) and N.xôla (bind); S.latotsa (cause to deny), cf. S.latola T.latola N.latola (deny, say no) and S.lata (fetch) T.lata N.lata (follow).

(2) Where the actional(destructive) suffix has an extensive force: the suffix S.otsa T.otsa N.otša may here be termed actional(destructive-extensive)-factitive: S.akhotsa (help to stir food in a pot, turn in a pot by throwing up) N.akxotša (winnow), cf. S.akhola T.akgola N.akxola (throw up and down, remove the chaff with the hand when winnowing) and S.akha T.akga N.akxa (throw, swing about), N.fokxotša (cause a crowbar to lift something out), cf. N.fokxola (lift out with a crowbar) and N.fokxa (dig with a crowbar); N.kxwabotša (cause to pull out), cf. N.kxwabola (pull out) and N.kxwaba (distribute), N.thimotša (cry silently, i.e. cause the tears to roll), cf. N.thimola (let the tears roll) and N.thima (force tears to fall).

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1) Cf. α) i) above.

(b) The actional (destructive)-factitive suffix has sometimes acquired a special force, viz, that of denoting an action done only slightly, e.g.
T.gatletsa (look tenderly at from the side), cf. S.hêtla (look behind, turn the head); S.khothotsa (push slightly, push or pull a thing out of a hole), cf. T.kgotha (pull back forcibly, restrain); S.kototsa (strike here and there), cf. S.kota (peck); S.ekotsa (speak a little of an affair, fearing to go to the bottom of it, seize slightly), cf. N.eka (skim).

(c) Sometimes the semantic relation between the actional (destructive)-factitive stem and the probable corresponding simple stem is vague; in such cases no preceding stage in ola could be indicated, e.g. S.hafotsa (cut one's way through a thicket), cf. S.hafa (scatter, disperse); S.fohlotsa (beat heavily and make a deep wound), cf. S.fôhla (cut one's way through a thicket, enlarge a hole); T.opotsa (call out to an animal or person searched for but not in sight), cf. T.ôpa (in : ôpa mokgosi = call to a tribal gathering); S.rokotsa T.rokotsa N.rokotša (suck, draw milk), cf. S.roka (decant beer from a big pet into smaller ones).

(d) 10 of the 60 derivative stems in S.otsa T.otša N.otša are intransitive, e.g. S.haphotsa (speak foolishly), no corresponding simple stem; S.kopotsa (flow strongly) no corresponding simple stem; S.tepotsa (speak low, weakly, indistinctly), cf. N.lêpa intransitive (say all there is to say, speak the truth); S.folotsa T.folotsa N.folotša (miscarry of an animal), no corresponding simple stem; S.ralotsa (walk with long steps), T.ralotsa (run about as calves at play), cf. S.rala T.rela N.rala transitive (draw or cut a straight line) N.rala intransitive (run).

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(e) There are actional (destructive)-factitive stems which are not associated with any extant simple verbal stems or extant actional (destructive) stems; a comparison with other derivatives that also having no corresponding simple stems shows, however, in some cases, a probable common non-extant simple verbal stem, e.g. N.krokotša (wag the tail), cf. S.khokoloha T.krokologa N.krokoloka (roll down); S.kototsa (call many people together, drive together), cf. S.kotsheha (get close together); S.setetsa (look behind), cf. T.setoka (appear); S.chafotsa (walk much); N.šipotša (take snuff, snuff); N.šokotša (suck of the calf before the cow is milked); T.thumotsa (milk into the mouth).

(f) The actional (destructive)-factitive S.otsa T.otsa N.otša is more common than the actional (destructive)-performative S.olisa T.odisa N.odiša; only about 25 actional (destructive)-performative stems could be found, while there are about 60 actional (destructive)- factitive stems; sometimes these stems have common verbal roots, e.g. S.tsokotsaT.tšokotsa N.tšokotša (shake, wag the tail, rinse out a vessel) and S.tsokolisa (shake, clean well), cf. S.tsoka N.tšoka (move about); S.hlakotsa (parry, avoid) and S.hlakolisa N.hlakodiša (save one thing out of many, save) no corresponding simple stem; S.hopotsa N.xopotša (remind), T.gopotsa (cause to think, cause meditation) and T.gopodisa (cause to think, cause to meditate), no corresponding simple stem; S.folotsa T.folotsa N.folotša (miscarry of an animal) and S.fololisa T.folodisa (cause to miscarry), no corresponding simple stem; T.fomotsa (refresh one after work, cause to rest from work) and T.fomodisa (= fomotsa), no corresponding simple stem.

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It will be seen that some of these stems are semantically identical, and the difference between the others is due to the difference between the factitive and the performative suffix[1] :

cc) i) Actional (destructive)-stational (destructive) S.oloha T.ologa N.oloxa[ii], e.g. T.bopologa N.bopoloxa (become unmade), cf. N.bopola (change the form, unmake) and S.bopa T.bopa N.bopa (shape, form); S.lopoloha N.lopoloxa (get delivered, redeemed), cf. N.lopola (redeem) and S.lôpa T.lôpa N.lôpa (ask, demand).

ii) (a) The actional (destructive)-stational (destructive) suffix adds the stational (destructive) idea to the idea expressed by the actional (destructive) stem and in such a way that if the actional (destructive) stem has a reversive force the actional (destructive)-stational (destructive) stem has also a reversive force; and if the actional (destructive) stem has an extensive force the actional (destructive)-stational (destructive) stem has also an extensive force[iii]. I could find only the following two exceptions to this rule: T.bothologa (get up and go on from a resting place or sleeping place), cf.

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i) cf. Chapter 17.

ii) I could not find an example of the compound suffix S.ohola and only one example each of T.ogola and N.oxola, viz. T.kgogola (remove a stump from the ground by pulling it out or breaking it off), cf. S.kha N.kxa (pluck off), no S.khoha T.kgoga N.kxoxa; N.tlexola (cleanse i.e. remove dirt), cf. S.tloxa T.tloga N.tloxa (go away) and S.tla T.tla N.tla (come).

iii) Of the 150 actional (destructive)-stational (destructive) stems only about 30 have an extensive force, the rest are reversive.

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N.bothela (fold up, e.g. a sail) and S.botha T.botha N.botha (lie down of animals); S.nokoloha N.nokoloxa (walk slowly, be at ease), cf. N.nokela (quicken the pace) and N.nôka (go slowly). (1) where S.oloha T.ologa N.oloxa has a reversive force; the suffix may here be termed the actional (destructive-reversive)-stational (destructive-reversive), e.g. T.epologa N.epoloxa (be dug up or cut), cf. N.epola (dig out) and S.êpa T.êpa N.êpa (dig); N.xatoloxa (become loose of something pressed down or stepped upon), cf. N.xatela (step off, lift up the foot) and S.hata T.gata N.xata (tread); N.ǂupoloxa (come out from the mouth), cf. N.ǂupola (take out of the mouth) and N.ǂupa (put something into the mouth); T.lapologa N.lapoloxa (become rested), cf. N.lapola (rest) and T.lapa N.lapa (become tired); S.lopoloha N.lopoloxa (get redeemed), cf. N.lopola (redeem) and S.lôpa T.lôpa N.lôpa (demand, make a claim against); S.emoloha (go away from behind somebody especially from behind a pregnant woman), cf. T.emola (cause to go away) and S.êma T.êma N.êma (stand); T.golologa (become unbound, become free) cf. S.holla T.golola N.xolola (untie, loosen, unbind) and N.xôla (bind, tie); S.imoloha T.imologa N.imoloxa (get unloaded, be eased from a burden), cf. T.imola N.imola (unburden, relieve of or from a burden) and T.ima N.ima (get stout, pregnant, heavy in weight).

Almost all derivative stems in S.oloha T.ologa N.oloxa with an actional (destructive-reversive)-stational (destructive-reversive) force has a counterpart in S.olla T.olola N.olola (olla) with an actional (destructive-reversive-intensive) force, e.g. (for actional (destructive-reversive)-stational (destructive-reversive) stems cf. above) S.epolla T.epelela N.epolola (N.epolla) (root out, dig out, in N. also dig out again), S.hatolla N.xatolola (N.xatolla) (remove that which is pressing on one, or on something else), N.xololla (solve, dissolve).

S.oloha T.ologa N.oloxa is therefore merely the stational

counterpart of S.olla T.olola N.olola (olla)

2. Where S.oloha T.ologa N.oloxa has an extensive force, the suffix may here be termed the actional (destructive-extensive)-stational (destructive-extensive), e.g. N.timoloxa (get cold, cooled off), cf. T.timola (allay anger) N.timola (add cold liquid to hot liquid to cool it off) and S.tima T.tima N.tima (put out a fire); S.batoloha (fall off of plaster) N.batoloxa (get cracks or burst of a floor), cf. S.batola T.batola N.batola (hammer) and S.bata T.bata N.bata (slap); N.kxetholoxa (get separated) cf. N.kxethola (separate, put apart), cf. S.khêtha T.kgêtha N.kxêtha (choose, pick out); S.nepoloha (trickle down), cf. S.nepola (crush something wet) N.nepola (be elastic as e.g. something wet) and N.nepa (be sticky as e.g. something wet); T.tšokologa (turn round), cf. T.tšokola (roll, turn round or over as smoke) and S.tsoka N.tšoka (move about); N.sekoloxa (get pure), cf. N.sekola (window, separate the straw from the grain) and N.sêka (become clear).

Derivative stems in S.oloha T.ologa N.oloxa with an actional (destructive-extensive)-stational (destructive-extensive) force appear to have no counterparts in S.olla T.olola N.olola with an actional (destructive-extensive-intensive) force.

(b) There are several actional (destructive)-stational (destructive) stems which are not associated with any extant simple verbal stems or extant actional (destructive) verbal stems, e.g. T.kakologa (avoid, pass at a distance), S.khokoloha T.kgokologa N.kxokoloxa (roll down), S.phasoloha (jump up, lift up one's voice), N.repoloxa (turn), T.repologa (descend in a line as cattle from a hill), S.thipoloha (run down, roll down), T.tšotologa (appear dissatisfied), S.suboloha (become wider, larger), S.sŏaboloha (go away very slowly, stretch oneself).

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(c) The following actional (destructive)-stational (destructive), actional (destructive)-stational (capable) and applicative-stational (capable) stems are given for the sake of comparison. In view of the fact that there are so few actional (destructive)-stational (capable) [i)] and applicative-stational (capable) [ii)] stems, the comparison does not yield any definite results, e.g.

Derivatives in S.oloha T.ologa N.oloxa and S.ôlôha T.ôlôga N.ôlôxa having a common root;

S.lepoloha T.lepologa N.lepoloxa (hang down, trickle down) and T.lêpêlêga N.lêpêlêxa (hang towards, hang straight down) T.dumologa (become unbelieving, cease to believe) and S.lumêlêha (be permitted, be permissible), S.thiboloha N.thiboloxa (get open) and S.thibêlêha (get stopped), T.tshwanologa (become altered or different) and S.tsanêlêha (be proper, worthy, well).

Derivatives in S.oloha T.ologa N.oloxa and S.ôlêha N.ôlêxa [iii)] having a common root;

S.namoloha (walk slowly) T.nanologa (get up from lying stretche out on the ground) and S.namolêha (be delivered), N.monoloxa (get unfolded) and S.monolêha (get unfolded), S.batoloha (fall off of plaster) N.batoloxa (burst of a plaster floor) and S.batolêha (become sharp continued on next page-

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i) Only about 20.

ii) Only about 12.

iii) No example could be ascertained for T.

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of a mill stone[1]) N.batolêxa (flatten a plaster floor by beating it). I could not find derivative stems in S.olêha T.olêxa N.olêxa and S.ôlêha T.ôlêxa N.ôlêxa with a common root.

2. Actional(destructive) suffix in a non-basic position: the contribution of S.ola T.ola N.ola to such compounds is that it adds in each case the actional (destructive) idea to the idea expressed by the suffix without S.ola T.ola N.ola, e.g.:

Stational(capable)-actional(destructive-intensive) T.exalola N.exalola e.g. T.halexalola N.halexalola (unburden), cf. T.hêlêxa N.hêlêxa (carry a burden) no corresponding simple stem.

Actional(capable)-actional(destructive) T.alala N.alala, e.g. T.karalala (make to fit, adapt) N.karalala (bring the legs back from an outspread to a natural position), cf. N.karala (walk with legs far apart), no corresponding simple stem.

Positional-actional(destructive) T.amala N.amala, e.g. T.tatamala (stretch out) N.tatamala (detach), cf. N.tatama (creep of a plant) and N.tata (wind).

Operative-actional(destructive-intensive) S.balla T.balala N.balala, e.g. S.raraballa T.rarabalala N.rarabalala (disentangle), cf. S.rara T.rara N.rara (get entwined), no raraba could be indicated.

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1) A millstone is sharpened by beating it with a sharp instrument.

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B) Strengthened:

I Primary: α Single:

i) Actional (intensive) S.ta T.ta N.ta, e.g. S.kôbôta (get bent, get bowed down), cf. S.kôba N.kôba (bend), S.kabata (walk slowly), cf. T.kaba (carry a load).

ii) (a) The actional (intensive) is a rare suffix[i], it denotes the intensity of the idea expressed by the actional stem. This can best be seen from a comparison between derivative stems in la and ta having a common root; for some such derivatives a corresponding simple stem can also be indicated, e.g. N.kôbola (wound, pick with a pickaxe) and T.kôbôta N.kôbôta (pound, smash, butt), no corresponding simple stem; and T.kalala (gaze hard, stare) and S.kalata (rebel)[ii], no corresponding simple stem; S.retela N.retela (remain raw although cooked) and N.retata (remain raw although cooked for a long time)[iii], cf. N.reta (turn a thing over by stirring it); S.korola (pluck out) T.korola (break or smash a bone) and N.komota (give a blow on the forehead), no corresponding simple stem.

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i) Only found with about 30 derivative stems.

ii) I conceive the common idea to be that of obstinacy.

iii) According to my informants the period of cooking is longer in the case of retata than in the case of retela

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Other examples: S.kubata (grind much) cf. S.kuba (grind); S.patata (squeeze out), cf. N.pâta (squeeze); N.pukuta (flap the wings), cf. S.puka (blow hard); S.kunuta (speak secretly to somebody), cf. N.kuna (withhold, keep back); N.kolota (bind together), cf. S.kola N.kola (gather e.g. locusts).

(b) Sometimes the semantic relation between the actional(intensive) stem and the probable corresponding simple stem is vague, e.g. S.kabata (walk slowly), cf. T.kaba (carry a load); N.xônêta (go unwillingly), cf. S.hôna (growl, snore); N.kwêbeta (chop with an axe), cf. S.kêêba (parry, fence).

(c) Some actional(intensive) stems are transitive others again are intransitive, e.g. S.kabata intransitive (walk slowly), cf. T.kaba transitive (carry a load); S.kôbêta intransitive (get bowed down, get bent), cf. S.kôba N.kôba transitive (bend); S.komota intransitive, (speak badly, disappointingly), cf. S.koma instransitive (speak angrily); S.komota transitive (eat much), cf. S.koma transitive (eat soft food like meal), T.koma transitive (eat something hard like sugar); N.pukuta transitive (flap the wings), cf. S.puka intransitive (blow hard).

(d) As can be seen from (c) above some simple stems corresponding to actional(intensive) stems are transitive, while those corresponding to others are intransitive.

(e) There are actional(intensive) stems which are not associated with any extant simple verbal stems, ~~neither~~ nor

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could non-verbal stems be indicated as being possible bases of these derivative stems; a comparison with other derivative stems that also have no corresponding simple verbal stem or corresponding non-verbal stem shows, however, in some cases, a probable common non-ectant simple verbal stem, e.g. S.kalsta (rebel), cf. T.kalema (prance as a horse); T.tapeta N.tapeta (bruise by stamping or knocking, break into small pieces), cf. T.tapetla (flatten); T.ngôbôta (walk with a lordly tread, as a lion); S.kinita (cut e.g. a piece of skin), N.kineta (cut off); T.ŝuduta (pay, reward).

(b) Compound:

1. Actional (intensive) in basic position; e.g. in the actional (intensive)-applicative S.têla T.têla N.têla as in: S.tahatêla (make very drunk), cf. S.taha T.taga N.taxa (intoxicate); T.ngôbôtêla (walk with a lordly tread to), no corresponding simple stem; N.komotêla (beat violently or repeatedly against the head), no corresponding simple stem. Such compounds are however not sufficiently interesting for further treatment here.

2. Actional (intensive) in a non-basic position: this suffix does occur in this position.

II Secondary: the actional (intensive) has no secondary form.

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CHAPTER 13.

Protractive S.ma T.ma N.ma [1], protractive (positional), here called the positional, S.ama T.ama N.ama [2] [3].

I Primary: α) Single:

i) Protractive S.ma T.ma N.ma, e.g. N.tɔ̂kɛ̂ma (move to and fro, rock about, toss about, tumble down e.g. a wall), cf. N.tɔ̂ka (rock about as something drifting on water); S.tlokoma N.tlokoma (froth up, boil up), cf. S.tloka (boil over); N.phema = N.pheema (fend off) [4] < N.*phaema [4] < N.*phayema, cf. N.phaya (fend off, beat back the hand).

ii) (a) The protractive S.ma T.ma N.ma is not a common suffix [5]; it denotes an action or state which is to a certain extent prolonged, continued or extended [6] as, e.g. jump along,

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1) UB. ma, cf. Phon., pp. 45 and 79.

2) UB. ama, cf. Phon., pp. 45 and 79.

3) The classification unstrengthened and strengthened cannot be applied to ma and ama as M is not subject to a process of strengthening.

4) cf. *maetse > mɔ̂etse > meetse > metse (Phon., p. 71 and W.d.Z.

5) Found with only about 110 derivative stems.

6) There is to-day hardly any semantic difference between the protractive and durative stems (cf. chapter 8). It is possible that in the past the force of the protractive suffix was limited to denoting continuous-extended action with a special view to the subsequent extended or spread out position to be taken up by the subject of the derivative stem; while that of the durative suffix was limited to denoting continuous-habitual action on the part of the subject of the derivative stem. As will be observed, some of the examples quoted for the protractive and durative stems respectively, actually support this possibility, and it is likely that in the course of time the spheres of activity of these two suffixes have become less clearly defined, so much so that to-day their semantic difference has practically disappeared. Such a process is also met with elsewhere, cf. e.g. the stational (capable) S.ɛ̂ha T.ɛ̂ga N.ɛ̂ma (chapter 10) and the actional (capable) S.ala T.ala N.ala (chapter 12); also the performative S.isa T.isa N.isa (chapter 10) and the factitive S.ɛ̌a T.ya N.ya (Chapter 17).

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shake, tinkle, shine, glitter, extend, etc., e.g. S.ketema (tinkle, jingle), cf. S.keta (sing); S.kǒelema (be shaking, be loose), cf. T.kwela (toss up a rider or a burden, rear as a horse) S.kǒela (throw off, parry); S.khalema T.kgalema N.kxalema (scold), cf. T.kgala (abuse, revile); S.alima T.adima N.adima (lend, borrow i.e. extend or spread out the possession of something), cf. S.ala T.ala N.ala (spread); N.thedima (glide along), cf. N.thêla (glide); N.kitima (go quickly, run), cf. N.kita (go); S.tjolema (jump over and over, move about in the bed), cf. S.tjola (turn over and in the bed when unable to sleep), N.kxôhlôma (skid, slide, incline towards a certain position as a result of shaking), cf. N.kxôhla (be loose, shake), T.phaphama (flutter as hanging clothes or chaff blown by the wind) N.phaphama (run), cf. S.phapha (run, jump up); S.hlahlama N.hlahlama (follow, come after), cf. N.hlahla (lead); N.kxathuma (jump quickly towards), cf. N.kxatha (gallop); S.salama (drive away for good, pursue to the end) cf. S.sala T.sala N.ǔsala (remain, remain behind).

(b) The suffix S.ma T.ma N.ma has sometimes lost its protractive force, e.g. S.tšêrêma (become weak, get lean), cf. S.tšêra N.thêra (become lean, get weak); S.pêrêma (be afraid, fear, be shy), cf. S.pêra (be timid, be a coward); T.totoma N.totema (bulge out as a well-filled bag), cf. N.tota (get increased); [redacted], T.pôrôma (low as a cow), cf. S.pora (roar as a lion).

(c) In other cases again the semantic relation between the protractive stem and the probable corresponding simple stem is vague, e.g. T.tsirima (tinkle, ring as a bell), cf. N.tšira (gnash the teeth); T.šogoma (be agitated as an excited crowd, be shaky as spokes of a wheel), cf. T.šoga N.šoga(x) (bray a skin in T. also; trample on, trample to pieces); S.alima T.adima N.adima (lend, borrow), cf. S.ala T.ala N.ala (spread).

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(d) Most protractive stems are intransitive, ~~more~~ are only about 20 transitive, ~~protractive stems~~ e.g. S.khalema T.kgalema N.kxalema (scold, chide), cf. T.kgala transitive (abuse, revile); S.alima T.adima N.adima (lend, borrow), cf. S.ala T.ala N.ala transitive (spread); N.khuroma (cover), cf. N.khura transitive (hide); N.tekuma (move, shake), cf. N.têka intransitive (rock about as something drifting on water); S.salama (drive away for good, pursue to the end), cf. S.sala T.sala N.sala intransitive (remain, remain behind).

(e) The simple stems corresponding to some protractive stems are transitive, while those corresponding to others are intransitive, e.g. S.kêtêma (tinkle, jingle), cf. S.keta transitive (sing); S.khalema T.kgalema N.kxalema, (cf. (d) above), cf. T.kgala transitive (cf. (d) above); N.têkêma (move to and fro, rock about, toss about), cf. N.têka intransitive (rock about as something on water); N.kitima (run), cf. N.kita intransitive (go).

(f) There are protractive stems which are not associated with any extant simple verbal stem, ~~neither~~ nor could non-verbal stems be indicated as being possible bases of these derivative stems; a comparison with other derivative stems, that also have no corresponding simple verbal stems or corresponding non-verbal stems shows, however, in some cases, a probable common non-extant simple verbal stem, e.g.

T.badima (appear of a new moon; shine as lightning, glisten), cf. N.balama (appear of a new moon);

S.hlohoma (scold, speak noisily) cf. S.hlohota (cause discontent);

N.poxoma (have a rattling in the throat), cf. N.poxola (have a rattling in the throat);

N.kutuma (jump down), cf. N.kutupa (jump down);

T.rêlêma (be weak in the knees);

S.tserema (jump forward);

T.tsidima (tinkle or ring as a bell);

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N.bokxoma (hide, get out of the way);

N.hloroma (rain continually with only short breaks in between);

S.kutuma (stagger about) T.kutuma (be loose, shake a little as a loose tooth).

β) Compound.

1. Protractive in basic position; it appears in this position e.g. in the protractive-actional (destructive) T.mola, N.mola as in T.khurumola N.khuromola (uncover), cf. N.khuroma (cover up) N.khura (hide); the protractive-stational (destructive) T.mega as in T.tšhegomega (start, be startled), cf. S.tsoha T.tšhega N.thšoma (get afraid, be startled); the protractive-reciprocal S.mana T.mana N.mana as in S.alimana T.adimana N.adimana (borrow from or lend to one another), cf. S.alima T.adima N.adima (borrow, lend) and S.ala T.ala N.ala (spread out). Such compounds are however not of sufficient interest for further treatment here.

2. Protractive in a non-basic position; this suffix does not occur in this position.

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II Secondary: of Single:

i) Positional S.ama T.ama N.ama, e.g. S.alama N.alama (brood, hatch), cf. S.ala T.ala N.ala (spread out); S.phekama (lie down) T.phekama (lie across, lean, slant), cf. N.pheka (place across).

ii) (a) The positional denotes the entering into a certain position, mostly that of bending, lying down, spreading out or being straight or upright [1], e.g. N.atlama (become broad), cf. S.atla N.atla (prosper, increase); T.gasama (become scattered or spread about in all directions), cf. S.hasa T.gasa N.xasa (scatter); N.ǂutama (lie down of animals), cf. N.ǂuta (stoop); S.sekama T.sekama N.sekama (lie down, be inclined, be slanting), cf. S.sêka T.sêka N.sêka (incline); T.tshasama (scatter), cf. S.tsasa T.tshasa N.thǂaǂa (smear with fat, grease); S.borama (lie flat on the ground), cf. S.bora (lie down); S.inama T.inama N.inama (stoop, bow, bend down), cf. S.ina T.ina N.ina (dip, dip in); T.khubama (kneel, be in labour of a woman), cf. S.khuba (fall on the knees); S.kôbama (bend forward) N.kôbama (bend down, get bowed down), cf. S.kôba N.kôba (bend); T.kônama N.kônama (be bowed, be bent), cf.

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1) About 110 of the 180 derivative stems in ama denote one or other of these positions.

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T.kôma (bow as the head); T.penama (bend back or slope backwards), cf. T.pona (bend back); S.rimama (bend down) N.rimama (lie stretched out face downwards), cf. N.rima (stoop down); S.tsemama T.tsemama N.tsehama (stand upright), stand straight, be stretched out in N.also: remain standing in one place), cf. T.tsema N.tsema (stick upright ; S.hlômama T.tlhômama (stand upright, stand fast), cf. S.hlôma T.tlhôma N.hlôma (plant, fix in on end); S.tsorama N.tsorama (sit straight up on one's heels), cf. S.tsora N.tsora (sit on one's heels).

The following are examples of derivative stems in ama not indicating one or other of the positions referred to above, but nevertheless indicating some position, mentally or physically, taken up by their subjects:
N.harama (become lean, weak), cf. N.hara (become lean); S.hlonama (sulk) N.hlonama (sulk, become angry, feel unhappy), cf. N.hlona (stand on end of the hair); S.nêrama (be sad, be moved, have pity), cf. S.nêra (be timid, be a coward); S.ahlama T.atlhama N.ahlama (become wide open of the mouth), cf. N.ahla (open), N.athama (be in a habit of taking on the shoulder), cf. N.atha (take on the shoulder), N.dutama (be modest), cf. N.duta (drop e.g. the head or arms); T.pôtlama (show signs of weakness, be weak-kneed), cf. S.pôtla (become empty, small).

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Although the relation between the general ideas expressed by ma and sma is not always very clear, it can nevertheless be observed from those cases where these suffixes have certain subordinate ideas in common [1], e.g.:

Where sma conveys the idea of running along, e.g. N.xxorama (run, also: stoop down), cf. N.xxora (drive cattle along); S.blomama (run away), no corresponding simple stem.

Where sma conveys the idea of shining, e.g. N.thokxama (become white hot), cf. S.thokha (burn, calcine); T.petlama (shine forth, be clearly visible), no corresponding simple stem; T.hêtlama (shine forth, be exposed), no corresponding simple stem.

Where ma denotes being in a certain position, sometimes an extended position, e.g. N.kôkôma (keep on burning in a large area without gaining more ground), cf. S.kôka N.kôka (spread of a fire); S.alima T.adima N.adima (lend, borrow i.e. to extend the possession of), cf. S.ala T.ala N.ala (spread); N.ôkôma (lean against e.g. of a door), cf. N.ôka (soar over, look down upon) and T.ôkama N.ôkama (overhang, stand over, overlook); S.pôrôma (be afraid, fear, be shy), cf. S.pôra (be timid, be a coward) and S.pôrama (be sad, be moved, have pity); S.thôrôma (become weak, get lean), cf. S.thôra N.thôra (become lean, get weak).

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1) cf. in each case the definitions given above to ma and sma respectively.

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(b) The suffix ama has sometimes lost its positional force, e.g.
T.taitlama (make a wry face after eating or drinking something nasty), no corresponding simple stem could be indicated; S.kŏamama (become hard), cf. S.kŏama (be cold); S.kôhama (be stingy), cf. S.kôna (give sparingly); S.senama T.šenama (show one's teeth), cf. S.sêna T.šêna N.sêna (grin, show the teeth).

(c) In other cases again the semantic relation between the positional stem and the probable corresponding simple stem is vague, e.g. N.batama (lie flat on the stomach), cf. S.bata T.bata N.bata (slap, beat with the open hand); ~~N.tutama (creep, shoot teeth tendrils) cf. N.tuta (wind)~~, S.nyahama (become disheartened, discouraged), cf. S.nyaha (be quiet); S.pharama T.pharama N.pharama (lie flat, sink or fall down as an animal from weakness or a person from fright in S. also; squat at ease), cf. S.phara T.phara N.phara (plaster, smear, spread); S.khopama T.kgopama N.kxôpama (become crooked, bent), cf. T.kgopa N.kxôpa (offend, vex, insult).

(d) With the exception of about a dozen, all derivative stems in ama are intransitive, examples of transitive stems in ama; S.alama N.alama (hatch, brood), cf. S.ala T.ala N.ala transitive (spread out); S.kalama N.kalama (ride), cf. T.kala intransitive (hover with outstretched wings as a hawk); S.manama (cleave, stick), cf. N.mana transitive (twist, wind round); S.palama T.palama N.palama (ride, climb), no corresponding simple stem.

(e) The simple stem corresponding to some positional stems are transitive, while these corresponding to others are intransitive, e.g.
S.ahlama T.atlhama N.ahlama (become open, be wide open), cf. N.ahla transitive (open); T.gasama (become scattered

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or spread out), cf. S.hasa T.gasa N.xasa transitive (scatter); S.hlôsama T.tlhôsama (stand upright, straight up), cf. S.hlôsa T.tlhôsa N.hlôsa transitive (plant, fix on end); N.barama (become lean), cf. N.bara intransitive (become lean); N.bobama (stoop down so as to get out of sight), cf. T.boba N.boba intransitive (hide behind something, hide by stooping); N.khuthama (get into a bent position), cf. N.khutha intransitive (get bent, stoop); S.ribama T.ribama N.ribama (kneel with bent head, bend the head), cf. S.riba N.riba intransitive (move the head up and down e.g. of an animal running).

(f) There are positional stems which are not associated with any extant simple verbal stems; a comparison with other derivative stems also having no corresponding simple stems shows, however, in some cases, a probable common non-extant simple verbal stem, e.g.

S.futama (sit doubled up), cf. S.futahana T.futagana be doubled up, be bowed down);

T.phophama (cower or huddle up), cf. T.phophalala (cower or huddle up);

S.rapama T.rapama N.rapama (go aslant, slope), cf. S.rapalla T.rapalala N.rapalala (lie down stretched out);

T.tlharama (squat);

N.khukama (kneel, bend the knee);

T.nitama (be firm, strongly fixed);

S.patlama (lie on one's stomach, sit down);

T.patšama (lie flat);

S.khumama (kneel down);

T.kwanama (hang down as a broken bough);

S.phênama (fall to the ground without cause);

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(g) The positional and the stational (capable, when employed with the same root, sometimes yield derivative stems which, although not synonymous, are semantically very closely related, e.g.
T.gasama (become scattered or spread out in all directions as oxen) and T.gasêka (become scattered, also: be fit to be scattered [i]), cf. S.hasa T.gasa N.xasa (scatter); T.okama or T.ôkama N.ôkama (overhang, stand over, be bent over) and T.okôka (overhang, place lightly upon as a hand on a sore), cf. N.oka or N.ôka (look down upon, scoop off, skim); S.sokama T.sokama N.sokama (lie down, be inclined or sloping or slanting) and S.sokôha T.sokôka N.sokôxa (incline, be in a slanting position), cf. S.sôka T.sôka N.soka (incline); S.tsopama T.tsopama (stand upright, stick in and stand upright, be stretched out in N.also: remain standing in one place) and T.tsopôka (become fixed or centred) cf. T.tsopa N.tsopa (throw a spear, etc., so as to make it stick upright in the ground); S.inama T.inama N.inama (bow, stoop, lean down) and T.inôka (become inclined, become bent), cf. S.ina T.ina N.ina (dip in); T.ôbama N.ôbama (bend forward, bend down) and T.ôbôka N.ôbôxa (become bent, be flexible, be supple), cf. S.ôba T.ôba N.ôba (bend, bend down); S.pharama T.pharama N.pharama (lie flat, sink or fall down as an animal from weakness in S.also: squat at ease) and S.pharôha (be at ease, lie flat on the ground), cf. S.phara T.phara N.phara (plaster, spread).

I think the close semantic relationship between these stems is purely accidental owing to the identity in roots and cannot be attributed to any similarity in force between the two suffixes.

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i) This meaning has been obtained from my informants.

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(h) The positional and the actional (capable-intensive), when employed with the same root, sometimes yield derivative stems which are semantically very closely related and, in a few cases, even synonymous, e.g. T.phophama (be unable to continue a journey or to return from one, owing to loss of cattle, cower or huddle up) and T.phophalala (= phophama), no corresponding simple stem could be indicated; N.atlama (become broad) and N.atlalala (= atlama), cf. S.atla N.atla (prosper, increase); N.batama (lie flat on the ground) and S.batalla T.batalala N.batalala (crouch, lie flat so as to hide), cf. S.bata T.bata N.bata (slap e.g. with the open hand); S.phekama (lie down) T.phekama (lie across, slant, be oblique) and T.phekalala (lie across as a button on a door, lie across a path), cf. T.pheka N.pheka (put across, hold a goat's leg under one's knee when milking it); S.tsepama T.tsepama N.tsepama (stand straight, upright, be perpendicular in N. also: remain standing in one place) and S.tsepalla N.tsepalala (remain standing in one place) T.tsepalala (stand upright, be straight), cf. T.tsepa N.tsepa (throw a spear, etc. so as to make it stick upright in the ground); S.pharama T.pharama N.pharama (lie flat, sink or fall down as an animal from weakness in S.also: squat at ease) and S.pharalla N.pharalala (spread out, have room in S.also: squat at ease on the ground) cf. S.phara T.phara N.phara (plaster, spread); S.hlômama T.tlhômama (stand upright, be firmly fixed, stand fast) and T.tlhômalala (stand erect), cf. S.hlôma T.tlhôma N.hlôma (plant, fix on end).

I think here again the close semantic relationship between these stems is purely accidental owing to the identity in roots and cannot be attributed to any similarity in force between the two suffixes.

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β) Compound:

1. Positional in basic position:

aa) i) Positional-factitive S.anya T.anya < S.am + S.ya T.am + T.ya

ii) This suffix adds the factitive idea to the idea expressed by the positional stem, e.g. T.ukanya (inspect, look over), cf. N.ukama (hang over), no corresponding simple stem could be indicated; T.phikanya (overwhelm, crowd upon), cf. T.phikama (be dense as a swarm of locusts) and T.phika (pour down of rain); S.khopanya (bend, make crooked), cf. S.khôpama T.kgopama N.kxôpama (become bent, crooked, wrong) and S.khopa T.kgopa N.kxôpa (stumble against, trip); S.penanya (be crowded, crush one another), cf. S.pênama T.penama (overflow, be full to the brim in T. also; bend back, slope backwards) and S.pêna T.pena N.pêna or pena (bend back).

This is a very rare suffix, found only in the examples above quoted; it is referred to here only because it is identical in form with the reciprocal-factitive S.anya T.anya N.anya [i].

bb) i) Positional-actional (destructive) T.amola N.amola.

ii) This suffix adds the actional (destructive) idea to the idea expressed by the positional stem, e.g. N.ôbamola (make straight again), cf. T.ôbama N.ôbama (bend forward, bend down) and cf. S.ôba T.ôba N.ôba (bend); N.ahlamola (open, make open as the mouth of some one else), cf. S.ahlama T.atlhama N.ahlama (be or become wide open of the mouth) and N.ahla (open); T.tatamola N.tatamola (unwind), cf. N.tatama (creep of a plant) and N.tata (wind).

2. Positional suffix in a non-basic position; it occurs very rarely in this position; the undermentioned are practically the only compounds of this nature. The contribution of

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i) cf. Chapter 14.

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S.ama T.ama N.ama to the force of these compounds is that in each case it adds the positional idea to the idea expressed by the suffix without S.ama T.ama N.ama, e.g.:

aa) Durative (intensive)-positional T.kama N.kama, e.g.

T.petekama (be confused or mixed up as sounds), no corresponding durative (intensive) or corresponding simple stems could be ascertained,

N.pêtlêkama (sit down with legs outspread), cf. T.petlêka N.pêtlêka (open as a book or the hands), no corresponding simple stem could be ascertained; T.bidikama N.bidikama (roll about, wallow), cf. S.bilika (make round) no corresponding simple stem could be ascertained; N.pitikama (wallow, roll about), cf. S.pitika T.pitika N.pitika (roll on the ground), no corresponding simple stem could be ascertained.

bb) Durative (intensive)-positional-performative: N.kamiša, e.g. N.pitikamiša (throw down in wrestling, i.e. cause to roll) for pitikama cf. aa) above.

cc) Festitive-positional S.ǰama T.yama N.yama, e.g. T.menyama (be or become bent as when the chest is pressed out and the head bent backwards, be like a pole bent forwards in the middle and backwards at the top), cf. N.menya (make narrow) and S.mena T.mena N.mêna (roll up, fold up, bend back); N.ǰunyama (scent, smell, poke the nose into), cf. S.ǰunya N.ǰunya (press into, plant), no corresponding simple stem could be ascertained, cf. also T.ǰumuka (put together); S.tenyama (break partially, bend without completely breaking), cf. N.tena (bend), no corresponding festitive stem could be ascertained.

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CHAPTER 14.

Additive S.na T.na N.na [1], additive (reciprocal), here called reciprocal, S.ana T.ana N.ana [2] [3].

I Primary: α) Single:

i) Additive S.na T.na N.na, e.g. N.kibina (beat), cf. S.kiba (catch in a trap) N.kiba (knock with a stick against the ground when walking); S.momona N.momona (suck), cf. S.moma T.moma N.moma (shut the mouth, be silent, in S. also: suck).

ii) (a) The additive, a very rare suffix [4], denotes a state or action of more or less continuous nature with sometimes an associative force [5]. Examples of na with an associative force: N.xakûna [6] (mix snuff with ash by repeatedly adding ash to the snuff), cf. N.xaka (mix tobacco with ash); S.hohona (take great booty, capture many animals), no corresponding simple stem; T.gogona (draw or push together as the sides of a kaross round a sick person, tuck in), cf. T.gôga N.xôma (draw pull, lead), S.nongona (entangle), no corresponding simple stem,

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1) UB. na cf. Phon., pp. 45 & 79.

2) UB. ana, cf. Phon., pp. 45 & 79.

3) The classification unstrengthened and strengthened cannot be applied to na and ana as n is not subject to a process of strengthening.

4) Only about 30 additive stems could be indicated.

5) Although there is to-day hardly any semantic difference between the additive na, the protractive na, and the durative a (cf. chapter 13 I α) ii) (a)), it is possible that in the past the additive had a more distinctly defined force peculiar to itself, viz. that of association. As will be seen below some of the derivatives in na actually support this possibility, cf. also W.d.S., p. 33.

6) The last part of the meaning, viz. "by repeatedly adding ash to the snuff", obtained from my informants.

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T.tsêtsêna (be in large numbers), no corresponding simple stem. These are the only examples I could find of derivative stems in na having an associative force. In most cases na indicates merely a state or action of more or less continuous nature, e.g. N.kibina (beat), cf. S.kiba (catch in a trap) N.kiba (knock with a stick against the ground when walking); S.momona N.momona (suck), cf. S.moma T.moma N.moma (shut the mouth, be silent in S. also; suck); N.tsirina (make a shrill noise), cf. N.tsira (gnash the teeth); N.xôkxôna (be dissatisfied i.e. keep on groaning), cf. N.xôkxa (groan), S.hlêhlêna N.hlêhlêna (itch i.e. keep on irritating), cf. S.hlehla (irritate).

(b) The suffix S.na T.na N.na has sometimes lost its additive force, e.g. N.bipena (puff up, swell, inflate, bubble), cf. S.bipa (malt, cause to ferment) N.bipa (swell, puff out), S.shêshêna (drive many animals), cf. S.shesha (drive many animals); S.kotona (bite), cf. S.kota (peck); S.nahana (think), no corresponding simple stem; N.fofona (fumble, touch the clothes when feeling for something [i]), cf. S.fofa T.fofa N.fofa (fly) [i].

(c) In some cases the semantic relation between the additive stem and the probable corresponding simple stem is vague, e.g. S.fêfêna (dilate, open as a peacock's tail), cf. N.fêfa (be light), N.tsirina (make a shrill noise), cf. N.tsira (gnash the teeth); N.xônêna (fancy, imagine, consider), cf. N.xona (be sad).

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i) I conceive the common idea to be that of performing a hovering action, in the one case with the hands and in the other with the wings.

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(d) Most additive stems are intransitive, there are only 8 transitive additive stems, e.g. S.shêshêna (drive many animals), cf. S.shesha transitive (drive many things); S.fêfêna (dilate, open as a peacock's tail), cf. N.fêfa intransitive (be light) N.kibina (beat), cf. S.kiba transitive (catch in a trap) N.kiba transitive (knock with a stick against the ground).

(e) The simple stems corresponding to some additive stems are transitive, while those corresponding to others are intransitive, e.g. S.fêfêna (dilate, open as a peacock's tail), cf. N.fêfa intransitive (be light); N.fofona (fumble, touch with the clothes when feeling for something), cf. S.fofa T.fofa N.fofa intransitive (fly); N.xôkxôna (be dissatisfied), cf. N.xôkxa intransitive (groan); N.bipona (puff up, swell, inflate, bubble), cf. S.bipa transitive (malt, cause to ferment) N.bipa transitive or intransitive (swell, puff out); for further examples of additive stems with corresponding transitive simple verbal stems cf. (d) above.

(f) There are additive stems which are not associated with any extant simple verbal stem, ~~neither~~ nor could non-verbal stems be indicated as being possible bases of these derivative stems; a comparison with other derivative stems, that also having no corresponding simple verbal stems or corresponding non-verbal stems shows, however, in some cases, a probable common non-extant simple verbal stem, e.g. N.pêtlêna (glitter, sparkle), cf. T.petlama (shine forth); N.xokona (gnaw, gnaw off), cf. N.xokota (nibble at, gnaw); S.nehena (shake e.g. of something taken out of the ground); T.sepena (be quite full as a vlei); N.ɣiɣina (wag, shake) N.rokxona (shake).

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β) Compound:

1. Additive in basic position:

i) (a) Additive-factitive S.nya T.nya N.nya [1] < S.n + S.y̆a T.n + T.ya N.n + N.ya, e.g. N.kibinya (cause to beat, i.e. the instrument with which you beat [ii]), cf. N.kibina (beat) and S.kiba (catch in a trap) N.kiba (knock with a stick against the ground when walking); N.tsirinya (chirp, cheep), cf. N.tsirina (make a shrill noise) and N.tsiira (gnash the teeth).

It is perhaps noteworthy that of the 50 derivative stems in nya only about two thirds have corresponding derivative stems in na, and as the suffixes na and ma are semantically closely related, it is not possible to say whether the rest half is additive-factitive or protractive-factitive. Nor is there anything in the force of these stems in nya which indicates that the suffix nya is composed of S.m T.n N.n and S.y̆a T.ya N.ya; but as most of the stems in nya can definitely be indicated to be additive-factitive, and there is no particular reason why the others should not also be regarded as such, all stems in nya are classed together.

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1) In the following four cases nya is, however, protractive-factitive, the corresponding simpler stem being protractive and not additive: S.perenya (give up), cf. S.perêna (be afraid, be shy) and S.pêra (be timid, be a coward); N.hlasinya (cause to swarm), cf. N.hlasima (swarm), no corresponding simple stem; T.tadinya (look round or turn the head quickly), cf. S.tadima N.tadima (look, look at), no corresponding simple stem; N.y̆uy̆unya (creep on hands and knees), cf. N.y̆uy̆uma (go through by creeping underneath), no corresponding simple stem. For n + ya > nya cf. Phon., p. 70.

ii) Endemann gives the meaning only as beat, the extended meaning has been obtained from my informants.

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(b) Although the connecting vowel of the additive stem may be ê or ô, this changes to ẹ or ọ in the counterpart with the corresponding additive-factitive stem.[i] This process of narrowing the vowel, which is due to the factitive S.ẹ T.y N.ɨ, may or may not be applied to the vowel of the first syllable of the derivative stem, depending apparently upon the pronunciation of individual speakers[ii], e.g. N.petlenya or N.pêtlenya[iii] (twinkle, sparkle as e.g. a star or water in the distance), cf. N.pêtlêna (glitter, sparkle), no corresponding simple stem; S.pekenya[iv] N.pêkenya or N.pekenya[iii] (glitter, twinkle, sparkle as e.g. a star or water in the distance), cf. N.pêkêna (glitter, sparkle) and N.pêka (look at over the shoulder, look angrily at); N.ebenya (cause to be better than), cf. N.ebêna (be better than), no corresponding simple stem; N.xononya[iii] or N.xônonya[iii] (cause to imagine, cause to consider), cf. N.xônôna (fancy, imagine, consider) and N.xona (be sad).

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i) But cf. N.rôrônya (crunch, crush), for which no corresponding simple stem or corresponding dirivative stem in na or ma could be ascertained; it may therefore even have been formed from *rônya through a process of prefix-formation (cf. Chapter 19) see also N.rôrôya (smash, dash to pieces).

ii) Nothing definite can however be said here as the number of examples obtained both from the dictionaries and from my informants is too small, the above being almost an exhaustive list.

iii) Obtained from my informants.

iv) No pêkenya in S.

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ii) (a) The additive-factitive suffix adds the factitive idea to the idea expressed by the additive stem. The additive-factitive suffix has two sub-functions according to the two sub-functions of the factitive suffix[i], viz. additive-factitive (causative) and additive-factitive (effective).

Examples of additive-factitive (causative) stems: N.ebenya (cause to be better than), cf. N.ebêna (be better than), no corresponding simple stem; N.kibinya (cause to beat, i.e. the instrument with which you beat is caused to beat), cf. N.kibina (beat) and S.kiba (catch in a trap) N.kiba (knock with a stick against the ground when walking); S.mokonya N.mokonya (cause a flow of saliva, suck something put into the mouth), cf. T.mokona N.mokona (suck out sap), no corresponding simple stem.

All additive-factitive (causative) stems are transitive.

Examples of additive-factitive (effective) stems, which are mostly intransitive: S.pekenya N.pêkenya (glitter, twinkle, sparkle, e.g. a star or water in the distance), cf. N.pêkêna (glitter, sparkle) and N.pêka (look angrily at, look at over the shoulder); N.tsirinya (chirp, cheep), cf. N.tsirina (make a shrill noise) and N.tsira (gnash the teeth); N.fofenya (snuff about, sniff), cf. N.fofena (touch about on the clothes when looking for something) and S.fofa T.fofa N.fofa (fly).

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i) cf. Chapter 17.

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(b) There are several additive-factitive stems for which only corresponding simple stems could be indicated and no corresponding additive stems; in some such cases the semantic relation between the additive-factitive stem and the corresponding simple stem is vague, e.g. N.retenya (fumble, examine by feeling), cf. N.reta (stir up, stir round i.e. to turn over by stirring); T.lelenya N.lelenya (talk very loudly, clamour), cf. S.lla T.lela N.lela (cry); T.titinya (stop or hinder one when speaking, when not wishing to hear more), cf. T.titi (withhold an opinion, decline to express an opinion about a matter without hearing more fully about it); S.fokhonya (throw the ground up), cf. N. fokwa (dig with a crowbar).

(c) There are additive-factitive stems which are not associated with any extant simple verbal stems or extant additive stems, nor could non-verbal stems be indicated as being possible bases of these derivative stems; a comparison with other derivative stems, that also having no corresponding simple verbal stems, or corresponding non-verbal stems shows, however, in some cases, a probable common non-extant simple verbal stem, e.g. S.tsikinya N.tsikinya (tickle), cf. T.tsikitla (tickle); S.tsikhinya (shake one's head), cf. S.tsikhitletsa (shake a bag); N.rexenya (move about e.g. while sleeping), cf. S.rehora (shake); N.xidinya (sob); S.kibinya (raise something heavy); S.thohonya (push in, put in); T.bukunya (give signs of life by moving, move as a person under a kaross or bedclothes).

2. Additive-~~factitive~~ in a non-basic position; this suffix does not occur in this position.

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II Secondary: Single:

i) Reciprocal S.ana T.ana N.ana, e.g. S.bônana T.bônana (see one another), cf. S.bôna T.bôna N.bôna (see), S.hlabana T.tlhabana N.hlabana (fight, stab one another), cf. S.hlaba T.tlhaba N.hlata (stab, sting); T.daana (strike each other) < T*dayana, cf. T.daya (strike); S.laŷana (correct one another) T.laana (instruct or exhort one another) < T*layana, cf. S.laŷa T.laya N.laya (instruct, direct, reprimand); N.tŷeana (take one another), cf. N.tŷea (take); S.siŷana T.siana N.siana (run together in a race, pass one another going the same way), cf. S.siŷa T.sia N.sia or N.siya (outrun, let alone); N.rana (speak of one another), cf. N.ra (say); S.fana N.fana (give to one another), cf. S.fa T.fa N.fa (give).

ii) (a) The reciprocal denotes the following: i. mutual action, or action done one to the other, and may here be termed reciprocal (mutual) ; ii. associative or collective action, or an associative or collective state, and may then be termed reciprocal (associative) ; and iii. reagentive action, or a reagentive state, and may here be termed reciprocal (reagentive) .

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i) The reciprocal stem corresponding to T.itse (know) is itsanye (know one another). It sometimes happens in T. that the reciprocal suffix employed with roots whose final consonant is s or ts is either ana or anya, e.g. thusana or thusanya (help one another) cf. thusa (help); futsana or futsanya (curse one another) cf. futsa (curse). The derivatives in anya are given by Brown in his Sŝewana-English dictionary and the parallels in ana have been obtained from my informants. It should further be noted that in the Seewana Grammar of Wookey and Brown the only reciprocal suffix is ana and nothing is said about an alternative. anya is therefore probably only a dialectal variant of ana.

Also with certain compound suffixes, of which the reciprocal is one of the component parts, anya may be used instead of ana, e.g. the factitive-reciprocal as in: bitsanya (call one another), cf. bitsana (=bitsanya); botsanya (ask one another), cf. botsana (=botsanya).

ii) These terms are more fully defined below.

iii) The representative of S.ana T.ana N.ana has this force also in: Zulu cf. Term., p. 185; Duala, cf. Meinhof Grundriss einer Lautlehre der Bantusprachen, p. 166; and Kongo, cf. Bentley Dictionary and Grammar of the Kongo language, p. 634.

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The suffix is predominantly reciprocal (mutual). Of the ± 280 derivative stems in ana about 200 have a reciprocal (mutual) force, about 40 a reciprocal (associative) force and about 20 a reciprocal (reagentive) force; the remainder have lost their reciprocal force.

I shall now proceed to deal more fully with each of these sub-divisions of the reciprocal:

1. Reciprocal (mutual) stems: Two or more agents are required to perform the action denoted by such a stem, and they perform it in such a way that they are mutually affected as objects of the corresponding simple stem; it is therefore obvious that the simple stems corresponding to reciprocal (mutual) stems must be transitive, e.g. S.akana (kiss one another) N.akana (fondle each other, flirt with each other), cf. S.aka (kiss) N.aka (caress, fondle); S.batana (strike one another, fight), cf. S.bata T.bata N.bata (beat, slap with the open hand); S.fetana T.fetana N.fetana (pass each other), cf. S.feta T.feta N.feta (pass); S.khêthana (choose one another, go apart from others) N.kxêthana (favour each other), cf. S.khêtha N.kxêtha (choose, pick out); T.khutlana N.khutlana (knock against each other, nudge each other), cf. T.khutla N.khutla (knock against something with the foot, nudge with the elbow); T.ngôkana (have a mutual regard for each other, consider each other), cf. T.ngôka (consider a person); S.ratana N.ratana (love one another), cf. S.rata T.rata N.rata (love); T.tsaana (take one another in marriage, accept one another), cf. T.tsaya (take); S.hlôvana T.tlhôana N.hlôyana (hate one another), cf. S.hlôva T.tlhôa N.hlôya (hate); S.lomana T.lomana N.lomana (bite one another), cf. S.loma T.loma N.loma (bite).

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ii. Reciprocal (associative) stems:

(a) Some reciprocal (associative) stems denote associative or collective action, i.e. action in the performance of which two or more agents are associated, e.g. S.bokana T.bokana N.bokana (come together, assemble, crowd together), cf. N.boka (rake together, snatch together); S.fapana T.fapana N.fapana (differ in opinion, disagree, differ as stories, get mixed up, i.e. mix with respect to one another), cf. S.fapa T.fapa N.fapa (wind round, bind into a bundle); S.phuthana N.phuthana (gather, assemble), cf. S.phuta T.phuta N.phuta (fold, collect); N.kxobana (come together), cf. S.khoba (call or invite many people) N.kxoba (sweep together, call together); S.khahlana T.kgatlhana (come together, meet), cf. N.kxahla (coagulate); N.fotana (wrestle with each other), cf. N. fota (wrestle); N. xobana (bark at each other), cf. N.xoba (bark).

(b) Other reciprocal (associative) stems denote an associative or collective state[1], i.e. a state in the production of which two or more agents are associated, e.g.

S.sakana (be in disorder, not symmetrical), cf. S.saka (squint); T.hufana (be jealous of each other i.e. be in a state of being jealous together), cf.

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1) Such stems have mostly corresponding simple stems that are intransitive.

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T.hufa (be jealous); S.hasana N.xašana (get scattered), cf. S.hasa T.gasa N.xaša (scatter); N.lalana (lie together of people when cohabiting), cf. S.lala T.lala N.lala (lie down); S.tsŏakana N.tswakana (get mixed up), cf. S.tsŏaka T.tšwaka N.tswaka (mix); S.rarana T.rarana N.rarana (be entangled), cf. S.rara T.rara N.rara (spin as a spider its web, get entwined, interwoven).

iii. Reciprocal (reagentive) stems : These reciprocal stems have a reagentive force only when the agent responsible for the action or state denoted, is in the singular; as soon as there is more than one agent, the reciprocal stem ceases to be reagentive and becomes associative or mutual.

Reciprocal (reagentive) stems denote a reagentive state, i.e. a state in which an agent finds itself or into which it enters unassociated with other agents, e.g. T.šŏpana N.sŏpana (get folded up, shrivel up as a leaf in the sun or a wet skin in drying), cf. N.sŏpa (twist, wring); S.sothana (become much twisted, form a spiral, be rolled up[1]), cf. S.sotha (twist, wring); N.thathana (get separated with respect to itself), cf. N.thatha (root up, stub up); S.kabana

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1) S.sothana = S.sothahana

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(become closed, stopped), cf. S.kaba T.kaba N.kaba (close, plug up); S.kôbana (become bent), cf. S. kôba N.kôba (bend); S.timana T.timana N.timana (be stingy), cf. S.tima T.tima N.tima (give very little, begrudge); S.thibana T.thibana (get stopped especially of the ears), cf. S.thiba T.thiba N. thiba (stop); N.lotana (become bigger or stronger), cf. N.lota (become strong); N.phekana (get entangled with respect to itself), cf. N.pheka (bar up, block up); T.imana (be with child), cf. T.ima N.ima (be heavy, be stout, be with child); N. xarana (be wound up, be twisted up), cf. N.xara (twist, turn round).

(b) The suffix ana has in a few cases lost its reciprocal force, e.g. S.ômana T.ômana N.ômana (scold), cf. S.ôma T.ôma N.ôma (threaten); T. ngopana (be barren of animals), cf. T.ngopa (be barren of animals); N.ǂumana (attain, acquire), cf. N.ǂuma (become rich).

(c) In some cases the semantic relation between the reciprocal stem and the probable corresponding simple stem is vague, e.g. T.papana (make smooth or bring down to a level, smooth out a wet skin), cf. N.papa (touch with the hands); T. gobana (accuse or incriminate one another), cf. N.xoba (bark

talk nonsense); S.rôpana (gather, come together), cf. N.rôpa (trade on a small scale).

(d) In about half a dozen cases derivative stems in ana are transitive, e.g. T.papana (make smooth or bring down to a level, smooth out a wet skin), cf. N.papa intransitive (touch with the hands); N.xumana (attain, find), cf. N.xuma intransitive (become rich); S.fumana N.fumana (find, discover), cf. S.fuma T.fuma instransitive (be or become rich).

In addition to these there is a certain number of reciprocal (reagentive) stems taking a subsidiary object; these stems are mostly used in their perfect conjugational form, e.g. S.o thibane litsêbê T. o thibanye ditsêbê N. o thibane ditsêbê (he is stopped as to his ears i.e. he is deaf or disobedient); S. sefate se rarane makala T.setlhare se raranye dikala N.sehlare se rarane makala (the tree is entangled as to its branches); T. o tlhakanye tlhôgô (he is mixed as to his head, i.e. he is mad), S.o fapane hlôhô N. o fapane hlôxô (he is mixed up as to his head, i.e. he is mad); S.baesekele e sothane mabili (the bicycle is twisted up as to the wheels); S.kêtlêlê e kabane molomo (the kettle is stopped as to its spout).

(e) There are reciprocal stems which are not associated with any extant simple verbal stems; a comparison with other derivative stems, that also having no corresponding simple stems shows, however, in some

cases, a probable common non-extant simple verbal stem, e.g. S.hlakana T.tlhakana (become mixed, joined) N.hlakana (meet, come together), cf. S.hlakanetsa (go to meet); S.olana (sit quietly, be at rest, at ease), cf. S.olama (sleep lightly like one on the look out for something); S.notlana (wrestle, unite one to another); T.rabana (be dashed to pieces); T.ĵônana (drink water while kneeling down).

(f) Reciprocal (mutual) and reciprocal (associative) stems are used with plural subjects, but they may be used with a singular subject provided the derivative stem is followed by the other agent or agents preceded by the conjunctive formative S.le T.le N.le. Examples of reciprocal (mutual) stems: S. rea bônana T. re a bônana (we see each other), cf. S. ke bônana le ǰêna T. ke bônana le yêna N. ke bônana le yêna (he and I see each other); S. lea ratana T. le a ratana N. le a ratana (you love each other), cf. S. a ratana le bôna T. o ratana le bôna N. o ratana le bôna (you and they love one another).

Examples of reciprocal (associative) stems: S. rea khahlana T. re a kgatlhana (we meet), cf. S. ke khahlana le ǰêna T. ke kgatlhana le yêna (I meet with him, i.e. I meet him); N. ba a fotana (they wrestle with each other), cf. N. o fotana le yêna (he wrestles with him).

(g) The following few T. durative-reciprocal stems are semantically identical with reciprocal stems: T.fapaana = T.fapana (differ as stories, alternate, pass or cross one another), cf. S.fapa T.fapa N.fapa (wind roupd, bind into a bundle); T.raraana = S.rarana T.rarana N.rarana (become entangled), cf. S.rara T.rara N.rara (get entwined, creep).

(h) When a simple stem can take two objects, i.e. a principal and a subsidiary object, the subsidiary object may be used with the corresponding reciprocal stem, the principal object becoming one of the agents [i], e.g. S. re fana lijô T. re fana dijô N. re fana dijô (we, i.e. hand, give one another food [ii], cf. S. ke mo fa lijô T. ke mo fa dijô N. ke a mo fa dijô (I give him food); S. re timana lijô T. re timana dijô N. re timana dijô (we, i.e. hand, stint one another food [iii], cf. S. ke mo tima lijô T. ke mo tima dijô N. ke a mo tima dijô (I stint him food).

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i) This rule is quite common with certain compound derivative stems, e.g. the performative-reciprocal S.isana T.isana N.isana as in S. re tsebisana molato T. re itsisanye molato N. re tsebisana molato (we inform one another of the mistake), cf. S. ke mo tsebisa molato T. ke mo itsise molato N. ke a mo tsebisa molato (I tell him (of) the mistake); the applicative-reciprocal S.êlana T.alana N.êlana as in S. ba ahêlana ntlo T. ba agalana ntlo N. ba axêlana ntlo (they build one another a house), cf. S. o mo ahêla ntlo T. o mo agêla ntlo N. o a mo axêla ntlo (he builds him a house).

ii) In S. fana more commonly implies the idea of to be generous; so e.g. S. rea fana means almost exclusively we are generous, cf. also S. kea fana (I am generous).

iii) A much more common meaning is: we are stingy as regards food, cf. S. kea timana T. kea timana N. kea timana (I am stingy).

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β) Compound:

1. Reciprocal in basic position:

i) Reciprocal-factitive S.anya T.anya N.anya[1] < S.an + S.ya T.an + T.ya N.an + N.ya, e.g. S.bokanya N.bokanya (bring together, gather), cf. S.bokana T.bokana N.bokana (come together, assemble, crowd together) and N.boka (rake together).

It is perhaps noteworthy that for about 25 of the approximately 90 reciprocal-factitive stems no corresponding reciprocal stems could be indicated, e.g. T.tlhatlhanya (knock things together so as to make a rustling noise), cf. T.tlhatlha (make a noise as two things knocking together); N.kxêhlanya (bring on a false track), cf. S.khêhla (escape from one's memory); T.pekanya (mix up together), cf. T.peka (mix, adulterate); S.pshatlanya (break in pieces, smash, e.g. an egg), cf. S.pshatla N. phǎatla (break in pieces).

ii) (a) The reciprocal-factitive adds the factitive idea to the idea expressed by the reciprocal stem. The reciprocal-factitive suffix, whether reciprocal (mutual)-factitive, reciprocal (associative)-factitive or reciprocal (reagentive)-factitive, is mostly reciprocal-factitive (causative); in about 10 cases however it is reciprocal-factitive (effective)[ii].

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i) The positional-factitive suffix has the same form, cf. Chapter 13 § II β) 1.

ii) This division depends upon the force of the factitive, cf. Chapter 17.

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Examples of reciprocal-factitive (causative stems T.atlanya (cause to kiss one another), cf. T.atlana N.atlana (kiss one another) and T.atla N.atla (kiss); S.bokanya N.bokanya (bring together, gather), cf. S.bokana T.bokana N.bokana (come together, assemble) and N.boka (rake together); N.fikanya (put together, place together, fasten to one another), cf. N.fikana (hinder one another i.e. fasten one another) and N. fika (fasten); S.hasanya T.gasanya N.xašanya (scatter, disperse), cf. S.hasana N.xašana (become scattered, dispersed) and S.hasa T.gasa N.xaša (scatter); N.hlatlanya (place or put upon one another), cf. N.hlatlana (climb one upon the other) and N.hlatla (get full to the brim); T.ǂopanya (cause to turn, fold or crumple up as leaves or a wet skin), cf. T.ǂopana N.ǂopana (turn up, fold up or crumple up as leaves in the sun or a wet skin in drying) and N. ǂopa (turn, twist); S.sothanya (wring something much), cf. S.sothana (become much twisted, be rolled up) and S.sotha (twist, wring, entwine); T.ǂ(h)ufanya (make jealous of each other), cf. T.ǂ(h)ufana (be jealous of each other) and T.ǂ(h)ufa (be jealous).

All reciprocal-factitive (causative) stems are transitive.

Examples of reciprocal-factitive (effective) stems: S.hulanya (drag, roughly, badly), cf. S.hulana (drag one another) and S.hula (drag); T.ngabanya (withhold or keep back milk as a cow, refuse to speak or relate as news), cf. T.ngaba N.ngaba (keep back milk as a cow), no corresponding reciprocal stem; T.ŧsaranya (e.g. in ŧsaranya matha = spit out with a noise as from between the teeth), cf. N.ŧsara (spit), no corresponding reciprocal stem; T.thakxanya N.thakxanya (kick in all directions as an ox when one leg is held by a riem), cf.

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S.thakha (stretch out one's leg like a man on horseback), no corresponding reciprocal stem; T.tšhabanya (rush out as a stream, dart out as the waves of a filling river), cf. S.tšaba T.tshaba N.thšaba (flee).

(b) The reciprocal-factitive suffix sometimes conveys an intensive force, e.g. T.kitlanya (join tightly together, cause to unite) N.kitlanya (press together, press in), cf. T.kitlana (agree together, be united) and T.kitla (strike with a fist or a stick); T.thakganya N.thakxanya (kick in all directions as an ox when one leg is held by a riem), cf. S.thakha (stretch out one's legs like a man on horseback), no corresponding reciprocal stem; N.xoxanya (pull about), cf. T.goga N.xoxa (draw, pull), no corresponding reciprocal stem; S.mulanya (beat severely, throw violently on the ground), cf. S.mula (beat with a stick), no corresponding reciprocal stem; S.tabanya (throw down violently) i), cf. S.tabana (fall on the ground) and N.taba (dash to pieces); T.phatšhanya (dabble with water, splash about in water as a child with the hands or as a horse with the feet) ii), no corresponding simple stem or corresponding reciprocal stem.

(c) In some cases where no corresponding reciprocal stem could be indicated the relation between the reciprocal-factitive and the probable corresponding simple stem is vague, e.g. N.kxôhlanya (bring on a false track), cf. S.khôhla (escape from one's memory); S.sokanya (mix, turn upside down), cf. S.soka (stir, trim, row); S.tlakanya (embarrass, prevent), cf. S.tlaka N.tlaka (laugh at, scorn, reject); T.tšhabanya (rush out as a stream, dart out as the waves of a filling river), cf. S.tšaba T.tshaba N.thšaba (flee).

(d) All derivative stems in S.anya T.anya N.anya are

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i) cf. S.tabakanya = S.tabanya;

ii) cf. T.phatšhakanya = T.phatšhanya

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transitive excepting the following few; T.thakganya N.thakxanya (cf. (a) above); T.tshabanya (cf. (a) above), T.phatšhanya (cf. (b) above). T.buganya (eject from the mouth in a stream, spurt out as blood from a severe cut), no corresponding simple stem.

(e) There are reciprocal-factitive stems which are not associated with any extant simple or extant reciprocal stems; a comparison with other derivative stems, that also having no corresponding simple stems, shows, however, in some cases, a probable common non-extant simple verbal stem, e.g. T.phatšhanya (cf. (b) above), cf. T.phatšheka (bespatter); S.rapanya (kill), cf. S.rapolla (kill an animal about to have a little one); T.gakanya (kill game in large quantities), cf. S.hakila (be violent); S.hoehlanya (conceal, palliate); S.habanya look around, cast a furtive look, glance).

(f) The following reciprocal-factitive and stational (capable)-reciprocal-factitive stems are semantically identical: S.fapanya T.fapanya N.fapanya = N.fapaxanya (set at variance, confuse, mix up), cf. S.fapana T.fapana N.fapana (differ in opinion, differ as stories), pass one another; no corresponding stational (capable)-reciprocal stem; S.sothanya = S.sothabanya (wring much), cf. S.sothana = S.sothabana (become much twisted); N.hlatlanya = T.tlhatlaganya N.hlatlaxanya (put in layers, put one on top of another; pile up one on another) cf. N.hlathlana (climb onto one another) and T.tlhatlagana N.hlatlaxana (be piled up, lie one upon another); S.lohanya = T.logaganya (knit together, twist or intertwine), cf. T.logagana (become knit or twisted together), no corresponding reciprocal stem.

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2. Reciprocal in a non-basic position:

The reciprocal suffix occurs extensively in such a position; I quote only a few such compounds below: The contribution of S.ana T.ana N.ana to the force of such compounds is that it adds/in each case the reciprocal idea to the idea expressed by the compound without S.ana T.ana N.ana:

aa) Applicative-reciprocal S.âlana T.âlana T.alana N.âlana. In T.âlana mostly becomes alana as a result of retrogressive assimilation, e.g. S.hanêlana T.ganêlana or T.ganalana N.xanêlana (resist one another, contend among one another), cf. S.hanêla T.ganêla N.xanêla (resist, prevent, contend) and S.hana T.gana N.xana (refuse); S.ahêlana T.agalana (live near each other, live together), cf. T.agêla N.axêla (build for) and S.aha T.aga N.axa (build), S.abêlana T.abalana N.abêlana (divide among themselves, divide one another), cf. S.abêla T.abêla N.abêla (divide to) and S.aba T.aba N.aba (divide); S.rapêlana T.rapêlana N.rapêlana (pray one another), cf. S.rapêla T.rapêla N.rapêla (pray) and N.rapa (summon, call up).

bb) Applicative (intensive)-reciprocal S.êllana T.êlêlana T.êlalana T.alalana N.êlêlana, e.g. T.agêlêlana N.axêlêlana (be friendly with each other), for preceding stages cf. aa) above; S.bolêllana (tell to one another) T.bolêlêlana (talk to each other in ordinary conversation) N.bolêlêlana (discuss with each other, tell to each other), cf. S.bolêlla T.bolêlêla N.bolêlêla (tell to, in N.also: talk one over), S.bolêla T.bolêla (tell) N.bolêla (speak) and T.bola (tell news) N.bola (speak); S.êmêllana T.êmêlalana or T.êmalalana (be at variance with each other, contend with each other), cf. S.êmêlla T.êmêlêla N.êmêlêla (intercede for, stand security for, in S.also:

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to oppose), S.ômêla T.ômêla N.ômêla (stand for, stand opposed) and S.ôma T.ôma N.ôma (stand).

cc) Actional (destructive)-applicative-reciprocal S.olôlana T.olôlana or T.olalana N.olôlana, e.g. S.latolôlana T.latolôlana or T.latolalana N.latolôlana (refuse to one another) (pay debts for one another with respect to something, to excuse one another with respect to something), cf. S.latolôla T.latolôla (deny to) N.latolôla (pay debts for somebody, excuse one with respect to something), S.latela T.latola (deny) N.latola (excuse) and S.lata N.lata (follow).

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i) Not ollana and olla because the vowel preceding the ô of the applicative suffix is o, cf. Chapter 12 § A) II) ((2) α) b).

ii) Obtained from my informants.

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CHAPTER 15

Punctative S.ra T.ra N.ra[i]; punctative(contactive), here called contactive, S.ara T.ara N.ara[ii]; punctative(intensive) T.nthe[iii], S.the N.the N.the[iv]; and punctative(contactive-intensive), here called contactive(intensive), S.athe T.athe N.athe[iv].

A) Unstrengthened:

I Primary: (α) Single:

i) Punctative S.ra T.ra N.ra, e.g. N.thaêbhêra (shake with a sieve), cf. N.thaêbha (be loose, be shaky), S.fofora T.fofora N.fofora (brush away as dust, leaves, etc.), cf. S.fofa T.fofa N.fofa (fly).

ii) (a) The punctative suffix, a very rare suffix[v][vi], denotes pointed and intermittent action[vii], e.g. run hither

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i) UB. ta, cf. Phon., p. 44.
ii) UB. ata, cf. Phon., pp. 44 and 76.
iii) No parallel could be indicated for S. and N.
iv) No. UB. parallel is given by Meinhof.
v) This term is also used in Xhosa to indicate the parallel of S.ra T.ra N.ra, cf. McLaren A Xhosa Grammar, p. 119. Doke thinks the term is unnecessary, cf. Term., p. 180; but in Sotho there is a suffix ra semantically different from the contactive ara; this suffix must of course be designated and the term punctative seems to me, as far as Sotho is concerned at any rate, an appropriate term.
vi) Only about 20 punctative stems could be indicated.
vii) There would appear to be no longer any sementic difference between the punctative S.ra T.ra N.ra and the operative(intensive) S.pa T.pa N.pa; these are the only two single suffixes, phonologically not related, which have approached each other semantically to such an extent. In cases previously dealt with, e.g. S.ma T.ma N.ma and S.na T.na N.na, S.ala T.ala N.ala and S.âha T.âha N.âha, etc., there has been a very great semantic approach between the individual members of each set of suffixes, but not to such an extent that the difference in force between the suffixes has entirely disappeared. In the case of ra and pa, however, this process of overlapping ~~in the spheres of activity of suffixes~~ has been carried a step further, and it would appear that this has taken place in such a way that the force of ra has been comparatively little affected, as there is still a clearly noticeable relation between the present force, cf. ra and that of its secondary form ara - this cannot be said of the relation between the present form of pa and that of its phonologicelly related form ha.

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and thither, move to and fro, gnaw, chew[1] e.g. T.gelora (run about hither and thither as wild cattle), no corresponding simple stem; N.thêphêra (shake with a sieve), cf. N.thêpha (be loose, be shaky); S.fofora T.fofora N.fofora (brush away as dust or leaves), cf. S.fofa T.fofa N.fofa (fly); N.hôhôra (pick up twigs), cf. S.hohha (take much of something) N.hoha (take out with both hands); T.gebura (devour bones, etc., as a lion), cf. S.hoba N.xoba (be greedy); T.kgobera (stir up, agitate), cf. T.kgôba N.kxôba (make water muddy, agitate as water,, S.khôba T.kgôba N.kxôba (upbraid, scold, reproach); S.nanara (advance stealthily), cf. N.nana (move carefully); N.tsatsara (walk elastically, softly), cf. N.tsatsa (walk on the toes).

(b) Sometimes the suffix ra has lost its punctative force, e.g. N.tlêtlêra (be separated, stand wide apart), cf. S.tlêtla (occupy a space,; T.rêrêra (startle, terrify, make afraid), cf. T.rêra (terrify); N.hlapira (get tired), cf. N.hlapa (lay off or aside e.g. a burden, disclaim, deny); N.phaphara (run at full speed), cf. S.phapha (fly).

(c) In some cases the semantic relation between the punctative stem and the probable corresponding simple stem is rather vague, e.g. T.gobera (spoil, ruin, make a thing worse than it was before), cf. S.hoba T.goba (beat a tree with a stick so as to knock off the leaves); N.kôkôra (get finished), cf. S.kôka N.kôka (be ill, get lean); N.tlêtlêra (cf. (b) above).

(d) Some punctative stems are transitive, others again intransitive, e.g. T.kgobera transitive, cf. S.khôba T.kgôba N.kxôba transitive (cf. (a) above); T.rêrêra transitive, cf. T.rêra transitive (cf. (b) above); S.fofora T.fofora N.fofora transitive, cf. S.fofa T.fofa N.fofa intransitive (cf. (a) above); T.gebura transitive, cf. S.hoba N.xoba intransitive,

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1) In all these cases there is a break of longer or shorter duration in the performance of the action, subsequent to this break the action is then repeated or continued.

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cf. (a) above); N.hlepira intransitive, cf. N.hlepa intransitive (cf. (b) above); N.tlêtlêra intransitive, cf. S.tlêtla transitive (cf. (b) above); N.tsetsera intransitive, cf. N.tsetsa intransitive (cf. (a) above).

(e) As can be seen from (d) above the simple stems corresponding to some punctative stems are transitive, while those corresponding to others are intransitive.

(f) There are punctative stems which are not associated with any extant simple verbal stems ~~neither~~ nor could non-verbal stems be indicated as possible bases of these derivative stems; a comparison with other derivative stems, that also having no corresponding simple verbal stems or corresponding non-verbal stems shows, however, in some cases, a probable common non-extant simple verbal stem, e.g. T.golore (run about hither and thither as wild cattle; also in: golore le puô = speak much, lengthen out talk), cf. S.holoketsa (prattle); N.nyabera (gnaw), cf. N.nyabula (gnaw); S.rohora (shake), cf. N.roxonya (move about e.g. of one sleeping); T.kelera (wave to and fro); S.tšebera N.tswebera (stir about, scatter about), N.thêêsêra (rub with the back against the wall resulting in the whitewash coming off).

β) Compound:

1. Punctative suffix in basic position:

~~-er~~ Punctative-factitive[i], (a) S.-sa N.-šа < S.-r + S.-šа N.-r + N.-ya[i]. This is a very rare suffix found only in the following examples: S.rohosa transitive (shake violently, turn the ground), cf. S.rohora (shake), no corresponding simple stem; S.talasa intransitive (totter, stagger), no corresponding simple or punctative stems; N.rathêša intransitive (crackle, flicker)[ii], no corresponding simple or punctative stems. The only reason why this suffix is given

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i) Cf. Phon., p. 66.

ii) (a) I am unable to say whether the šа in N.rorêša (smash) is a punctative-factitive or a stational-factitive suffix, i.e. if it is a suffix at all, as no corresponding punctative *rorora or stational *rorêxa could be indicated.

(footnote continued on page 315)

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here is because of its apparent resemblance in form, in the case of S.ga in rehesa to the stational(destructive)-factitive S.esa, and in the case of S.ga N.ha in S.telaga N.rathaha to the contactive-factitive S.asa N.aha; actually there is a difference as S.esa contains a standardised connecting vowel e and S.asa N.aha contains a standardised connecting vowel a.

(b) There is in T.a punctative-factitive tsha found in hutsha (eat very much), cf. T.hutura (eat very much), no corresponding simple stem; and in N. a punctative-factitive tha found in phophotha (thrash), cf. N.phophora (take away as e.g. leaves or feathers), no corresponding simple stem. No further examples could be obtained in support of these forms of the punctative-factitive; but for T.r + ya >tsha, cf.: the factitive stem T.krotsha (satisfy) with a corresponding simple stem S.khora T.kora N.kxora (be satisfied), and the contactive-factitive stem T.fulatsha (cause to turn away), cf. S.fulara T.fulara N.fulara (turn the back); in N. the parallel of T.fulatsha is fulaha [1].

2. Punctative in a non-basic position; this suffix does not occur in this position.

(Continued from previous page) It is at anyrate noteworthy that both the vowels preceding ya are open; one would have expected either *rereha or *rêreha owing to the presence of ya in the punctative-factitive or stational-factitive suffixes. It is of course even possible that rêrêha has been derived from *rêha through prefix-formation, in which case ya is no suffix at all; this will also apply to N.rêrêya (smash). The bases of these two stems will then be *reha and *rêya respectively, and not *rer, cf. also the root S.rê T.rê N.rê in S.rêha T.rêha N.rêha (break).

(b) S.pherasa (run strongly of water in rapids) cf. N.phêrêra (pour or gush down) and N.phêrê (of the falling down of water), is a verbalised derivative and not a verbal derivative, and so are N.tatasa (stagger along), cf. S.latata (duck); N.talaha (dye blue), cf. N.tala (blue, green).

(c) The force of S.talasa and N.rathaha referred to above definitely excludes them from being stational-factitives. They may of course be verbalised derivatives, but as no corresponding non-verbal stems could be indicated they are not regarded as such.

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1) Cf. also T.thena = T.rena (we, us).

II Secondary: of Single:

i) Contactive S.ara T.ara N.ara, e.g. S. S.hamara (seize with violence) N.xamara (take with both hands, take in the arms), cf. S.hama T.gama N.xama (milk); T.lepara (hold fast), cf. T.lepa (tie in an intricate and difficult knot).

Interesting are the following contactive and punctative stems with different stem-vowels and connecting-vowels but nevertheless semantically closely related, and sometimes even synonymous: N.fafara (winnow), S.fêfêra T.fêfêra N.fifîra (= N.fafara) and S.fefera T.fefera N.fefera (brush off, brush away as e.g. dust or leaves, pluck); S.hamara (seize with violence) N.xamara (take with both hands, take in the arms) and S.hemara N.xemara (hold fast); N.amara (conceive, e.g. of animals, become pregnant), S.êmara T.êmara N.êmara (=N.amara) and T.emera (=N.amara)

ii) (a) The contactive denotes "touching or contact of some sort" [i] [ii], e.g. S.hamara (seize with violence) N.xamara (take in the arms, take with both hands), cf. S.hama T.gama N.xama (milk); N.mamara (get fastened, get affixed), cf. N.mama (suck, cling to); N.sômara (affix, fasten to, sew to), cf. N.sôma (border, hem, stitch to); T.xekara N.xekara (hold a thing under the arm, or in the hand), cf. N.xeka (bind, fasten); T.lepara (hold fast), cf. T.lepa (tie in an intricate and difficult knot); S.sikara T.sikara N.sikara (carry on the shoulders, sling over the shoulders), cf. S.sika N.sika (carry e.g. in the arms); N.taapara (carry that which has been taken out of a grain basket), cf. N.taapa (take out of a grain basket); N.tlapara (close by taking hold with the hand), cf. S.tlama T.tlama (bind); T.kakara (take much or more than one has permission to take), cf. S.kaka T.kaka (take something as a whole, include).

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i) cf. Term., p. 79. ii) There are about 40 contactive stems.

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(b) The suffix ara has in a few cases lost its contactive force, e.g. S.fulara T.fulara N.fulara (turn one's back against), cf. N.fula (flee, retreat); N.ǔbara (gather up, collect hastily), cf. N.ǔba (gather up, collect hastily, take greedily); N.xabara (be greedy, be stingy, desire the possessions of some one else), cf. S.haba N.xaba (be greedy).

(c) In other cases the semantic relation between the contactive stem and the probable corresponding simple stem is vague, e.g. N.fafara (winnow), cf. N.fafa (be light); T.tlhômara (cling around, encompass), cf. S.hlôma T.tlhôma N.hlôma (plant, fix in on end); N.xxanara (quarrel), cf. T.xxana (stand solidly or unmovable).

(d) Some contactive stems are transitive, others are intransitive, e.g. S.homara N.xomara transitive S.homa N.xoma transitive (cf. (a) above); N.ǔbara transitive N.ǔba transitive (cf. (b) above); T.xakara N.xakara transitive N.xaka transitive (cf. (a) above); N.nanara intransitive N.nana transitive (cf. (a) above); T.lapara intransitive T.lapa transitive (cf. (a) above); N.fafara intransitive N.fafa intransitive (cf. (c) above); N.xabara intransitive, S.haba N.xaba intransitive (cf. (b) above).

(e) Most of the simple stems corresponding to contactive stems are transitive, some such simple stems are however intransitive cf. (d) above.

(f) There are contactive stems which are not associated with any extant simple verbal stems, a comparison with other derivative stems, that also having no corresponding simple verbal stems shows, however, in some cases, a probable common non-extant simple verbal stem, e.g. S.apara T.apara N.apara (dress), cf. S.apaha T.apaxa N.apaxa (be laid open, get open in T. also: be undressed); S.fupara T.hupara (clench the fist), cf. S.fupuna (bud); S.hlaphara (take a little); S.homara N.xomara (take hold of, clasp).

(g) A comparison between the contactive stems quoted above and the punctative stems quoted in I above will show that the relation between ara and ra lies therein that ra indicates

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intermittent action which may sometimes be intermittent contact, while ara indicates contact of a more or less prolonged nature. I give a few examples here to illustrate the point: Contactive stems: T.gokara N. xokara (hold a thing in the hand before putting it down), T.lopara (hold fast), S.hamara (seize with violence) N.xamara (take in the arms), T.tlhomara (cling around); Punctative stems: S.fofora T.fofora N.fofora (brush away), T.golora (run about hither and thither), N.kôbôra (pick up twigs), N.tsatsara (walk elastically).

β) Compound:

1. Contactive suffix in basic position:

aa) i) Contactive-factitive (a) S.asa N.aša < S.ar + S.ša N.ar + N.ya [1], e.g. S.kakasa (hold with force, carry something heavy), cf. T.kakara (take much or more than one has permission to take) and T.kaka (take something as a whole, include); N.fulaša (turn round), cf. S.fulara T.fulara N.fulara (turn one's back against) and N.fula (flee, retreat).

Of the 11 derivative stems in S.asa N.aša the above are the only two I could find with a corresponding stem in S.ara N.ara. It should further be noted that with the exception of N.fulaša all have a as their stem-vowel; it is therefore possible that the suffixes of such stems as do not have a definite contactive-factitive force do not contain ara as one of their component parts, but either: (a) the punctative suffix ra, in which case the compound suffix will be the punctative-factitive S.sa N.ša; or (b) the stational (capable) S.aha N.axa, in which case

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1) cf. Phon., p. 66

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the compound suffix will be the stational (capable)-factitive. But those stems in S.asa N.aša not conveying a contactive-factitive force do not convey a punctative-factitive or stational (capable)-factitive force either. I therefore see no reason why they cannot be classed as contactive-factitive suffixes which have lost their original force.

(h) In T. there is a contactive-factitive stsha, e.g. fulatsha (cause to turn away) cf. S.fulara T.fulara N.fulara (turn one's back against).

ii) (a) The contactive-factitive adds the factitive idea to the idea expressed by the contactive stems: cf. S.kakasa and N.fulaša quoted in i) above, as well as the following examples for which no corresponding contactive stems could be indicated: S.rahasa (scatter, disperse), cf. N.raka (splutter as e.g.clay by treading in it); N.phaphaša (hatch out) no corresponding simple stem; S.rakasa (walk with feet far apart), cf. N.raka (chase away); S.thakasa (walk with feet far apart), no corresponding simple stem thaka, but cf. N.raka (chase away); S.thathasa (seize something heavy), cf. N.thatha (root out). Several of the derivative stems quoted above have an idea of scatter or be apart; I take this idea to be of a secondary nature having developed out of the idea of contact; the underlying idea may here then perhaps be that of extended contact.

(b) The following derivative stems in S.asa N.aša have lost their contactive force: e.g. S.hlakasa (work hard, heartily, stubbornly, distribute food with pleasure), N.faraša[1] (give birth to many young, e.g. of an animal), N.faraša (be

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1) Perhaps a dialectal variant of N.faratsa (= beget many young).

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mad or crazy), S.nyalasa (walk freely, in peace), N.pharaša (resist being torn apart) [i]; no corresponding simple stem could be indicated for these derivative stems [ii].

(c) In the few cases where simple stems probably corresponding to contactive-factitive stems could be indicated, the semantic relation between these two stems is often extremely vague, e.g. S.rakasa and N.raka (cf. (a) above), S.thathasa and N.thatha (cf. (a) above).

(d) Of the 11 contactive-factitive stems the following 7 are intransive: N.farasa (cf. (b) above), N.farasa (be mad), N.pharaša (cf. (b) above), S.nyalasa (cf. (b) above), S.hlakasa (cf. (b) above), S.rakasa (cf. (a) above), S.thathasa (cf. (a) above).

(e) As already stated there are contactive-factitive stems which do not have corresponding simple contactive stems (cf. (a) and (b) above).

bb) Contactive-performative S.arisa T.arisa N.ariša. This suffix, which adds the performative idea to the idea expressed by the contactive stem, occurs, as far as I could ascertain, only in the following five cases; it is, however, given here because of the interesting changes in form undergone in two cases: T.phakarisa (place one thing across another at right angles to make a cross), cf. T.phaka (place a piece of wood horizontally on two other pieces), no corresponding contactive stem; S.emarisa N.emariša (make pregnant), cf. S.êmara T.êmara N.êmara (become pregnant of animals only), no corresponding simple stem; T.emarisa (prevent healing in a wound), no corresponding simple or contactive stems; S.hofarisa (cause to be poor, deprive, rob), cf. S.hofa (take out in quantity), no corresponding contactive stem; T.ruladisa (cause

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[i] In view of N.pharoša (split apart) and N.pharoxa (get split apart) it is possible that pharaša is the factitive of *pharaxa, the latter two stems forming the opposite of the former two, respectively.

[ii] N.faxaša (go to a nearby place on a visit) is probably derived from English vacation and S.kalasa (rebel) from Xhosa khalaza, (complain, vent a grievance) cf. Afrikaans kla (complain).

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to turn away the face), cf. T.rulara (turn away the face, turn back), no corresponding simple stem. Interesting is here the change of r into d before isa; this is probably due to the influence of the i of isa. It is however noteworthy that in the other instances quoted above the r of T.ara remains unchanged.

S.apasa T.apasa N.apaša (cause to dress, cover, clothe), cf. S.apara T.apara N.apara (dress), no corresponding simple stem; the process is here probably as follows: S."aparisa T."aparisa N."aparisa > S."apaisa T."apaisa N."apaisa > S.apasa T.apasa N.apasa; for a similar retrogressive assimilating influence of i, cf. the perfect conjugational form S.apere T.apere N.apere < S."apaire T."apeire N."apaire < S."aparile T."aparile N.*aparile [1]. It is however difficult to say why the other examples quoted above have not gone through the same process of assimilation.

2. Contactive in a non-basic position:

The undermentioned are the only examples I could get of the contactive in this position: The contribution of T.ara N.ara to the force of these compounds is that it adds in each case the contactive idea to the idea expressed by the suffix without T.ara N.ara. Pretractive-contactive N.apara in N.kukupara (take on the shoulder), cf. S.kuka N.kuka (lift up something heavy, take) T.kuka (carry a child on the back or on the hip). Positional-contactive T.apara in T.kakapara (support in the arms, lift up, carry or hold a thing in the arms or between both hands), cf. T.kakapa (carry with both hands, cf. the outstretched position of the hands and to a certain extent also of the arms when performing this action) and T.kaka (be drawn two ways).

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1) cf. Phon., p. 78.

B) Strengthened:

I Primary: α) Single:

i) Punctative (intensive) T.ntha S.tha T.tha N.tha. I could find only one example of the suffix ntha, viz. T.setlontha (unfold, unravel), cf. S.setla (beat out corn) S.setla T.setla N.setla (pound corn in a morter). I think the suffix ntha may be regarded as an intermediate stage between the punctative ra on the one hand and the punctative (intensive) tha on the other hand. No punctative stem setlora could, however, be indicated.

ii) (a) The punctative (intensive) denotes intensive intermittent action[i], e.g. chop, kick, walk with force, beat, etc.: S.hlahlatha N.hlahlatha (chop into small bits, crush), cf. S.hlahla N.hlahla (hew, chop), N.nyanyatha (walk with force), cf. T.nyanya (come or go softly); T.papatha (pat with a hand or stone when smearing or making a mud floor), cf. N.papa (grope, tap with the hand); T.thakgatha N.thakxatha (kick in all directions), cf. S.thakha (stretch out the legs like one on horseback); T.kgêmêtha (cut off), cf. N.kxêma (bite through); S.rethetha (beat a skin with a stone to make it supple), cf. S.retha (strike, beat); S.ruthutha (break down, e.g. a wall), cf. S.rutha T.rutha (smite, hit with a stone); S.fofotha[ii] (grope, feel in the dark), cf. S.fofora T.fofora N.fofora (brush away dust etc.) and S.fofa T.fofa N.fofa (fly); N.phophotha[ii] (shake out), cf. N.phophora[iii] (brush away dust, take away leaves etc.), no corresponding simple stem, but cf. fofa (fly); S.phaphuta N.phaphatha[ii] (caress, pat, stroke), cf. N.phaphara (run with full speed i.e. make a clattering noise with the feet or hoofs beating against the ground) and S.phapha (fly).

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i) There are about 60 punctative (intensive) stems.

ii) These are the only punctative (intensive) stems for which corresponding punctative stems could be indicated. I take it that S.fufutha (scratch, tear off with the nails) has been derived from S.fufura which still has a parallel in N.fufura (bite something hard, gnaw) by strengthening of the final consonant r; this consonant is however a stem-consonant and not a suffix-consonant as S.fufura has been derived from S.fura T.fura N.fura (gnaw, notch) through prefix-formation (cf. Chapter 19).

iii) The process of consonant-strengthening in fofora, phophora and phophotha is noteworthy, cf. also S.fêfêra T.fêfêra N.fêfêra (winnow, blow chaff away) and S.phêphêtha (blow of a strong wind); S.rohora (shake) and N.thokxotha (wash out by shaking about).

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(b) Sometimes derivative verbs in tha have lost their punctative(intensive) force, e.g. S.ɓkêtha (wave, move like wheat in the fields)[i], cf. S.ska (brandish e.g. a weapon); S.fefetha (pinch), cf. S.fêfa N.fêfa (cut, scrape); S.fêfêtha (exaggerate, speak foolishly)[ii], cf. N.fêfa (lie, tell a lie); S.sumutha (eat indiscriminately, cram)[ii], cf. S.suma (eat meat); T.thukhutha (rob), no corresponding simple stem; S.shoashoatha (prattle), cf. S.shoashoara (prattle) and S.soaso N.swaswa (jest, fool).

(c) In some cases the semantic relation between the punctative(intensive) stem and the probable corresponding simple stem is vague, e.g.: T.rethêtha (make a noise like far off rain), cf. N.retha (curdle, stir); S.hekotha (change one's mind often), cf. S.heka T.haka N.xaka (forget); T.rôthôtha (stab or shoot simultaneously in hunting), cf. S.rôtha T.rôtha N.rôtha (drop, rain in occasional large drops); N.komotha (break dry wood), cf. T.koma (eat anything hard); N.thuxutha (shake), cf. S.thuha T.thuga N.thuxa (pound, break); S.hlahlatha (roam about) N.hlahlatha (walk alongside of the road), cf. N.hlahla (lead).

(d) Some punctative(intensive) stems are transitive, others again intransitive, e.g. S.hlahlatha N.hlahlatha transitive S.hlahla N.hlahla transitive (cf. (a) above), T.papatha transitive N.papa intransitive (cf. (a) above), S.rethetha transitive S.retha transitive (cf. (a) above), N.nyanyatha intransitive T.nyanya intransitive (cf. (a) above), T.thakgatha N.thakxatha intransitive S.thakha transitive (cf. (a) above), S.êkêtha intransitive S.eka transitive (cf. (b) above).

(e) As can be seen from (d) above the simple stems corresponding to some punctative(intensive) stems

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i) This stem seems to be merely punctative.
ii) These stems seem to be merely intensive.

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are transitive, while those corresponding to others are intransitive.

(f) There are punctative(intensive) stems which are not associated with any extant simple verbal stems, ~~neither~~ nor could non-verbal stems be indicated as being possible bases of these stems. A comparison with other derivative stems, that also have no corresponding simple verbal stems or corresponding non-verbal stems shows, however, in some cases a probable common non-extant simple verbal stem, e.g. S.fenetha (strangle, oppress, despoil), cf. S.fenekatsa (do something roughly); T.phelatha (wander aimlessly not knowing where one is going), cf. T.phelaa (wander about); N.nemotha (work), cf. S.nemathêla (undertake, set to); N.xênetha (beat with the fist); N.loxetha (kill); T.thukhutha N.thukhutha (shake, wag).

T.kgokgotha (trail on the ground as a long garment) is probably related to T.gôga N.xôxa (pull), cf. also T.kgokgomisa (cause to trail on the ground); and S.pipitha (emit puss, not to heal) is probably related to S.bipa (cause to ferment) and N.bipa (swell).

β) Compound:

1. Punctative(intensive in basic position:

The punctative(intensive) suffix occurs in this position, e.g. in the:

Punctative (intensive)-performative N.thisa, e.g. N.hlahlathisa (mislead) for N.hlahlatha cf. α) (c) above;

Punctative(intensive)-stational(capable) S.thêtha, e.g. S.êkêthêtha (get moved about), for S.êkêtha cf. α) (b) above.

Such compounds are however not of sufficient interest for further treatment here.

2. Punctative(intensive) in a non-basic position:

The punctative(intensive) does not occur in this position.

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II Secondary: α) Single:

i) Contactive(intensive) S.atha T.atha N.atha

ii) (a) Contactive(intensive) denotes intensive contact[1], e.g. T.kgematha N.kxamatha (become smeared or smudged as clothes by mud, stick to), cf. S.hamara (seize with the hands) N.xamara (take in the arms) and S.khama N.kxama (stick in the throat, strangle); T.kganatha (become smeared or smudged), no corresponding simple stem; S.khomatha (come together, gather), cf. S.homara N.xomara (clasp) and N.kxoma (touch); N.kxobatha (rake everything up, together), cf. N.kxoba (sweep together).

(b) In the following cases the suffix atha has lost its contactive(intensive) force: T.kgonatha (do anything with vigour or determination), cf. S.khôna T.kgôna N.kxôna (be able to do a thing); N.sopatha (be unable to refrain from laughing), no corresponding simple stem.

β) Compound:

1. Contactive(intensive) in basic position:
The contactive(intensive) occurs in this position, e.g. in the contactive(intensive)-applicative S.athêla T.athêla N.athêla as in: T.kgonathêla (press hard after), for kgonatha cf. d) ii) (b) above; N.kxaphathêla (stick to), cf. T.kgapha N.kxapha (smear a floor with wet dung), no corresponding contactive(intensive) stem), S.khakhathêla (stick for as e.g. food in a pot), cf. N.kxakxa (stick to

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1) This is an extremely rare suffix, only 6 contactive (intensive) stems could be found.

e.g. a thorn on the clothes), no corresponding contactive(intensive stem.

The contactive(intensive)-performative S.athisa T.athisa N.athiša, e.g. S.hlomathisa (intertwine, add to), cf. S.hlôma T.tlhôma N.hlôma (plant, fix in) and T.tlhomara (cling around, encompass), no corresponding contactive (intensive) stem; T.kgamathisa[i] N.kxamathiša (cause to stick to), for T.kgamatha N.kxamatha cf. (a) ii) (a) above.

Such compounds are not of sufficient interest for further treatment here.

2. Contactive(intensive) in a non-basic position: This suffix does not occur in this position.

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i) Obtained from my informants.

CHAPTER 18

Disruptive S.tla T.tla N.tla [i] [ii]

I Primary: a) Single:

i) Disruptive S.tla T.tla N.tla, e.g. N.kxabatla (chop aimlessly into pieces), cf. T.kxaba (pierce at various points as with a branch, kill with a spade); S.khôbôtla N.kxôbôtla (trample, stamp, ruin by trampling upon), cf. S.khôba T.kxôba N.kxôba (smash, beat, chisel); N.phaatla [iii] (open a book, turn up the edge) < N.*phaatla < N.*phavatla, cf. N.phava (jerk open); T.paputla (grope along as a blind man, grope one's way along, idea: touch here and there everywhere), cf. N.papa (grope with the hands).

Interesting are the following disruptive stems with different stem-vowels and different connecting vowels, but related in meaning and sometimes even semantically identical: N.kxabatla (chop aimlessly into pieces), T.kxabatla N.kxabôtla (break into pieces, cut up into pieces) and N.kxôbôtla (cut into pieces, cut up).

S.papatla N.papatla (make a broad thing like a cake of dung for fuel, make flat, cf. the extensive slapping movements when performing this action), S.papatla T.papatla N.papatla (widen, spread, make flat), T.paputla (go along as a blind man, grope one's way along), N.paputla (tred) N.papatla (tred, walk quickly), perhaps related to the previous set.

T.ramatla (begin to walk), N.ramatla (=T.ramatla).

N.tsopotla (nod with the head when walking) and N.tsopatla (=tsopotla).

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i) UB. Ka cf. Phon. p. 46.

ii) The classification unstrengthened and strengthened is not applied to this suffix, as tl, although a plosive, is not due to the strengthening of an unstrengthened suffix-consonant as here applied.

iii) Due to a process of eliscn and regressive assimilation, cf. metsa (water) < *maisa.

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N.kxobetla (glean), T.kgobotla (gather together money etc., crowd), N.kxwêbetla (glean).

T.karetla N.karêtla (roar, growl, make a rumbling noise, thunder), N.kôrêtla (=T.karetla N.karêtla), S.keretla (speak much, loudly).

S.paratla (make a noise with one's feet, e.g. of horses running), S.peretla (let out wind) S.pôrôtla N.pôrôtla (roar, sing loudly), N.purutla (roar e.g. of a lion).

S.khaketla (cut fringes in the edge of a cloth), S.kheketla (cut unequally, irregularly).

T.kibitla (run heavily) and T.kubitla (sway from side to side as a bad runner, walk with shaky gait as a weak person).

ii) (a) The disruptive denotes disruptive or violent action[i], e.g. N.kxabatla (chop aimlessly into bits), T.kgabetla N.kxabêtla (break into pieces, cut up into pieces), cf. T.kgaba (pierce at various points as with a branch, kill with a spade); N.kxôbêtla (cut into pieces, cut up), cf. T.kgêba (chop in a slanting direction, chop out the backbone of an animal); N.konatla (cut through), cf. N.kona (sprain); T.sêkêtla N.sêkêtla (cut or hew about), cf. S.sêka (lance); N.kxêrêtla (tear to bits), cf. N.kxêra (gnaw, bite off); N.kxwaritla (scratch), cf. T.kgwara N.kxwara (scratch, make a scratching noise); S.khôbôtla N.kxôbôtla (trample, stamp, ruin by trampling upon), cf. S.khôba T.kgôba N.kxôba (smash, beat, chisel); S.furutla (excavate), cf. S.fura T.[illegible] N.fura (make a hole); T.fafetla (toss about as the wind), cf. N.fafa (be light); N.tsiritla (sound of a drum), cf. N.tsira (gnash the teeth); T.kgôbôtla (despise as being of no use, speak disparagingly to, hurt the feelings by speaking), cf. S.khôba T.kgôba N.kxôba (upbraid,

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i) cf. Endemann W.d.S., p. 34.

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reproach, scold); T.tlaretla (growl), cf. S.tlara (look angrily at); N.tlôpôtla (fill in very much, ladle a lot into), cf. N.tlôpa (fill a pot when making beer); T.gamutla (close the arms fast around a thing, grasp the mouth of a sack with one's hands), cf. S.hama T.gama N.xama (milk); S.papatla N.papatla (make flat, make a broad thing like a cake of dung, idea: beat repeatedly with flat hand), S.papatla T.papatla N.papatla (make flat, widen, idea: beat repeatedly with flat hand), T.paputla (go along as a blind man, grope one's way along), cf. N.papa (grope with the hands); T.pipitla N.pipitla (keep back part of a story, fail to tell all the news), cf. N.pipa (cover up).

(b) The suffix tla has sometimes lost its disruptive force, e.g. N.kakatla (suffer from foot and mouth disease), cf. N.kaka (suffer from foot and mouth disease); S.rapatla (speak alone, scold), cf. N.rapa (call up, invite); N.tsopotla-N.tsopetla (nod with the head when walking), cf. N.tsopa (nod with the head when walking); N.xakotla (cheat), cf. S.haka N.xaka (entice, draw by cunning); S.tsaketla (move to and fro, get shaken), cf. S.tsaka N.tsaka (wag the tail, move to and fro); S.pukutla (blow of the wind), cf. S.puka (blow hard, moan).

(c) In some cases the semantic relation between the disruptive stem and the probable corresponding simple stem is rather vague, e.g. S.khôaratla (murmur), cf. T.kwara N.kxwara (make a scratching sound); T.apatla (grope or feel one's way as a blind or drunken man, feel one's way when speaking about an unfamiliar subject), cf. N.apa (touch upon a subject in a conversation); N.folotla (wash off, wipe), cf. T.fola N.fola (thresh corn or mealies); T.mômôtla (speak with reserve, give stintingly), cf. S.moma T.moma N.moma (shut the mouth, be silent); N.paputla (trod), cf. N.papa

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(grope with the hands); T.khurutla (seek a lost thing perseveringly), cf. N.khura (hide).

(d) Some disruptive stems are transitive, others are intransitive, e.g.
N.kxabatla transitive T.kgaba transitive (cf. (a) above), N.konatla transitive N.kona transitive (cf. (a) above), S.papatla N.pepatla transitive N.papa intransitive (cf. (a) above), T.fafetla transitive N.fafa intransitive (cf. (a) above), N.kakatla intransitive N.kaka intransitive (cf. (b) above), N.tsopotla intransitive N.tsopa intransitive (cf. (b) above), T.tšorotla intransitive S.tlora transitive (cf. (a) above), T.paputla intransitive N.papa intransitive (cf. (a) above).

(e) As can be seen from (d) above the simple stems corresponding to some disruptive stems are transitive, while those corresponding to others are intransitive.

(f) There are disruptive stems not associated with any extant simple verbal stems, ~~neither~~ nor could non-verbal stems be indicated as being possible bases of these derivatives; a comparison with other derivative stems, that also having no corresponding simple verbal stems or corresponding non-verbal stems shows, however, in some cases a probable common non-extant simple verbal stem, e.g.
S.paratla (make a noise with the feet, e.g. of horses running), cf. T.paraganya (gallop); S.paketla (run very quickly), cf. S.pakasêla (flee);
N.tsêkêtla (hew off with an axe), cf. S.tsekolla (cut or tear to pieces);
T.šôbôtla (trample under foot as mud), cf. T.šobêla (ram fast);
S.kšabetla (walk with violence, quickly);
S.khibitla (drive many animals);
T.khubitla (work very hard).

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T.kubitla (sway from side to side as a bad runner);
N.xokotla (plough dry land);
T.lokotla (break to pieces or into splinters);
N.tsôbôtla (dig with a hoe attached to a rod);
N.pukutla (grow very quickly, shoot up).

(g) If disruptive and confusive stems derived from the same roots are compared it would seem as if the force conveyed by the former is the intensive of the force conveyed by the latter, and it is even possible that the disruptive suffix may be regarded as the intensive of the confusive. However, I do not intend stressing this possible relation any further than merely mentioning it as the suffix-consonants of these two suffixes have a different phonological origin[1].

Examples of disruptive and confusive stems derived from the same verbal root:
S.khârâhla (notch), N.krêrêtla (tear to bits);
S.pherehla (boil loudly), S.pheretla N.phêrêtla (make a rustling sound e.g. of the wings of a bird);
S.kirihla (snore), S.kiritla (thunder, sound);
S.sôbôhla (make supple), T.šôbôtla (trample under feet as mud, snow, etc.);
S.khorohla (said of the noise made by a boiling pot);
T.kgorotla (rattle or gurgle as in bronchitis);
S.khǒarahla (walk on a stony place),
S.khǒaratla (grumble, murmur).

β) Compound:

1. Disruptive in basic position; e.g.
aa) Disruptive-applicative S.tlêla T.tlêla N.tlêla as in: S.mamatlêla (cling to), cf. N.mama (stick to), no corresponding disruptive stem, T.kamatlêla (embrace), cf. N.kama

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1) cf. Phon., pp. 62-63.

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(catch something thrown at you), no corresponding disruptive stem; N.ngangatlêla (stretch out), cf. S.nganga (pull, drag), no corresponding disruptive stem; T.kgabetlêla N.kxabêtlêla (mince meat or to cut up into small bits with respect to something), for T.kgabetla N.kxabêtla and T.kgaba cf. α) ii) (a) above.

bb) Disruptive-performative S.tlisa T.tlisa N.tlisa as in: S.papetlisa T.papetlisa N.papetlisa (make flat, cause to be flat), for S.papetla T.papetla N.papetla and N.papa, cf. α) ii) (a) above.

Such compounds are not of sufficient interest for further treatment here.

2. Disruptive in a non-basic position, it occurs in this position only in the cases referred to in Chapter 5 § 10 (f).

II Secondary:

The disruptive has no corresponding secondary form.

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CHAPTER 17

Factitive S.ĕa T.ya N.ya [i) ii)]

I Primary: α) Single:

i) Factitive S.ĕa T.ya N.ya; the semivowel of this suffix affects the final root-consonant in the manner to be described below, as well as the root-vowels e and o; these vowels become, as a rule, closed when the factitive suffix is attached to a root containing either of them [iii)], e.g. S.fetsa T.fetsa N.fetŭa (finish, make an end of), cf. S.fêla T.fêla N.fêla (end, come to an end); S.tlotsa T.tlotsa N.tlotŭa (anoint, grease), cf. S.tlôla T.tlôla N.tlôla (use an ointment, anoint oneself with). Dialectally however these vowels sometimes remain unchanged, e.g. S.fenya T.fenya, or N.fênya [iv)] (overcome, conquer, i.e. force back), cf. N.fêna (turn, bend back); S.nyênya, (disdain, be disgusted), cf. T.nyêma (shudder); N.xêŭa or N.xeŭa [v)] (cut off the road), cf. N.xêra (cut up); N.kônya or N.konya [vi)] (utilise fully, make the best of), cf. S.kôna N.kôna (give sparingly [vii)]).

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i) UB. ĵa, cf. Phon., pp. 44 and 77.
ii) As the semivowel S.ĕ T.y N.y is not subject to a process of strengthening the classification unstrengthened and strengthened cannot be applied to this suffix.
iii) cf. Phon., p. 77. If S.ĕa T.ya N.ya is a non-basic component part of a compound suffix the S.ĕ T.y N.y exerts a narrowing influence on ê or ô even if these vowels occur in syllables not immediately preceding the one containing the S.ĕ T.y N.y of S.ĕa T.ya N.ya, cf. Chapter 12 § A) II ((2)) β) bb).
iv) cf. Endemann W.d.S., p. 78.
v) Obtained from my informants who know both forms.
vi) Obtained from my informants who know this form only
vii) On p. 89 of his W.d.S. Endemann gives N.foŭa = N.fôŭa (miss the mark), this is remarkable as the corresponding simple stem T.fora N.fora (deceive, hoax) has a closed vowel.

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How S.ĕ T.y N.y affects the final consonant of a root to which the factitive is attached [i]:

S.b T.b N.b > S.tsŏ T.tŏw N.tsw [ii], e.g.
S.atsŏa T.atŏwe [iii] (help with, grant, give alms), cf. S.aba T.aba N.aba (distribute); S.utsŏa T.utŏwa N.utswa (steal), cf. S.uba (steal) and UB.ɣiya [iv] (steal);

S.h T.g N.x > S.s T.s N.ŏ [v], e.g.
S.tsosa T.tŏosa N.tsoŏa (raise, cause to rise), cf. S.tsoha T.tŏoga N.tsoxa (rise, get up); N.phŏeŏa (purge), cf. S.pshêha N.phŏêxa (have diarrhoea);

S.l T.l N.l > S.ts T.ts N.tŏ [vi], e.g.
S.botsa T.botsa (ask) N.botŏa (say), cf. T.bola (tell news) N.bola (speak); S.letsa T.letsa N.letŏa (cause to resound), cf. S.lela T.lela N.lela (cry);

S.m T.m N.m > T.my N. (Kôpa) my, e.g. T.memya (smile), cf. S.mêma N.mêma (invite), N. (Kôpa) amya (suck), cf. S.ama T.ama N.ama (touch);
> N.nyw [vii], e.g. N.anywa (suck, suck out), cf. S.ama T.ama N.ama (touch);
N.enywa [viii] (bear fruit), cf. S.êma T.êma N.êma (stand);
N.xanywa (to milk into the mouth), cf. S.hama T.gama N.xama (milk);
> T.ngw e.g. T.ungwa (bear fruit as a tree), cf. T.uma (be fruitful as a woman);
> S.ny T.ny N.ny [ix]
e.g. S.anya T.anya N.anya (suck), cf. S.ama T.ama N.ama (touch); N.enya (bear fruit), cf. S.êma T.êma N.êma (stand); S.manya (sew patches on a garment), cf. N.mama (stick to as e.g. a patch on a hole); T.tlhanya (become curdled as first milk or milk when

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i) cf. Phon., 77. Suffix-consonants are affected in the same way by the S.ĕ T.y N.y of S.ĕa T.ya N.ya, cf. (3) below.
ii) cf. Phon. p. 67. iii) cf. N.atŏa (assist with something, present with).
iv) cf. Phon., p. 248
v) cf. Phon., p. 66. vi) cf. Phon., p. 66. vii) cf. Phon., p. 70.
viii) cf. the two perfect conjugational forms emole = entŏwe (has borne fruit)
ix) cf. Phon., p. 70.

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boiled, change as blood into fibrine and serum), cf. T.tlhama (put yeast into beer); S.honya T.gonya N.xonya (pluck out, pick out with a knife, tear out), cf. N.xoma or N.xôma (cut out).

S.n T.n N.n > S.ny T.ny N.ny[i], e.g. T.kwenya (make thick or strong), cf. T.kwena (be thick); N.konya (utilise fully, make the best of), cf. S.kôna N.kôna (give sparingly); S.minya N.minya (drain, skim), cf. S.mina N.mina (drain, skim).

S.p T.p N.p > S.tsŏ T.tšw N.tsw[ii], e.g. S.hlatsŏa T.tlhatšwa N.hlatswa (wash something), cf. S.hlapa T.tlhapa N.hlapa (wash e.g. the body);

> N.tš, e.g. N.xutša (cause a flow of saliva), cf. N.xupa (keep in the e.g. water);

S.r T.r N.r > S.s T.s N.š[iii] and sometimes N.s, e.g. N.hlašа = N.hlasa (chase away), cf. N.hlara (chase away); N.pošа (organise a hunting drive), cf. N.pora (take part in a hunting drive); S.tšŏesa (catch fish, entangle, entrap), cf. S.tšŏera T.tšhwara (catch); S.fosa T.fosa N.fošа (miss the mark or aim, fail in one's purpose), cf. T.fora N.fora (deceive, hoax);

In the following cases T.r has become tsh[iv]: kgotsha (satisfy, satiate), cf. S.khora T.kgora (become satisfied)[v].

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i) cf. Phon., p. 70. ii) cf. Phon., p 68. iii) cf. Phon., p.66.
iv) cf. also N.serithšane (small hair) and N.serišana (small tuft of hair), both diminutive forms of seriri (uncut hair, tuft of hair).
v) For the influence of the semivowel of the factitive suffix on f, cf. Chapter 20.

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ii) (a) The factitive denotes the bringing about, the inducing or the promoting of the action indicated by the corresponding simple stem and this is done by:-

Directly applying the action expressed by the simple stem to the object of the derivative stem (the agent here is the subject of the derivative stem). This causes the object to perform the action expressed by the simple stem; the object may at the same time also be the means through which that action takes place [1]. The suffix is here termed the factitive(causative);

Effecting or accomplishing in some modified way the action expressed by the simple stem without aiming at any specific object. The suffix may here be termed the factitive(effective).

Of the approximately 110 factitive stems about one half are factitive(causative), the other half factitive(effective). Each of these sub-heads will now be dealt with separately.

The factitive(causative) :

Factitive(causative) stems are always transitive, e.g. S.kenya (cause to enter, put in, insert), cf. S.kêna (enter); T.tsenya N.tsenya (cause to enter, put in), cf. T.tsêna N.tsêna (enter); S.tšosa T.tšhosa N.thšoša (frighten, startle), cf. S.tšoha T.tšhoga N.thšoxa (get a fright); N.dutša (put somebody in a sitting position, i.e. somebody who cannot himself sit down, e.g. a patient or a child), cf. S.lula T.dula N.dula (sit down); N.totša (dip in, i.e. cause to bathe), cf. S.tôla (bathe); N.šatša (leave a reminder, i.e. cause to stay behind), cf. S.sala T.sala N.šala (stay behind); S.tlotsa T.tlotsa N.tlotša (cause to anoint, grease, anoint), cf. S.tlôla T.tlôla N.tlôla (use an ointment, anoint oneself with).

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1) cf. W.d.S., p. 30.

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The semantic difference between the factitive(causative) and the performative(causative) is very slight and has mostly disappeared, the non-living factitive (causative) suffix ha~~ng~~ probably been replaced by the still living performative (causative) suffix. This difference, which can best be seen by comparing factitive(causative) stems and performative(causative) stems derived from the same root, seems to depend upon the fact that although both suffixes denote the causation of the action expressed by the simple stem, the factitive(causative) suffix conveys the idea that in causing it the subject of the corresponding derivative stem is personally and directly responsible for the performance of that action by the object of the derivative stem, the subject being thus the direct cause of the action; the performative(causative) suffix, on the other hand, conveys the idea that in causing it the subject of the corresponding derivative stem is merely indirectly responsible for the performance of that action by the object of the derivative stem, the subject being here the indirect cause of the action[1], e.g.

~~(cause the corpse to be buried, bury (people),~~
~~plant, sow),~~

S.fetsa T.fetsa N.fetša (complete, fulfil, finish, e.g. another person's work) and S.felisa T.fedisa N.fediša (cause to end or cause to cease, bring to an end, put a stop to), cf. S.fêla T.fêla N.fêla (end, get finished); S.latsa T.latsa N.latša (lay down, e.g. a person, give rest, in T.also: cause to lie down) and N.ladiša (cause to go to bed, cause to lie down), cf. S.lala T.lala N.lala (lie down), S.letsa T.letsa N.letša (play on an

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1) cf. W.d.S, p. 30.

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instrument, cause to resound) and S.lelisa T.ledisa N.ledisa (cause to weep), cf. S.lela T.lela N.lela (cry); N.dutša (put somebody into a sitting position, i.e. somebody who cannot sit himself, e.g. a patient or a child) and S.lulisa T.dudisa (cause to sit), cf. S.lula T.dula N.dula (sit down); N.šatša (leave a remainder behind) and S.salisa T.sadisa (cause to remain: in T. also: = N.šatša) N.šadiša (=N.šatša), cf. S.sala T.sala N.šala (stay behind); N.šetsa (give somebody something which he does not have, assist with, present with) and S.selisa (cause to buy food), cf. S.sêla N.sêla (go about buying food); N.totša (dip in) and S.tolisa (bathe, cause to take a bath), cf. S.tôla (bathe, wash the whole body); T.tshetsa = T.tshedisa[i] (cause to live, keep alive), cf. T.tshela (live); S.fosa T.fosa N.fošа (miss the aim or mark, make a mistake) and N.fořiša (cause deceit or fraud) cf. T.fora N.fora (deceive, hoax); T. [illegible] (purge) and S.pshehisa (cause to purge), cf. S.pshêha N.phšêxa (have diarrhoea); S.tšoasa (entrap, ensnare, catch fish) and S.tšoarisa T.tšwarisa (cause to catch or to seize), cf. S.tšoara T.tšwara (catch hold of); T.kgotsha = S.khorisa T.kgorisa (satisfy), cf. S.khora T.kgora (become satisfied); S.phunya T.phunya N.phunya (pierce, bore) and S.phumisa (cause one to let a thing fall), cf. S.phuma (let fall) N.phuma (smash); N.ponya (let something fade or dry up) and S.pontša N.ponthša (cause to fade, cause to dry), cf. S.pôha N.pôna (dry, fade); T.tsenya N.tsenya (put in, bring in, in T.also: cause to enter) and N.tsenthša (cause to enter, cause to bring in), cf. T.tsêna N.tsêna (enter)

i) S.sebelisa (cause to work), cf. S.sebetsa (work) from nguni sebenza (work), has probably been formed in analogy with such pairs of verbal stems; there is no corresponding sebêla in Sotho.

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The factitive(effective) :

About 35 of the factitive(effective) stems are intransitive, the rest transitive. Example of intransitive factitive(effective)stems: S.bonya T.bonya N.bonya (blink, wink),cf. S.bôna T.bôna N.bôna (see); N.x̌unya (get rolled up),cf. N.x̌una (bind); S.hlanya N.hlanya (be mad, rave), cf. N.hlana (be weak-minded); T.tlhonya (be erect or rough as the hair on a dog's back),cf. N.hlona (stand, bristle up); N.kxanya (boast, swagger, be vain),cf. T.kgana N.kxana (exult, rejoice, boast); S.nanya T.nanya N.nanya (walk slowly dragging one's feet),cf. N.nana (walk slowly); T.kgwasa N.kxwe$̌a (rustle, make a noise like feet in the grass),cf. T.kgwara N.kxwara (scrape with a knife, strike a match); N.kxat$̌a (coagulate, congeal),cf. T.kgala (dry up as blood in a wound, cease dripping as blood); S.khutsa T.khutsa N.khut$̌a (become silent, pause for the time being),cf. N.khula (stop for the time being e.g. of rain).

Examples of transitive factitive(effective) stems: N.xanywa (milk into the mouth),cf. S.hama T.gama N.xama (milk); T.ungwa (bear fruit as a tree),cf. T.uma (be fruitful as a woman); S.anya T.anya N.anya (suck),cf. S.ama T.ama N.ama (touch); S.rinya (kill many things at once, destroy),cf. N.rina (crack, rid of lice),S.thonya (choose amongst others),cf. N.thôna (take out with two fingers); N.xanya (say no),cf. S.hana T.gana N.xana (refuse); N.xê$̌a (cut off the road), cf. N.xêra (cut up); N.xo$̌a (clean a bottle or flask well by washing it out with water and sand), cf. S.hôra T.gôra N.xôra (lick a pot clean); S.pesa (bend the back e.g. of a horse when a saddle is put on its sore back),cf. S.pêra (be timid).

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Interesting is the semantic relation between the following factitive and performative stems derived from the same verbal root:
S.fenya T.fenya N.fenya (overcome, conquer, i.e. force back) and T.fentsha (cause to conquer), cf. N.fêna (turn, bend back); S.khanya N.kxanya (be bright, glitter) and S.khantša (brighten, cause to shine), cf. T.kgana N.kxana (exult, rejoice, boast); S.thinya (turn very quickly in running), T.thinya (abandon one's intention for a good reason, postpone for a while) and S.thintša (cause to turn, turn aside), T.thintsha (alter, postpone), cf. N.thina (bend and crack); N.thinya (dip, dip in, bend in, break) and N.thinthša (dip in entirely), cf. N.thina (bend and crack).

For the following no corresponding simple stems could be ascertained: S.benya (be bright, shine, glitter) and S.bentša (make brilliant, polish); S.nyanya N.nyanya (suck) and N.nyanthša (suckle, nurse), but cf. N.monyana (girl); S.thanya T.thanya N.thenya (jump like a flea, beat of the heart, crack) and S.thantša T.thantsha (make to crack, cause to jump); S.hlanya (bristle up, e.g. the hair) and S.hlantša (cause to bristle); S.kŏenya (swallow) and S.kŏentša (cause to swallow).

Normally derivative stems in S.isa T.isa N.iša convey the performative of the action expressed by the corresponding simple steme; here, however, they convey as far as the present state of affairs is concerned, the performative of the action expressed by the corresponding factitive stems. It would therefore appear as if the sound-combination S.ny T.ny N.ny + S.isa T.isa N.iša > S.ntša T.ntsha N.nthša, just as S.n T.n N.n + S.isa T.isa N.iša > S.ntša T.ntsha N.nthša; this is, however, not supported by any other cases apart from those where factitive and performative stems, of the above nature, are concerned.

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It seems to me, therefore, as if there is no justification for regarding the above performative stems as having been derived directly from a preceding stage ending in ny, and I think that both the factitive and the performative stems referred to above, are phonologically immediately preceded by a root in n, and that the semantic relation between the factitive and the performative stems which conveys the impression that the latter has been built directly upon the former may be ascribed to the following:

1. a shifting of meaning, resulting in a vague semantic relation between the factitive and the performative stems on the one hand and the corresponding simple stems on the other hand[1], i.e. in the cases where corresponding simple stems can be indicated; it may even be that these simple stems have lost some of their force ~~in favour of~~ to their corresponding factitive stems;

2. the non-existence of corresponding simple stems and the resulting impossibility of indicating the meaning of such stems, i.e. in cases where no corresponding simple stems could be indicated.

One may therefore assume that in the past the performative stems referred to above clearly conveyed the performative of corresponding simple stems. Compare in this connection the following cases, where it is still quite obvious that the stems in S.isa T.isa N.iša convey the performative of the corresponding simple stems: S.hantsa T.gantsha N.xanthša (cause to refuse), cf. S.hana T.gana N.xana (refuse) and N.xanya (say no); S.bontsa T.bontsha N.bonthša (show), cf. S.bôna T.bôna N.bôna (see) and T.bonya N.bonya (wink, twinkle, e.g. an eye) S.bonya (smile); T.tlhontsha N.hlonthša (set on end e.g. the hair), cf. N.hlona (stand on end, ruffle up) and T.tlhonya (be erect or rough as the hair on a dog's back).

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1) It has already been repeatedly indicated above that the semantic relation between simple stems and their corresponding derivative stems ~~are~~ is sometimes vague.

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It should be noted that the sound-combination nyisa (nyiša) actually exists as such, e.g. S.nyenyisa (smuggle) N.nyenyiša (cause repugnance, disgust), cf. S.nyênya N.nyênya (disdain) and T.nyêma (shudder); N.nywenyiša (cause repugnance, disgust), cf. N.nywênya (abhor, detest); S.nyonyisa (disgust), cf. S.nyônya (despise).

A difficulty arises however in the case of S.anya T.anya N.anya N.anywa N.amya (suck) and S.antša (suckle, nurse), cf. S.ama T.ama N.ama (touch), as the sound-combination S.misa does not give S.ntša; but I think the stem antša has been formed in analogy with such cases as S.khanya N.kxanya (be bright, glitter), S.khantša (cause to shine), T.kxana N.kxana (exult, rejoice, boast); and S.benya N.benya (be bright, glitter) and S.bentša (make brilliant, polish); i.e. cases where the semantic relation between the simple stem on the one hand and the factitive and performative stems on the other hand is very vague, or where no corresponding simple stem could be indicated at all. In the case of antša a corresponding simple stem *ana has probably been assumed - the semantic relation between ama and antša being no longer commonly recognised.

(b) The suffix S.ša T.ya N.ya has sometimes lost its factitive force, e.g. S.jôetsa N.jwetša (tell, say), cf. S.jôela N.jwêla (=S.jôetsa N.jwetša); T.khinya (knee-halter a horse), cf. N.khina (=T.khinya).

(c) Sometimes the semantic relation between the factitive stem and the probable corresponding simple stem is vague, e.g. T.memya (smile), cf. S.mêma N.mêma (invite); N.enya = N.enywa (bear fruit), cf. S.êma T.êma N.êma (stand); T.kanya (beat with one hard blow, kill with one stroke, become tight as a barrel put into water), cf. T.kana N.kana

(stop holes with cement, seal); S.nonya (brandish, try something, e.g. a stick, an assegai, try a man to see what he will say), cf. N.nôna (choose out, select); [illegible] cf. N.[illegible] [illegible], N.rôsa (babble, tell tales), cf. S.rôra T.rôra N.rôra (roar, grumble, snore); S.khotsa (take refuge, seek or enjoy a peaceful life), cf. N.kxôla (satisfy).

(d) The simple stems corresponding to some factitive stems are transitive while those corresponding to others are intransitive, e.g. S.fatsa T.fatsa (cut wood, clip, plane), cf. S.fala T.fala N.fala transitive (scrape, plane), T.atsa (squirt as from a syringe), cf. S.ala T.ala N.ala transitive (spread out); S.tsŏŏsa (entrap, ensnare, catch fish), cf. S.tsŏŏara T.tshwara transitive (catch); S.bonya T.bonya N.bonya (blink, wink), cf. S.bôna T.bôna N.bôna transitive (see); N.xunya (get rolled up), cf. N.xuna transitive (bind); S.fetsa T.fetsa N.fetša (complete, fulfil) cf. S.fêla T.fêla N.fêla intransitive (end, get finished); S.letsa T.letsa N.letša (play on an instrument, cause to resound), cf. S.lela T.lela N.lela intransitive (cry); S.nenya T.nanya N.nanya (walk slowly dragging one's feet), cf. N.nana intransitive (walk slowly).

(e) There are factitive stems which are not associated with any extant simple verbal stem, ~~neither~~ nor could non-verbal stems be indicated as being possible bases of these derivatives, a comparison with other derivative stems that also have no corresponding simple verbal stem or corresponding non-verbal stem shows, however, in some cases, a probable common non-extant simple verbal stem, e.g. T.ranya (walk stealthily in a stooping posture), cf. T.ramatla (begin to walk); S.sŏenya (tie ears of maize together), cf. S.sŏenetsa (fold, bend without breaking); S.tanya (speak very well),

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cf. N.tsmiša (greet, hail, welcome); S.nyatsa (criticise, blame, reproach) T.nyatsa N.nyatša (despise, disdain, belittle, criticise), cf. N.nyalêla (treat disdainfully) and T.nyadiwa (be despised); S.bitsa T.bitsa N.bitša (call), cf. T.bidiwa N.bidiwa (be called) and UB. yila (call)[i]; N.kxwetša (stammer, speak thickly), cf. T.kgwelesgana (be tongue-tied); S.lesa T.lesa N.lesa (leave), cf. UB. leka (leave)[ii].

(f) As far as I could ascertain factitive stems with corresponding transitive simple verbal stems do not take two objects as do performative stems whose corresponding simple stems are transitive[iii].

β) Compound:

1. Factitive in basic position:

aa) (i) Factitive-performative S.êisa T.yisa N.yiša, the S.ê T.y N.y combines with the final root-consonant in the same way as the S.ê T.y N.y of S.êa T.ya N.ya. As was indicated in Chapter 10 S.isa T.isa N.iša consists of S.êh + S.êa T.êg + T.ya S.êx + N.ya. The factitive-performative suffix therefore contains actually two factitive suffixes.

(ii) This suffix adds the performative idea to the idea expressed by the corresponding factitive stem. It is a very rare suffix[iv] and is ~~only~~ dealt with here only because it is an interesting compound containing two factitive suffixes, and also with a new to compare it with the corresponding performative stems. Examples: S.fosisa N.fošiša (cause to

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i) Cf. Phon., p. 244.
ii) Cf. Phon., p. 246.
iii) Cf. Chapter 10 § A) II) ((2)) β) 1. ((C)) aa) ii).
iv) I could find only 8 factitive-performative stems.

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mislead into fault), cf. S.fosa T.fosa N.fošа (miss the aim or mark, make a mistake); N.forišа (cause deceit or fraud) and T.fora N.fora (deceive, hoax); S.latsisa (civilise, polish), cf. S.latsa T.latsa N.latša (give rest, lay down in T.also: cause to lie down), N.ladiša (cause to go to bed, cause to lie down) and S.lala T.lala N.lala (lie down); S.botsisa (cause to ask) T.botsisa (enquire into, search into, catechise) N.botšiša (ask), cf. S.botsa T.botsa (ask, inquire) N.botša (say to, tell) and T.bola (tell news) N.bola (talk); S.khutsisa (cause to be quiet, prohibit speech, calm), cf. S.khutsa T.khutsa N.khutša (become silent, pause for the time being) and N.khula (stop for the time being e.g. of rain); S.nyatsisa (cause to blame), cf. S.nyatsa (blame) T.nyatsa N.nyatša (despise, disdain) and T.nyadisa (i) N.nyadiša (i) (cause to despise), no corresponding simple stem; N.nyenyiša (cause repugnance) cf. S.nyênya N.nyênya (disdain, despise), T.nyemisa (cause to shudder) and T.nyêma (shudder).

bb) i) Factitive-applicative; this suffix has three forms, viz:

(a) S.êêla T.yêla N.yêla, e.g. N.xunyêla (come together, draw back e.g. of a snake drawing its head back into the hole, roll up), cf. N.xunya (get rolled up) and N.xuna (bind); S.monyêla (become absorbed, disappear), cf. S.monya (suck, absorb) and S.mona T.mona N.mona (suck up, taste); S.honyêla N.xonyêla (get drawn together, shrink, get bent down) T.gonyêla (peep out and disappear again), cf. T.gona (draw in as a hand or foot); T.utswêla N.utswêla (steal for or from), cf. S.utsoa T.utswa N.utswa (steal) and S.uba (steal); N.latswêla

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(i) Obtained from my informants.

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(lick at), cf. S.latsŏa T.latswa N.latswa (lick) and UB. lemba (lick)[i]; S.hlasêla T.tlhasêla N.hlasêla (attack, assault), cf. N.hlasa (chase away, frighten birds) and N.hlara (chase away); S.lesêla (leave for), cf. S.lesa T.lesa N.lesa (leave) and UB. leka (leave).

(b) S.etsa T.etsa N.etsa; it has this form only when the final consonant of the verbal root is l - the corresponding factitive stem thus having as final stem-consonant S.ts T.ts N.ts. Here the factitive suffix has changed its position, it follows instead of preceding the applicative suffix[ii], but however this change in the position of its component parts does not functionally affect the suffix, it still conveys the applicative of the idea expressed by the corresponding factitive stem in spite of the fact that the suffix S.etsa T.etsa N.etsa is identical in form with the applicative-factitive and with one of

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i) cf. Phon., p. 246.
ii) cf. Phon, p. 19. This rule applies also to longer compounds, cf. the actional(capable)-factitive-applicative as in S.lakaletsa (wish for), cf. S.lakatsa N.lakatsa (wish); in the following example the suffix is an actional(capable)-applicative-factitive S.bônaletsa N.bônaletsa (let something get into sight for somebody) cf. N.bônalêla (get into sight with respect to); and the actional(destructive)-factitive-applicative as in S.manoletsa (take a little for) cf. S.manotsa (take a little); in the following case the suffix is an actional(destructive)-applicative-factitive N.xomoletsa (pacify) cf. N.xomolêla (keep quiet).

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the applicative suffixes[i], e.g. N.tloletsa (smear on), cf. S.tlotsa T.tlotsa N.tlotsa (smear, anoint, cause to anoint) and S.tlôla T.tlôla N.tlôla (anoint oneself); S.boletsa T.boletsa (ask for), cf. S.botsa T.botsa (ask) N.botsa (tell somebody something) and cf. T. bola (tell news) N.bola (speak)[ii].

In the following cases no corresponding simple stems could be indicated:

S.biletsa T.biletsa N.biletsa (call for), cf. S.bitsa T.bitsa N.bitsa (call) and UB. yila (call)[iii]; T.meletsa (swallow for), cf. S.metsa T.metsa N.metsa (swallow) and UB. mila (swallow)[iv]; S.boletsa T.boletsa N.boletsa (throw on), cf. S.betsa T.betsa N.betsa (throw); S.feletsa (wipe in), cf. S.fetsa (wipe off); T.nyaletsa (despise for), cf. S.nyatsa (blame, criticise) T.nyatsa N.nyatsa (despise) and N.nyalêla (treat disdainfully). It is possible that with S.beletsa T.beletsa N.beletsa and S.feletsa the corresponding simple stems are S.betsa T.betsa N.betsa and S.fetsa respectively, and not *bela and *fela, and that S.beletsa T.beletsa N.beletsa and S.feletsa have been

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i) cf. Chapter 12 § A) II ((2)) β) i) bb), also Chapter 12 § A) II ((2)) α) i)). There are therefore three suffixes of the form S.etsa T.etsa N.etsa viz: i. The factitive-applicative S.etsa T.etsa N.etsa < S.ĕ + S.êla T.y + T.êla N.y + N.êla ii. The applicative S.etsa T.etsa N.etsa which is due to analogy with the process of forming the factitive-applicative and does not contain the factitive (cf. Chapter 12 above referred to). iii. The applicative-factitive S.etsa T.etsa N.etsa < S.êl + S.ĕa T.êl + T.ya N.êl + N.ya. ii) This process is also applied in compound suffixes where the factitive is not in the basic position, e.g. in the actional(capable)-factitive-applicative as in S.lekaletsa (wish for, wish to), cf. S.lekatsa N.lekatsa (wish, desire), N.lekela (be worried about) and N.leka (superintend, govern); the applicative-factitive-applicative as in T.akeletsa (invent a lie about), cf. T.aketsa N.ekatsa (lie to, against, about) T.akêla N.akêla (deceive by lying, tell someone a lie, gossip about adversely) and T.aka N.aka (lie). There are therefore three suffixes of the form S.eletsa T.eletsa N.eletsa, viz: i. The applicative-factitive-applicative S.eletsa T.eletsa N.eletsa < S.ets (< êl + ĕa) + S.êla T.ets (< êl + ya) + T.êla N.ets (< êl + ya) + N.êla. ii. The applicative (intensive) (cf. Chapter 12 § A) II ((2)) β) 1. aa) (b)) S.eletsa T.eletsa N.eletsa which I presume has been formed in analogy with i. out of S.ets + S.êla T.ets + T.êla N.ets + N.êla. The first component part here, viz: the applicative S.etsa T.etsa N.etsa does not contain the factitive (cf. above). iii. The applicative (intensive)-factitive S.eletsa T.eletsa N.eletsa < S.êll + S.ĕa T.êlêl + T.ya N.êlêl + N.ya (cf. Chapter 12 § A) II ((2)) β) 1. bb)). These suffixes although identical in form, are not identical in derivation.

iii) cf. Phon.p. 244. iv) cf. Phon.p. 248.

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formed in analogy with factitive-applicative stems whose corresponding factitive stems have S.ts T.ts N.tš as final consonant; in this way S.sebeletsa (work for), cf. S.sebetsa (work) from Nguni sebenza (work), has been formed. I have nevertheless classed S.beletsa T.beletsa N.beletša and S.feletsa here as they may equally well have *bela and *fela respectively as corresponding simple stems, if, however, it can be proved that their roots are actually bets and fets and not bel and fel respectively then the suffix here employed is an applicative and not a factitive-applicative.

(c) S.šetsa T.yetsa N.yetša [i], here the factitive suffix has been repeated [ii], thus forming a third stage of development of the form of the factitive-applicative, e.g. S.bitsetsa = S.biletsa T.biletsa N.biletša (cf. (b) above); S.tlotsetsa = N.tloletša (cf. (b) above), S.botsetsa = S.boletsa T.boletsa (cf. (b) above); S.nyatsetsa (blame for), cf. T.nyaletsa (cf. (b) above); S.khutsetsa (keep silent about), cf. S.khutsa T.khutsa N.khutša (become silent, pause for the time being) and N.khula (stop for the time being e.g. of rain); S.utsošetsa = T.utswêla N.utswêla (cf. (a) above); S.hlatsoetsa N.hlatswetsa (wash for, in), cf. S.hlatsoe T.tlhatswa N.hlatswe (was something) and S.hlapa T.hlapa N.hlapa (wash e.g. the body);

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i) Equal in form to the factitive-applicative-factitive, of which I could find only one example, viz: S.honyetsa (cause to shrink, draw back) T.gonyetsa (draw back after peeping out), cf. S.honyêla N.xonyêla (shrink, get drawn together) T.gonyêla (peep out and disappear again) and T.gona (draw in as a hand or foot.

ii) cf. Phon. p. 80. This rule applies also to longer compounds, cf. the stational(destructive)-factitive-applicative as in S.orosetsa (send back to), cf. S.orosa (send home); T.thibosetsa (cause to move out of the way of), cf. T.thibosa (cause to move out of the way). It is perhaps noteworthy that the suffixes S.sla T.ala N.ala and S.ola T.ola N.ola when following upon the factitive in a compound suffix is not affected by the latter, e.g. S.bitsolla (destroy one's reputation), cf. S.bitsa T.bitsa N.bitša (call); T. busolola (take vengeance upon), cf. S.busa T.busa N.busa (send back) and S.boša T.boya N.boya (return); N.šinyalala (sneer, grin), cf. N.šina (show the teeth).

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S.tsosetsa T.tsosetsa N.tsosetsa (excite for, arouse for), cf. S.tsosa T.tsosa N.tsosa (cause to rise) and S.tsoha T.tsoga N.soxa (rise); S.lesetsa i)[1] T.lesetsa i)[1] N.lesetsa (leave for), cf. S.lesa T.lesa N.lesa (leave) and UB. leka (leave);

S.bonyetsa (court for), cf. S.bonya (smile, flirt) T.bonya N.bonya (wink an eye) and S.bona T.bona N.bona (see); S.hanyetsa N.xanyetsa (oppose, contradict), cf. N.xanya (say no) and S.hana T.gana N.xana (refuse); S.kenyetsa (introduce for), cf. S.kenya (cause to enter, introduce) and S.kena (enter); T.fenyetsa N.fenyetsa (conquer with respect to), cf. S.fenya T.fenya N.fenya (conquer i.e. force back) and N.fena (turn, bend back); S.anyetsa T.anyetsa N.anyetsa = N.anywetsa = N. (Kopa) amyetsa (suck on behalf), cf. S.anya T.anya N.anya = N.anywa = N.(Kopa)amya (suck) and S.ama T.ama N.ama (touch).

See also S.betsetsa = S.beletsa T.beletsa N.beletsa (cf. (b) above) and S.fetsetsa = S.feletsa (cf. (b) above).

ii) The factitive-applicative suffix adds the applicative idea to the idea expressed by the factitive stem, for examples cf. i) above.

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i) Obtained from my informants, S. has also a form lesela (=lesetsa cf. (a) above.

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2. Factitive in a non-basic position:

The factitive is extensively found in this position, I quote only a few examples below:

aa) (i) Actional(destructive-intensive)-factitive S.olotsa T.olotsa N.olotsa, the second o of the corresponding actional(destructive-intensive), if elided [i], always reappears in this compound, e.g. N.manolotsa (pluck off the leaves, tear off the bark), cf. S.manolla T.manolola N.manolla or N.manolola (unglue, uncover, pull off as paper from a wall) and N.mana (wind round); S.ribolotsa (turn up the ground, plough a forsaken field), cf. S.ribolla N.ribolla (turn up, tilt over) and N.riba (bend); N.tatolotsa (unwind, unravel), cf. N.tatolla (wind off, unroll, uncouple) and N.tata (wind); S.tsekolotsa (tear to pieces), cf. S.tsekolla (tear to pieces, divide) and S.tsêka (dispute); S.fumolotsa (draw or pull out a certain quantity of thatch, pluck a fowl or pull out wool); T.humolotsa (flay off a skin), cf. S.fumolla (draw or pull out a certain quantity of thatch, pluck a fowl or pull out wool), and S.fuma T.huma N.fuma (strip or peel off); N.bexolotsa (have an announcement withdrawn), cf. N.bexolla (withdraw an announcement) and S.bêha N.bêxa (report); N.ebolotsa (cause to skin) cf. N.ebolla (skin) and N.eba (peel).

ii) This suffix adds the factitive idea to the idea expressed by the corresponding actional(destructive-intensive) stem for examples: cf. (i) above, as will be seen from some of these examples actional(destructive-intensive) and actional(destructive-intensive)-factitive stems are sometimes synonymous; in such cases the actional (destructive-intensive)-factitive suffix has probably lost its factitive force.

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i) cf. Chapter 12 §A) II) ((3)) β) 1. aa).

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bb) (i) The reciprocal-factitive S.anya T.anya N.anya

ii) The reciprocal-factitive suffix adds the factitive idea to the idea expressed by the corresponding reciprocal stem, e.g. S.fapanya N.fapanya (start a quarrel between, alternate, mix up) T.fapanya (cause to alternate or cross one another), cf. S.fapana T.fapana N.fapana (differ in opinion, quarrel, pass or cross one another) and S.fapa T.fapa N.fapa (wind round); N.xahlanya (put together, join), cf. N.xahlana (come across, meet) and T.gatlha (tie, gird) S.hehla N.xehla (coagulate); S.lekanya T.lekanya N.lekanya (measure, estimate, weigh), cf. S.lekana T.lekana N.lekana (be enough, be equal) and S.leka T.leka N.leka (try).

cc) (i) The actional(destructive)-stational (destructove)-reciprocal-factitive S.olohanya T.ologanya N.oloxanya.

ii) This suffix adds the factitive idea to the actional(destructive)-stational(destructive)-reciprocal stem, e.g. S.khetholohanya N.kxetholoxanya (separate from one another), cf. N.kxetholoxana (get separated from one another) and S.khêtha N.kxêtha (choose); T.matologanya N.matoloxanya (pull apart, loosen from one another), cf. N.matoloxana (get untied from one another) and N.mata (stick to).

II Secondary:

The factitive has no corresponding secondary form.

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CHAPTER 18

Passive S.ôa T.wa N.wa [i] [ii] [iii] and passive S.*iôa [iv] T.iwa N.iwa [v].

I Primary: Single:

i) Passive S.ôa T.wa N.wa, [vi] the semivowel in this suffix affects the final stem-consonant as follows: [vii]

(a) Back-labialisation occurs in the following cases [viii]:

S.h T.g N.x > S.hô T.gw N.xw, e.g. S.rehôa T.ragwa N.raxwa (be kicked), cf. S.raha T.raga N.raxa (kick).

S.hl T.tlh N.hl > S.hlô T.tlhw N.hlw, e.g. S.lahlôa T.latlhwa N.lahlwa (be thrown away), cf. S.lahla T.latlha N.lahla (throw away).

S.j > S.jô, e.g. S.hojôa (be smeared), cf. S.hoja (smear).

S.k T.k N.k > S.kô T.kw N.kw, e.g. S.rêkôa T.rêkwa N.rêkwa (be bought), cf. S.rêka T.rêka N.rêka (buy).

S.kh T.kg N.kx > S.khô T.kgw N.kxw, e.g. S.phakhôa (be filled up), cf. S.phakha (fill up); T.gokgwa (be gathered together as e.g. pumpkins), cf. T.gokga (gather pumpkins); N.phakxwa (be cut, as e.g. the ear of an animal), cf. N.phakxa (cut the ear of an animal).

S.l T.l N.l > S.lô T.lw N.lw, e.g. S.balôa T.balwa N.balwa (be counted), cf. S.bala T.bala N.bala (count).

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i) Most of the examples, quoted in this Chapter, containing a passive suffix, have been obtained either from my informants or from the Sotho literature other than the three dictionaries referred to above.

ii) UB. wa, cf. Phon, pp. 45 and 77. iii) The same term is used for both the primary and secondary passive suffixes, as they are semantically identical.

iv) S.iôa only found in coalesced forms, cf. II below.

v) UB. iywa, cf. Phon. p. 45.

vi) As no passive with S.ô T.w N.w strengthened could be indicated, the classification unstrengthened and strengthened is not applied here. It should, however, be noted that w can be strengthened by replacing it by a back-labialised k e.g. T.ikwêla (fall on oneself), cf. wêla (fall upon.)

vii) Suffix-consonants of identical form are ~~similarly~~ affected in the same way.

viii) cf. Tucker The Comparative Phonetics of the Suto-Chuana Group of Bantu Languages, pp. 74, 78 and 79. It should be noted that the S.ô T.w N.w in the following cases merely indicates back-labialisation and does not represent a separate sound.

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S.n T.n N.n > S.nǒ T.nw N.nw,e.g. S.hanǒa T.ganwa N.xanwa (be refused),cf. S.hana T.gana N.xana (refuse).

S.nn > ~~S.~~ nnǒ[i], e.g. S.khannǒa (be driven),cf. S.khanna (drive).

S.ng T.ng N.ng > S.ngǒ T.ngw N.ngw,e.g. S.ngangǒa N.ngangwa (be tied fast),cf. S.nganga N.nganga (tie fast); T.ngangwa (be nagged),cf. T.ngangа (nag).

S.ny N.ny > S.nyǒ[ii] N.nyw,e.g. S.senyǒa N.senywa (be spoiled),cf. S.senya T.senya N.senya (spoil); S.tšǒenyǒa N.thswenywa (be disturbed),cf. S.tšǒenya N.thswenya (disturb).

S.g > S.gǒ,e.g. S.khaqǒa (be choked),cf. S.khaqa (choke).

S.gh > S.ghǒ,e.g. S.ghaghǒa (be pulled down),cf. S.ghagha (pull down).

S.r T.r N.r > S.rǒ T.rw N.rw ,e.g. S.tšǒarǒa T.tšhwarwa N.swarwa (be caught),cf. S.tšǒara T.tšhwara N.swara (catch).

S.sN.s > S.sǒ N.sw, e.g. S.lesǒa N.leswa (be left),cf. S.lesa T.lesa N.lesa (leave).

S.sh T.s N.š > S.shǒ T.sw N.šw,e.g. S.ghǒsshǒa (be made, (of) e.g. a noise when breaking a piece of wood), cf. S.ghǒasha[iii] (make a noise, e.g. when a piece of wood is broken); T.aswa (be looked with pity upon),cf. T.asa (look with pity upon); N.diswa (be herded),cf. N.disa (herd).

S.t T.t N.t > S.tǒ T.tw N.tw,e.g. S.ratǒa T.ratwa N.ratwa (be loved),cf. S.reta T.rata N.rata (love).

S.th T.th N.th > S.thǒ T.thw N.thw,e.g. S.khathǒa T.kgathwa N.kxathwa (be ploughed,of new ground),cf. S.khatha T.kgatha N.kxatha (plough new ground).

S.tl T.tl N.tl > S.tlǒ T.tlw N.tlw,e.g. S.bêtlǒa T.betlwa N.bêtlwa (be carved),cf. S.bêtla T.betla N.bêtla (carve).

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i) The syllabic n is also labialised.

ii) This is not a common form in S.,cf. (c) below.

iii) The secondary passive aǒiwa is,however, much more common.

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S.ts N.ts > S.tsŏ N.tsw,e.g. S.phatsŏa (be lanced), cf. S.phatsa (lance); N.hlôtswa (be gathered together as various things separated from one another),cf. N.hlôtsa (gather together,e.g. things separated from one another); S.hlaytsŏa (be vomited),cf. S.hlatsa (vomit).

S.tj N.ts > S.tjŏ N.tšw,e.g. S.tjetjŏa (be done of many things while the doer is going about),cf. S.tjetja (go about working at many things); N.phatšwa (be lanced),cf. N.phatša (lance), N.hlatšwa (be vomited),cf. Hlatša (vomit).

N.ths > N.thsw,e.g. N.thsathswa (be rubbed in),cf. N.thsathsa (rub in).

S.ch N.thš > S.chŏ N.thšw,e.g. S.phechŏa (be coerced),cf. S.phecha (coerce); N.thšathšwa (be greased),cf. N.thšathša (grease).

(b) Back-labialisation combined with palatalisation occurs in T. in the case of š [i)], which becomes šw,e.g. lešwa (be left),cf. S.lesa T.lesa N.lesa (leave); dišwa (be herded),cf. S.lisa T.disa N.diša (herd). As will be seen from (a) above S.s and N.s are only back-labialised.

(c) Back-labialisation combined with velarisation occurs in the case of S.m T.m N.m and S.ny T.ny N.ny,e.g.

S.m T.m N.m > S.ngŏ T.ngw N.ngw,e.g. S.rongŏa T.rongwa N.rongwa (be sent),cf. S.roma T.roma N.roma (send); S.lengŏa T.lengwa N.lengwa (be ploughed),cf. S.lema T.lema N.lema (plough); S.longŏa T.longwa N.longwa (be bitten),cf. S.loma T.loma N.loma (bite).

S.ny T.ny N.ny > S.ngŏ S.nngŏ T.ngw N.ngw,e.g. S.sengŏa or S.sennggŏa T.sengwa N.sengwa (be spoiled),cf. S.senya T.senya N.senya (spoil); S.tsŏengŏa or S.tsŏenngŏa T.tshwengwa N.thswengwa (be disturbed),cf. S.tsoenya, T.tshwenya, N.tshwenya (disturb) [ii)].

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i) The secondary suffix iwa is,however, practically always used instead of the primary wa if the final root-consonant is s,cf. (B) below.

ii) Therefore when ~~deriving~~ primary passives are derived from roots in ny: (1) there is in T. only one ~~st~~form, viz. ny is velarised and back-labialised; (2) there are in N.two forms viz. (a) ny is only back-labialised, (b) ny is velarised and back-labialised; the latter form seems to be less common than the former; (3) there are in S. three ~~st~~forms viz. (a) ny is only back-labialised,

(continued on p.355)

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(d) Labials with the exception of m as follows:

i) In N. they are always front-labialised[i], except in the case of one or two dialects where no labialisation takes place, but where the labial is followed by a prepaletal semivowel. Front-labialisation takes place as follows:[ii]

b > by, e.g. hlabya (be stabbed), cf. hlaba (stab); thibya (be stopped), cf. thiba (stop); rôbya (be broken), cf. rôba (break); thubya (be smashed), cf. thuba (smash);

f > fy, e.g. rafya (be taken out), cf. rafa (take out); bôfya (be bound, tied), cf. bôfa (tie); lefya (be paid), cf. lefa (pay),

p > py e.g. xapya (be snatched), cf. xapa (snatch); fêpya (be fed), cf. fêpa (feed); bopya (be created) cf. bopa (create).

ph > phš̆ e.g. kxephš̆a (be forced back) cf. kxapha (force back); hlôphš̆a (be arranged, be put in order), cf. hlôpha (arrange, put in order); thsôphš̆a (be entwined), cf. thsôpha (entwine).

(b) ny is velarised and back-labialised (c) ny is velarised, back-labialised and syllabified, and is followed by a labialised velar nasal which latter is however not syllabic. As far as I could ascertain (b) is not so common as (c), but these two forms can nevertheless be used interchangeably; ~~with all verbal stems concerned~~, but not so with (a) which would appear to be preferrably used with some stems, e.g. nyanyŏa (be sucked), cf. nyanya (suck); nyônyŏa (be despised), cf. nyônya (despise); whereas with others it may be used, but not so commonly as (b) or (c).

The development of a third stage in S. can probably be ascribed to a desire to differentiate between passives derived from roots in m and ny respectively. Passives derived from roots in ny have nngŏ as final stem-consonant also in the following cases: i. in the habitual conjugational form, e.g. ke ŏe ke tšŏenngŏe (I am as a rule worried) o ŏe a sŏenngŏe (he is as a rule spoiled); ii. in the present subjunctive conjugational form: hore ke tšŏenngŏê (so that I may be worried), hore a senngŏê (so that he may be spoiled).

Passives derived from roots in m, on the other hand, always have ngŏ and never nngŏ as final stem-consonants in such cases e.g. i. in the habitual conjugational form: likhomo li ŏe li hangŏe (the cattle are as a rule milked), ii. in the present subjunctive conjugational form: hore likhomo li hangŏê (so that the cattle may be milked)

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i) cf. Tucker The Comparative Phonetics of the Suto-Chuana Group of Bantu Languages, pp. 78-80.

ii) The symbol y is used to indicate front-labialisation.

ii) In S.b > jo͡ (i.e. a back-labialised prepalatal voiced fricative), e.g. hlajo͡a (be stabbed), cf. hlaba (stab); thijo͡a (be stopped), cf. thiba (stop); rôjo͡a (be broken), cf. rôba (break); thujo͡a (be smashed), cf. thuba (smash).

f > sho͡ (i.e. a back-labialised prepatatal voiceless fricative) or fsho͡ (i.e. a labio-palatal fricative, affricate with the first fricative front-labialised and the second fricative back-labialised), e.g. rasho͡a or rafsho͡a (be taken out), cf. rafa (take out); bôsho͡a or bôfsho͡a (be bound, tied), cf. bôfa (bind, tie); leso͡a or lefsho͡a (be payed), cf. lefa (pay).

p > tjo͡ (i.e. a back-labialised prepalatal ejective affricate [1]) or pjo͡ (i.e. a labialised labio-palatal ejective affricate, the explosive labial element being front-labialised, the fricative prepalatal element being back-labialised), e.g. hatjo͡a or hapjo͡a (be snatched) cf. hapa (snatch); fêtjo͡a or fêpjo͡a (be fed), cf. fêpa (feed); botjo͡a or bopjo͡a (be created), cf. bopa (create).

ph > oho͡ (i.e. a back-labialised prepalatal aspirated affricate) or pho͡ [1] (i.e. a labialised labio-palatal aspirated affricate, the explosive being front-labialised and the fricative back-labialised), e.g. khacho͡a or khapsho͡a (be forced back), cf. khapha (force back); hlôcho͡a or hlôpsho͡a (be arranged, be put in order), cf. hlôpha (arrange, put in order); tso͡chô͡a or tso͡pshô͡a (be entwined), cf. tso͡phâ (entwine).

iii. In T. b > jw (i.e. a back-labialised prepalatal voiced fricative), e.g. tlhajwa (be stabbed), cf. tlhaba (stab); thijwa (be stopped), cf. thiba (stop); rôjwa (be broken), cf. rôba (break); thujwa (be smashed), cf. thuba (smash)

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1) This ~~front-labialised~~ form seems to be more frequently used than the other one.

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f > šw[i] (i.e. a back-labialised pre-palatal voiceless fricative), e.g. rašwa (be taken out), cf. rafa (take out); bôšwa (be bound), cf. bôfa (bind); lešwa (be paid), cf. lefa (pay).

p > tšw (i.e. a back-labialised pre-palatal efective affricate), e.g. gatšwa (be snatched), cf. gapa (snatch); fêtšwa (be fed), cf. fêpa (feed); botšwa (be created), cf. bopa (create).

ph > tšhw (i.e. a back-labialised pre-palatal aspirated affricate), e.g. kgatšhwa (be forced back), cf. kgapha (force back); tlhôtšhwa (be arranged, be put in order), cf. tlhôpha (arrange, put in order); tšhôtšhwa (be entwined), cf. tšhôpha (entwine).[ii]

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i) But cf. boifwa (be feared) and boifa (fear) given by Wookey and Brown on p. 90 of their grammar. ~~My informants were not consistent with the change of f>fw under the influence of the w of wa.~~

ii) Front-labialisation occurs dialectally in T., cf. Tucker The Comparative Phonetics of the Suto-Chuana Group of Bantu Languages, p. 80; also Wookey and Brown Secwana Grammar, p. 90.

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(e) S.e T.y N.y is elided before S.o̯ T.w N.w[1] :

T.bowa N.bowa (be returned), cf. S.boe̯a T.boya N.boya (return);

S.sio̯a N.siwa (be left behind, be outrun), cf. S.sie̯a N.siya (leave behind, outrun);

N.kawa (be ground), cf. N.kaya (grind);

S.lao̯a N.lawa (be corrected, reprimanded), cf. S.lae̯a T.laya N.laya (correct, reprimand);

N.tewa (be beaten), cf. N.te̯ya (beat);

S.chao̯a (be approved), cf. S.chae̯a (approve);

N.hlôwa (be hated), cf. S.hlôe̯a N.hlôya (hate);

N.lôwa (be bewitched), cf. S.lôe̯a N.lôya (bewitch).

In cases where the final root-consonant has already been elided S.o̯a N.wa[ii] is added directly to the root-vowel, e.g. S.tê̯a N.tewa (be beaten), cf. S.tê̯a N.tea (beat); N.tse̯wa (be shaken), cf. N.tse̯a (take); N.ruwa (be owned especially of cattle), cf. S.rua T.rua N.rua (own especially of cattle)[iii].

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i) Except in the case of bowa T. always employs the secondary passive in such circumstances (cf. II below), S. employs in all such cases the secondary passive and only some of these have a parallel primary passive form; and N. employs only the primary passive.

ii) T. employs only the secondary passive here; but note the verbalised derivative diwa (be detained) referred to in footnote iii) below. S. employs in all such cases the secondary passive and only some of these have a parallel primary passive form; and N. employs only the primary passive.

iii) Cf. also the following durative-passive stems in N.: N.bawa (be put down), cf. N.bea (put down); N.newa (be given), cf. N.nea (give); and the following verbalised derivative T.diwa N.diwa (be detained), cf. T.dia N.diya (detain) and S.li N.di also found in S.seli N.sedi (caution).

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ii) (a) The passive indicates that the subject undergoes the action denoted by the simple stem. An agent who performs this action may be expressed in the form of a copulative and if not expressed, seems always to be implied. The copulative, denoting the agent, if expressed, always follows the passive verb, e.g. S. ke hôňǒa ke monna T. ke bônwa ke monna N. ke bônwa ke monna (I am seen by the man), cf. S. bôna T.bóna N.bôna (see); S. kobo e rêkǒa ke mosali T. kobo e rêkwa ke mosadi N. kobo e rêkwa ke mosadi (the blanket is bought by the woman), cf. S. rêka T.rêka N.rêka (buy); S. likhomo li hongǒa ke ǒêna T. dikgomo di gangwa ke yêna N. dikxomo di xangwa ke yêna (the cattle are milked by him), cf. S.hama T.gama N.xama (milk); S. ba longǒa ke lintja T. ba longwa ke dintǒa N. ba longwa ke dintǒa (they are bitten by the dogs), cf. S.loma T.loma N.loma (bite); S. ngǒana o rehǒa ke pêrê T. ngwana o regwa ke pitsi N.ngwana o rexwa ke pitse (the child is kicked by the horse), cf. S.reha T.rega N.rexa (kick).

In the following cases the agent is understood: S.kea ratǒa T. ke a ratwa N.ke a ratwa (I am loved), cf. S.rata T.rata N.rata (love); S. likhomo lia bôňǒa T. dikgomo di a bônwa N. dikxomo di a bônwa (the cattle are seen), cf. S.bôna T.bôna N.bôna (see); S. ke sitǒa ho etsa mosebetsi T. ke sitwa go dira modirô N. ke šitwa xo dira modirô (I am unable to do the work), cf. S.sita T.sita N.šita (surpass, excel, be too heavy for) [1]; and in the case of S.kea nyôrǒa T. ke nyôrwa N. ke a nyôrwa (I am getting thirsty i.e. I am being made thirsty), cf. N.nyôra (make thirsty) the agent is entirely obscured.

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1) cf. S. ke sitǒa ke morǒalô T. ke šitwa ke morwalô N. ke šitwa ke morwalô (the load is too heavy for me).

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(b) The suffix S.ŏa T.wa N.wa has in one or two cases lost its passive force [i], e.g. S.chotŏa (miss, make a mistake in the knuckle bones game), cf. S.chota (= chotŏa); S. ke khôlŏa litaba tseo N. ke kxôlwa ditaba tšeo [ii] (I believe those matters), cf. N.kxôla [iii] (satisfy) and S. koa mo khôlŏa (I believe him).

(c) In the following cases the semantic relation between the passive stem and the corresponding simple stem appears to be somewhat vague, e.g. S.tšelŏa (not to be covered of a female animal), cf. S.tšela T.tshela (pass over as e.g. a road, a river, etc.); S.khêtlŏa (as in: khêtlŏa ke mala = have stomach ache), cf. S.khêtla (bite, cut).

(d) The simple stems corresponding to passive stems are mostly transitive, e.g. S.baloa T.balwa N.balwa (be counted), cf. S.bala T.bala N.bala (count); S.buloa T.bulwa N.bulwa (be opened), cf. S.bula T.bula N.bula (open); S.fahloa T.fatlhwa N.fahlwa (be dazzled), cf. S.fahla T.fatlha N.fahla (dazzle). One finds however also passive stems with intransitive corresponding simple stems; the subjectival verbal concord used with such

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i) This applies also to S.ŏa T.wa in e.g. S.hlolohêlŏa motho (long for somebody), S.ke êlêllŏa litaba T. ke êlêlêlwa dilo (I reflect upon matters); but in S. one can also say: litaba li êlêllŏa ke 'na (matters are reflected upon by me), this is however rarely used, at any rate ŏa is here clearly passive.

ii) Cf. S. ke khôlŏa ke litaba tseo N. ke kxôlwa ke ditaba tšeo (I am satisfied about those matters), the passive is here quite normal.

iii) ke khôlŏa êêna seems not to exist, however, there are such constructions as ke khôlŏa ke êêna (I believe in him) where the passive is quite normal, and ke khôlŏe enŏa eseng êêne (I believe this one not that one) where the object is a demonstrative pronoun.

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passives is that of the S.ho T.go N.xo class conveying an impersonal and very often an indefinite idea[i], e.g. S.hoa êngǒa T. go a êngwa N. xo a êngwa (there is being stood), cf. S.êma T.êma N.êma (stand); S. hoa êtǒa T. go a êtwa N. xo a êtwa (there is being travelled), cf. S.êta T.êta N.êta (travel, journey); S. hoa fihlǒa T. go a fitlhwa N. xo a fihlwa (there is being arrived), cf. S.fihla T.fitlha N. fihla (arrive); S. hoa holǒe T. go a golwa N. xo a xolwa (there is being grown), cf. S.hola T.gola N.xola (grow).

(e) There are passive stems which are not associated with any extant simple verbal stems, and no non-verbal stems could be indicated as being possible bases of these derivatives, which seem to have lost their passive force, e.g. T.têôtlhwa (be eatable, but not fat, said of meat), N.tsopya (be fickle), N.chontǒa (be caught by the skipping rope, make a mistake in certain games)[ii].

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i) A similar construction is possible with passive stems having transitive corresponding simple stems e.g. S. ho rêkǒa 'ng? T. go rêkwa eng? N. xo rêkwa eng? (what is being bought), cf. S.rêka T.rêka N.rêka (buy); S. ho bônǒa mang? T. go bônwa mang? N. xo bônwa mang? (who is being seen), cf. S.bôna T.bôna N.bôna (see); S. ho bônǒa ngǒana ke 'na T. go bônwa ngwana ke nna N. xo bônwa ngwana ke nna (there is being seen a child by me), cf. S.bôna T.bôna N. bôna (see).

ii) Such stems as N.kxatswa (bring a child up by hand), T.têtǒwa (have too long a tongue) N.tswatswa (pull off the cuticle) may perhaps be passive stems which have lost their passive force, and for which there existed corresponding simple stems N.*kxatsa T.*têtsa and N.*tswatsa. It is, however, also possible that they may be factitive stems for which there existed corresponding simple stems N.*kxapa or N.*kxaba T.*têpa or T.têba and N.*tswapa or N.*tswaba (cf. Chapter 17); or even simple stems with corresponding UB. forms *nkaluo, *lolue and luelue respectively as e.g. S.butsǒa T.hutǒwa N.butǒwa (ripen, get cooked), has a probable corresponding UB. form *yulua (cf. Phon., p. 67).

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(f) A passive stem corresponding to a doubly transitive simple stem may take as subject either the principal or subsidiary object of the corresponding simple stem, This depends upon which of the two is to be emphasised. The one which remains an object carries the emphasis, which comes out most clearly if the agent is not mentioned. The agent seems to obscure the emphasis, and it should be elided from the examples quoted below if the real effect of this word-order is to be attained, 1) The idiom of Sotho prefers however the principal object to be converted into a subject which means that the subsidiary object usually carries the emphasis, cf. S. monna o tingoa lijo (ke 'na) T. monna o tingwa dijo (ke nna) N. monna o tingwa dijo (ke nna) (the man is stinted food (by me), S. lijo li tingoa (ke 'na) T. dijo di tingwa monna (ke nne) N. dijo di tingwa monna (ke nna) (the food is stinted the man (by me), cf. S. ke tima monna lijô T. ke tima monna dijô N. ke tima monna dijô (I stint the man food).

(g) There is a clear distinction between the stational (capable) stem and the passive stem, as the latter is or may be followed by an agent; the former on the other hand is never followed by an agent, e.g.:
S. bonehs N. bonexr (be visible, appear), cf. S. bonoa T. bonwa

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i) In view of the scarcity of doubly transitive simple stems, this point will be more fully illustrated in §2. below under applicative-passive. The simple stem S. fa T. fa N. fa (give) is also doubly transitive; it takes however the secondary passive and not the primary passive suffix, thus S. monna o fuŏa lijô (ke 'na) T. monna o fiwa dijô (ke nna) N. monna o fiwa dijô (ke nna) (the man is given food (by me), S. lijô li fuŏa monna (ke 'na) T. dijô di fiwe monna (ke nne) N. dijô di fiwa monna (ke nna) (the food is given to the man (by me), cf. S. ke fa monna lijô T. ke fa monna dijô N. ke fa monna dijô (I give the man food).

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N.bônwa (be seen), S.lemêha T.lemêga N.lemêxa (be arable), cf. S.lengǒa T.lengwa N.lengwa (be ploughed); S.ilêha T.ilêga N.ilêxa (be hateable, become repugnant), cf. S.ilǒa T.ilwa N.ilwa (be avoided, be hated).

β) Compound:

1. Passive in basic position:

This type of compound is rare, and, ~~in practically all such cases~~ here practically always the suffix S.ǒa T.we N.wa has lost its passive force, e.g.

aa) Passive-reciprocal S.ǒana T.wana N.wana as in: T.gogwana (shrink up or become crumpled up as a skin when drying), cf. T.gôgwa N.xôxwa (be drawn, be pulled) and T.gôga N.xôxa (pull); S.khôlǒana (understand, trust one another), cf. S.khôlǒa N.kxôlwa (become satisfied) and N.kxôla (satisfy); S.sôngǒana (as in: hoa sôngǒana = fun is being made of one another, mockery of one ~~being~~ another is going on), cf. S.sôngǒa N.sôngwa (be mocked) and S.sôma N.sôma (mock).[1]

bb) The passive-applicative-factitive S.ǒetsa T.wetsa N.wetša as in: T.kwakwetsa (have an impediment in speech, stammer), N.kwakwetše (cause to trot), no corresponding simple stem; S.nyekǒetsa (twist) no corresponding simple stem.

2. Passive in a non-basic position:

The passive is very extensively employed in this position and I quote only a few examples here to illustrate the point. It should, however, be noted that with one or two exceptions,

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1) cf. also the applicative-passive-reciprocal found in S. in the following example S.sitêlǒana (commit faults against one another), cf. S.sitêlǒa (commit a fault against) and S.sita T.sita N.šita (be too difficult, overcome).

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~~such compounds~~ the passive suffix is always the final component part in such compounds. The contribution of S.oa T.wa N.wa to the force of these compounds is that it adds in each case the passive idea to the idea expressed by the suffix without S.oa T.wa N.wa.

aa) Applicative-passive S.êlŏa T.êlwa N.êlwa:

When the corresponding applicative stem takes two objects viz. a principal and subsidiary object, either of these may be used as subject of the applicative-passive stem. This depending upon which of the two is to be emphasised. The one remaining an object carries the emphasis which comes out most clearly if the agent is not mentioned. The agent seems to obscure the emphasis, and it should be elided from the examples quoted below if the real effect of this word-order is to be attained. The ~~genius~~ idiom of Sotho prefers however the principal object to be converted into a subject, which means that the subsidiary object usually carries the emphasis, cf.: S. moshemane o lisetsa monna likhomo T. mosimane o disetsa monna dikgomo N. mosimane o dišetša monna dikxomo (the boy herds the cattle for the man) with S. likhomo li lisetsŏa monna ke moshemane T. dikgomo di disetšwe monna ke mosimane N. dikxomo di dišetšwa monna ke mošimane (the cattle are looked after for the man by the boy) and S. monna o lisetsŏa likhomo ke moshemane T. monna o disetšwa dikgomo ke mosimane N. monna o dišetšwa dikxomo ke mošimane (the man has the cattle herded for him by the boy); and S.mosali o lemêle ngŏana tšimô T. mosadi o lemêla ngwana tshimô N. mosadi o lemêla ngwana tšemô (the woman ploughs a land for the child) with S.tšimô e lemêlŏe ngŏana ke mosali T. tshimô e lemêlwe ngwana ke mosadi N. tšemô e lemêlwa ngwana ke mosadi (a land is being ploughed by the woman on the child's behalf) and S.ngŏana o lemêlŏa tšimô ke mosali T. ngwana o lemêlwa tshimô ke mosadi N. ngwana o lemêlwa tšemô ke mosadi (the child has a land ploughed on its behalf by the woman).

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When the corresponding applicative stem takes only one object this object is of course used as subject of the applicative-passive stem, e.g. S. batho ba êmêlôa ke monna T. batho ba êmêlwa ke monna N. batho ba êmêlwa ke monna (the people are represented by the man), cf. S. monna o êmêla batho T. monne o êmêla batho N. monna o êmêle batho (the man represents the people); S. re shǒêlǒa ke bana T. re ǒwêlwa ke bana N. re ǩwêlwa ke bana (we are being died for by the children, i.e. we are being bereaved of the children[i]; or: the children are dying on our behalf), cf. S. ngǒena oa re shǒêla T. ngwana o a re ǒwêla N. ngwana o a re ǩwêla (the child is dying for us, i.e. we are losing it; or: it is dying on our behalf[ii]).

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i) This is the more common meaning of the two and to express it the applicative-passive is preferred to the applicative alone (cf. below).

Owing to the sense this stem is preferably used in the perfect conjugational form thus:
S. re shǒetsǒe ke ngǒena T. re ǒwetǒwe ke ngwana
N. re ǩwetǒwe ke ngwana (we have been bereaved of the child), cf. also the stational(capable)-applicative-passive as in S. ke lahlehetsǒe ke thipa T. ke letlhegetǒwa ke thipa N. ke lehlexetǒwe ke thipa (I have lost my knife).

On the other hand S. re shǒetsǒe ke Jesu T. re ǒwetǒwe ke Yesu N. re ǩwetǒwe ke Yesu means practically only: we have been died for by Jesus i.e. Jesus has died on our behalf, although it may also mean we have been bereaved of Jesus.

ii) This is the more common meaning of the two.

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S. ba fêlôa ke lijô T. ba fêlêlwa ke dijô
N. ba fêlêlwa ke dijô (they are being finished for by food, i.e. they run short of food), cf. S. lijô lia ba fêlla T. dijô di a ba fêlêla N. dijô di a ba fêlêla (food runs short with respect to them).[1]

As with the passive stem, so also with the applicative-passive stem ~~may be employed~~ the subjectival verbal concord of the S. ho T. go N. xo class, may be employed, conveying an impersonal and very often an indefinite idea, e.g. S. hoa êmêlôa T. go a êmêlwa N. xo a êmêlwa (there is being represented), S. hoa lemêlôa T. go a lemêlwa N. xo a lemêlwa (there is being ploughed for).

The object or objects of the corresponding applicative stem may be retained, and an agent may even be indicated, although it is preferable not to indicate an agent in such cases, e.g. S. ho êmêlôa batho ke monna T. go êmêlwa batho ke monna N. xo êmêlwa batho ke monne (there is being represented the people by the man), S. ho lemêlôa ngoana tšimô ke mosali T. go lemêlwa ngwana tshimô ke mosadi N. xo lemêlwa ngwana tšemô ke mosadi (there is being ploughed a field for the child by the woman).

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1) The applicative-passive is here preferred to the ~~passive~~ applicative.

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bb) Primary durative-passive S.ɛ̀ða < S.*ěða[1] T.ɛwa < T.*ywa[1] cf. N.ɛwa[ii] < N.*ywa[1], e.g. T.tlhodiwa N.hlodiwa (be bothered, annoyed), cf. S.hlodiuða (be bothered, annoyed) and S.hlodiěa T.tlhodia N.hlodia or hlodiya (bother, annoy); T.bitiwa N.bitiwa (be patched), cf. T.bitia N.bitia (patch); S.pipiða (be hidden), cf. S.pipia (hide); N.bewa (be placed), cf. N.bea (place) and S.be T.be N.be (be); N. newa (be given), cf. N.nea (give) and T.ne (be); N.kxɛelewa (be beaten with the fist), cf. N.kxelea (beat with the fist); N.ǩuduwa (be stirred), cf. N.ǩudua (stir).

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i) UB.ɣ need of course not become S.ě T.y N.y - it may entirely disappear (cf. Phon., pp. 59-60), if this is the case the passive will be preceded merely by a latent consonant in this compound.

ii) With this compound N. employs only the primary passive, S. and T. prefer however the secondary passive. ɛ represents ia. an elided suffix-semivowel or a latent consonant, cf. Chapter 8 § β).

cc) Secondary durative-passive [1]

T.awa < T.*aywa N.awa < N.*aywa, the y of the durative suffix aya has been dropped, e.g. T. bolawa N. bolawa (be killed) < T.*bolaywa N.*bolaywa, cf. S.bolauŏa (be killed) and S.bolaca T.bolaya N.bolaya (kill); T.watlhawa (be punished) < T.*watlhaywa, cf. T.watlhaya (punish); N.tsamawa (be walked) < N.*tsamaywa, cf. S.tsamauŏa T.tsamaiwa (be walked), cf. S.tsamaŏa T.tsamaya N.tsamaya (walk).

dd) Multiplicative-passive S.akŏa T.akwa N.akwa, e.g.
T.gatakwa N.xatakwa (be trampled upon), cf. T.gataka N.xataka (trample upon), S.ôtlakŏa N.ôtlakwa (be beaten indiscriminately), cf. S.ôtlaka N.ôtlaka (beat indiscriminately).

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1) S. employs with this compound only the secondary passive suffix.

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ee) Factitive-passive E.*ǒoa T.*ywa [1] N.*ywa. The suffix never appears in this form, S.ǒ T.y N.y always combines with the final stem-consonant as described in Chapter 17 above, e.g. S.tsǒsǒa N.thsǒǒwa (be frightened), cf. S.tsǒsa T.tshosa N.thsǒǎ (frighten) and S.tsǒha T.tshoxa N.thsǒxa (got a fright); S.tsosǒa N.tsoǒwa (be aroused), cf. S.tsosa T.tsosa N.tsoǒa (arouse) and S.tsohn T.tsoxa N.tsǒxa (get up); S.latsǒn N.latǒwa (be laid down), cf. S.latsa T.latsa N.latǒa (lay down) and S.lala T.lala N.lala (lie down); S.letsǒa N.letǒwa (be caused to resound), cf. S.letsa T.letsa N.letǒa (cause to resound) and S.lla T.lala [ii] N.lala (cry); T.tsengwa N.tsengwa or N.tsengywa (be put in), cf. T.tsenya N.tsenya (put in) and T.tsena N.tsena [iii] (enter); S.kenyǒn or S.kengǒn or S.kenngǒn (be put in), cf. S.kenya (put in) and S.kena (enter), S.fenyǒn or S.fengǒn or S.fenngǒn T.fengwa N.fenywa or N.fengwa (be conquered), cf. S.fenya T.fenya N.fenya (conquer) and N.fêna (bend back).

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1) With the factitive-passive compound T. always uses the secondary passive, excepting when the final root-consonant is either m or n, when it almost exclusively employs the primary passive suffix.

ii) Cf. 1) (a) and (c) above.

iii) Cf. 1) (a) and (c) above.

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II Secondary: α) Single:

i) Passive S.*ĭǒa (S.uǒe)[i] T.iwa (T.uwo)[i]
N.iwa (N.uwa)[i]

The occurrence of a standardised connecting vowel preceding the passive suffix is not limited to Sotho, On the contrary, its occurrence is so frequent in the various Bantu languages that Meinhof ~~could have~~ reconstructed an UB. *iywa*[ii]. The secondary passive suffix must therefore be a very old suffix in Sotho, and as will be indicated below, it is, with the exception of a few cases, the only passive suffix employed with passive stems corresponding to monosyllabic simple stems.

T.iwa N.iwa is almost the universal secondary suffix in these two languages, and this is, of course, the normal state of affairs, T.iwa N.iwa being the counterparts of UB. *iywa*. N.uwa occurs only in N.rutuwa = N.rutiwa (be taught); the connecting vowel i has become u, probably as a result of assimilation with the stem-vowel u; no other example of a similar process of assimilation could be ascertained in N. T.uwa occurs only in T.tuwa (be said) probably from T.*tiwa, the i having been assimilated to u under the influence of w; no other example of a similar process of assimilation could be ascertained in T. These two stems will again be referred to below. In S., however, the only secondary passive suffix used independently is uǒe; ĭǒa occurs only ~~in~~ when coalesced ~~e~~ (cf. below). This development of the connecting vowel of the secondary passive suffix in S. is probably due to the fact that in this language, much more than in the other two languages, the secondary passive suffix is employed with roots whose final consonant is a labial. The i of ĭǒa was then probably changed into u under the influence of the preceding labial[iii]. Subsequently

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i) As will be seen below the forms in brackets are not original forms.
ii) Cf. Phon., p. 45.
iii) A similar influence exercised by bilabial consonants has been noticed in the case of the unstandardised connecting vowel u (cf. Chapter 4. § 5).

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the permuted form was used also with roots whose final root-consonant is not a labial, until finally it has entirely replaced the original suffix iŏa.

The following are further particulars of the secondary passive suffix as occurring in the various languages:

(a) Where it occurs uncoalesced.

i. T.iwa is found:

a. As the suffix of almost all passive stems derived from consonantal roots [i], e.g. fiwa (be given) cf. fa (give); giwa (be drawn of water), cf. ga (draw water); ŏwiwa (be died), cf. ŏwa (die); iwa (be gone) < *yiwa, cf. ya (go); wiwa (be fallen), cf. wa (fall).

b As the suffix of almost all passive stems derived from syllabic roots with y as final semivowel, or without any final semivowel or consonant at

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i) The following are exceptions the suffix here used is the primary and not the secondery passive:

a. T.twe or T.twa = S.thŏe = N.thwe (be said), cf. S.re T.re N.re (say) also the secondary passive as in T.tun = T.tuwa = T.tôwa (be said), the passive is here highly irregular.

b. S.noŏa T.nowa N.nowa (be drunk of a liquid) < S.*nŏŏa T.*nwwa N.*nwwa, cf. S.nŏa T.nwa N.nwa (drink) and UB. mua (drink) (Phon., p.244), also the secondary passive as in N.nwiwa N.nwowa (be drunk of a liquid); S.loŏa T.lowa (be fought) < S.*lŏŏa T.*lwwa, cf. S.lŏa T.lwa N.lwa (fight) and UB. lua (fight) (Phon., p. 245), also the secondary passive as in N.lwowa (be fought). In the last two cases the semivowel S.ŏ T.w N.w preceding S.ŏa T.wa N.wa is vocalised to S.o T.o N.o.

c. T.duwa (be come out) < *dwwa < *tŏwwa, cf. S.tsŏa T.tŏwa N.tŏwa (come out) and UB. lûa (come out) (Phon., p. 244). Here the semivowel w preceding wa is vocalised to u. The tŏ in T.tŏwa has UB. l as basis (cf. Phon. p. 67) and UB. l becomes T.d before U.

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all [i], e.g. kaiwa (be described, be pointed out) < *T.kayiwa, cf. kaya (describe, point out), thaiwa (be set of a trap) < T.*thayiwa cf. thaya (set a trap or a snare); siiwa (be reserved) cf. sin (reserve), beiwa (be enclosed with a hedge), cf. bea (enclose with a hedge); leiwa (be tied carelessly of a knot), cf. lea (tie a knot carelessly); tlôhoiwa [ii] (be hated), cf. tlhôa (hate); loiwa [ii] (be bewitched), cf. lôa (bewitch); buiwa (be flayed, be skinned), cf. bua (flay, skin); ruiwa (be owned), cf. rua (own). In fiwa (be convinced by argument) < *feiwa, cf. fea (convince by argument) the stem-vowel has been replaced by the connecting vowel.

c. As the suffix of all passive stems derived from syllabic roots whose final root-consonant is tsh [iii], e.g. kgatshiwa (be sprinkled), cf. kgatsha (sprinkle); tshetshiwa (be removed as things from one residence to another), cf. tshetsha (remove things from one residence to another); ntshiwa (be taken out), cf. ntsha (take out).

d. As the suffix of all passive stems derived from syllabic roots whose final root-consonant is tsw̌, e.g. tsw̌atsw̌iwa (be flattered), cf. tsw̌atsw̌a (flatter), butsw̌iwa (be ripened, be getting cooked), cf. butsw̌a (ripen, become cooked) [iv].

e. As practically the only suffix of passive

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i) An exception being bowa (be returned), cf. boya (return).
ii) In T. and N. ô becomes o and ê becomes e under the influence of the i of iwa. For more examples of this phenomenon cf. i. below)
iii) If the primary passive suffix had been used tsh would have been palatalised and back-labialised as a result of the w of wa thus giving a final stem-consonant tshw, the passive corresponding to kgatsha (sprinkle) would then have been *kgatsw̌hwa; but ph is also palatalised and back-labialised if followed by the w of wa, giving a final stem-consonant thsw (cf. I (d) i) above), thus the passive corresponding to kgapha (force back) is kgatsw̌hwa; and I suppose it is to avoid confusion that only iwa and not wa is used when the final root-consonant is tsh.
iv) utsw̌a (steal) has a corresponding passive utsw̌uwa, the passive is here however not used singly and will be dealt with in (e) below.

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stems derived from syllabic roots whose final consonant is s[i], e.g. disiwa (be herded), cf. disa (herd); lesiwa (be left), cf. lesa (leave); thsasiwa (be smeared), cf. tshasa (smear); thusiwa (be helped), cf. thusa (help); losiwa (be hunted and killed of carnivorous animals), cf. losa (hunt and kill carnivorous animals).

f. As practically the only suffix of passive stems derived from syllabic roots whose final root-vowel is š[ii], e.g. ašiwa (be looked upon with pity), cf. aša (look with pity upon).

g. As the suffix of all passive stems derived from syllabic roots whose final root-consonant is ts[iii], e.g. tlhotsiwa (be vomited), cf. tlhotsa (vomit); gotsiwa (be kindled), cf. gotsa (kindle); futsiwa (be cursed), cf. futsa (curse); itsiwe (be known), cf. itse (know)[iv].

h. Fairly frequently instead of wa as the suffix

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i) When employing the primary passive suffix, e is palatalised as well as back-labialised thus giving a final stem-consonant šw (cf. I (a) i) (b) above) as in lešwa (be left), the passive stem corresponding to lesa (leave); but f is also palatalised and back-labialised if followed by the w of wa, and gives a final stem-consonant šw (cf. I (a) i) (d) above), e.g. as in lešwa (be paid), cf. lefa (pay); and I suppose it is to avoid confusion that iwa is practically always preferred to wa when the final root-consonant is s.

ii) When employing the primary passive suffix, the final stem-consonant is šw (cf. I (a) i) (a) above), but šw is also the final stem-consonant when wa is attached to a root whose final consonant is f (cf. I. (a) i) (d) above), or to a root whose final consonant is š (cf. e above); and I suppose iwa is preferred to wa to avoid possible confusion.

iii) If the primary passive suffix had been used ts would have been palatalised and back-labialised as a result of the w of wa thus giving a final stem-consonant tšw; but p is also palatalised and back-labialised if followed by the w of wa, this gives a final stem-consonant tšw (cf. I (a) i) (d) above); and I suppose it is to avoid confusion that only iwa and not wa is used when the final root-consonant is ts

iv) Such passive stems as bidiwa (be called), cf. bitsa (call); mediwa (be swallowed), cf. metsa (swallow); bodiwa (be asked), cf. botsa (ask) and bola (tell news), have of course been derived from roots with l as final consonant, and they will be more fully dealt with in (β) below, in view of the fact that semantically they are the passives of factitive stems.

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of passive stems derived from syllabic roots whose final root-consonant is a labial or ny, e.g. tlhabiwa (be stabbed), cf. tlhaba (stab); lefiwa (be paid), cf. lefa (pay); gapiwa (be snatched), cf. gapa (snatch); kgaphiwa (be forced back), cf. kgapha (force back); romiwa (be sent), cf. roma (send); senyiwa (be spoiled), cf. senya (spoil). Whether in such cases iwa is ~~preferably~~ rather than used to wa I should not venture to say. Tests carried out with various informants did not yield anything definite, nor does the existing literature in Tswana, in so far as I could scrutinise it, throw any light upon the question i).

i. As a possible but not a frequently used alternative to wa in all such cases (excepting š, which has already been dealt with above) as are referred to in I α) i) (a) above ii). If iwa is attached to a root whose final consonant is l, this consonant is changed into d under the influence of the connecting vowel i of the suffix, e.g. ladiwa (be laid down), cf. latsa (lay down) and lala (lie down); lediwa (be caused to resound), cf. letsa (cause to resound) and lela (cry) iii).

ii. N. iwa is found:

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i) According to Tucker "the iwa passive construction is growing every year more popular among the younger generation of Suto-Chuana speakers", cf. The Comparative Phonetics of the Sutho-Chuana Group of Bantu Languages, p. 81. Tucker is, however, not definite as to how far this statement has been tested for T. in particular. Such a development, granted that it does take place in certain T. dialects, will undoubtedly be impeded as a result of the spread of literature, these remarks will also apply to N. cf. ii. c. below.

ii) The passive stem corresponding to lere (bring) is leriwa (be brought). In Setlôkwa I have come across leriwa (be brought) with a corresponding simple stem lera (bring).

iii) Cf. § β) 2. cc) below.

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a. As the suffic of almost all passive stems derived from consonantal roots [i], e.g. fiwa (be given), of. fa (give); xiwa (be drawn of water), cf. xa (draw water); kxiwa (be plucked, be torn off), cf. kxa (pluck, tear off); iwa (be gone) < *yiwa cf. ya (go).

b. As the suffix of all passive stems derived from syllabic roots whose final consonant is tsw, e.g. butswiwa (be ripened, be getting cooked), cf. butswa (ripen, become cooked).

c. Fairly frequently instead of wa [ii], as the suffix of passive stems derived from syllabic roots whose final consonant is a labial, ts ts' tsh or th', e.g. hlabiwa (be stabbed), cf. hlaba (stab), lefiwa (be paid), cf. lefa (pay); xapiwa (be snatched), cf. xapa (snatch), kxaphiwa (be forced back), cf. kxapha (force back), romiwa (be sent), cf. roma (send); hlatsiwa (be vomited), cf. hlatsa (vomit); hlotsiwa (be gathered together), cf. hlotsa (gather together); thsathsiwa (be rubbed in), cf. thsathsa (rub in); thsathsiwa (be greased), cf. thsathsa (grease). Whether in such cases iwa is ~~preferred~~ rather than used for wa, I should not venture to say. Tests carried out with my informants did not yield anything definite, nor does the existing literature in N., in so far as I could scrutinise it, throw any light upon the question.

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i) For cases where the primary and not the secondary passive is used, cf. i. a. above; also N.kowa (be heard) < *kwwa, cf. N.kwa (hear) also the secondary passive in N.kwewa = N.kwiwa (be heard). Here the semi-vowel w preceding wa is vocalised to o.

ii) cf. T.M.H. Endemann Handleiding by die aanleer van Transvaal-Sotho, p. 98.

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d. As a possible alternative to wa in all such cases as referred to in I α) i) (a) above. It would appear as if the secondary suffix is here more frequently used than in the cases referred to in i. i. above[1].

If iwa is attached to a root whose final consonant is l, this consonant is changed into d under the influence of the connecting vowel i of the suffix, e.g. fodiwa (be scraped, be planed), cf. fola (scrape, plane); nyadiwa (be married), cf. nyala (marry); thwadiwa (be found), cf. thwêla (find); fidiwa (be plundered), cf. fila (plunder); xodiwa (be fastened), cf. xôla (bind, fasten); tudiwa (be crushed), cf. tula (crush).

iii. T.uwa found only in tuwa[ii] (be said) cf. re (say) also T.tua (= T.tuwa) (be ~~heard~~ said).

iv. N.uwa found only in rutuwa[iii] (be taught), cf. ruta (teach).

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i) cf. T.M.H. Endemann Handleiding by die aanleer van Transvaal-Sotho, p. 98.

ii) In the following cases the primary and not the secondary passive is used, the w preceding wa being vocalised to u:
T.duwa (be come out) (cf. i.a. above); T.utluwa (be heard), cf. S.utlôa T.utlwa N.utlwa (hear) and UB. xûa or iyua (hear) (Phon. p. 245) also the secondary passive in N.utlwiwa (be heard). In T.utŭwa (be stolen) the passive suffix is used in a compound suffix and this stem will be dealt with in β) below.

iii) The forms N.rutwa (be taught) and N.rutiwa (be taught) also exist.

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v. S.uoa is found:

a. As the suffix of some passive stems derived from consonantel roots[i], e.g. fuǒa (be given), cf. fa (give), khuǒa (be plucked), cf. kha (pluck); uǒa (be gone) < *ěuǒa, cf. ěa (go); tluǒa (be come), cf. tla (come).

b. As the only suffix of some passive stems derived from roots with ǒ as a final semivowel or without any final semivowel or consonant at all, e.g. buuǒa (be skinned), cf. bua (skin); buuǒa (be spoken), cf. bua (speak); suuǒa (be tanned), cf. sua (tan); ruuǒa (be possessed), cf. rua (possess); thuuǒa (be crushed), cf. thua (crush), hlouǒa[ii] (be hated) < *hloěuǒa, cf. hlôěa (hate); louǒa[ii] (be bewitched) < *loěuǒa, cf. lôěa (bewitch); hlǒauǒa (be picked out) < *hlǒaǎuǒa, cf. hlǒaǎa (pick out); qhǒauǒa (be beckoned) < *qhǒaǎuǒa, cf. qhǒaǎa (beckon); qǒauǒa (be concerned about) < *qǒaǎuǒa, cf. qǒaǎa (concern about). It should be noted that uoa is the only passive suffix that can be used in these cases if the stem-vowel is u

As an alternative to ǒa with other passive stems derived from roots with ǒ as final semivowel or without any final semivowel or consonant at all: teuǒa[ii] (be forged), cf. têa (forge) and têǒa[ii] (=teuǒa); pheuǒa (be cooked), cf. phêa (cook) and phêǒa[iii] (=pheuǒa); leuǒa (be corrected) < *leěuǒa, cf. leěa (correct) and leǒa[iii] (=leuǒa); qaǒa (be fed with porridge of a baby) < *qaěuǒa, cf. qaěa (feed porridge to a baby) and qaǒa[iii] (=qauǒa); siuǒa (be outrun) < *sieuǒa, cf. sieǎa (outrun) and siǒa (=siuǒa); tauǒa (be made drunk) < *taěuǒa, cf. taěa (make drunk) and taǒa[iii] (=tauǒa).

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i) For cases where the primary and not the secondary suffix is used cf. i. e. above; also: a. S.shoǒa (be died) < *shǒoa, cf. S.shǒa T.ǯwa (die) and UB.kûa (die) (Phon. p. 244) also T.ǯwiwa (be died); S.hloǒa (be climbed) < *hlǒǒa, cf. S.hlǒa (climb); S.oǒa (be fallen) < *ǒǒa, cf. S.ǒa T.wa N.we and UB.ɣua (fall) (Phon. p. 245) also T.wiwa (be fallen). Here the semivowel ǒ preceding ǒa is vocalised to o. In S.naǒa (be rained), cf. S.na T.na N.ne (rain) the primary passive suffix is added to the simple stem.

ii) The vowels ô and ê become o and e respectively under the influence of the following u of S.uǒa.

iii) Probably abbreviated forms of phêhǒa, qahǒa and tahǒa, which also exist, cf. also phêha (=phêa), qeha (=qaěa) and taha (=taěa).

c. As the suffix of all passive stems derived from roots whose final consonant is tsw, e.g. butsuŏa (be ripened), cf. butsŏa (ripen).

d. Very frequently instead of oa, as the suffix of passive stems derived from syllabic roots whose final consonant is a labial, e.g. hlobuŏa (be stabbed), cf. hlaba (stab); lefuŏa (be paid), cf. lefa (pay); hapuŏa (be snatched), cf. hapa (snatch); khaphuŏa (be forced back), cf. khapha (force back); romuŏa (be sent), cf. roma (send). The S. secondary passive suffix uŏa is in these cases much more frequently used than either T.iwa or N.iwa under similar circumstances, and it would even seem that very often uŏa is here preferred to ŏa, although there are cases where it is definitely awkward to use uŏa, e.g. tsebuŏa instead of tsejŏa. But, as with the other two languages, the teaching of grammar in schools as well as the spreading of literature will impede such a process of substitution.

e. As a possible alternative to ŏa in all such cases as referred to in I (a) 1) (a) above, excepting when the final root-consonant is n or ny, in which case the only possible passive suffix is ŏa [1].

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1) cf. Jacottet A Grammar of the Sesuto Language, p. 110.

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If uǒa is attached to a root whose final consonant is l, this consonant is changed into d (written l in S.), e.g.

faluǒa (be scraped, be planed), cf. fala (scrape, plane); nyaluǒa (be married), cf. nyala (marry); tšaluǒa (be crossed), cf. tšela (cross); tuluǒa (be crushed), cf. tula (crush).

(b) Where it occurs coalesced:

i) Coalescence of the terminative a of some monosyllabic simple stems and the connecting vowel i of S. *iǒa T.iwa N.iwa giving:

a. S.eǒa T.ewa N.ewa [i)], e.g. neǒa T.newa (be rained), cf. N.naiwa (be rained) and

S.na T.na N.na (rain) [ii)]; S.jeǒa T.jewa N.jewa or N.lewa [iii)] (be eaten), cf. S.ja T.ja N.ja (eat); S.cheǒa (be burnt), cf. S.cha (burn); N.lwewa (be fought),

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i) The connecting vowel i of the performative suffix S.isa T.isa N.iǒa also sometimes coalesces with the terminative a of monosyllabic simple stems, cf. Chapter 10 § A) II ((2)) β) ((C) aa); and so does the i of S.ile T.ile N.ile cf. Chapter 23 § 6. c.

ii) In S. there is an old passive stem naǒa (be rained) corresponding to na (rain), cf. Jacottet A Grammar of the Sesuto Language, p. 110; and in N. there is also a form niwa (be rained).

iii) The initial consonant l in N. is probably due to the root i having been derived from UB. li as in UB. lia (eat) (Phon., p. 244).

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cf. S.lǒa T.lwa N.lwa (fight), N.nwewa[i] (be drunk of a liquid), cf. S.nǒa T.nwa N.nwa (drink), N.kwewa[ii] (be heard), cf. N.kwa (hear).

b. êwa[iii][iv] found only in T.jêwa (= jewa, cf. a. above).

ii. Coalescence of the stem-vowel a and the i of T.iwa, this occurs in T. only, and ~~then~~ only in such cases where a process of elision has first taken place, affecting the final root-semivowel y. This ~~results in giving~~:

êwa[iii], e.g. tsêwa (be taken) < *tsaiwa < *tsayiwa cf. tsaya[v] (take).

(c) In S. the secondary passive suffix may be used in the perfect conjungational form. In such cases the short perfect terminative e is used and ~~never~~ not the long terminative ile, e.g. fuǒe (have been given), cf. S.fuǒa (be given); buuǒe (have been skinned), cf. S.buuǒa (be skinned); hlouǒe (have been hated), cf. S.hlouǒa (be hated); lefuǒe (have been paid), cf.

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i) N. has also a form nwiwa (= nwewa)

ii) N. has also a form kwiwa (= kwewa).

iii) For a+i > ê, cf. also the plural of leinô (tooth), viz. *mainô > mênô (teeth).

iv) T. tewa (be said), cf. re (say), would appear to have a passive suffix ewa, but it is possible that the corresponding simple stem here is *ra (say) which still exists in N., and that the ewa of tewa is due to coalescence as above explained.

v) A form êwa is also obtained when T.iwa is employed with the secondary durative suffix aya, cf. (6) below.

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S.lefuǒa (be paid); hapuǒe (have been snatched), cf. S.hapuǒa (be snatched). But it is more common in S. to use the primary passive suffix in the perfect conjugational form and in T. and N. only the primary and not the secondary passive suffix can be used in this conjugational form. The long perfect terminative ile is here employed, e.g. S.filǒe T.filwe N.filwe (= S.fuǒe), cf. S.fuǒa T.fiwa N.fiwa (be given); S.lefilǒe T.lefilwe N.lefilwe (= S.lefuǒe), cf. S.lefuǒa T.lefiwa N.lefiwa (be paid), S.hapilǒe T.gapilwe N.xapilwe (= S.hapuǒe), cf. S.hapuǒa T.gapiwa N.xapiwa (be snatched).

ii) It is not necessary to deal specially with the function of the secondary passive suffix as it is semantically identical with the primary passive suffix.

It is perhaps of interest that no secondary passive stem, not associated with a corresponding simple stem, could be ~~indicated~~ found.

β) Compound:

1. Secondary passive in basic position:

It does not occur in this position.

2. Secondary passive in a non-basic position:

In S. and N., especially in the latter, it is far less commonly used than the primary passive. In T. on the other hand, it is fairly frequently met with although not so commonly as the primary passive. Its function in these cases is the same as that of S.ǒa T.wa N.wa.

aa) Primary durative-passive: S.ɕuǒa T.ɕiwa, e.g. S.hloliuǒa (be annoyed) < δ.*hloliɕuǒa, cf. S.hloliɕa T.tlhodia N.hlodia or N.hlodiya (annoy); T.tlatseiwa (be beaten much or hard with a downward movement), cf. T.tlatsea (beat much with a downward movement), T.popoiwa (be punished slightly by tapping or slapping), cf. T.popoa (punish slightly by tapping or slapping); S.pipiuǒa (be hidden), cf.

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S.pipia (hide), T.tsubuiwa (be shaken as e.g. a tree), cf. T.tsubua (shake a tree); S.hoaleuoa (be done partly), cf. hoalea (do partly); S.~~ne~~ ~~(nea)~~ T.nêwa[1] < T.*naiwa < T.*nayiwa (be given), cf. T.naya (give) and S.na T.na N.na (be); T.bêwa[1] < T.*baiwa < T.*bayiwa (be placed), cf. T.baya (place) and S.ba T.ba N.ba (be).

bb) Secondary durative-passive: S.ruoa < S.*neuoa T.aiwa < T.*ayiwa, e.g. S.bolauoa (be killed), cf. S.bolaea T.bolaya N.bolaya (kill); S.tsamauoa T.tsamaiwa (be walked), cf. T.tsamaea T.tsamaya N.tsamaya (walk); T.watlhaiwa (be punished), cf. T.watlhaya (punish).

The two connecting vowels a and i of T.aiwa are sometimes contracted giving a form êwa, e.g. tlhatlêwa < *tlhatlaiwa < *tlhatlayiwa (be put on the fire of a pot), cf. tlhatlaya (put a pot on the fire); ditêwa < *ditaiwa < *ditayiwa (be struck), cf. ditaya (strike); apêwa < *apaiwa < *apayiwa (be cooked), cf. apaya (cook).

cc) Factitive-passive: S.*euoa[ii] T.*yiwa[ii] N.*yiwa.[ii] In this compound T. employs only the secondary passive excepting when the root-consonant is m or n[iii] when it almost exclusively employs the primary passive. S. and N. on the other hand, especially the latter, rarely employ the secondary passive, excepting when the root-consonant is b or p, when they exclusively employ the secondary suffix: S.tsosuoa T.tsosiwa N.tsosiwa (be aroused), cf. S.tsosa T.tsosa N.tsosa (arouse) and S.tsoha T.tsoga N.tsoxa (get up); S.tsosuoa T.tshosiwa N.thosiwa (be frightened), cf. S.tsosa T.tshosa N.thosa (frighten) and S.tsoha T.tshoga N.thoxa (get a fright);

1) In these cases the i of iwa has coalesced with the stem-vowel a after the y has been elided. There exist also long forms for these passive stems, viz. nêêwa and bêêwa, this is due to a doubling of the vowel, cf. mêênô = mênô < *mainô (teeth) from leinô (tooth). ii) The suffix never appears in this form; S.e T.y N.y always coalesces with the final stem-consonant as described in Chapter 17 above. iii) Cf. § I B) 2. ee).

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S.atsuŏa < S.*atsŏuŏa T.atŏwiwa (be granted), cf. S.atsŏa T.atŏwa (grant, give alms) and S.aba T.aba N.aba (distribute); S.utsuŏa < S.*utsŏuŏa T.utŏwiwa or T.utŏuwa[1] N.utswiwa (be stolen), cf. S.utsŏa T.utŏwa N.utswa (steal) and S.uba (steal); S.hlatsuŏa < S.*hlatsŏuŏa T.tlhatŏwiwa N.hlatswiwa (be washed of something), cf. S.hlatsŏa T.tlhatŏwa N.hlatswa (wash something) and S.hlapa T.tlhapa N.hlapa (wash e.g. the body); S.latsuŏa < S.*latsŏuŏa (be tasted), cf. S.latsŏa (taste), T.latŏwiwa N.latswiwa (be licked), cf. T.latŏwa N.latswa (lick) and UB. lemba (lick)[ii].

The passive stem corresponding to the T.factitive stem derived from a root whose final consonant is l, is ~~phonologically~~ phonologically a single secondary passive stem, but semantically a factitive-passive. The passive suffix iwa is therefore attached to l and not to ts[iii]. This is also sometimes, but very rarely, ~~though~~, the case in N.: T.bodiwa (be asked), cf. S.botsa T.botsa (ask) and T.bola (tell news); T.ladiwa

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1) cf. T.utluwa (be heard) < T.*utluiwa < T.*utlwiwa, T.utlusa < T.*utluisa = S.utlŏisa T.utlwisa (cause to hear), S.utlŏa T.utlwa ~~N.eeeee~~ (hear) and UB.iŋûa UB.zûa (hear); utluwa and utlusa have probably been arrived at after the w preceding iwa and isa in *utlwiwa and utlwisa respectively have been vocalised to u and the i of the suffix elided. Probably in analogy to this T.utŏuwa has been derived from T.utŏwiwa.

ii) cf. Phon.p.246.

iii) This principle is also almost always applied in T. when the factitive T.ya is the final component part of a compound suffix, and the consonant of the suffix immediately preceding ya is l, e.g. with:

The actional(capable)-factitive ~~g~~tsa as in gekatsa (offend), cf. gekadiwa (be offended) and gekala (feel offended).

The actional(capable-intensive)-factitive alatsa as in phatlalatsa (cause to disperse), cf. phatlaladiwa (be caused to disperse) and phatlalala (become dispersed).

The applicative-factitive etsa as in goletsa (exalt, lift up), cf. golediwa (be exalted, be lifted up) and golêla (grow up at).

The actional-factitive tsa as in T.*budutsa, cf. T.*bududiwa > T.budulowa (be opened), here we have a process of progressive assimilation - a rare type of assimilation in Sotho - probably owing to iwa being preceded by two syllables each of which contains a vowel u. The actional stem corresponding to the above stems is budula (fill a sail, blow).

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(be laid down), cf. S.latsa T.latsa N.latša (lay down) and S.lala T.lala N.lala (lie down); T.lediwa (be caused to resound), cf. S.letsa T.letsa N.letša (cause to resound) and S.lla T.lala N.lala (cry); T.fadiwa (be split, be cut or chopped of wood), cf. S.fatsa T.fatsa (split, cut wood) and S.fala T.fala N.fala (scrape, plane); T.bidiwa N.bidiwa or N.bitšwa (be called), cf. S.bitsa T.bitsa N.bitša (call) and UB. yila (call) i).

In cases where a simple stem derived from a root whose final consonant is l, has a corresponding factitive stem, the secondary passive stem derived from the same root is ~~therefore~~ then used only to indicate ~~set aside for conveying~~ the passive of the action expressed by the factitive stem, and can ~~never~~ not be employed to ~~convey~~ indicate the passive of the action expressed by the simple stem. E.g. the passive stem corresponding to fala (scrape) must always be falwa (be scraped), as fadiwa (be split, be planed) conveys the passive of fatsa (split, plane). Even in cases where there does not exist a factitive stem corresponding to the simple stem, it is not advisable to employ the secondary passive suffix, as there is a likelihood that the secondary passive stem will be regarded as conveying a factitive idea in addition to its passive idea.

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i) cf. Phon., p. 244.

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CHAPTER 19.

Derivation through prefix-formation -

A. Reduplication of the first syllable of a simple verbal stem:

1) Verbal derivatives formed in this way are termed frequentative stems, and the syllable reduplicated may be: (i) Either a syllabic root consisting of a consonant plus a vowel as in N.kxokxoba (gather together, e.g. rubbish), cf. S.khoba N.kxoba (sweep together, gather together, invite) and for root kxo cf. App. A.74, S.khakhatha (beat repeatedly), cf. N.kxatha (gallop, i.e. strike the ground with the foot) and for root kxa cf. App. A.65, N.xaxama (stick to), cf. S.hema T.gama N.xama (milk) and for root xa cf. App. A.36, (ii) The first consonent and the vowel of a root consisting of a consonant plus a vowel plus a root as in: S.nyanyaka (look well at, arrange well), cf. S.nyaka (look in all directions) N.nyaka (seek) with root S.nyak and N.nyak; S.lolama (be fierce), cf. S.lama T.lama N.lama (bite) with root S.lam T.lam N.lam.

Of the 220[i] trisyllabic verbal stems whose first two syllables are identical in form, only 60 have a corresponding simple stem; of the remaining 160:

i. Some have a reduplicated root in common with one another or with a verbal derivative of more than three syllables, e.g.
S.titima (run), cf. S.titisêla (walk about, tread on a person's foot); S.khukhuna N.khukhuna (crawl, creep, walk while stooping down), cf. S.khukhusêla (walk in a bent position, walk with difficulty) for root S.khu N.khu, cf. App. A.78; S.shashara (take a great quantity of), cf. S.shashabetsa

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i) Not counting approximately 30 derived from nominal and ideophonic roots.

(bite too big a slice, charge too much); S.koekoetla N.kwekwetla (turn aside from, beat the bush, walk outside lands), cf. S.koekoelenya (turn aside, dodge from); N.sususuma (press importunately, harass), cf. S.susuhlêlla (push into); N.hlahlama (whiz, whir, swarm), cf. N.hlahlasa (whiz, whir, flare); N.tsêtsêma (be white), cf. N.tsêtsêna (glimmer, shine white); S.khokhoara (be near one another), cf. S.khoskhoanya (mix up things, embroil); T.susura (eat very much), cf. T.susutha (eat much) and T.susutsha (eat very much); S.nônôba (walk slowly), cf. N.nônôra (walk about); T.gogona (tuck in as e.g. blankets), cf. N.xoxota (poke).

The fact that these stems convey a frequentative force (cf. § 2) below), excludes the possibility of their being related to non-extant simple stems through suffix-formation. This applies also to ii. and iii. below.

ii. Others have the root which is reduplicated in them, in common with other verbal stems, e.g. T.tsitsitlha (tickle), cf. S.tsikinya N.tsikinya (tickle); N.tlatlapa (dabble, splash in water), cf. N.tlampoletsa (splash in water with the legs); S.shoêshoêra (shave), cf. S.shoeretsa (scrape, shave); T.pôpôtla (bother by much talking), cf. T.pôrôtlêla (talk incessantly); S.tsitsinya (shake), cf. T.tsikinya N.tsikinya (shake); S.fufula T.fufula (perspire) N.fufula (boil or foam up, boil over), cf. N.fuma (boil over); T.fufutsa (seek, examine), cf. T.fukutsa (seek, examine); S.hihitsa (scream loudly), cf. S.hikitsa (scream loudly).

iii. Others again, have the root, which is reduplicated in them, in common with ~~neutral~~ nominal stems, e.g. N.thsothsoma (run, flow as the water of a heavy shower of rain), cf. N.lethsoromo (a heavy shower of rain); T.tsêtsêtha (shake meal up and down so as to remove the bran), cf. N.ditsêrê (bran).

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iv, Still others have ~~identical~~ UB. counterparts whose first two syllables are also identical, e.g. S.hahaba T.gageba N.xaxaba (creep) and N.kxakxaba (creep, crawl along as a result of age or illness), cf. UB.kakeya (stoop), S.hôhôba (creep) T.gôgôba N.xôxôba (creep, walk as a very weak person, walk in a bent position) and S.khôkhôba N.kxôkxôba (get bowed down from old age or illness), cf. UB.kokoya (stoop in walking); T.roroma N.roroma (tremble with fear, shake as in fever), N.rurume (= roroma) and N.thothoma (tremble), cf. UB.tutuma (tremble); S.kokona T.kokona N.kokona (nibble, pick a bone), cf. UB.yuyuna (gnaw); T.fofoma N.fofoma (foam, boil up, heave up), cf. UB.pupuma (boil over, boil up); T.gogoma (project), cf. UB.kukuma (swell).

In the following cases the final syllable of the simple stem has been elided: N.twatwa (be burnt white by the sun), cf. N.twaya (shine, glitter); N.hlwahlwa (pierce through, punch through), cf. N.hlwaya (pierce, drill).

The following frequentative stems, different as regards their stem-vowels, but semantically either identical or else very closely related, are interesting: N.tšitšiba (take a fright) and N.tšutšuba (take a fright); N.nênêra (walk about, walk much) and N.nônôra (walk about), cf. also S.nanara (advance stealthily) and N.nana (walk carefully); N.fifira (gnash the teeth) and N.fufura (bite something hard, gnaw); S.bêbêra (prattle, babble, speak angrily) and T.bôbôra (murmur, talk in a low voice, growl as a dog) N.bôbôra (prattle, talk a lot).

2) (a) The frequentative stem denotes "that the action is done over and over again"[1]. The following examples are given in addition to those already quoted:

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1) cf. Term., p. 110.

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S.chachaka (go from place to place to give orders), cf. S.chaka (take a walk, walk about); T.pêpêna (rivet as a bolt), cf. S.pêna T.pêna L.pêna (bend back, turn back as the edge of a knife), S.kakata N.kakata (kill by beating repeatedly, kill by pelting with stones) N.kakata (trample repeatedly on a floor), cf. S.kata T.kata N.kata (trample, tread); S.nyanyatha (crush with the teeth, i.e. gnaw repeatedly), cf. S.nyatha (gnaw); N.puputla (trot, walk up and down, to and fro), cf. N.putla (traverse); N.fafala (provoke, embitter), cf. N.fala (threaten), T.bebenya (flicker, flash like a sword or a distant lightning), cf. S.benya N.benya (be bright, shine); T.gagapa (take more than one has the right to take), cf. S.hapa T.gapa N.xapa (snatch, take with force); T.riripa (cut all the hair off the head), cf. S.ripa N.ripa (cut off); S.bêbêra (prattle, babble, gabble), cf. S.bêra T.bêra N.bêra (talk foolishly, talk much); N.xaxtla (kill a number of things at the same time), cf. T.gatla N.xatla (beat with a stick).

(b) A few stems with reduplicated first syllables seem to have lost their frequentative force, e.g. N.kukuba (stupify, blunt, dull), cf. S.kuba T.kuba N.kuba (spear without piercing the skin, be blunt); S.loloma (be fierce), cf. S.loma T.loma N.loma (bite), ~~N.tlotloma (become big, get stretched upwards) cf. S.tloma N.tloma (grow quickly).~~

(c) In some cases the relation between the frequentative stem and the probable corresponding simple stem is vague e.g. N.kxokxoma (stammer, stutter), cf. S.khama N.kxama (strangle, stick in the throat); S.hlohlora T.tlhotlhora N.hlohlora (shake, shake off) cf. N.hlôra (cut with an axe); S.khêkhêtha T.kgêkgêtha N.kxêkxêtha (cut into pieces, cut into parts as a carcass), cf. S.khêtha T.kgêtha N.kxêtha (choose), N.bobotha (bring together, gather together), cf. S.botha T.botha N.botha (lie down of cattle after feeding).

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(d) Frequentative stems may be either transitive or intransitive according as ~~the~~ the corresponding simple stems are transitive or intransitive,[i] e.g. S.chachaka intransitive and S.chaka intransitive; T.bebenya intransitive and S.benya N.benya intransitive; S.kakata N.kakata transitive and S.kata T.kata N.kata transitive; T.riripa transitive and S.ripa N.ripa transitive.

(e) From roots to which the process of reduplication has been applied, verbal derivatives may be formed through suffix-formation, by employing the suffixes referred to in previous chapters. So one finds:

i. Frequentative-applicatives, ~~stems~~ e.g. S.chachakêl (go about giving orders to or with respect to), cf. S.chachaka (go from place to place to give orders) and S.chaka (take a walk, walk about); S.hahatlêla N.xaxatlêla (claim much more than is proper with respect to something, get the better of something), cf. N.xaxatla (kill a number of things at the same time) and T.gatla N.xatla (beat with a stick).

ii. Frequentative-performatives[ii], e.g. T.g-g-pisa (cause to take more than one has the right to take), cf. T.gegapa (take more than on has the right to take) and S.hapa T.gapa N.xapa (take by force, snatch); S.khakhathisa (cause to beat repeatedly), cf. S.khakhatha (beat repeatedly) and N.kxatha (gallop, i.e. strike the ground with the foot); N.kakatiša (cause to trample very often on the floor), cf. N.kakata (trample repeatedly on the floor) and S.kata T.kata N.kata (trample, tread).

iii. Frequentative-operative(intensive)-reciprocals, e.g. N.šašarapšana (withdraw, turn aside), cf. N.šara (change places).

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i) For the meanings of examples here quoted refer to (a) above.

ii) The examples here quoted have been obtained from my informants.

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B. Reduplication of the first syllable of a verbal derivative through suffix formation. Here also "action done over and over again" is indicated, e.g. S.bebeola (shave completely), cf. S.beola T.beola (shave, i.e. remove from its place), S.bôa N.bea (place) and S.be T.be N.be (be); N.kokolola (offload a waggon), cf. S.kolla N.kolola (skin, take off the cream) and S.kolo N.kolo (gather together, rake together); S.thithibana (become blunt, become disheartened), cf. S.thibana N.thibana (get stopped, get deaf) and S.thiba T.thiba N.thiba (stop up); S.hlôhlômêla (string beads or locusts, i.e. keep on piling up), cf. S.hlômêla N.hlômêla (pile up) and S.hlôma T.tlhôma N.hlôma (plant).

This process, viz. of first applying suffix-formation and only subsequently reduplication of the first syllable, is very rare; the reverse process (cf. A. above) is much more common.

There are verbal stems containing both a reduplicated initial syllable as well as a suffix, for which only a corresponding verbal derivative through suffix-formation but no corresponding simple stem could be ascertained, e.g. T.fofolêla (string a great number of beads), cf. N.foléla (string beads); S.ririhlêha (be slow, be delayed by trifles), cf. S.rihlêha (do unwillingly or slowly); T.totoula (beat very hard) N.totoula (beat with a long stick), cf. S.toula (beat mercilessly with a stick); S.khokhêetsa T.kgokgweetsa (push violently, compel to go), cf. T.kgweetsa (drive); N.hlohlolokana (march in a row in two's or three's), cf. S.hlolokana (come and go in numbers); S.khikhiritsa (turn away from a purpose, miss the mark), cf. S.khiritsa (withhold one's thoughts, allude to).

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C) By adding a prefix, not identical in form with the first syllable of the simple stem, to the simple stem.[1]

I have not been able to indicate the force of these prefixes, as they occur very seldom.

N.a in: N.akama (be astonished, be amazed), cf. T.kama (perplex);[2]

T.bo in: T.boduma (request, implore), cf. S.luma N.duma (wish earnestly);

N.fo in: N.foxohla (rub off, rub between the hands), cf. S.hohla T.gotlhe N.xohla (rub);

S.fu in: S.fuputla (look for, seek), cf. T.putla (search diligently);

N.xe in: N.xebenya (wink, twinkle), cf. S.benya N.benya (glitter);

T.go N.xo in: T.goduma N.xoduma (drink with a noise), cf. S.luma T.duma N.dumo (rumble);

S.ka T.ka N.ka in: S.kaneme T.kaneme N.kanema (lie stretch-out on the back), cf. S.nama T.nama N.nema (spread out, extend); N.kabêtla (cut with force), cf. S.bêtla T.betla N.bêtla (cut, chisel); T.kaloma (bite without making deep incisions), cf. S.loma T.loma N.lom (bite).

N.kê in: N.kêbêtla (cut with force), cf. S.bêtla T.betla N.bêtla (cut, chisel);

S.ko in: S.kogola (pull out a tooth, take out something whole), cf. S.gola (pick out, single out);

N.kô in: N.kôrôba (bend), cf. S.rôba T.rôba N.rôba (break);

N.kwa in: N.kwebêtla (cut as with an axe), cf. S.bêtla T.betla N.bêtla (cut, chisel);

S.khi in: S.khiripa (cut too short), cf. S.ripa (cut, cut off, cut very short);

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1) A similar process has been noticed in Karanga, cf. Marconnes A Grammar of Central Karanga, pp. 204-205.

2) It is also possible that the basis here is ak, the a of which has been elided in the case of kama.

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N.di in: N.dikitla (beat with a fist round and round), cf. T.kitla (strike with a fist) and N.kitla (tan by beating the skin);

S.nyô in: S.nyôkôtla (eat very much, cram), cf. S.kôtla N.kôtla (press in);

S.pu T.pu in: S.putula T.putula (trample a place), cf. S.tula N.tula (crush, break);

N.ri in: N.ripitla (crush into bits), cf. S.pitla T.pitla N.pitla (crush, squeeze between the fingers);

T.sê in: T.sêgêthla (whisper about, backbite), cf. S.hêhla (speak much, prattle);

N.so in: N.somila (blow the nose with the two fingers), cf. N.mmila (blow the nose);

N.te in: N.tetseba (be conscious), cf. S.tseba N.tseba (know);

N.tsê in: N.tsêrêma (poke with the horns), cf. S.rêma T.rêma N.rêma (chop);

S.tso in: S.tsuboka (gather pell-mell), cf. N.boka (gather, rake together);

N.tsu in: N.tsubaba (throw the blame on some one), cf. N.baba (lie);

N.u in: N.ududa (shake), cf. S.luba T.duba N.duba (turn over something stiff, e.g. dough, clay, knead). [1]

b) By adding a prefix, not identical with the first syllable of a verbal derivative, to a verbal derivative. The following are the only examples I could find:

S.a in: S.araburetsa (guess, imagine, give a vague answer), cf. S.raburetsa (guess, suppose, speak vaguely);

S.tso in: S.tsoebola (peel off, pull off), cf. S.ebola N.ebola (peel, pare, take the bark off) and N.eba (skin); S.tsobola (peel off), cf. T.bola (make a large opening, break open as a house or a wound);

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1) It is possible that the basis here is S.*ul T.*ud N.ud, the u of which has been elided in S.luba T.duba N.duba.

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N.tl in: N.tlapola (undress), cf. S.apola T.apola N.apola (undress); N.tlebola (peel off), cf. S.ebola N.ebola (peel, pare, take the bark off) and N.eba (skin);

T.ṣo in: T.ṣwebola (pull one thing off another, pluck), cf. T.abola (make a large opening, break open as house or a wound);

T.bo in: T.bolebana (look at each other, be opposite), cf. S.lebana T.lebana N.lebana (be opposite, face one another) and S.leba T.leba N.leba (look at);

S.ho in: S.horohosa (make a rustling noise), cf. S.rohosa (shake violently), S.rohora (shake) also S.horosa (rustle one's bedding);

N.tla in: N.tlapirixanya (smash, beat or trample to pieces), cf. T.piriganya N.pirixanya (throw or knock down a heavy thing) T.pirigana N.pirixana (fall of a heavy thing) and N.pirixa (topple down);

T. kge in: T.kgeleketla (spring up as a fountain), cf. S.leketla T.leketla N.lêketla (hang down, swing about).

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CHAPTER 20.

Verbalised derivatives.

I Verbalised derivatives are of the following types:
A. Denominative, B. Deideophonic, C. Deadjectival, D. Deadverbial.

As will be seen below, all primary suffixes employed to form verbal derivatives are employed with more or less the same force to form verbalised derivatives[i]. However, it happens in some cases that these suffixes have entirely lost their force - a phenomenon which, as we have seen, is not at all unfamiliar with suffixes. For such suffixes no specific verbalising force could be indicated.

Apart from the suffixes referred to above there is also the suffix S.fa T.fa N.fa, which is ~~only~~ only employed with non-verbal stems whether nominative, ideophonic, or adjectival[ii]. The force of S.fa T.fa N.fa is only to verbalise in each case the idea or state denoted by the non-verbal stem; or, ~~with~~ in other words, only to denote being of the nature, or in the state expressed by the non-verbal stem. S.fa T.fa N.fa, therefore, indicates the change of the part of speech only, without any further enlargement upon the idea or state expressed by the non-verbal stem; but not so the other verbalising suffixes which, as pointed out above, ~~carries~~ carry also, to a certain extent, the respective forces typical of them when employed to form verbal derivatives.

Compound verbalising derivative suffixes are also met with, and of special importance here is S.fala T.fala N.fala which may be either verbalising (denominative)-actional(capable), verbalising(deideophonic)-actional(capable), ~~or~~ verbalising(deadjectival)-actional(capable), or verbalising(deadverbial)-actional(capable)[iii]. This suffix is much more common than its single counterpart S.fa T.fa N.fa, which, as will be indicated below, has probably lost ground in favour of fala.

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i) For the scheme according to which these suffixes are designated, cf. Chapter 5.
ii) No adverbial stem with which fa is employed could be ascertained.
iii) About 40 stems in fa and 160 in fala could be indicated.

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Only fa and some of its most interesting compounds will be dealt with at some length in this chapter, as they are the most important verbalising derivative suffixes. The other verbalising derivative suffixes will be referred to only very briefly.

II I shall now proceed to deal with the various types of verbalised derivatives individually:

A. DENOMINATIVES.

1. (i) Verbalising(denominative) S.fa T.fa N.fa [i]:

(a) S.fa T.fa N.fa is attached to the nominal stem only, i.e. the prefix of the noun is elided, e.g. S.akofa T.akofa N.akofa (make haste, i.e. be speedy, quick), cf. ako found in N.byako < *baako (haste, speed); S.natefa T.natefa N.natefa (be nice, be tasty, become nice), cf. nate found in S.monate T.monate N.monate (pleasantness especially of taste).

An exception to this rule is N.kêpêfa (<*kêpafa, through progressive assimilation) (be the thing that is to be dug, be diggable), cf.S.kêpa N.kêpa (a digging stick or crowbar) N.kepi (an iron digging stick) and S.êpa, T.êpa N.êpa (dig). The initial k of the nouns referred to above contains the noun-prefix [ii]. kêpêfa is, however, identical in meaning with T.ôpêga N.êpêxa, and it is therefore possible that kêpêfa may only be a variant of T.ôpêga N.êpêxa, k being due to initial strongthening and the fa having replaced the xa of N.êxa, cf. T.fala, which sometimes dialectally ~~replacing~~ replaces T.agala [iii].

(b) As a rule the final vowel of the noun-stem remains unchanged when fa is suffixed, e.g. N.opafa (be barren), cf. opa in S.boopa N.boopa (barrenness); S.halefa T.galefa N.xalefa (be or become angry), cf. S.hale T.gale N.xale

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i) UB. pa, cf. Phon., pp. 44 and 76.

ii) cf. Phon., p. 61.

iii) cf. below.

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found in S.bohale T.bogale N.boxale (anger). The following are however exceptions to this rule: N.hlatsafa (be blissful, blessed), cf. hlatse found in N.lehlatse (luck, prosperity); N.xôlôfa (be deformed), cf. S.hôlê T.gôlê N.xôlê found in S.bohôlê T.bogôlê N.boxôlê (deformity). In both cases the final vowel of the stem has assimilated with the stem-vowel.

(ii) (a) For the definition of S.fa T.fa N.fa cf. I above. The following are a few more examples in addition to those already quoted: N.xankafa (be querrelsome, desirous of fighting), cf. T.ganka N.xanka found in T.boganka N.boxanka (fierceness in battle, bravery); N.ritšafa (be slow), cf. S.ritsa [illegible] N.ritša found in S.boritsa (state of one who has to creep) N.boritša (slowness) and S.seritsa N.seritša (lame person, one who creeps); N.fefofa (be light in weight), cf. fefo found in T.befefo N.bofefo (lightness in weight) and T.sefofo N.sefefo (something very light); T.koafa (be tame, be weak), cf. kon in T.bokoa (weakness); N.tsafa (be nice, be good), cf. tse in N.botse (beauty), S.tšoafa N.tšwafa (be loath, feel disinclined), cf. S.tšoa N.tšwa in S.botšoa and N.botšwe (laziness) and N.motšwa (laziness); N.tswaifa (be salt), cf. S.tšoai T.tšwai N.tswai in S.letšoai T.letšwai N.letswai (salt).

(b) In a few cases fa has lost either partly or wholly its original function in that:

i. It denotes in addition to the idea of being of the nature, or in the state expressed by the non-verbal stem also the idea of becoming of that nature or ~~getting into~~ entering that state[1], e.g., S.natefa T.natefa N.natefa (be or become nice), cf. nate in S.monate T.monate N.monate (pleasantness especially of taste), S.halefa T.galefa N.xalefa (be or become angry), cf. S.hale T.gale N.xale in S.bohale T.bogale N.boxale (anger).

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1) This is the idea generally expressed by S.fala T.fala N.fala (cf. 2 below), and it would therefore seem as if there has been an interchange between the functions expressed by fa and fala respectively.

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ii. It denotes only becoming of the nature or getting into the state[1] expressed by the non-verbal stem, e.g. N.atlafa (become silly), cf. atla in T.boatla (unskilfullness) N.boatla (foolishness); N.hlafa (become unpalatable, insipid), cf. S.hla T.tlha N.hla in S.bohla T.botlha N.bohla (sourness, bitterness).

iii. It has lost its verbalising force. In all such cases no corresponding non-verbal stems could be ascertained, e.g. S.alafa T.alafe N.alafa (cure, treat medically, prescribe medicine); N.fakofa (hang up), T.fakufa (use or keep a thing beyond the time for which it was lent and without the lender's permission); N.katafa (speak quickly telling lies only).

(c) All verbal stems in S.fa T.fa N.fa are intransitive with the exception of the following T.boifa N.boifa (fear, i.e. be afraid of), cf. boi in T.boboi (fear); S.alafa T.alafa N.alafa (cf. (b) iii. above); T.fakufa (cf. (b) iii. above); N.fakofa (cf. (b) iii. above).

(d) There are 8 verbal stems in fa for which no corresponding non-verbal stems could be indicated. Such non-verbal stems need, of course, not have been noun-stems; but for convenience sake all these stems are classed here, on the understanding of course that should a non-verbal stem other than a noun-stem be indicated as the basis of any of these verbal stems, it will fall under the section concerned, and will not be a verbalised (denominative) stem. Examples: N.akxofa (hasten); N.fakofa (cf. (b) iii. above); T.fakufa (cf. (b) iii. above); N.katafa (cf. (b) iii. above), cf. N.kataba (lie in a mocking way); S.alafa T.alafa N.alafa (cf. (b) iii. above); N.anafa (multiply, become numerous), cf. T.anama (spread out); T.fegofa (look round quickly or in an exciting manner, take quickly hold of a thing); N.folofa (be hopeful).

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1) This is the idea generally expressed by S.fala T.fala N.fale (cf. 2. below), and it would therefore seem as if there has been an interchange between the functions expressed by fa and fala.

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2. (i) Verbalising(denominative)-actional(capable) [1]

S.fala T.fala N.fala ;

(a) S.fala T.fala N.fala is attached to nominal stems only, i.e. the prefix of the noun is elided, the following are however exceptions:

T.leswêfala N.leswêfala (become filthy, nasty or evil), cf. T.leswê (something filthy or nasty) N.leswê (filth); S.matlafala N.matlafala (become strong), cf. S.matla N.matla (strength).

In the following cases the nominal stems have been affected in various ways after the prefixes have been elided:

S.thethefala (become blunt, diminish of pain), cf. rethe in S.borethe (softness) T.borethe N.borethe (smoothness, bluntness); S.nthofala (become a man), cf. tho in S.motho T.motho N.motho (a person); N.rurôfala = N.ruthôfala (become hot), cf. ruthô in S.borutho (lukewarmness) N.borutho (heat);

T.lôtsafala = T.tôtsafala (become deceitful or untruthful), cf. S.lôtsana T.lôtsana N.lôtšana in S.bolôtsana T.bolôtsana (roguery, wickedness) and S.molôtsana N.molôtšana (a wicked person); S.tsibifala T.tsidifala N.tšidifala (become cold), cf. in S.tsilili T.tsididi (cold) N.botšididi (coldness); S.foufala T.foufala N.foufala = T.fofufala N.fofufala (become blind), cf. fofu in S.sefofu T.sefofu N.sefofu (a blind person or animal.

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1) UB. pala, cf. Phon, pp. 44 and 76.

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(b) As a rule the final vowel of the noun-stem remains unchanged when fala is suffixed.
The following are, however, exceptions:
T.gôlefala N.xôlefale = S.hôlôfala N.xôlôfala (become lame or crippled), cf. S.hôlê T.gôlê N.xôlê in S.bohôlê T.bogôlê N.boxôlê (deformity); S.sulufala = T.sŭlafala N.sŭlafala (become tasteless, unpleasant, disagreeable), cf. S.sula T.sŭla N.sŭla in S.bosula N.bosŭla (tastelessness) T.bosŭla (badness, evil); T.tshegafala = T.tshegôfala (become blessed, lucky), cf. T.tshegô (luck), N.ritafala = N.ritifala (become blunt), cf. ritê in N.boritê (bluntness), T.thuthafala (become warm), cf. thuthô in T.bothuthô (heat).

In some cases assimilation has taken place with the stem-vowel in others again with the connecting vowel a.

(ii) (a) S.fala T.fala N.fala adds to the idea expressed by fa, the actional(capable) idea, i.e. the idea of entering into a certain state, in this case the state entered into is that expressed by the noun-stem. S.fala T.fala N.fala denotes therefore becoming of the nature or entering into the state of what is expressed by the nominal stem, e.g. S.hlôhônôlôfala T.tlhôgônôfala N.hlôxônôlôfala (become blessed, happy), cf. S.hlôhônôlô T.tlhôgônôlô N.hlôxônôlô in S.lehlôhônôlô T.letlhôgônôlô N.lehlôxônôlô (blessing, good luck); T.imafala N.imafala (become thick, heavy), cf. ima in S.boima T.boima N.boima (weight, heaviness); S.mumufala (become dumb) cf. mumu in S.bomumu T.bomumu N.bomumu (dumbness) and S.semumu T.semumu N.semumu (a mute); S.nôlôfala T.nôlôfala N.nôlôfala (become soft or tender), cf. nôlô in S.bonôlô T.bonôlô N.bonôlô (softness, gentleness, meekness); S.tsŏaifala (become nice), cf. S.tsŏai T.tswai N.tswai in S.letsŏai T.letswai N.letswai (salt); S.hlokofala T.tlhokofala N.hlokofala (become sad, grieved, sore) cf.

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S.hloko T.tlhoko N.hloko in S.bohloko T.botlhoko N.bohloko (pain, grief); T.kodunfala (become poor in flesh), cf. kodua in N.mokodua (leanness) also T.koduô in T.mokoduê (leanness); N.latofala (become guilty), cf. lato in N.molato T.molato N.molato (mistake, guilt); S.natlafala T.natlafala N.natlafala (become strong, brave), cf. natla in S.bonatla T.bonatla N.bonatla (might, strength); S.netefala (become true), cf. nete in S.'nete T.nnete N.nnete (truth); S.silafala N.šilafala (become dirty, filthy), cf. S.sila N.šila in S.tšila N.thšila (dirt, filth); N.rurafala (become quite dirty), cf. rura in N.xo rura [1] (to get dirty); S.atafela.

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1) This noun as well as the following few belong to the S.ho T.go N.xo noun-class, whose stems are identical in form with those of the corresponding simple verbal-stems. In forming verbalised derivatives from these noun-stems nothing extraordinary takes place - as in the other cases quoted above so also here fala is added to a non-verbal stem. It may perhaps be argued that we have here not verbalised derivatives but verbal derivatives with fala attached to the simple verbal stem. This is, however, very improbable, because, as pointed out right through this treatise, verbal derivatives are derived from verbal roots and not from simple stems. There are a few exceptions, viz: where S.isa T.isa N.iša and S.*iše T.iwa N.iwa are attached to monosyllabic simple verbal stems. ~~with the verbal stems~~* under discussion ~~the stems~~ are not monosyllabic. But this is really only of minor importance; the important point here, as already pointed out, is the fact that we have in these cases two types of stems, viz: a verbal stem and a non-verbal stem which are identical in form. fala is commonly found attached to noun-stems, and why should the bases of these stems be regarded as being verbal stems when, as far as their forms are concerned, they can equally well be noun-stems? There would appear to be no reason grounds for regarding these stems as verbal derivatives.

* The simple stems corresponding to the derivatives.

N.stafala (become numerous), cf. ata in S.ho ata T.go ata N.xo ata (to increase); S.atlafala (become prosperous), cf. atla in S.ho atla N.xo atla (to prosper); T.kgwathafala (become weak, submissive) cf. S.khoatha T.kgwatha in S.ho khoatha T.go kgwatha (to bend down, to be beaten); S.lokafala N.lokafala (become straight, righteous), cf. loka in S.ho loka N.xo loka (to become right, straight); T.ngôtlafala (become small, humble), cf. ngôtla in S.ho ngôtla T.go ngôtla N.xo ngôtla (to lessen, to make small); T.totafala (become larger, become increased), cf. tota in S.ho tota N.xo tota (to increase).

(b) There are about 10 verbal stems in fala for which no corresponding non-verbal stems could be indicated. Such non-verbal stems need of course not have been noun-stems, but, for convenience sake, all these verbal stems are classed here, on the understanding of course that should a non-verbal stem, other than a noun-stem, be indicated as being the basis of any of these verbal stems, it will fall under the section concerned and will not be a verbalised (denominative) stem. Examples:

N.sisifala (shake), cf. N.sisina (shake); T.khwatlafala (become dwarfed); T.khukufala (become bowed down); N.dilafala (suffer physical hurt).

(c) The copulative construction with the copulative verb S.ba T.nna N.ba (be) and a noun, conveys the same force as the verbalised (denominative) factitive (capable) stem, e.g.

S.mantsoe a hae e ba 'nete = S.mantsoe a hae na netafala (his words become true), cf. nete ((a) above), S.ka baka la lefu monna e ba sehole N.ka baka la bolwetsi monna o ba sekole = S. ka baka la lefu monna oa holofala N. ka baka la bolwetsi monna o a xolofala (because of the illness the man becomes lame), cf. S.hola N.xola (1. (i) (b) above);

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S. ka baka la bohloko ba mahlô a hae ngŏana e ba sefofu

N. ka baka la xo baba xa mahlô a xaxwê ngwana o ba sefofu =

S. ka baka la bohloko ba mahlô a hae ngŏana oa foufala

N. ka baka la xo baba xa mahlô a xaxwê ngwana o a foufala

(because of the trouble with his eyes the child is becoming blind),

T. ka gonne a bolawa ke matlhô o nna sefofu =

T. ke gonne o bolawa ke malthô o e foufala (because he has touble with his eyes he is becoming blind), cf. fou< fofu ((a) above); T. ka ntlha ya go lwala thata monna o ba mokodue = T. ka ntlha ya go lwala thata monna o a koduafala (the man becomes thin because of his long illness), cf. kodue and kodua ((a) above); S.lijô li ba monate T.dijô di nna monate N. dijô di ba monate = S. lijô lia natefala T. dijô di a natefala N. dijô dí a natefala (the food becomes nice), cf. nate in S.monate T.monate N.monate (pleasantness especially of taste).

(d) S.fala T.fala N.fala and S.shala T.(dialectally only), i) egala N.exala have much in common: the former denotes entering into the state expressed by the noun-stem, the latter denotes entering into the state expressed by the corresponding simple verbal stem; this similarity in force is especially noticeable if fala is employed with noun-stems of the S.bo T.go N.xo noun-class. The resulting verbalised derivatives ~~being~~ are in such cases actually semantically identical with the verbal derivatives derived from roots underlying the non-verbal stems from which the verbalised derivatives have been derived. This is probably the reason why in some T. dialects as, e.g.Tlhaping, egala is not met with ii), thus:

T.dihafala = N.diraxala (happen, come to pass), cf.

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i) cf. Chapter 10 § A II ((1)) β).

ii) cf. Wookey and Brown Secwana Grammar, p. 115.

iii) T. refers in these cases of course only to such dialects as do not have egala.

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T.go diha (to do, to act) and T.diha = N.dira (do, act); T.tlhôkafala = S.hlôkahela N.hlôkaxala (be or become scarce), cf. T.go tlhôka (to lack) and S.hlôka T.tlhôka N.hlôka (lack, not to have); T.supafala = S.supahala (become plain, testified), cf. T.go supa (to show, to indicate) S.supa T.supa N.supa (show, indicate).

The T. examples quoted above have been derived from the corresponding noun-stems found in the S.ho T.go N.xo noun-class, and the same may be said of the following derivative stems in S.fela T.fala N.fala: T.lelafala (become very hot), cf. lela in T.go lela (to be very hot); T.thopafala (become plundered or taken by force) cf. S.ho thopa T.go thopa N.xo thopa (to plunder); S.atafala N.atafala (become numerous), cf. ata in S.ho ata T.go ata N.xo ata (to increase), S.atlafala (become prosperous), cf. atla in S.ho atla N.xo atla (to prosper).

As a result of ~~the~~ their similarity in ~~their~~ force some interchange has probably taken place in the incidence of these two suffixes, not only interdialectally in T., as indicated above, but also in S. and N., e.g. S.netahala = S.netafala (become true), cf. nete in S.'neto T.nnete N.nnete (truth); N.imaxala = T.imafala N.imafala (become heavy), cf. ima in T.go ima N.xo ima (become heavy with respect to a child, i.e. to become pregnant) and in S.boima T.boima N.boima (weight).

3. Verbalising(denominative)-performative S.fisa T.fisa N.fisa which adds the performative idea to the idea denoted by S.fa T.fa N.fa.

4. Verbalising(denominative)-actional(capable)-factitive S.fetsa T.fetsa N.fetsa which adds the factitive idea to the idea denoted by S.fela T.fala N.fala.

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The two suffixes mentioned under 3. and 4. above are of importance here only in so far as they sometimes convey the same force, this is probably due to the fact fa and fala as well as S.isa T.isa N.isa and S.ša T.ya N.ya are also sometimes semantically identical[i], e.g.:

S.natefisa T.natefisa N.natefisa = S.natefatsa T.natefatsa N.natefatsa[ii] (make nice), cf. nate (cf. 2.(ii) (c) above); S.natlafisa N.natlafisa = S.natlafatsa N.natlafatsa[ii] (make strong), cf. natla (2. (ii) (a) above); S.hlehafisa = S.hlehafatsa T.tlhegafatsa (make wild, alert), cf. S.hleha T.tlhega in S.hleha T.tlhega (wildness, quickness).

5. Verbalising(denominative)-factitive S.sa T.tsha N.sa N.swa < S.f + S.ša T.f + T.ya N.f + N.ya. This is a very rare suffix and it is given here only because of its interesting form. It will also be noticed that where verbalising(denominative)-factitive stems and verbalising(denominative)-performative stems have been derived from the same noun-stem they are semantically identical:

S.hlasa T.tlhasa < S.*hlafša T.*tlhafya (lose its nice taste, become sour), cf. N.hlafa (become uneatable, coagulate) and S.hla T.tlha N.hla in S.bohla T.botlha N.bohla (sourness); N.hlaswa < N.*hlafya (disgust, excite loathing), cf. N.hlafa etc. above;

T.nonotsha < T.*nonofya = T.nonofisa (strengthen, enable), cf. T.nonofa (be able) and S.nna T.nna N.nna < S.*nona

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i) cf. 1. (ii) (b) above as well as Chapter 17 § I a) ii) (a).

ii) Obtained from my informants.

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T.*nona N.*nona in S.monna T.monna N.monna (man) [i], T.akotsha < T.*akofya = S.akofisa T.akofisa N.akofiša (cause to hasten), cf. S.akofa T.akofa N.akofa (make haste, be speedy, cf. 1. (i) (a) above); T.boitsha < T.*boifya = T.boifisa N.boifiša (cause to fear, make to fear), cf. T.boifa N.boifa (fear cf. 1. (ii) (c) above); T.tlhaletsha < T.*tlhalefya = S.hlalefisa T.tlhalefisa N.hlalefiša (make wise, intelligent), cf. S.hlalefa T.tlhalefa N.hlalefa (become wise) and S.hlale T.thlele N.hlale in S.bohlale T.botlhale N.bohlale (wisdom, prudence); T.natetsha < T.*natefya = S.natefisa T.natefisa N.natefiša (make nice, cause to be pleasing), cf. S.natefa T.natefa N.natefa (be or become nice cf. 1. (ii) (b) above).

6. Verbalising(denominative)(durative) S.ša T.a T.ya N.ya, e.g. S.tataša (walk a little like a child), cf. S.tata in S.letata (a duck); T.kwidia (go about as a wanderer), cf. T.kwidi (an unknown place); T.kgwelea (entangle), cf. S.khôêlê (string), T.kgwêlê (riem); T.dia N.diya (detain, delay), cf. N.di in N.sedi (caution, carefulness); T.kaa = T.kaya (tie a cow's legs together for milking), cf. N.ka in N.moka (the whole of, totality).

7. Verbalising(denominative)[durative,(intensive)] S.ka T.ka N.ka, e.g. N.lodika (whistle of birds), cf. S.loli T.lodi N.lodi in S.mololi T.molodi N.molodi (a whistling sound); N.xôlôka (roar continually), cf. N.xôlô in N.moxôlô (throat, gullet); T.galaka N.xalaka (be bitter, be brackish), cf. S.hala T.gala N.xala in S.lehala T.legala N.lexala (porridge mixed with sour or sweet milk); S.tsboka (appear in public), cf. T.tsebô (a looking, gaze); N.tswika (prick something with a needle), cf. N.tswi in N.motswi (arrow); T.dika N.dika (tarry), cf. N.di in N.sedi (caution, carefulness); S.kaka T.kaka N.kaka (take

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i) monona = monna is still occurs in dialects dialectally met with.

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something as a whole), cf. N.ka in N.moka (the whole of, totality); T.tsêtsêlêka[1] (be prudent, circumspect), cf. N.motsêlêtsêlê (a clever person).

8. Verbalising(denominative)(operative)S.ba T.ba N.ba, e.g. N.toloba (creep), cf. S.tôlô N.tôlô in S.letôlô N.letôlô (knee); N.ôlôba (call aloud), cf. S.olo in moolo (howling of a dog); S.hlahloba T.tlhatlhoba N.hlahloba (examine, inspect, survey), cf. N.hlahlô (guiding, conducting); N.diba (restrain, pull up), cf. S.li N.di in S.seli-seli (wisdom) N.sedi (caution, carefulness); N.keba (catch with both hands), cf. N.ka in N.moka (the whole of, totality).

9. Verbalising(denominative)[operative(intensive)] S.pa N.pa, e.g. N.rinêpa (break off the handle or any end by which one can hold something), cf. rinê T.rinê N.rinê in S.serinê T.serinê N.serinê (stubble); S.tetepa (drink much and often), cf. T.tete in T.setete (a very full thing); N.kôrôpa (bend), cf. S.kôrô T.kôrô N.kôrô in S.lekôrô T.lokôrô N.lekôrô (piece of wood, etc., bent like a bow); S.bipa T.bipa N.bipa (cover, hide, smother), cf. N.bi in N.sebi (heap of stones covering bones); S.kepa T.kapa N.kapa (catch, e.g. with the hands), cf. N.ka in N.moka (the whole of, totality).

10. Verbalising(denominative)(stational) S.ha T.ga N.xa, e.g. N.fôkôxa (become weak, lose strength), cf. S.fôkô (a weak thing); T.fupuga (become bulged as a tottering wall), cf. T.fupu in T.lefupu (a swelling caused by a blow, prominence made by things hidden under a kaross); S.fupuha (blossom, begin to sprout, i.e. to form buds), cf. T.fupu in T.lefupu (swelling caused by a blow) also

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1) Only one member of the stem tsêlêtsêlê has here been employed, and its first syllable has been reduplicated.

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S.fupu in S.lefupu (handful), S.kolokotshe (roll), with cf. S.kolokote (round piece of wood/which children play).

11. Verbalising(denominative)(confusive) S.hla T.tlha N.hla, e.g. T.feretlha N.ferehla (disturb, confuse), cf. S.fere N.fere in S.moferefere N.moferefere (tumult, disorder); T.rukhutlha (brawl, riot, be rebellious), cf. S.rukhu in S.serukhu (noise, tumult); S.hlekehla (seize and shake), cf. S.hleke in S.mohleke (disorder); S.khǒrehla (change colour, have many colours), cf. N.kxwara (rust, stain).

12. Verbalising(persistive)(denominative) S.sêla T.sêla N.sêla, e.g. S.ǒalasêla (walk hurridly), cf. ǒala in S.maǒala (quickness); T.phôthôsêla (murmur as water flowing down a cataract), cf. phôthô in T.lephôthôphôthô (waterfall); N.kotisêla (go deep into a hole), cf.koti in S.mokoti N.mokoti (hole).

13. Verbalising(denominative)(actional) S.la T.la N.la, e.g. S.fôkôla N.fôkôla (lose strength, become weak), cf. S.fôkô (weak thing); S.hôlôla N.xôlôla (howl, cry aloud) cf. N.xôlô in N.moxôlô (throat, gullet); T.ǔkula (bore a hole in leather), cf. S.suko N.ǔko in S.mosuko N.moǔko (penis).

14. Verbalising(denominative) (actional-factitive) S.tsa T.tsa N.tǔa, e.g. S.theputsa (take many wives), cf. S.thepu in S.sethepu (polygamy); S.tlaputsa (wade), cf. T.tlapu in T.letlaputlapu (something very wet, soaked); N.hlapetǔa (herd), cf. S.hlape N.hlape in S.mohlape N.mohlape (herd, flock); T.thamotsa (bite a soft watery substance with a noise), cf. N.thamô in N.mothamô (a mouthful); N.kxopurutǔa (snatch out of the hand), cf. N.kxopuru (one who eats so quickly that nobody else gets something to eat).

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15. Verbalising(denominative) [actional(intensive)] S.ta N.ta, e.g. S.kôkôta N.kôkôta (knock, hammer), cf. N.kôkô in N.sekôkô (bent stick used for making holes when planting).

16. Verbalising(denominative)(protractive) S.ma T.ma N.ma, e.g. N.tsêrêma (stab with the horn), cf. N.tsêrê (rhinoceros); N.redima (form of butter when churning), cf. N.redi in N.leredi (butter); S.phirima T.phirima N.phirima (set of the sun, get dusk) cf. S.phiri T.phiri N.phiri in S.sephiri T.sephiri N.sephiri (secret, mystery, hidden place); N.xohloma (have a hydrocele), cf. N.xohlo in N.moxohlo (hydrocele); T.tlhôkôma (observe, take notice), cf. S.hlôkô T.tlhôkô (attention, care); T.boduma (become shrivelled as dry corn) N.bodume (be decayed, rotten), cf. S.bolu, T.bodu N.bodu in S.sebolu T.sebodu N.sebodu (rottenness, rotten thing); S.setema (press hard, pursue), cf. T.sata in T.mosata (an imperious woman); S.nyama N.nyama (dwindle, become sad), cf. N.nya in N.lenya (sorrow, regret); N.kema (catch), cf. N.ka in N.moka (the whole of, totality).

17. Verbalising(denominative)(additive) S.na T.na N.na, e.g. T.mokona N.mokona (suck out marrow, sap), cf. S.môkô T.mokô N.mokô (marrow)[1]; T.gôpona (stand on end as the hair, grow thick), cf. T.gopa N.xopa in T.bogopa N.boxopa (stinging nettle); S.kukuna N.kukuna (bother, make uneasy), cf. N.kuku in N.makuku (passion for teasing); T.kana N.kana (seal, cement), cf. N.ka in N.moka (the whole of, totality).

18. Verbalising(denominative)(punctative) S.ra N.ra, e.g. S.lalera N.lêlêra (roam about), cf. S.lele in S.molele (one who roams about); N.khupara (clench the fist), cf. N.khupa in N.sekhupa (bud); N.xwêra (make friends), cf. S.hwê T.gwê N.xwê in S.mohwê (father-in-law) T.mogwê (son-

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1) Prefix retained and ô elided.

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in-law), N.moxwê (friend, bridegroom, son-in-law).

19. Verbalising(denominative)[punctative(intensive)] S.tha T.tha, e.g. T.kôkôtha (knock), cf. N.kôkô in N.sekôkô (bent stick used for making holes when planting); T.kgomêtha (do anything imperfectly, bungle), cf. T.kgômê in T.makgômê (dirt); S.thukhutha (make a skin supple), cf. S.thukhu in S.thukhu-thukhu (a very supple kaross).

20. Verbalising(denominative)(disruptive) S.tla T.tla N.tla, e.g. T.ratlatla (roar like a lion), cf. T.ratla in T.loratla (a loud startling noise); S.pôrôtla (form a line, go in a single file), cf. S.pôrô in S.mopôrôpôrô (row of people walking); N.hlôkôtla (pay attention to, observe), cf. S.hlôkô T.tlhôkô (attention, care); N.bitla (heap up stones over bones), cf. N.bi in N.sebi (heap of stones covering bones); N.tswitla (prick with a needle), cf. N.tswi in N.motswi (an arrow); S.katla (keep a flock well together) T.katla (gather in in sewing) N.katla (clasp e.g. in a vice), cf. N.ka in N.moka (the whole of, totality).

21. Verbalising(factitive) T.ya, e.g. T.lotsa (whistle), cf. S.loli T.lodi N.lodi in S.mololi T.molodi N.molodi (a whistling sound).

B. DEIDEOPHONIC

1. Verbalising(deideophonic) S.fa. Only one example could be found, viz: S.fekefa (scatter, disperse), cf. N.fêkê (of passing).

2. Verbalising(deideophonic)-actional(capable): S.fala T.fala N.fala, only three examples found, viz: S.fifala T.fifala N.fifala (become dark), cf. S.fi (of becoming dark); S.tlêrêfala (become red, blush), cf. S.tlêrê (of being red); S.hlekefala (become dirty, full of rubbish), cf. S.hleke (of getting spoiled, of getting in disorder).

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3. Verbalising(deideophonic)(durative)[i] S.a N.a N.ya, e.g. S.kapea N.kapea (spill as water out of a pot carried on the head), cf. S.kapo (of spilling); N.kwidiya (clatter or jingle as iron), cf. N.kwidi (of clattering, of jingling).

4. Verbalising(deideophonic)[durative(intensive)] S.ka, e.g. S.petleka (fall backwards), cf. S.petle (of throwing away, of falling); S.phuhlaka (fall down), cf. S.phuhla (of falling down on the ground); S.rathoka (stand up quickly), cf. S.ratho (of standing up quickly).

5. Verbalising(deideophonic)(operative) S.ba T.ba N.ba, e.g. S.khiba (have a dirty mouth), cf. S.khi (of being dirty of the mouth); T.ngôngôba (be silent) N.ngôngôba (be obstinate), cf. N.ngôngô (of being obstinate).

6. Verbalising(deideophonic)[operative(intensive)] S.pa N.pa, e.g. S.ropopa (appear), cf. S.ropo (of appearing suddenly); N.thothopa[ii] (pop, crackle), cf. S.tho N.tho (of dropping, of dripping); N.kurupa (dig), cf. N.kuru (of digging, of hollowing out).

7. Verbalising(deideophonic)(stational) S.ha N.xa, e.g. S.kǒetetha(get up), cf. S.kǒete in S.kǒete-kǒete (of waking up with a start); N.nyêlêxa (get entirely destroyed), cf. S.nyele (of disappearing); S.foqoha (appear of many people), cf. S.foqo (of appearing suddenly of many people); S.thosoha (appear or arrive suddenly), cf. S.thoso (of appearing suddenly); S.shoqoha (break of a rope), cf. S.shoqo (of breaking); S.feleketheha (be overwhelmed by a disease), cf. S.felekethe / ~~in f. he-se-felekethe (be overwhelmed by a disease)~~. (of overwhelming by a disease).

8. Verbalising(deideophonic)(confusive) S.hla, e.g. S.phorohla (boil as water and meal in a pot), cf. N.phoro

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i) The possibility is not excluded that with some of the examples quoted in this sub-section as well as in the following sub-sections the ideophonic stem has been derived from the verbal stem, cf. Chapter 4§6(3).

ii) Ideophonic stem repeated.

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in N.phôrô-phôrô (of the noise of falling water); S. khuruhla (make a noise with the throat, have the death-rattle), cf. S.khuru (of clearing the throat before talking).

9. Verbalising(deideophonic)(actional) S.la T.la N.la, e.g. N.kirila (run), cf. S.kiri in S.kiri-kiri (of a struggling haste) also N.kidi in N.kidi-kidi (of trotting with a noise); T.ngôngôla (deride, taunt) N.ngôngôla (be obstinate), cf. N.ngôngô (of being obstinate); S.nokola (pick up one by one), cf. S.noko in S.noko-noko (of picking up one by one); S.geleula (strike), cf. S.geleu (of hitting).

10. Verbalising(deideophonic)(protractive) S.ma T.ma N.ma, e.g. T.tsherema (make a rough and loud sound), cf. S.tšere in S.tšere-tšere (of clanging like pieces of iron); S.tsoelima (glitter, flash), cf. S.tsoeli (of seeing a little); S.fukhema (fall down quietly, squat down frequently), cf. S.fukha (of sitting down heavily); N.šakxama (flap of a woman's dress while dancing), cf. N.šakxa (of flapping) i).

11. Verbalising(deideophonic)(punctative) T.ra N.ra, e.g. T.ngôngôra (cause to complain) N.ngôngôra (be obstinate), cf. N.ngôngô (of being obstinate); N.phôrôra (fall down as water), cf. N.phôrô in N.phôrô-phôrô (of falling water) ii).

12. Verbalising(deideophonic)[punctative(intensive)] S.tha N.tha, e.g. S.pshepshatha (speak very much), cf. S.pshe (of speaking very much); S.phuphutha (wear a coat trailing on the ground) N.phuphutha (clap the hands), cf. S.phuphu (of flapping, of fluttering).

13. Verbalising(deideophonic)(disruptive) S.tla T.tla N.tla, e.g. N.kukutla (take a deep draw from a pipe), cf. N.kuku

i) See also S.chuchuma (run of a train). This verbal stem is probably based upon the noise made by a running train; I could ascertain no ideiphone chuchu.
ii) See also N.tlatlara (take long steps) and N.tlara (of standing with legs apart); it seems as if in this case the first syllable of the ideophonic stem has been reduplicated and the resulting form used as a verbal stem.

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in N.kukuku (of taking a deep draw from a pipe); S.kǒ́rɑtlɑ N.kwɑrɑtlɑ (stop noisily, in N. also: be obstinate), cf. S.kǒ́rɑ (of fighting, of working hard); S.rɔkɔtlɑ T.rɔkɔtlɑ (tremble, shake, totter), cf. N.rɔ̂́kɔ̂ in N.rɔ̂́kɔ̂rɔ̂́kɔ̂ (of shaking about as e.g. jelly, of moving about while sleeping).

14. Verbalising(ideophonic)(factitive) T.yɑ, e.g. T.nyɑtsɑ (shine or burn dimly, shine as a glow worm), cf. S.nyɛli N.nyɑdi (of flashing).

C.DEADJECTIVAL

1. (i) Verbalising(deadjectival) S.fɑ T.fɑ N.fɑ, e.g. S.lɔ̂fɑ N.lɔ̂́fɑ (grow high, become high), cf. N.lɔ̂́ (long); N.lɔ̂́lɔ̂́fɑ (become long), cf. T.lɔlɔ N.lɔ̂́lɔ̂́ (long); N.tɔ̂́lɔ̂́fɑ[1] (become long), cf. S.tɔlɔlɔ T.tɔlɔlɔ N.tɔ̂́lɔ̂́lɔ̂́ (long), N.nyɑnyɔfɑ (be small), cf. T.nyɑnyɔ (small).
(ii)(a) For a definition of fɑ cf. I. above. There are only 7 verbalising(deadjectival) stems. In addition to those quoted in (i) above see also: S.sɛ̂́sɔ̂́fɑ (avoid) N.sɔ̂́sɔ̂́fɑ (to be finicky), cf. N.sɔ̂́sɔ̂́ (thin, slim); S.bɔfɑ (be violent) T.bɔfɑ (frown, look sorrowful or disappointed) N.bɔfɑ (be or become ugly, be or become bad, be violent), cf. S.bɔ T.bɔ N.bɑ (bad); N.tǒ́ifɑ (get increased), cf. T.ntɛi N.ntǒ́i (many).

As will be noticed from the examples quoted above, fɑ has sometimes acquired the function usually denoted by fɔlɑ, viz: that of entering into a certain state.
(b) All verbalising(deadjectival) stems are intransitive excepting S.sɔ̂́sɔ̂́fɑ (avoid).

2. (i) (a) Verbalising(deadjectival)-actional(capable) S.fɔlɑ T.fɔlɑ N.fɔlɑ, e.g.
S.lɛlɛfɔlɑ T.lɔlɔfɔlɔ N.lɔ̂́lɔ̂́fɔlɑ (become long), cf. T.lɔlɔ N.lɔ̂́lɔ̂́ (long); S.tɑlɛfɔlɔ T.tɑlɛfɔlɔ N.tɔ̂́lɔ̂́fɔlɑ (become

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1) The final syllable of the adjectival stem has been elided here.

green), cf. S.tala T.tala N.tala [1] (green).

(b) If the adjectival stem is monosyllabic a nasal is prefixed to it, and where possible strengthening of the stem-consonant takes place, e.g. S.mpofala [2] (become bad), cf. S.bo T.bo N.be (bad); N.mpheafala (become new), cf. N.fea (new); S.nchafala T.ntšhafala (become new), cf. S.cha T.ša (new); S.ntlafala (become pretty, clean), cf. S.tlê N.tlê [3] (pretty); S.ntšofala N.nthaofala (become black), cf. S.tšo N.ne (black).

T.šafala (=T.ntšhafala) is an exception to the above rule.

(c) In the following cases the adjectival stems have been affected in various ways:

i. The stem-vowel has been assimilated to the connecting vowel of ala, e.g. S.ntlafala T.ntlafala (become pretty, clean), cf. S.tlê T.ntlê N.tlê (pretty).

ii. The final syllable has been elided before fala was suffixed, e.g. S.khutšofala T.khutshafala N.khuthwafala (become short), cf. S.khutšoane T.khutšhwane T.khutshane N.khuthwane (short); S.pululafala (become grey), cf. S.putsa T.pududu (grey).

iii. The final stem-vowel has been assimilated with the first stem-vowel, e.g. S.pôhlâfala = T.pôtlhafala N.pôhlafala (become pale, yellow), cf. S.pôhla T.pôtlha N.pôhla (yellow), S.tenyafala (become thick), cf. S.tenya N.tenya (thick).

(ii) (a) S.fala T.fala N.fala adds to the idea expressed by fa the notional(capable) idea of entering into a certain state. In this case the state entered into is that expressed by the adjectival stem; S.fala T.fala N.fala

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1) It is perhaps noteworthy that although Sotho has a fair number of adjectives indicating colour, the suffix fala is rather sparingly used with these. The examples quoted in this § would appear to be exhaustive.
ii) fa is however attached to bo cf. i. above.
iii) ô has been assimilated with the connecting vowel a of ala cf. (c) i. above.

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denotes, therefore, becoming of the nature or entering into the state expressed by the adjectival stem[i]. In addition to the examples already quoted above, note also the following; T.ntšhofela (become black), cf. T.ntšho (black); T.nnyefela (become small, few), cf. T.nnye (small); T.ntsifela N.ntšifela (become many), cf. T.ntsi N.ntši (many)[ii]; S.ngatafela N.ngatafela (become numerous), cf. S.ngata N.ngata (many); S.sšoufela T.šweufela N.šwefela (become white), cf. S.sšou T.šweu N.šwee (white); S.seethefela (become dark brown), cf. S.seetho (brown); S.chitjefela (become round) cf. S.chitja (round), S.nyenyefela N.nyenyefela (become small, short) cf. T.nyenye (small).

(b) The copulative construction with the copulative verb S.bo T.nna N.bo (be) and an adjective conveys the same force as the verbalising(deadjectival)-actional(capable) stem, e.g. S.chôlêtô o bo ngata = S.chôlêtô se ngatafela (the money becomes more, i.e. it increases), ngata (cf. (a) above); T.madi a nna mantsi N.thšôlêtô o bo e ntši = T.madi a a ntsifela N.thšôlêtô e a ntšifela (the money becomes more, i.e. it increases), T.ntsi N.ntši (cf. (a) above), S.jšong bo bo botala T.bojong bo bo botala = N.byong bo bo botala S.jšong bon talafela T.bojong bo a talafela N.byong bo a talafela (the grass becomes green), tala (cf. (i) (c) above).

D. ADVERBIAL

I could find only two examples, both having the verbalising(deadverbial)-actional(capable) fela as suffix: T.kgekefela (become far)-cf. T.kgekela (far); where the final syllable of the adverbial stem has been dropped before fela was suffixed, and T.rurefela = T.rurefela (become true)-cf. S.ruri T.ruro N.ruro (truly). In the case of rurefela the final vowel of the adverbial stem has been assimilated to the connecting vowel of fela.

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i) There are about 25 verbalising(deadjectival)-actional (capable) stems.
ii) When the suffix fa is employed the n of ntsi is dropped cf. 1. (ii) (c) above.

CHAPTER 21

Compound Verbal Stems

A compound verbal stem consists of two stems of which at least one must be a verbal stem. The various types of compound stems will now be dealt with.

A. Verbal stems either fully or partly reduplicated. Fully reduplicated stems have mostly been derived from simple stems, although there are a few derivative stems which have been fully reduplicated. Partly reduplicated stems, on the other hand, have been derived only from derivative stems.

To indicate reduplicated simple stems the term iterative[i] will be employed.

To indicate fully or partly reduplicated derivative stems the designation of the suffix concerned will be added by a hyphen to the term iterative, and the same scheme will be adopted in the designation of derivatives formed by adding a suffix to the root of the final member of a compound consisting of two simple stems. No differentation is made in the scheme of designation, as there seems to be no semantic difference in the iterative force conveyed by these stems.

(a) Fully reduplicated stems:

((1.)) Reduplicated simple stems, and derivatives formed by adding a suffix to the root of the final member of such a compound.

1. Iterative stems:

(i) (a) As a rule the simple stem is reduplicated unaltered, e.g. T.atla-atla (kiss much, fondle), cf. T.atla N.atla (kiss); T.bela-bela (bubble up as a fountain), cf. S.bela

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i) A definition of this term will be given below.

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T.bola N.bolr (boil); S.hôrə-hôrə (talk foolishly), cf. S.hôrə T.hôra (talk incessantly, foolishly); N.binə-binə (hop about, beat of the pulse), cf. S.bina T.bina N.bina (dance); T.boyə-boyə N.boyə-boya (go to and fro, return again and again), cf. S.boŏa T.boya N.boya (return).

(b) In the following cases the terminal a of the initial simple stem is assimilated to its stem-vowel: N.budu-bula (turn over), cf. S.bula T.bula N.bula (open); S.tjoko-tjoka (turn on all sides), cf. S.tjoka (dance).

(ii) (a) In the majority of cases the iterative stem has the same force as the frequentative stem[1], i.e. it denotes that the action is done over and over again, e.g. N.fala-fala (scratch all over), cf. S.fala T.fala N.fala (scrape); N.fata-fata (pass often), cf. S.fata T.fata N.fata (pass); T.gala-gala (scream a lot), cf. T.gala N.xala (scream); N.xobə-xobə (keep on barking), cf. N.xoba (bark); N.xôxə-xôxə (pull about), cf. T.xôxa N.xôxa (pull); S.khotla-khotla (be always on the move, visit much, run), cf. S.khotla (visit, be on the move); N.kxwatla-kxwatla (keep on poking with the finger), cf. N.kxwatla (touch with the finger); S.khôhla-khôhla (shake violently) N.kxôhla-kxôhla (swing to and fro, rock), cf. N.kxôhla (shake be loose); T.khwanya-khwanya (knock, rap or tap several times or again and again), cf. T.khwanya (knock, tap or rap once); S.lobə-loba (wish very much, be eager), cf. S.loba (desire); S.lôkə-lôka (come with force), cf. S.lôka (gallop); N.lomə-loma (keep on biting), cf. S.loma T.loma N.loma (bite); T.dutla-dutla (rain in a thick stream, rain heavily), cf. S.lutla T.dutla N.dutla (look); S.phahla-phahla (pack up quickly, i.e. pack and pack at a high speed), cf. S.phahla (pack); N.rəxə-raxa (kick about, kick as somebody swimming), cf. S.rəha T.raga N.raxa (kick); N.rotə-rota (keep on turning), cf. N.rota (turn); N.sala-sala (hop along or about), cf. N.sala (jump up); S.unə-una (seize a person often), cf. S.una T.una N.una (take, gather).

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1) cf. Chapter 19.

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(b) But often the iterative stem denotes a diminution of the action expressed by the simple stem. The idea here is that although the action may be performed repeatedly, it is on each occasion performed only on a very small scale e.g.

T.kgweetsa-kgweeta (drive a little), cf. T.kgweetsa (drive); S.khǒatha-khǒatha (make a slight noise), cf. S.khǒatha N.kxwatha (touch lightly with the finger); S.khôna-khôna (snore a little), cf. S.hôna (snore); N.leka-leka (do a little here and there, try all over), cf. S.leka T.leka N.leka (try); N.sôka-sôka (drive along gradually), cf. N.sôka (drive cattle along), S.thanya-thanya (beat weakly as the heart of a dying person), cf. S.thanya N.thanya (beat of the heart), T.tlhôla-tlhôla (remain a while, sojourn for a short time), cf. S.hlôla T.tlhôla N.hlôla (remain, spend some time).

(c) Iterative stems may be either transitive or intransitive, e.g.

N.kxapha-kxapha intransitive (run over, overflow of a liquid), cf. T.kgapha N.kxapha transitive (push out with the hand grain from a vessel); T.bala-bala intransitive (babble, chatter) cf. S.bala T.bala N.bala transitive (read, count); S.bua-bua intransitive (babble, talk a lot), cf. S.bua T.bua transitive (speak); T.atla-atla transitive (kiss much, fondle), cf. T.etla N.atla transitive (kiss); N.feta-feta transitive (pass often), cf. S.feta T.feta N.feta transitive (pass); T.boya-boya N.boya-boya intransitive (return again and again, go to and fro), cf. S.boěa T.boya N.boya intransitive (return); S.raba-raba intransitive (roam in a narrow circle, be flying round) N.raba-raba intransitive (hop along), cf. N.raba intransitive (hop).

In the majority of cases the iterative stem is transitive if the corresponding simple stem is transitive,

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and intransitive if the corresponding simple stem is intransitive, but, as can be seen from the examples quoted above, this is not always the case.

(d) In some cases the semantic relation between the iterative stem and the corresponding simple stem is vague, i.e.

T.bêtа-bêtа (speak in a low murmuring tone) cf. S.bête (cry as e.g. a child); S.kobа-kobа T.kobа-kobа N.kobа-kobа (be restless, potter about, go from house to house), cf. T.kobа N.kobа (drive away with contempt); N.kôtla-kôtla (move from place to place), cf. T.kôtla N.kôtla (gather together at different times, gather stragglers together); S.phatla-phatla (flee, run away), cf. S.phatla N.phatla (break, burst); S.tenа-tenа (work here and there, work at many things, beat), cf. S.tenа T.tenа N.tenа (tire, disgust).

(e) For about 50 of the 250 iterative stems no corresponding simple stems could be indicated, e.g.:

N.bôkа-bôkа (be weak, be unable to keep yourself upright), S.hôera-hôera (roam about, look for something, try to find here and there), S.hobа-hobа (shake), T.tlhonа-tlhonа (be restless), S.jaba-jaba (jump, run, flee), S.kasa-kasa (run with short steps under a heavy load), N.kêtla-kêtla (swing the shoulders when walking), T.kgatla-kgatla (be hasty in action).

(f) There are several pairs of frequentative and iterative stems having in each case a common corresponding simple stem, and such stems are sometimes, although not always semanticelly identical, e.g.

S.chachaka (go from place to place, give orders) and S.chaka-chaka (go from one to another), cf. S.chaka (visit); S.têtêka (run shaking oneself), and S.têka-têka (go about working here and there), N.têka-têka (rock, shake about), cf. N.têka (shake about while floating upon

the water); N.kxakxama (stammer) and N.kxama-kxama (stammer), cf. S.khama N.kxama (strangle, stick in the throat), N.kxakxapha (plaster) and N.kxapha-kxapha (run over, overflow), cf. T.kgapha N.kxapha (push out with the hand as grain from a vessel, smooth out wet clay with the hand); N.puputla (walk to and fro, walk in a zigzag way, walk quickly) and T.putla-putla (seek about very much, seek diligently, thoroughly) N.putla-putla (roam about often), cf. N.putla (roam about); S.bôbêra (prattle, babble, speak angrily) and S.bêra-bêra (talk foolishly), cf. S.bêra T.bêra (talk foolishly, incessantly), N.kakata (trample a floor to make it even) and N.kata-kata (take a few steps), cf. S.kata T.kata N.kata (trample down)[i].

(g) There are several pairs of multiplicative and iterative stems having in each case a common corresponding simple stem, and such stems are sometimes, although not always semantically identical, e.g.

S.teneka (work here and there, work hard, beat repeatedly) and S.tena-tena (work here and there, work at many things, beat), cf. S.tena T.tena N.tena (tire, disgust); S.tôbaka (walk about, change one's residence frequently) N.tôbaka (go again and again to the same place) and N.tôba-tôba (walk about, move from one place to another), cf. S.tôba (go straight to, pick out a person amongst several); N.xaxaka (scatter wide apart) and T.gasa-gasa (scatter about in all directions), cf. S.hasa T.gasa N.xaxa (scatter); N.tlobaka (make a big rustling or rattling sound as does rain) and N.tlôba-tlôba (rain with force, shower down), cf. N.tlôba (make a rustling sound as does rain); N.raxaka (kick very much) and N.raxa-raxa (kick about, kick as somebody swimming), cf. S.raha T.raga N.raxa (kick); S.rabaka (fly about, roam about, walk quickly) and S.raba-raba (roam in a narrow circle, be flying round), N.raba-raba (jump or hop along), cf. N.raba (hop); T.tibaka (stamp the ground very hard) and N.tiba-tiba

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i) in T.kakata-kakata (trample, gallop) the frequentative stem has been reduplicated.

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(trample, stamp with the feet), cf. S.tiba T.tiba N.tiba (stamp with the foot).

2. Iterative-applicative, e.g.[1]
T.boya-boêla (return again and again to), cf. T.boya-boya N.boya-boya (return again and again) and S.boêa T.boya N.boya (return); S.lebe-labêla (crave for, desire much), cf. S.lebe-leba (wish very much, be eager) and S.lebe (desire); T.leba-lebêla (look over for another, choose for), cf. T.leba-leba N.leba-leba (look from one to another, look in all directions) ~~cf.~~ and S.leba T.leba N.leba (look), N.teke-tekêla (look to and fro et), cf. N.teke-teke (look to and fro) and N.teke (superintend).

3. Iterative-stational(capable), e.g.
T.gase-gasega (be thrown or scattered about in all directions), cf. T.gase-gasa (scatter or throw about in all directions) and S.hasa T.gasa N.xasa (scatter).

4. Iterative-performative, e.g.
N.bole-bodîsa (cause to babble), cf. N.bole-bole (babble) and T.bola (tell news) N.bola (talk); S.reba-rebisa (cause to run, cause to pursue), cf. S.reba-reba (run), no simple stem; T.theme-themisa (bother by asking many questions or seeking many things), cf. N.theme-theme (do a number of things at the same time, speak in a confused way), no simple stem.

((2)) Reduplicated derivative stems:
1. Iterative-factitive, e.g.
S.binya-binya (walk with quick short steps as one carrying a heavy load), cf. S.bina T.bina N.bina (dance); S.lutsa-lutsa (walk slowly) and S.lula T.dula N.dula (sit down),

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1) It should be noted that suffixes are added to the root of the second of the two simple stems forming an iterative stem.

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N.runya-runya (move about), cf. S.runya T.runya N.runya (move under ground like a mole, throb as e.g. the heart, the arteries) and T.runa (come up as a molehill).

2. Iterative-actional(destructive), e.g.
T.tlola-tlola N.tlole-tlola (leap about, hop about), cf. S.tlola T.tlola N.tlola (jump) and S.tla T.tla N.tla (come).

3. Iterative-actional(capable), e.g.
T.ralala-ralala (go through and through a land), cf. T.ralala (pass through) and N.rala (run).

4. Iterative-performative, e.g.
S.isa-isa (in ho isa-isa = after a while, in the course of time) N.iša-iša (do a bit here and a bit there), cf. S.ya T.ya N.ya (go); S.busa-busa < S.*boisa-boisa (drive home a cow that is calving, i.e. drive it very slowly causing it to stop very frequently), cf. S.busa T.busa N.buša < S.*boisa T.*boisa N.*boiša (cause to turn) and S.boya T.boya N.boya (turn).

β) Partly reduplicated stem:

1. Iterative-applicative, e.g.
S.nêkê-nêkêla (approach stealthily or slowly), no nêka-nêka or nêkê-nêka, cf. S.nêkêla (approach stealthily) and N.nêka (do something slowly); N.sêbê-sêbêla (whisper to), cf. no sêba-sêba or sêbê-sêba, cf. S.sêbêla N.sêbêla (tell secretly to, whisper to) and S.sêba T.sêba N.sêba (backbite, speak evil of).

2. Iterative-performative-reciprocal, e.g.
S.bui-buisana (converse a little with one another), cf. S.buisana (converse with one another), S.buisa T.buisa (cause to speak) and S.bua T.bua (speak).

3. Iterative-actional(destructive), e.g.
S.thebo-thebola (scratch slightly) cf. S.thebola (make holes), no theba.

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4. Iterative-stational(destructive), e.g.
S.feto-fetoha N.feto-fetoxa (change often, be inconsistant) cf. S.fetohe T.fetoga N.fetoxa (change) and S.feta T.feta N.feta (pass).

5. Iterative-actional(intensive), e.g.
T.kôrekôreta (stammer), no kôreta and no kôra[1].

B. Compounding of different verbal stems;

Simple verbal stem + simple verbal stem, such compounds are again of two types viz:

1. Where both stems are unaltered, e.g.
T.gaba-duka (scoop out with fingers as a mellon) cf. T.gaba (scoop out) and N.duka (poke, rake), N.kxakxa-bua (rub or polish till the skin comes off), cf. N.kxakxa (hook as a thorn in the clothes) and S.bua T.bua N.bua (skin), T.phanya-dika (be broken up and scattered about), cf. T.phanya (burst) and S.dika T.dika N.dika (go around,

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i) There are stems about which one cannot be sure whether they were formed ~~by~~ (a) by adding a suffix to the root of the final member of a compound consisting of a reduplicated simple stem or (b) as a result of a partial reduplication of an existing derivative stem. Such is, e.g. the case with the iterative-reciprocal stems as can be seen from the following examples:
S.feta-fetana (surpass each other only a little) T.feta-fetana N.feta-fetana (surpass each other in length or height) cf. S.fetana T.fetana N.fetana (pass or surpass each other), S.feta-feta (pass a little) N.feta-feta (pass often) and S.feta T.feta N.feta (pass); S.hasa-hasana (disperse gradually) cf. S.hasana N.xaŏana (become dispersed, go away from one another) T.gasa-gasa (scatter or throw about in all directions) and S.hasa T.gosa (scatter).
It is of course quite likely that the meaning of the stems will sometimes indicate which ~~one~~ of the above-mentioned two types of derivation was employed.

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surround) N.tsatsa-oka (walk on the toes), cf. N.tsatsa (walk on the toes) and N.oka (soar over); S.tlatla-bêha (place carelessly, do negligently), cf. N.tlatla (be weakminded) and S.bêha (place).

The semantic relation between the compound stem and the two component simple stems is not always very clear, e.g.
T.akga-têtšwa (be too long-tongued), cf. S.akha T.akga N.akxa (swing about) and T.têtšwa (have a too long tongue); T.kgana-ritha (take a firm stand, i.e. see to it that one does not glide), cf. T.kgana (stand solidly or immoveable) and N.ritha (glide off); T.phatlha-dika (lie flat and spread out as an open country), cf. S.phahla (unload) and S.lika T.dika N.dika (surround, go around); T.gaga-utla (tear in pieces ravanously, knock or pull about), no gaga but cf. S.hahola T.gagola N.xaxola (tear, rend) and S.utla T.utla N.utla (snatch away).

2. Where the terminal a of the first simple stem is assimilated to the stem-vowel of that simple stem, e.g.
T.fefe-utla (toss or drive about as the wind), cf. N.fêfa (be light) and S.utla T.utla N.utla (snatch away); N.kxôlô-botha (heap up on the same place), no kxôla but cf. N.xôla (bind) and S.botha T.botha N.botha (lie down of cattle after feeding, in N. also: rake up); S.kŏele-beta (wrestle, fight), cf. S.kŏela T.kwela (throw off, rear as a horse in S.also: parry) and S.beta T.beta N.beta (seize with the hands, choke, throw on the ground); N.fôrô-fôthŏa (keep on stroking), cf. S.fôra T.fôra N.fôra (plait, dress, curl the hair, idea: stroke) and N.fothŏa (rub, stroke); N.foro-xohla (keep on stroking), cf. S.fôra T.fôra N.fôra (cf. above) and S.hohla T.gotlha N.xohla (rub).

~~Derivative suffixes may be added to the root of the second component stem of compounds consisting of two~~

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β) Simple verbal stem + derivative verbal stem e.g.: N.kala-katetša (squeeze tightly together), cf. N.kala (smooth), S.kata T.kata N.kata (tread or trample down) and T.katêla N.katêla (press down, fill up). I could find no kala-kata, kala-katêla or kaletša. T.phara-gatlana (force one's way in, break in upon), cf. N.phara (step over, pass) and T.gatla (strike with a stick) N.xatla (throw with a stone). I could find no phara-gatla or gatlana. T.kuku-tlhomolola (root out), cf. S.kuka N.kuka (take up, lift up) T.kuka (carry a child on the back), S.hlôma T.tlhôma N.hlôma (plant) and T.tlhomolola (pull up by the roots as in transplanting). I could find no kuku-tlhôma or kuku-tlhomola. N.kxohlo-kxotša (pluck, pull, tug), cf. N.kxôhla (be loose, shake), S.khola T.kgola N.kgola (pull out, pluck) and S.kha N.kxa (pluck). I could find no kxôhlô-kxa, kxohlo-kxola or kxotša.

Sometimes only the second component verbal stem could be indicated[i], e.g. N.kxola-kxwêhla = N.kxolo-kxwêhla (shake), cf. S.khwêhla T.kgwêtlha N.kxwêhla (shake, be loose); N.kxolo-kxotha (beat off, knock off), cf. N.kxôtha (cut off, chop off); N.kêlê-bêtla (keep on chopping until the tree falls down), cf. S.bêtla T.betla N.bêtla (cut, carve); N.šôxô-duma (make a noise, sing well), cf. S.luma T.duma N.duma (roar); T.fara-tlhatlhana (be in a state of confusion, be in a disorderly state), cf. T.tlhatlha (make a noise as two things knocking together or as reeds in the female puberty ceremony) also T.fara-fara (spread about); T.gêlê-bêtêga (speak loudly, roar angrily and suddenly), cf. S.bêta (cry as e.g. a little child) also T.geleketsa (talk much and noisily); S.khele-kenya (speak with force call loudly, sing loudly), cf. kenya in S.kenya-kenya (endeavour to work hard); S.chiphi-ritsa (slip on the ground), cf. S.ritsa N.ritša (slide along, drag oneself); N.nano-beša (roast) cf. S.besa T.besa N.beša (roast)

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i) It is possible that the first members of these compounds are non-verbal stems. If this can be proved with any one of these compounds then such a compound will have to be transferred to the § concerned (cf. below). In the meantime these compounds are for convenience sake classed together.

~~N.ritsa (rabbit along, drag oneself).~~

C. Noun-stem + verbal stem, e.g.

N.bele-bêla (wind round, wrap round), cf. bele found in S.'mele T.mmele N.mmele < *mobele (body) and N.betla (carry wrapped up in a cloth); N.ferê-fêhla (cause disturbance, cause trouble), cf. ferê in N.moferêferê (disturbance) and S.fêhla T.fêtlha N.fêhla (churn, rub between the hands); T.tlhatlŏe-rapa (do something badly, clumsily, bungle), cf. hlahla in S.mohlahla (bristling hair of a pig or a dog) and N.rapa (bind); S.khŏaphi-ritsa (scratch), cf. kgwaphe in T.sekgwaphe (scab, itch) and S.ritsa N.ritsa (slide along, grind off); N.kodu-ôpa (make a cleft or a crack), cf. S.kolu T.kodu N.kodu (the part of the head under the chin) and S.ôpa T.ôpa N.ôpa (strike), T.kgakga-buêla (speak or act rashly), cf. kgakga in T.bokgakga (arrogance, unpleasantness of manner), T.buêla (rebuke, scold) and S.bua T.bua (speak) no kgakga-bua; N.kôlwa-dua (swing about, shake), cf. kôlôa in T.sekôlôa (dry and shrivelled skin) and N.dua (stir).

In the following cases the final syllable of the noun-stem is elided, e.g.

T.pepe-duma N.pepe-duma (talk indistinctly, roar indistinctly as a distant lion), cf. pepele in S.lepepele (one who sings badly) and S.luma T.duma N.duma (roar, thunder), N.kôlô-dua (shake about), cf. kôlôa in T.sekôlôa (dry and shrivelled skin) and N.dua (stir).

D. Ideophonic stem + verbal stem:

S.tsetse-bêha (place something heavy on the ground), cf. N.tse (of being upright) and S.bêha (place); S.rŏakha-etsa (cause shoes to squeak, walk quickly), cf. S.rŏakha (of running, of rushing) and S.etsa (do); T.kuru-etsa (coo as a dove, make a mournful noise) N.kuru-etŏa (growl, snarl) cf. kuru in S.kuru-kuru (of making a cooing noise, like a baby, or a croaking noise, like a frog) and T.etsa N.etŏa (imitate); S.kiri-etsa N.kiri-etŏa (dart, rush), cf. kiri

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in S.kiri-kiri (of struggling) and S.etsa (do) T.etsa N.etsa (imitate).

E. Adjectival stem + verbal stem e.g. N.sêsê-nêka (avoid carefully something which can harm or defile, idea: make yourself thin or slender) cf. N.sêsê (thin, slender) and N.nêka (go away secretly).

F. Miscellaneous compounds:

a. There are verbal stems which could only be partly analysed, at any rate not to such an extent as to allow of their being classed under a definite sub-head, e.g. T.gêlê-bêtla (make a shrieking noise) cf. T.gêlê-bêtêga (speak loudly, roar angrily and suddenly - cf. B. a) above); S.kolo-kocha (fight) cf. S.kochoma (rock) for which no corresponding simple stem kocha could be indicated, also S.chokocha (chase, urge); T.pôrô-pôtlha (leak much as a house in which the pattering of dripping water is heard) cf. S.pôra (roar) and N.pôtla (belch); T.sôlô-bôtla (be naked) cf. S.sôla T.sôla N.sôla (moult); N.xala-xapa (become dry of the throat or mouth) cf. N.xalapa (become dry of throat or mouth) and T.galaka N.xaleka (be bitter, brackish) no corresponding simple stem could be indicated, T.pere-petsa (drive away, send off) cf. S.betsa T.betsa N.betsa (beat, throw); T.phuru-phutsa (feel about) cf. S.phutsa (sprinkle); T.bele-betlêga (bellow much as a cow for her calf, cry much as a cross child) cf. T.gêlê-bêtla (cf. above) T.betlêga (as in betlega pelo - be heart weary) and N.betla (make sad); S.khili-bitsha (roll down) cf. S.bilika (make round); T.kudu-bitlêga (flee from place to place, move about quickly) and T.bidi-betlêga (run fast) cf. bidi in N.mobidi-bidi (a great number of things going one behind the other) ~~(a great number of things)~~, N.kxala-katêxa (long impatiently for something) cf. S.halala T.galala N.xalala (want more of something), S.hala (be a glutton) and S.kata T.kata N.kata (tread, tramp).

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tramp).

c. There is a certain number of compound stems consisting of a verbal stem + a noun-stem. The difference between this type of compound and the other types referred to above, is especially noteworthy, in that here conjugational terminatives and derivative suffixes are attached to the root of the first component part, whereas in the other cases they are attached to the root of the second component part. The noun-stem mostly employed is pelo (heart), e.g.

T.sisa-pelo (sob, sigh), cf. S.sisa (sigh, be moved) T.sisa (be moved); N.setla-pelo (trouble, worry), cf. S.setla T.setla N.setla (beat, pound); T.kôba-pelo (expect, hope), cf. T.kôba N.kôba (look around) and T.kobile-pelo (have expected); T.batlôka-pelo (be heart weary), cf. N.batla (make sad); T.tshitsha-pelo (ease the heart), cf. T.tshitshitsa-pelo (have eased the heart); T.gôpôka-pelo (be grieved), cf. T.gôpa (keep silent and refuse to tell the news); S.êla-hlôkô T.êla-tlhôkô N.êla-hlôkô (observe, take notice of), cf. S.ya T.ya N.ya (go), S.êla T.êla N.êla (go for, to) and S.hlôkô T.tlhôkô (attention, carefulness); S.ja-lefa T.ja-boswa N.ja-lefa (inherit), cf. S.ja T.ja N.ja (eat) and S.lefa N.lefa (inheritance) T.boswa (inheritance); T.ja-nala (visit) cf. S.ja T.ja N.ja (eat) and S.nala (abundance of food), T.jêla-nala (call upon), T.jêlana-nala (call upon each other).

b. There are 23 stems, 14 trisyllabic and 9 quadrisyllabic, which have *ila as final component part and which indicate walk or move along in some way or another, e.g.

T.e-ila N.e-ila (walk slowly, painfully dragging the feet along), cf. S.ya T.ya N.ya (go); T.ba-ila N.ba-ila (walk with sore feet, walk with turned out toes) < *baya-ila ? cf. T.baya (put down)?, N.ne-ila (go slowly) < *nya-ila? cf. T.naya (give)?, N.tu-ila (toddle along) < *taya-ila? cf. T.taya (beat)?, N.thu-ila (crawl on the knees)

APPENDIX A.

ROOTS

a. The roots given in this Appendix are syllabic (simple or derived) and of the form consonant plus vowel. In isolating these roots practically only simple verbal stems in their multi-functional conjugational form [1] have been compared. A syllable consisting of a consonant plus a vowel is taken to be a root if contained in at least two simple verbal stems, or else in one simple verbal stem, provided that in such a case it has also an UB. counterpart. No attempt has therefore been made to give either all Sotho roots of the above form or all stems possibly derived from the roots actually given below. Such an attempt at exhaustiveness will result in the rewriting from the dictionaries of long lists of stems, without benefit to my purpose, which is merely to give a very short review of the importance of roots of the above type as bases of verbal stems.

b. Alphabetical order: Roots commencing in S.h T.ɡ N.x̌ have been classed immediately after f, those in N.x̌ after S.h T.ɡ N.x, those in S.hl T.tlh N.hl after x, those in S.kh T.kɡ N.kx after k, those in S.khǒ T.kgw N.kxw after S.khu N.khu N.kxu, those in S.kǒ T.kw N.kw after ku, those in N.phs after pô, those in S.ɛ S.eh T.ɛ T.ɛ̌ N.ɛ N.ɛ́ according to their root-vowels, those in S.thǒ T.thw N.thw after thu, those in S.ch T.tsh N.thǰ after tɛ and according to their root-vowels. Roots with ɛ or ɔ as vowels have been classed before those with ê or ô as vowels, and roots S.li T.di N.di and S.lu T.du N.du immediately after those

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1) cf. Chapter 2.

commencing with b.

c. The UB. roots quoted below have been obtained from N.UB.W.Chapter III, and the Sotho root given opposite each UB. root is semantically identical with the latter.

No.	SOTHO ROOT	UB.root-
1.	S.a T.a N.e (idea of expansion in width and breadth): S.ala T.ala (spread out, plaster), S.ata T.ata N.ata (multiply, increase), S.atla N.atla (prosper, cause to increase).	ya.
2.	S.a T.a N.a (idea of contact): S.ama T.ama N.ama (touch, hint at, concern), S.apa N.apa (touch upon a subject, think much).	ya
3.	S.a T.a N.a (idea of dividing, splitting): S.aba T.aba N.aba (divide, distribute), N.ahla (open, c.g. ahla motho dihlaya = open somebody's cheeks), T.ara N.ara (cut open a swelling)	ya
4.	S.be T.be (idea of lying across): T.bea (hedge, make a hedge), S.beěa (put bits of reed in a hot to prevent the water from splashing out), cf. S.biěa (= S.beěa).	vi
5.	S.bê T.bê (idea of crying, speaking): S.bêra T.bêra (talk foolishly), S.bêta (cry of a child), S.bêcha (speak much).	
6.	S.bê T.bê N.bê (idea of cutting, carving): S.bêka T.bêka N.bêka (cut meat into small pieces), S.bêtla T.bêtla N.bêtla (cut, carve), cf. also N.bêtha (beat).	
7.	S.bi T.bi N.bi (idea of uttering a sound): T.biba (express thanks), N.bifa (tell lies), T.bifa (scold), S.bina, T.bina N.bina (sing), cf. also S.bitsa T.bitsa N.bitěa (call) and &c. S. ho re bito (say).	

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8. S.bo N.bo (idea of uttering a sound):
S.bohla (low, belch) N.bola (speak), cf. also N.boula (cry for help) and S.bohola T.borola N.boxola (bark).

9. S.bô T.bô N.bô (idea of uttering a sound):
S.bôka T.bôka N.bôka (sing the praises of, thank),
S.bôpa T.bôpa N.bôpa (roar).

10. S.bu T.bu N.bu (idea of breaking, tearing): VII
S.bua T.bua N.bua (skin), S.buha N.buxa (skin),
S.bula T.bula N.bula (open), T.buna N.buna (reap, tear off a thing held in the mouth), N.bura (reap).

11. S.li T.di N.di (idea of throwing down): li
S.lihn T.dika N.dixa (throw down, cast down), cf. N.didimêla (sink into water).

12. S.li T.di N.di (idea of rotation): li
T.diba (make a circle), S.lika T.dika N.dika (surround).

13. N.di (idea of heaviness): li
N.dima (be too difficult).

14. S.lu T.du N.du (idea of stirring):
N.dua (stir: something stiff), S.luba T.duba N.duba (stir, knead), S. luka (stir up water and make it muddy).

15. S,e T.e N.e (idea of swaying about):
S.eba T.eba (swing, wave about as leaves of a tree),
T.efa (lift up the hands so as to ward off something),
S.eka T.eka N.eka (brandish a weapon), cf. N.êfa (fend off, flutter (fending off)).

16. S.fa T.fa N.fa (idea of dividing, splitting, ~~and~~ scraping away): fa
N.fafa (plane, cut off obliquely), S.fahla (crush grain on a mill), S.fala T.fala N.fala (scrape, plane, take off), T.fapha (chop or cut lengthwise), S.fata

T.fata N.fata (hollow, dig a hole), N.fawa (break asunder, beat in two).

17. N.fa (idea of clapping, slapping):
N.fahla (fend off e.g. with the hand).

18. S.fa T.fa N.fa (idea of flattering, cheating):
N.fafa (tell lies), T.fakr (praise, flatter),
S.fapha N.fapha (cheat, praise).

19. S.fe N.fe (idea of wiping away):
S.fefe N.fefa (wipe away a child's dirt), S.fetsa (wipe off, away), cf. also T.fema (avoid blows, parry).

20. S.fe T.fe N.fe (idea of copulating):
S.feka T.feka N.feka (copulate), S.fecha (have sexual intercourse)

21. S.fê T.fê N.fê (idea of committing adultry, seducing):
S.fêba N.fêba (commit adultry), S.fêpa T.fêpa N.fêpa (seduce, entice), T.fêpha N.fêpha (commit adultry, entice), cf. also N. sefêlêlê (prostitute).

22. T.fê N.fê (idea of blowing, being light):
N.fêfa (be light), T.fêma N.fêma (breath, take a breath), cf. also T.fega (sigh).

23. S.fê T.fê N.fê (idea of rubbing, scraping):
S.fêfa N.fêfa (scratch, scrape), S.fêhla T.fêtlha N.fêhla (rub between the hands, kindle a fire by rubbing two sticks), N.fêtha (stroke).

24. S.fê T.fê N.fê (idea of bending sideways, leaning over):
S.fêha N.fêxa (suspend, hang), N.fêna (bend, turn, change the mind), T.fêra N.fêra (bend), cf. also N.fêpha (ward off a blow).

25. T.fi N.fi (idea of hiding) =

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T.fitlha N.fihla (hide, bury).

26. S.fi T.fi N.fi (idea of tying, closing up):
N.fika (fasten, put down), N.fila (stop a wound up with ointment), S.fina T.fina (make a knot, take between finger and thumb).

27. S.fo T.fo N.fo (idea of blowing, making a rustling noise):
S.fofa T.fofa N.fofa (fly), S.foka T.foka N.foka (blow of the wind, sprinkle), cf. also N.fotha (groan).

28. S.fo (idea of draining):
S.foha [1] (strain a liquid), S.fopha (drain, fall in drops), S.foga (= S.foha)

29. T.fo N.fo (idea of beating):
T.fola N.fola (through out),
N.fokxa (dig with a crowbar), T.fopha (strike, smite with the hand).

30. N.fo (idea of wrestling):
N.fopa (wrestle) N.fota (wrestle).

31. S.fo T.fo N.fo (idea of rubbing off, stripping off)
S.fohla T.fotlha N.fohla (strip off the leaves or small branches with the hand), cf. also T.fofora N.fofora (rub off, take away, the leaves).

32. S.fô T.fô N.fô (idea of rubbing):
T.fôma (rub with much fat), S.fôra T.fôra N.fôra (plait, dress, curl the hair), N.fôtla (rub with medicine), N.fôthŏa (rub with medicine) cf. also S.fôrôhla N.fôrôhla (rub off, make a hole wider).

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1) Given in Dieterlen's Sesuto-English Dictionary as foga. According to my informants either the voiced aspirate h, or the guttural fricative g may be used; the latter sound is, of course, foreign to S. Anyway foha is much more common than either foga or foha.

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33. S.fu T.hu (idea of putting into the mouth):
S.fuba (put into the mouth), S.fupa T.hupa (put into the mouth, drink a little), S.futa T.huta (put into the mouth, eat fast).

34. S.fu T.fu N.fu (idea of plucking, jerking out):
T.futlha (pluck out, off), S.fula T.fula N.fula (pluck, jerk off), cf. also S.futha (scatter, drive away).

35. S.fu T.fu N.fu (idea of notching, scratching off):
S.fuma T.fuma N.fuma (peel off the bark), S.fura T.fura N.fura (gnaw, notch, hollow out), cf. also S.fufutha (scratch, tear off).

36. S.ha T.ga N.xa (idea of pressing):
S.hama T.gama N.xama (milk), S.hata T.gata N.xata (oppress, tread).

37. S.ha N.xa (idea of coagulating):
S.hahla N.xahla (coagulate), N.xatsa (coagulate, become thick).

38. S.ha T.ga N.xa (idea of gathering):
S.hapa T.gapa N.xapa (snatch, seize, capture), S.hara T.gara N.xara (coil ropes, gather up clothes to prevent them from getting wet), T.gatsa (tie, gird), N.xakxa (pull tightly together).

39. N.xa (idea of painting, plastering):
N.xaba (paint the wall), N.xala (plaster).

40. S.ha T.ga N.xa (idea of scattering):
S.hafa (scatter, disperse), N.xara (break out of kraal e.g. cattle), S.hasa T.gasa N.xaša (scatter).

41. S.ha T.ga N.xa (idea of cutting, scratching):
S.haba T.gaba N.xaba (cut out as an engraver, hollow out), N.xara (open a sore, wound, the head), N.xayn (scratch, open a sore), cf. also N.xaoxa (tear

off), S.hcholr T.grgoln N.xoxola (tear).

42. S.hc N.xe (idea of being mad, angry):
N.xrfn (be mad, rave, rage), S.hrhla (get angry, have a hard expression), S.hrla (be angry), N.xema (be mad).

43. N.xô (idea of cutting, scraping):
N.xôphc (peel off, scrape off), N.xêra (carve), [illegible].

44. S.ho T.go N.xo (idea of scraping off, hollowing out):
S.hofa (whip water away, take out in quantity), S.hohla T.gotlha N.xohla (file, sharpen, rub), S.hopa T.gopa N.xopa (scrape, brush up rubbish).

45. S.ho (idea of smearing):
S.hohc (smear), S.hoin (smear).

46. S.ho N.xo (idea of making a rustling noise):
S.hoha N.xoha (make a noise like hail in the clouds or water in a flooded river), N.xoša (clean a bottle with water and sand).

47. T.go N.xo (idea of gathering, drawing in):
N.xokn (fasten), T.gokga (gather pumpkins), T.gona (draw in as a hand or a foot).

48. S.ho N.xo (idea of drawing):
S.hohla (draw), S.hoka N.xoka (draw by cunning, entice), cf. also S.hoha (inhale) T.gôga N.xôxa (pull, draw, inhale).

49. S.hô T.gô N.xô (idea of scraping off, hollowing out):
T.gôpa N.xôpa (suck up as cattle drinking a small quantity of water), S.hôra T.gôra N.xôra (scrape with a finger and then lick the finger.

50. N.xô (idea of bending):
N.xôma (turn back or over), N.xôtha (bend).

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51. S.hǒa T.ɣwa N.xwa (idea of being obstinate or angry): N.xwaba (be angry or bad-tempered), N.xwala (remain unchanged in spite of punishment), S.hǒanta T.ɣwanta N.xwanta (walk boldly, behave in a defiant way), N.xwanya (walk boldly, behave in a defiant way), N.xwapa (= N.xwata), S.hǒapa (grumble, get angry), N.xwata (walk boldly without looking at anybody).

52. S.hǒa T.ɣwa N.xwa (idea of decaying): S.hǒaba (rust of grain), N.xwahla (be withered, ill), T.ɣwapa (waste, decay), N.xwara (rust, grow mouldy).

53. S.hǒa T.ɣwa N.xwa (idea of making a rustling sound): N.xwahla (gleam), S.hǒasa T.ɣwasa N.xwǎa (rustle), cf. also hǒapa (grumble) and S.hǒchlatsa (make a rustling noise).

54. N.xu (idea of making a rustling noise): N.xua (hiss, whiz), N.xuba (rustle as water, rush) N.xupa (sip).

55. N.xu (idea of tying): N.xuna (tie, bind), N.xuta (tie a knot, stoop), N.xutla (be hunchbacked).

56. S.hla T.tlha N.hla (idea of stabbing, breaking up): S.hlaba T.tlhaba N.hlaba (stab, slaughter), S.hlahla N.hlahla (hew, cut in the ground, dig), S.hlatha N.hlatha (wound, take asunder, strike, chop).

57. S.hlô T.tlhô N.hlô (idea of swaying): S.hlôhla T.tlhôtlha N.hlôhla (run with elbows drawn in a body swaying), S.hlôpha N.hlôpha (become loose, get out of joint).

58. S.hlo T.tlho N.hlo (idea of plucking out or off): S.hloba T.tlhoba N.hloba (pluck out, off), S.hlotha N.hlotha (pluck out, off).

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59. S.hlo T.tlho N.hlo (idea of worrying):
S.hlohla (irritate), N.hlopa (displease),
S.hlopha N.hlophn (bother, annoy), T.thlorn
(worry), cf. S.hlôra (worry, be unhappy).

60. S.hlô N.hlô (idea of stabbing, chopping),
N.hlôrn (chop e.g. with an axe), S.hlôtha N.hlôtha
(stab, poke).

61. T.kn N.kn (idea of being apart):
T.knkn (be drawn two ways), T.knln (hover with
outstretched wings), N.knǎa (untie), T.ketla
(stretch a thing out sideways, stretch a skin, etc.,
so as to widen it).

62. N.ko (idea of beating):
N.kobn (beat with the fist), N.kotla (beat with
the fist), cf. also T.kokotn N.koketa (beat re-
peatedly with a stick or the fist).

63. S.kô N.kô (idea of turning away):
N.kôba (go round, turn out), S.kôka N.kôka (avoid),
N.kôta (make disloyal or disaffected).

64. S.kha T.kxa N.kxa (idea of piercing, cutting):
T.kxaba (pierce as a branch), N.kxakxa (hook in
clothes as a thorn), S.khatha T.kxatha N.kxatha
(crush, break new ground i.e. cutting furrows),
N.kxaya (cut the ear).

65. S.kha N.kxa (idea of striking, throwing):
S.khala (beat, conquer), N.kxatha (gallop i.e.
striking the ground with the feet), S.khatla N.kxatla
(strike mercilessly), N.kxatǎa (throw as a stick).

66. S.kha T.kxa N.kxa (idea of pleasing, rejoicing):
S.khahla T.kxatlha N.kxahla (please, delight),
T.kxana N.kxana (exult, rejoice) cf. S.khaba
T.kxaba N.kxaba (be beautiful, righteous) and

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S.khonyo N.kxenyo (shine, glitter).

67. T.kxa N.kxa (idea of drying up): N.kxahla (congulate), T.kxala (dry up as a fountain or blood). cf. ka

68. S.khu N.kxa (idea of gathering): N.kxana (tie together), N.kxatla (pile up), N.kxara (gather up, tuck up).

69. S.khô N.kxé (idea of running): N.kxôhla (run to and fro), S.khôma (hasten, hurry, gallop), S.khôra N.kxôra (run about madly), cf. also S.khotla (run, be always on the move), S.khôbe-khôba (go away quickly before one has been told what one must do).

70. T.kxô N.kxô (idea of breaking, chopping): T.kxôba (cut up growing grass with a spade, chop out the backbone of an animal), N.kxôba (bite through), T.kxôra N.kxôra (break with the teeth, plough hard land), T.kxôtla N.kxôtla (break or cut a twig from a stump), cf. also S.khôthu T.kxôthu N.kxôthe (choose, separate i.e. idea of making or breaking apart).

71. S.khi N.khi (idea of striking, digging): S.khila (dig dry dung in a kraal), S.khitla N.kxitla (strike the ground with a pick), cf. also S.khirila (clean a place with a spade), and T.khitla (dig superficially).

72. S.kho T.kxo N.kxo (idea of rubbing, smearing): N.kxohla (rub, rub out, make soft), T.kxoma (rub with much fat, smear with dung), S.khopha T.kxopha N.kxopha (rub a skin between the hands, smear out a house with dung, rub away with a finger), S.khotla N.kxotla (rub a skin with a stone) cf. also N.kxoma (touch with a finger).

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73. S.kh (idea of shovelling away):
S.khofa (shovel away), S.khopa (shovel away).

74. S.kho T.kgo N.kxo (idea of gathering):
S.khoba N.kxoba (sweep together, invite many people), T.kgopha (gather all together), cf. also T.kgokgoa (gather a number of things together), N.kxokxola (gather together).

75. N.kxô (idea of notching, chiselling):
N.kxôba (notch, chisel), N.kxôra (chisel out, hollow out), cf. also S.khôba (beat, smash).

76. T.kgô N.kxô (idea of breaking off):
T.kgôpha N.kxôpha (break off), N.kxôtha (cut or chop off).

77. T.kgô N.kxô (idea of getting nasty):
T.kgôna (get rusty, dirty), N.kxôra (get rusty).

78. S.khu N.kxu N.khu (idea of bending):
S.khuba (bend, fall on the knees), N.khuta (stoop behind something), N.khutha (stoop down), S.khutla N.kxutla (return), cf. also S.khumana T.khumama (kneel) and S.khukhuna N.khukhuna (creep).

79. S.khŏa T.kgwa N.kxwa (idea of bending):
N.kxwaxa (pull down with a hooked stick), S.khŏatha T.kgwatha (bend down), N.kxwatsa (hook down);

80. S.khŏa T.kgwa N.kxwa (idea of making a rustling sound).
S.khŏahla (run in the grass, make a rustling sound of clothes while running), S.khŏara T.kgwara (scrape with a knife, strike a match), N.kxwatha (scrape, plane), cf. also S.khŏaisa (rummage in the grass), S.khŏabitla (scratch), and N.kxwatŏa (wipe away with a finger).

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81. T.ki N.ki (idea of striking, pushing):
T.kiba (push with a stick against the ground when walking), T.kitla N.kitla (strike with the fist or a stick), cf. also S.kitjêla (strike with a stick) and T.kika (a mortar).

82. S.ko T.ko N.ko (idea of gathering):
T.kon (gather), S.kola N.kola (gather locusts, rake together), cf. also N.koka (stick together of dogs when copulating).

83. S.ko T.ko N.ko (idea of begging):
S.koka (beg for food instead of asking for it), S.kopa T.kopa N.kopa (beg, ask).

84. S.kô T.kô N.kô (idea of bending):
S.kôba N.kôba (bend), N.kôka (lean), T.kôna (bow as the head).

85. S.ku T.ku N.ku (idea of uttering a sound):
T.kua N.kua (shout out), S.kupa (sing a circumcision song), cf. also S.kurêha (grumble), T.kuruetsa (coo as a dove), and S.kutla (speak badly of, abuse).

86. S.kǒa N.kwa (idea of being stiff or hard):
S.kǒama (become stiff or hard from cold), N.kwapa (become dry as fruit or meat), S.kǒatla N.kwatla (be stiff from cold, have a tough body), cf. also S.kǒalabala (become dry and hard).

87. S.kǒa (idea of stabbing, chopping):
S.kǒatla (plough with a hoe), S.kǒatsa (stab).

88. S.kǒe (idea of hiding):
S.kǒena (hide, cover), S.kǒetla (hide, put something under the arm).

89. N.kwe (idea of cutting):
N.kweba (cut grass), N.kweya (cut, cut off).

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90. S.koe T.kwe (idea of jumping):
S.koela T.kwela (rear as a horse, toss up a rider),
S.koetla (= S.koecha), T.kwetla (hop as a locust),
S.koecha (jump, buck), cf. also S.koeca (dance).

91. S.la T.la N.la (idea of stretching out): *la*
S.lala T.lala N.lala (lie down).

92. S.le T.le N.le (idea of looking):
S.leba T.leba N.leba (look towards), S.lema (observe), S.lepa T.lepa N.lepa (observe the stars, observe, notice), S.leta T.leta N.leta (expect, wait for).

93. N.lê (idea of dangling): *le*
N.lêka (delay: idea: "dangle"), cf. also T.lea N.lea (tie a knot carelessly).

94. S.lo T.lo N.lo (idea of joining): *lu*
S.loha T.loga N.loxa (weave, plait), cf. also N. lôma (stick to, fasten).

95. N.me (idea of sticking to):
N.meme (stick to, suck), N.mepa (patch), N.meta (stick to).

96. S.ma T.ma N.ma (idea of running):
S.matha N.matha (run), T.matla (run as an ox, prance as a horse).

97. S.mo T.mo N.mo (idea of closing the mouth): *mu*
S.moma T.moma N.moma (shut the mouth, be silent), S.mona T.mona N.mona (suck, taste).

98. N.na (idea of making a bundle):
N.nara (make a bundle), N.nata (form into a ball).

99. T.na N.na (idea of pilfering):
N.napa (pilfer food), T.natha (pilfer food).

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100. S.nga T.nga N.nga (idea of striking);
S.ngaba N.ngaba (strike), S.ngata T.ngata (strike, beat).

101. S.nga T.nga N.nga (idea of being obstinate):
T.ngaba N.ngaba (refuse to speak, withhold milk as a cow), S.nganga N.nganga (quarrel, rebel), S.ngaǒa T.ngaya N.ngaya (sulk, go away in a bad temper).

102. N.nga (idea of fastening):
N.ngama (fasten) N.nganga (pull tightly) cf.
S.ngama T.ngama (soak, absorb with a sponge).

103. S.ngê N.ngê (idea of cutting):
N.ngêha (cut off, in two), S.ngêta (cut clean),
cf. also S.ngêra (strike on the head).

104. S.ngô N.ngô (idea of scratching):
S.ngôla N.ngôla (scratch, engrave, write),
N.ngôba (scratch).

105. S.ngǒa T.ngwa N.ngwa (idea of scratching);
N.ngwala (scratch, write), S.ngǒapa N.ngwapa (scratch, punch), S.ngǒara N.ngwara (scratch, engrave), S.ngǒaǒa T.ngwaya N.ngwaya (scratch).

106. S.nô N.nô (idea of thinning):
N.nôpa (make thin), S.nôtla N.nôtla (make thin, small).

107. S.nyê N.nyê (idea of becoming loose);
N.nyêfa (become loose), S.nyêhla (become loose, hang down), cf. also T.nyêma (shudder).

108. S.ô T.ô N.ô (idea of curving, bending):
S.ôba T.ôba N.ôba (bend down e.g. a branch, turn back).

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109. S.pa N.pa (idea of pressing, squeezing together): S.paka N.paka (shake in as corn in a bag, stop with a cork), N.pata (press together, squeeze), cf. also N.pafa (touch, feel).

110. S.pha T.pha N.pha (idea of scattering): T.phantla (scatter), N.phaŭa (fill the mouth with water and squirt it out), S.phatla N.phatla (let water loose, burst of the water pouch), cf. also N.phatŭa (travel through a country) and N.phopha (chop or cut lengthwise).

111. S.pha (idea of filling up): S.phakha (fill up, overfeed), S.phasa (fill) cf. also N.phaŭa (want to go to the stool).

112. S.pha T.pha N.pha (idea of turning): N.phaa (turn towards the side, persuade), S.phata T.phata N.phata (turn, repeat), N.phatla (turn, turn round), cf. also S.phatla (turn up the edge, open a book).

113. S.pha N.pha (idea of being purulent): S.phahla (not to heal of a wound), N.phakxa (not to heal of a wound), S.phatla (be purulent) cf. also N.phêra (heal slowly).

114. S.phê N.phê (idea of wandering about, fleeing): N.phêxa (wander about), S.phêkha (run away, flee), N.phêpha (wander about in the village).

115. T.pho N.pho (idea of making bubbles, blisters): T.phoa (become blistered), T.phoka (foam or froth as milk in a pail), N.phoma (bubble, swell).

116. S.pho T.pho N.pho (idea of beating, thrashing): S.phola (thrash), T.photha (beat grain out of the ear) cf. also N.phophothŭa (thrash).

117. S.phô N.phô (idea of rubbing): N.phôma (besmear), S.phôtla (wash the face), N.phôtla (strip off as leaves), cf. also N.phôrôla

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(rub off, e.g. dirt).

118.S.phu T.phu (idea of making a flapping sound):
T.phue (beat a skin or carpet with the hand),
S.phutla (slap with something soft).

119.S.phu T.phu N.phu (idea of breaking):
S.phukha (break, smash), N.phula (cut open, bore),
S.phuma N.phuma (smash, let a thing fall), S.phura
T.phura N.phura (cut hard food, gnaw).

120.S.pi T.pi N.pi (idea of covering):
N.pipa (cover), S.pita N.pita (hide), S.pitla
T.pitla N.pitla (fall upon, crush by falling on).

121.S.pô N.pô (idea of uttering a loud sound):
S.pôka (bellow, scold, roar), N.pôpa (explode),
S.pôra (roar of a lion), cf. also N.pôtla (belch).

122.N.phsi *S.phsi* (make a blowing sound):
N.phsika (blow the nose), N.phsina (pant, puff).

123.S.ra T.ra N.ra (idea of making short forceful movements):
N.rabe (jump along), S.rche T.rage N.raxa (kick),
S.rathe T.rathe N.rathe (cut with an axe, split up wood).

124.S.re T.re N.re (idea of moving about, running):
S.reke T.reke N.reke (chase off), N.rela (run), cf.
also T.rere N.rere (approach and retreat from as in dancing) and T.reloke N.reloke (run about as calves at play).

125.S.re T.re N.re (idea of extending, stretching out): 7a
S.rele T.rele N.rele (draw a straight line, make a cut in the skin as in skinning an animal), S.rese (get spread out, get scattered).

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126. S.ro T.re N.re (idea of thickening):
T.rema (become curdled), S.retha N.retha (curdle, thicken).

127. S.rê T.rê N.rê (idea of cutting): *te*
S.rêma T.rêma N.rêma (cut, chop), S.rêta (cut a dry skin.

128. S.rê T.rê N.rê (idea of being loose, shaky): *te*
N.rêfa (become loose), T.rêpa (become loose or slack), S.rêpha N.rêpha (become loose) cf. also N.rêxa (become soft).

129. N.ri (idea of rubbing): *ti*
N.rita (smear the floor).

130. S.ro N.ro (idea of swelling, ascending): *tu*
N.robe (become very big), S.roha (rise), N.rota (ascend), N.rotha (blow up of bowels).

131. N.rô (idea of becoming rusty or dark):
N.rôxa (rust), N.rôpha (become black or dark), N.rôta (get a dirty colour).

132. T.ru N.ru (idea of ascending): *tu*
T.runa (come up as a molehill), N.rura (flare up high of a fire).

133. S.ru T.ru N.ru (idea of crushing):
N.rula (hammer, forge), S.ruma T.ruma N.ruma (crush with the teeth), S.runa T.runa N.runa (kill lice with the nails), S.rutha T.rutha (smite, hit with a stone), S.rutla T.rutla N.rutla (break down, pull down).

134. N.se (idea of going across): *ke*
N.sela (cross a river) cf. also S.tšela T.tshela (cross a river, road).

135. S.se T.še T.se (idea of cutting):
T.sega (cut), S.sesa (cut off the top of the ear as

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a mark), T.ɛetln (cut with a sharp knife or an axe).

136. S.ɛɛ̂ T.ɛɛ̂ N.ɛ̌ɛ̂ (idea of being sad):
S.ɛɛ̂rn T.ɛɛ̂rɛ (be sad), N.ɛ̌ɛ̂tla (be sad).

137. S.ɛɛ̂ T.ɛɛ̂ N.ɛɛ̂ (idea of cutting):
S.ɛɛ̂hn N.ɛɛ̂xn (cut), S.ɛɛ̂hla, N.ɛɛ̂hla (cut as with a saw), S.ɛɛ̂kɛ [1] (lance), S.ɛɛ̂tɛ T.ɛɛ̂tɛ N.ɛɛ̂tɛ (chisel, cut with the nails), N.ɛɛ̂tla (cut round).

138. S.ɛɛ̂ T.ɛɛ̂ N.ɛɛ̂ (idea of inclining, bending):
S.ɛɛ̂kɛ T.ɛɛ̂kɛ N.ɛɛ̂kɛ (incline, turn to the west as a shadow), N.ɛɛ̂mɛ (lean), N.ɛɛ̂rɛ (walk in a bent position), cf. also N.ɛɛ̂nɛ (change the mind).

139. N.ɛ̌i (idea of cutting):
N.ɛ̌ipɛ (clip, prune), N.ɛ̌itɛ̌ɛ (cut the throat).

140. S.ɛhɛ T.ɛ̌ɛ N.ɛɛ N.ɛ̌ɛ (idea of folding):
S.ɛhɛbɛ (fold, make a parcel of), T.ɛ̌ɛkɛ, N.ɛɛkɛ (roll up a blanket, etc.), N.ɛ̌ɛpɛ (turn, twist).

141. S.ɛɛ̂ N.ɛɛ̂ N.ɛ̌ɛ̂ (idea of folding, twisting):
N.ɛ̌ɛ̂kɛ (twist, wring), N.ɛɛ̂nɛ (fold), N.ɛɛ̂pɛ (twist, wring), S.ɛɛ̂thɛ (twist, wring, entwine).

142. S.ɛu T.ɛ̌u N.ɛu N.ɛ̌u (idea of making a rustling noise):
T.ɛ̌utlhɛ N.ɛ̌uhlɛ (brush off, rub), T.ɛ̌umɛ (make a noise as wind, rain or a river), N.ɛumɛ (rush, rustle), N.ɛutɛɛ (whiz, puff e.g. porridge when well cooked), S.ɛ̌utɛɛ (get well cooked), cf. also T.ɛ̌ubɛ (knead half dry dough) and S.ɛuɛ S.ɛuhɛ T.ɛ̌uɣɛ (make a skin supple).

143. S.ɛu T.ɛ̌u N.ɛ̌u (idea of cutting or going asunder):
S.ɛuhla (break), N.ɛ̌unɛ (cut off), T.ɛ̌utɛ N.ɛ̌utɛ (move away), S.ɛuthɛ N.ɛ̌uthɛ (drew aside, get out of the way.)

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1) cf. Xhosa ɛɛkɛ (cut or make a small furrow or ditch),

144. S.ta N.ta (idea of making short quick movements):
N.taba (jump), N.tanta (run quickly, gallop),
S.tata (act in a hurry).

145. S.ta N.ta (idea of being exhausted):
S.tala (become bad, insipid), S.tama [i] (become tired), S.tana (get tired, sad), S.tapa N.tapa (become tired, weak, tasteless).

146. S.te T.te N.te (idea of beating):
N.tea (beat), S.tete T.tete (strike, hit),
S.tetla (strike with the fist), N.teya (beat).

147. S.te T.te N.te (idea of sinking down):
S.teba T.teba (sink, get deep in), N.teka (sink, sink down).

148. N.tê (idea of surrounding):
N.têra (enclose), N.têta (go round, enclose).

149. S.tha N.tha (idea of jumping along, running):
S.thala (jump of calves, frolic), N.thapa (play),
N.thapha (run along), N.thatha (go round in circles, walk about), cf. also S.thaba T.thaba N.thaba (be glad, rejoice).

150. S.tha N.tha (idea of making short violent movements e.g. breaking, beating):
N.thaka (cut into pieces), S.thakha (kick out one's legs like a man on horseback), S.thasa (beat with a stone to make supple), N.thatha (break into pieces).

151. S.the T.the N.the (idea of making short movements e.g. knocking, pushing):
T.thenya N.thenya (knock a goat's udder with the hand when milking), S.thetla (push at its mother's udder

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i) But cf. Afrikaans tam (be tired, exhausted).

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of a calf, push), S.thetsa N.thetša (push slightly, touch), cf. also S.theba (dig).

152. S.thê N.thé (idea of making short violent movements e.g. nudging, digging):
N.thêba (nudge, butt), S.thêka (dig, dig out).

153. N.thê (idea of cutting):
N.thêna (cut off, castrate), N.thêta (cut round a thing), N.thêtha (cut off, eradicate).

154. N.thi (idea of nodding):
N.thima (nod), N.thina (nod).

155. S.thi T.thi N.thi (idea of turning back):
S.thiba T.thibe N.thiba (stop, turn back), S.thinya T.thinya N.thinya (turn quickly in running, change the mind, etc), N.thipa (close, cover up i.e. turn away from sight).

156. S.thô T.thô N.thô (idea of breaking off, away):
S.thôba T.thôba (break through, break out and run away), N.thôkxa (break off, out), cf. also N.thoba break through, out) and N.thôna (take out with two fingers.

157. S.thu T.thu N.thu (idea of breaking, smashing):
S.thua (break, crush, divide), S.thuba T.thuba N.thuba (smash, break to pieces), S.thuha T.thuga N.thuxa (break, crush, divide), S.thuhla (break down, faint), S.thukha (break), S.thula T.thula N.thula (give a knock, pierce, strike), S.thuma T.thuma N.thuma (crush, grind fine).

158. N.thwa (idea of making a rustling noise):
N.thwakxa (make a noise when walking), N.thwapa (scratch open), N.thwathwa (trot), N.thwaya (gnaw).

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159. S.ti T.ti N.ti (idea of striking):
S.tiba T.tiba N.tiba (strike the ground with the foot), S.tila (strike the ground with the foot), N.tiya (beat).

160. S.ti T.ti N.ti (idea of getting strong):
T.tiia (become strong), N.tina (become strong), S.tiěa N.tiya (become strong).

161. S.tje (idea of moving about):
S.tjeba (shake), S.tjeke (dance), S.tjetja (go about working at many things).

162. S.tla T.tla N.tla (idea of catching, holding together)
S.tlama T.tlama N.tlama (bind), N.tlana (take with the tongs), N.tlapa (catch).

163. T.tse N.tse (idea of standing erect):
N.tsema (stick upright), T.tsepa N.tsepa (throw a spear so as to make it stick).

164. S.che (idea of digging):
S.cheba (dig), S.cheka (dig out).

165. T.tshi N.thši (idea of closing):
T.tshiba (plug, stop), T.tshira N.thšira (veil, throw a protection over).

166. S.chô (idea of sharpening):
S.chôra (be pointed, sharp), S.chôcha (sharpen), cf. also S.chotsa (sharpen) and S.tšotsa (sharpen).

167. S.tsi N.tši (idea of pinching, breaking off a little):
S.tsipa N.tšipa (pinch, take a little), N.tšitla (break off a little), cf. also N.tšira (gnash the teeth).

168. S.tso T.tšo N.tšo N.tso (idea of taking out, off)
N.tšoba (pluck out), S.tsola, T.tšola N.tšola

N.tsola (take off, undress), N.tsǒtǒ (pluck out as feathers or hair), cf. S.tsǒa T.tswa N.tswa (come out).

169. S.tu T.tu N.tu (idea of beating, striking): S.tuhla (get broken), S.tuba N.tuba (strike with the fist, oppress), S.tula T.tula (stamp, crush) T.tupa (beat with the hand), cf. also S.tutla (shake a bag in order to compress what it contains).

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APPENDIX B

ROOTS

a. The roots given in this Appendix are consonantal, simple or derivative. In isolating these roots only disyllabic simple verbal stems in their multi-functional conjugational form have been compared. No attempt at exhaustiveness has been made here either, for the same reasons as given in Appendix A. § a.

~~b. See Appendix A. § b.~~

b. The UB. roots quoted below have been obtained from N.UB.W. Chapter III, and are here given merely for the sake of indicating the phonological relation ~~identity~~ probable between their consonants and the semantically corresponding Sotho consonantal roots.

No. SOTHO ROOT

1. S.b T.b N.b (idea of cutting, chopping, stabbing, digging): UB. roots with idea of breaking)

S.haba T.gaba N.xoba (cut out, hew out), S.hlaba T.tlhaba N.hlaba (spear, stab), T.kgaba (pierce as a branch, thrust as in killing with a spade), T.kgeba (chop out the backbone of an animal), N.kxoba (carve, chisel), N.kweba (cut grass), S.loba (cut by pinching with the nails), S.nyeba (slaughter), S.thaba N.theba (dig), S.thoba T.thoba N.thoba (stab, prick), S.tlǒêba (scratch), S.cheba (dig), T.tshiba (dig out).

2. S.b T.b N.b (idea of striking, beating, smashing): with idea of breaking)

S.hoba T.goba N.xoba (beat with a stone, beat a tree with a stick in order to knock off the leaves or fruit), S.hǒêba (beat, whip), N.keba (beat with the fist), S.khôba T.kgôba N.kxôba (beat, smash), S.kuba T.kuba N.kuba (spear without piercing the skin),

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S.ngoba N.ngoha (strike, beat on the head), N.toba (sharpen a grindstone by beating it with another stone, smash), S.thuba T.thuba N.thuba (smash), S.tiba T.tiba N.tiba (strike the ground with the foot, beat the ground with the tail as an ox), S.tuba T.tuba (strike with a fist, beat the ground with the tail as an ox), S.uba T.uba N.uba (smite with a fist, beat, beat of the heart).

3. S.f T.f N.f (idea of scattering):
S.fefa N.fefa (wipe away a child's dirt), S.hofa (scatter, disperse), S.hofo (whip water away, take away in quantity), N.xôfa (dip up mud with the hand), T.jafa (wipe away filth), S.khofa (shovel away, drive out), T.safa (squander, lavish).

idea of throwing, splitting

4. S.hl T.tlh N.hl (idea of making a rustling noise e.g. rub, scratch, crush, be shaky, trot):
N.hohla (rub against each other), S.fohla (crush grain on a mill), S.fêhla T.fêtlha N.fêhla (rub between the hands, strike a match, churn), S.fohla (enlarge a hole), S.hêhla (speak much, be talkative, prattle), N.xêhla (get loose, fall off) ~~that has been dried~~
S.hohla T.gotlha N.xohla (rub, sharpen, polish by rubbing), N.xwêhla (grabble, scratch about), N.xwêhla (grabble, scratch about), T.tlhatlha (make a noise as things knocking together e.g. reeds), S.hlohla N.hlohla (cut in the ground, hew), S.hlêhla T.tlhêtlha N.hlêhla (trot, run with elbows drawn in and body swaying), N.hlwohla (wipe off with a cloth), N.kxêhla (run to and fro), N.kxohla (rub, rub out, make soft), N.kxôhla (shake, be loose), T.tlhotlha (rub a skin with a stone in braying), S.khŏêhla (run), S.khŏêhla T.kgwêtlha N.kxwêhla (become loose, shake, be shaky as a door), S.nyêhla (become loose, hang down), S.ohla T.otlha N.ohla (twist by rubbing on the thigh), N.sêhla (scrape, scratch with the foot), S.sêhla T.sêtlha N.sêhla (cut as with a saw),

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N.sihla (rub in), N.šihla (to have the colic), N.sôhla (rub the grain out of the ear), N.šôhla (rustle, break the fence as cattle), T.šutlha N.suhla (rub or brush something off a person, make way through bushes, press anything in a morter), S.suhla (break), S.shôshla (prattle, speak very much, indiscriminately), N.šwahla (rustle, go against the wind), T.šwatlha (push a thing in and shake it about when in), S.tšohla T.tšhotlha (chew, masticate, chew sweet reed), S.tuhla (get broken).

5. S.kh T.kg N.kx (idea of breaking, breaking apart): N.fokxa (break with a crowbar), N.kxrkxa (hook e.g. a thorn in the clothes), S.phôkha (split in two), S.phukha (break, smash), N.thôkxa (break out, off), S.thukha (break), cf. also the suffix kxa found in the following derivative verbal stems: N.phokxa (cut a slit in an animal's ear) from pha also found in S.sepha (scar, rent), N.rôkxa (break out, off, smash) from rô also found in N.lerô (crack), as well as the simple stem S.thokha (kick out one's legs like one on horseback).

6. S.m T.m N.m (idea of being in contact with e.g. touching or leaning against something):
S.ema T.eme N.ema (touch), S.êma T.êma N.êma (stand), N.fema (stand together), T.fôma (rub with fat), S.hema T.gama N.xama (milk), S.hlôma T.tlhôma N.hlôma (plant, lay eggs of grasshoppers), S.khama N.kxama (strangle), N.kxoma (touch with the open hand or fingertips), T.kgoma (rub with much fat, smear with much dung), N.loma (stick to, stick feet), N.nama (stick to a hole as a patch, suck), S.noma T.noma N.noma (suck), N.numa (suck), S.ngema T.ngama N.ngoma (fasten, clasp, stitch) N.phôma (rub), S.sema T.sama N.sama (pillow), N.sêma (lean, incline), N.šima (plant), N.tôma (touch here and there, dot), S.tlama T.tlama (bind) N.tlôma (bind),

N.tlima (strangle), N.teema (lay eggs of grasshoppers).

7. S.n T.n N.n (idea of holding together, bringing together, bending):

N.bena (seam, stitch a seam), N.fêna (bend, turn), S.fina (make a knot, form a bud), T.huna (tie a knot), N.ǂuna (tie, bind), N.kxana (bind together), S.khina N.kxina (kneehalter a horse), N.khina (kneehalter), N.khuna (bind, pull back), T.kina (kneehalter), T.kôna (bow the head), S.kǂêna N.kwêna (turn, turn around), N.mana (twist, wind round, cling to), S.mêna T.mêna N.mêna (hem, roll up, turn round), S.pêna T.pêna N.pêna (turn up the brim of a hat, bend back), N.sêna (fold in order to seam or to stitch), N.tana (bind, fasten), N.têna (bend back), T.tôna (bend down the head and body), N.tlana (take with the tongs).

8. S.p T.p N.p (idea of bringing into contact):

S.apa N.epa (talk about a subject, touch upon a subject in a conversation), N.bapa (interweave, entwine), S.fapa T.fapa N.fapa (wind round), S.hapa T.gapa N.xapa (snatch, seize, capture), S.hopa T.gopa N.xopa (scrape), S.kôpa (embrace, seize) [1], T.lepa (tie in a knot), N.mapa (patch, mend), N.napa (dip a finger or a piece of wood into food and eat the food clinging to it), S.nêpa N.nêpa (hit, be right), S.nǂôepa N.ngwapa (scratch), N.ngôpa (scratch), S.ôpa T.ôpa N.ôpa (strike), N.papa (grope, like a blind person), N.rapa (bind), N.sapa (wind), N.thepa (weave), N.tlapa (catch), T.tlopa N.tlopa (hop as a locust or a frog), N.tôpa (pick up), N.tupa (beat with the hand).

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1) Cf. also suffix pa in S.kapa T.kapa N.kapa (catch) from ka, also found in N.moka (the whole, totality).

9. S.ph T.ph N.ph (idea of chopping, pushing or slapping aside):
T.fopha (chop, or cut lengthwise), N.fopha (ward off a blow), T.fophn (strike or smite with the hand), N.xêpha (scrape off, peel off), T.kgopha N.kxopha (push out with the hand as grain from a vessel, smear a floor with wet dung), N.kxopha (smear out e.g. a house, wipe away with a finger), T.kgôpha N.kxôpha (break off), S.phapha (fly, run, jump), N.phapha (chop or cut lengthwise), S.phêphe N.phêpha (fend off, evade a blow), N.phôpha (throw), N.thapha (jerk off, send off with a jerk).

10. S.r T.r N.r (idea of cutting, scratching, biting):
T.era N.era (cut open a swelling, wound the head), N.êra (cut open a swelling, wound the head), S.fura T.fura N.fura (make a hole, hollow out, notch), N.xera (cut open a swelling, wound the head), N.xêra (carve), S.hôra T.gôra N.xôra (scrape a thing with a finger and lick the finger), N.xŭra (dig, hollow out, scratch a hole in the earth), N.hlôra (cut e.g. with an axe), T.kgêra (plough before the rain falls, plough hard dry land), N.kxêra (bite off, break with the teeth), N.kxôra (chisel, hollow out), T.kgwara N.kxwara (scrape with a knife, strike a match), S.ngŏ̂ra N.ngwara (engrave, scratch), S.phura T.phura N.phura (gnaw, eat something hard), S.rara (tattoo a brave warrior's arm), N.towara (cut a stick very thin, turn on a lathe), cf. also S.ngêra (strike on the head), S.ohôra (be pointed, sharp of the horns of an ox), S.tlêra (strike on the head), N.tsĕ́ra (gnash with the teeth).

11. S.t T.t N.t (idea of treading upon, slapping or striking against, pressing against):
S.bata T.bata N.bata (slap, smite, strike on the head with a stick), N.bôta (plaster), S.fata T.fata N.fata (dig in the ground, dig a hole, hollow out), S.hata

T.gata N.xata (take a step, tread, oppress), N.xwata (walk with heavy steps), S.kata T.kata N.kata (tread, fill up a hole, gallop), S.khata (catch with a trap that crushes), S.kota (peck of a bird), T.lota (pound to powder), N.môta (smoothen, polish with the hand), T.nôta (pound small by hammering), N.nyata (beat with a flat hand), N.pata (press together, squeeze), N.pêta (squeeze, press close), N.pôta (squeeze between the hands), S.tata N.tata (strike, hit, beat with the fist), cf. also S.bata T.bata N.bata (seize with the hands, choke, strangle), N.kota (shear, clip), S.kuta T.kuta N.kuta (shear, clip), N.kwita (shear, clip), S.sêta T.sêta N.sêta (chisel, break off pieces).

12. S.th T.th N.th (idea of making short abrupt movements) N.bêtha (beat), S.hlatha (strike, chop, pinch), S.hlotha N.hlotha (pluck off feathers, pluck), N.hlwetha (pluck, pull), S.khatha T.kgatha N.kxatha (crush, break in new ground), N.kxatha (gallop), N.kxôtha (cut or chop off), S.khotha (prepare a threshing floor by removing the grass thereof), S.matha N.matha (gallop, run), T.matha N.natha (pilfer food, take a little, grind fine), N.natha (beat), N.ngôtha (break off, pinch off), S.ngǒatha T.ngwatha N.ngwatha (pilfer, take a slice of, break off), S.nyatha N.nyatha (pinch, gnaw, scratch), S.phatha (slap), T.photha N.photha (beat grain out of the ear, thresh), S.ratha T.ratha N.ratha (cut with an axe, split up wood), S.retha (strike), S.rôtha T.rôtha N.rôtha (drip, drop) S.ruthe T.rutha (hit with a stone, strike with a stick), N.thatha (break into pieces), N.thêtha (chop off, root out) cf. also N.thitha (churn).

13. S.tl T.tl N.tl (idea of smiting, crushing, striking, cutting)
S.bêtla T.betla N.bêtla (chisel, carve), T.gatla N.xatla (strike with a stick or a club), N.xwetla (cut

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with the sickle), N.hlôtla (poke with a stick at something unseen), N.ketla (beat with the fist), S.khetla N.kxetla (strike mercilessly, hammer), S.khêtla T.kgêtla N.kxêtla (break or cut a twig from a stump, cut, bite off), S.khitla N.kxitla (strike the ground with a pick, job, knock), S.khitla (cut with the teeth) S.khotla N.kxotla (crush, bruise), T.kgôtla N.kxôtla (push a thing off with a stick, poke with a finger), N.kxutla (knock against something with the foot or elbow), N.kxwatla (tap or knock with the finger or the fist), T.khitla (root up grass as a pig), T.khutla N.khutla (nudge with the elbow, knock against a thing with the foot), T.kitla N.kitla (strike with a fist or a stick), N.kutla (push, wound by shooting), T.lôtla N.lôtla (destroy, smite to death), N.natla (flatten, hammer out), S.ôtla N.ôtla (strike, beat, punish), N.pêtla (cut, turn on a lathe), S.phutla (slap with something soft), N.pšetla (crush, squeeze), S.pshŏntla (crush, break into pieces), S.putla (cut in two, cut one's way through cattle), T.putla (strike with a stick, poke with horns from side to side), S.retla (cut small pieces of meat), N.rôtla (smash), S.setla T.setla N.setla (beat out, stamp, pound corn in a morter), T.šetla (cut with a sharp knife or axe, chew the edible part of a bone), S.tetla (strike with the fist), T.tšhetla (crush), N.tšitla (break off a little).

14.S.a T.y N.y (idea of chopping, cutting open, scratching).

N.feya (break asunder), N.xeya (cut open a swelling), S.hŏaŏa T.gweya N.xweya (scratch, hollow out), S.hlŏeŏn T.tlhweya N.hlweya (hew out a tree, scoop out), S.kaŏr (hew down, chop, strike), N.kxeya (cut a slip in the ear), T.kheya (carve), N.kweya (cut), S.ngŏeŏe T.ngweya N.ngweya (scratch), cf. also N.thweya (gnaw) N.thšaya (beat) N.tšweya (smash), N.tšeya (creek) and T.deya (strike).

APPENDIX C (ii)

Simple stems identical in meaning but differing in form, the one being primary, the other secondary, with a strengthened consonant as initial consonant:

S.bipa T.bipa N.bipa (hide, smother, veil)
N.pipa " " "

T.bupa (cover) N.pupa (cover)

N.fohla (fend off) N.phohla (fend off)

N.fapha (cheat, defraud) N.phapha (cheat, defraud)

T.fopha (chop, cut lengthwise)
N.phopha (chop, ~~lengthwise~~, split)

S.fêha N.fêxa (hang, suspend) N.phêxa (suspend)

N.fêpha (fend off a blow, escape)
S.phêpha N.phêpha (fend off a blow, escape)

T.fola N.fola (thresh corn or maize while sitting round the heap)
S.phola " " " " " "

T.fôma (lubricate, rub with fat, prepare arrow by rubbing it with poison)
N.phôma " " " " " "

T.fusa N.fuǎ (go dry of cow or milk goat)
N.phuǎ " " " " " " "

N.fyêxa (have diarrhoea, purge)
S.pehêha N.phǔêxa " " "

S.hehla N.xehla (coagulate, become thick from cold)
N.kxuhla " " " " "

N.xora (steal, be a good-for-nothing)
N.kxora " " " " "

N.xora (be satisfied, have plenty)
S.khora T.kxora " " " "

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N.xôrə (rust, get mouldy)

N.ɨxôrə " " " .

N.x̌upə (suck up, hold in the mouth)

N.ɨhupə " " " " " " .

S.rələ T.rələ N.rələ (make a first cut on the skin, rip open; run)

N.thələ " " " " " " .

S.rəthə T.rəthə N.rəthə (cut with an axe, a sword, split up wood, break into pieces)

N.thəthə " " " " " " .

N.rəthə (root out, stub up)

N.thəthə " " " " .

N.rəyə (set a trap) T.theyə (set a trap)

T.rəmə (become curdled of milk)

N.themə " " " " .

N.rinə (delouse, crack vermin)

N.thinə " " " .

N.ronə (delouse, crack vermin)

N.thonə " " " .

N.ropə (prevent from sucking of a calf)

S.thopə " " " " " " .

T.x̌ə (burn) S.chə (burn)

S.ələ T.ələ N.x̌ələ (remain, remain behind)

S.tx̌ələ " " " .

S.sasə (smear a skin in order to make it supple)

T.tshəsə T. (Kgatla) tshax̌ə (smear, smear a skin in order to make it supple)

N.ələ (cross a river, a road, pass over)

S.tx̌ələ T.tshələ " " " " " .

T.səmə N.səmə (lift up the dress indecently)

N.thəsəmə " " " " " .

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S.siba T.siba (plug, stop)

T.tshiba " " .

S.sira T.sira N.šira (shade, veil, throw a protection over)

T.tshira N.thšira " " " " .

N.sêhla (rub grain out of the ear, chew e.g. sweet reed)

S.tšêhla T.tšhôtlha " " " " " " " " .

N.šokxa (make a noise) N.thšokxa (make a noise).

N.sola (dish up)

S.tšola T.tšhola N.thsola " " .

N.swana (be like) S.tšôana T.tšhwana (be like).

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APPENDIX C

Simple stems related in meaning but not synonymous, and differing in form, the one being primary, the other secondary with a strengthened consonant as initial consonant:

S.ala T.ala N.ale (spread out, plaster)

T.kala (open the eyes wide, hover with outstretched wings)
N.kala (get smoothed out)

N.atsa (help with something, grant)

N.katsa N.katša (give, be generous).

S.bete T.bata N.bata (strike, smite, slap with the hand, sm oothen by beating)
N.pata (beat with open hand on the ground e.g. when catching locusts).

S.bêhe (put, place, set up, lay eggs)

T.pêge (set or place up, hang up).

S.bêka T.bêka N.bêka (cut into small pieces e.g. meat, skins; N. also: cut meat from the bone, scratch off)
S.pêka (slaughter).

N.bena (seam, make a seam)

S.pena T.pena N.pena (turn up the brim of a hat, bend back, turn back as the edge of a knife).

S.beta T.beta N.beta (seize with the hands, strangle)

N.pêta (squeeze, press close).

S.bêtla T.betla N.bêtla (cut, chisel, carve, plane)

N.pêtla (cut).

S.bôka T.bôka N.bôka (sing the praises of, praise, give thanks)
S.pôka (bellow, scold, roar).

S.bôpa (sulk, be peevish)

T.bâpa N.bôpa (bellow as a bull, make a noise like a river)
N.pôpa (explode, burst).

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S.lubo T.dubo N.duba (knead, make a mess)

S.tubo (oppress, torment, harrass)

T.tuba (strike with a fist).

S.lulo T.dulo N.dula (sit down, sit)

S.tulo N.tula (stamp, crush).

S.lumo T.duma N.duma (make a noise, resound, thunder)

S.tuma T.tuma N.tuma (become known, become noised abroad)

S.lupa T.dupa (scarify, put the mouth to a sick person and draw out the sickness)

S.tupa (go marauding).

N.duta (let the head sink, bend under a burden)

N.tuta (let the head sink through fatigue).

N.fava (beat into two, crack)

N.phava (pull open a door, turn the pages of a book, beat back somebody's hand).

N.fama (go in one direction, stand together)

N.phama (make parallel, slap against each other).

S.fêhla T.fêtlha N.fêhla (churn, rub between the hands)

S.phehla (goad, prick).

N.fôtla (shell, unhair, shovel away)

S.phôtla N.phôtla (dress a beam, or a stone on both sides, rub off, shell, strip of leaves).

S.fura N.fura (make a hole, notch, hollow out)

T.fura (gnaw, chew hard food as berries)

S.phura T.phura N.phura (gnaw, eat hard food).

N.fsa/T.(Kgatla) fya (burn) S.psha N.phša/(get dry).

N.xaka (mix tobacco with ash)

N.kxaka (mix tobacco with ash, change about)

S.khaka (join).

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N.xekxa (pull tightly)

N.kxekxa (hook e.g. a thorn in clothes cf. the preceding and subsequent pulling when clothes are hooked by e.g. a thorn still attached to a branch).

S.hema T.gema N.xema (milk)

S.khema N.kxema (strangle).

S.hara T.gara N.xara (coil ropes, pull up the dress, coil anything up into a small compass; S. also: make a pot round)
N.kxara (pull up the dress).

S.hata T.gata N.xata (tread on, trample, oppress)

S.khata (catch with a trap that crushes).

T.gatla N.xatla (strike with a stick or club, beat against the head, throw with a stone)
S.khatla N.kxatla (strike mercilessly, ~~be~~ stone).

N.xaya (cut open a swelling, scratch, graze the skin)

N.kxaya (mark by cutting the ear).

N.xêhla (get loose, get untied)

N.kxêhla (run to and fro).

N.xêra (cut into pieces)

N.kxêra (bite off, bite into pieces, gnaw).

S.hoa T.goa N.xoa (shout, call)

N.kxoa (utter a sound (of a child)).

N.xoba (talk nonsense, bark, cry)

S.khoba (bark fiercely for a long time).

S.hoba (smear)

S.khoba (smear the head with clay).

S.hofa (whip water away)

S.khofa (shovel away, drive out).

T.gôxa N.xôxa (draw, pull, lead; also: inhale, smoke)

S.hôha (inhale, smoke)

N.kxôxa (inhale, smoke).

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S.hohla T.gotlha N.xohla (rub, sharpen, polish by rubbing)
N.kxohla (rub against, rub out, make soft).

N.xoka (fasten, bind)

S.khoka T.kgoka N.kxoka (fasten, inspan, hook, lead with a thong).

S.hopa T.gopa N.xopa (scrape, remove or brush up rubbish)

S.khopa (shovel away).

T.gôpa (suck or draw out matter from an abscess, suck up as cattle drinking a small quantity of water; dry up)
N.kxôpa (drink out everything).

S.hôra T.gôra N.xôra (lick a pot clean, scrape with a finger and then lick the finger.
N.kxôra (hollow out, chisel out).

N.laka (command, forbid a person to part with what has been given to him; be in charge of)
N.taka (be in charge of).

T.lopa N.lepa (become tired or weary, be faint)

S.lapa N.lapa (be hungry)

S.tapa N.tapa (become tasteless, tired, weak).

S.laĕa T.laya N.laya (correct, reprimand, punish, instruct)
T.ntaya (strike, knock down) cf. also T.daya (strike).

N.lêka (linger, tarry)

S.teka (roam, be helpless)

N.têka (shake about on the water).

S.ôba T.ôba N.ôba (prevent, stop, bend)

S.kôba N.kôba (bend, lie down).

S.ôla T.ôla N.ôla (gather e.g. ground ashes, etc; gather with the hands)
S.kola N.kola (gather locusts, catch with the hands, rake together).

S.oma N.ôma N.oma (shake the head)

T.koma (assent by nodding the head).

S.ôpa T.ôpa N.ôpa (strike, clap the hands, throb or ache as a head or pulse)
N.kôpa (beat suddenly, stab).

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N.reba (jump along)

S.theba T.theba N.theba (be glad, cheerful, cf. the association between jump on one hand and be glad or excited on the other hand).

S.reka T.reka N.reka (arrive before, forestall, precede, chase away)
N.theka (forestall, precede, wake up simultaneously).

N.repa (summon, call up, invite)

T.thepa (hire, engage a person to work).

N.rêla (get out of sight, escape, idea: slide from)

N.thêla (glide, glide off).

N.reta (stir i.e. turn over by stirring)

S.theta (roll down, send rolling down).

S.retha (strike, beat)

N.thêtha (cut off, cut down).

S.ribe N.riba (move one's head up and down, bend, stoop down))common
S.thiba T.thiba N.thiba (turn, stop, prevent, shut))idea
)is
)that of bending or turning.

N.rima (bend down) N.thima (nod, fall asleep).

S.rôba T.rôba N.rôba (break, bend)

S.thôba T.thôba N.thôba (go away unseen, break out and run away).

N.rula (forge)

S.thula T.thula N.thula (give a knock to, strike, smash, cut open).

S.ruma T.ruma N.ruma (crush with the teeth)

S.thuma T.thuma N.thuma (grind fine, crush, stone, beat into pieces e.g. a stone).

N.rutha (float of a lifeless object; bathe)

N.thutha (wash).

T.ŷa (become burnt, scalded, scorched)

T.tŷha (dry up as water).

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S.sasa (smear a skin in order to make it supple)

S.tšasa T.tshasa T.(Kgatla) tshoša N.thšasa (smear, rub, grease, rub fat in) cf. also App. Cl. 4.

S.chêba T.šêba (look at, look round, look over the shoulder)
N.thšeba (look sideways).

S.sêra T.sêra (be sad, be sore at heart, have a severe pain)

S.tšêra N.thsêra (become lean, weak, sad).

T.šetla (cut with a sharp knife, chew the edible parts of a bone)

T.tšhetla (crush).

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APPENDIX D[1]

Simple stems identical in meaning but differing in form, the one being primary, and the other secondary with a strengthened consonant as second consonant.

S.b T.b N.b > S.p T.p N.p

T.bêba (cool of anger) T.bêpa (cool of anger)

S.fuba (put into the mouth)
S.fupa T.fupa " " " " .

S.f T.f N.f > S.ph T.ph N.ph

N.rêfa (become loose) S.rêpha N.rêpha (become loose)

S.h T.g N.x > S.kh T.kg N.kx

S.thuha T.thuga N.thuxa (break, pound, bruise)
S.thukha " " " .

S.r T.r N.r > S.th T.th N.th

N.ara (take on the shoulder) N.atha (take on the shoulder)

S.bora (lie down)
S.botha T.botha N.botha " "

S.ôra T.ôra N.ôra (bask in the sun)
N.ôtha " " " " .

S.s T.s N.s N.š > S.ts T.tsh N.tha N.thš

N.raša (fall off, of leaves of a tree)
N.rathša " " " " " " "

S.tšasa T.tsha(a)sa T.(Kgatla) tshaša N.thšaša (smear with fat, grease paint)
N.thsathsa N.thšathša " " " "

1) The stems in this Appendix have been alphabetically classified into sub-sections according to the unstrengthened consonants of their second syllables.

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APPENDIX D2 i)

Simple stems related in meaning but not synonymous, and differing in form, the one being primary the other secondary with a strengthened consonant as second consonant.

No-consonant ii) and S.ě T.y N.y > S.k T.k N.k

N.dua (stir something stiff)

S.luka (stir up water and make it muddy).

T.tlhaya N.hlaya (fail to reach, be insufficient)

N.hlaka (possess nothing, be homeless, find it difficult to make ends meet).

T.koa (gather, heap up)

N.koka (stick together).

S.laěa T.laya N.laya (correct, reprimand, instruct)

N.laka (be in charge of, act on instructions).

N.paya (not to forget or forgive)

S.paka (witness, stand as witness for).
N.phea (incline towards the side, persuade)
T.phaka N.phaka (hold a goat's leg under one's knee, for castrating).
T.phoa (become blistered)

T.phoka (foam or froth as milk in a pail).

N.saa (enquire after, investigate)

S.senka T.senka N.senka (look round, seek).

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i) The stems in this Appendix have been alphabetically classified into sub-sections according to the unstrengthened consonants of their second syllables.

ii) This term refers to ~~such~~ stems that have no consonant preceding the terminative a; the original consonant has been dropped in such cases, but is retained as the palatal semi-vowel S.ě T.y N.y (Phon. 59) (in others). For this reason stems with the palatal semi-vowel in the second syllable will also be classified in the same sub-section.

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T.sia (run away, outrun)

S.siǒa N.šiya (run away, outrun)

S.sika T.sika N.šika (go parallel, go along, pass something, go a long way).

T.teya (beat)

N.teka (throw, sling).

S.thêa N.thêa (lay the foundation)

S.thêka (dig, dig out).

N.tšeya (crack a flea)

N.tšeka (smash).

S.b T.b N.b > S.p T.p N.p

S.haba N.xaba (be greedy, strive for)

S.hapa T.gapa N.xapa (snatch, seize, capture).

S.haba T.gaba (beat with a stone, beat a tree with a stick to knock off the leaves or thorns)
S.hapa T.gapa N.xapa (scrape, remove or brush up rubbish, scrape off).

S.hǒaba (rust of corn, etc.)) common idea that of
T.gwapa (waste, decay)) decaying.

N.xwaba (be furious)

N.xwapa (pass somebody in a haughty or contemptuous way).

S.keba T.kaba N.keba (close, shut a hole; N.also: catch with both hands, catch with the mouth)
S.kepa T.kapa (catch, receive with the hands).

S.leba T.leba N.leba (look towards face)

S.lepa T.lepa N.lepa (observe the stars, watch carefully).

N.reba (gather)

N.rêpa (call up an army; agree upon).

S.thaba T.thaba N.thaba (be glad, cheerful)

N.thapa (play).

S.thiba T.thiba N.thiba (prevent, stop, turn)

N.thipa (cover up with a lid).

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S.toba (go straight to, pick out amongst several, attack)
S.topa (walk straight towards).

S.cheba (dig, cf. the taking out of ground when digging)
S.chepa (dip up much).

N.tuba (search about)

S.tupa (go marauding).

S.tuba (oppress, torment, harrass)

S.tuba (strike with a fist, beat the ground with the tail as an ox)
T.(kxatla) tupa (beat with the hand).

S.f T.f N.f > S.ph T.ph N.ph

N.fafa (cut off obliquely, plane)

T.fapha (chop or cut lengthwise, hew).

N.fafa (lie)

N.fapha (cheat, defraud).

S.fofa T.fofa N.fofa (fly i.e. to beat with wings)

T.fopha (strike or smite with the hand).

S.khofa (shovel away, drive out)

N.kxopha (smear out a house with dung, wipe away with the finger).
S.khopha (scratch, take out).

S.h T.g N.x > S.kh T.kg N.kx

N.phêxa (roam about)

S.phêkha (run away, flee).

S.l T.l N.l > S.t T.t N.t

S.ala T.ala N.ala (spread out)

S.ata T.ata N.ata (multiply, increase).

S.lula T.dula N.dula (sit down)

N.duta (bend under a heavy load, bend the head).

S.fala T.fala N.fala (scrape, plane, take off)

S.fata T.fata N.fata (dig a hole, hollow out).

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N.x̌ula (plunder)

N.x̌uta (snatch away from somebody).

S.pala T.pala N.pala (be too much for one, be unmanageable)

N.pata (oppress, press hard, squeeze).

S.shola (move about while unable to sleep))common idea
S.shota (wander at random, emigrate, be nomadic))is that of
)moving about aimlessly.

N.thêla (glide, glide off)

S.thêta (roll down, send rolling down).

T.tila N.tila (avoid, get out of the way of anything likely to hurt, refuse)
T.tita (decline to express an opinion about a matter without hearing more fully about it, withhold an opinion).

S.r T.r N.r > S.th T.th N.th

T.fora N.fora (hoax, deceive, tell lies to)

S.fotha (steal).

N.hlora (chase away)

N.hlatha (walk about).

S.khora T.kgora (have plenty, be satisfied)

S.khotha (get strong, fat, well-looking).

N.kxôra (hollow out, chisel out)

N.kxôtha (cut off, chop off, plane).

T.kgwara N.kxwara (scrape with a knife, strike a match)

N.kxwatha (plane, cut away notches).

N.khura (hide)

N.khutha (stoop).

T.mara N.mara (stain, bespatter, misrepresent words)

T.matha (throw down any wet thing, throw at as with clay).

S.ngx̌ara N.ngwara (scratch, engrave)

S.ngx̌atha T.ngwatha N.ngwatha (break off, take a slice of).

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S.rara(tattoo a brave warrior's arm)

S.rathe T.rathe N.rathe (cut with an axe, chop).

N.sora (sip off, lap)

N.sothe (blow into water so as to form bubbles).

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APPENDIX E/(2)

Simple stems identical in meaning but differing in form, the one being primary the other secondary with both syllables commencing in a strengthened consonant:

S.fôra T.fôra N.fêra (plait e.g. hair, fibres, etc.)
N.phôtha " " " " "

S.hasa T.gasa N.xaŭa (sprinkle, spread, scatter)
T.kgatsha " " "

T.rora N.rora (remove, carry away from the fields, garner corn, transport)
S.thotha N.thotha " " " " " "

S.sasa (smear a skin in order to make it supple)
N.thaathaa (smear, smear a skin with fat in order to make it supple)

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APPENDIX E2(2)

Simple stems related in meaning but not synonymous, and differing in form, the one being primary the other secondary with both syllables commencing in a strengthened consonant.'

T.bola N.bola (speak, relate news)
S.pota (rave, be delirious).

S.bua T.bua (speak, talk,
S.puka (blow hard, moan, scold much, discuss).

S.luba T.duba N.duba (knead, make a mess of)
T.tupa (beat with the hand).

S.lula T.dula N.dula (sit down)
N.tuta (bend the head through fatigue).

N.fafa (cut off obliquely, plane)
N.phapha (split wood, chop).

N.fafa (lie)
N.phapha (cheat, defraud).

N.xara (cut open a swelling)
S.khatha T.kgatha N.kxatha (plough furrows, break in new ground)

S.hoba T.goba N.xoba (knock off leaves, beat off thorns, beat with astone)
S.khopa (shovel away).

S.hofa (whip water away, take out in a quantity)
N.kxopha (smear with dung, wipe away with the finger)
S.khopha (take out, scratch).

N.xora (get satisfied)
S.khotha (get strong, fat, well looking).

S.hôra T.gôra N.xôra (lick a pot clean, scrape a thing with the finger and then lick the finger)
N.kxôtha (plane, cut off).

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N.reba (jump along)

N.thepe (play).

S.reha T.rega N.roxa (kick)

S.thakha (kick out the legs as one on horseback).

S.rera T.rara N.rara (get entwined, spin as a spider, interweave, creep)

N.thetha (walk about in circles, wind).

N.rêla (get out of sight, idea: slide from)

S.thête (roll down, send rolling down).

S.sasa (smear a skin in order to make it supple)

N.thwathwa (grease a wheel, paint, rub).

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APPENDIX F

Simple stems, related in meaning and in form, obtained from appendices C1, C2, D1, D2, E1 and E2; only such sets as contain at least three stems have been formed:

S.ala T.ala N.ala (spread, scatter)

S.ata T.ata N.ata (increase, become numerous)

T.kala (hover with outstretched wings)

N.kala (smooth out)

no kata

Common idea that of spreading out.

S.luba T.duba N.duba (knead, make a mess)

no lupa (dupa)

S.tuba (oppress, torment, harrass)

T.tuba (strike with a fist)

T.(kxatla) tupa (beat with the hand).

S.lula T.dula N.dula (sit down, stay)

N.duta (bend under a heavy load, bend the head)

S.tula N.tula (stamp, crush)

N.tuta (bend the head through fatigue).

N.fafa (lie)

N.fapha (cheat, defraud)

no phafa

N.phapha (cheat, defraud).

N.fafa (cut off obliquely, plane)

T.fapha (chop, cut lengthwise, hew)

no phafa

N.phapha (split wood, chop).

N.faya (beat into two, crack)

no faka

N.phaya (pull open a door, turn the pages of a book, beat back somebody's hand)

N.phaka (divide).

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S.hoba T.goba (beat a tree with a stick to knock off leaves or thorns)
S.hopa T.gopa N.xopa (scrape, remove rubbish, scrape off)

no khoba, kgoba, kxoba

S.khopa (shovel away).

S.hofa (whip water away)

no hopha, gopha, xopha

S.khofa (shovel away, drive out)

N.kxopha (wipe away with the finger, smear with dung).

S.hôra T.gôra N.xôra (lick a pot clean, scrape with a finger and then lick the finger)

no hôtha, gôtha, xôtha

N.kxôra (hollow out, chisel out)

N.kxôtha (plane, cut off).

N.xora (be satisfied, have plenty)

no hotha, gotha, xotha

S.khora T.(k)gora (be satisfied, have plenty)

S.khotha (get strong, fat, well-looking).

S.laêa T.laya N.laya (correct, reprimand, punish, instruct)
N.laka (command, be in charge of)

N.ntaya (strike, knock down)

N.taka (be in charge of).

N.raba (jump along)

no rapa

S.thaba T.thaba N.thaba (be glad, cheerful)

N.thapa (play).

N.rêla (get out of sight, idea: slide from)

no rêta

N.thêla (glide, glide off)

S.thêta (roll down, send rolling down).

S.riba N.riba (move one's head up and down, bend, stoop down)

no S.ripa T.ripa N.ripa but cf. S.ripa N.ripa (cut off)

S.thiba T.thiba N.thiba (turn, stop, prevent)

N.thipa (cover up with a lid).

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S.sasa (smear a skin in order to make it supple)

no sɔtša, satsha, sathsa, šathsa or šathša

S.tšasa T.tshasa T.(Kgatla) tshaša N.thaša (smear, rub, rub fat in)

T.tshasa T.(Kgatla) tshaša (smear a skin in order to make it supple)

N.thasthsa (smear, smear a skin in order to make it supple)

N.thšathša (grease a wheel, paint, rub).

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APPENDIX G.

Simple stems related in meaning (a small proportion being synonymous) but differing in stem-vowel:

T.aka N.aka (tell lies, prevaricate), S.êka N.êka (betray, deceive),
S.ôka T.ôka N.ôka (betray, entice).

S.eka N.eka (kiss, caress, fondle)

S.ôka T.ôka N.ôka (nurse a sick person).

S.ala T.ala N.ala (spread out)

T.êla N.êla (flow as water).

S.ana N.ana (swear, to take an oath)

N.ênа (take an oath).

T.ara N.ara (wound, cut open a swelling or tumour)

N.êra (wound, beat).

T.atla N.atla (kiss, fondle)

S.otla T.otla N.otla (feed a little child, nourish, bring up).

S.baka N.baka (provoke, excite)

T.bêka (offend, affront, treat with contempt).

T.baka (praise, extol, applaud)

S.bôka T.bôka N.bôka (praise, sing the praises of).

S.bala T.bala N.bala (read, count)

T.bola N.bola (speak, tell news).

N.bara (become lean)

S.bôra " " ..

S.bata T.bata N.bata (strike, slap)

N.bôta (plaster, polish).

S.batla T.batla (seek, look for, search for)

T.bitla (search for hidden things).

S.biha (put straw etc. on water to prevent it from spilling out when carried)

T.boga " " " " " " " " " " .

S. biha T. biha N. biha (smother, hide, cover)
T. biha (cover).

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N.dipa (chase)

S.lupa T.dupa (scarify, put the mouth to a sick person and draw out the sickness).

N.ênə (put into water e.g.something to be ground)

S.inə T.inə N.inə (put into water, dip, plunge).

S.êpə T.êpə N.êpə (call together)

T.êpə (call to a tribal gathering).

N.fafə (cut off obliquely, plane)

S.fêfə N.fêfə (scratch, scrape, cut).

N.fafə (lie)

N.fêfə " .

N.fafə (be light in weight)

N.fêfə " " " " .

S.fofə T.fofə N.fofə (fly)

S.fofə (become weak, thin).

N.fakə (put in)

S.fekə T.fekə N.fekə (copulate of a dog or horse, idea: put in)

N.fikə (fasten, place, fix)

N.fôkə (fasten).

S.falə T.falə N.falə (scrape, plane, scrape out)

N.filə (take away, plunder)

S.fulə T.fulə N.fulə (graze, pluck off).

T.fapha (chop or cut lengthwise)

T.fopho (strike or smite with the hand).

S.fôhlə T.fêtlhə N.fêhlə (churn, rub between the hands)

S.fôhlə (enlarge a hole).

S.fêrə T.fêrə N.fêrə (put on the rafters of a roof, make a hedge)

S.fôrə T.fêrə N.fôrə (plait).

S.finə (make a knot)

T.hunə " " " .

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N.xɛba (paint a wall)

S.hoba (smear, besmear).

S.hafa (scatter, disperse)

S.hofa (whip water away).

S.hɛka T.gɛka N.xɛka (slip from one's memory, forget)

S.heka (forget, embarrass).

N.xɛra (wound the head, open a swelling)

N.xɛ̂ra (cut into pieces).

N.xɛa (prompt)

S.hoa T.gɛa N.xɔa (shout, call).

S.hola (mow, reap)

N.x̌ula (plunder).

S.hohla T.gɔtlha N.xohla (rub, sharpen)

N.xwɛ̂hla (scratch).

N.xɔ̂ra (rust, get mouldy)

N.xwɛra " " "

S.hɔ̂tla N.xɔ̂tla (cry loudly, roar)

T.gwɛ̂tla (bleat as a goat, brawl as a crying child).

N.xwɛla (copulate of sheep or goats)

S.hɔ̌ɛ̂la T.gwɛ̂la N.xwɛ̂la (cover, copulate, serve).

S.hlɛha T.tlhɛga N.hlɛxa (appear, happen)

T.tlhɛga N.hlɔxa (sprout as a tree, burst into leaf, grow).

S.hlɛka N.hlɛka (be bright, visible, put on clean clothes)

S.hlɛ̂ka (take away, clean, put in good order).

S.hlɔ̌ɔ̂ka N.hlwɔ̂ka (become clean, pure).

N.hlɛka (possess nothing, trudge along)

S.hlɔ̂ka T.tlhɔ̂ka N.hlɔ̂ka (be in need of, lack something).

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N.hlothe (take to pieces e.g. the material of a house)

S.hlotheN.hlothe (pluck off feathers, pluck out)

N.hlwathe (pluck, pull out).

T.tlhotlhe (rub a skin with a stone in braying)

N.hlwehle (wipe out with a cloth).

S.hlôle T.tlhôla N.hlôla (look at, spy, visit)

S.hlôêla (spy out, go and see, visit).

S.kobe T.boka N.kobe (close, stop a hole)

T.kiba (plug, stop a hole).

T.koka (be drawn two ways)

S.kôka N.kôka (spread of a fire)

N.kôka (spread out to all sides).

S.kota (walk, move)

N.kita (go).

N.kôa (prompt)

T.kua N.kua (shout out, proclaim with a loud voice).

S.kôba N.kôba (bow, incline, hang down)

S.kôba N.kôba (bend)

T.kuba (bend in as the crown of a soft felt hat, be bow-legged).

N.kotla (beat with the fist)

T.kitla N.kitla (strike with the fist or a stick)

N.kutla (push, nudge against).

T.kgeba (pierce as a branch, thrust at as in killing with a spade)

T.kgêba (chop out the backbone of an animal, cut up growing grass with a spade),

N.kgôba (chisel, notch).

N.kxoma (bite off)

N.kxêma (bite through, bite off).

N.kxona (tie together)

S.khina N.khina (kneehalter)

N.khuna (tie).

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T.kgapha N.kxapha (push out with the hand as grain from a vessel, smear a floor)
N.kxopha (smear a floor, wipe away with a finger).

S.khatha T.kgathe N.kxatha (break in new ground, crush)

S.khotha (prepare a threshing floor by removing the grass thereof).

S.khatla N.kxatla (strike mercilessly, hammer)

S.khitla N.kxitla (strike the ground with a pick, job, knock)

T.kgôtla N.kxôtla (push a thing off with a stick, poke with the finger, pound in a mortar)
T.khutla N.khutla (nudge with the elbow, knock against with the foot)
N.kxwatla (knock with the finger or with the fist).

N.kxêhla (run to and fro)

S.kxǒehla (run).

S.khêra N.kxêra (run about madly)

S.khǒera N.kxwara (climb a long way up the mountain, walk about aimlessly).

T.kgêra (plough hard dry land, plough the surface only)

N.kxêra (bite into pieces, gnaw)

N.kxôra (chisel out, hollow out)

T.kgwara N.kxwara (scrape with a knife).

S.khêtla (go to a place of safety of cattle)

S.khutla (go away).

N.kxôhla (be loose, shake)

S.khǒêhla T.kgwêtlha N.kxwêhla (be loose, shake).

S.khôna T.kgôna N.kxôna (be able, be becoming)

N.kxwana (be able, be becoming).

N.khuša (shake a child up and down in the arms)

N.khiša " " " " " " " " " .

N.khutha (bend, stoop)

S.khǒatha T.kgwatha (bend down, lie down).

S.kôna N.kôna (give sparingly, begrudge)

N.kuna (withhold, keep back, deprive of).

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N.kota (shear)

S.kuta T.kuta N.kuta (shear)

N.kwita (shear).

S.k̂otla (return a reproach against one)

N.k̂otla (deride, jeer, mock)

S.kutla (speak badly of, allude to).

S.lala T.lala N.lala (lie down)

S.lula T.dula N.dula (sit down).

S.lata T.lata N.lata (fetch, follow)

S.lata T.lata N.lata (expect, wait for).

N.l̂eba (worry)

T.duba (act so as to cause strife).

N.l̂exa (bind)

S.loha T.loga N.loxa (weave, plait).

S. lema T.lema N.lema (plough)

S.loma T.loma N.loma (bite).

T.l̂eta (grind very fine)

T.lota (grind, pound to powder).

N.mama (suck, stick to of a patch)

S.moma T.moma N.moma (suck, shut the mouth)

N.muma (close the mouth, take with the teeth, etc.)

N.mana (wind round)

S.mena T.mena (fold up, roll up)

N.m̂ena (fold, bend).

N.meta (touch here and there, dot)

N.m̂ota (polish with the hand).

S.mina T.mina N.mina (b̂elow the nose in S. and N. also: drain a liquid)

T.muna (trickle through as water through a strainer).

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N.ŋapa (eat by sticking the finger or a piece of wood into the food)
N.ŋôpa (pick up).

N.ŋata (form into a ball)

N.ŋôta (clinch, cement, stick to).

T.ŋêga (be at rest)

T.ŋoga (withhold).

N.ŋêka (do something slowly)

N.ŋôka (go very slowly).

N.ŋgoma (fasten)

S.ŋgôma (clasp, lock, buckle).

S.ŋgopa T.ŋgope N.ŋgopa (scratch, take hold with the nails)
N.ŋgôpa (scratch)

S.ŋgŏapa N.ŋgwapa (scratch).

T.ŋgatha N.ŋgatha(pilfer, take bits of food out of the dish)
N.ŋgôtha (break off small bits)

S.ŋgŏatha T.ŋgwatha N.ŋgwatha (pilfer, break small bits off).

S.ŋgêta (cut clean, cut a bit of string)

T.ŋgôta (break or snap off a branch, a stick).

S.ŋgôla N.ŋgôla (engrave, write)

N.ŋgwela (write, scratch).

N.pata (press together, cramp, squeeze)

N.pêta " " ")

N.pôta (press between the hands).

S.pata N.pata (hide, conceal)

S.pita N.pita (hide).

S.patla (boil)

S.potla (continue to be bad, be purulent)

N.pôtla (belch)

N.potla (give plenty of milk: cf. the noise made as well as the foam produced when milking into a pail containing much milk).
N.putla (beat up froth).

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N.pexa (put sticks or straw on the water to prevent the water from spilling out)
N.puxa " " " " " " " " " " .

N.pêtla (cut, turn on the lathe)

S.putla (cut in two).

T.pheka (place a piece of wood horizontally on two others, pieces).
T.phekə N.phekə (hold a goat's leg under one's knee when milking it; place across)

N.phekxa (cut a slit or flap in the ear)

S.phekha (split in two)

S.phukha (break, smash).

N.phatha (press in, press close, fasten)

S.phetha (plait, twist)

N.phôtha (twist, twist together, plait the hair)

S.phutha T.phutha N.phutha (fold, gather).

S.phetha (slap)

T.photha (beat grain out of the ear, thresh).

N.pipa (cover up)

N.pupa " " .

S.pôka (bellow, scold, roar)

S.puka (blow hard, moan).

T.rəmə (demoralise)

T.rômə N.rômə (demoralise, spoil a child).

N.rapa (call up, call for service, invite)

N.rêpa (call up, call for service, discuss) cf. also: S.rêpa (rush in great numbers).

S.rərə T.rərə N.rərə (get entwined, spin)

S.rêrə T.rêrə N.rêrə (plot against, make plans about).

N.rətha (fall off of fruit from a tree)

S.rôtha T.rôtha N.rôtha (drop, drip).

S.rətha T.rətha N.rətha (cut with an axe, chop, split)

S.rətha (strike, beat)

S.rutha T.rutha (smite, hit with a stone or a stick).

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S.retla (cut small pieces of meat)

N.rôtla (smash)

S.rutla T.rutla N.rutla (break down, pull down, unthatch).

N.rúba (bend, stoop)

S.rôba T.rôba N.rôba (break; N.also: bend).

N.rina (kill lice with one's nails, delouse)

N.rona " " " " "

S.rune T.runa N.runa " " " " " .

N.šaba (trade, exchange)

S.shoba (take much of something, buy many things)

N.šuba (rake together, take greedily).

N.seba (whisper, speak evil of)

S.sêba T.sêba N.sêba (whisper, speak evil of).

S.shoba (eat bread with meat or vegetables)

S.shoba N.šeba " " " " " "

N.šêba " " " " " "

S.shiba " " " " " " .

(1) S.sema T.sama N.sama (pillow, put a thing as a pillow, lean)

N.sema (lean against).

N.sêhla (scrape with the foot)

S.sêhla T.sêtlha N.sêhla (cut with a saw, or a knife)

N.šihla (rumble of the stomach)

N.sôhla (rub corn out of the ear)

N.šôhla (rustle, go against the wind)

T.šutlha (rub or brush something off a person, rub anything, press anything in a morter, push or make way through bushes).

N.šwahla (go against the wind)

T.šwatlha (push a thing in and shake it about when in).

(2) S.šma T.sama (invent, begin, start a new thing)

S.shôma (eat the first fruit of the year).

S.sêna T.šêna N.sêna (show the teeth)

T.(kwatla) sina N.šina " " "

N.swêna " " " .

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T.sêpa (be weary of limbs after much walking)

T.sipa (be stiff and sore of tired limbs).

N.seta (walk about at night)

S.shota (wander at random, be nomadic).

S.sitha (roll up)

S.sôtha (entwine, wind, twist, wring).

N.taba (jump, go bogging from one house to another)

N.tuba (seek all over).

N.taba (smash)

N.têba (smash, sharpen a grindstone)

S.tiba T.tiba N.tiba (strike the ground with the foot, thump with a fist)

S.tuba (oppress)

T.tuba (strike with the fist).

S.taba (become grey)

N.tiba (become pale).

N.taka (throw e.g. a spear, shoot, sling)

N.tika (carry to a great distance of a shot).

N.tama (draw lots)

N.tema " "

S.tana (get sad, tired)

S.tena T.tena N.tena (tire, disgust).

T.tata (forbid, prohibit)

T.tita (withhold an opinion, decline to express an opinion about a matter without hearing more fully about it).

N.tata (wind, twist, roll)

N.têta (enclose, encompass, go round).

S.tata (extend)

S.tota T.tota (increase, become great, strong)

N.tôta (get stiff of the male organ).

T.taya (beat)
N.taya "

N.tiya " ,

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S.tê̂la N.tê̂la (give up, renounce, abandon)

T.tila N.tila (avoid, get out of the way of anything likely to do harm).

S.tepa N.tepa (scoop up much water or corn)

N.tipa (scoop up with something flat)

N.tô̂pa (pick up).

N.thana (clip, lop, prune)

N.thê̂na (clip, lop, prune, castrate).

N.thatha (break into pieces)

N.thatha (root out)

N.thê̂tha (chop off, root out).

S.thê̂ba N.thê̂ba (dig, butt, push)

N.thoba (stab with the horns)

S.thuba T.thuba N.thuba (dash to pieces, smash).

N.thina (crack, break)

N.thona (crack vermin).

N.thô̂kxa (break off, smash)

S.thukha (break).

S.thô̂la (pick up, find, adopt, take as a servant)

T.thwela N.thwala (find a thing and take it not knowing its owners, hire)

N.thwê̂la (find).

N.thsakxa (throw away, lose)

N.thsokxa (suffer a loss).

N.thsola (twist pieces of sinews into threads)

S.tsoela " " " " " "

S.tila (strike the ground with the foot as a sign of joy)

S.tula N.tula (stamp, crush, break).

S.tlaka (laugh at, scorn, shout)

S.tlô̂ka (shout for joy, laugh, make a noise).

S.tlama T.tlama N.tlama (bind, tie)

N.tlê̂ma (bind, tie)

N.tlima (strangle, choke).

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N.tlɛtlɛ (be week minded)

N.tlɔtlɔ (be mad, crazy).

N.tôtɛ (wither of a plant, get weak of a calf)

N.tutɛ (bend the head through fatigue).

N.tɛɛtlɛ (groan, make a snarling or buzzing noise)

N.tɛ̀utlɛ (blow, moan of the wind).

T.tɛ̌itlɛ (despise)

T.tɛ̌utlɛ (despise, speak derisively against).

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APPENDIX H.

Simple stems related in meaning, the initial consonant of the one being identical in form with the consonant of the second syllable of the other. A process of consonant transposition is perhaps involved here:

S.bata T.bata N.bata (strike, chop, slap)
N.taba (smash).

N.bêtha (beat)
N.thêba (knock, butt).

T.boka N.boka (fan off, fend off)
T.koba N.koba (drive away with contempt).

S.fehla (scandalise, displease, offend)
N.hlafa (become insipid, lose the taste).

N.fela (compensate, atone)
S.lefa T.lefa N.lefa (pay).

N.fokxa (dig with a crowbar)
S.khofa (shovel away).

S.hlala T.tlhala N.hlala (divorce)
S.lahla T.latlha N.lahla (throw away).

N.kxatha (gallop)
S.thakha (kick out the legs like one on horseback).

N.kxôra (chisel out, hollow out)
N.rôkxa (break off, smash).

N.kxôtha (cut off, plane)
N.thôkxa (break off, smash, break out).

T.mara N.mara (stain, bespatter, misrepresent words or actions)
N.rama (demoralise).

N.matla (go slowly, be unable to get along)
S.tlama T.tlama N.tlama (bind, tie).

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N.mô̂ta (smoothen, polish with the hand)

N.tô̂ma (touch here and there).

N.nata (roll up, forminto a ball; also: beat repeatedly)

N.tana (fasten, tie, also: beat down with the fist).

T.natha N.natha (pilfer food, break off a bit with a finger)
N.thana (clip, lop, prune).

N.nô̂pa (dry up of water)

S.pô̂na N.pô̂na (dry, fade, shrink).

T.patsa N.patsa (become very tired, become lazy)

N.tsopa (be tired, hungry).

N.puta (seek something lost)

S.tupa (go marauding).

N.rô̂xa (get rusty)

N.xô̂ra (get rusty, mouldy).

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