**Setswana data compiled so far**

Data entry instructions are in this color. The stuff in blue should not be entered into the database – I will enter it separately.

In your Setswana complementizer paper, I see C-agreement in (13a) and I would like a full paradigm, if you would be so kind.

**Gore**

1. Néó ó-bólél-éts-e Thṹto gore á-rék-é kólói..

c1a.Neo SM.c1 tell-TAM-fv c1a.Thuto that SM.c1-buy-SBJV c9.car

Neo told Thuto to buy a car.

K: For these first 11 examples, is the ‘SM’ independent of the verb, i.e, is it rather more like a pronoun doubling the subject or is it really an SM?

R: It is a subject marker. However, in Setswana due to the influence of the first persons who introduced writing of the language, the verb is written disjunctively; otherwise it is the same exact phenomenon that we find in Ikalanga. So, when we learn to write in school for the first time, this is how we do it. So basically Setswana is a pro-drop language just like Ikalanga. We do not use full pronouns except for purposes of emphasis. Below is I list the Setswana pronoun paradigm below:

|  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- |
| Person | Pronoun | Agreement marker |
| 1st P. SG | nna | kè |
| 1st P. PL | rona | rè |
| 2nd P. SG | wena | ò |
| 2nd P. PL | lona | lè |
| 3rdP.SG | ene | ó |
| 3rd P. PL | bone | bá |

K: For our purposes, and for Afranaph purposes, we will treat the SM as it is glossed in other languages. I have made the changes throughout the current data set.

1. Néó ó -útlw-íl-é gore Thṹto ó-rék-íl-é kólói.

c1a.Neo SM.c1-hear-PST-fv that c1a.Thuto SM.c1-buy-PST-SBJV c9.car

Neo heard that Thuto bought a car.

COMMENT: The SM following the subject of the embedded clause could never refer to anyone else other than the subject of that embedded clause. And, the SM could never be omitted- the overt subject can be omitted though.

1. Néó ó -bú- íl- é gore Thṹto ó-rék-íl-é

c1a.Neo SM.c1-talk-PST-fv that c1a.Thuto SM.c1-buy-PST-SBJV

kólói é-ntshá.

9.car c9-new

Neo said that Thuto had bought a new car.

1. Néó ó -dum-éts-é gore Thṹto ó-rék-íl-é

1a.Neo SM.c1-agree-TAM-fv that 1a.Thuto SM.c1-buy-PST-SBJV

kólói é-ntshá.

9.car c9-new

Neo agreed that Thuto had bought a new car.

1. Néó ó -i-pód-íts-é gore a Thṹto ó

c1a.Neo cSM.c1-RFM-ask-TAM-fv that whether/if c1a.Thuto SM.c1(T)

rék-íl-é kólói é-ntshá.

buy-PST-SBJV c9.car c9-new

‘ Neo wondered if Thuto had bought a new car’.

1. Néó ó -i-pólél -éts-é gore Thṹto ó - rék-íl-é kólói

c1a.N SM.c1-RFM-tell-TAM-fv that c1a.Thuto SM.c1-buy-PST-SBJV c9.car

é-ntshá.

c9-new

Neo told herself that Nchidzi had bought a new car.

1. Néó ó -lató-ts-é gore Néó ó ó - rék-íl-é

c1a.Neo SM.c1-refute-TAM-fv that c1a.Thuto SM.c1-buy-PST-SBJV

kólói é-ntshá.

c9.car c9-new

‘Neo denied that Thuto had bought a new car.’

8. Ke-lémógá gore baná bá-rát-á go bérék-a.

SM.c1.1st-realize-øPRS that c2.children SM.c2-like-fv SM.c15 work-fv

I realize that the children like to work.

9. Néó ó -ítsé gore Thṹto ó - rék-íl-é kólói.

c1a.Neo SM.c1-know-øPRS that c1a.Thuto SM.c1-buy-PST-SBJV c9.car

Neo knows that Thuto bought a car.

10. Ke-ákány-á gore Thṹto ó-tlá y-a masímo .

SM.c1.1st-think-øPRS-fv that c1a.Thuto SM.c1-FUT go-fv farm

I think that Thuto will go to the farm.

11. Ke-ítsé gore o-batl-a eńg.

SM.c1.1st-know that SM.c1-want-fv what

I know what you want.

12a. Néó a-re Thṹto ó - rék-íl-é kólói.

c1a.Neo SM.c1-say c1a.T SM.c1-buy-PST-SBJV c9.car

‘ Neo says that Thuto bought a car.’

12b. \* Néó a-re gore Thṹto ó - rék-íl-é kólói.

c1a.Neo SM.c1-say that c1a.T SM.c1-buy-PST-SBJV c9.car

‘ Neo says that Thuto bought a car.’

COMMENT: *gore* not allowed in this sentence. Data entry: Make sure that (12’) is cross-referenced (c-r, henceforth) with (12a) and with (12b).

12’a) Thṹtó ó-ré-íl-é Néó a-re á-tl-é Maún

c1a.Thuto SM.c1-tell-PST-fv c1a.N SM.c1-that SM.c1-come-fv Maun

‘Thuto told Neo to come to Maun’. (lit. Thuto told Neo that she should come to Maun)

COMMENT: In an embedded clause, the verb SM marker changes from *a*- to –*o*: verb is marked for tense – *il*-. In a regular indicative sentence, third person singular SM is *o*. However, if you have consecutive constructions or dependent structures, the *o* changes to *a*-.

1. Thṹtó ó -ts-ér-é mógala a-ó-tshóph-á,

C1a.Thuto SM.c1-take-PST-fv cl3.rope SM.c1-3.OM-roll.up-fv

a-ó-látlh-él-a kó godímo gá ńtlo

SM.c1-3.OM-throw-PST-fv Prep. c17.On.top.of SM.c17 c9.house

‘Neo took a rope, rolled it up and threw it on top of the house.’

COMMENT: This is a consecutive construction. In an embedded clause, the verb SM marker changes from *a*- to –*o*: verb is marked for tense – *il*-. In a regular indicative sentence, third person singular SM is *o*. However, if you have consecutive constructions or dependent structures, the *o* changes to *a*-

Conditional

1. Fá Néó á-ka-bó-a, ke-tla-mó-ómány-a.

If 1a.Neo SM.c1-IRR-return-fv SM.c2.1st-FUT-OM.c1-reprimand-fv

‘If Neo (should) come back, I will reprimand her’.

COMMENT: The SM.c1 *o* changes to *á-* in a conditional clause. Data enter: Make sure that 12a, 12c and 12b are c-r with each other.

R: So, my hypothesis is that *a*- is an SM that is used when there is a relation of dependency between clauses; it is used in the clause which is dependent.

K: This cannot be the whole story because (1) contrasts with (2) and (3-12) all appear with subordinate *o-*. What else do you think is going on? Notice that (34d) uses *a*- after negation vs. (34c). I recall from earlier discussions that you sometimes say ‘dependent clause’ when the complement is not indicative. Is the *a-* used when the clause is subjunctive?

The he *á* also surfaces in place of *ó* in negative constructions:

Affirmative: 12’d) Néó ó -rób-ets-e.

c1a.N SM.c1-sleep-fv

‘Neo is sleeping’

12’e) Néó ga-á-á-robál-a

c1a.N NEG-SM.c1-NEG-sleep-fv

‘Neo is not sleeping’

COMMENT: The he *á* also surfaces in place of *ó* in negative constructions

K: That seems to capture a lot of cases (14a-i), but not (13a-c) below. Data entry: make sure that the sentences (14a-i) and (13a-c) are c-r.

R: But notice though that the embedded clauses in (13a-c) are independent clauses. And yes, your subjunctive theory holds water too (13d,e,f) because we can say:

Thútó á-árék-é kólói.

c1a.T SM.c1-buy-SBJV c9.car

‘Thuto should buy a car’.

13a. Néó ó-r-íl-e Thútó ó - rék-íl-é kólói.

c1a.N SM.c1-say-PST-fv c1a.Thuto SM.c1-buy-PST-SBJV c9.car

‘ Neo said that Thuto bought a car.’

13b. Gó-túl-w-e Thútó ó - rék-íl-é kólói.

SM.c15-say-PASS-fv 1a.Thuto SM.c1-buy-PST-SBJV c9.car

It was said that Thuto had bought a car.

13c. G-á-t-w-e Thútó ó - rék-íl-é kólói.

SM.c15-PRS-say-PASS-fv 1a.Thuto SM.c1-buy-PST-SBJV c9.car

It is said that Thuto bought a car.

13d. Gó-tlá-t-w-e Thútó á-rék-é kólói.

SM.c15-FUT-say-PASS-fv 1a.Thuto SM.c1-buy-fv c9.car

It will be said that Thuto should buy a car.

13e. Néó ó -bólél-étsw-e gótwé á-rék-é kólói.

c1a.Neo SM.c1-tell-PASS-fv that.PASS SM.c1-buy-SBJV c9.car

‘Neo was told that she should buy a car’ (it was said for her to buy a car)-

COMMENT: The embedded clause is also in passive form because of the passivized complementiser.

13f. Néó ó -bólél-étsw-e gore á-rék-é kólói.

c1a.Neo SM.c1-tell-PASS-fv that SM.c1-buy-SBJV c9.car

‘Neo was told that she should buy a car’ (the embedded clause is in active form here)

Is it also the case in Setswana that?

R: Yes, see the example below:

13g. Néó a-re Thútó ó-mo-thús-íts-e

1a.Neo SM.c1-say c1a.Thuto SM.c1-OM.c1-help-PST-SBJV

“Neo says Thato helped her/him’.

COMMENT: When *-re* is a matrix verb that it takes no complementizer The OM could refer to Neo or to someone else.

13h. \* Néó a-re gore Thútó ó-mo-thús-íts-e

1a.Neo SM.c1-say that c1a.Thuto SM.c1-OM.c1-help-PST-SBJV

“Neo says Thato helped her/him’.

K: While the AGR-*re/go-re* contrast is suggestively familiar, there are also some opportunities for exploration in Setswana that are not quite matched in Ikalanga and could be interesting. Setswana has conjoint/disjoint and the *fa* complementizer adds an interesting wrinkle - at some point we will want to look more closely at what is meant by 'participial form'.

14a. Néó ó-ré-íl-é Thútó a-re á-rék-é kólói

N SM.c1-tell-PST-fv Thuto SM.c1-that SM.c1-buy-SBJV c9.car

Neo told Thuto that he should buy a car.

14b. Bó Néó bá-ré-íl-e Thútó ba-re á-rék-é kólói

N&others SM.c2-tell-PST-fv Thuto SMc2-that SM.c1-buy-SBJV c9.car

Neo and others told Thuto that he should buy a car.

14c. (Nná) ke-ré-íl-é Thútó ka-re á-rék-é kólói.

I SM.c1.1st-tell-PST-fv Thuto SM.c1.1st-that SM.c1-buy-SBJV c9.car

I told Thuto that he should buy a car.

14d. (Nná) ke-ré-íl-é Thútó ké-re á-rék-é kólói.

I SM.c1.1st-tell-PST-fv Thuto SM.c1.1st-that SM.c1-buy-SBJV c9.car

I told Thuto that he should buy a car.

14e. \*( Nná) ke-ré-íl-é Thútó -re á-rék-é kólói.

I SM.c1.1st-tell-PST-fv Thuto that SM.c1-buy-SBJV c9.car

I told Thuto that he should buy a car.

14f. \*( Nná) ke-ré-íl-é Thútó á-rék-é kólói.

I SM.c1.1st-tell-PST-fv Thuto SM.c1-buy-SBJV c9.car

I told Thuto that he should buy a car.

14g. (Wená) o-ré-íl-é Thútó wa-re á-rék-é kólói.

You SM.c1.2nd-tell-PST-fv Thuto SM.c1.2nd-that SM.c1-buy-SBJV c9.car

You told Thuto that he should buy a car.

14h. Wená ga-ó-a-ráy-á Thútó wa-re á-rék-é kólói.

You NEG-SM.c1.2nd-DSJ-tell-fv Thuto SM.c1.2nd-that SM.c1-buy-SBJV c9.car

You did not tell Thuto that he should buy a car

14i. Néó ó-r-íl-e Thútó a-re á-rék-é kólói.

Neo SM.c1-say-PST-fv Thuto 1a.say SM.c1-buy-SBJV c9.car

Neo said that Thuto said that she should buy a car.

15a Néó ó-tlá ráy-á Thútó a-re á-rék-é kólói.

Neo SM.c1-FUT tell-fv Thuto SM.c1-that SM.c1-buy-SBJV c9.car

Neo will tell Thuto that he should buy a car.

15b. Néó ga-á-kaké a-ráy-á Thútó a-re rék-á kólói.

Neo NEG.-SM.c1-NOT SM.c1-tell-fv Thuto SM.c1-that buy-fv c9.car

Neo cannot say to Thuto “Buy a car”.

17. Néó ó-bú-íl-é a-re Thútó ó-rék-íl-é kólói.

Neo SM.c1-talk-PST-fv SM.c1-that Thuto SM.c1-buy-PST-SBJV c9.car

Neo said it that Thuto had bought a car.

18. Néó ó -dúmet-se a-re Thútó ó-rék-íl-é kólói.

Neo SM.c1-agree-PST-fv SM.c1-that Thuto SM.c1-buy-PST-SBJV c9.car

Neo agreed that Thuto has bought a car.

19. Néó ó -láto-ts-e a-re Thútó ga-á-a-rék-á kólói.

Neo SM.c1-refute-PST-fv SM.c1-that Thuto NEG-SM.c1-DSJ-buy-fv c9.car

Neo refuted that Thuto (has) bought a car.

20. Néó a-re Thútó ó-tsámá-il-e

Neo SM.c1-say/that Thuto SM.c1-leave-PST-fv

Neo says that Thuto ( has) left.

21. Néó a-re Thútó ó -gań-ne

Neo SM.c1-that Thuto SM.c1-refuse-PST

Neo says Thuto has refused.

22a. Gore Thútó ó -gań-ne ga-gó hákgámá-tse.

That Thuto SM.c1-refuse-PST NEG-COP surprise-PRF

That Thuto has refused is not surprising.

22b. Gore Thútó á-bo-á-let-íl-é lóbaka

That Thuto SM.c1-??-SM.c1-wait-PST-fv period

lé lé kaná ga-gó-a-síáma

SM-c11 COP much NEG-??-SC.c1-fine

That Thuto had to wait so long is not good.

Comment: R: The *bo* gives me a headache in the analysis of this language. I think it is either some kind of auxiliary or a deficient verb.

Passive Structures

23a. Thútó ó-bólélé-tsw-e gore á-rék-é kólói.

Thuto SM.c1-tell-PASS-fv that SM.c1-buy-SBJV c9.car

‘Thuto was told that he should buy a car.’ (here, most likely the speaker was there when Thuto was told to buy a car)

23b. Thútó ó-té-ílw-e gótwe á-rék-é kólói.

Thuto SM.c1-tell-PASS-fv that.PASS SM.c1-buy-SBJV c9.car

‘Thuto was told that he should buy a car.’

Comment: Here, the speaker is distancing himself/herself from the whole situation – he/she was not there when Thuto was told this. It was said to her by someone other than the speaker that she should buy a car. Data entry: C-r (23a), (23b) and (23c).

23c. Thútó ó-téé-tsw-e gótwe á-rék-é kólói.

Thuto SM.c1-tell-PASS-fv that.PASS SM.c1-buy-SBJV c9.car

‘Thuto was told that he should buy a car.’

Comment: Here, the speaker is distancing himself/herself from the whole situation – he/she was not there when Thuto was told this: 23b and 23c are interchangeable.

Comment: K: What is the difference between –*etsw-* and *–ilw-* here?

R: They are allomorphs – probably phonologically conditioned – otherwise no difference in meaning.

24a. Thútó ó-bólélé-tsw-e gore Néó ó-rék-íl-é kólói.

Thuto SM.c1-tell-PASS-fv that 1a.Neo SM.c1-buy-PST-ASP? c9.car

‘Thuto was told that Neo bought a car’.

Comment: R: I doubt that we want to gloss –*e* in ‘*rekile*’ in (24a) as SBJV cos we can have :

24a’) Neo o rekile koloi’

Neo bought a car.

As a simple independent clause whose verb is in the past – if anything, the –*e* in this verb indicates completion and so it is some type of aspect marker. Data entry: C-r (24a-24a’).

24b. Thútó ó-té ílw-é gótwe Néó ó-rék-íl-é kólói.

Thuto SM.c1-tell-PASS-fv that.PASS 1a.N SM.c1-buy-PST-SBJV c9.car

‘Thuto was told that Neo bought a car’.

Comment: Speaker distancing himself/herself.

K: So would it be correct to say with respect to complementizer behavior, there is no difference between cases when the complement is subjunctive and cases where it is indicative?

24c. Thútó ó-téé-tsw-e gótwe Néó ó-rék-íl-é kólói.

Thuto SM.c1-tell-PASS-fv that.PASS 1a.Neo SM.c1-buy-PST-SBJV c9.car

‘Thuto was told that Neo bought a car’.

Comment: Speaker distancing himself/herself.

Comment: Again, please explain –*etsw-/-ilw-* contrast.

R: No difference – just that some verbs take –etsw- while other take –ilw-. See table below for example – don’t know anyone who has studied the phonological rules involved in the alternations. Data entry: See if this chart can fit in comment box. If not, leave it out, but let me know.

|  |  |  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
| **Verb** | **Passive** | **Meaning** | **Verb** | **Passive** | **Meaning** |
| búa | búílwe | talk | duméla | dúmetswe | agreed |
| báya | béílwe | put | phúnya | phúńtswe | pierced |
| réka | rékílwe | bought | thúńtsha | thúńtshítswe | shot |
| ráya | téílwe | told | bóléléla | bólélétswe | told |
| róma | rómílwe | sent | apaya | apeetswe | Cooked for |
| apáya | apéílwe | cooked | latóla | latótswe | denied |
| róka | rókílwe | sewn | dumelela | dumelelwa | allowed |

25a. Gó-bú-íl-w-e gore Néó ó-rék-íl-é kólói. SM.15-say-PST-PASS-fv that 1a.N SM.c1-buy-PST-SBJV c9.car

‘ It was said that Neo had bought a car.’

25b. Gó-bú-íl-w-e gótwe Néó ó-rék-íl-é kólói.

SM.15-say-PST-PASS-fv that-PASS 1a.Neo SM.c1-buy-PST-SBJV c9.car

‘ It was said that Neo had bought a car.’

Comment: Speaker distancing himself/herself. Data entry: C-r (25a,b).

26. Gó-lató-tsw-e gore Néó ó-rék-íl-é kólói.

SM.15-refute-PASS-fv that c1a.Neo SM.c1-buy-PST-SBJV c9.car

‘It was refuted that Neo had bought a car.’

Comment: The –*ilw*- version not available for this verb.

27. Gó-dumé-tsw-e gore Néó ó-rék-íl-é kólói.

SM.15-agree-PASS-fv that c1a.Neo SM.c1-buy-PST-SBJV c9.car

‘It was agreed that Neo had bought a car.’

Comment: The –*ilw*- version not available for this verb.

Setswana queries, Feb 6, 2019

KS: Is it an accident that all the passive concord complementizers are paired with verbs that take the –*tsw* allomorph of verbal passive and *gotwe*. Does any verb that allows for a *gotwe* C take –*iw, -ew, -ngw-* in its passive form. I think 24b is such an example, but I wonder if there are more. At stake is whether the form of the C is concord with PASS or a more specific concord with –*etsw*.

R: No, it is not an accident- (e)tsw- is also a passive verbal extension- of the verb. Other than the –*ilw*- (23b), I cannot think of any other examples that involve the other allomorphs.

The following are some passive allomorphs:

Active Translation Passive

bólélél-a tell bólélé-tsw-e

tell-PASS-fv

rómélél-a send rómélé-tsw-e

gákólól-a remind gákóló-tsw-e

tlhakány-a mix tlhakan-ngw-a

tlhalogany-a understand tlhalogan-ngw-a

-re say -twe (specific to say since no other verb takes this)

-pay-a cook ap-ew-a

j-á eat j-éw-a

rát-a love rát-íw-a

tlhoph-a elect/select tlhoph-iw-a

15th August, 2017

K: Is the *gotwe* form possible when the matrix verb is not passivized?

R: Yes, as shown in the examples below:

28a. Néó ó-a-gánéts-a gótwe Thútó ó-a-lwál-a.

Neo SM.c1-DSJ-refute-fv that-PASS Thuto SM.c1-DSJ-sick

‘Neo refutes that Thuto is ill/unwell’. ( She refutes when it is said that Thuto is sick’)

Comment: The *gotwe* form possible here when the matrix verb is not passivized.

28b. Néó ó-a-gánéd-íts -e gótwe Thútó ó-a-lwál-a.

Neo SM.c1-refute-PST-fv that-PASS Thuto SM.c1-DSJ-sick

‘Neo refuted that Thuto is ill/unwell’. ( She refuted when it was said that Thuto is sick’)

Comment: The *gotwe* form possible here when the matrix verb is not passivized.

28c. Néó ó-a-gánéd-íts -e gore Thútó ó-a-lwál-a.

Neo SM.c1-refute-PST-fv that Thuto SM.c1-DSJ-sick

‘Neo refuted that Thuto is ill/unwell’.

28d. Néó ó--amógé-ts-é molaetsa gótwe Thútó ó-a -tsamay-a.

Neo SM.c1-receive-PST-fv 3.message that Thuto SM.c1-DSJ-leave-fv

‘Neo received a message that Thuto was leaving’. (In the message that she received, it was said that Thuto is leaving- embedded clause is passivized).

Comment: The *gotwe* form possible here when the matrix verb is not passivized.

28d’ Néó ó--amógé-ts-é molaetsa gore Thútó ó-a -tsamay-a.

Neo SM.c1-receive-PST-fv 3.message that Thuto SM.c1-DSJ-leave-fv

‘Neo received a message that Thuto was leaving’. (Embedded clause not passivized)

Comment: The complementizer in (28d) does not have to be passivized. Data entry: C-r (28d) and (28d’)

29a. Ke-bólélé-tsw-e gótwe Thútó ó-rék-íl-é kólói.

SM.c1-1st-tell-PASS-fv that-PASS Thuto SM.c1-buy-PST-fv 9.car

‘I was told that Thuto bought a car.’

29b. Ke-bólélé-tsw-e gore Thútó ó-rék-íl-é kólói.

SM.c1.1st-tell-PASS-fv that Thuto SM.c1-buy-PST-fv 9.car

‘I was told that Thuto bought a car.’

29c. \*\* Ke-bólélé-tsw-e ké-twe Thútó ó-rék-íl-é kólói.

SM.c1.1st-tell-PASS-fv SM.c1.1st-that Thuto SM.c1-buy-PST-fv 9.car

‘I was told that Thuto bought a car.’

Comment: K: If matrix verb is first person, is it possible to have first person agreement on –*twe* instead of *go*-? R: NEVER!!

16th August 2017

Q: Does the use of *gotwe* with unpassivized matrix verbs also distance the speaker's commitment to the truth of the complement clause proposition?

Ans: Yes

Q: Also, I seem to remember that similar examples with unpassivized matrix verbs but passive-form C in Ikalanga were not acceptable. Am I wrong about that?

Ans: Who knows what I told you back then since I kept on going back and forth? I don’t know how you survived all that, but see the data below:

1. Néó ó-a-gánéts-a gótwe Thútó ó -a-lwál-a

Neo SM.c1-DSJ-refute-fv that Thuto SM.c1-DSJ-sick

‘Neo refutes that Thuto is ill/unwell’. (Neo refutes it when it is said that Thuto is unwell)

Comment: Embedded clause with passive C.

1. Néó ó -amógé-ts-é mólaetsa gótwe Thútó ó -a-tsamay-a.

Neo SM.c1-receive-PST-fv c3.message that Thuto SM.c.1-DSJ-leave-fv

‘Neo received a message that Thuto was leaving’.

Comment: Embedded clause with passive C.

1. Ke-útlw-íl-é magátwe á-á-reńg Néó ó -a-nyál-w-a

SM.c1.1st-hear-PST-fv c6.hearsay DEM-SM.c6-say Neo SM.c1-DSJ-marry-PASS-fv

‘ I heard a rumour that Neo is getting married’.

Comment: In our culture, marriage happens to a woman while the man marries the woman. I don’t know if that makes sense to you, so the word for ‘marry’ is *nyala*  but only a man *nyala* while a woman o-a-nyal-w-a’.

Notice also the presence of –*twe* in the word for ‘hearsay’/ rumour

-----------------

Ikalanga

1. Néó ú-no-landul-a kuyí Nchídzí ú-no-gwál-a

Neo SM.c1-PRS-refute-fv that Nchidzi SM.c1-PRS-sick-fv

‘Neo refutes that Thuto is ill/unwell’.

1. Néó w-áka-ámúchil-a nlaetsá kuyí Nchídzí ú-no-end-a.

Neo SM.c1-PST-receive-fv c3.message that Nchidzi SM.c1-PRS-leave-fv

‘Neo received a message that Thuto was leaving’.

K: For this Ikalanga example, is *kuti* possible as well? Meaning difference if so? Also, is this a case where *kuyi* could be AGR-*yi,* or is that impossible.

R: Yes – it is possible – the embedded clause is not passivized when we use *kuti* – the meaning of the embedded clause in (2) for example is ‘ it was said that Nhidzi was sick’

---------------------

K: The DSJ is potentially interesting here. Is the DSJ/CNJ distinction only when the verb is in present tense?

R: As far as I can tell, yes. I have not explored this phenomenon much.

K: Is it taken to be the case that DSJ means that VP is empty after the verb? If so, then the clause is higher than VP in this case. See the end of the data for questions about sentences that might explore this.

R: Something like that coz DSJ is usually used when there is no object to follow:

33a. Néó ó-á-lel-a

Neo SM.c1-DSJ-cry-fv

‘Neo is crying’.

Comment: The disjunctive form (DSJ) is only used when the verb is in the present tense I do not think Setswana has any overt way of marking CNJ – I think CNJ is the absence of DSJ.

33b. Néó ó-á--j-a

Neo SM.c1-DSJ-eat-fv

‘Neo is eating’.

33c. Néó ó -j-él-é bogóbe.

Neo SM.c1 eat-PST-fv c14. Porridge

‘Neo ate porridge’.

33d. \* Néó ó -a-j-á bogóbe.

Neo SM.c1-DSJ-eat-fv c14.porridge

‘Neo is eating porridge’.

K: Please give me sentences with present tense in the matrix, as in 28a, but with *gore* complementizers. Are both CNJ and DSJ markers possible with *gore* and/or with *gotwe*?

34b. Néó ó -a- gánéts-a gótwé Thútó ó-a-lwál-a

Neo SM.c1-DSJ-refute-fv that.PASS Thuto SM.c1-DSJ-sick

‘Neo refutes that Thuto is ill/unwell’. ( She refutes it when it is said that Thuto is sick’)

Comment: The embedded clause has the passivized Comp. Notice matrix DSJ is possible.

34b.’ Néó ó -a- gánéts-a gore Thútó ó-a-lwál-a

Neo SM.c1-DSJ-refute-fv that Thuto SM.c1-DSJ-sick

‘Neo refutes that Thuto is ill/unwell’.

Comment: The embedded clause is does NOT have passived C. Notice matrix DSJ is possible. Data entry: C-r 34b-b’.

34bi Néó ó -gánéts-a gore Thútó ó-a-lwál-a.

Neo SM.c1-refute-fv that Thuto SM.c1-DSJ-sick

‘Neo refutes that Thuto is ill/unwell’.

34c. Néó ó -a - bú-á a-re Thútó ó-a-lwál-a.

Neo SM.c1-DSJ-say-fv SM.c1-that Thuto SM.c1-DSJ-sick

‘Neo says it that Thuto is ill/unwell’.

Comment: Notice matrix DSJ is possible with Agr-*re*

34cii. \* Néó ó -bú-a a-re Thútó ó-a-lwál-a.

Neo SM.c1-refute-fv SM.c1-that Thuto SM.c1-DSJ-sick

‘Neo says it that Thuto is ill/unwell’.

Comment: Notice absence of DSJ compared with (34c). Data entry: C-r (34c) (34cii and (34ciii)

34ciii. Néó ó -bú-a gore Thútó ó-a-lwál-a.

Neo SM.c1-refute-fv that Thuto SM.c1-DSJ-sick

‘Neo says that Thuto is ill/unwell’.

34d. Néó ó -a - gán-éts-á a-re Thútó ga- á-lwál-e

Neo SM.c1-DSJ-refute-fv SM.c1-that Thuto NEG SM.c1-sick-fv

‘Neo disagrees saying that Thuto is not ill/unwell’.

34di. \* Néó ó - gán-éts-á a-re Thútó ga- á-lwál-e

Neo SM.c1-refute-fv SM.c1-that Thuto NEG SM.c1-sick-fv

‘Neo disagrees saying that Thuto is not ill/unwell’.

Comment: K: For the examples in (34di ), are all of these excluded if the DSJ is missing, or is the presence of DSJ optional? If it is optional, is there a meaning difference? If it is not optional I need to know.

R:I am not sure that I can explain what the meaning difference is – but all I can say is that in examples with the DSJ, that clause with the DSJ can stand independently without the complement clause while those without the DSJ cannot stand independently without the complement clause. While there is some subtle difference in meaning, I can’t quite say what it is, but as a native speaker, I know it is there. I guess I don’t know enough grammar to capture it in grammatical terminology. I suspect DSJ also expresses time and aspect. I am still to read of it too. I have not paid much attention to it other than to recognize its existence in Setswana.

34dii Néó ó -gán-éts-á gore Thútó ga- á-lwál-e

Neo SM.c1-DSJ-refute-fv that Thuto NEG SM.c1-sick-fv

‘Neo disagrees that Thuto is not ill/unwell’. Data entry: C-r (34d, di, dii)

K: You may recall that we speculated at the end of the ACAL paper that clausal complements must extrapose in order for tense agreement on C to be accessible to matrix tense. We had no strong evidence for it, but if clausal complements behave as if they are not in VP in Setswana, then that is a least suggestive evidence that they might behave similarly in Ikalanga. To make this argument, I need to know a little more about Setswana. For a simple present tense passive, does the DSJ appear, e.g., for

35a. John ó–tshwe-rw-é .

C1.aJ SM.c1-catch-PASS-fv

‘John has been caught’. (completion)

35ai. Jóhn ó–a-tshwá-rw-a malatsí ótlhe.

c1.aJ SM.c1-DSJ-catch-PASS-fv day every

‘John is caught every day’ (e.g caught stealing everyday).

aii. Jóhn ó–a-tshwá-rw-a

c1.aJ SM.c1-DSJ-catch-PASS-fv

‘John is being caught’ ( as we speak, the catching is going on- continuity)

b. Criminals are caught (by the police) (every day).

Magodu á-á-tshwá-rw-á ké má-podísi malatsí ótlhe.

C6.thief SM.c6-DSJ-catch-PASS-fv by c6-police days every

‘Thieves are caught by police every day’.

Comment: For (35b), is there DSJ without the *by*-phrase and the adverb, with the *by*-phrase and the adverb, or with just the *by*-phrase. R: DSJ is possible in all three scenarios.

bi. Magodu á-á-tshwá-rw-á.

c6.thief SM.c6-DSJ-catch-PASS-fv

‘Thieves are caught’ ( as a matter of practice, thieves are caught)

Bii Magodu á-á-tshwá-rw-á ké má-podísi

c6.thief SM.c6-DSJ-catch-PASS-fv by c6-police

‘Thieves are caught by police ’.Data entry: Make sure all the examples in (35) are c-r.

K: If the clausal complement leaves a trace when it extraposes, then the question is whether or not DSJ marking considers the trace as something in VP (blocking DSJ) or if it is only phonological material following the verb that is low enough in structure. Perhaps there is some other criterion about what counts as something in VP (and please chime in with ideas and examples if they occur to you).

R: can’t think of a relevant example at the moment here.

36a) Néó ó-bólél-étsw-e gótwe gó-tlá-t-w-e Thútó

c1a.Neo SM.c1-tell-PASS-fv that.PASS SM.c15-FUT-say-PASS-fv 1a.Thuto

á-rék-é kólói

SM.c1-buy-fv c9.car

“Neo was told that it will be said that Thuto should buy a car.”

b) Néó ó -dum-ets-e gore ó-r-íl-e Thútó á-rék-e

1a.Neo SM.c1-agree-TAM-fv that SM.c1-say-PST-fv c1a.T SM.c1-buy-SBJV

kólói

c9.car

“Neo agreed that he said Thuto should buy a car’

c) Néó ó-bólél-étsw-e gótwe ó-r-íl-e Thútó

c1a.Neo SM.c1-tell-PASS-fv that.PASS SM.c1-say-PST-fv c1a. Thútó

á-rék-e kólói

SM.c1-buy-SBJV c9.car

“Neo was told that he said Thuto should buy a car”

(Neo said some things under anesthesia that he does not remember)

d) Néó ó -dum-ets-e a-re ó-r-íl-e Thútó á-rék-e

cla.1Neo SM.c1-agree-PST.fv c1-that SM.c1-say-PST-fv c1a.Thútó SM.c1-buy-SBJV

kólói

c9.car

“Neo agreed that he said Thuto should buy a car.”Data entry: C-r all examples in (36).

Comment: K: These show that the complementizer, whether it is *gore* or AGR-*re*, is not acting like the main verb *–re* or it could not be followed by a *-re* verb.

Comment: The verbs that permit AGR-*re* complementizers that we have so far are –*re-* when it takes a direct object (12’a), -*lato-* “refute”, *-dumet-* “agree”, -*gan-* “refute” (translated as “disagree”) *-bu-* “talk”, -*thay-* “tell” (used with RFM in examples we have) and -*bolel-*

We need examples with other noun classes, e.g. trees and animals talking.

37a) Se-tlhare sé-i-tháy-a sé-ré metsí á gaúfi.

c7-tree SM.c7-RFM-tell-fv c7-that c6 c6 near

‘The tree tells itself that water is nearby’ (e.g. near the surface of the ground)

Data entry: Check with consultant – no gloss for *metsí* and confirm that there is no overt verb in this complement clause. Is the *á* agreement on a null copula?

b) Ke-útlw-íl-é di-tónkí dí-re dí-láp-íl-e

SM.c1.1st-hear-PST-fv c10-donkey c10-say.that SM.c10-tired-PST-fv

‘I heard the donkeys saying that they are tired.’ (I guess this examples has the ‘say’ meaning)

Comment: K: Can these instances of AGR-*re* have any tense or aspect affix on them? R: No, not possible – See (38a) Data entry: C-r (37b), (38a) and (38b).

38a) \* Ke-útlw-íl-é di-tónkí dí-r-íl-é dí-láp-íl-e

SM.c1.1st-hear-PST-fv c10-donkey c10-say.PST-fv SM.c10-tired-PST-fv

‘I heard the donkeys saying that they are tired.’

Maybe (38a) is bad because of some bad mix of aspect/tense with the matrix. English does not allow a complementizer with *hear* and inflection on the embedded verb is also limited, so perhaps this is not so surprising.

b) Ke-útlw-íl-é di-tónkí dí-ba-ráy-a dí-re

SM.c1.1st -hear-PST-fv cl.10-donkey SM.c10-OM.c2-say-fv c10-that

bá-tsámay-e

SM.c2-go-fv

‘I heard the donkeys saying to them to leave/go away.’

Comment: K: It appears that –*utlu-* is appearing without a complementizer in the manner of main verb “say”. It also looks like the *dire* below the –*ráya* verb is the complementizer because the verb –*ray-* has a direct object expressed as an OM on the verb. Data entry: Check with consultant whether or not fv on last verb is subjunctive.

c) Ke-útlw-íl-é dí-phólogólo dí-já ma-nóko

SM.c1.1st-hear-PST-fv cl.10-anima c10-eat cl.6-nut

‘I heard the animals eating the ground nuts.’

Comment: K: This seems to show that –*utlu-* is a verb that takes a finite clause without a C, our first clausal complementation of this kind (apart from the verb *–re*). The –*re* here is probably the main verb or we would not see an OM on it.

R: Yes, I agree, *di-re* is the C – it does not allow any kind of ‘inflection’.

K: Does not explain (43a). Maybe (43a) is bad because of some bad mix of aspect/tense with the matrix. English does not allow a complementizer with *hear* and inflection on the embedded verb is also limited so this is not so surprising.

K: Are there any verbs that take AGR-*re* but don’t take *gore*?

39a) Se-tlhare sé-i-tháy-a séré metsí á gaúfi.

cl.7.tree SM.c7-RFM-tell-fv c7-that cl.6.water cl.6 near

‘The tree tells itself that water is nearby’ (e.g. near the surface of the ground)

b) \* Se-tlhare sé-i-tháy-a gore metsí á gaúfi.

cl.7.tree SM.c7-RFM-tell that cl6.water c6 near

‘The tree tells itself that water is nearby’ (e.g. near the surface of the ground)

Data entry: C-r (39a,b).

40a) Ke-útlw-íl-é di-tónkí dí-re dí-láp-íl-e.

I hear-PST-fv cl.10-donkey SM.c10-say SM.c10-tired-PST-fv

‘I heard the donkeys saying that they are tired.’

Comment: I guess this example has the ‘say’ meaning.

b) \* Ke-útlw-íl-é di-tónkí gore dí-láp-íl-e.

SM.c1.1st-hear-PST-fv c10-donkey that SM.c10-tire-PST-fv

‘I heard the donkeys saying that they are tired.’

Comment: I guess this examples has the ‘say’ meaning. Data entry: C-r (401,b).

---------------------------

K: I was wondering if ‘ask’ –*pod-*, takes AGR-*re* when it takes a direct object can take AGR-*re*, eg., for an example like ‘The teachers asked the students if they would leave’

41a) Ba-rútábaná bá- bód-íts-é b-aná gore a bá- tla

c2-teacher SM.c2-ask-PST-fv c2-child that if SM.c2-FUT

tsamay-a

go-fv

‘The teachers asked the students if they would leave’.

b) \* Ba-rútábaná bá- bód-íts-é b-aná ba-re a bá- tla

c2-teacher SM.c2-ask-PST-fv c2-child c2-that if c2-FUT

tsamay-a

go-fv

‘The teachers asked the students if they would leave’.

c) Ba-rútábaná bá- bód-íts-é b-aná gore taútóná

c2-teacher SM.c2-ask-PST-fv c2-child tcl2?-that president

a reńg.

c1 what

‘The teachers asked the students what the president said’.

Data entry: Follow up with consultant – unclear gloss. Also,where is the verb of the subordinate clause?

d)\* Ba-rútábaná bá- bód-íts-é b-aná ba-re taútóná

c2-teacher SM.c2-ask-PST-fv c2-child c2-that president

a reńg.

cl-1 what

‘The teachers asked the students what the president said’. Data entry: C-r (41a-d).

Comment: R: the AGR –re does not work if the main clause verb is a verb that requests for information.

Examples with other noun classes, e.g. trees and animals talking.

42a) Se-tlhare sé-i-tháy-a séré metsí á gaúfi.

c7-tree SM.c7-RFM-tell-fv c7-that c6 6.water c6 near

‘The tree tells itself that water is nearby’ (e.g. near the surface of the ground)

b) Ke-útlw-íl-é di-tónkí dí-re dí-láp-íl-e.

SM.c1.1st-hear-PST-fv c10-donkey c10-say.that SM.c10-tired-PST-fv

‘I heard the donkeys saying that they are tired.’ (I guess this examples has the ‘say’ meaning)

43a) \* Ke-útlw-íl-é di-tónkí dí-r-il-é dí-láp-íl-e.

SM.c1.1st-hear-PST-fv c10-donkey c10-say.PST-fv SM.c10-tired-PST-fv

‘I heard the donkeys saying that they are tired.’ (I guess this examples has the ‘say’

meaning

Examples 44-46 were elicited August, 2019. Examples in blue are Ikalanga examples and should not be entered in Setswana data.

44a) Tá-ká-lík-á ku-dwa Nchídzí tí-tí chígebénga

SM.c2.1st-PST-try-fv INF-tell N. c2.1st-say c7.criminal

chá-ká-kwíba ngómbe.

c7.-PST-steal c9.cow

‘We tried to tell Nchidzi that the criminal stole the cow’.

b) Tá-ká-lík-á ku-búdza Nchídzí kúti chígebénga

1P-PST-try-fv INF-tell N. that 7.criminal

chá-ká-kwíba ngómbe.

SM.c7-PST-steal 9.cow

‘We tried to tell Nchidzi that the criminal stole the cow’.

c) Bá-kábé-be shák-á ku-dw-a Nchídzí bé-ti

SM.c2-PST-c2 want-fv INF-tell-fv Nchidzi c2-say

chígebénga chá-ká-kwíba ngómbe.

c7.criminal SM.c7-PST-steal-fv cow

‘They wanted to tell Nchidzi that the criminal stole the cow’.

Bá-kábé-be shák-á ku-búdz-a Nchídzí kuti

SM.c2-PST-c2 want-fv INF-tell-fv Nchidzi that

chígebénga chá-ká-kwíba ngómbe.

c7.criminal SM.c7-PST-steal-fv cow

‘They wanted to tell Nchidzi that the criminal stole the cow’.

Here is a similar example from our ICL handout:

d) Néó wá-kà-bé-è-shák-à kù-dw-á bàìsáná

Neo SM.c1-PST2-AUX-SM.c1-want INF-tell-fv c2.boys

è-tí bá-tèng-é lórì

SM.c1-that SM.c2-buy-SBJV car

'Neo wanted to tell the boys that they should buy a car'

45a) Re-ne-ré-bátl-á gore Néó á-dúmel-é gore

SM.c2.1st-PST- c2.1st-want-fv that Neo SM.c1-agree-SBJV that

serukutlhi sé-útswíl-é kgomó.

c7.criminal SM.c7-steal-SBJV c9.cow

‘We wanted Neo to agree (*-dumet-*) that the criminal stole the cow.’

b) Re-ne-ré-bátl-á go-bólélel-a Néó gore serukutlhi

SM.c2.1st-PST-c2.1st-want-fv INF-tell-fv Neo that 7.criminal

sé-útswíl-é kgomó.

c7.-steal-PST c9.cow

‘We wanted to tell Neo that the criminal stole the cow.’

1. Re-lék-íl-e go-bólélel-a Néó gore serukutlhi

SM.c2.1st-try-PST-fv INF-tell-fv Neo that c7.criminal

sé-útswíl-é kgomó.

c7.-steal-PST c9.cow

‘We tried to tell Neo that the criminal stole the cow.’

KS: It is interesting the Setswana contrasts with Ikalanga in that the PRO subject of the infinitive or the infinitival form of the verb doesn’t trigger C-agreement in Setswana, but it does in Ikalanga. I did not expect this.

e) Basímané bá-ne-bá-bátl-a go- bólélel-a Néó gore

c2.boy SM.c2-PST-c2-want-fv INF-tell-fv Neo that

sé-útswíl-é kgomó.

c7.criminal c7-steal-PST c9.cow

‘The boys wanted to tell Neo that the criminal stole the cow.’

f) Basímané bá -lék-íl-é go- bólélel-a Néó gore

c2.boy SM.c2-try-PST-fv INF-tell-fv Neo that

serukutlhi sé-útswíl-é kgomó.

c7.criminal c7-steal-PST c9.cow

‘The boys tried to tell Neo that the criminal stole the cow.’

KS: Is the C that introduces "the criminal stole the cow" agreeing? What does it agree with if it does?

RL: No - it does not agree in Setswana.

46) Please try to provide a Setswana equivalent: (46a) is an Ikalanga sentence and should not be entered in the data for Setswana)

a) Néó ú-nò-èmùl-à kù-búdz-íw-á è-yí á-tèng-é lórì

Neo SM.c1-PRS-wish-fv INF-tell-PASS-fv SM.c1-that SM.c.-buy-SBJV car

Neo wishes to be told to buy a car.

b) Néó ó-éléts-á go- bólélel -w-a gore á rék-é kólói.

1.Neo SM.c1-wish-fv INF-tell-PASS-fv that SM.c1-buy-SBJV 9.car

‘Neo wishes to be told to buy a car’.

Comment R: No C-agreement form available in Setswana in place of *gore*. K: Notice the infinitive appears to block the C (*gore*) from having a passive form or any agreement where PRO intervenes.

Ken: This is consistent with the view that the change in the C when we get *gotwe* is tied to agreement, because just where the active infinitive blocks the C from agreeing in Setswana, it also blocks the passive concord, which would be consistent with blocked agreement applying to both active and passive forms.