INTERROGATIVE CONSTRUCTION IN SEPEDI

by

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THESIS

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DECLARATION

I declare that the thesis entitled **Interrogative Construction in Sepedi** is my own work and that all sources that I have used or quoted have been indicated and acknowledged by means of complete references and that this work has not been submitted before for any other degree at any other institution.

.....	.....
Full names	**Student number**
.....	…….
Signature	**Date**

DEDICATION

In loving memory of my late mothers Serokolwana Mary Letsoalo and Mabore Priscilla Seja!

> *“There is no death. People die only when we forget them, my mother explained shortly before she left me. If you can remember me, I will be with you always.”*
>
> -Isabel Allende

> “*To live in the hearts of those we leave behind is not to die*”
>
> –Dominic Toretto (Fast & Furious 7)

This thesis is mainly dedicated to my grandmother (**Mabore Elisa Letsoalo**) who sacrificed everything she had so that I could have a future. When my mother passed away, my grandmother left her job so that she could come and stay with my five-year old little brother and me. Consequently, she forfeited her provident fund, and her own home turned into ruins; she lost almost everything she had worked for her entire life. Her selflessness gave me hope and motivation to pursue education.

This one is for you Monene!

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"Kgotso e be le lena!"

- I also want to thank me. I want to thank me for believing in me, believing that I can do this. I want to thank me for doing this hard work; I want to thank me for waking up in the middle of the night just to write an idea down. I want to thank me for picking up the phone in the middle of a drive to call a friend to write down an idea for me. I want to thank me for sacrificing my social life in pursuit of this piece of work; I want to thank me for not giving up. Napjadi! You did it poi.

In conclusion,

without the great God of St. Engenas none of these would have been possible.

Thank you Lord!

ABSTRACT

Interrogatives constitute one of the four major syntactic types of simple sentences, the other three being declaratives, imperatives and exclamatives. There are different strategies of constructing these sentences; declaratives are default sentences and are characterised by unmarkedness, imperatives are generally shown by conjugated verb forms and normally have no overt subject, exclamatives have no distinctive form, while the interrogatives have many forms. Interrogatives are associated with the speech act of questioning, and more than any other act performed by speech, a question draws the addressee into interaction with the speaker. It is within human nature to acquire information as an aspect of human species. Hence, most if not all languages have developed some particular means dedicated to eliciting information, henceforth called interrogative constructions. This study pays attention to the interrogative construction in Sepedi. Sepedi has five strategies for interrogative construction: intonation, particles, tags, complements and content interrogative words. Furthermore, there are two forms of content interrogative words, those that can stand on their own as fully-fledged words and those that are stems that require prefixes or concords to be complete words.

A qualitative interpretive approach was adopted to explore and understand the meanings and interpretations individuals ascribe to a social problem. Data were collected through observations, documents and interviews, and then analysed using thematic and discourse analysis. The study firstly entailed the collection of a comprehensive set of data on Sepedi interrogatives. The collected data were classified according to the various semantic and syntactic relations. The various types of interrogative strategies were then examined to determine their morpho-syntactic nature which was invoked to establish the various forms for each of the strategies.

The study found six interrogative types: polar questions, alternative questions, tag questions, content questions and rhetorical questions. Twenty-eight interrogative words were identified and grouped into four major classes. From one of the major classes, four interrogative stems gave rise to 37 different interrogative words. These interrogative words have two syntactic forms. In the first form, the stem is preceded by a demonstrative of a particular noun class, a concord that resembles the subject concord of that class and an interrogative-stem. This format is in most cases

compound in nature and the interrogative-word is written as two words. In the second form, the interrogative-stem is preceded by a concord that resembles the subject concord, and the concord and the interrogative-stem are written as one word. The study also demonstrated the sentential distribution of all interrogative words.

Since studies on interrogative construction in Sepedi are few, this study will contribute to the existing body of knowledge in the identified research area. The study is significant because it may be used as reference material in relation to interrogatives in Sepedi. It is hoped that the study will contribute to the understanding and effective use of other related languages. This kind of study may be helpful in teaching Sepedi as a language to native and second language speakers by teachers at both secondary and tertiary levels. It may also be helpful in the study of Sepedi as a contribution to the field of linguistics.

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Question	Q
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CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION AND BACKGROUND

1.1 Introduction

Interrogatives constitute one of the four major syntactic types of simple sentences, the other three being declaratives, imperatives and exclamatives (Isaraj, 2015: 6004). All these types of sentences have drawn the attention of scholars due to their specific characteristics that include their function and simple syntactic form. There are different strategies of constructing these sentences; declaratives are default sentences and are characterised by unmarkedness, imperatives are generally shown by conjugated verb forms and normally have no overt subject, exclamatives have no a distinctive form, and the interrogatives have many forms. The present study aims to investigate the forms and functions of different interrogatives in Sepedi[1]. Sepedi, a standardised dialect (Cf. Government Gazette 40733 of 31 March 2017), is recognised as one of the 11 official languages by Section 6 of The Constitution of the Republic of South Africa (Act 108 of 1996).

This introductory chapter presents the background and motivation, and the research problem identified in the study. The theoretical approach of the study is discussed. The purpose and significance of the study, and the ethical consideration are presented. Finally, an outline of all chapters is presented.

1.2 Background and Motivation

The four major syntactic types of simple sentences are associated with particular speech acts to ensure effective communication. Interrogatives are associated with the speech act of questioning, and more than any other act performed by speech, a question draws the addressee into interaction with the speaker (Haan, 2002). It is within human nature to acquire information as an aspect of human species. Hence, "most if not all languages have developed some particular means dedicated to eliciting information, henceforth called interrogative constructions" (Siemund, 2001: 1010).

[1] The researcher is aware of the ongoing onomastic debate around Sepedi, Northern Sotho and Sesotho sa Leboa. Different authors researching the language are using the names interchangeably; hence in the content of this study all the names are present as cited from the authors. The current study, informed by Government Gazette 40733 of 31 March 2017 and Section 6 of The Constitution of the Republic of South Africa (Act 108 of 1996), takes the position to use Sepedi as an operational language. The term Sepedi also refers to Sesotho sa Leboa and Northern Sotho.

Based on their syntactic and semantic properties, interrogatives are put into two broad categories: polar interrogatives and constituent interrogatives (König & Siemund, 2007: 291). Baig (2012: 249) contends that there are two sub-classes of interrogatives containing different constructions that can be used to form interrogative clauses in English, namely, closed interrogatives and open interrogatives. Consequently, Sepedi language scholars such as Poulos and Louwrens (1994), Steyn and Prinsloo (1995) and Zerbian (2004; 2006) have given their attention to only two types, that is; constituents and polar questions.

However, the literature on interrogatives offers a plethora of question types; these include among others alternative questions, tag questions, declarative questions, echo questions, rhetorical questions, and embedded questions. Some have been referred to extensively while others have been given less attention. Apparently, other types are perceived as being more significant than others (Haan, 2002: 12). Therefore, the envisaged study will explore different types of interrogatives in other languages but focus on the construction of interrogatives in Sepedi particularly the relationship between syntax and semantics of interrogatives.

1.3 Key concepts

Interrogatives are defined as uniformly denoting sets of propositions. These propositions are linguistic expressions used to ask questions, elicit information, put up a discussion, test the addressee's knowledge, bring up a possibility, prompt a commitment, etc. (Lauer & Condoravdi, 2012)

Merge and move are the two major grammatical operations used to generate structure are seen as feature checking. *Merge* is a function that takes two syntactic objects (say α and β) and merges them into a complex syntactic object (K); that is, merge (α, β) → K = (α, β), while *move* is an operation that displaces a lexical item from one structural position to another (Al-Mutairi, 2014:38).

Minimalism is the latest development of Transformational Generative Grammar initiated by Noam Chomsky. This approach to language centres on two psychological questions: (1) How is linguistic ability, (tacit) knowledge of language, represented in

the human mind? and (2) How does that knowledge arise in the individual? (Lasnik, 2002).

1.4 Problem Statement

Interrogatives are typically used for eliciting information and asking questions (Zerbian, 2006: 258). Interrogative constructions have received attention in many languages such as Yoruba in Nigeria (Olumuyiwa, 2012; Akanbi, 2016), English (Ginzburg & Sag, 2001; Pozzan, 2011), Lɛtɛ in Ghana (Ansah, 2010), Sign language (Zeshan, 2004; Tang, 2006), Japanese (Hasebe, Maki & Umezawa 2012; Uegaki, 2014). However, not much attention has been paid to the research work on the interrogative construction in Sepedi. Available studies of interrogatives in Sepedi have strict constraints such as that the wh-words are restricted to the postverbal position and cannot occur (without the particle ke) in the initial sentence position; content question words are named wh-words even when they do not exhibit the wh-form (Ziervogel, Lombard & Mokgokong, 1969; Prinsloo, 1985; Louwrens, 1987; Steyn and Prinsloo, 1995). Traditional linguists formulated strict constraints on the syntax of Sepedi interrogative words in terms of old *versus* new information, definiteness *versus* indefiniteness, et cetera. There is adequate literature on question words in the Sepedi language (Mothapo, 1994; Poulos & Louwrens, 1994; Steyn and Prinsloo, 1995; Mongwe, 2004; Zerbian, 2004; 2006). Although there has been a substantial amount of studies on interrogatives across a variety of languages and Sepedi in particular, there is little comprehensive treatment on the syntax of interrogative words nor to differentiate between different polysemic values conveyed by these words.

Even though interrogatives have played a central role in the development of the syntax of language, there exist few syntactic and semantic treatments that provide a comprehensive account of a wide range of interrogative constructions and uses in a single language (Ginzburg & Sag, 2001). Therefore, the gap in research on this subject in Sepedi language should be investigated. Zerbian (2006: 259) researched polar and constituent interrogatives in Sepedi as main clauses only and recommended that "[f]urther research has to show if what holds for non-embedded interrogatives is also true for embedded structures".

Ziervogel et al. (1969), Prinsloo (1985), Louwrens (1987) and Zerbian (2006) investigated the syntactic distribution of interrogative markers such as the particles (*a/afa* and *na/naa*), tags (*akere*), prosody and question words (*wh-words*). However, these studies do not account for the emphasis of the markers and question structures marked by such markers. For instance, there can be different question structures for the following declarative sentence:

(1)

(a) *O* *j-ele.*
SC1 eat-PEF
You ate.

The following examples are few of those that can express the interrogative sense of the statement in (1a):

(b) *O* *j-ele*?
SC1 eat-PEF
Did you ate?

(c) *O* *j-ele* *naa*?
SC1 eat-PEF QP
Did you ate?

(d) *O* *j-ele* *na*?
SC1 eat-PEF QP
Did you ate?

(e) *Na* *o* *j-ele*?
QP SC1 eat-PEF
Did you ate?

(f) *Naa* *o* *j-ele*?
QP SC1 eat-PEF
Did you ate?

(g) *A* *o* *j-ele*?
QP SC1 eat-PEF
Did you ate?

(h) *Afa* *o* *j-ele*?
QP SC1 eat-PEF
Did you ate?

(i) *A* *o* *j-ele* *naa*?
QP SC1 eat-PEF QP
Did you ate?

(j) *Naa* *o* *j-ele* *naa*?
QP SC1 eat-PEF QP
Did you ate?

(k) *Na* *o* *j-ele* *na*?
QP SC1 eat-PEF QP
Did you ate?

Each of the markers from (c-k) has the specific information sought, and each question has its own interpretation. Therefore, it is the purpose of the study to outline different structures for different interrogatives and also to analyse the emphasis of each marker in a question.

1.5 Role of theory in the study

The theoretical approach to the study is based on Chomsky's Minimalist Program (MP), which is a major line of inquiry which has developed within the generative grammar. In the Minimalist Program, language is thought of as a (nearly) optimal linking between linguistic form and linguistic meaning (Zeijlstra, 2004). The Minimalist Program is rooted in the Principles and Parameters framework and built on principles of 'Economy' in derivation and representation. The MP is distinguished from its

predecessors by its ‘derivational concept’ which provides principles for how an analysis is constructed, rather than providing filtering conditions that constrain output representations (Al-Horais, 2013). In effect, minimalism assumes that Principles and Parameters framework is a boundary condition on any adequate theory of grammar (Hornstein et al., 2005). According to Chomsky (2015), Minimalist Program is based on the assumptions a language consists of a set of parameter choices with two components, namely: a lexicon and a computational system for human language (C_{HL}). This can be seen in the schemata below:

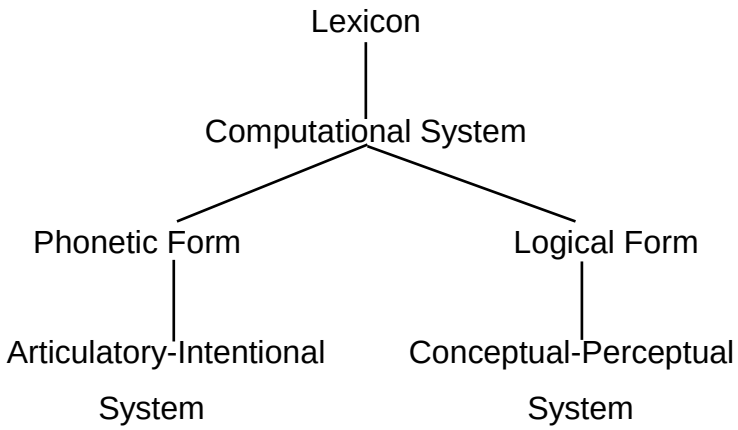

Figure 1.1: The structure of grammar

The figure above shows that the language faculty, as according to Chomsky (1995), involves a computational system that feeds into the two components of the brain dealing with sound and meaning, i.e. the articulatory-perceptual system and the conceptual-intentional system. This means that form and meaning are represented at these two interfaces (Zeijlstra, 2004); form is the interface between lexicon and the articulatory-perceptual system and meaning is the interface between lexicon and the conceptual-intentional system. The computational system of human language (C_{HL}) interacts with the articulatory-perceptual system and the conceptual-intentional system through two distinct interface levels, Phonetic Form (PF) and Logical Form (LF) (Zwart, 1998). That is, the representation of language comprises the lexicon, the computational system; the computational system draws from the lexicon to generate the Phonetic Form and the Logical Form. The Phonetic Form and the Logical Form are respectively connected to the Articulatory-Perceptual System; that is a system which deals with the mental representation of a linguistic expression, and the Conceptual-Intentional System which handles the interpretation of sounds in the

language (Chomsky, 2015). According to the Minimalist Program, the lexicon specifies the items that enter into the computational system, with their idiosyncratic properties, while the computational system draws from the lexicon to form derivations, presenting items from the lexicon in the format of X-bar theory. Thus, the Minimalist Program regards a lexicon as providing a unique computational system with derivations driven by morphological properties to which the syntactic variation of languages is restricted. The Minimalist Program, adopted from MacSwan (2013), can be illustrated as follows:

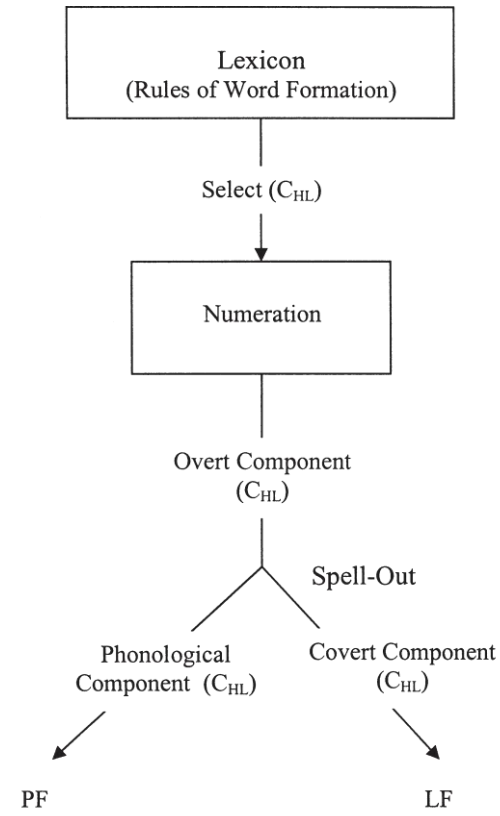

Figure 1.2: The Minimalist Framework

The computational system begins with lexical information as 'input' yielding sound-meaning as an 'output' through the application of derivation. In Minimalist Program, a series of operations is used to build up a syntactic structure, i.e. *Select*, *Merge* and *Move* (van Gelderen, 2017). These three operations are responsible for derivationally building phrase structure trees. The '*Select*' operation picks lexical items from the lexicon and introduces them in the numeration. Then '*Merge*', a binary operation, takes at least two items from the numeration and forms new hierarchically arranged syntactic objects that carry the label as that of the dominating item (Zeijlstra 2004; Koeneman and Zeijlstra, 2017). That is, the items taken from the numeration are then combined in a pair-wise fashion by the operation *Merge* to form larger structures (van Gelderen,

2017). The operation '*Move*', an operation that is derived from *Merge* (Chomsky, 1995), guided by economy principles, applies to the syntactic objects formed by *Merge* to build new structures (MacSwan, 2013). This means that the operation *Move* re-organises the merged items so that they appear in positions where they are not base-generated. At some point in the computational system, certain element is required to move to check some feature in a syntactic structure because the operation move is driven by the need for a morphological requirement to be satisfied; hence movement is crucial in order to enable a previously uncheckable feature to get checked (Chomsky, 1995).

The computational system continues to a point at which the derivation splits into phonetically relevant and semantically relevant information. The point in the derivation where the computation splits is called Spell Out (Zwart, 1998). The subsystem of computation which maps the lexicon to Spell-Out is the overt component. Furthermore,

> at some point in the derivation, an operation Spell-Out applies to strip away from the derivation those elements relevant only to PF; what remains is mapped to LF by a subsystem of CHL called the covert component. The elements relevant only to PF are mapped to PF by operations unlike the covert component; the mapping operations comprise the phonological component (MacSwan, 2013: 68).

Derivation is the link between the sound and meaning. "In the Minimalist Program, the derivation of a sentence is based on elements which are taken from the lexical array. The lexical array is a set of lexical items which are taken from the lexicon and then used to complete the derivation of a sentence" (Kartini, Rogayah & Fazal, 2016: 28). In the derivation, the relations between the elements in the numeration are made explicit by linking the various elements up in a phrase structure (Zwart, 1998). Numeration is a set of selected lexical elements from the lexicon, which is the starting point of the structure building process. In the lexicon, there is an unorganised list of lexical items; through the computational system, the grammatical operation merge or move then allows the transfer of necessary lexical items to generate proper structures. The numeration process explains the 'computational processes' from the lexicon to the syntactic representation. In the process of numeration, a set of morphosyntactic and lexical items is taken from the lexicon.

In the MP, Chomsky makes distinction between interpretable and uninterpretable features. The property of interpretability and uninterpretability is used as the driving force behind the establishment of syntactic dependency in many minimalist systems (Chomsky, 1995; Adger & Svenonius, 2011). This interpretable/uninterpretable asymmetry in feature-feature relations is rather natural in a derivational system, since the uninterpretable features are those that drive the derivation, while the interpretable ones are those that are used, in the final representation, to connect with the semantic systems (Adger & Svenonius, 2011). One of the reasons behind this distinction is that some features remain visible after checking, therefore cannot be deleted, phi-features of nouns for example. The interpretable features are relevant for interpretation at LF and include categorial and nominal phi-features. This is the reason nouns can move cyclically and provide the phi-features along the way (Chomsky 1995: 282). Uninterpretable features receive a value when they search and find an interpretable feature. The idea is that uninterpretability forces feature matching and any uninterpretable feature which has been matched is deleted (Adger & Svenonius, 2011). Once case has been checked by an uninterpretable feature, that feature cannot move to check case elsewhere.

Another research program rooted in the in the Principles and Parameters framework is Cartography (Cinque, 1999). The cartographic project assumes the existence of a large number of functional categories, and attempts to map out the universal hierarchy by which they are ordered. According to Cinque (1999), a clause is a construct of hierarchy of functional heads represented by moods, modals, tenses, and aspects. Cartography, according to Cinque, identifies the number of functional categories available and to figure out the way they can precisely be ordered along the verbal or nominal spine. The desirable goal of integrating the research agendas of Minimalism and Cartography requires, so it seems, modifications in the way structure, in the cartographic sense, is manipulated by the computational system (Shlonsky, 2010). Minimalism focuses on mechanisms of computation (Merge and Search) and the role of uninterpretable features, while the cartographic enterprise is primarily concerned with the inventory of interpretable features. Both the programs adhere to the elegance of syntactic structures in that syntactic structures should be simple and uniform (Rizzi, 2004). These simplicity and uniformity are attained by making sure that Merge operations are adhered to in generating structures. Rizzi argues for a multiple layer

approach to CP with two distinct head positions, FORCE and FINITENESS, interacting with two interfaces and activating a Topic Focus field. Consequently, the information contained in the higher structure is called the specification of Force and the lower, more inwardlooking structure headed by IP, as Finiteness (Rizzi, 1997). Since Force and Finiteness closes off the C-system upward and downward, the topic-focus field is located between the two C-Heads on either side as shown below.

…..Force…… (Topic)…… (Focus)……..Fin IP

(adapted from Rizzi 1997: 288)

This study examines the form and function of interrogative sentences in Sepedi and explores implications of the empirical data on interrogatives within the framework of the Minimalist Program. The two features of MP that can be applicable to the construction of interrogatives are its derivational character and the economic conditions of regulating possible derived structures. MP "emphasises on an economical description of the grammar in that it motivates the economy of its representation and derivation" (Kartini, Rogayah & Fazal, 2016: 27). Hornstein et al (2005: 8) describe principles of economy as the practice of "placing a premium on least-effort notions as natural sources of grammatical principles". The principle of economy entails that structures should only be generated when necessary for the purpose of Case feature checking, while the derivation of a particular linguistic expression involves a choice of items from the lexicon and a computation that constructs the pair of interface representation. From a minimalist perspective, structures that do not pass the Economy conditions are simply not generated (Weinberg, 1999). "The Minimalist program maintains that the derivations and representations constituting linguistic competence conform to an 'economy' criterion demanding that they be minimal in a sense determined by the language faculty (ultimately by general properties of organic systems): that is, there are no extra steps in derivations, no extra symbols in representations, and no representations beyond those that are conceptually necessary" (Lasnik, 2002: 432).

The Minimalist Program is a framework in which the syntax of a language is described in accordance with general grammar rules and specific grammatical markers. The central idea of the framework is that an individual's syntactic knowledge can be

modelled with two formal mechanisms: the uninterpretable features are checked so that the representation of a derivation could converge at both Logical Form and Phonetic Form (Seuren, 2004). The computational system is used to generate structures and seen as feature checking. According to Chomsky (2006: 91), each language consists of a particular relationship between sounds and meaning. Since the framework captures the bridge between two levels of syntactic representation, it will account for the objectives relating to syntactic-semantic features of interrogatives.

1.6 Purpose of the study

1.6.1 Aim of the study

The aim of the study is to explore interrogative constructions in the Sepedi language.

1.6.2 Objectives of the study

In order to achieve the above-mentioned aim, the specific objectives are to:

- Identify the different types of interrogatives found in Sepedi.
- Investigate interrogative markers in different types of Sepedi interrogatives.
- Determine the syntactic structures of Sepedi interrogatives.
- Explore the transformational rules involved in the transformation of declaratives and imperatives into interrogatives.

1.6.3 Research questions

The study focuses on providing answers to the following questions:

- What are the different types of interrogatives found in Sepedi?
- Which markers are used in different types of Sepedi interrogatives?
- How are the Sepedi interrogatives structured syntactically?
- What are the transformational rules involved in the transformation of declaratives and imperatives into interrogatives?

1.7 Significance of the study

It is important that there should be an understanding on the usage of language as it occurs in social settings. Language is used differently in different contexts, and so are interrogatives. This study acknowledges that there are contributory factors to this

notion. Essentially, the basic use of language is communication irrespective of context. Thus, the significance of this study is typically to make sense of how parts of language, interrogatives in particular, are used for better communication.

Since studies on interrogative construction in Sepedi are few, this study will contribute to the existing body of knowledge in the identified research area. The study is significant because it may be used as reference material in relation to interrogatives in Sepedi. Previous studies on question formation in Sepedi, the pragmatic use and the syntactic-semantic features, have not richly been dealt with. Most of these studies are attempts in grammar. The researcher's preliminary observations are that these studies have not made use of the area of contrastive analysis, which the current study attempts to explore. In addition, the researcher believes that this study has a theoretical significance to researchers since it deals with syntax, semantics and pragmatics. It is hoped that the study will contribute to the understanding and effective use of other related languages. This kind of study may be helpful in teaching Sepedi as a language to native and second language speakers by teachers at both secondary and tertiary levels. It may also be helpful in the study of Sepedi as a contribution to the field of linguistics.

1.8 Ethical considerations

In carrying out linguistic research, linguists are inevitably responsible to the larger human community which its results could affect (Rice, 2006). Therefore, it is significant to know that research should be guided by ethical codes and understanding these ethical procedures should be related to the design of the study (Fritsch, Trulson & Blackburn, 2014). Ethics is a vital component of a trustworthy qualitative research, and most definitions emphasizes the importance of values, moral principles and obligations from the side of the researcher (Liamputtong, 2009; Pillay, 2014). Two of the broad codes of ethics that a researcher should take care of are: confidentiality and harm (Liamputtong, 2009; Tracy, 2013; Creswell, 2014).

Since the language belongs to the community, those with a primary right to the recordings and analyses of it are its speakers (Rice, 2006). In adhering to the codes of ethics, the researcher will adhere to basic ethical principles; prior to data collection,

the researcher will ensure confidentiality of any sensitive information obtained from the speakers of the language. “Confidentiality occurs when responses and results from an individual participant are private” (Adams & Lawrence, 2015: 10). Confidentiality equally applies in situations where the researcher analyses data obtained from a private sphere. The collected data must be used only for study purposes (Christensen et al., 2011).

Furthermore, given that data collection methods have the potential to harm the sample, the researcher will ensure that the means used will not cause any disproportionate harm to achieve the value, and that the means used to achieve the value will not undermine it (Denzin & Lincoln, 2000). There is a wholly proper concern to minimise damage and offset inconvenience to the researched (Rice, 2006). In view of this code, the researcher will make sure that the research techniques chosen to conduct the study do not subject the language and/or its users under study to ridicule. The researcher has the responsibility to ensure that the subjects in the research are not adversely affected (Liamputtong, 2009). It is therefore necessary for the researcher to refrain from any act that may cause harm to the language and/or its users.

1.9 Layout of thesis

Chapter 1: The chapter presents the introduction, background and motivation to the study. The research problem identified in the study is presented, and the theoretical approach of the study is discussed. The purpose of the study which encompasses the aim, objectives and research questions is outlined. The significance of the study and the ethical consideration are presented.

Chapter 2: This chapter contains a review of relevant and related literature on interrogative constructions. It serves as a point of reference for the present work. The chapter discusses issues germane to the study. These include, among others, an extensive, detailed and comprehensive description of types of interrogatives, their forms, strategies and functions.

Chapter 3: The research methodology suitable for the study is presented. Under the chosen methodology, the chapter explains the design, sampling, data collection and analysis, and quality criteria.

Chapter 4: This chapter makes a presentation of the collected data, which will be threefold. Firstly, the data from the documents will be presented; then follows data from observations; finally, the data presentation of interview responses will follow.

Chapter 5: This chapter presents the analysis of the data collected from documents, observations and interviews. The analysis of data engages in an examination and description of findings from observations, documents and interviews. The chapter extensively addresses interrogatives construction. It discusses the various forms of interrogatives, and presents the functions of those interrogatives. Polar questions, alternative questions, tag questions, content questions, echo questions and rhetorical questions are the foci of this chapter.

Chapter 6: This chapter presents the syntactic representation of interrogative structures. It is two-fold: lexical and phrasal rules are generated to outline how words follow each other in a sentence, and then the phrasal rules are then applied to account for interrogatives through the hierarchical tree structures.

Chapter 7: The chapter summarises the previous chapters, concludes the findings of the study and makes relevant recommendations for future research.

CHAPTER TWO: LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1 Introduction

The universal grammar theory states that there is a set of universal principles that characterise the grammars of all possible natural languages (Jacobs & Rosenbaum, 1968; Fromkin, Rodman & Hyams, 2011). Different languages are governed by different sets of principles to categorise the different types of interrogative structures. Interrogative structures may be used to elicit information, express doubt, surprise or disbelief (Steyn, 1992). According to Keisanen (2006: 46), interrogative structures are used to examine the ways in which the features of a turn or situation function so as to invite a response from a recipient. Bamgbose (1990: 183) defines interrogative construction as a device to make an enquiry by employing interrogative markers. Hence Akintoye and Adewale (2014: 10276) outline that interrogative markers are used to mark interrogative constructions. The inventory of question marking varies among individual languages. Sadock and Zwicky (1985), Lutz et al. (2000), Dryer (2005), König and Siemund (2007), Bonan and Tual (2016) and Downing and Rialland (2017) suggest the following strategies used to mark interrogative sentences: intonation, special tags, particles, interrogative word order, wh-movement and in-situ. This chapter discusses these interrogative strategies. Before that, a brief classification of the language under study will be outlined then the two main question types which have been discussed in many languages but deserve mention in this chapter: polar and constituent questions. Polar and constituent questions in Northern Sotho share the general illocutionary force of interrogatives (Zerbian, 2006). These two types of questions have been studied by scholars such as (Ziervogel, et al, 1969; Lombard, 1985; Louwrens, 1987; Steyn, 1992, 1995; Poulos and Louwrens, 1994; Zerbian, 2004, 2006; Zerbian and Barnard, 2008). These two main question types from the aforementioned scholars are the blueprint of this study.

2.2 Classification of the language under study

Section 6 of The Constitution of the Republic of South Africa (Act 108 of 1996) recognises Sepedi as one of the 11 official languages of South Africa.. According to Stats SA (2011), 9.1 % of the country's population speak Sepedi as their home

language; and it is home language to 52.9 % of the population of Limpopo Province. It is important to state that there is an ongoing onomastic debate on whether the official language is Sepedi or Sesotho sa Leboa, others still refer to the language as Northern Sotho. Sesotho sa Leboa or Northern Sotho is one of the 11 official languages of the Republic of South Africa and consists of around 27 dialects: Sekone, Sepedi, Seroka, Selobedu, Sepulana, Setlokwa, Sekopa, Sehananwa, Sekgaga, Sephalaborwa, and the dialects from other areas named after those area (Mojela, 2008). This means, according to (Mojela, 2008), Sepedi is a dialect not a language. Moreover, a language is a dialect with an army and a navy (Weinreich, 1945). From the dialects mentioned by Mojela, Sepedi seems to be a dialect with an army and a navy (standardised orthography, dictionaries, literature, etc) that ultimately qualifies it to be standardised as a language. The classification of Bantu[2] languages places Sepedi in Zone S30 (Guthrie, 1971). Under this classification, Sepedi is grouped together with Setswana and Sesotho which they share mutual intelligibility.

2.3 Two main question types

An interrogative construction is derived when the interrogative markeris added to a declarative sentence or noun phrase either at the initial position, the medial position or at the final position (Dryer, 2005; Zerbian, 2006; Akintoye & Adewale, 2014). The position of interrogative makers depends, to a certain extent at least, on the basic word order type of a language (König & Siemund, 2007). There is a systematic correlation between VSO order and fronted interrogative words as well as between SOV order and the in-situ parameter; but, the correlation is much weaker in the case of SOV languages and there is no such correlation for SVO-languages (Greenberg, 1966). The position of the interrogative particle correlates with the basic word order of languages: verb-final languages usually situate the interrogative particle in the clause-final position, while verb-initial languages are more likely to have clause-initial interrogative particles (König & Siemund, 2007: 295).

Another interesting point from a cross-linguistic perspective is the behaviour of languages when it comes to the co-occurrence of multiple interrogative words; some

[2] The researcher is aware that the term 'Bantu' is contested and widely resisted in South Africa due to the way it was used in Apartheid South Africa. In this section, the term is used in a strictly linguistic sense as promulgated and used by scholars such as Guthrie (1971), Zerbian (2004) and Du Plessis (2014).

languages neatly stack interrogative words at the beginning of a sentence while others only front one interrogative word and leave the rest in their canonical positions (i.e., in-situ) (Greenberg, 1966). For example,

(2)

English

(a) John gave Mary the book.

(b) Who gave what to whom?

(3)

Sepedi

(a) *Matome* *o* *ja* *nama.*
1-*Matome* SC1 eat 9-meat
Matome is eating meat.

(b) *Mang* *o* *dira-ng* *eng?*
Who SC1 do-what what
'Who is doing what to what?'

As demonstrated in examples (2b) and (3b), in English the fronted interrogative word remains in-situ and the other two exchanges distribution, whereas Sepedi shows that in multiple questions the question word questioning the subject and that of an object can appear in-situ.

Zerbian (2006) conducted a study that gave an overview of the marking of polar and constituent questions in Northern Sotho. He found that Northern Sotho follows cross-linguistic tendencies in marking interrogative sentences by using intonation as main indicator in polar questions and question words as main indicators in constituent questions.

2.3.1 Polar questions

Polar interrogatives are referred to as yes/no-questions or closed questions. However, Steyn (1992) considers this type of questions as 'general questions' not 'yes-no

questions', since it became evident that questions of this type need not necessarily be answered by 'yes' or 'no'. This type of questions are called yes-no questions because of the type of answer expected; the addressee is requested to affirm or reject the proposition contained in the question (Mooketsi, 1998). Baig (2012: 251) holds that closed interrogatives, as explicit by the term itself, may only be answered by a limited range of responses since the set of possible answers is closed. In fact, the answers are often simply positive or negative. According to Murar, Trantescu and Pisoschi (2011: 13), polar interrogatives "require an affirmative or negative answer in relation to the validity of an entire sentence: yes, of course, rather, no, not at all, etc." A *yes-no* question is an interrogative construction that expects an answer of 'yes' or 'no.' The yes-no question is found in three varieties: the inverted question; the inverted question offering an alternative; and the tag question (Wardhaugh, 2003). Canonically, in English, the construction of this type of question involves an auxiliary verb typically appearing in front of the subject (Wardhaugh, 2003). Sepedi polar questions are parallel to corresponding declarative sentences in that they show basic word order and identical verbal morphology; they differ from declaratives in prosody and optionally with particles (Zerbian, 2006). In Sepedi there are basically two main strategies to form polar questions, which are: (a) question particles; and (b) intonation. In the latter instance, there is a rise in pitch in the intonation contour towards the end of the sentence (Steyn, 1992). Polar questions lack the length on the penultimate syllable so that the penultimate syllable of the question utterance does not show significantly different length than other syllables in the utterance (Lombard 1979 in Zerbian, 2006). In the following examples, the lengthened penultimate syllable is indicated by a colon following it and the upright arrow indicates raising of the overall pitch level.

(4)

(a) Q:	↑O	*dumediša*	*di-kgarebe?*	
	SC2SG	greet	10-lady	
	'Are you greeting the ladies?'			
(b) A:	*Ee,*	*ke*	*dumediša*	*di-kgare:be*.
	Yes,	SC1SG	greet	10-lady
	'Yes, I am greeting the ladies.'			(Zerbian, 2006)

The examples in (4) indicate that the question is pronounced at a higher overall pitch, and the absence of the colon indicates that lengthening does not occur.

The construction of yes-no questions is also derived when the interrogative markers are added to a declarative sentence or noun phrase either at the initial position, the medial position or at the final position (Zerbian, 2006; Akintoye & Adewale, 2014). In Yoruba, "[t] he interrogative markers employed for Yes/No-questions are: *Ǹjé, Bí, Ṣé, Ndan* and *Ha*. The interrogative markers *Ǹjé* and *Ṣé* occur at the initial position of the interrogative construction while *Ndan* and *Bí* are added at the final position. The interrogative marker *Ha* intervenes between the subject and the verb" (Akintoye & Adewale, 2014: 10277). Studies have been conducted by Ziervogel et al. (1969); Prinsloo, (1985); Louwrens, (1987) and Zerbian (2006) that show that Sepedi also uses interrogative particles such as *na/naa* and *a/afa* to mark polar questions. The interrogative marker *a/afa* occurs only in sentence initial position (Ziervogel et al., 1969; Zerbian, 2006), while *na/naa* marks the interrogative sentence at the initial position, final position and medial position (Poulos & Louwrens, 1994). It is illustrated, in these studies, that the two interrogative particles have pragmatic difference in usage. "Whereas *na/naa* is used to ask a standard polar question which could be answered in the affirmative or negative, *a/afa* is used for rhetorical questions where no answer is expected" (Zerbian, 2006: 264). In English, a tag polar question can be as follows:

(5)

You're going, aren't you? (tag) (Wardhaugh, 2003)

The inverted question offering an alternative is similar to inversion question in that there is the inversion of the subject and the auxiliary. However, it may require more than a simple yes or no for an answer (Wardhaugh, 2003). While the inverted question merely inverts the subject and the first verb of the verb phrase of the corresponding statement pattern when that verb is either a modal or an auxiliary verb or the verb be and sometimes have, its alternative version provides an option for a more detailed response.

(6)

(a) Are you staying or going? (inversion with alternative)

The answer to the question in (6a) is not just a simple yes or no, but a detailed affirmative or negative answer in relation to the validity of an entire sentence.

(b) I am staying.

(c) I am not staying.

(d) I am going.

(e) I am not going.

Semantically, (b) is similar to (e) while (c) to (d), the difference is the polarity of the sentences.

In Sesotho, polar questions can occur in two forms: positive and negative (Mooketsi, 1998).

(7)

Positive

(a) *Na moqosuwa o ne a robetse a le mong betheng ya hae?*
'Was the accused lying alone on his bed?'

Negative

(b) *Ha o a ba bona na?*
'Didn't you see them?' (Mooketsi, 1998)

The answer to question (7a) is just a simple yes or no, but the answer to question (7b) is a detailed affirmative or negative answer in relation to the validity of an entire sentence.

2.3.2 Constituent interrogatives

According to Baig (2012: 251), “open interrogatives are so-named because the set of possible answers is, essentially, open.” They are also called wh-questions because, according to Murar, Trantescu and Pisoschi (2011: 13), they elicit information on

particular parts of the sentence through the use of wh-forms; the wh-forms are represented by the interrogative pronouns who, what, which and the interrogative adverbs when, where, why, how." Wh- words are used to request information about the identity of some entity (Khoali, 1994). Sepedi also has interrogative pronouns *mang, eng, efe* and the interrogative adverbs *neng, kae, gobaneng, bjang* (Ziervogel et al., 1969; Prinsloo, 1985; Louwrens, 1987; Mothapo, 1994; Mongwe, 2004). Setswana wh-questions are marked by the following words: *mang* (who, whom, whose), *-fe* (which/whose), *eng* (what, with what), *-kae* (how big, how much, how many), *kae* (where), *leng* (when), *goreng* (why) and *jang* (how); the root *-kae* can be affixed to Noun Class prefixes *bo-, mo-, se-, ba-* to form the following adjectival constructions: *bokae* (how much); *mokae/ bakae* (what nationality/ nationalities); *sekae* (what language) (Tshule, 2014). "In Sesotho, the question words commonly used are *mang* (who), *eng* (what), *-fe/-feng* (which), *neng* (when), *kae* (where), *hobane* + *eng* (why), *mong* (what gender) and *jwang* (how). Most of these words use the interrogative suffix -ng. *Mang,* and *eng* usually fulfil the syntactic function of a substantive and take an objectival position in a sentence. On the one hand, *-fe/ -feng* and *mong* are normally qualificatives. On the other hand, *neng, kae, hobaneng* and *jwang* are mainly descriptives (Mooketsi, 1998). Notably, all languages have expressions for requesting information about who, when, where, what, and how. Even if the question words in other languages do not necessarily begin with 'wh', the study will refer to such questions as wh-questions (Fromkin, Rodman and Hyams, 2011: 125). The wh-words are interrogative construction markers for constituent interrogatives. Sesotho questions possess -ng, so they can be called '-ng' question instead of wh- questions because they question the same constituents (Mafora, 1994). However, since the term 'wh-words' is universally known, the interrogatives are labelled as such. The wh-words belong to a number of different parts of speech, functioning differently in different linguistic contexts such as determinatives, pronouns and adverbs (Baig, 2012: 252). "Syntactically, *kae* (where) together with *leng* (when), and *jang* (how) are adverbs, while the root *-fe* (which) can be used to ask questions about qualificatives for things or people, *ofe* is used when asking a question about a person (+human) while *efe* is used when asking about things. This question is further complicated in that it is marked to indicate whether the noun is plural or singular, *ofe/bafe* and *efe/dife*" (Tshule, 2014: 23). In Setswana, "adverbs can be related to such questions as *Kae*? (Where?), *Leng*? (When?), *Jang*? (How?), *Goreng*? (Why?), *Le*

mang? (With whom?), *Ka eng*? (With what?), *Ke mang*? (By whom?), *Ke eng*? (By what?) and *Ga kae*? (How many times?). Once this is done, the functional equivalence of multi-word units immediately becomes apparent" (Le Roux, 2007). Consider the following Setswana example:

(8)

(a) Q: *O tsamaya leng*?
When are you leaving?

(b) A: *Jaanong!*
Now!

The use of the word *leng* elicit information that relate to time. In Sesotho, the eliciting of information through wh-questions is done only when there is relevant presupposition. They contain a question word and generally presuppose the truth of the proposition in with they appear (Mafora, 1994:30). Consider the following examples:

(9)

(a) *Ho tlile mang?*
Who has come?

(b) *Ho tsamaile eng?*
What has left?

(c) *Le kae lengolo leo?*
Where is that letter?

(d) *Mmao o tsamaile neng?*
When did your mother leave?

(e) *O pheha dijo tsena jwang?*
How does he cook his food?

(f) *O mo hlabile kang?*
He stabbed him with what?

(g) *O bua jwalo hobaneng?*
Why do you talk thus?

(h) *Tjhelete o na le e kae?*
How much money do you have? (Mafora, 1994:30)

The example in (9), (a) presupposes that someone came, (b) presupposes that something left, (c) presupposes that there is a letter somewhere, (d) presupposes that the mother left at some point, (e) presupposes that there is a manner in which food is cooked, (f) presupposes that there was something used to stab, (g) presupposes that there is a reason why something is said, while (h) presupposes that the addressee has money. "A wh-question presupposes the truth of a declarative counterpart differing only in the replacement of the wh-form by a member of the relevant pronoun class" (Khoali, 1994: 146). For example,

(10)

Declarative

(a) *Ke ngaka Bodigelo yo o reng re lebisa gongwe.*
It is Doctor Bodigelo who says that we are getting somewhere.

Content question

(b) *Ke mang yo o reng re lebisa gongwe?*
Who is it who says that we are getting somewhere? (Khoali, 1994)

Content questions have a curious feature in that they carry pragmatic presuppositions which allow discourse participants to make relevant assumptions from what they hear (Mooketsi, 1998).

(11)

Na moqosuwa o ne a ba lwantshetsang basadi bao?
'Why did the accused quarrel with those women?' (Mooketsi, 1998)

Example 11 presupposes that the addressee quarreled with the women.

The syntactic structure of interrogative constructions derived by wh-movement has been extensively studied in Generative Grammar (Chomsky, 1977; Adger &

Ramchand, 2005; Ishii, 2006; Cable, 2006). English is a typical wh-movement language; interrogative markers are obligatorily moved to the sentence-initial position to form a non-echo constituent question. In this movement, an interrogative phrase in an English content question undergoes movement from its base position to the sentence-initial position. However, according to Buell, Riedel and van der Wal (2011: 698), there are three ways in which a wh-phrase can be licensed: it can be base-generated in that left-peripheral position, it can move there from a lower position, or it can be licensed in-situ in a lower position. “[T]here is a split in the distribution of the wh-word in constituent questions in Northern Sotho according to the grammatical function the questioned constituents fulfill” (Zerbian 2006: 270). In Sepedi, non-subjects are questioned in-situ (Zerbian, 2004), that is, “the position of the interrogative word in a question corresponds to its syntactic position in basic word order in a declarative sentence” (Zerbian, 2006: 267). In isiZulu, the wh-phrase also appears in post verbal position (Buell, Riedel & van der Wal, 2011), which means that objects and adverbials are questioned in-situ. There is an obligatory difference in the position of the question-word depending on whether the subject or object of the sentence is being queried (Tshule, 2014: 23). The basic strategy used in Sesotho is that question words are found in-situ (Demuth, 1995). This is the case for both objects (12a and 13) and adjuncts (12b).

(12)

Sesotho

(a) *Thabo o-pheh-ile eng?*

'What did 'Thabo cook?'

(b) *Thabo o-pheh-ile dijo kae?*

'Where did Thabo cook the food?' (Demuth, 1995)

(13)

Setswana

O batla mang?

NC1singular subject marker + verb+ q-word

You want who? (Tshule, 2014)

In the above example (12 and 13), the wh-phrases *eng* (12a), *kae* (12b) and *mang* (13) appear in post verbal position. Subjects, on the other hand, cannot be questioned in their canonical preverbal position in the pragmatically unmarked case (Zerbian, 2006). In the past, Steyn and Prinsloo (1995) made a conclusion that generally it been has accepted that the wh-words in Northern Sotho are restricted to the post verbal position and cannot occur (without the particle *ke*) in the initial sentence position, unlike in English. This view firstly created the impression that such words cannot occur preverbally and secondly that they automatically presume interrogativity. However, subjects of transitive verbs are questioned by means of a cleft construction which does not only come from the use of high toned *ké* in sentence-initial position but also from the change in the verbal morphology (Zerbian, 2006). Therefore, Steyn and Prinsloo (1995) recommended that any study of interrogatives in the sentence initial position (which is typical of dominant VO languages) should take typological change into consideration.

2.4 Interrogative strategies

Interrogative strategies are tactics used during the construction of questions. Many strategies are used to construct interrogative statements. For the purpose of this study the following strategies will be discussed: intonation, special tags, particles, interrogative word order, wh-movement and in-situ.

2.4.1 Intonation patterns

Interrogatives are a sentence type accompanied by distinct intonation patterns. These patterns can be approached by exclusively investigating the *production* domain and the *perception* judgements on production. The production approach yields an abundance of objective phonetic data but not all the data are linguistically relevant; in order to identify the linguistically relevant parts one has to carefully ‘prune’ the data, this is the perception approach that makes it possible to uncover invariant formal units (Haan, 2002).

The term intonation refers to meaningful pitch changes at the sentence level (Mothapo, 1994; van der Merwe, 2014). It is usually used to signal distinctions in sentence types, such as statements and questions (Chen and Mok, 2015). Languages form interrogatives on declarative sentences with a distinct intonation pattern signaling that

a declarative has changed to an interrogative. This is the result of meaningful alternations in pitch across the sentence (Zerbian and Barnard, 2008). The analysis of these alternations focuses on the tonal changes that statements undergo to become questions. The behaviour of tone can be accounted for by the interaction of the domain structure building rules and other tonal rules (Monareng, 1993).

Cross-linguistically, falling intonation is associated with statements because it signals certainty, while rising intonation indicates uncertainty, and hence is often used in indicating interrogatives (Mothapo, 1994; Chen and Mok, 2015). Rising intonation is predominant in interrogatives since it is usually associated with uncertainty, indecision, hesitation and insecurity (König and Siemund, 2007). Languages have certain 'universal' intonational properties, that is, a tendency for declination throughout the utterance and a prosodic distinction between different types of speech acts: e.g. declaratives will normally be distinguished intonationally from interrogatives (Demuth, 1993). Hence the majority of languages use rising intonation to mark interrogatives.

The great majority of languages use rising intonation in conjunction with interrogatives (König and Siemund, 2007). Among the prosodic and morphological means used to mark polar questions, prosody has to be regarded the crucial factor (Zerbian, 2006). Intonation questions are formed with a rise in pitch in the intonation contour towards the end of the sentence (Steyn, 1992). This rising intonation is the pitch of the voice that rises usually at the end of a sentence. The intonation of questions is often characterised by a final rise in pitch (Sadock and Zwicky, 1985; Hirst and Di Cristo, 1998; Cantero and Font-Rotchés, 2013). Jones et al. (2001) argue that there is a syllabic difference between corresponding statements and questions, and the length of the penultimate syllable is the most significant feature in distinguishing between questions and statements.

(14)

(a) *O* *dumediša* *di-kgare:be*.
SC2SG greet 10-lady
'I am greeting the ladies.'

(b) *O* *dumediša* *di-kgarebe?*

SC2SG greet 10-lady

'Are you greeting the ladies?' (Zerbian, 2006)

The difference in the two examples in (14) lies in their penultimate syllables which are at the right edge of clause boundaries. The penultimate syllable of a word in isolation or of the last word in a declarative sentence (14a) is systematically lengthened (Doke 1954 and Lombard 1979 in Zerbian, 2006). Interrogatives can be identified by a different change in intonation from their declarative counterpart (Nokaneng and Louwrens, 1996). Change in intonation varies the meaning of sentences (Ziervogel, et al, 1977). The tone of a syllable is usually carried by the vowel, but if there is syllabic nasal then the responsibility falls on the nasal, (Mixdorff et al, 2011). The first example has lengthened penultimate syllable, while the second one is marked with a raised pitch and a shortened penultimate syllable. Long penultimate vowels only occur at the right edge of declarative clause boundaries, and are absent interrogatives (Jones et al., 2001); interrogatives are pronounced with an overall raised pitch and a shortened penultimate syllable at the end of a sentence (Zerbian, 2006; Mixdorff et al, 2011).

However, there are scholars who argue that interrogatives can also be marked by rising intonation at the beginning of a sentence. "When the contour of an absolute interrogative is transposed on top of the contour of a declarative, the initial rise in tone is unmistakable" (Chappell, 2013: 121). There is a clear tendency for languages to mark interrogatives with the rise towards the end of the contour, but some languages mark interrogatives by an initial rise (König and Siemund, 2007). "The term initial rise generally refers to a prosodic event that occurs on the first or second syllable of the first content word" (German and D'Imperio, 2016: 168). For English, wh-questions canonically show an initial rise with a subsequent fall (Bolinger, 1989); Russian question contours (both yes-no and wh-) can be characterised by an initial rise (Crosby, 2013); negation questions in Granadino Spanish are marked with an initial rise on the first stressed syllable (Chappell, 2013).

With respect to the intonation systems in Sepedi, a number of case studies exist (see Lombard 1976; Monareng 1993; Zerbian 2006). The tone system of Sepedi displays the underlying two-tone system, namely high and low (Zerbian, 2006) and the words and phrases in this language exhibit considerable complex tonal alterations (Monareng, 1993). There are specific features of an intonation system that are highly

dependent on the language, the dialect, the style, the mood and the attitude of the speaker (Hirst & Di Cristo, 1998). These include the use of pitch and tone to signal sentence types, to express emotions, to encode information structure (Zerbian and Barnard, 2008).

(15)

(a) *Pere tseo ke tsa lona?*
Are those horses yours?

(b) *Di sale di le ding?*
Are they usually left alone? (Ntsane, 1954 in Mafora, 1994)

"The length of the syllables of the last word in (15a and b), especially the penult of the sentence, which is very short, while the final syllable is clearly clipped" (Mafora, 1994: 15). The rising intonation in the interrogative sentence shows incompleteness of the conversation; hence there are usually replies (Mafora, 1994).

2.4.2 Special tags

Tags are little reduced questions that speakers tack onto declaratives and imperatives in order to confirm that the answer might be correct and want the hearer to agree or disagree (Borjars and Burridge, 2010:110). They are usually added at the end of a sentence to verify that something has been understood, to clear uncertainty or to ask for confirmation. In syntax, tags are described as "short structures which can be added at the end of the clause in conversation or in written representations of speech" (Biber 1999: 139). Therefore, the term 'tag' is used to refer to any structure that has an interrogative character, enabling turn-allocation and modification of the host clause (Kimps 2007: 270). In a wide sense, tags are syntactic structures that can be attached at the end of either a declarative, an exclamative, or an imperative clause to turn it into an interrogative; tags can also be attached to other types of interrogatives.

The Division of tags

Tags can primarily be divided according to *polarity*; that is, they can either be positive or negative. The polarity of the tag is determined by the polarity of the host clause. The polarity of the host and the tag is either reverse (different) or constant (identical) (McGregor, 1995; Takahashi, 2014). Takahashi (2014) recognises four polarity

combination possibilities: reverse positive/negative; reverse negative/positive; constant positive/positive; and constant negative/negative. Some of these combination possibilities are limited to certain host clauses. The two criteria (reverse and constant) can in total produce as many as 10 (major) syntactic types of questions tags (McGregor 1995: 94). All the four polarity combination possibilities are applicable to declaratives and imperatives; interrogatives and exclamatives have only one possible polarity combination each, constant positive polarity for the former and reverse positive/negative polarity for the latter. McGragor (1995) and Kimps (2007) outline the 10 classes of tag questions as follows:

(16)

(a) declarative reverse positive/negative (You're going, aren't you?);
(b) declarative reverse negative/positive (You aren't going, are you?);
(c) declarative constant positive/positive (You are going, are you?);
(d) declarative constant negative/negative (You aren't going, aren't you?);
(e) imperative reverse positive/negative (Come her, won't you?);
(f) imperative reverse negative/positive (Don't come here, will you?);
(g) imperative constant positive/positive (Come here, will you?);
(h) imperative constant negative/negative (Don't come here, won't you?);
(i) interrogative constant positive/positive (Are you going, are you?); and
(j) exclamative, reverse positive/negative (What a bank balance, isn't it?).

This distinction in form is accompanied by difference in meaning since the factors determining the polarity of the tag are not syntactic but semantic.

The formation of tag questions

A tag question consists of a combination of a host clause and a tag. The host clause may be a declarative, an exclamative, an interrogative or an imperative (Kimps, 2007; Axelsson, 2011), although some hosts are more frequent than others. Among the four moods, the most usual tag construction contains a declarative host clause. Typically, the clause is a host and a tag is an attachment to the host; however, the tag is the one responsible for the turn-allocation and modification. The tag enables the clause to become an interrogative.

Tags have a fixed common grammatical structure - their particular form is directly dependent on the host clause, specifically on its subject and verb (Rigney, 1999; Biber, 1999). Tags consist of the two fundamental clause elements only, subject and verb, arranged in inverted word order (Axelsson, 2011). The subject and verb of both the host clause and of the tag should agree. The verb of a tag is a finite auxiliary functioning as an operator that refers to the finite verb of the host clause (Biber, 1999), while the subject is a personal pronoun that refers the original subject of the host clause (Axelsson, 2011). The system of the agreement between the subject and verb of the host clause on the one hand and of the tag on the other should not interrupted in order to produce both syntactically and semantically correct interrogative tags (Rigney, 1999).

The Function of tags

Tags are characterised as being conducive (Rigney, 1999; McGregor, 1995; Kimps 2007). They contribute a certain bias by raising expectations towards a specific answer. The general function of tags is characterised as appealing to the interlocutor for agreement or eliciting the hearer's agreement or confirmation (Biber, 1999). There are negative tags as well as positive tags; a negative tag presupposes a positive answer, whereas a positive tag bias expectation towards a negative answer (Haspelmath et al., 2001; König & Siemund, 2007). For example,

(17)

(a) You enjoy politics, don't you?

(b) You don't enjoy politics, do you?

The first sentence in (17a) is marked with a negative tag and expects a positive answer, while the second sentence is marked positively and expects an answer that is negative.

2.4.3 Particles

Many languages construct interrogative sentences by simply adding a particle to their declarative counterparts (König and Siemund, 2007). Question particles are invariable items with the function of forming questions; they express attitudes on the part of the

speaker towards the factual content of the utterance, e.g. possibility, (un)certainty, vagueness (Luo, 2016).

> Particles are words that are phonologically dependent on the complement, in other words the particles cannot be used or said without their complements. Semantically, the particle and its complement are mutually supplementary, we refer to the particle as the first member followed by the non-verbal and predicative complement of the word group. The word groups formed by particles, are named particle groups and each particle group is named after the type of particle in that group (Lombard, 1985: 190).

The particle group includes adverbial, infinitival, negative, imperative, pragmatic, interrogative particles (McArthur, 1992). Interrogative particles indicate that a sentence is a question, i.e. they are interrogative markers (Lombard, 1985). Sepedi has four interrogative particles, *a, afa, na* and *naa* (Steyn, 1992; Poulos and Louwrens, 1994). But Mothapo (1994) points out only three, *naa*, *afa* and *kgane*. Setswana uses *naare/ naa/ nnaare/ nnaa* as their particles (Khoali, 1994). Sesotho on the other hand has "[t]wo sets of interrogative particles were distinguished: [*na* and *ana, hana, kana, a*]. The pragmatic functions of these sets differ, in as much as *na* marks questions which demand answers, whereas, *ana, hana, kana, a* are used in questions of which the answers are known to both the speaker and the addressee, and have opposite polarity" (Mafora, 1994: 47). However, Mooketsi (1998) claims that in Sesotho there are three interrogative morphemes used to construct polar questions, i.e. *a, na, ana,* which may be used together or individually.

An interrogative construction is derived when the interrogative marker is added to a declarative sentence or noun phrase either at the initial position, the medial position or at the final position (Dryer, 2005; Zerbian, 2006; Akintoye & Adewale, 2014). Interrogative particles preferably occur adjacent to the predicate; verb-final languages mostly have sentence-final particles whereas verb-initial languages tend to have sentence-initial particles (Greenberg, 1966: 81). Cross-linguistically, sentence-final, sentence-initial and sentence-second, the most common positions (Dryer, 2005). The basic word order pattern of a language determines the position of interrogative particles. The position of particles is subject to considerable typological variation, but

sentence-final position seems the most widely used option (Li, 2006; König and Siemund, 2007). In Sesotho, "*na* is used alone and at sentence-initial position. In others, *a* and *na* have been used together, with *a* at the beginning of the question and *na* at the end. Sometimes *na* appears alone at the end of the question. *Na* may even appear twice, at the beginning of the question and after the first predicate. In Sesotho syntax, *a* and *ana* can only take sentence-initial position, whereas *na* can occur either at the beginning or at the end of a question. It can also occur in the middle of a complex sentence but after the predicate" (Mooketsi, 1998: 73). In Sepedi the question particles *afa* and *a*, occur only in the initial position, while the question particles *na* and *naa* may occur in either the initial or the final position or in both. The particles *afa* and *a* may co-occur with the particles *na* and *naa* in the same sentence (Steyn, 1992).

The use of interrogative particles in marking polar questions is most common in OV languages, but SVO languages employ them too (Payne 1997). Final question particles are readily found in languages with VO order (Bailey, 2013). Most Bantu languages are SVO. In many Bantu languages, sentence types are characterised by sentence-final particles (Li, 2006). Interrogative particles are used very frequently in polar questions (Dryer, 2005). When the Sepedi particles *naa* and *na* are used in a question, the speaker expects a yes-no response (Poulos and Louwrens, 1994). It is argued that *na* is used in neutral general questions where the speaker presupposes that the addressee is willing and able to respond either by a positive or a negative answer (Steyn, 1992). In Sesotho, questions with the particle *na* always demand an answer since their primary function is to obtain some information from the addressee (Mafora, 1994) and the answer to this particle is either '*E*' (yes) or '*Tjhe*' (no) (ibis).

(18)

(a) *Na o ahile hona motseng moo?*
Do you reside in this village?

(b) *Tjhe*!
No!

Na is an adverb, it can therefore be placed before or after a predicate to emphasise a question (Mafora, 1994). It also functions as a true question particle and as such can

also be used together with other question words in the same interrogative structure (Mafora, 1994: 21).

(19)

Na o a tseba ke kopane le mang kajeno?
Do you know whom I met today?

"The question word *mang* already shows that an answer is demanded, and the particle *na* is merely added to emphasise this discourse-pragmatic aspect" (Mafora, 1994: 20). However, interrogative particles in Sepedi are not empty interrogative markers. The particles are not used on an arbitrary basis, hence there is a distinction between different particles with different distributional patterns (Steyn, 1992).

The particles *a, ana* and *kana* sometimes demand answers together with explanations (Mafora, 1994). In Sepedi, the particle *a* can be used in rhetorical questions where there is no demand for an answer (Poulos and Louwrens, 1994). In Sesotho, the particle *a* can be used when the answer is well known by both the speaker and the addressee, and it has to be repeated to confirm what is already known by the speaker (Mafora, 1994) and in Sepedi *afa* is used in general questions where the speaker and the addressee share certain common knowledge (Steyn, 1992).

(20)

A ha ba tsebe lerato le tlamahanyang ngwana le mmae?
Don't they know the love that binds together the child and its mother?

The particle *ana* is used when the speaker wants the addressee to remind him of what they were both talking about (Mafora, 1994)

(21)

Ana re ne re bua kang?
By the way, what were we talking about?

Kana is used to introduce questions when the speaker wishes to be reminded or have to confirm something which he has forgotten or is doubtful about (Cole, 1955; in Mafora, 1994).

(22)

Kana o rile o ya kae?

By the way, where did you say you were going?

Hana is used where the speaker and the addressee both have prior knowledge of circumstances, and also as a follow up on something that was discussed earlier (Mafora, 1994).

(23)

Oo 'hana' o ilo hlatswa?

Oh yes, by the way, you are going to wash?

Studies have been conducted by Ziervogel et al. (1969); Prinsloo, (1985); Louwrens, (1987) and Zerbian (2006) that show that Sepedi also uses interrogative particles such as *na/naa* and *a/afa* to mark polar questions. Prinsloo (1985) studied Sepedi interrogatives in-depth and found that *na* is used to ask questions of which the speaker does not know the answer, while *afa* is used if the speaker is of the opinion that the addressee knows the answer.

(24)

(a) *Na o tseba go beša nama?*

'Do you know how to roast meat?'

(b) *Afa o tseba go beša nama?*

'Do you know how to roast meat?'

Example (24a) is constructed when the speaker does not know whether or not the addressee is capable of roasting meat, while (24b) when the speaker is under the impression that the addressee is capable of roasting meat but observes that he/she is not doing a good job at that moment.

In Yoruba, "[t]he interrogative markers employed for Yes/No-questions are*: Ǹjẹ́, Bí, Ṣé, Ndan* and *Ha*. The interrogative markers *Ǹjẹ́* and *Ṣé* occur at the initial position of the interrogative construction while *Ndan* and *Bí* are added at the final position. The interrogative marker *Ha* intervenes between the subject and the verb" (Akintoye & Adewale, 2014: 10277). Studies have been conducted by Ziervogel et al. (1969);

Prinsloo, (1985); Louwrens, (1987) and Zerbian (2006) that show that Sepedi also uses interrogative particles such as *na/naa* and *a/afa* to mark polar questions. The interrogative marker *a/afa* occurs only in sentence initial position (Ziervogel et al., 1969; Zerbian, 2006), while *na/naa* marks the interrogative sentence at the initial position, final position and medial position (Poulos & Louwrens, 1994). It is illustrated, in these studies, that the two interrogative particles have pragmatic difference in usage. "Whereas *na/naa* is used to ask a standard polar question which could be answered in the affirmative or negative, *a/afa* is used for rhetorical questions where no answer is expected" (Zerbian, 2006: 264).

2.4.4 Interrogative word order

The word order exhibited by declarative sentences (SOV, SVO, VSO, VOS, etc.) is normally regarded as the basic word order of a language (König and Siemund, 2007). However, languages are not restricted to a specific word order; certain orders are more dominant than others in a language. The basic word order in a language will determine word order alternations in different environments. Languages with dominant verb-initial order exhibit characteristics, such as VOS/VSO alternations, that are crucial to many analyses of verb-initial structures (Clemens & Polinsky, 2014).

Interrogatives belong to different parts of speech and to different formatives; the position of an interrogative within the interrogative clause is affected (Mafora, 1994). The possible correlation between basic word order and the position of interrogative phrases of languages (König & Siemund, 2007) can be illustrated as:

(25)

(a) verb-initial & wh-fronted

(b) verb-final & wh- in-situ

(c) SVO & both

The transformation from a declarative to an interrogative may cause a word order changes. In many languages, interrogatives sentences can be analysed as being the result of some operations (change of word order) performed on declaratives (König &

Siemund, 2007). English interrogatives, for example, exhibit inversion of subject and auxiliary verb relative to declarative word order:

(26)

(a) You are taking the train.

(b) Are you taking the train?

The most common case is to put the finite verb into sentence-initial position while retaining the relative order of the other constituents (König & Siemund, 2007).

(27)

(a) He knows a translator.

(b) Does he know a translator?

The strategy of marking polar questions by inversion of subject and auxiliary verb is typically available for (and seems to be restricted to) Indo-European languages (König & Siemund, 2007). The most typical word order change for polar questions in English is that the auxiliary verb appears in the sentence initial position. “Setswana has a basic Subject Verb Object (SVO) structure, where the subject of the sentence is marked through agreement with the verb. The noun is related to the verb through an agreement marker that agrees with the noun in its class” (Tshule, 2014: 21). Similarly, Sepedi declaratives display SVO basic word order. The subject is marked unambiguously through agreement with the verb, the noun is related to the verb via an agreement marker that agrees with the noun in its noun class; however, there is no need for agreement between the object and the verb (Zerbian, 2006). Setswana objects follow the verb and there is no agreement between the object and the verb in the basic SVO structure (Doke, 1954; in Tshule, 2014).

(28)

Sepedi

(a)	*Mo-nna*	*o*	*ngwal-ela*	*ba-sadi*	*lehono.*
	1-man	SC1	write-APPL	2-woman	today

‘The man writes to (the) women today.’

(b) *Ba-sadi* *ba* *ngwal-ela* *mo-nna* *lehono.*
2-woman SC2 write-APPL 1-man today
'The women write to (the/a) man today.' (Zerbian, 2006)

(29)

Setswana

Monna o gaga bolo.

The man kicks the ball. (Tshule, 2014)

Question particles in languages with a basic OV-word order, thus postpositional languages, appear in the final sentence position, whereas in languages with a basic VO-word order, thus prepositional languages, the question particle appears in the initial sentence position (Greenberg, 1973; in Steyn, 1992). However, the word order of a language does not remain the same in all sentences. Some sentences have a tendency of deviating from the canonical word order of a language. Thus, SVO languages can have SOV, VOS, VSO, OVS or OSV sentence structures. The variation in the syntactic position which question particles may occupy, can be viewed as a remnant of the drift between word orders. The occurrence of particles in the sentence final position is associated with the older SOY order, whereas their occurrence in the initial position is associated with the younger SVO order (Steyn, 1992).

There are different ways of constructing wh-questions. In predicate-initial languages, there are at least three possible ways to derive the wh-initial word order: wh-movement, cleft, and pseudo-cleft (Lin, 2013). Cross-linguistically, there are at least four strategies that languages use to form wh-questions: displacement, substitution, pseudo-cleft and cleft (Potsdam & Polinsky, 2009). With the substitution strategy, the wh-word appears in the same position as their constituent type (König & Siemund, 2007).

(30)

(a) *Ndi shumela masepala.*
I work for the municipality.

(b) *U-shum-el-a nnyi?*
You-work-appl-fv who

For whom do you work? (du Plessis, 2014)

A pseudo-cleft is a biclausal equative construction in which the wh-phrase is the predicate and the subject is a nominalised relative clause (a), while the cleft is a biclausal impersonal construction in which the wh-phrase is a focused part of the predicate and the subject is an expletive (b) (Potsdam & Polinsky, 2009):

(31)

(a) What is [the thing you saw]?

(b) [What] is it [that you saw]?

Displacement, where a wh-phrase is moved to some privileged position, typically the front of a clause. The syntactic derivation yields the wh-initial word order in wh-movement languages and provides a feature-based explanation for the movement of the interrogative phrase (Lin, 2013).

(32)

(a) I saw a lion.

(b) What did you see?

Interrogative words occur in the clause initial position in obligatorily fronting languages, which may change the neutral word order of the clause (Dryer, 2013) as we saw above. In some languages, the displacement strategy moves the wh-word to the end of the clause. In predicate-initial languages, the displacement, pseudo-cleft, and cleft strategies may all yield interrogative-phrase-initial word orders (Potsdam & Polinsky, 2009).

Some languages change their word order in their wh-questions, and the word order alternations from SOV to SVO is the most common (Luo, 2016). For other languages, wh-words always obligatorily occur sentence-initially, like in English; in these types of languages, the initial position of the interrogative phrases may cause changes in the basic word order of the clause from SVO to OVS or OSV (Mus, 2015).

(33)

(a) I saw Thabang.
Whom did you see?

(b) I was seen by Thabang.
Who saw you?

Wh-questions may cause a change in word order in languages that the wh-words invariably take a sentence-initial position, if an interrogative phrase functions as an object the order changes from SVO to OSV (Luo, 2016). Although the normal position of subjects is usually before the verb in SVO languages, different word order strategies may be employed in different contexts; the focus may be placed on the object in a pre-verbal position.

(34)

(a) *Meetse o a a nwa Mothusi.*
Water he drinks it Mothusi.
Muthusi drinks water.

In Sesotho, subjects normally carry the emphasis and prominence in discourse; in this case the focus is on the object which is in the initial position of the statement (Mafora, 1994).

(b) **Eng o a a nwa Mothusi*?
*What he drinks it Mothusi?

(c) *Mothusi o nwa eng*?
Mothusi drinks what?
What does Mothusi drink?

The declarative word order is OVS, when interrogatives are formed the basic word order SVO is followed (Mafora, 1994). The position of the wh-word does not correlate with the word order of declarative; the wh-word does not share the same position with its counterpart constituent in the declarative sentence. If they were to correlate, the interrogative would be ungrammatical. An observation from the Sesotho example

above is that SVO order is adopted as a wh-question order if the language has an alternative order in its declarative. In Lɛtɛ, Interrogative words/phrases in a content interrogative may be focused; that is expressed through word order change, this involves fronting a question word/phrase and following it with the focus marker (Ansah, 2010).

Languages with dominant VOS and VSO order in declarative sentences always put interrogative words first in interrogative word questions (Keenan, 1978). Cross-linguistically, there is a tendency for interrogative phrases to appear first within interrogative clauses for languages with basic verb-initial word order (Potsdam and Polinsky, 2009).

The alternation of word order from one structure to the other does not necessarily suggest a change of wh-word position, because in some instances the relative ordering of S and O does not change. In other words, the position of the object which is normally occupied by pronominal wh-phrases does not change in these alternations (Luo, 2016). In Sepedi, there is a direct relationship between the position the question particle occupies in the clause and the basic word order type to which the language belongs (Steyn, 1992). The presence of the particle *na* in Sesotho interrogatives does not change the word order (Mafora, 1994).

In Sepedi, the adjunct question words such as *neng*, *bjang*, *kae* and *bokae* may occur with mono transitive verbs as well as ditransitive verbs (Mothapo, 1994). This allows the adjunct question words to alter with the word order of a particular structure. For instance, the question word *kae* in a transitive structure may appear immediately after the verb or immediately after the object.

(36)

(a) *Monna* *o* *bone* *kae* *ngwana?*
1-Man SC1 saw where 1-child
Where did the man see the child?

(b) *Monna* *o* *bone* *ngwana* *kae?*
1-Man SC1 saw 1-child where
Where did the man see the child?

In a ditransitive structure, the question word *bjang* may appear immediately after the two objects, between the two objects or between the verb and one of the objects.

(37)

(a) *Monna* *o* *fa* *ngwana* *puku* *bjang?*
1-Man SC1 give 1-child 9-book how
How does man give book to the child?

(b) *Monna* *o* *fa* *ngwana* *bjang,* *puku?*
1-Man SC1 give 1-child how 9-book
How does man give child a book?

(c) *Monna* *o* *fa* *bjang ngwana* *puku?*
1-Man SC1 give how 1-child 9-book
How does man give child book?

(Mothapo, 1994)

In all the instances above, the meaning might be similar or related but the movement of the adjunct question word changes the word order. The word order change of the adjunct question word does not affect the grammaticality of the question, and this movement cannot be regarded as an instance of wh-movement (Mothapo, 1994).

2.4.5 Wh-movement

'Movement' is a term used within the framework of transformational grammar (TG) to refer to a basic kind of transformational operation (Maduagwu, 2012: 25). Wh-movement process is one of the various rules of move-α within the framework of Chomsky's Government and Binding Theory where wh-question word moves from its underlying abstract position in the D-structure of the sentence and gives rise to the S-structure (Abedi et al., 2012). This movement occurs during the construction of interrogatives which are identifiable by interrogative phrases. According to Radford (1981), an interrogative phrase is a phrase in the sentence containing one interrogative word such as who, which, when, where, whom, what and so on.

According to Chomsky (1977), the position towards which wh-word moves is assumed as the position of complimentiser phrase specifier which is a non-argument position. Therefore, wh-movement signifies movement of question component or interrogative

phrase from an argument position toward the closest non-argument position which indicates complimentiser phrase (Cook & Newson, 1996). The name Wh-movement comes from analyses in Generative Grammar where a wh-word at the D-structure begins at the final clause position and moves to the initial/overt clause position (Maduagwu, 2012).

Wh-questions are formed by the movement of the question words from their original positions to the specifier or clause initial position in order to check the wh-feature in the complement (Lutz et al., 2000; Carnie, 2006).

This rule permits the movement of wh-phrase from one part of a sentence to another; there are different types of movement transformations which include operator movement of which wh-movement is an aspect of (Maduagwu, 2012). The construction of wh-questions involves full wh-movement, partial wh-movement and wh-in-situ (Muriungi et al., 2014). These types of movement can be accounted for by the computational system which is used to generate structures and seen as feature checking (Chomsky, 1977).

In some languages, wh-questions are formed by the movement of the question words from their original positions to the specifier or clause initial position in order to check the wh-feature in the complement (Lutz et al., 2000; Carnie, 2006). The wh-word moves toward the beginning of the sentence. This is called full movement, for example,

(38)

(a) You bought a bicycle (object).

(b) *You did buy a what?

(c) What did you buy? (Full wh-movement)

The movement of wh-word towards the position of complimentiser phrase specifier reveals word orders in interrogative sentences, which then results in the movement of the auxiliary verb toward the head of complement (Abedi et al., 2012). In the above example (38), (c) is the surface structure of the (b) which is a deep structure. In the two ‘interrogatives, the wh-word moves from the position of object noun phrase

(bicycle) to the position of complimentiser phrase specifier. The interrogative word moves to a position higher than the head of complement in a sentence. The interrogative word i.e., what, is placed on the left side of the auxiliary verb which is in turn situated in the head position of complimentiser. Under this movement approach to questions, wh-phrases must be adjacent to the complementiser in order to be able to make their contribution to the meaning of the question; all wh-phrases occur syntactically next to the complementiser, regardless of where they are pronounced (Kotek & Hackl, 2013). In English, the wh-word moves from the underlying object position to the beginning of the question. Like many Bantu languages, Sesotho does not permit wh-words in subject position (39a). This means that either a passive (39b) or a cleft/relative construction (39c) is used to form subject questions (Doke & Mofokeng, 1985; Demuth, 1995). This is part of a larger tendency found in many Bantu (and other) languages to map topical information into subject position and new information into object position (Demuth and Kline, 2006).

(39)

The formation of subject questions

(a) **Mang o-qad-il-e le-bese?*

1who 1AGR-spill-PERF-FV 5-milk

'Who spilled the milk?'

(b) *Le-bese le-qad-il-w-e ke mang?*

5-milk 5-1AGR-spill-PERF-PASS-FV by who

'The milk was spilled by whom?'

(c) *Ke mang ea-qad-il-e-ng le-bese*

CP 1who 1RL/AGR-spill-PERF-FV-Rel 5-milk

'It is who that spilled the milk?' (Demuth and Kline, 2006)

The subject wh-phrase cannot appear in its bare form without the focus marker as in (39a), when a wh-phrase moves to the sentence initial position, it acquires the focus marker *ke* in (39c). The focus marker *ke* is therefore diagnostic of syntactic movement in Sesotho (Muriungi, 2015). Subjects cannot be questioned in their basic word order position. The interrogative phrase may occur in the various syntactic positions, but

they cannot occur in the subject position (Mothapo, 1994). Subjects of transitive verbs are questioned by means of a cleft construction as shown here (Tshule, 2014):

(40)

(a) *Monna o raga bolo.*

The man kicks a ball.

(b) *Ke mang ya ragileng bolo?*

Copula + who + agreement marker + verb present continuous + object

It is who that kicked the ball?

"*Ke* is inserted at the beginning of a sentence and functions like a copula. The verb morphology is also more complex; the verb *raga* is changed to *ragileng*, *-a* at the end of the verb is changed to *i* and *ng* is added at the end of the verb to indicate continuous tense" (Tshule, 2014: 23).

Sesotho does not permit wh-words in subject position but rather uses a passive, relative or a cleft construction to form subject questions (Demuth and Kline, 2006). Similarly, "Setswana wh-questions involve re-ordering of the elements in the sentence and positioning of the question word at the end of the sentence. Relative clauses, passive by-phrases and cleft constructions are used to move the wh-question word to the front of a sentence" (Tshule, 2014: 25).

(41)

Basic structure

(a) *Monna o bitsa ngwana*

NC1 + 1ST person singular agreement marker + verb + object

The man calls a child

Passive

(b) *Ngwana o bitswa ke mang?*

Object+1st person singular agreement marker+verb+w+ke+q-word

The child is called by who

Cleft

(c) *Ke mang ya bitsang ngwana?*

Ke +q-word +ya+ verb+ng+object
It is who calling the child

“In the passive contruction, the word *ngwana* (child) is moved to the front and /w/ is added to the verb to form a passive phrase. When moving the question word to the front, the grammar is more complicated, in that “*ke”* (it is) is inserted at the beginning of the cleft, and *“ng”* is affixed on to the verb stem” (Tshule, 2014: 26).

Other languages operate on partial movement where wh-question word or phrase is moved to an embedded specifier position of the wh-clause (Sabel, 2000). Kikuyu allows partial wh-movement where the underlying wh-word moves from its canonical position to some intermediate position of the sentence. The wh phrase moves to the specifier of CP of the most embedded clause or the second embedded clause (Muriungi et al., 2014).

(42)

Maria etikitie ni-ndui John agurire?
Maria believes foc-what John bought?
“What does Maria believe John bought?”

The moved wh-word carries the focus marker morpheme *ni*; this marker is diagnostic of movement in Kikuyu (Muriungi et al., 2014). With partial movement, wh- words appear in the medial position. In the Kikuyu example, the wh-question word moves only to the medial CP where it has the status of a real question; the movement is locally constrained to the first or embedded CP. This strategy can be used to form object, subject and adjunct wh-question (Letsholo, 2002; Sabel & Zeller, 2006; Muriungi et al., 2014).

(43)

IsiZulu subject question:

(a) *U-cabanga ukuthi ba-the uPeter o-sebenzile.*
2sg-think that 3pl-said 1a.Peter sp1a-worked
You think they said Peter worked.

(b) *U-cabanga ukuthi ng-ubani ba-the o-sebenzile?*
2sg-think that 1a.who 3pl-said sp1a-worked

‘Who do you think they said worked?’ (Sabel & Zeller, 2006)

In isiZulu, the wh-phrase moves from the position of the subject to the specifier of CP of the second embedded clause. The interrogative example derived from the declarative, shows the possible partial wh-constructions and position that a wh-ex situ subject can occupy in a direct question from an embedded clause (Sabel & Zeller, 2006).

(44)

Gichuka adjunct question:

(a) *John etikitie Mwende augire kairitu karugire irio muramuko.*
John believe Mwende said girl cooked food Monday.
“John believes Mwende said the girl coked the food on Monday.”

(b) *John etikitie ni-ri Mwende augire kairitu karugire irio*? (partial wh-movement)
John believe f-when Mwende said girl cooked food
“When does John believe the girl cooked food?”

(c) *John etikitie Mwende augire niri kairitu karugire irio*? (partial wh-movement)
John believe Mwende said f-when girl cooked food.
“When does John believe the girl cooked food?” (Muriungi et al., 2014)

To question the adjunct “muramuko” in Gichuka, a focus marker *“ni”* is added to the wh-word *“ri”* to form a wh-phrase and make the sentence grammatical. The wh-phrase *“niri”* moves partially to the position after the most embedded clause in (b) while in (c) it moves to the position after the second embedded clause (Muriungi et al., 2014).

(45)

Ikalanga object question:

(a) *Neo u-no-alakana kuti Nchidzi a-noo-bona mbisana*
1a.Neo 1a.SM-pres-think that 1a.Nchidzi 1a.SM-will-see boy
Neo thinks Nchidzi will see the boy.

(b) *Neo u-no-alakana kuti ndi-Ø-ani Nchidzi wa-a-noo-bona*?
1a.Neo 1a.SM-pres-think that Foc-1a-who 1a.Nchidzi WHagr-1a.SM-will-see?
‘Who does Neo think Nchidzi will see?’ (Letsholo, 2002)

When forming object wh-questions in Ikalanga, the wh-word moves to the medial position. It appears before the embedded CP, the position where the object is found. The object "*mbisana*" is questioned by moving the wh-phrase to the specifier of CP of the second embedded clause. The object wh-phrase undergoes partial wh-movement to the left periphery of the embedded clause; the WHagr is triggered in the embedded clause, the clause in which the focused element occurs (Letsholo, 2002).

2.4.6 Wh-in-situ

In wh-movement languages, a wh-question is constructed by moving the wh-phrase into the specifier of CP headed by the question C. In these languages, there is an overt movement of wh-elements. Contrary to movement languages are in-situ languages. Wh-in-situ questions are often constructed without the movement of wh-phrase (Sabel & Zeller, 2006; Muriungi et al., 2014). Wh-in-situ is a wh-element that does not move overtly (Bayer and Cheng, 2015). Under the in-situ approach to questions, no movement is required in order to assign interrogative meaning to a structure containing wh-elements (Kotek & Hackl, 2013). The construction of wh-questions involves wh-words appearing in the position where its answer would appear in its declarative counterpart. This means that the wh-phrase remains in the underlying position of the objects, subjects and adjuncts during the formation of the wh question (Muriungi et al., 2014). In-situ wh–objects remain in canonical object position, in-situ wh–subjects are pronounced in canonical subject position, in-situ wh-adjuncts appear in canonical adjunct position.

When the wh-word remains in-situ or does not move, it remains in the canonical position of the corresponding subject, object or adjunct. When forming object wh-questions in Kiswahili, the wh-word can remain in the canonical position of the object where it appears after the verb, the position where the object is found (Muriungi et al., 2014). Sesotho also exhibits in-situ forms:

(46)

Ba-ets-a jwang?	Object
2AGR-do-FV what	
'What are they doing?'	

The formation of the wh-construction in (46) above exhibits wh-in-situ form, on the assumptions that the wh-element *jwang* has remained in its canonical object position.

Torrence and Kandybowicz (2013) outline three types of wh-in-situ construction: main clause wh-in-situ; embedded clause wh-in-situ; island-internal wh-in-situ. A main clause contains at least one subject and one verb, expresses a complete thought, and can stand alone as a complete sentence (Salomone & McDonald, 2010) while the embedded clause is a nested clause which is analysed as a dependent of the main clause (Croft, 2001). The form of an embedded clause may differ from the form that normally occurs in the main clause. Therefore, wh-in-situ is allowed in mono-clausal and multi-clausal sentences (Muriungi, 2015).

(47)

(a) The boy who came is his cousin.

(b) He left when the bell rang.

The two kinds of embedded clauses illustrated here are a relative clause (who came) and an adverb clause (when the bell rang) (Wardhaugh, 2003). An island in syntax refers to a syntactic domain from which its constituents cannot be extracted (Ross, 1967). A wh-island is created by an embedded sentence which is introduced by a wh-word (O'Grady, 2005). Wh-island is found when a wh-phrase is extracted from a declarative clause contained in an embedded question.

(48)

*What did Mary ask [CP2 who said [CP1 __ that Bill had bought __]]?

In the above example, *what* may move to Spec, CP1, but it may not move to Spec, CP2 since that specifier is occupied by *who* (Ross, 1967). The wh-construction becomes ungrammatical because the second step of wh-movement must cross two CPs which is not allowed. This effect is called the wh-island constraint. Wh-island is a type of constituent that can trap a wh-phrase:

(49)

(a) John wondered who brought chips to the party.

(b) *What did John wonder who brought to the party?

An interesting twist on the distribution of island-internal wh-in-situ is that despite occurring in islands, wh-in-situ is barred from occurring in doubly embedded islands (that is, islands nested inside other inlands) (Torrence & Kandybowicz, 2013). A sentence with an embedded question does not allow a wh-construction about something inside the embedded question. The island effect, however, can allow wh-in-situ (of appropriate items) in embedded clauses.

(50)

(a) John wonders where Eric went to buy a gift?

(b) ??What does John wonder where Eric went to buy __?

The attempt to extract out of a wh-island is at best strongly marginal. According to Huang (1982), the wh-element can move to the left periphery, but covertly. But the argument for wh-in-situ is that the wh-element does not move. Chomsky (1977) argues that what moves is the wh-feature only; thus the wh-element is realised in-situ in PF, while the relevant feature appears in the scope position at LF. In a wh-in-situ language, the relevant wh-feature contained in the wh-phrase can separate morphologically from the rest of the wh-phrase and moves at overt syntax to C. Hagstrom (1998) suggests that the wh-feature, in wh-in-situ, is generated with the wh-phrase and it is this feature that moves to C. What remains is the wh-phrase minus this feature, possibly something like the semantic restriction (Watanebe, 1992). Watanabe (1992) argues that the covert movement of the wh-feature to the left periphery has no semantic implications.

2.5 Summary

This chapter outlined the core issues in the construction of the two main question types that have been discussed in many languages: *polar questions*, the yes-no interrogative

construction found in three varieties: the inverted question; the inverted question offering an alternative; and the tag question; and *constituent questions*, the type of interrogative construction that elicit information on particular parts of the sentence through the use of wh-forms such as who, what, which, when, where, why, and how. Sepedi scholars have focused much on polar and constituent interrogatives; however, these two are not the only categories of interrogatives. “The literature on questions offers a plethora of question types” (Haan, 2002: 12). Since they have not been exhausted, the following question types will also receive attention in the study: alternative questions, tag questions, echo questions, rhetorical questions, and embedded questions.

It also discussed the interrogative strategies. *Intonation*, the meaningful pitch changes at the sentence level that is usually used to signal distinctions in sentence types, such as statements and questions; *special tags*, the syntactic structures that have interrogative characters and can enable turn-allocation and modification of the host clause. This happens when they are attached at the end of either a declarative, an exclamative, or an imperative clause to turn it into an interrogative; *particles*, the interrogative invariable items that express attitudes on the part of the speaker towards the factual content of the utterance; *interrogative word order*, the characteristic of interrogative construction as a result of structural transformation from a declarative to an interrogative caused by a word order changes. In many languages, interrogatives sentences can be analysed as being the result of some operations (change of word order) performed on declaratives; wh-movement, the rule that permits the wh-phrase to move from one part of a sentence to another; and in-situ, the rule that restricts the movement of the wh-phrase.

Moreover, authors who say interrogative phrases may occur in the various syntactic positions, but they cannot occur in the subject position seem to disregard phrases such as *goreng, gobaneng, ke ka baka lang* which without a doubt occupy the subject position. Moreover, Sepedi speakers tend to form constructions such as ‘*mang o reng*?’ that according to them is acceptable. The study takes a closer look at the distribution of interrogative markers.

CHAPTER THREE: RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

3.1 Introduction

Methodology is one of the most important components of research. It is regarded as a blueprint according to which the research is built; this can be done from three approaches: quantitative, qualitative and mixed method (Creswell, 2013). Qualitative research method is the approach suitable for this study. This method is an approach to knowledge production (Tesch, 2013: 55). Qualitative research in linguistics typically seeks to make sense of language, language use in context or a social phenomenon as it occurs in natural settings (Paltridge & Phakiti, 2015). One of the characteristics of a qualitative approach is that it is interpretive (Christensen, Johnson & Turner, 2014). Thus, this chapter presents a qualitative research methodology.

3.2 Research approach

Qualitative research is a means of exploring and understanding the meaning and interpretation individuals or groups ascribe to a social problem (Creswell, 2014). It implies “a concern for more inductive analysis, for exploring, explaining, uncovering phenomena and for generating new theoretical insights” (Hammond and Wellington, 2013:107). It also focuses on meaning and interpretation (Liamputtong, 2009; Christensen, Johnson & Turner, 2014; Paltridge & Phakiti, 2015). The phenomenon of interrogatives has not been explored extensively in Sepedi and therefore needs to be explored, interpreted and understood. It is for this reason that the study adopts the interpretive research paradigm, since the focus is on meaning and interpretation which is achieved by exploring and understanding the meaning ascribed to the syntax and semantics of interrogatives (Liamputtong, 2009; Creswell, 2014). Researchers with an interpretive orientation follow a data-driven and inductive approach; the inductive approach refers to a more bottom-up approach, using particular observations and data to make general inferences, as is usually the case in qualitative research (Riazi, 2016).

Interpretivists argue that simple fundamental laws cannot explain the complexity of social phenomena (Blumberg et al., 2011:17). “An interpretivist research paradigm emphasises qualitative research methods, which are flexible, context sensitive and largely concerned with understanding complex issues,” (Carcary, 2009:11). There are various types of interrogatives, some of which are complex in structure and/or

meaning, and the choice of each is determined by context. Furthermore, the construction of any interrogative is guided by the intended meaning and the interpretation of that construction is context dependent. This makes interrogative constructions a complex social phenomenon whose meaning must be interpreted. It is also important to note that the study of interrogatives goes hand in glove with the context of ongoing interactions. Hence, Hammond and Wellington (2013) assert that an interpretivist research is concerned with the meaning of a phenomenon and its interpretation in context, i.e. action and consequence. Based on context, the same meaning of interrogatives is open to various interpretation.

Research therefore is neither value-free nor does it exist as a single objective reality; there are multiple realities (external and internal) that must be accounted for (Kubayi, 2013). External reality refers to what occurs in the physical world and the internal reality pinpoints the subjective and unique reality to each individual (Carcary, 2009). The former is the structural constructions of interrogatives and the latter is the subjective interpretation that each individual attach to the structure. In this view, the understanding of interrogatives requires multiple interpretations. Researcher with an interpretive orientation are attempts to make sense of realities by continuously defining, giving meaning and interpreting daily actions (Carcary, 2009; Hammond and Wellington, 2013; Riazi, 2016).

Interpretive paradigm thus focuses on exploring the complexity of social phenomena with a view to gaining understanding of the meaning and the values people attach to these phenomena. A researcher with an interpretive orientation aims at learning and understanding the subjective motives and reasons that shape the way a person or a group of people act in particular ways in certain contexts (Riazi, 2016). Reality of a language, in this case the good construction of interrogatives and their meaning and understanding, is shaped by the perceptions of the speakers, as well as the values and aims of the researcher; the reality is therefore subjective and nuanced. Thus, in order to arrive at the understanding of structural constructions and meanings of interrogatives in Sepedi, the researcher uses qualitative methods to describe the ‘what’, ‘how’ or ‘why’ of the phenomenon of interrogative construction in a given context (Patton, 2015).

To foster understanding, the interpretive researcher investigates the social phenomenon within its specific social context and setting where a meaning system is believed to drive human decision-making and behaviour (Riazi, 2016). Interpretive paradigm helps to unearth and communicate the meanings and interpretations that speakers apparently attach to various constructions of interrogative. These constructions and their meanings and interpretations are a focus in which the study takes place, the individual interrogatives uttered by speakers and/or captured in documents, and the broad interrelationships in the context that are being researched. Interpretive paradigm foster understanding of contextual realities which shape the individuals' reasoning (Riazi, 2016).

There are three basic principles of interpretive paradigm (Blumberg et al., 2011:17):

- The social world is constructed and given meaning subjectively by people;
- The researcher is part of the observation; and
- Research is driven by interests.

The meaning of a word comes from a sentence. That is, a word can have multiple meanings but context will always determine the appropriate meaning. People consciously place words in a particular context based on the intended meaning and desired interpretation. Therefore, meaning is subjectively constructed by choosing certain words and placing them in a particular context for an appropriate interpretation. Interpretive paradigm pays attention on meaning, and understanding the social interactions between humans. People are subjects that have a mind; their speech is affected by knowledge of the context, which exists only in relation to human beings (Blumberg et al., 2011). Therefore, interrogatives should rather be constructed and interpreted through the meanings that people attach based on experience and events. Interpretation is decoded and encoded in the mind, which constructs meanings. These meanings can be discovered through the construction of interrogatives, and exclusively through qualitative analysis.

Participant observation is a very direct method which provides the researcher with close contact with the subject, behaviours or events being studied (Rose and Grosvenor, 2012). But, it is important for researchers to be aware of their own biases

that they bring into any new situation and their personal reactions to these situations (Farber 2006: 370). Therefore, methods to gather evaluative information already known to the researcher need to be in place since the researcher is part of the observation. This is important because the researcher has personal involvement with the surrounding being studied (Davies et al., 2014). It lends itself well to the researcher who wishes to gain an understanding of what is happening in a particular situation and in combination with other data collection methods such as interviews or document scrutiny it can be a particularly useful part of the researchers battery of techniques (Rose and Grosvenor, 2012). This allows the interpretive paradigm to run smooth.

Interpretive research is interested in understanding how various processes occur. The goal is to explore the ways in which researcher is influenced by and react with the phenomena (Trauth, 2011). The researcher takes interest in a particular phenomenon and that interest drives the researcher to explore how the underpinnings of that particular phenomenon occur. Interpretive studies generally try to understand phenomena through the meaning that people assign to them, the process whereby the researcher influences and is influenced by the context (Walsham, 1993 in Galliers and Stein, 2017). For interpretive studies to succeed, the researcher need to understand the relationship between the phenomena (syntax of interrogatives) and the meaning given to the phenomena (semantics of interrogatives).

It is through intrepretive research paradigm that the study use research methods, which are flexible, context sensitive and largely concerned with understanding complex issues (Carcary, 2009:11). Therefore, this approach helps the study to uncover the interpretations invested in interrogatives since it focuses on making sense of qualitative data by interpreting their meaning (Remler & Van Ryzin, 2015: 61). The construction of interrogatives is not done randomly but driven by meaning.

3.2.1 Sampling

Sampling is the selection of specific data sources from which data are collected to address the research objectives (Gentles et al., 2015). This is done by following, among others, five important issues which are population, sampling technique, sampling strategy, sample size and sampling ethics.

- *Population*

Population is the entire set of eligible sampling units that are of interest to a researcher and from which a sample is selected (Hammond and Wellington, 2013; Gentles et al., 2015). The study was based on Sepedi with is predominantly spoken in Limpopo Province with 52.9% of the population speaking it as a first language (StatsSA, 2012). In the case of this study, the population are all Sepedi speaking people (who are able to construct interrogatives) and all written documents (which contain interrogatives) in the Capricorn District of Limpopo Province from which the researcher will make a sample. The sampling units were selected from the population based on the fluency of the language from the speakers and availability of interrogative constructions in documents.

- *Sampling technique*

Sampling for qualitative research often involves some form of purposive sampling which entails the choosing of data sources that have unique perspective (Petty, Thomson & Stew, 2012; Remler & Van Ryzin, 2015; Patton, 2015). The idea behind qualitative research is to purposefully select sampling units (participants or documents) that will best help the researcher understand the problem and the research question (Creswell, 2009). Liamputtong (2009:11) attests that “qualitative research relies heavily on purposive sampling strategies”. The study used the purposive sampling technique in the choice of the informants and documents. Purposive sampling is “associated with research designs that are based on the gathering of qualitative data and focuse[s] on the exploration and interpretation” (Matthews and Ross, 2010:167); it is the deliberate selection of specific individuals, events, or settings because of the crucial information they can provide that cannot be obtained so well through other channels (Liamputtong, 2009). “The logic and power of purposeful sampling lie in selecting information-rich cases for in-depth study. Information-rich cases are those from which one can learn a great deal about issues of central importance to the purpose of the inquiry...Studying information-rich cases yields insights and in-depth understanding" (Patton, 2015: 264). Through this technique, qualitative researchers are at liberty to choose sampling units that, in their opinion, are relevant to the study and will assist in answering the research questions. Thus, purposive sampling implies that researchers intentionally select sampling units

because of the crucial information they possess which is central to the phenomenon under study. In this study, the sampling units intentionally selected are Sepedi language practitioners who are familiar with the generative transformational grammar of Sepedi, Sepedi conversations which were bound to have interrogative statements and documents that contain interrogatives. These sampling units are information-rich, will offer an in-depth study, and provide understanding and insights about the construction of interrogatives in Sepedi.

- *Sampling strategy*

Purposeful sampling is probably the most commonly described means of sampling in the qualitative methods literature today (Gentles et al., 2015). There are 16 purposeful sampling strategies (Patton, 2002) which were expanded to 40 (Patton, 2015). Within purposive sampling technique, the purposeful random sampling strategy was used. This strategy, according to Patton (2015: 268):

> Adds credibility to a qualitative study when those who will use the findings have a strong preference for random selection, even for small samples; it can be perceived to reduce bias; purposeful random sampling is essentially appropriate when the potential number of cases within a purposeful category is more than what can be studied with the available time and resources.

Embedded in this strategy is the ability to compare and contrast, to identify similarities and differences in the various sampling units (Palinkas et al., 2015). The central idea is that if sampling units are purposefully chosen to be different or similar in the first place, then their views will reflect this difference or similarity and provide a good qualitative study (Creswell and Plano Clark, 2007). By identifying similarities and differences in the sampling units, the researcher was able to thematically class the data sources accordingly. Through purposeful random sampling, the researcher aims for manageability of the collected data and credibility of the research findings not representativeness (Creswell, 2013; Patton, 2015). This strategy opens the possibility of coming up with reliable findings while working with small random sample.

- *Sample size*

Using the purposeful random sampling strategy, it was intended at the onset of the study that data will be collected from 15 documents comprising chapters from the Sepedi Bible (each chapter as a document) and five Hansard reports (less than five years); then later added five Sepedi novels and 12 Sepedi language practitioners who have the knowledge of Sepedi generative transformational grammar. However, this could not be followed strictly during data collection because even though sample size relates to the determination of the required number of sampling units that are needed to provide the data for further analysis, qualitative research is not interested in how much, or how many but concerned with in-depth understanding of the issue under examination (Liamputtong, 2009). A key to qualitative research is to collect in-depth information from sampling units as long as the data is saturated regardless of the sample size. Saturation refers to reaching a point of informational redundancy where additional data collection contributes little or nothing new to the study (Gentles et al., 2015). For the purpose of this study, saturation was a guide to the researcher to indicate that sufficient data collection has been achieved.

- *Sampling Ethics*

The nature of the study required the collection of data from legislature proceedings, literature with copyright issues and people with the right to privacy. Since the University has a regulation on using humans as sources of information in research, ethical clearance was obtained first from the Turfloop Research Ethics Committee (TREC), then the Limpopo Province legislature for using Hansard reports. The names of participants from the Hansard reports were treated confidentially. The names of the language practitioners were not recorded on the interview sheets. Anonymity of all participants was maintained by not recording their names.

3.2.2 Data collection

There are four basic types of data collection in qualitative research, namely: observations, interviews, documents and audio-visual materials (Creswell, 2013). In this study, data were collected through observing daily communications of Sepedi speakers, interviewing language practitioners who have the knowledge of Sepedi generative transformational grammar and collecting documents in the form of the Bible, Hansard reports and Sepedi literature.

The researcher collected data through observations, documents and interviews. The researcher firstly did a parallel data collection involving observations and documents in order to gain knowledge of how interrogatives are constructed in everyday lives in a natural environment, while comparing that with what has already been recorded in various documents. After identifying similarities and differences in the data collected through observations and documents, experts were consulted through interviews in order to add theoretical insights to the data. Interview questions were derived from the data collected through observations and documents. The section below discusses the data collection tools and how they were used.

- *Observation*

Qualitative researchers often uses their senses to gather data from sampling units in naturally occurring environments. “All scientific knowledge is rooted in observation” (Patton, 2015: 329). There are variations in observation as a method of collecting data. The fundamental distinction that differentiates observational strategies concerns the extent to which the observer will be a participant in the setting being studied (Patton, 2015). Creswell (2013) distinguishes observations into four types: complete participant, participant as observer, nonparticipant/observer as participant and complete observer. The researcher used participant as observer in order to engage with the participants; the participation helped the researcher to often direct the participants construct interrogatives during conversations. It became necessary to observe participants in naturally occurring environments in order to gain primary data of interrogative construction. Behaviours sometimes need to be observed as they happen; the researcher watched how people respond to certain situations and stimuli in real-life. Sometimes it is best to observe in a natural setting with no attempts at intervention on the part of the researcher. However, the researcher can be part of the group they are studying to get a deeper insight into their culture. The study used covert participant observation where the researcher's real identity and purpose was kept concealed from the group being studied. The observation was valuable in giving in-depth information about what prompt certain types of interrogatives. The observation was not only on the interrogatives but also on what necessitated the construction. However, before the observation of participants, the researcher had to conduct self-observation.

In the early stages of data collection, the study used self-observation as a method to gather evaluative information already known to the researcher. This existing knowledge of the research has been obtained through formal learning. According to Farber (2006: 370),

> …it is important for researchers to be aware of their own biases that they bring into any new situation and their personal reactions to these situations… Self-observations include observations of your own reactions, thoughts, and feelings. They can include new ideas and questions that have been sparked. They can be used to formulate new questions.

Self-observation is a data collection method through which the researcher reflects upon his or her knowledge of the subject under study prior to any other method of collecting data. The researcher will then carefully consider the patterns, variables and changes in style throughout the process of data collection (Carey, 2012). This method aimed at generating awareness and a richer understanding of the phenomenon under study.

- *Documents*

Institutional documents were used as another method of data collection. These are the Bible and Hansard reports; Sepedi literature were also used as part of documents. These documents were chosen because they represent data which is thoughtful in that authors have attention to compiling them; they are also an unobtrusive source of information (Creswell, 2009). Remler and Van Ryzin (2015: 65) maintain that a "great deal of qualitative data already exists in the form of published and unpublished documents". Documents provide "a means of tracking change and development because they hold background information as well as historical insight, and such information and insight can help researchers understand the historical roots of specific issues and can indicate the conditions that impinge upon the phenomena currently under investigation" (Bowen, 2009:30). Data from these documents were collected to corroborate the evidence obtained through observations and interviews. Yanow (2007: 411) in Owen (2014) holds that documents may corroborate observational data in

which case the researcher is ‘armed’ with evidence that can be used to clarify a role that the observational data may also play.

The documents used are of great value to examine the study from different angles and enrich the researcher’s knowledge about how speakers use language in as far as interrogative construction is concerned. That is, they assisted in dealing with the comparison of descriptive and prescriptive linguistics. As a research method, document analysis is particularly applicable to intensive studies producing rich descriptions of a single phenomenon, event, organisation, or program (Bowen 2009: 29). This method has enabled the researcher to highlight and pursue patterns, variables and changes in the evidence emerging as a result of the data obtained in the interviews and observations. Using documents in combination with observations and interviews allowed the researcher to appropriately gain a rich understanding of interrogative construction (Owen, 2014).

- *Interviews*

Interviews play a central role in the data collection (Creswell, 2013). The study used semi-structured interviews also known as in-depth interviews. The aim of in-depth interview is to explore the ‘insider perspective’; to capture, in the participants’ own words, their thoughts, perceptions, feelings and experiences (Liamputtong, 2009:43). One of the advantages of interviews is that they put the researcher in charge of the line of questioning so that the topic under study can be addressed. “Semi-structured interviews (sometimes referred to as focus interviews) involve a series of open ended questions based on the topic areas the researcher wants to cover. The open ended nature of the question defines the topic under investigation but provides opportunities for both interviewer and interviewee to discuss some topics in more detail” (Hancock, 1998: 9).

Before the interviews, participants were informed about the purpose of the study and they were given consent forms to indicate that their participation in the study is voluntary. They were also informed that the interviews will be tape recorded. The interviews were conducted in the language of their choice; most preferred Sepedi. During the interviews, the researcher firstly gathered the education level of the participants, their level of Sepedi proficiency and the years of experience as language

practitioners. Then focused on exploring their knowledge of interrogatives in Sepedi. The line of questioning was flexible; the researcher was able to add or remove questions from the schedule based on the answer of the previous question. The participants were also able to share in-depth their knowledge. Packer (2011: 43) posits that “interviewees are allowed a great deal of latitude in the way they answer, the length of their responses, and even the topic that they discuss”. Through this tool, the researcher was able to accumulate enough information that can be used together with data collected through observation and documents.

3.2.3 Data analysis

The process of data analysis “involves organising the data, conducting a preliminary read-through of the database, coding and organising themes, representing the data, and forming an interpretation of them” (Creswell, 2013:179). The aim of analysing data is to turn them into findings (Patton, 2015).

The study used thematic and discourse analysis to analyse the data gathered through observation, documents and interviews. Documents were useful in verification of findings and corroborating the evidence from observations. Information drawn from documents was useful in contextualising data obtained through observation (Bowen, 2009:30). Discourse analysis was chosen for two reasons (Taylor, 2013):

1) the research has intrinsic interest in the data collected through conversations and interviews, observations of what people say and texts which have been produced for a wide range of purposes; these data presents new insights and questions.

2) the study investigates the interactions of ordinary social life. This relates to analysing language data of ordinary talk. Discourse analysis enables researchers to explore everyday language use as part of social phenomena.

The discourse analysis approach focused on construction, meaning and interpretation, which will be achieved by exploring and understanding the meaning ascribed to the syntax and semantics of interrogatives (Liamputtong, 2009; Creswell, 2014).

> "Discourse analysis is a means of gaining further insight into the linguist's everyday research, a rationale of all that is being done, a set of wings rather than a burden to be borne… the linguist equipped with knowledge of the discourse structure of a language, which is the object of research, attains more control over the data and increased perspective and insight" (Longacre and Hwang, 2012: 1).

"To linguists "discourse" names a part of language that has an intimate relation to syntax" (Gee, 2014:16). Discourse relates to language-in-use; it is studied not just as an abstract system (grammar), but in terms of actual utterances or sentences in speech or writing in specific contexts of speaking and hearing or writing and reading (Gee, 2014). It is through discourse analysis that the study used research methods, which are flexible, context sensitive and largely concerned with understanding complex issues (Carcary, 2009:11). Therefore, this approach helped the study to uncover the interpretations invested in interrogatives since it focuses on making sense of qualitative data by interpreting their meaning (Remler & Van Ryzin, 2015: 61). "Discourse is the sequence of sentences. It is the ways in which sentences connect and relate to each other across time in speech or writing. As we speak we choose what words and phrases we will put into or "package into" sentences. Discourse concerns how various sentences flowing one after the other relate to each other to create meanings or to facilitate interpretation" (Gee, 2014: 18). This method helped to observe particular instances of generally used interrogative statements and then group them into combined categories.

Thematic analysis, on the other hand, was used as an overall method of analysis in the study. It is a method for "identifying, analysing and reporting patterns within data" (Liamputtong, 2009: 285). "Data analysis in qualitative research consists of preparing and organising the data for analysis, then reducing the data into themes through the process of coding and condensing the codes, and finally representing the data" (Creswell, 2013: 180). Themes were developed to help focus on the main issues of the data. The core issues reached by analysing data were linked to the findings obtained through observations, documents and interviews in order to understand all conditions related to interrogative constructions. The following process was followed when using this method of analysis. The process of reflective qualitative analysis requires the researcher to: (1) organise their raw data; (2) enter and code that data;

(3) search for meaning through thematic analysis; and (4) draw conclusions – all the while keeping the bigger picture, i.e., research questions, aims and objectives, methodological constraints and theory, clearly in mind (O'Leary, 2014: 300).

Data for this study were analysed in four steps:

Step 1: Collate data for each collection tool separately, i.e., data from observations were brought together, so were that of interviews and documents. The collation included organising or categorisig the raw data obtained using various methods. This process involved transcribing the interviews, and then grouping the answers for similar questions according to similarities. For documents, extracts which have interrogative structures were chosen for analysis. The interrogative structures were grouped according to their similarities. Similarly, observation data produced interrogative structure with similar patterns. Data were then arranged into different broad categories and themes and in terms of their levels of similarity. Collation is only possible by reading the data notes. At this stage, the researcher makes decisions on what is to be included as raw data for analysis (Taylor 2013; Tracy 2013). Decision-making is subjective because the researcher knows what is crucial for the study. It is at this stage that data is prepared for analysis.

Step 2: At this stage, the researcher re-read the collated data in their entirety over and over again. This helps the researcher to get a sense of the whole database (Creswell, 2013). The reading at this stage happens without thinking about the participants and their environment. The researcher is immersed in the details, trying to get the sense of the data as a whole before breaking it into parts (Agar, 1980). While the researcher is going through the notes, certain data are marked based on their importance; the researcher records reflective notes from what is learned from the data. The notes are short phrases, ideas, or key concepts that occur to the researcher (Creswell, 2013).

Step 3: After marking the data, coding, which plays a major role in thematic analysis, follows (Liamputtong, 2009). The process of coding involves aggregating the text into small categories of information, seeking evidence for the code from different databases being used in a study, and then assigning a label to the code (Creswell, 2013: 184). A list of tentative codes is created by identifying text segments from the collected data. The researcher detects a pattern in the data and eventually labels it for

the purpose of the particular discussion (Liamputtong, 2009; Taylor, 2013). The labelling makes connections among the data through systematic organisation. Themes are then generated in order to bring meaning to information. “Themes in qualitative research are broad units of information that consist of several codes aggregated to form a common idea” (Creswell, 2013: 186). In this sense, coding enables the generation of meaningful themes through the categorisation of the data collected into well-structured sections. The themes are aligned to the purpose of the study (aim and objectives) and research questions.

Step 4: Once themes are created and organised, the researcher engages in interpreting the data. Creswell (2013) holds that interpreting in qualitative research involves abstracting out beyond the codes and themes to the larger meaning of data. That is, from coding, the researcher forms themes and the themes are turned into meaningful ideas. The ideas are developed from interpretations which are based on hunches, insights and intuition. However, it was important for the researcher to note that “discourse concerns affect clause structure. Myopic concentration on the structure of a clause itself to the exclusion of broader contextual concerns can therefore be self-defeating” (Longacre and Hwang, 2012: 1). This then required the researcher to also put the context of the data in mind before the final interpretation of the data. The interpretation was, therefore, linked to the larger research literature developed by others (Creswell, 2013) and the context in which the data were collected.

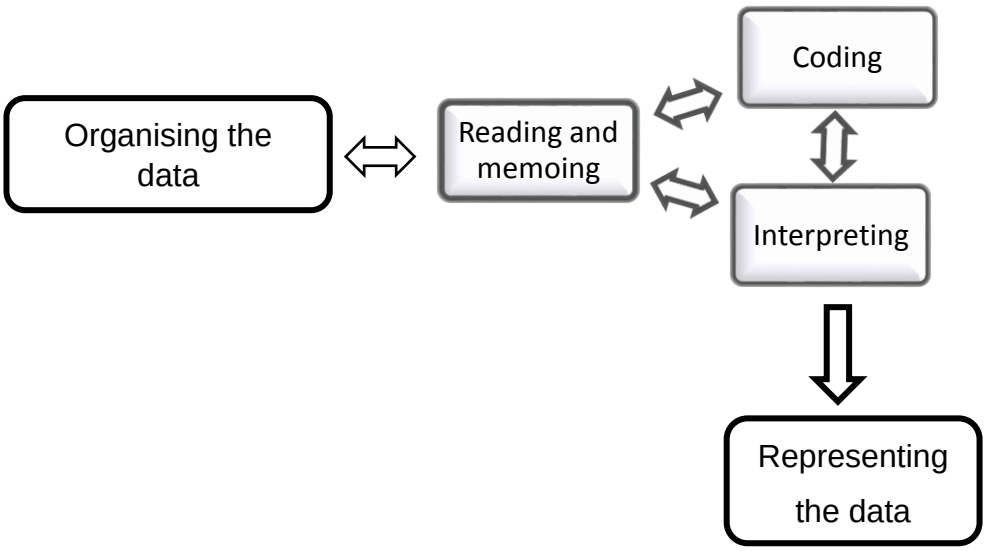

Figure 3.1: Procedure of data analysing in this study

Figure 3.1 shows an iterative structure of analysis. The process of analysing data is not linear but exploratory and iterative; analysis involves reading and re-reading an entire data set, comparing, noticing and marking points of possible interest and returning to them later (Taylor, 2013: 69). Data analysis was an interactive and flexible process; the researcher moved from one stage to the other in order to have a comprehensive understanding of the entire data set.

3.3 Quality criteria

The quality criteria of qualitative research can be determined by four indicators which demonstrate integrity, proficiency, and validity of the research process. Qualitative researchers regard dependability, credibility, transferability and confirmability as trustworthiness criteria used to ensure the rigour of qualitative findings (Liamputtong, 2009; Creswell, 2013; Anney, 2014). (1) Dependability is used to exhibit logic, clear documentation and traceability in the research process (Liamputtong, 2009); there must be a direct link between the research findings and the data from which the findings have been derived. (2) “Credibility establishes whether or not the research findings represent plausible information drawn from the participants’ original data and is a correct interpretation of the participants’ original views” (Anney, 2014: 256). The research must be able produce genuine, accurate and reliable findings which reflect what the participants say. (3) “Transferability conveys that the theoretical knowledge obtained from qualitative research can be applied to other similar individuals, groups, or situations,” (Liamputtong, 2009: 22); similarly, the findings and the insight generated in the research process must be comparable to others. (4) Conformability ensures that the study meets the criterion of confirmation or corroboration by other researchers (Anney, 2014). In other words, the interpretation of the findings must be in the position to be confirmed by another study; they should be clearly connected to the data gathered (Liamputtong, 2009).

The trustworthiness of the study will be established by making sure that (1) the results are believable by using reliable methods of data collection and analysis methods; (2) the results can be generalised; (3) the study can be replicated; and that (4) the results can be corroborated by others (Petty, Thomson & Stew, 2012; Kumar, 2014). These indicators will ensure the rigour of the study. Rigour refers to the effort with which the research is carried out in order to meet the quality (Tracy, 2013). This requires the

researcher to be effective in terms of time, effort and care. With rigor, the research is worthy and gains its utility.

3.4 Summary

This chapter discussed the methodology of the study. It focused on the approach taken in the research; this included the discussion of the research design, sampling method, the instruments used in the data collection. The two methods of data analysis relevant to the study were also discussed.

CHAPTER FOUR: DATA PRESENTATION

4.1 Introduction

This chapter focuses on the presentation of data obtained from the documents, observations and semi-structured interviews. Therefore, the presentation will be threefold: firstly, a description of the documents used will be provided, and the data from the documents will be presented; secondly, data from observations will also be presented; finally, the data presentation of interview responses will follow a description of the respondents who took part in the study will be given. The chapter will present the data in relation to the reviewed literature, the study objectives and the interview questions. The summary of the chapter will be given at the end. In the presentation of the data, the examples will outline Chomsky's Minimalist Program. Through the examples, evidence of the changes in Phrase Structure Rules will be emphasised because this is crucial to the current Minimalist Program (van Gelderen, 2013).

Firstly, it is necessary to have a basic understanding of the noun class and concord system in Sepedi. The table below will assist in the understanding of the Sepedi data:

Class	**CP**	**E.g.**	**SC**	**OC**	**PC**	**Dem**	**POSSPRN**	**AdjC**
1	*mo-*	*mosadi*	*o/a*	*mo*	*wa*	*yo*	*gagwe*	*yo mo-*
2	*ba-*	*basadi*	*Ba*	*ba*	*ba*	*ba*	*bona*	*ba ba-*
1a	*Ø-*	*mme*	*o/a*	*mo*	*wa*	*yo*	*gagwe*	*yo mo-*
2b	*bo-*	*bomme*	*Ba*	*ba*	*ba*	*ba*	*bona*	*ba bo-*
3	*mo-*	*mohlare*	*o/wa*	*o*	*wa*	*wo*	*wona*	*wo mo-*
4	*me-*	*mehlare*	*e/ya*	*e*	*ya*	*ye*	*yona*	*ye me-*
5	*le-*	*leoto*	*le/la*	*le*	*la*	*le*	*lona*	*le le-*
6	*ma-*	*maoto*	*A*	*a*	*a*	*a*	*ona*	*a ma-*
7	*se-*	*sediba*	*se/sa*	*se*	*sa*	*se*	*sona*	*se se-*
8	*di-*	*didiba*	*di/tša*	*di*	*tša*	*tše*	*tšona*	*tše* N/Ø-
9	*N-*	*ntlo*	*e/ya*	*e*	*ya*	*ye*	*yona*	*ye* N/Ø-
10	*diN-*	*dintlo*	*di/tša*	*di*	*tša*	*tše*	*tšona*	*tše* N/Ø-
14	*bo-*	*botho*	*bo/bja*	*go*	*ga*	*bjo*	*bjona*	*bjo bo-*
15	*go-*	*go bolela*	*go/gwa*	*go*	*ga*	*mo*	*gona*	*mo go -*

16	*fa-*	*fase*	*go/gwa*	*go*	*ga*	*fa/mo*	*gona*	*mo go-*
17	*go-*	*godimo*	*go/gwa*	*go*	*ga*	*fa/mo*	*gona*	*mo go-*
18	*mo-*	*morago*	*go/gwa*	*go*	*ga*	*fa/mo*	*gona*	*mo go-*

Table 4.1: Noun class and concord system

4.2 Description of the documents

The main documents used in the process of data collection include Sepedi literature books, the Bible and Hansard reports from Limpopo Legislature. There was a purposeful selection of questions based on their structure to serve the purpose of the study. According to Ziervogel et al., (1969); Louwrens, (1991); Poulos and Louwrens, (1994); Steyn, (1995); Zerbian, (2004), (2008), there are only three sets of interrogatives in Sepedi. They posit that Sepedi uses intonation, content interrogative words and particles.

4.2.1 Hansard

The data below comes from the annual Hansard reports of the Limpopo Legislature from 2014-2016. This particular legislature was chosen because Sepedi is one of the official languages used in the house. This section presents questions that were extracted from the reports. Only questions articulated in Sepedi were extracted; the names of members of the provincial legislature and the names of subject people discussed in the reports have been replaced by pseudonyms in the data below. Eighty-two (82) questions were extracted from all the report; see the table below to see the number of questions extracted in each of the reports:

1	Title	Annual Hansard Report, 2014/15: Deliberations and debates of the first session of the fifth legislature of the Limpopo Legislature
	Author	Hansard & Languages Section
	Year	2014
	No. of Qs	6
2	Title	Annual Hansard Report, 2015/16: Deliberations and debates of the first session of the fifth legislature of the Limpopo Legislature (Part 1)
	Author	Hansard & Languages Section

	Year	2015a
	No. of Qs	24
3	Title	Annual Hansard Report, 2015/16: Deliberations and debates of the first session of the fifth legislature of the Limpopo Legislature (Part 2)
	Author	Hansard & Languages Section
	Year	2015b
	No. of Qs	11
4	Title	Annual Hansard Report, 2016/17: Deliberations and debates of the first session of the fifth legislature of the Limpopo Legislature (Part 1)
	Author	Hansard & Languages Section
	Year	2016a
	No. of Qs	30
5	Title	Annual Hansard Report, 2016/17: Deliberations and debates of the first session of the fifth legislature of the Limpopo Legislature (Part 2)
	Author	Hansard & Languages Section
	Year	2016b
	No. of Qs	11

Table 4.2: Hansard reports data

The questions below represent the eighty-two (82) questions extracted from the Hansard reports. Structurally similar questions were put in one class and one was sampled. The bolded words are the names used in place of the names of members of the provincial legislature and the names of subject people discussed in the reports. The data show that questions are marked by intonation, Q-words, particles, Q-markers and tags.

4.2.1.1 Intonation

(51)

(a) *Le ile la e kwa lena?*

2PL AUX SC OC hear PRN2PL

You ever have heard it?

Have you ever heard it? (Hansard, 2014: 364)

Polar questions have the complementizer [+Q, -WH] (Carnie, 2013). Therefore, this section regards interrogative force as a specification of the functional head in complementizer phrase as sketched below:

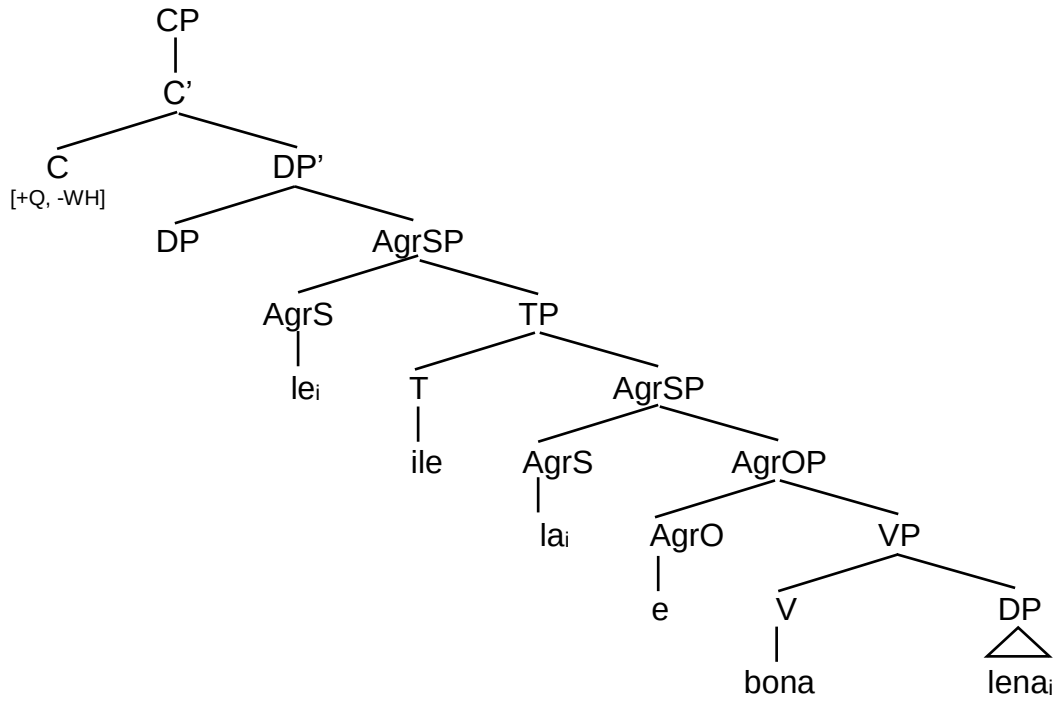

Figure 4.1: The structure of *Le ile la e kwa lena*?

In the diagram above, pronouns are labelled DPs and not NPs because they are full phrases and cannot have other elements modify or specify them; they are not lexical items because they refer to nouns but do not have semantic features (van Gelderen, 2017). Chomsky (1989) introduces an AGRs which is used for agreement with the subject, and an AGRo which is used for agreement with the object. Even though Chomsky (1995) abandons the AGR position because it makes no semantic contribution and the directionality of Agree is restricted, agreement plays a significant role in Sepedi because there is often agreement in gender between a noun and its concords. Sepedi, as one of the Bantu languages, has a rich and diverse agreement system that challenges the directionality restriction (Buell et al. 2011). In the case of

the diagram above, the coindexing of *le*, *la* and *lena* does not imply that these words are one and the same and that they can thus be interchanged. In this instance, coindexing serves to show that the subject concord (le) and the absolute pronoun (lena) share the same agreement.

(b)	*O*	*swer-w-e*	*ke*	*tlala?*
	SC1	hold-PASS-FV	AP	9-hunger
	You held by hunger?			
	Are you hungry?			(Hansard, 2015a: 250)

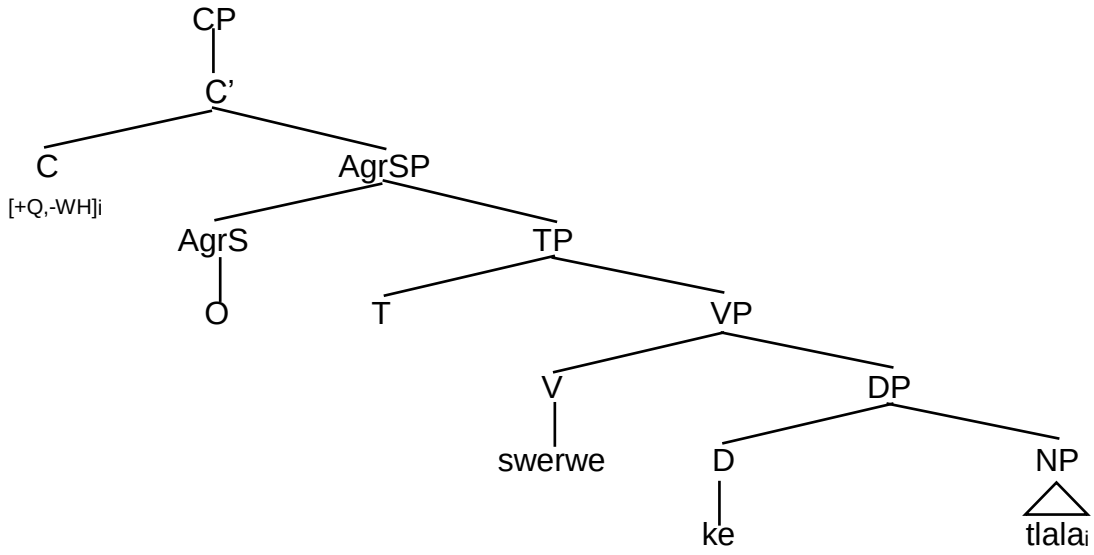

Figure 4.2: The structure of *O swerwe ke tlala*?

The polar question in (51b) is derived thus: the NP *tlala* is first merged with the agentive particle *ke* that serves as a determiner to satisfy the c-selection requirement of the head. Similarly, the verb *swerwe* is also merged with its DP complement *ke tlala* to satisfy the c-selection requirement of the head. Then, T head is merged with the VP to project TP node. At this point, the T head becomes the probe that searches its c-command domain for a matching goal to attract to the spec-TP so as to value the unvalued/un-interpretable feature. The complementizer C, intonation, being the potential and active goal with an unvalued interrogative, is attracted to the spec-CP and the unvalued interrogative feature is valued and projected. In the case of the diagram above, the coindexing of the complemetizer [+Q, -WH] and tlala show the realization of the clause final high tone.

(c) *Le* *lap-ile?*
2PL tired-PEF?
You tired?
Are you tired? (Hansard, 2016b: 34)

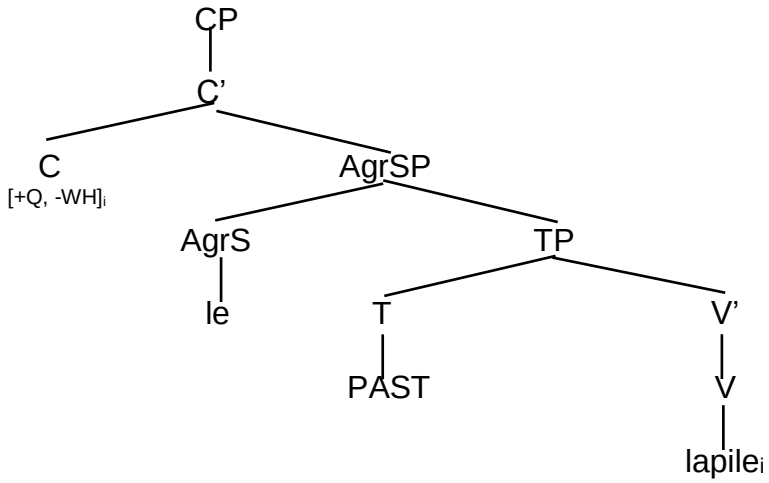

Figure 4.3: The structure of *Le lapile*?

In the diagram above, the derivation bigins by merging verb head which is realized as *lapile* to T to project TP node. Similarly, the AgrS head is also merged with TP to satisfy the c-selection requirement of the head. Then the C head becomes the probe and begins to search its c-command domain for an active goal to move to its spec and value the unvalued feature. The probe [+Q, -WH] has interrogative feature which must be valued and deleted by moving the matching goal to its specifier position.

Intonation cannot be seen but heard. That is, from the documents one cannot detect intonation from the questions, but only when the questions are uttered. One marker that helps identify questions on a written text is a question mark '?'. Without this marker, the sentences will be in declarative form. Therefore, in a written text, the difference between interrogatives and declaratives is the question mark. For example,

(d) *Le* *ile* *la* *e* *kwa* *lena.*
2PL AUX SC OC hear PRN2PL
You ever have heard it.

You have once heard it.

(e) *O* *swer-w-e* *ke* *tlala.*
SC1 hold-PASS-FV COP 9-hunger
You held by hunger.
You are hungry.

(f) *Le* *lap-ile.*
2PL tired-PEF
You tired.
You are tired.

There is no syntactic difference between intonation interrogatives and their declarative counterpart. The difference is on the prosodic level and will be discussed in the next chapter.

4.2.1.2 Particles

Three particles were identified in the Hansard reports: *a*, *na* and *naa*. '*a*' was used at the beginning of the sentence, '*na*' was used both in the middle and the end, and '*naa*' was used both at the beginning and the end of a sentence. Adopting the cartography approach from the derivation of polar questions (Olaogun, 2018), this section proposes that interrogative power is a specification of the functional head in InterP encoding the feature [Interrogative] that projects between ForceP and FINP as illustrated below.

Force…>Inter…>Topic…>Focus…>Finiteness.

A simple polar question is, therefore, headed by the InterP head which is morphologically realized as particles. Thus, a polar question is derived as sketched below.

(52)

(a) *A* *na* *o* *tla* *re* *fa?*
QP QP SC1 AUX OC1PL give
You will give us?
Will you give (it to) us? (Hansard, 2016b: 333)

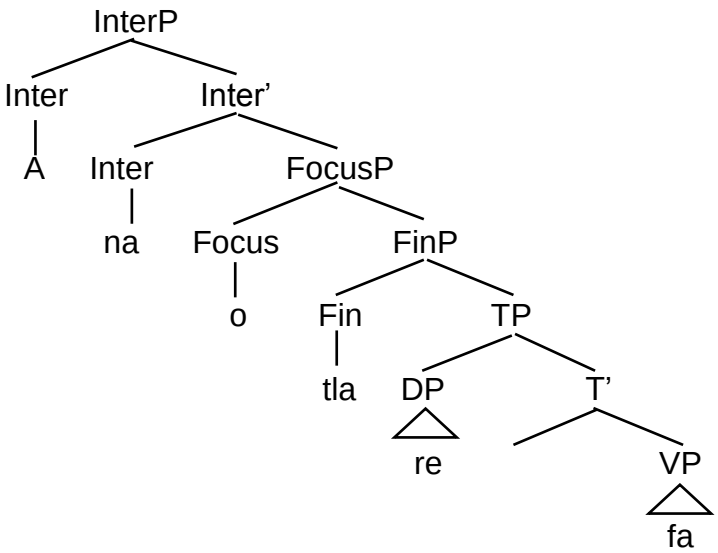

Figure 4.4: The structure of *A na o tla re fa*?

The hierarchies above are representations of the functional structure of the clause that are cross-linguistically valid (van Gelderen, 2013). In the diagram above, there is a first external merge between the verb *fa*, which has internally merged with the tense, and the DP complement *re* to satisfy the c-selection requirement of the head. Then, Fin head is merged with the TP to project FinP node. The subject agreement Focus is merged with FinP in order to satisfy the demand of the head. The derivation proceeds by externally merging Inter head which is realized as *na* to FocusP to project Inter-bar. The Inter-bar is morphologically realized as the high tone morpheme. At this stage, the Inter head becomes the probe and begins to search its c-command domain for an active goal to move to its spec and value the unvalued feature. Then the Inter bar is merged with the particle a to satisfy the c-selection requirement of the head and project the InterP node.

In the example above, there are two particles used consecutively: '*a*' and '*na*'. The order of sequence is that '*na*' follows '*a*'. If '*na*' preceded '*a*' the sentence will sound odd:

(b)	**Na*	*a*	*o*	*tla*	*re*	*fa?*
	QP	QP	SC1	AUX	OC1PL	give
	Will you give (it to) us?					

When ‘*na*’ is used at the beginning of a sentence it cannot be followed by ‘*a*’, which means that in a context where *‘na’* is used to introduce a question, ‘*a*’ will not occur.
In current generative grammar, cartography is used side-by-side with the derivational, bare phrase structure approach (van Gelderen, 2013). Adopting both the minimalism and the cartography approaches to present derivation of a polar question that uses only the particle na at the beginning of the sentence, this section proposes that even though Minimalism uses Merge to come up with as little structure and labeling as possible, important categories such as AGR should be included in the analysis of Sepedi interrogative so to best convey the meaning. The example of this is represented in figure 4.5 below.

(c) *Na* *o* *tla* *re* *fa?*
QP SC1 AUX OC1PL give
Will you give (it to) us?

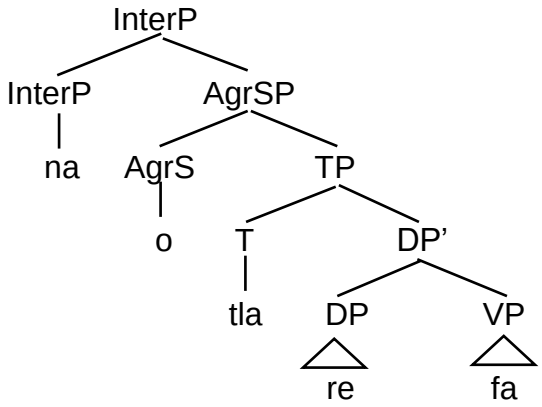

Figure 4.5: The structure of *Na o tla re fa*?
In the diagram above, the verb phrase “*fa*” enters the derivation carrying a verb on its base form and merges with the DP to satisfy the c-selection requirement of the head. The modal now joins the derivation as [spec, T] forming a TP. That is, a T° with ϕ features and valued nominative case feature enters the derivation forming a T bar. This T carries an EPP feature that needs to be checked. Since the sentence is an SV sentence, the verb “*fa*” will move to T° to satisfy the EPP feature leaving behind it a copy and simultaneously T will check the unvalued case feature carried by the AgrS with nominative case. Finally, a InterP enters the derivation with an interrogative force feature marking the sentence as interrogative.

‘*Na*’ is also used at the end of a sentence.

(d) *Ga ba swan-el-w-e ke go ba ba-lekgotlaphethiši na*?
NEG 3PL good-APPL-PASS-FV AP InfPr COP 2-MEC QP
Not they good to be MEC’s?
Are they not good (enough) to be MECs? (Hansard, 2015a:374)

The particle ‘*naa*’ same as ‘*na*’ is used both in the beginning and the end of a sentence. The examples below show the placement of the particle ‘*naa*’:

(e) *Naa re bolok-eg-ile*?
QP OC1PL safe-NEUT-PEF
We safe?
Are we safe? (Hansard, 2015a: 231)

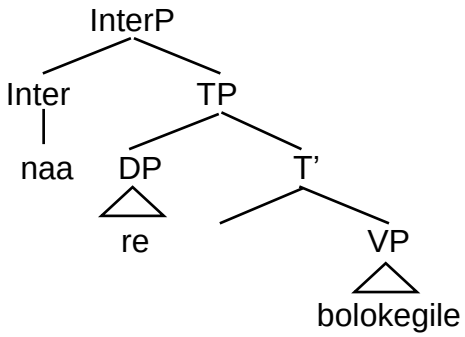

Figure 4.6: The structurer of *Naa re bolokegile*?

In figure 4.6 above, the interrogative particle *naa* is the specifier of the Interrogative Phrase. The verb phrase “*bolokegile*” enters the derivation carrying a verb on its inflected form. Secondly, the verb moves to value the voice feature carried by the verb “boloka”. Now a T° with ϕ features and valued nominative case feature enters the derivation forming a T bar. This T carries an EPP feature that needs to be checked. Since the sentence is a SV sentence, the verb “bolokegile” will move to T° to satisfy the EPP feature leaving behind it a copy and simultaneously T will check the unvalued case feature carried by the DP *re* with nominative case. Finally, an InterP enters the derivation with an interrogative force feature marking the sentence as interrogative.

(f) *Koloi* *ya* *lena* *e* *tlad-itše* *naa*?
9-car PC9 PRN2PL SC9 full-PEF QP
The car belonging to you is it full?
Is your car full? (Hansard, 2015b: 431)

4.2.1.3 Q-words

Four Q-words were identified in the Hansard reports and have been used extensively throughout the reports: *mang* (who), *eng* (what), kae (where) and bjang (how). Thirteen (13) *mang* questions were extracted, sixteen (16) *eng* questions, seven (7) *kae* questions and two (2) *bjang* questions. Some of the questions were structurally similar therefore few questions from different structural classes were sampled.

Mang

The Q-word *mang* is used to identify a noun with a human referent and has both singular form *mang* and plural *bomang*. This Q-word was used in various ways in terms of placement. It occupies the medial sentence position and the final position. The examples below present the structural construction of interrogatives using the Q-word *mang*:

(53)

(a) *O* *tšhab-j-a* *ke* *mang* *wena*?
SC1 afraid-PASS-FV AP who PRN2SG
You afraid by who?
Who is afraid of you? (Hansard, 2015a: 390)

(b) *Agaa,* *tše* *ke* *tša* *mang*?
INTJ Dem10 AP PC10 who
These belong to whom?
To whom do they belong? (Hansard, 2016a: 108)

(c) *Ke* *mang* *yo* *a* *nyaka-go* *kuku*?
AP who Dem1 SC1 wants-RS 9-cookie
Who is the one (who) wants a cookie?
Who wants a cookie? (Hansard, 2016a: 462)

(d) *O* *rob-il-w-e* *ke* *mang*?
SC1 break-PEF-PASS-FV AP who
You broken by who?
Who broke you(r leg)? (Hansard, 2016b: 24)

Eng (what)

The Q-word *eng* is used to question non-human entities, human referents in noun class 5 and derogative human referents. It has a contracted form *–ng* that is attached to verbs as a suffix. The examples below show how this interrogative word is used:

(54)

(a) *Ke* *tšhoš-w-a* *ke* *eng*?
SC afraid-PASS-FV AP what
I frightened by what?
What would I be afraid of? (Hansard, 2014: 44)

(b) *O* *re-ng* *yo*?
SC1 say-what Dem1
He says what this one?
What is this one saying? (Hansard, 2015b: 42)

(c) *O* *tlo* *tl-iš-a* *eng*?
SC1 AUX bring-CAUS-FV what
You will bring what?
What will you bring? (Hansard, 2016a: 662)

Kae

The other interrogative word *Kae* asks for location of an action or entity, i.e. in or at what place or position. The examples below show how this interrogative word is used:

(55)

(a) ***Lesiba*** *o* *kae?*
1a-Lesiba SC1a where
Lesiba is where?

Where is Lesiba? (Hansard, 2015a: 545)

(b) *O* *kae* ***Mosima****?*
SC1a where 1a-Mosima
She where Mosima?
Where is Mosima? (Hansard, 2016b: 83)

(c) ***Ngwato,*** *re* *hlapa* *ma-tsogo* *kae*?
1a-Ngwato SC1PL wash 6-hand where
Ngwato, we wash hands where?
Ngwato, where do we wash our hands? (Hansard, 2016b:356)

Bjang

The other interrogative word *bjang* asks about manner in which thing i.e., it asks the question 'how'. Interestingly, the word *bjang* can also be used to ask 'what'. The examples below show how this interrogative word is used:

(56)

(a) ***Lesiba*** *le* *be* *le* *dira* *bjang?*
1a-Lesiba SC2PL BE SC2PL do how
Lesiba you were doing how?
Lesiba, what were you doing? (Hansard, 2015a: 632)

(b) *Ke* *le-nyatšo* *le* *le* *bjang* *go* *ma-goši* *a* *rena*?
COP 5-disrespect AdjP SC5 how AdvP 6-king PC6 POSSPRN1PL?
Is disrespect what kind to chiefs ours?
What kind of disrespect towards our chiefs? (Hansard, 2016a: 79)

4.2.1.4 Tags

Tags are used in order to confirm that the answer might be correct and requires the hearer to agree or disagree with the question. These interrogative markers enable turn-allocation and modification of the host clause. The examples below show how tags are used:

(57)

A ke re

(a) ***Lesiba*** *ke* *wa* *lena* *a ke re*?
1a-Lesiba SC1a PC POSSPRN2PL QT
Lesiba he is for you right?
Lesiba is yours, right? (Hansard, 2016a: 35)

(b) *Ke* *se-kgowa* *a ke re*?
COP 7-English QT
It is English, isn't it? (Hansard, 2016b: 24)

(c) *A ke re,* ***Lesiba***?
QT 1a-Lesiba
Isn't it Lesiba? (Hansard, 2014: 546)

4.2.1.5 Question Complements

These are words used to mark interrogatives but have not been specifically labelled; they do not fall under the tag category since they do not require the hearer to agree or disagree, not particles because they also serve as grammatical words, and not Q-words because they do not have the characteristics of Q-words. The examples below show how these markers are used:

(58)

Bjale

(a) ***Lesiba****,* *o* *šetše* *o* *nyaka* *mo-šomo* *bjale*?
1a-Lesiba SC1a already SC1a want 3-job QC
Lesiba you already looking for job now?
Lesiba you are looking for a job already? (Hansard, 2016a: 654)

(59)

Kgane

(a) *Ga* *le* *mo* *phaphath-el-e* *ma-tsogo* *kgane*?
NEG 2PL OC1 clap-APPL-FV 6-hand QC
Don't you clap hands for him?
Why don't you clap hands for him? (Hansard, 2016a: 610)

(b) *Kgane* *lena* *le* *re-ng* *naa*?
QC PRN2PL 2PL say-what QP
You say what?
What are you saying? (Hansard, 2016a: 435)

(60)

E ka ba

(a) *Naa* *e ka ba* *re* *bolok-eg-ile*?
QP QC 1PL safe-NEUT-PEF
We safe?
Are we safe? (Hansard, 2015a: 231)

4.2.2 Sepedi literature books

The data below comes from Sepedi literature books. The books were chosen to see how authors, who are Sepedi speakers, construct questions. Six books were used as data sources, and saturation was reached. One hundred and seventy (170) questions were extracted from all the reports; see the table below to see the number of questions extracted in each of the books:

1	Title	*Bokgoni bja Basadi*
	Author	Mokwena
	Year	2015
	No. of Qs	24
2	Title	*Dipšhešamare tša Lusaka*
	Author	Molope
	Year	2015
	No. of Qs	3
3	Title	*Ke Bophelo*
	Author	Chokoe
	Year	1995
	No. of Qs	64
4	Title	*Ke nako yaka*
	Author	Molefe

	Year	2006
	No. of Qs	33
5	Title	*Naledi yela*
	Author	Mampuru, et al.
	Year	2006
	No. of Qs	12
6	Title	*Lenong la gauta*
	Author	Bopape
	Year	2008
	No. of Qs	34

Table 4.3: Sepedi literature books data

The questions below represent the one hundred and seventy (170) questions extracted from the Sepedi literature books. Structurally similar questions were put in one class and each from one author was sampled to show how different authors construct similar questions. The data reveal that questions are marked by intonation, Q-words, particles and tags.

4.2.2.1 Intonation

Intonation questions follow similar prosodic pattern even if they are structurally different. Some of the questions collected from the documents were structurally similar therefore few questions from different structural class were sampled. The three questions below represent the classed structures.

(61)

(a) *Ga se go i-kep-el-a le-bitla ga gagwe*?
NEG NEG InfPr RPr-dig-APPL-FV 5-grave PC15 POSSPRN1
Isn't it be digging a grave of his own?
Is he not digging a grave for himself? (Chokoe, 1995:1)

(b) *Mo-nna-nyana yo o na le le-nyatšo eye*?
1-Man-diminutive Dem1 SC1 COP 5-disrespect INTJ
This small man has disrespect, right?

This man is disrespectful, right? (Molefe, 2006:5)

(c) *O nyaka se-no*?
SC1 want 7-drink
You want drink?
Do you want a drink? (Bopape, 2008:27)

4.2.2.2 Q-words

Eight (8) Q-words were identified in the Sepedi literature books and have been used extensively throughout the documents: *mang* (who), *eng* (what), *kae* (where) *-fe* (which), *neng* (when) *hleng* (why), *nkane* (why), *nke* (why) and *bjang* (how). Eleven (11) *mang* questions were extracted, twenty-one (21) *eng* questions, eleven (11) *kae* questions, six (6) *-fe* questions, two (2) *neng* questions, one (1) *hleng* question, one (1) *nkane* question, one (1) *nke* question and thirteen (13) *bjang* questions. Some of the questions were structurally similar; therefore, few questions from different structural class were sampled.

(62)
Mang

(a) *Le-ina re mo rea mang*?
5-Name 1PL OC1 name who
The name we give her is who?
Which name do we give her? (Chokoe, 1995:50)

(b) *Ke mang yo e se-go la gagwe*?
AP who Dem1 NSM NEG-RS PC POSSPRN1?
Whom is it not his?
To whom does it not belong? (Molefe, 2006:25)

(c) *O tla fag-el-w-a ke mang*?
SC1 AUX cook-APPL-PASS-FV AP who
You will be cooked for by who?
Who will cook for you? (Mampuru *et al.,* 2006:21)

(d) *Go* *tseba mang*?
InfPr know who?
Who knows? (Bopape, 2008:29)

(63)

Eng

(a) *O* *nyaka eng* *Mmabatho*?
SC1 want what 1a-Mmabatho
You want what Mmabatho?
What do you want Mmabatho? (Mokwena, 2015:19)

(b) *Nkgapele* *ke* *r-ile* *eng*?
Earlier SC say-PEF what
Earlier I said what?
What did I say earlier? (Molefe, 2006:4)

(c) *Wena* *o* *re-ng*?
PRN2SG SC1 say-what
You say what?
What are you saying? (Mampuru et al*.,* 2006:45)

(d) *Ke* *eng* *seo* *se* *go* *loma-go* *mo-gopolo-ng*?
AP what DEM7 OC7 InfPr bite-RS 3-brain-LOC
What is that biting you in brain?
What is this that is troubling you? (Bopape, 2008: 2)

(e) *Go* *dir-eg-ile-ng* *ka* *mo-rwa* *wa* *mo-nna* *yoo*?
InfPr do-NEUT-PEF-what IP 1-son PC 1-man Dem1
What happed to the son of this man?
What happed to this man's son? (Bopape, 2008:29)

(64)

Kae

(a) *Ba* *kae* *mo* *le* *tšwa-go* *ngwana-ka*?
SC2 where Dem 2PL come-RS 1-child-POSS

Where are they where you come from my child?

How are the people you visited my child? (Mokwena, 2015: 9)

(b) *O* *n-k-iš-a* *kae*?

SC1 OC-take-CAUS-FV where

You take me where?

Where are you taking me? (Chokoe, 1995: 76)

(c) *Di-jo* *tša* *ka* *di* *kae*?

8-Food PC POSSPRN OC8 where

My food is where?

Where is my food? (Molefe, 2006: 8)

(65)

Bjang

(a) *O* *be* *a* *gopola gore* *yena* *o* *bjang?*

SC1 AUX SC1 think that PRN3SG SC1 how

He was thinking that he is how?

How did he think he is? (Mokwena, 2015: 7)

(b) *O* *ra* *bjang* *sersanta* *Letlere*?

SC1 say how sergeant 1a-Letlere

You say how sergeant Letlere?

What do you mean sergeant Letlere? (Chokoe, 1995: 21)

(c) *A* *Modibo* *o* *be* *a* *leka* *go* *i-kadi-etš-a* *goba bjang*?

QP 1a-Modibo SC1a BE SC1a try InfPr RPr-hang-APPL-FV or how

Modibo was trying to hang himself or how?

Was Modimo trying to hang himself or what? (Chokoe, 1995: 49)

(66)

Neng

(a) *Go* *thoma neng*?

InfPr start when

To start when?

Since when? (Chokoe, 1995: 13)

(b) *O* *ra* *neng*?
SC1 say when
You say when?
When do you mean? (Bopape, 2008: 94)

(67)
-fe

(a) *O* *bolela* *ka* *Sekobo* *o-fe* *thaka*?
SC1 talk IP 1a-Sekobo 1a-which 1a-friend
You talk about which Sekobo my friend?
Which Sekobo are you referring to my friend? (Chokoe, 1995:26)

(b) *Wena* *o* *ja* *di-fe*?
PRN2SG SC1 eat 8-which
You eat which?
Which ones are you eating? (Molefe, 2006: 17)

(c) *Ke* *e-fe* *kgopolo* *yeo* *Mna Maleka*?
AP SC9-which 9-thought Dem9 1a-Mna Maleka?
Is which thought that Mr Maleka?
Which thought is that Mr Maleka? (Bopape, 2008: 30)

(68)
Nka ne

(a) *Nka ne Modiba* *a* *sa* *kgal-w-e* *ge* *a* *bowa*
Why 1a-Modiba SC1a NEG reprimand-PASS-FV when SC1a come
gae *bošego*?
14-home 14-night
Why Modiba is not reprimanded when he comes home at night?
Why isn't Modiba reprimanded when he comes home at night?
(Chokoe, 1995: 47)

Hleng

(b) *Hleng nke o na le ma-thaithai monna*?
Why is it SC1 COP 5-trick 1-man
Why is it you have tricks man?
Why does it seem that you are tricky? (Bopape, 2008: 91)

Nka

(c) *Nka nke o rata go thoma gape*?
Why is it SC1 like InfPr start again
Why is it you like to start again?
Why does it seem like you like to restart? (Bopape, 2008: 122)

4.2.2.3 Question Complements (Q-Markers)

These type of markers have not been documented as question markers in Sepedi. According to text structuring, the way in which these words are used clearly indicates that they are interrogative markers, although some can also play the content words functions.

(69)

Bjale

(a) *Bjale le-ina re mo rea mang*?
QC 5-name 1PL OC name who
Now name we give her is who?
Who do we name her? (Chokoe, 1995: 50)

(b) *O ra ge o m-motša eng bjale Mokwena*?
SC1 say when SC1 OC-tell what QC 1a-Mokwena
You say when you tell him what now Mokwena?
What will you tell him Mokwena? (Mokwena, 2015: 12)

(c) *Ke mo-llo wa go dira-ng bjale*?
AP 3-fire PC3 InfPr do-Q-what QC
The fire is for doing what now?
What is the fire for? (Bopape, 2008: 62)

(70)

E ka ba

(a) *E ka ba* *o* *kgopiš-itš-w-e* *ke* *mang*?

QC SC1 offend-PEF-PASS-FV AP who

Can it be you offended by who?

Who offended you? (Molefe, 2006:13)

(b) *Naa* *e ka ba* *o* *rata* *go* *bolela* *ka* *ditokelo* *tša* *basadi*?

QP QC SC1 like InfPr talk IP 10-right PC2 2-woman

Can it be you like to talk about rights of women?

Do you like to talk about women's rights? (Molefe, 2006: 9)

(71)

Kgane

(a) *Kgane* *ke* *mang* *yo* *e* *se-go* *la* *gagwe*?

QC IP who Dem1 OC9 NEG-RS PC POSSPRN1

Whom it is not his?

To whom does it not belong? (Molefe, 2006: 25)

(b) *Kgane* *go* *hlw-el-e* *go* *re-ng* *mo-šomo-ng*?

QC InfPr spend the day InfPr say-what 3-work-LOC

Spend the day to say what at work?

What happened today at work? (Mokwena, 2015: 22)

(72)

Kganthe

(a) *Kganthe* *go* *dir-eg-ile-ng* *mo-nna*?

QC InfPr happen-NEUT-PEF-what 1-man

What happened man? (Bopape, 2008: 16)

(b) *Kganthe* *wena* *o* *ja* *di-fe*?

QC PRN2SG SC1 eat 10-which

You eating which?

Which are you eating? (Molefe, 2006: 17)

(73)

E le gore

(a) *E le gore* *nkgapele* *ke* *r-ile* *eng*?

QC earlier COP say-PEF what

Earlier I said what?

What did I say earlier? (Molefe, 2006: 4)

(b) *E le gore* *se-tšidifatši* *se* *thun-tše*?

QC 7-refrigerator SC7 explode-PEF

The refrigerator exploded?

Did the refrigerator explode? (Bopape, 2008: 16)

(74)

O ra gore

(a) *O ra gore* *o* *m-phad-ile?*

QC SC1 OC-better-PEF

You say that she did better than me?

You want to tell me that s/he was better than me? (Chokoe, 1995: 28)

(b) *O ra gore* *ke* *rapele* *mo-nna*?

QC SC beg 1-man

You say that I beg man?

Should I beg a man? (Molefe, 2006: 9)

(75)

Etse

(a) *Etse* *o* *ra* *neng*?

QC SC1 say when

By the way you say when

When are you referring to? (Bopape, 2008: 94)

(b) *Etse* *lehono* *ke* *mokibelo*?

QC 15-today AdvP Saturday

By the way today is Saturday?

By the way, is it Saturday today? (Chokoe, 1995: 67)

(76)

A ke re

(a) *O* *tla* *re* *iša* *gae* *a ke re*?

SC1 AUX 1PL take 15-home QC

You will take us home, right?

Will you take us home? (Chokoe, 1995: 31)

(b) *A ke re* *o* *nkwa* *gabotse*?

QC SC1 OC-hear clearly

You do hear me clearly?

Do you hear me clearly? (Bopape, 2008: 89)

4.2.2.4 Particles

These particles have been research extensively (Ziervogel et al., 1969; Louwrens 1991; Poulos & Louwrens 1994; Stein1995; Zerbian, 2004, 2008) as question markers in Sepedi.

(77)

Na

(a) *Na* *ke* *wena* *mang*?

QP AP PRN2SG who

You are who?

Who are you? (Mampuru et al*.,* 2006: 28)

(b) *Na* *le* *sa* *tsog-ile* *Motšhweneng*?

QP 2PL AUX wake-PEF 1a- Motšhweneng

You still awake Motšhweneng?

Are you still well Motšhweneng? (Mokwena, 2015: 16)

(c) *Na* *kganthe* *ga* *o* *n-tshep-e*?

QP QC NEG SC1 OC-trust-FV

Don't you trust me? (Bopape, 2008: 3)

(78)

Naa

(a) *Naa* *wena* *o* *kgahlanong* *le* *tšona* *goba* *bjang*?
QP PRN2SG SC1 against CP PRN10 or what
You are against them or what?
Are you against it or what? (Molefe, 2006: 9)

(79)

Afa

(a) *Afa* *o* *kw-el-e* *mo-šito* *wola*?
QP SC1 hear-APPL-FV 3-noise Dem3
You heard that noise?
Did you hear that noise? (Chokoe, 1995: 38)

(80)

A

(a) *A* *mo-rwalo* *wo* *ga* *o* *go* *im-el-e*?
QP 3-load Dem3 NEG SC1 OC heavy-APPL-FV
This load is not heavy for you?
Is this load not heavy for you? (Mampuru et al*.*, 2006: 28)

4.2.3 Sepedi Bible

The data below comes from the Sepedi bible. This data source was chosen to see how questions are constructed. Only questions from the first 10 books (Genesis to 2 Samuel) because saturation was reached. Four hundred and eighty-seven (487) questions were extracted from the 10 books; see the table below to see the number of questions extracted in each book:

Title	*Bebele*	
Author	Bible Society of South Africa	
Year	1986	
No. of Qs	Genesis	126
	Exodus	50
	Leviticus	2
	Numbers	54

	Deutoronomy	28
	Joshua	24
	Judges	77
	Ruth	14
	1 Samuel	72
	2 Samuel	40

Table 4.4: Sepedi Bible data

(81)

Mang (what)

(a) *Le-ina* *la* *gago* *o* *mang*?
5-name PC POSSPRN SC1 who
Your name is who?
What is your name? (Gen. 32: 28)

Mang (Who)

(b) *O* *bod-itš-w-e* *ke* *mang* *gobane* *ga-wa* *apara*?
SC1 tell-PEF-PASS-FV AP who that NEG-OC wear
You were told by who that you are not wearing?
Who told you that you were naked? (Gen. 3: 11)

(c) *Ke* *bo-mang* *ba*?
COP 2-who Dem2?
Who are these?
Who are these people? (Gen. 48: 8)

(d) *Ma-role* *a* *Jakobo* *a* *bal-w-a* *ke* *mang*?
6-dust PC6 1a-Jacob OC6 count-PASS-FV AP who
The dust of Jacob will be counted by who?
Who can count the dust of Jacob? (Num. 23: 10)

(e) *Ke* *mang* *e* *a* *boifa-go*?
COP who Dem SC fear-RS
Who is the one who is afraid?

Who is afraid? (Deu. 20: 8)

Mang (Whose)

(f) *Mo-setsana* *eo* *ke* *wa* *mang*?
1-girl Dem AP PC who
That girl is for who?
Whose girl is that? (Rut. 2: 5)

(82)

Eng (why)

(a) *O* *m-phor-etš-e-ng*?
SC1 OC1-lie-APPL-FV-why
You lied to me why?
Why have you lied to me? (Gen. 29: 25)

Eng (What)

(b) *O* *dira-ng* *fa*?
2SG do-what Dem16
You doing what here?
What are you doing here? (Baa. 18: 3)

(c) *Re* *tlo* *nwa* *eng*?
2PL AUX drink what
We will drink what?
What are we to drink? (Eks. 15:24)

Eng (What and why)

(d) *Le* *lw-el-a-ng* *le* *nna*?
2PL fight-APPL-FV-what/why CP PRN1SG
You fighting why with me?
Why are you fighting with me?
What are you fighting me for? (Eks. 17: 2)

(e) *Ke* *sa* *phel-el-a-ng*?
1SG AUX live-APPL-FV-why/what
I still alive why?

Why am I still living?

What am I still living for? (Gen. 27: 46)

(83)

Kae

(a) *O* *ya* *kae*?

SC1 go where

You going where?

Where are you going? (Gen. 16: 8)

(b) *O* *tšo* *topa* *kae* *lehono*?

SC1 AUX pick where today

You have picked where today?

Where did you glean today? (Rut. 2: 19)

(84)

-kae

(a) *Ke* *nywaga* *e* *me-kae*?

AP 4-year OC4 AdvP-where

Is years how many?

It is how many years? (Gen. 47: 8)

(85)

Bjang (What)

(a) *Se-tšhaba* *se* *ke* *tlo* *se* *dira* *bjang*?

7-nation Dem7 1SG AUX OC7 do how

This nation I will do how?

What will I do with this nation? (Eks. 17: 4)

(b) *O* *hloma* *bjang*?

SC1 BE how

You are how?

What's wrong? (Baa. 1: 14)

Bjang (How)

(c) *O* *phela* *bjang* *mo*?
SC1 live how Dem15
You live how here?
How do you live here? (Baa. 18: 3)

(d) *Go* *bjang,* *ngwana-ka*?
SC how 1-child-POSS
You how my child?
How are you my child? (Rut. 3: 16)

(86)

-bjang (what kind)

(a) *E* *be* *e* *le* *ba* *ba-bjang*?
SC BE NSM SC1 Dem2 OC2-how
They were what kind?
What kind were they? (Baa. 8: 18)

(87)

Neng

(a) *Ke* *tlo* *i-kag-el-a* *neng* *ngwako* *wa* *ka*?
1SG AUX REFL-build-APPL-FV when 3-house PC3 POSS
I will build for myself when my own house?
When will I build myself my own house? (Gen. 30: 30)

(b) *O* *tlo* *kgaotša* *neng* *go* *dira* *tša* *bo-tagwa*?
SC1 AUX stop when InfPr do PC 14-drunkness
You will stop when to do drunkness things?
When will you stop being a drunkard? (1 Sam. 1: 14)

(88)

-fe

(a) *Re* *sa* *tlo* *fetola* *ka* *le-fe*?
1PL APr AUX respond AdvP 5-which
We still to respond with which?

What else can we say? (Gen. 44: 16)

(b) *Ke sefe setšhaba sa go swana le sa Isiraele*?
COP 7-which 7-nation PC7 InfPr same CP PC7 Israel
Is which nation that is the same with the nation of Israel?
Which nation is like Israel? (2 Sam. 7: 23)

(89)
Ke ka baka lang
(a) *Ke ka baka lang ge o n-thom-ile*?
Why CONJ SC1 OC1-send-PEF
It is for what reason that you sent me?
Why did you send me? (Eks. 5: 21)

(b) *Ke ka baka lang le se-šo la n-kag-el-a ngwako*?
Why 2PL NEG-AUX 2PL OC1-build-APPL-FV 3-house
It is for what reason you have not yet built for me a house?
Why haven't you build me a house? (2 Sam. 7: 7)

(90)
Bjale
(a) *Bjale o m-pol-etš-a-ng taba tšeo*?
QC SC1 OC1-tell-NEUT-FV-why 9-news Dem9
Now you telling me why those news?
Why are you telling me that? (1 Sam. 9: 21)

(91)
Naa
(a) *Naa Arone ngwane-no wa Mo-lefi ga a gona naa*?
QP 1a-Aaron 1-brother-POSS PC 1-Levites NEG SC1 present QP
Is Aaron your brother who is a Levites not present?
Is your Levites brother Aaron not available? (Eks. 4: 14)

(b) *Naa a ka bolela, a napa a lesa go dira*?
QP SC1 AUX talk SC1 then SC1 stop InfPr do

Can he talk and then he stop to do?

Can he speak and stop doing? (Num. 23: 19)

(92)

Afa

(a) *Afa* *le* *re* *lal-ed-itše* *gore* *le* *hume* *ka* *rena*?

QP 2PL 1PL invite-APPL-PEF CONJ 2PL enrich IP PRO2PL

Did you invite us so that you enrich yourselves by us?

Did you invite us to enrich yourselves at our expense? (Baa. 14: 15)

(b) *Afa* *Saulo* *a* *ka* *re* *buša*?

QP 1a-Saul SC1a AUX 1PL rule

Can Saul he rule us?

Can Saul rule us? (1 Sam. 11: 12)

(93)

A

(a) *A* *tate* *o* *sa* *phela*?

QP 1a-father SC1 APr alive

Is father he still alive?

Is father still alive? (Gen. 45: 3)

(b) *A* *ga* *se* *nna* *Mo-rena* *ke* *dira-go* *tšeo?*

QP NEG NEG PRN1SG 1-lord SC do-RS Dem10

Is it not I the lord who is doing those?

Isn't it I the lord doing those? (Eks. 4: 11)

In summary, seven hundred and thirty-nine questions were extracted from the document data sources. Some of the questions were structurally similar therefore one question from that structural class was sampled. The questions were presented in terms of how they are marked, i.e. intonation, Q-words, tags, particles and complements.

4.3 Data from observations

Authors have claimed that certain interrogative markers can only be placed at certain positions in a sentence. Observation was done on 15 discussions from everyday conversations. The aim was to note the type of markers used, the position of interrogative markers and interrogative word order movement. Intonation was also included as one of the interrogative markers. The researcher observed how people use language in their everyday lives paying much attention to their interrogative constructions. Interrogative markers were harvested from both observations and documents, and word orders were observed as they were being constructed in real-life situations. The researcher observed in a natural setting with no attempts at intervention.

4.3.1 Positions of interrogative markers

Thirty-one interrogative words were harvested from observations and documents, but their distribution was only recorded based on what was observed in real-life interactions. These interrogative markers are *eng, kae, neng, mang, mong, -fe, goreng, gobaneng, hleng, ke ka baka lang, bjang, -kae, -kaakang, e ka ba, kana, a ke re, bjale, kgane, kganthe, e le gore, o ra gore, le ra gore, naa, na, afa, a, nketse, etse, nkane, nke* and *neh*. It was observed that interrogative markers are restricted to occupy certain positions. These markers were distributed to the sentence initial position (SIP), sentence medial position (SMP) and/or sentence final position (SFP) during real-life interactions. There are a few that were distributed to all the positions. Speakers distributed these markers as follows:

(94)

Interrogative marker *eng*

(a) *Re* *tlo* *ja* ***eng*** *lehono*?
1PL AUX eat what today
We will eat what today?
What will we eat today?

(b) *Matome* *o* *tl-ile* *le* ***eng***?
1a-Matome SC1 come-PEF CP what
Matome he came with what?

What did Matome bring along?

(c) ***Eng*** *e* *seny-eg-ile*?
What SC9 destroy-NEU-PEF
What is destroyed?

The examples in 94 above illustrate how speakers use the interrogative marker *eng* at the sentence intial position (c), medial position (a) and final position (b).

(95)
Interrogative marker *kae*

(a) *Maabane* *bo-šego* *o* *be* *o* *le* ***kae?***
Yesterday 9-night SC1 BE COP CP where
Yesterday night you were where?
Where were you last night?

(b) *Di* ***kae*** *di-jo* *tša-ka*?
SC8 where 8-food PC8-POSS
Where is the food of mine?
Where is my food?

The examples in 95 above illustrate how speakers use the interrogative marker *kae* at the sentence medial position (b) and final position (a).

(96)
Interrogative marker *neng*

(a) *Bo-papa-go* *ba* *tlo* *bowa* ***neng***?
2a-father-POSS SC2a AUX return when
Your father will return when?
When will your father return?

(b) *Ke* ***neng*** *ke* *go* *let-ile*?
COP when 1SG OC wait-PEF
Is when I have waited for you?
Since when have I been waiting for you?

The examples in 96 above illustrate how speakers use the interrogative marker *neng* at the sentence medial position (b) and final position (a).

(97)

Interrogative marker *mang*

(a) ***Mang*** *o* *dir-ile* *eng*?
Who SC1 do-PEF what
Who he did what?
Who did what?

(b) *Ke* ***mang*** *mo-šemane* *yola*?
COP who 1-boy Dem1
Is who that boy?
Who is that boy?

(c) *O* *sepela* *le* ***mang***?
SC1 walk CP who
You walking with who?
Who are walking with?

The examples in 97 above illustrate how speakers use the interrogative marker *mang* at the sentence intial position (a), medial position (b) and final position (c).

(98)

Interrogative marker *-fe*

(a) *Ke* *go* *rek-el-e* *se-eta* ***se-fe***?
SC OC buy-APP-FV 7-shoe 7-which
I should buy for you which shoe?
Which shoe should I buy you?

(b) *Ke* ***e-fe*** *kgarebe* *ya* *gona*?
COP 9-which 9-girl OC9 POSS
Which is the particular girl?
Which girl in particular?

The examples in 98 above illustrate how speakers use the interrogative marker *efe* at the sentence medial position (b) and final position (a).

(99)

Interrogative marker *goreng*

(a) ***Goreng*** *o* *sepela*?

Why SC1 leave

Why you leaving?

Why are you leaving?

(b) *Matome* *yena* ***goreng*** *a* *sa* *je*?

1a-Matome 3SG why SC1a NEG eat

Matome he why is not eating?

Why isn't Matome eating?

The examples in 99 above illustrate how speakers use the interrogative marker *goreng* at the sentence initial position (a) and medial position (b).

(100)

Interrogative marker *gobaneng*

(a) ***Gobaneng*** *ke* *phela* *ke* *hlatswa* *di-bjana*?

Why SC always COP wash 8-dish

Why I always am washing dishes?

Why am I always washing the dishes?

(b) *Kgarebe* *ya* *gona* ***gobaneng*** *e* *sa* *bonale*?

9-girl OC9 POSS why SC9 NEG visible

The particular girl why she not visible?

Why isn't the particular girl visible?

The examples in 100 above illustrate how speakers use the interrogative marker *gobaneng* at the sentence initial position (a) and medial position (b).

(101)

Interrogative marker *hleng*

(a) ***Hleng*** *o* *homotše*?
Why SC1 quiet
Why you quiet?
Why are you quiet?

The example in 101 above illustrates how speakers use the interrogative marker *hleng* at the sentence initial position (a).

(102)

Interrogative marker *ke ka baka lang*

(a) ***Ke ka baka lang*** *a* *sa* *je*?
Why SC1 NEG eat
Why he not eat?
Why doesn't he eat?

The example in 102 above illustrates how speakers use the interrogative marker *ke ka baka lang* at the sentence initial position (a).

(103)

Interrogative marker *bjang*

(a) ***Bjang*** *bjalo*?
How Adv
How so?

(b) *Naa* *le* *sepetš-e* ***bjang***?
QPTC 2PL travel-PEF how
You travelled how?
How was your journey?

(c) *Go* ***bjang*** *wena*?
SC how 2SG
You how you?

How are you?

The examples in 103 above illustrate how speakers use the interrogative marker *bjang* at the sentence initial position (a), medial position (c) and final position (b).

(104)

Interrogative marker *-kae*

(a) *Ke* *bo-**kae*** *bo-rotho* *bjo*?

COP 14-how much 14-bread Dem14

Is how much this bread?

How much is this bread?

(b) *Di-kgomo* *tša* *geno* *ke* *tše-**kae***?

10-cow PC POSS AP Dem14-how many

The cows of your family are how many?

How many cows do have in your family?

The examples in 104 above illustrate how speakers use the interrogative marker *–kae* at the sentence medial position (a) and final position (b).

(105)

Interrogative marker *-kaakang*

(a) *Ke* *kgomo* *ye* *kaakang*?

COP 9-cow Dem9 how big

The cow is how big?

How big is the cow?

The example in 105 above illustrates how speakers use the interrogative marker *-kaakang* at the sentence final position (a).

(106)

Interrogative marker *e ka ba*

(a) ***E ka ba*** *go* *seny-eg-ile* *kae* *bjalo*?

QC SC destroy-NUE-PEF where QC

It is destroyed where now?

What is wrong now?

The example in 106 above illustrates how speakers use the interrogative marker *e ka ba* at the sentence initial position.

(107)

Interrogative marker *a ke re*

(a) ***A ke re*** *le* *a* *m-mona* *o* *a* *seleka?*
QC 2PL TC OC-see SC1 TC be naughty
You see him he is be naughty?
You do see that he is being naughty, right?

(b) *O* *j-ele* ***a ke re***?
SC1 eat-PEF QC
You ate right?
You did eat, right?

The examples in 107 above illustrate how speakers use the interrogative marker *a ke re* at the sentence initial position (a) and final position (b).

(108)

Interrogative marker *bjale*

(a) *Le* *tl-ile* *go* *dira-ng* ***bjale***?
2PL come-PEF SC do-what QC
You came to do what now?
What did you come to do?

(b) ***Bjale*** *o* *sepal-etš-eng* *le* *bona*?
QC SC1 leave-APPL-why CP 3PL
Now you leave why with them?
Why did you leave with them?

The examples in 108 above illustrate how speakers use the interrogative marker *bjale* at the sentence initial position (b) and final position (a).

(109)

Interrogative marker *kgane*

(a) *Baselini* *e* *oked-itše* *theko* ***kgane***?
9-Vaseline SC9 increase-PEF price QC
Vaseline it increased price?
Did the Vaseline (petroleum jelly) price increase?

(b) ***Kgane*** *go* *dir-eg-a-ng* *felo* *fa*?
QC InfPr happen-NEUT-FV-what LOC Dem16
What is happening at this place?
What's happening here?

The examples 109 above illustrate how speakers use the interrogative marker *kgane* at the sentence initial position (b) and final position (a).

(110)

Interrogative marker *kganthe*

(a) ***Kganthe*** *o* *be* *o* *tseba*?
QC SC1 AUX SC1 know
You did know?
So you knew?

(b) *O* *m-mol-**etš**-a-ng* ***kganthe***?
SC1 OC1-tell-APPL-FV-why QC
You tell him why?
Why did you tell him?

The examples in 110 above illustrate how speakers use the interrogative marker *kganthe* at the sentence initial position (a) and final position (b).

(111)

Interrogative marker *e le gore*

(a) ***E le gore*** *o* *tšwa* *kae*?
QC SC1 come where
You come where?
Where do you come from?

The example 111 above illustrates how speakers use the interrogative marker *e le gore* at the sentence initial position (a).

(112)

Interrogative marker *o ra gore*

(a)	***O ra gore***	*o*	*kgona*	*go*	*sepela*?
	QC	SC1	able	SC15	walk
	You say that you able to walk?				
	So, you are able to walk?				

The example in 112 above illustrates how speakers use the interrogative marker *o ra gore* at the sentence initial position (a).

(113)

Interrogative marker *le ra gore*

(a)	***Le ra gore***	*ke*	*nnete*?
	QC	COP	true
	You say that is true?		
	It is true?		

The example in 113 above illustrates how speakers use the interrogative marker *le ra gore* at the sentence initial position. This marker is the plural form of *o ra gore* in (62).

(114)

Interrogative marker *naa*

(a)	***Naa***	*koloi*	*ya*	*gago*	*ke*	*e*	*bjang*?
	QP	9-car	PC9	POSS	COP	SC9	what colour
	Your car is what colour?						
	What colour is your car?						

(b)	*Ke*	*re*	*o*	*phas-itše*	***naa***?
	1PL	say	SC1	pass-PEF	QP
	I say you passed?				
	Did you pass?				

The examples in 114 above illustrate how speakers use the interrogative marker *naa* at the sentence initial position (a) and final position (b).

(115)

Interrogative marker *na*

(a) *O* *m-mon-e* ***na***?

SC1 OC1-see-PEF QP

You saw him?

Did you see him?

(b) ***Na*** *mo-lato* *ke* *eng*?

QP 3-problem COP what

The problem is what?

What is the problem?

The examples in 115 above illustrate how speakers use the interrogative marker *na* at the sentence initial position (b) and final position (a).

(116)

Interrogative marker *afa*

(a) ***Afa*** *o* *mo* *kw-ele* *Mrekza*?

QP SC1 OC1 hear-PEF 1a-Mrekza

You heard him Mrekza?

Did you hear Mrekza?

The example in 116 above illustrates how speakers use the interrogative marker *neng* at the sentence initial position (a).

(117)

Interrogative marker *a*

(a) ***A*** *o* *a* *lwala*?

QP SC1 TC sick

You are sick?

Are you sick?

The example in 117 above illustrates how speakers use the interrogative marker *a* at the sentence initial position (a).

(118)

Interrogative marker *nketse*

(a)	***Nketse***	*o*	*r-ile*	*o*	*sepela*	*neng*?
	QC	SC1	say-PEF	SC1	leave	when
	You said you leave when?					
	When are you leaving?					

The example in 118 above illustrates how speakers use the interrogative marker *nketse* at the sentence initial position (a).

(119)

Interrogative marker *etse*

(a)	***Etse***	*ke*	*bo-kae*	*go*	*ya*	*toropo-ng*?
	QC	COP	SC14-how much	SC15	go	9-town-LOC
	Is how much to go to town?					
	How much is it to go to town?					

The example in 119 above illustrates how speakers use the interrogative marker *etse* at the sentence initial position (a).

(120)

Interrogative marker *nkane*

(a)	***Nkane***	*o*	*sa*	*m-motše*?
	Why	SC1	NEG	OC1-tell
	Why you not tell her?			
	Why don’t you tell her?			

The example in 120 above illustrates how speakers use the interrogative marker *nkane* at the sentence initial position (a).

(121)

Interrogative marker *nke*

(a)	***Nke***	*okare*	*le*	*a*	*m-phora*?
	Why	seem like	2PL	TC	OC1-lie
	Why seems like you are lying to me?				

Why does it seem like you are lying to me?

The example in 121 above illustrates how speakers use the interrogative marker *nke* at the sentence initial position (a).

(122)

Interrogative marker *neh*

(a) *Ke* *yena* *neh*?
COP PRN3SG QT
It is him right?

The example in 122 above illustrates how speakers use the interrogative marker *neh* at the sentence final position (a).

(123)

Interrogative marker *mong*

(a) *Ke* ***mong*** *ngwana* *wa* *gago*?
COP what gender 1-child PC1 POSSPRNN
Is what gender your child?
What gender is your child?

(b) *Ngwana* *wa* *gago* *ke* ***mong***?
1-child PC1 POSSPRNN COP what gender
Your child is what gender?
What gender is your child?

(c) ***Mong*** *ke* *goreng*?
What gender COP why
What gender is what?
What do you mean by what gender?

The examples in 123 above illustrate how speakers use the interrogative marker *mong* at the sentence medial position (a), final position (b) and initial position (c).

It was observed that these markers are placed in different positions on a sentence. The examples above illustrated how speakers use the interrogative marker *eng* at

three positions of a simple sentence, i.e intial, medial, and final; *kae* at two, medial and final; *neng* at two, medial and final; *mang* at three, intial, medial and final; *-fe* at two, medial and final; *goreng* at two, medial and final; *gobaneng* at two, medial and final; *hleng* at the final position only; *ke ka baka lang* at the final position only; *bjang* at three, intial, medial and final; *-kae* at two, medial and final; *-kaakang* at the final position only; *e ka ba* at the initial position only; *a ke re* at two, initial and final; *bjale* at two, initial and final; *kgane* at two, initial and final; *kganthe* at two, initial and final; *e le gore* at the initial position only; *o ra gore* at the initial position only; *naa* at two, initial and final; *na* at two medial and final; *neng* at two, medial and final; *a* at the initial position only; *nketse* at the sentence initial position only; *etse* at the sentence initial position only; *nkane* at the sentence initial position; *nke* at the sentence initial position only, *neh* at the sentence initial position only; *mong* at three positions of a simple sentence, i.e intial, medial, and final.

4.3.2 Interrogative word order

The researcher used literature to formulate possible word orders that may be found during interrogative construction. Five word orders were formulated after observation: SVO, VSO, SOV, OVS, OSV. The aim was to observe if the subject move from the sentence initial position to either sentence medial or final position, a verb can move from sentence medial position to either sentence initial or final position, and object from sentence final to either sentence initial or medial position. This type of data was observed from real-life situation and documents. Below is a table that shows possible interrogative word orders:

Movement		**Possibility**
Canonical	SVO	√
Subjects to sentence medial position	VS↓O	√
Verbs to sentence initial position	V↓SO	√
Verbs to sentence final position	SOV↓	√
Objects to sentence medial position	SO↓V	√
Objects to sentence initial position	O↓SV	√

Passive movement	OVS	√

Table 4.5: Interrogative word order

It was observed that interrogatives in Sepedi follow certain word orders. Here are the possible word orders:

(124)

(a) *Matome* *o* *ja* *eng*?
1a-Matome SC1a eat what
S V O
Matome he eat what?
What is Matome eating?

(b) *Ke* *mang* *a* *ja-go* *bo-gobe*?
COP who SC1 eat-RS 14-porridge
S V O
Is who he eat porridge?
Who is eating porridge?

(c) *Matome* *o* *dira-ng* *bo-gobe*?
1a-Matome SC1 do-what 14-porridge
S V O
Matome he do what porridge?
What is Matome doing to the porridge?

(d) *Go* *ja* *mang* *bo-gobe*?
InfPr eat who 14-porridge
V S O
Is eat who porridge?
Who is eating the porridge?

(e) *Bo-gobe* *bo* *j-ew-a* *ke* *mang*?
14-porridge SC14 eat-PAS-FV COP who
O V S
Porridge it is eat by who?

Who is eating the porridge?

(f) *Ke* *eng* *seo* *Matome* *a* *se* *ja-go*?
COP what Dem6 1a-Matome TC OC6 eat-RS
O S V
Is what that Matome is it eat?
What is it that Matome is eating?

(g) *O* *mo* *dira-ng*?
SC1 OC1 do-what
S O V
You him do what?
What are you doing to him?

The first three examples in 124 above follow the same word order but differ with focus. In example (d), the verb moved to the initial position. In example (e) the subject and object switched positions. In example (f), the object moved to the initial position, and in example (g) the object moved to the medial position.

4.4 Data from interviews

Data were also collected using interviews. The interview schedule was divided into two sections. The first section was the demographics of the participants regarding the gender, age, education level, alma mater, place of employment, occupation, field of specialisation and years of experience in the linguistics related field. The second section contained questions directed to participants. Please refer to Annexures B and C for the interview guide. The section that follows presents the background information of the participants. The participants of the study were selected in terms of their knowledge of the subject under study, educational qualification, occupation, field of interest and years of experience.

4.4.1 Demographic relationships and study variables

Twelve (12) participants were purposefully selected and voluntarily participated in the study. All (12) are Sepedi speakers. Furthermore, the sample consisted of twelve participants: five (5) male and seven (7) female participants. Gender information was collected to determine the number of recruited participants who were male or female.

Efforts were made to recruit an equal number of men and women but this was not possible due to the availability of participants. Two (2) of the participants were of ages 21-30, one (1) was between 31-40, eight (8) participants between 51-60 and one (1) was 61 and above. The age of the participants was collected to determine the number of years the participants have been exposed to natural language. In terms of educational qualifications, one (1) has an honours degree, six (6) hold masters' degrees, and five (5) have doctoral qualifications. The level of education of the participants was collected to determine the years of exposure to formal education.

In terms of occupation, three (3) were linguists, eight (8) language lecturers, and one (1) culture expert. Three (3) of the participants have a working experience of less than 10 years, one (1) has been working between 11-20 years, three (3) have a working experience of 21-30 years and five (5) have been working in a language environment for more than 30 years. Data were collected to determine the participants' years of experience practising in the field of language or linguistics. There are five (5) participants whose field of specialisation is semantics, four (4) specialises in syntax, three (3) in language education, two (2) in literature, and others in each of the following fields: cultural theory, translation, phonetics, morphology, terminology and lexicography. The number of fields of specialisations does not correspond with the number of participants because some participants specialise in more than one field. The field of specialisation was collected to determine if the participant would be familiar with the trends in the field under study. The participants are from the following alma maters: three (3) University of Pretoria, three (3) University of Limpopo, two (2) Rand Afrikaans University, and each from University of South Africa, University of Venda, Stellenbosch University and Tshwane University of Technology. The alma mater information was collected to determine different schools of thoughts that the participants have been exposed to. The sample is diverse in terms of age, years of experience and alma mater. This presents rich data from various angles.

4.4.2 Responses from the participants

Participants were expected to answer open ended questions from semi-structured interviews. This section focuses on the responses given by the participants. Data from books are used to support the responses from participants. These responses are presented in the subsections below.

4.4.2.1 Types of sentences in Sepedi

This section presents data that relates to the first question in Appendix C. The question required the participants' knowledge on the different types of sentences that exists in Sepedi, and it relates to the first objective (to identify the different types of interrogatives found in Sepedi). The section will present the types of sentences found in Sepedi and provide examples of those sentences.

All the participants mentioned that there are three general types of sentences in Sepedi: *lefokothwii/lefokonolo/ lefokonngwe* (simple sentence), *lefokofokwana* (complex sentence) and *lefokontši* (compound sentence). They mentioned that, in general, a sentence consists of a subject and a predicate. These sentences are classified based on the number and kind of clauses in their syntactic structure. The data indicated that all the 12 interview participants concur with established authors about the types of sentence found in the language. It should, however, be noted that due to dialectal variations, a simple sentence can be labelled differently. These three general types of sentences differ syntactically; the participants outlined the difference and it is presented below.

(a) lefokothwii/lefokonolo/lefokonngwe (simple sentence)

There are three definitions of a simple sentence found in Sepedi literature that outline the different syntactic elements. A simple sentence is a sentence that contains (1) a single verb (Mojapelo, 1966); (2) a single verbal element; the verbal element may either be a main verb or an auxiliary word group (Louwrens, 1991); (3) a single predicate; the predicate may be a verb, and auxiliary and a verb or a copula (Nokaneng, 1991). The simple sentence contains only one independent clause. This independent clause has three basic elements: a subject, a verb, and a complete thought.

(125)

(a) *O* *j-ele*.
SC eat-PEF
You ate.

(b) *Ba-na ba* *rata* *meetse*.
2-children SC2 love 6-water

Children they love water.
Children love water.

(c) *Mo-šemane* *o* *sepetše* *maabane*.
1-boy SC1a left yesterday
Boy he left yesterday.
The boy left yesterday.

Sentences (a, b and c) in 125 above are independent clauses, they all have subjects, *o* ‘you’, *bana* ‘children’ and *mošemane* ‘boy’ respectively; they all have a verb or verb phrase, *jele* ‘ate’, *rata meetse* ‘love water’ and *sepetše maabane* ‘left yesterday’; they all make complete sense. Thus, they have all the basic elements of a simple sentence.

The basic elements of a simple sentence may vary in structure. A subject may consist of more than one participant therefore resulting as a compound subject.

(126)

(a) *Matome,* *Maboke* *le* *ba-na* *ba* *j-ele.*
1a-Matome 1a-Maboke CP 2-children SC2 eat-PEF
Matome, Maboke and children they ate.
Matome, Maboke and the children ate.

(b) *Mma* *le* *papa* *ba* *rata* *ba-na* *ba* *bona.*
1a-mother CP 1a-father SC2 love 2-Children PC POSSPRN
Mother and father they love their children.
The mother and father love their children.

Sentences (a and b) in 126 above have compound subjects. *Matome, Maboke le bana* ‘Matome, Maboke and the children’ is the subject of sentence (a) while *mma le papa* ‘mother and father’ is the subject of sentence (b). Compound subjects, which may consist or two nouns or more, are connected by the connective particle *le* ‘and’ as seen in the examples above.

(b) lefokofokwana (complex sentence)

A complex sentence is made up of two set of clauses: an independent clause and one or more dependent clauses. A dependent clause lacks one of the elements that would

make it a complete sentence. There are three major types of dependent clause: noun clause, adverbial clause and adjectival clause (Nokaneng, 1991). The noun clause explains a noun that has been left out of a sentence; it can only be a noun clause in the absence of a noun, in the presence of a noun it becomes either adjectival clause or relative clause. The adjectival clause may be structurally similar to a noun clause, but it can be used in the presence of a noun. The adverbial clause functions as an adverb and modifies the meaning of a verb expressing manner, condition, reason, concession, result, purpose, place, time, or degree (Ziervogel et al., 1969). Examples of dependent clauses include the following:

(127)

(a) *yo* *a* *ka* *mo* *roma-go* (Noun Clause)
Dem1 SC1 AUX OC1 send-RS
this she can he send
one who she can send

(b) *yo* *a* *bala-go* *puku* (Adjectival Clause)
Dem1 SC1 read-RS 9-book
this who read book
'one reading a book'

(c) *le* *ge* *a* *gotše* (Adverbial Clause)
AdvP CONJ SC1 grew
even when she grew
'even when she is grown up'

The dependent clauses mentioned above cannot stand on their own as a sentence and convey a complete thought, but they can be added to an independent clause or simple sentence to form a complex sentence. Examples of independent clauses:

(128)

(a) *Mosebjadi* *o* *beleg-e* *ngwana.*
1a-Mosebadi SC1a give birth (to)-PEF 1-child
Mosebjadi she gave birth a child
Mosebjadi gave birth.

(b) *Ngwana* *ke* *wa* *Mosebjadi.*
1-child COP PC 1a-Mosebjadi
Child is for Mosebjadi
'He/she is Mosebjadi's child'

(c) *Mosebjadi* *o* *tla* *mo* *hlokomela.*
1a-Mosebjadi SC1a AUX OC1 look after
Mosebjadi she will look after him.
'Mosebjadi will look after him.'

Complex sentences

(129)

Noun Clause

(a) *Mosebjadi* *o* *belege* *yo* *a* *ka* *mo* *roma-go*
1a-Mosebadi SC1a give birth (to)-PEF Dem1 SC1 AUX OC1 send-RS
Mosebjadi she gave birth this she can her send.
Mosebjadi gave birth to one who she can send.

Adjectival Clause

(b) *Ngwana* *yo* *a* *bala-go* *puku* *ke* *wa* *Mosebjadi.*
1-child Dem1 SC1 read-RS 9-book COP PC 1a-Mosebjadi
Child who she read a book is for Mosebjadi.
It is Mosebjadi's child who is reading a book.

Adverbial Clause

(c) *Mosebjadi* *o* *tla* *mo* *hlokomela* *le* *ge* *a* *gotše.*
1a-Mosebjadi SC1a AUX OC1a look after AdvP CONJ SC1 grew
Mosebjadi she will her look after even when she grew.
Mosebjadi will look after her even when she is grown up.

Dependent clauses begin with a particle, concord or conjunction. Consequently, a particle, concord or conjunction joins an independent clause with one or more dependent clauses. The dependent clause can follow an independent clause, as seen above, or precede it, as in the following:

(130)

Adjectival Clause

(a) *Yo a bala-go puku* ke ngwana wa Mosebjadi.
Dem1 SC1 read-RS 9-book COP 1-child PC 1a-Mosebjadi
Who she read book is the child of Mosebjadi.
The one reading a book is Mosebjadi's child.

Adverbial Clause

(b) *Le ge a gotše, Mosebjadi o tla mo hlokomela.*
AdvP CONJ SC1 grew 1a-Mosebjadi SC1a AUX OC1a look after
Even when she grew Mosebjadi she will look after her.
Even when she is grown up, Mosebjadi will look after her.

(c) lefokontši (compound sentence)

A compound sentence refers to a sentence that consists of two independent clauses connected to one another with conjunctions such as *kganthe, gomme, ešita, fela*, etc. A compound sentence has two or more verbs (Nokaneng, 1991). For example,

(131)

(a) *Ba mo rom-ile fela o ganne.*
SC2 OC1 send-PEF CONJ SC1 refused
They sent him but he refused.

(b) *Re j-ele ebile re nw-ele*.
1PL eat-PEF CONJ 1PL drink-PEF
We ate and we drank.
We ate and drank.

(c) *O bad-ile gomme o phas-itše*.
SC1 study-PEF CONJ SC1 pass-PEF
She studied then she passed.
She studied as a result she passed.

Conjunctions may indicate some relationship between the two independent clauses in the sentence; they sometimes do not indicate much of a relationship. The conjunction

fela ‘but’ for example, shows that the second independent clause comes as a result of the first; thus the action carried by the verb of the first independent clause should occur then the action of the second verb follows. The conjunction *ebile* ‘and’ just connects the independent clauses, without indicating how they are logically related.

Most of the participants highlighted that in addition to three sentence types, there are a number of sentence functions found in Sepedi. Seven participants mentioned the declaratives, five mentioned the interrogatives, four mentioned the imperatives, two mentioned the exclamatives, while relatives, participials, optatives and subjunctives where mentioned once. Five participants did not mention any of the sentence functions that exist in Sepedi. These functions highlighted by the seven participants propose that a sentence is identified not only by its form but also by its function. A sentence is, therefore, a grammatical expression (form) that has meanings and uses (function). For example, the form of the expression

(132)

(a) *Matome* *o* *j-ele* *bo-gobe*?
1a-Matome SCa eat-PEF 14-porridge
Matome he ate porridge?
Did Matome eat porridge?

can be identified as a simple sentence since it consists of a subject *Matome*, verb *jele* and object *bogobe*, and its function can be identified as an interrogative since it seeks to establish if something was either done or not. Therefore, a sentence can be viewed as a coin that has two sides, the sides being the grammatical expressions (form) and their meanings and uses (function).

One of the participants directed the researcher to Sepedi literature which documented the following sentence functions: *modirišogo* (infinitive), *modirišogore* (subjunctive), *modirišohlaodi* (participial), *modirišokgonego* (optative), *modirišoleamanyi* (relative), *modirišopeelano* (conditional), *modirišopego* (indicative), *modirišotaelo* (imperative), *modirišotlwaelo* (habitual), *modirišomakalo* (exclamative) and *modirišopotšišo* (interrogative). The focus of this study was on interrogatives that are associated with the speech act of questioning.

4.4.2.2 Categories for Sepedi Interrogatives

The second, third, fourth and fifth question (See Appendix C) asked the participants about the categories for Sepedi interrogatives, and it relates to the first objective (to identify the different types of interrogatives found in Sepedi).

Most of the participants mentioned that a question cannot be classified under sentence types because it is not a type of a sentence but can be formed from all types of sentences i.e., simple, complex and compound. For example,

(133)

Simple sentence

(a) *Basadi* *bale* *ba* *a* *bolela.*
2-women Dem2 SC2 TM talk
Women over there they are talking.
The women over there are talking.

(b) *Basadi* *bale* *ba* *dira-ng*?
2-women Dem2 SC2 do-what
Women over there they do what?
What are the women over there doing?

Complex sentence

(c) *Ngwana* *yo* *a* *bala-go* *puku* *ke* *wa* *Mosebjadi.*
1-child Dem1 SC1 read-RS 9-book COP PC 1a-Mosebjadi
Child who she read a book is for Mosebjadi.
It is Mosebjadi's child who is reading a book.

(d) *Ngwana* *yo* *a* *bala-go* *puku* *ke* *wa* *mang*?
1-child Dem1 SC1 read-RS 9-book COP PC who
Child who she read a book is for who?
Whose child is reading a book?

Compound sentence

(e) *Ba* *mo* *rom-ile* *fela* *o* *ganne.*
SC2 OC1 send-PEF CONJ SC1 refused
They sent him but he refused.

(f) *Ba*	*mo*	*rom-ile*	*fela*	*o*	*dirileng*?
SC2	OC1	send-PEF	CONJ	SC1	do-PEF-what?

They sent him but he did what?

The sentences in 133 above illustrate that interrogatives can be formed from all the three sentence types. Sentences a, c and e represent simple, complex and compound sentence respectively while b, d and f are the interrogative forms corresponding to a, c and e respectively.

Some participants mentioned that interrogatives in Sepedi can be classified depending on the type of response expected, either yes or no, or a detailed response. The expected response will determine the type of interrogative markers to be chosen in the construction of a particular interrogative. Furthermore, the participants mentioned that an interrogative is a syntactic function of a sentence that can be marked by *segalo* (tone) and interrogative words.

- *Segalo* (tone)

Participants mentioned that tone is one of the important factors that helps identify if an utterance is a statement or an interrogative. Participants described this tone in three different ways: raised tone, rising tone and high tone. Five (5) of the participants mentioned that the final syllable node of the last word of the sentence carries the tone that identifies that sentence as an interrogative, two of them mentioned that the tone is raised while the other three said the tone is high. One of those who said high tone also highlighted that he was not sure if there is a built-up of the high tone from the other words in the sentence. Two (2) participants did not specify the type of tone used; they just mentioned that the determining tone is at the last word of the sentence. Two (2) participants mentioned that there is a built-up of the interrogative determining tone from sentence medial position. One (1) participant stated that the tone is high while the other said it is raised. One (1) participant mentioned that the raised tone is reflected across the sentence, while one (1) other participant mentioned that tone can be used to determine interrogatives but did not mentioned how. One (1) participant mentioned nothing about tone as an interrogative marker.

One of the participant who said there is a built-up from sentence medial gave the following example:

(134)

Declarative

(a) *Monna* *ò* *à* *jà*.
1-man SC1 TM eat
Man he is eat.
The man is eating.

(b) *Monna* *ó* *á* *já*?
1-man SC1 TM eat
Man he is eat?
Is the man eating?

Sentence b in 134 above shows that the raised tone begins from the subject concord which occupies the sentence medial position as compared to the lowered tone in sentence (a).

One of the participant who mentioned the high tone referred to Ziervogel, Lombard and Mokgokong (1969) who outline that in all cases of interrogative construction, there is an inclination to make the tone of the voice higher. The tonal patterns of interrogative are different from those of its declarative counterpart. The interrogative loses its length on the penultimate, e.g.

(135)

(a) *Ó sèpè:tšè*.
SC1 leave-PEF
He left.

(b) *Ó sèpètšé*?
SC1 leave-PEF
He left?
Did he leave?

- *Mabotšiši* (Interrogative words)

The interrogative words used in this study were identified from documents and during observations. Participants were given a list of interrogative words which were grouped into two according to the way they are used and the frequency of the manner in which

they are used. Participants were asked the name of the interrogative words in Sepedi, to add any missing interrogative words, to remove words which are not interrogative words in Sepedi, and to classify the words into groups according to how they are used. This is the initial list used for the interview:

Group A	**Group B**
A. *Eng*	A. *e ka ba*
B. *Kae*	B. *kana*
C. *Neng*	C. *a ke re*
D. *Mang*	D. *afaeya*
E. *Ofe*	E. *eye*
F. *Go reng/ gobaneng*	F. *bjale*
G. *Bjang*	G. *Kgane*
H. *Bokae*	H. *Kganthe*
I. *Tše kae*	I. *e le gore*
J. *Mong*	J. *o ra gore*
	K. *Naa*
	L. *Na*
	M. *Afa*
	N. *A*
	O. *Nketse*
	P. *Etse*
	Q. *Nkane*
	R. *Nke*
	S. *Neh*

Table 4.6: Interrogative word list 1

All the participants mentioned that words in the table above are called *mabotšiši* (words used to ask questions). However, there were some who highlighted that among this class of words called *mabotšiši*, others can be singled out as *dikantšu* (question particles), *mabopi* (question morphemes) and *mathuši* (question complements).

The first two (2) participants pointed out that the interrogative word E in group A is not *ofe* but *-fe*. Five (5) of the first seven (7) participants mentioned that the interrogative word B *kana* in group B is not a Sepedi word but rather Setswana. Some participants mentioned that the interrogative word S *neh* in group B is not a Sepedi word. The participants identified word D *afaeya* and E *eye* as interjectives not interrogative words. Most of the participants pointed out that the interrogative words H *bokae* and I *tše kae* in group A are actually two forms derived from one stem which is *-kae*.

The word *bomang* was added as a plural form of the interrogative word D *mang* in group A. The interrogative words *-kaa kang* and *-bjang* were added to group A. The interrogative words *hleng* and *ke ka lebaka la eng* were added as equivalents for the interrogative words F *goreng* and *gobaneng*. The participants highlighted that the interrogative phrase *ke ka lebaka la eng* is frequently in short as *ke ka baka lang*. The phrase *le ra gore* was added as a plural form of the interrogative word J *o ra gore* in group B. The interrogative words K *naa*, L *na*, M *afa* and N *a* in group B were identified as different from the rest of the words in group B. The list below is the final list of interrogative words after the interviews grouped into three.

Group A	**Group B**	**Group C**
A. Eng	*A. Na*	*A. e ka ba*
B. Bjang	*B. Naa*	*B. nkane*
C. Neng	*C. A*	*C. bjale*
D. Mang/ Bomang	*D. Afa*	*D. kgane*
E. –kaakang		*E. kganthe*
F. Goreng/ gobaneng/ hleng/ ke ka baka lang		*F. e le gore*
G. Kae		*G. o ra gore/ le ra gore*
H. –kae		*H. nketse*
I. –fe		*I. etse*
J. -bjang		*J. a ke re*
		K. nke
		L. neh

Table 4.7: Interrogative word list 2

The examples below represent the groups in the table above.

(136)

(a) *Le-ina* *re* *mo* *rea* *mang*?
5-Name 1PL OC1 name who
Name we give her is who?
Who do we name her? (Chokoe, 1995: 50)

(b) *Naa* *a* *ka* *bolela, a* *napa* *a* *lesa* *go* *dira*?
QP SC1 AUX talk SC1 then SC1 stop InfPr do
Can he talk and then he stop to do?
Can he speak and stop doing? (Num. 23:19)

(c) *Lesiba* *ke* *wa* *lena* *a ke re*?

1a-Lesiba SC1a PC POSSPRN2PL QT

Lesiba he is for you right?

Lesiba is yours, right? (Hansard, 2016a: 35)

The examples in 136 above are respective representatives of each of the groups.

4.4.2.3 Sepedi question words

This section presents data that relate to the second objective (to investigate interrogative markers in different types of Sepedi interrogatives), and it relates to the sixth and seventh question in Appendix C. The question required the participants' knowledge on the different interrogative words used to mark interrogatives in Sepedi.

In Sepedi there are two forms of Q-words, those that can stand on their own as fully-fledged words (*eng* 'what', *kae* 'where', *neng* 'when', *mang* 'who', *goreng* 'why', *gobaneng* 'why', *hleng* 'why', *bjang* 'how') and those with are stems that require prefixes or concords to be complete words (*-kaakang* 'how …', *-fe* 'which', *-bjang* 'What kind', *-kae* 'how much/many', *-kae* 'what…') (Ziervogel, Lombard & Mokgokong, 1969; Poulos & Louwrens, 1994). Participants were asked the meaning of the different interrogative words and the basic morphological composition of words with variants and their usage examples.

- *Fully fledged Q-Words*

The interrogative word *mang* 'who'

The participants mentioned that this interrogative word is used to identify a noun with a human referent is *mang* (who) for singular nouns and *bomang* (who) for plural nouns. The plural noun marker *bo-*, is a prefix to a personal proper name that falls under noun class 2b, e.g., *bo-Matome* PFX- PN. This prefixation is compulsory in situations or context where the question is about more than one person. Thus, *bomang* is used in questions requesting nouns from noun class 2 and 2b, while *mang* is used for nouns in class 1 and 1a. However, either *mang* or *bomang* is acceptable in plural situations, but only *mang* is acceptable in singular situations. The interrogative word *mang* can only be used in the plural context when the phonological process of elision is employed; the plural concord characterises the elision. It is also important to note that the interrogative word *mang* is also prefixed. Linguistically, in Sepedi a noun consists of two parts: a prefix and a stem. However, some nouns such as *Matome* and

Khatshane are not overtly marked. These nouns consist of a zero prefix. In a linguistic analysis, the lack of an overtly marked prefix is represented by the symbol Ø (Poulos and Louwrens, 1994). Therefore, *mang* consist of a zero prefix and can linguistically be represented as Ø-*mang*. The occurrence of this Q-word is not restricted to one position; it can take an initial position in a copulative form, the word is preceded by copulative prefixes.

(137)

(a) *Ke* *mang* *mo-tho* *yo*?
COP who 1-person Dem1
Is who this person?
Who is this person?

(b) *O* *mang* *wena*?
SC who PRN2SG
You who you?
Who are you?

(c) *Ke* *wena* *mang*?
COP PRN2SG who
Is you who?
Who are you?

(d) *Le* *bo-mang* *lena*?
2PL 2a-who PRN2PL
You who you?
Who are you?

(e) *Ke* *'mang* *ba* *sepetš-e-go* *ka* *koloi*?
COP 2a-who SC2a leave-PEF-RS IP 9-car
Are who they left in car?
Who left in a car?

(f) *Ke* *bo-mang* *ba* *sepetš-e-go* *ka* *koloi?*
COP 2a-who SC2 leave-PEF-RS IP 9-car
Are who they left in car?

Who left in a car?

(g) *Koloi e sepetš-e ka bo-mang?*
9-car SC9 leave-PEF IP 2a-who
Car it left by who?
'Who left in the car?'

(h) *Koloi e sepetš-e ka mang*?
9-car SC9 left IP who
Car it left by who?
'Who left in the car?'

(i) *O nyaka mang*?
SC want who?
You want who?
Who do you want?

(j) *Leina re mo rea mang?*
5-Name 1PL OC1 name who
Name we give her is who?
'Who do we name her?'

(k) *Koloi ye ke ya mang*?
9-car Dem9 COP PC9 who
This car is for who?
'Whose car is this?'

(l) *Ke tša mang dikoloi tše*?
COP PC8 who 8-cars Dem8
Is for who these cars?
'Whose cars are these?'

In sentences (a-f) in 137 above, the questioned constituent is the subject that has a human referent and it occurs in the copulative form. The sentences question the identity of the subjects that are missing; (a, c, e, f) question the identity of the person, i.e., the name and (b and d) questions the description of the subject, i.e., the question

words are not specifically questioning the personal identification of the subject, but the general labeling. In sentences (g and h), the questioned constituent is the subject that has a human referent and it occurs in the passive form; (g) is plural and (h) is singular. In sentences (i and j), the questions the object that has a human referent and it occurs in the final position of the sentence. In (i), *O* 'you' is the subject of the sentence, *nyaka* 'want' is the verb and the object which is the missing constituent and has a human referent is questioned by the Q-word *mang* 'who'. In sentences (k and l), the question word *mang* questions the identity of a possessive subject. The question phrase is composed of the possessive concord and the question word *mang*, which is equivalent to the English word "whose". When questioning the possessor, the question word *mang* is always preceded by a relevant possessive concord. The concord is determined by the possessed entity.

The interrogative word *eng* 'what'

Most of the participants mentioned that the interrogative word *eng* which asks the question 'what' is used to question non-human entities. There were those who highlighted that this interrogative word can also be used to question human referents in noun class 5 and used in a derogatory manner to question any human referent. It has a contracted form *–ng* that is usually attached to verbs as a suffix. It occurs in the copulative initial position as a subject and also functions as an object. Interrogatives constructed using the word *eng* may take one of the following forms: copulative, adverbial, possessive.

(138)

(a) *Ke eng se?*
COP what Dem7
Is what this?
What is this?

(b) *O tl-ile ka eng*?
SC come-PEF IP what
You came by what?
What did you use to come here?

(c) *O* *nyaka* *eng*?
SC want what
You want what?
What do you want?

(d) *Ba* *nwa-ng*?
SC drink-what
They drink what?
What do they drink?

(e) *Mo-lato* *ke* *eng*?
3-Problem COP what
Problem is what?
What is the problem?

(f) *O* *rek-ile* *koloi* *ya* *eng*?
SC buy-PEF 9-car PC what
She bought the car of what?
What car did she buy?

(g) *Ngwana* *ke* *mo-eng?*
1-Child COP 1-what
Child is what gender?
What gender is the child?

(h) *O* *nagana* *gore* *ke* *yena* *eng*?
SC think CONJ COP PRN3SG what
He thinks that he is what?
What does he think he is?

(i) *Matome* *ke* *eng*?
1a-Matome COP what
Matome is what?
What is Matome?

(j) *Ke* *wena* *eng*?
COP PRN2SG what
You are what?
What are you?

Sentences (a, b, c, d, e and f) in 138 above question non-human entities, (g) questions human referent in class 1, (h) identifies a derogatory human referent, (i and j) questions human referents in noun class 5. In sentence (b), *eng* is in an adverbial form determined by the adverbial particle *ke*. In sentence (d), the interrogative word is used in its contracted from and is suffixed to a verb. Sentence (f) takes a possessive interrogative form which is determined by the possessive concord *ya*.

The interrogative word *kae* 'where'

Kae is the other interrogative word in Sepedi and asks the question 'where'. This interrogative is used to ask in or at what place or position i.e., the location of an action or an entity. *Kae* can also be preceded by various locative particles in order to indicate various localities. The following are some examples of the use of *kae* 'where' with and without particles:

(139)

(a) *Matome* *o* *kae*?
1a-Matome SC1a where
Matome he is where?
Where is Matome?

(b) *Ba* *tšwa* *kae*?
SC come where
They come where?
'Where are they from?'

(c) *Ke* *dule* *mo* *kae*?
1SG sit LP where
I sit where?
'Where should I sit?'

(d) *Ke* *kae* *ga* *geno*?
COP where PC POSSPRN
Is where your home?
'Where is your home?'

(e) *Ba* *tsen-e* *ka kae*?
3PL enter-PEF LP where
They entered from where?
'Where did they come in?'

In sentence (a) in 139 above, the question word questions the location of the subject. The sentence contains the subject, subject concord and requires a location which is questioned by the word *kae*. Sentence (b) also questions the location of the subject. In (c and e), the question word questions a location of an action. Sentence (d) questions the location in a copulative form.

The interrogative word *neng* 'when'

Neng is the other interrogative word in Sepedi and asks the question 'when'. The participants mentioned that this interrogative is used to ask the time or period. In sentence construction, *neng* follows the verb and can also form copulatives. The following are some examples of the use of *neng* 'when':

(140)

(a) *Se-bjana* *sa* *le-fase* *se* *neng?*
7-cup PC7 5-world SC7 when
The cup of the world is when?
When is the world cup?

(b) *Ke* *neng* *ke* *bolela* *le* *yena*?
COP when 1SG talk CP PRN3SG
Is when I talk to him?
How long is it since I have been talking to him?

(c) *Ba* *bo-ile neng*?
2PL return-PEF when
They returned when?

When did they return?

In sentences in 140 above, the question word questions the time of occurrence of a particular event. The sentences contain the subject and require a time or period which is questioned by the word *neng*.

The interrogative words *goreng*, *gobaneng, ke ka baka lang* and *hleng* 'why'

Participants showed that in Sepedi the question 'why' can be asked using four different interrogatives. These interrogative words mark the question of reason. Most participants said these markers always occupy the sentence initial position. The following are some examples of questions of reason:

(141)

(a) *Goreng* *o* *m-motša* *maaka*?
Why SC1 OC1-tell 6-lies
Why you tell him lies?
Why do you lie to him?

(b) *Gobaneng* *o* *sa* *je* *kolobe?*
Why SC1 NEG eat 9-pork
Why you not eat pork?
Why don't you eat pork?

(c) *Ke ka baka lang* *o* *sepal-el-a* *kgole*?
Why SC1 walk-APPL-FV far
Why you walk far?
Why are you walking at a distance?

(d) *Hleng* *ga* *di* *swane*?
Why NEG SC8 same
Why not they same?
Why aren't they the same?

The interrogative markers in 141 can be used interchangeably to question reason, however the choice is not simply random. The markers from (a) to (c) are used when the speaker wants to understand why something has happened while (d) requires both

the reason and motive. With (d) the speaker asks the question from an informed point of view. For instance, in example (d) the speaker expected the objects to be same, but to his surprise they were different. Hence the use of *hleng*.

The interrogative word *bjang* 'how'

The interrogative word *bjang* marks the question of manner and asks the question 'how'. This marker is used to ask about conditions, functions or how something is or was done. The following are some examples of questions of reason:

(142)

(a) *Se-llathekeng* *se* *se* *šoma* *bjang*?
7-cell phone Dem7 SC7 work how
This cell phone is work how?
How does this cell phone work?

(b) *Bo-mma-go* *ba* *bjang* *lehono*?
2a-mother-POSS SC2a how today
Your mother they are how today?
How does your mother feel today?

(c) *O* *hlw-ele* *bjang*?
SC1 AUX-PEF how
You were how?
How was your day?

(d) *Go* *tla* *bjang* *gore* *o* *se* *tsebe*?
InfPr come how CONJ SC1 NEG know
It come how that you not know?
How come don't you know?

- *Q-Word stems*

The interrogative stem *-kaakang*

Participants mentioned that this interrogative can be used in adverbial and adjectival form. When taking the adjectival form, it asks the questions – how big, small, young, old, etc., and in the adverbial form it asks the question – how often. In Sepedi the usage of adjectives such as "new" are context based. Depending on the sentence

formation, the adjective can take one of the following forms *“mpsha”, “leswa”, “diswa” seswa”, “moswa”, “seswa”,* and “*baswa*” would all be translated as “new”. The adjective consists of two parts, an adjective prefix and an adjective stem. The adjective prefix or concord is in most cases compound in nature. The first part resembles the basic demonstrative of position, and like the prefix which follows it, it agrees in class with the noun to which it refers (Poulos & Louwrens, 1994). According to Van Wyk et al. (1992: 118), Sepedi has three types of adverbs namely basic adverbs, derived adverbs and adverbs that have been adopted from other word categories. The interrogative stem *-kaakang* works with the second type; these adverbs are derived from noun and adjectives by means of the adverbial prefix *ga*-. For example, *gantsi* 'many times', *gatee* 'once', etc.

In the following examples, an interrogative derived from a declarative using the stem *-kaakang*. The Q-word is used to question the adjective. Note that the demonstrative and the noun class prefix are used as a compound adjectival prefix. The writing convention of this Q-word is: [Q-word [Dem] [Pfx][Stem]]; the prefix is attached to the stem but the demonstrative is not attached to the prefix. Thus, the Q-word is written as two words.

(143)

(a) Adjective:

Matome	*ke*	***yo***	***mo-golo***
1a-Matome	COP	**Dem1a**	**1a-big**
1a-Matome	COP	**AdjC1a-big**	

‘Matome is big’

(b) Adjectival Q-word:

Matome	*ke*	***yo***	***mo-kaakang*?**
1a-Matome	COP	**Dem1a**	**1a-how big**
1a-Matome	COP	**AdjC1a-how big**	

Matome is how big?

‘How big is Matome?

Adjectival Q-words that question nouns under class 8, 9 and 10 have a zero prefix in the surface structure. In their deep structure, however, they are formed like others. In

the underlying structure, the zero prefix causes phonological alternation, i.e.,plosivation to initial (non-plosive) sound of certain stems.

(144)

(a) **Mpsa* *ye* *ke* ***ye*** ***Nsese***
Mpsa *ye* *ke* ***ye*** ***tshese***
9-Dog Dem9 COP **Dem9 9-thin**
9-Dog Dem9 COP **AdjC9-thin**
'This dog is thin'

(b) **Mpsa* *ye* *ke* ***ye*** ***N-kaakang?***
Mpsa *ye* *ke* ***ye*** ***kaakang*?**
9-Dog Dem9 COP **Dem9 9-kaakang**
9-Dog Dem9 COP **AdjC9-kaanang**
This dog is how big?
'How big is this dog?'

This Q-word can also be used with the adverbial prefix *ga-* and the noun class prefix 14 *bo-.*

(c) *Le-sea* *le* *j-ele* *ga-kaakang*?
5-Infant SC5 eat-PEF AdvP-how much
The infant it ate how much?
'How much did the infant eat?

(d) *Ke* *ye* *telele* *bo-kaakang*?
COP Dem9 tall 14-how much
It is tall how much?
'How tall is it?

The interrogative enumerative stem –*fe*

Participants mentioned that the full form of this word is determined by the noun class that it refers to. This stem asks the question – which. They mentioned that the stem -*fe* is always preceded by a class concord that resembles the noun prefix and this concord and the stem are written as one word. It is also known as an enumerative stem that qualifies a noun.

In the following examples, an interrogative derived from a declarative using the stem *-fe*. The Q-word is used to question the noun. Note that the final Q-word is composed of a subject concord and the Q-stem, and they are written as one word. The writing convention of this Q-word is: [Q-word [SC][Stem]]. The chosen Q-form of *–fe* should always correspond to a relevant noun class.

(145)

(a) *Ke* *di-fe* *tšeo?*
Are 10-which Dem10
Are which those?
Which are those?

(b) *Ba* *j-ele* *panana* *e-fe?*
2SG eat-PEF 9-banana 9-which
They ate which banana?
Which banana did they eat?

(c) *Matome* *o* *ra* *ba-sadi* *ba-fe?*
1a-Matome SC1a refer 2-women 2-which
Matome he refers which women?
Which women is Matome referring to?

Examples (a) to (c) in 145 above illustrate that *-fe* refers to noun concepts. The answers to the questions '*dife', 'efe'* and '*bafe'* will be descriptions of a noun.

The interrogative stem *–bjang*

In forming interrogative words using the stem *–bjang* that asks the question 'what kind, the stem takes a concord that resembles the noun class prefix and this concord and the stem are written as one word. The chosen concord refers to a noun of a particular class. For example,

(146)

(a) *Ye* *bjang*?
Dem9 9-what kind

‘What kind?’

Since the Q-word has no prefix in the surface structure then it is assumed that it is referring to a noun class 9. *–bjang* is an adjectival Q-word; with adjectives the demonstrative and the noun class prefix are used as a compound adjectival prefix. The writing convention of this Q-word is: [Q-word [Dem] [Pfx][Stem]]; the prefix is attached to the stem but the demonstrative is not attached to the prefix. Thus, the Q-word is written as two words.

(b)	*Matome*	*o*	*ny-etše*	*mo-sadi*	***yo***	***mo-bjang?***
	1a-Matome	SC1a	marry-PEF	1-woman	**Dem1**	**1-what kind**
	1a-Matome	SC1a	marry-PEF	1-woman	**Adj**	**C-what kind**
	Matome he married what kind of a woman?					
	What kind of a woman did Matome marry?					

(c)	*O*	*nyaka*	*koloi*	*ye*	*bjang*?
	SC1	want	9-car	Dem9	what kind
	You want what kind of a car?				
	What kind of a car do you want?				

Koloi falls under class 9 and has a zero prefix in the surface structure. The Q-stem *–bjang* does not carry any noun class prefix, it is only preceded by a demonstrative that correspond to noun class 9.

The interrogative enumerative stem -kae

This stem asks the question ‘how much’ with reference to price, ‘how many’ which reference to number and ‘what’ with reference to rebel form. With reference to ‘how many’, it assumes an adjective, it is used together with the adjective concord which is compound in nature similar to *-kaakang* and *-bjang.*

(147)

(a)	*Beke*	*e*	*na-le*	*ma-tsatsi*	***a***	***ma-kae***?
	9-Week	SC9	COP	6-day	**SC6**	**6-how many**
	9-Week	SC9	COP	6-day	**Adj**	**C6-how many**
	A week it has how many days?					

How many days does a week have?

With reference to price, it always has one form. The interrogative word is composed of a class prefix and the Q-stem. ‘Price’ is Sepedi falls under class 14 which is prefixed with bo-. The interrogative takes a copula form:

(b) *Koloi ya gago ke* ***bo-kae***?
9-car PC9 POSSPRN COP **14-how much**
Your car is how much?
How much is your car?

With reference to rebels, the form of the Q-word is a class prefix and the stem. The interrogative takes a copula form when asking ‘*What…?*’:

(c) *Matome ke* ***mo-kae***?
1a-Matome COP **1a-what nationality**
Matome is what nationality?
What nationality is Matome?

(d) *Ba-šomi ba gago ke* ***ba-kae***?
2-Worker PC POSSPRN COP **2-what nationality**
Your workers are what nationality?
What nationality are your workers?

(e) *Matome o bolela* ***se-kae***?
1a-Matome SC1a speak **6-what language**
Matome he speaks what language?
What language does Matome speak?

(f) *Mandela ke mo-etapele wa* ***bokae***?
1a-Mandela COP 1-leader PC1a 14-what number
Mandela is leader number what?
What number in sequence is Mandela’s leadership?

In the formation of an adverbial interrogative, this linearity principle is followed: [Q-word[AdvP] [AdvC][Q-stem]]. That is, the adverbial interrogative is composed of an

adverbial particle and adverbial concord which are used as a compound adverbial prefix.

The interrogative words *naa, na, afa* and *a*

These interrogative words are called particles. Participants were split on interrogative words. Most said all the particles mean 'do you or are you', *naa* and *na* are variants of each other, and *afa* and *a* are also variants of each other, they do not differ in meaning therefore can respectively be used interchangeably. One participant mentioned that the even though the particles *naa* and *na* are variants of each other, and are used similarly both at sentence initial and final position; but he feels that *na* should be used at the sentence initial position while *naa* at the sentence final.

Another participant highlighted the difference between *naa* and *afa*. According to the participant, *naa* is used when the speaker presupposes that the listener is aware of the information sought while the speaker does not have knowledge of such information. In reality, the listener might not have that prior knowledge but the speaker thinks that the listener has that knowledge. When the speaker uses *naa* he or she presupposes that the listener has the information they require; the listener might not have that information but in the understanding of the speaker, the listener knows. Furthermore, *na* is a variant of *naa*, their meaning is the same. When these two are used the answer can be either yes or no. The speaker has no expectation. On the other hand, *afa* is used when the speaker presupposes that the listener knows what the speaker knows, and it is used as a form of a reminder or recollection of the information they both are aware of. According to the participant, *afa* can mean that 'you know and I know that you know, and you know that I know that you know but your state does not show that we are on the same page; what you are doing at that moment does not show that you know that we are supposed to do something together'. The speaker would have observed the listener and would be feeling like the listener might have forgotten the information. *Afa* is used to conscientise the listener about prior knowledge. The answer to this particle is either yes or no, however the speaker expects a positive answer. It will come as a surprise if the listener gives a negative answer.

One participant said that particles are used to emphasise a tone interrogative and to coerce or put pressure on the listener to give a response, and do not necessarily

require a yes or no response. The participant gave the following example to support the argument:

(148)

Question

(a) *A* *o* *a* *ya*?
QP 3SG TM go
He is going?
Is he going?

Possible answers

(b) *O* *a* *ya.*
3SG TM go
He is going.

(c) *Ga* *a* *ye.*
NEG 3SG go
Not he go.
He is not going.

(d) *Ee*! (Yes!)
(e) *Aowa*! (No!)

Another participant mentioned that when the speaker uses the particle *a*, he or she expects a positive response.

Other interrogative words

Most participants did not have detailed information about what the interrogative words in group C of Annexure C meant. Mostly they knew how to use the words but not why they are used. Some knew only the reasons behind the usage of certain interrogatives and gave their account on why and when those words are used. Some participants explained that the interrogative words *nkane* and *nke* are variants of each other and the speaker uses these interrogatives to elicit the reason or purpose for something. They further mentioned that *e le gore* is used to emphasise that a question in a

surprised manner, *e ka ba* is used to seek confirmation or explanation or possibility, while *bjale* seeks clarity.

Others mentioned that *nketse* and *etse* are variants and sometimes used by speaker from different dialects. The participant outlined that when the speaker uses this interrogative he or she seeks a reminder. The speaker has prior knowledge about what he or she is asking about, but at that particular moment he or she has forgotten the information sought. The speaker knows that the listener is aware of the information sought and the listener will remind the speaker.

One participant also mentioned that *kganthe* and *kgane* are variants of each other. The participant said that these variants are used to express a surprise and to seek an explanation. The speaker would have not expected what he or she just heard, in fact he would have expected the opposite of the current situation hence he or she is surprised. Maybe the speaker and the listener had an agreement but the speaker is surprised why the listener seems to have forgotten about the agreement, now he or she asks the listener to explain himself or herself. Another participant added that these interrogative words can be used when the speaker seeks clarity or want further explanation.

The other participant explained the use of *o ra gore* and *le ra gore* which are variants but used in different contexts; the former is a singular form while the latter is in plural form and can also be used to show respect to the listener who might happen to be senior to the speaker in terms of age or social status. These interrogative words are used to seek confirmation from the listener. The expected response may be either yes or no. The participant also mentioned that the interrogative *a ke re* is used when the speaker wants to corner the listener into agreeing to something. Depending on the tone of voice of the speaker this interrogative words may also be interpreted as being aggressive. However, it can only show aggression when used at the sentence final position. Another participant presented a similar explanation of the usage of *a ke re* but emaphasised that this is only an interrogative when it occurs at the sentence final position.

4.4.2.4 Positions of interrogative markers

This section presents data that relate to the third objective (to determine the syntactic structures of Sepedi interrogatives), and also relate to the eighth question in Appendix C. The question asked the participants about the position of different markers in a sentence.

Participants were requested to identify positions which can be occupied by each of the identified markers. They were asked if the markers occupy the sentence initial (SIP), sentence medial (SMP) and sentence final position (SFP). Some participants did not answer this question satisfactorily while others generalised.

Partcipant A mentioned that the position of Q-words (words in Group A on Annexure C) is determined by the position of the part of speech they seek to question. Which means if the part of speech is at sentence initial then the word will occupy the sentence initial position, and the same will happen if the part of speech is at sentence medial or final position. Particles (words in Group B of Annexure C) can be placed at both the beginning and end of the sentence; meaning they occupy sentence initial and final position. Furthermore, the participant mentioned that interrogatives have no fixed positions.

Participant B said that, in Sepedi, question words can be placed anywhere in the sentence. Most of the time they are placed at the sentence final but there are others which can be placed at the sentence initial. For example, *naa* should be placed at the sentence final while *na* at the sentence initial. The participant only specified two interrogative words, the others were just generalised.

Partcipant C mentioned that Q-words (words in group A on annexure C) can be placed anywhere in a sentence but when they are placed at the sentence initial position they are preceded by the copula *ke*. This then means that they cannot occupy the sentence initial position. The words in group B and C can be distributed as follows: *afa*, *na, naa, a ke re, bjale, kgane, kganthe* and *etse* at both sentence initial and final position; *a, e ka ba, o ra gore, le ra gore, e le gore, nketse, nkane* and *nke* only at sentence initial position.

Partcipant D stated that all words in group A at the sentence final except for *goreng*, and all the words in group B and C can be placed at the sentence initial position.

Participant E mentioned that all words in group A can occupy the sentence medial and final position but never the initial position. Some of the words in Group B and Group C can occupy sentence initial and final, some initial and medial, some initial only. For example, *e ka ba* can occupy sentence initial and medial, *bjale* sentence initial and final, while *e le gore* and *nke* occupy only the initial position.

Participant F said the position of words in group A depends on what the speaker intends to achieve. The emphasis or focus of the question will also dictate where to put a question words. Words in Group A can be placed at the sentence initial with the copula *ke* even though usually they are placed at the sentence final. *Goreng* can stand independently at the sentence initial position. Words in Group B and Group C can be distributed as follows: *na, naa, a ke re, bjale, kgane,* and *kganthe;* they can occupy both sentence initial and final while *a, afa, e ka ba, etse, nketse, nkane, nke, e le gore, o ra gore* and *le ra gore* occupy the sentence initial position.

Participant G mentioned that the position of words in Group A will depend on the type of sentence; they can occupy the sentence initial, medial and final position.

Participant H said words in group A never occur at sentence initial position; they can however occur alone as follow up questions. Besides that, they only occupy the sentence medial and final position. Words in Group B can never be in sentence medial position; they can occupy sentence initial and final position while words in Group C can never occupy sentence medial position.

Participant I distributed *naa, neng, kae* and *mang* to sentence final, *eng* sentence medial, and *goreng* and *nkane* sentence initial. The other words were not distributed.

Participant J said words in Group A occupy sentence final position, in Group B *a, afa* and *na* occupy sentence initial position while *naa* occupies both sentence initial and final. In Group C *a ke re*, *e ka ba, e le gore* and *kgane* occupy the sentence initial position.

Participant K mentioned that in Group A *goreng, gobaneng, hleng* and *ke ka baka lang* occupy sentence initial while the rest occupy sentence final. In Group B, *na* and *naa* occupy sentence initial and final while *a* and *afa* occupy sentence initial. In Group C,

e ka ba, a ke re and *kgane* occupy the sentence initial position while *bjale* occupies both the initial and final position.

Participant L said that words in Group A occupy sentence final position except for *goreng, gobaneng, hleng* and *ke ka baka lang* that occupy sentence initial position. Words in Group B and Group C can occupy sentence initial position.

In short, all participants but one distributed interrogative words found in Group A, but not all participants distributed each word, some chose to distribute words they preferred and felt comfortable with. All but two distributed words found in Group B but some participants chose to distribute two words instead of four. Nine participants distributed words found in Group C. From the nine participants, three participants chose to distribute four interrogatives each, one participant distributed only one interrogative word while the other participant just stated that words in Group C cannot occupy sentence medial.

4.4.2.5 Interrogative Transformation

This section presents data that relate to the fourth objective (to explore the transformational rules involved in the transformation of declaratives and imperatives into interrogatives), and also relates to the ninth question in Appendix C. The questions required the participants' knowledge on the word order changes that occur during interrogative constructions and rules that govern interrogative construction. From the twelve participants, eight highlighted that the use of some interrogative words can cause a sentence to change its word order, three stated that interrogative words cannot cause a word order change in a sentence, and one participant did not respond to the question. The examples below illustrate the word order change identified by participants.

Transformation from declaratives

(149)

Declarative

(a) *Matome* *o* *ja* *bo-gobe*.

1a-Matome SC1a eat 14-porridge

S V O

Matome he eating porridge.

Matome eating porridge.

Interrogatives

(b) *Go* *ja* *mang* *bo-gobe*?
InfPr eat who 14-porridge
V S O
Eating who porridge?
Who is eating the porridge?

(c) *Bogobe* *bo* *j-ew-a* *ke* *mang*?
14-porridge SC14 eat-PAS-FV COP who
O V S
Porridge it is eaten by who?
The porridge is eaten by who?

(d) *Ke* *eng* *seo* *Matome* *a* *se* *ja-go*?
COP what Dem6 1a-Matome TC OC6 eat-RS
O S V
Is what that Matome is eating?
What is it that Matome is eating?

Transformation from imperatives

(150)

Imperative

(a) *Betha* *mo-tho-we* *Malesela*!
Beat 1-person-Dem 1a-Malesela
V O S
Beat that person Malesela!

Interrogatives

(b) *A* *beth-e* *mang*?
SC1a beat-FV who
S V O
He beat who?
Who should he beat?

(c) *A* *mo* *dir-e* *eng*?
SC1a OC1 do-FV what
S O V
He him do what?
What should he do to him?

Imperative

(d) *Mmethe*!
OC1-beat-FV
O V
Him beat!
Beat him!

Interrogative

(e) *Ke* *mo* *dir-e* *eng*?
SC OC1 do-FV what
S O V
I him do what?
What should I do to him?

(f) *Ke* *dir-e* *eng*?
SC do-FV what
S V
I do what?
What should I do?

The examples in 149 and 150 above show that during interrogative construction word order can change depending on the information sought. In 96, the word order changed from (a) SVO to (b) VSO, (c) OVS and (d) OSV. In 97, the word order changed from (a) VOS to (b) SVO and (c) SOV; also from (d) OV to (e) SOV and (f) SV.

4.4.2.6 Interrogative Syntax

This section presents data that relates to the third objective (to determine the syntactic structures of Sepedi interrogatives), and also relates to the eleventh and twelfth

question in Appendix C. The questions required the informants' opinion on specific structures of interrogatives.

Participants were given interrogative structures to probe their difference, appropriateness and correctness. They had initially said that certain interrogative words cannot occupy the sentence initial position. The following sentences were provided to check if the structure is correct:

(151)

(a) *Mang o dir-ile-ng*?
Who SC1 do-PEF-what
Who did what?

(b) *Eng e senyeg-ile*?
What SC9 distroy-PEF
What is destroyed?

(c) *Goreng o sepela*?
Why SC1 leave
Why you leave?

(d) *Bjang bjalo*?
How so?

The majority of the participants mentioned that canonically these words *mang*, *eng* and *bjang* do not occupy the sentence initial position but in the context above, the structures seem faultless.

The question word *eng* has a contracted form *-ng* when attached to verbs. For example,

(152)

(a) *O sep-el-etš-e-ng*?
SC1 leave-APPL-PEF-FV-what
What did you leave for?
Why did you leave?

(b) *O* *sep-el-etš-e* *eng*?
SC1 leave-APPL-PEF-FV what
What did you leave for?
Why did you leave?

Participants were asked if each of the structures in 152 above is used in a certain context. All but two responded that the two structures can be used interchangeably. Of the two, one stated that (a) is used in first person while (b) in third person, and the other said (a) is used in spoken form while (b) is used in written form.

Furthermore, it was derived from the interviews that a declarative sentence may be made interrogative by means of adverbs '*na*?' which can precede or follow the predicate, and '*a*?' and '*afa*?' are used as introductory words before the predicate. '*A*?' can be used together with '*na*?' and '*na*?' can be used twice in one sentence. For example,

(153)

(a) *O* *a* *n-tseba.*
SC1 TM OC-know
You know me.

(b) *Na* *o* *a* *n-tseba*?
QP SC1 TM OC-know
Do you know me?

(c) *A* *o* *a* *n-tseba*?
QP SC1 TM OC-know
Do you know me?

(d) *Afa* *o* *a* *n-tseba*?
QP SC1 TM OC-know
Do you know me?

(e) *A* *o* *a* *n-tseba* *na*?
QP SC1 TM OC-know QP
Do you know me?

(f) *Na* *o* *a* *n-tseba* *na*?
QP SC1 TM OC-know QP
Do you know me?

Interrogatives may also be formed by using Q-words such as '*eng*' or '*-ng'* (short form of '*eng*') (what), '*-fe*' (which), '*mang*' (who), '*-kae'* (how many or much), '*kae*' or '*gokae*' (where), '*neng*' (when), '*bjang*' (how) and '*-kaakang*' (how big). These markers can be positioned according to the focus of the sentence.

(154)

(a) *O* *tseba* *mang*?
SC1 know who
Who do you know?

(b) *O* *tseba* *eng*?
SC1 know what
What do you know?

(c) *O tseba mofe*?
SC1 know 1-which
Which one do you know?

(d) *O* *tseb-ile* *neng*?
SC1 know-PEF when
When did you know?

(e) *O* *tseba* *bjang*?
SC1 know how
How do you know?

(f) *O* *tseba* *kae*?
SC1 know where
Where do you know?

(g) *O* *tseba* *ba* *ba-kae*?
SC1 know Dem2 SC2-how many
How many do you know?

(h) *O* *tseba* *ga* *kaakang*?
SC1 know AdvP how much
How much do you know?)

4.5 Summary

This chapter began by providing the Sepedi noun class and concord system so that the reader can understand the data. It then presented data collected from published academic articles, Sepedi grammar books, Sepedi literature books, the Bible and Hansard reports from Limpopo Legislature. Observation data were also presented, observations focused on the position of interrogative markers and interrogative word order. Then the demographic relationships of the study participants and the variables of the study were explored. The section consisted of gender, age, qualification, occupation, field of interest and years of experience of the participants of the study. These data were collected to describe the demographic variables of the sample. Attention was also paid to responses from the informants. Informants answered open ended questions from a semi-structured interview. The data collected represented crucial information that determined the outcome of the study.

CHAPTER FIVE: ANALYSIS AND INTERPRETATION OF RESEARCH FINDINGS

5.1 Introduction

This chapter presents the analysis of the data collected from documents, observations and interviews. The study used two data analysis methods. Discourse analysis was used to explore and examine everyday language use as part of social phenomena (Taylor, 2013) while thematic analysis was used to identify, analyse, uncover and report patterns within data (Liamputtong, 2009). These analysis methods are open to discovery of phenomena. The analysis of data will engage in an examination and description of findings from observations, documents and interviews. The analysis and interpretation of the research findings follows the Chapter 4 framework, however, with some modifications.

5.2 Sentence form and function

This section is divided into three subsections. It was noted that a sentence is identified not only by its form but also by its function. A sentence is, therefore, a grammatical expression (form) that has meanings and uses (function). Therefore, the first section focuses on sentence forms. The second looks at sentence function. Then the third focuses on the relationship between the two.

5.2.1 Sentence Form

A Sepedi sentence can take one of the following three forms: *lefokonolo* (simple sentence), *lefokofokwana* (complex sentence) and *lefokontši* (compound sentence).

Simple sentence

Sepedi literature outlined that a simple sentence is a sentence that contains (1) a single verb (Mojapelo, 1966); (2) a single verbal element; the verbal element may either be a main verb or an auxiliary word group (Louwrens, 1991); (3) a single predicate; the predicate may be a verb, and auxiliary and a verb or a copula (Nokaneng, 1991). The simple sentence contains only one independent clause. This independent clause has three basic elements: a subject, a verb, and a complete thought.

(155)

(a) *M-meth-e*!
OC1-beat-FV
Him beat!
Beat him!

Sentence (a) consists of an object, verb and an inferred subject. The sentence can be interpreted as *betha yena* (beat him) which consists of only a verb and an object. Furthermore, the inferred subject is *wena* (you). Therefore, the complete interpretation of sentence (a) is *wena betha yena* (you beat him). This then means that sentence (a) is a simple sentence since it is made up of only a single independent clause.

(b) *A* *beth-e* *mang*?
SC1a beat-FV who
He beat who?
Who should he beat?

Sentence (b) relates to (a) and consists of a representative of a subject, a verb and a representative of a subject. The word *a* (he) is a subject concord that represents the subject *yena* (he), the word *bethe* (beat) is a verb, *mang* is a word that represents the object *yena* (him). This then means that sentence (b) is a simple sentence since it consists of only a single independent clause.

(c) *Mo-šemane* *o* *sepetše* *maabane*.
1-boy SC1a left yesterday
Boy he left yesterday.
The boy left yesterday.

Sentence (c) consists of a subject *mošemane* (boy), a verb *sepetše* (left) and a modifier *maabane* (yesterday). This then means that sentence (c) is a simple sentence since it consists of only a single independent clause.

Sentences (a, b and c) in 155 above are independent clauses, they all have subjects, *wena* ‘you’, *yena* ‘he’ and *mošemane* ‘boy’ respectively; they all have a verb or verb phrase, *betha yena* ‘beat him’, *bethe mang* ‘beat who’ and *sepetše maabane* ‘left

yesterday'; they all make complete sense. Thus, they have all the basic elements of a simple sentence.

Complex sentence

As explained in the preceding chapters, a complex sentence is made up of two set of clauses: an independent clause and one or more dependent clauses. A dependent clause lacks one of the elements that would make it a complete sentence. There are three major types of dependent clause: noun clause, adverbial clause and adjectival clause (Nokaneng, 1991). The noun clause explains a noun that has been left out of a sentence; it can only be a noun clause in the absence of a noun, in the presence of a noun it becomes either an adjectival clause or a relative clause. The adjectival clause may be structurally similar to a noun clause, but it can be used in the presence of a noun. The adverbial clause functions as an adverb and modifies the meaning of a verb expressing manner, condition, reason, concession, result, purpose, place, time, or degree (Ziervogel et al., 1969). Examples of dependent clauses include the following:

Adjectival Clause

(d) *Ngwana yo a bala-go puku ke wa Mosebjadi.*
1-child Dem1 SC1 read-RS 9-book COP PC 1a-Mosebjadi
Child who she read a book is for Mosebjadi.
It is Mosebjadi's child who is reading a book.

Sentence (d) consists of an independent clause and one dependent clause. The independent clause of sentence (d) is *Ngwana ke wa Mosebjadi* (The child is for Mosebjadi), it consists of a subject *ngwana* (child) and a copulative *ke wa Mosebjadi* (is for Mosebjadi). The dependent clause of the sentence is *yo a balago puku* (one reading a book) and consist of a demonstrative, subject concord, verb and object.

(e) *Ngwana yo a bala-go puku ke wa mang*?
1-child Dem1 SC1 read-RS 9-book COP PC who
Child who she read a book is for who?
Whose child is reading a book?

Sentence (e) relates to (d) and it too consists of an independent clause and one dependent clause. The independent clause of sentence (d) is *Ngwana ke wa mang*

(The child is for who?), it consists of a subject *ngwana* (child) and a copulative *ke wa mang* (is for who). The dependent clause of the sentence is *yo a balago puku* (one reading a book) and consists of a demonstrative, subject concord, verb and object.

Sentences (d and e) in 155 consist of one independent clause each. The independent clauses both have the subject *ngwana* (child); they both have a copula, *ke wa Mosebjadi* (is for Mosebjadi) and *ke wa mang* (is for who) respectively; the independent clauses both have a complete thought. Thus, they have all the basic elements of a simple sentence. The dependent clause of both sentences (d and e) is *yo a balago puku* (one reading a book) and does not consist of elements of a simple sentence. This makes them to rely on the independent clause to make sense. Therefore, the structure of sentences (d and e) are that of a complex sentence.

Compound sentence

A compound sentence refers to a sentence that consists of two independent clauses connected to one another with conjunctions such as *kganthe, gomme, ešita, fela*, etc. A compound sentence has two or more verbs (Nokaneng, 1991). For example,

(f)	*Ba*	*mo*	*rom-ile*	*fela*	*o*	*ganne.*
	SC2	OC1	send-PEF	CONJ	SC1	refused
	They sent him but he refused.					

Sentence (f) consists of two independent clauses. The first independent clause is *Ba mo romile* (They sent him), it consists of the subject concord *ba* (they), object concord *mo* (him) and a verb *romile* (sent). This independent clause has all the elements to compose a simple sentence. The second independent is *o ganne* (he refused), it consists of a subject concord *o* (he) and a verb *ganne* (refused). This clause also has all the elements to compose a simple sentence. The two independent clauses are joined together by the conjunction *fela* (but).

(g)	*Ba*	*mo*	*rom-ile*	*fela*	*o*	*dir-ile-ng?*
	SC2	OC1	send-PEF	CONJ	SC1	do-PEF-what
	They sent him but he did what?					

Sentence (g) above consists of two independent clauses. The first independent clause is *Ba mo romile* (They sent him), it consists of the subject concord *ba* (they), object

concord *mo* (him) and a verb *romile* (sent). This independent clause has all the elements to compose a simple sentence. The second independent is *o dirileng* (he did what), it is made up of a subject concord *o* (he), a verb *dira* (do) and an object representative *eng* (what). This clause also has all the elements to compose a simple sentence. The two independent clauses are joined together by the conjunction *fela* (but).

Based on the analysis above, the forms of sentence are simple, complex and compound. A form of a sentence relates to its structure. This structure can be in the form of an independent and dependent clause. An independent clause can have a subject and a predicate; a dependent clause can be in the form of a noun clause (demonstrative, subject concord, auxiliary, object concord and a verb), adjectival clause (demonstrative, subject concord, verb and noun) or adverbial clause (adverbial particle, conjunction, subject concord and verb).

5.2.2 Sentence Function

The data collected showed that Sepedi sentences have the following sentence functions: *modirišogo* (infinitive), *modirišogore* (subjunctive), *modirišohlaodi* (participial), *modirišokgonego* (optative), *modirišoleamanyi* (relative), *modirišopeelano* (conditional), *modirišopego* (indicative), *modirišotaelo* (imperative), *modirišotlwaelo* (habitual), *modirišomakalo* (exclamative) and *modirišopotšišo* (interrogative). As per the sentences analysed above in Section 5.2.1, the following sentence functions have been identified:

(156)

(a) *Mmethe*!
OC1-beat-FV
Him beat!
Beat him!

Sentence (a) is a simple imperative sentence.

(b) *A* *beth-e* *mang*?
SC1a beat-FV who
He beat who?

Who should he beat?

Sentence (b) is a simple interrogative sentence.

(c) *Mo-šemane o sepetše maabane*.
1-boy SC1a left yesterday
Boy he left yeaterday.
The boy left yesterday.

Sentence (c) is a simple declarative sentence.

Sentences (a, b and c) in 156 above have the same form (a subject and a predicate) with different functions (imperative, interrogative and declarative) respectively.

Complex sentence

(157)

Adjectival Clause

(a) *Ngwana yo a bala-go puku ke wa Mosebjadi.*
1-child Dem1 SC1 read-RS 9-book COP PC 1a-Mosebjadi
Child who she read a book is for Mosebjadi.
It is Mosebjadi's child who is reading a book.

Sentence (a) in 157 above is a complex declarative sentence. The function of this sentence is to declare.

(b) Ngwana yo a bala-go puku ke wa mang?
1-child Dem1 SC1 read-RS 9-book COP PC who
Child who she read a book is for who?
Whose child is reading a book?

Sentence (b) in 157 above is a complex interrogative sentence. The function of this sentence is to interrogate.

Sentences (a and b) in 157 above have the same form (an independent clause and an embedded dependent clause) with different functions (interrogative and declarative respectively.

Compound sentence

(c) *Ba* *mo* *rom-ile* *fela* *o* *ganne.*
SC2 OC1 send-PEF CONJ SC1 refused
They sent him but he refused.

Sentence (c) is a compound declarative sentence. The function of this sentence is to declare.

(d) *Ba* *mo* *rom-ile* *fela* *o* *dir-ile-ng?*
SC2 OC1 send-PEF CONJ SC1 do-PEF-what
They sent him but he did what?

Sentence (d) is a compound interrogative sentence. The function of this sentence is to interrogate.

5.2.3 Form and Function

Therefore, sentences can be viewed as a coin that has two sides, the sides being the grammatical expressions (form) and their meanings and uses (function).

(158)

(a) *M-meth-e* *gobane* *o* *ganne*!
OC1-beat-FV CONJ SC1 refused
Him beat because he refused!
Beat him because he refused!

Sentence (a) in 158 above consists of two independent clauses. The first clause consists of an object, a verb and an inferred subject. The sentence can be interpreted as *betha yena* (beat him) which is made up of only a verb and an object. Furthermore, the inferred subject is *wena* (you). Therefore, the complete interpretation of sentence (a) is *wena betha yena* (you beat him). This then means that sentence (a) is a simple sentence since it consists of only a single independent clause. This is the form of the first clause. The second independent is *o ganne* (he refused), it comprises a subject concord *o* (he) and a verb *ganne* (refused). This clause also has all the elements to compose a simple sentence. This is the form of the second clause. The two independent clauses are joined together by the conjunction *gobane* (because). The

fist clause has an imperative function while the second has a declarative. The foregrounding of the imperative function makes the entire sentence to be imperative.

5.3 Sepedi interrogative words

The list below is the final list of interrogative words collected through documents, observations and interviews, they are grouped into four:

Content interrogative words	Tags	Particles	Complements
A. eng	*A. a ke re*	*A. Na*	*A. e ka ba*
B. bjang	*B. ga go bjalo*	*B. Naa*	*B. nkane*
C. neng	*C. goba bjang*	*C. A*	*C. bjale*
D. mang/ bomang		*D. Afa*	*D. kgane*
E. mong/ mo eng			*E. kganthe*
F. goreng/ gobaneng/ hleng/ ke ka baka lang			*F. e le gore*
G. -bjang			*G. o ra gore/ le ra gore*
H. -kaakang			*H. nketse*
I. kae			*I. etse*
J. –kae			*J. nke*
K. –fe			

Table 5.1: Interrogative word list 3

5.3.1 The interrogative word mang

The interrogative word *mang* is normally used to identify a subject or object with a human referent is *mang* (who) for singular nouns and *bomang* (who) for plural nouns. However, it does not only identify a human referent, it can also be used to identify a non-human referent.

(159)

(a) *Ke mang mo-tho yo*?
COP who 1-person Dem1
Is who this person?
Who is this person?

(b) *Le bo-mang lena*?
2PL 2a-who PRN2PL
You are who?
Who are you?

(c) *Ke* *nako* *mang*?
COP 9-time who
Is what time?
What time is it?

(d) *Ke* *di-lo* *mang*?
COP 8-thing who
Are what things?
What are these things?

5.3.2 The interrogative word eng

The interrogative word *eng* is normally used to identify non-human subjects and objects. When used to identify human referents it is usually in a derogatory manner. But it can also be used to identify human referents in a non-derogatory manner. When used in a sentence it can ask the question why, what or both why and what.

(160)

(a) *Ke* *tšhoš-w-a* *ke* *eng*?
SC afraid-PASS-FV AP what
What would I be afraid of? (Hansard, 2014: 44)

(b) *O* *nagana* *gore* *ke* *yena* *eng*?
SC1 think that AP 3SG what
He thinks that he is what?
What does he think he is?

(c) *Malesela* *ke* *eng*?
1a-Malesela COP what
Malesela is what?
What is Malesela's occupation?

(d) *O* *m-phor-etš-e-ng*?
SC1 OC1-lie-APPL-FV-why
Why have you lied me? (Gen. 29: 25)

(e) *Ke* *sa* *phel-el-a-ng*?

1SG AUX live-APPL-FV-why/what

Why am I still living?

What am I still living for? (Gen. 27:46)

5.3.3 The interrogative word kae

The interrogative word that identifies the location of an action, the location of an entity, the where-abouts of an entity or where someone has gone which the speaker does not have knowledge of is *kae*; it asks the question 'where'. This interrogative is used to ask in or at what place or position i.e., the location of an action or an entity.

(161)

(a) *E le gore* *o* *tšwa* *kae*?

QC SC1 come where

Where do you come from?

(b) *Di* *kae* *di-jo* *tša-ka*?

SC8 where 8-food PC8-POSS

Where are my food?

(c) *Ke* *dule* *mo* *kae*?

1SG sit LP where

'Where should I sit?'

5.3.4 The interrogative word neng

Neng is the other interrogative word in Sepedi and asks the question 'when'. This interrogative is used to ask the time or period. In sentence construction, *neng* follows the verb and can also form copulatives. The following are some examples of the use of *neng* 'when':

(162)

(a) *Go* *thoma neng*?

InfPr start when?

To strat when?

Since when? (Chokoe, 1995: 13)

(b) *Ke* *neng* *ke* *bolela le* *yena*?

COP when 1SG talk CP PRN3SG

How long is it since I have been talking to him?

5.3.5 The interrogative words goreng, gobaneng, ke ka baka lang and hleng

There are four interrogative words that identify the question of reason and ask the question ‘why’. These markers can be used interchangeably in certain contexts and not always. *Goreng* and *ke ka baka lang* can occupy both the sentence initial and final position while *hleng* and *gobaneng* occupy only the sentence initial position.

(163)

(a) ***Hleng*** *o* *homotše*?
Why SC1 quiet
Why (are) you quiet?

(b) *Gobaneng* *o* *sa* *je* *kolobe*?
Why SC1 NEG eat 9-pork
Why you don’t eat pork?
Why don’t you eat pork?

(c) *O direla goreng*?
SC1 do-APPL why
You do (that) why?
Why would you do that?

(d) *Ga* *ke* *je* *ka baka lang*?
NEG SC eat why
Don’t I eat why?
Why don’t I eat?

5.3.6 The interrogative word bjang

The interrogative word *bjang* mark the question of manner and ask the question ‘how’ and ‘what’. This word is used to ask about how conditions, functions or actions are performed or how something is or was done. The following are some examples of questions of reason:

(164)

(a) *O ra bjang*?

SC1 say how

You say how?

What do you mean? (Mokwena, 2015: 18)

(b) *O phela bjang mo*?
SC1 live how Dem15

You live how here?

How do you live here? (Baa, 18: 3)

5.3.7 The interrogative word -kaakang

The interrogative work *-kaakang* asks the adjectival question – how big, small, young, old, etc. and the adverbial question – how often. The adjective consists of two parts, an adjectival prefix and an adjectival stem. The adjectival prefix or concord is in most cases compound in nature. The interrogative stem *-kaakang* works with the second type; these adverbs are derived from nouns and adjectives by means of the adverbial prefix *ga-*. For the adjectival construction, see the table below:

Class	**Pfx**	**E.g.**	**Dem**	**AdjC**	**Q-form**
1	*mo-*	*Mosadi*	*Yo*	*yo mo-*	*yo mokaakang*
2	*ba-*	*Basadi*	*Ba*	*ba-*	*ba bakaakang*
1a	*Ø-*	*Mme*	*Yo*	*yo mo-*	*yo mokaakang*
2b	*bo-*	*Bomme*	*Ba*	*ba bo-*	*ba bakaakang*
3	*mo-*	*Mohlare*	*Wo*	*wo mo-*	*wo mokaakang*
4	*me-*	*Mehlare*	*Ye*	*ye me-*	*ye mekaakang*
5	*le-*	*Leoto*	*Le*	*le-*	*le lekaakang*
6	*ma-*	*Maoto*	*A*	*a ma-*	*a makaakang*
7	*se-*	*Sediba*	*Se*	*se-*	*se sekaakang*
8	*di-*	*Didiba*	*Tše*	*tše* N/*Ø-*	*tše dikaakang*
9	*N-*	*Ntlo*	*Ye*	*ye* N/*Ø-*	*ye kaakang*
10	*diN-*	*Dintlo*	*Tše*	*tše* N/*Ø-*	*tše dikaakang*
14	*bo-*	*Botho*	*Bjo*	*bjo bo-*	*bjo bokaakang*
15	*go-*	*go bolela*	*Mo*	*mo go -*	*mo gokaakang*

16	*fa-*	*Fase*	*fa/mo*	*mo go-*	**mo gokaakang*
17	*go-*	*Godimo*	*fa/mo*	*mo go-*	**mo gokaakang*
18	*mo-*	*Morago*	*fa/mo*	*mo go-*	**mo gokaakang*

Table 5.2: The interrogative form -*kaakang*

In Table 5.2 above, an interrogative derived from a declarative using the stem -*kaakang*. The interrogative word is used to question the adjective. Note that the demonstrative and the noun class prefix are used as a compound adjectival prefix. The writing convention of this Q-word is: [Q-word [Dem] [Pfx][Stem]]; the prefix is attached to the stem but the demonstrative is not attached to the prefix. Thus, the Q-word is written as two words.

THE WRITING CONVENTION OF Q-STEMS

As a disjunctive language, Sepedi often poses a confusion on whether certain syntactic objects should be written as one word or separately. In a disjunctive writing system, various elements of a word (such as prefixes) are written separately from the main word (verb, noun, adjective, etc.). However, in other instances certain elements are puts together as one word. The section below seeks to argue the orthography of complex Q-words. This is done using the 'fuse and replacement test'.

Fuse and Replacement Test

Fuse is an act of blending two syntactic objects [α (prefix) and β (stem)] into a complex syntactic object [Θ (word)]; that is, merge (α, β) → Θ = (α, β^2) → Θ^2, then replacement function tests the structural composition Θ^2.

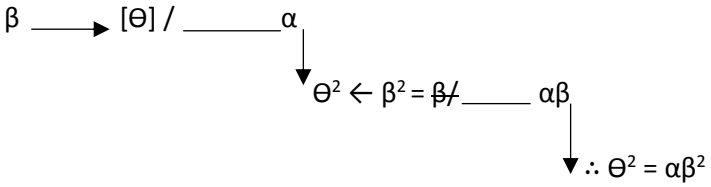

Figure 5.1: Fuse and Replacement

Here a syntactic object [β] becomes syntactic object [Θ] in an environment where it is preceded by syntactic object [α]. Thus, (α + β) → Θ. While syntactic object [Θ^2] results from replacing syntactic object [β] by [β^2] in an environment where [α] is attached to

[β]. Thus, [Θ^2] ← [α + β^2]. Therefore, syntactic object [Θ^2] equals syntactic object [αβ^2]. This means that if, for example, an adjectival stem and its prefix are written as one word, then the corresponding adjectival Q-stem and its prefix should also be written as one word.

(165)

(a) Adjective:

Matome	*ke*	***yo***	***mo-golo***
1a-Matome	COP	**Dem1a**	**1a-big**
1a-Matome	COP	**AdjC1a-big**	

'Matome is big'

(b) Adjectival Q-word:

Matome	*ke*	***yo***	***mo-kaakang*****?**
1a-Matome	COP	**Dem1a**	**1a-how big**
1a-Matome	COP	**AdjC1a-how big**	

'How big is Matome?

Adjectival Q-words that question nouns under class 8, 9 and 10 have a zero prefix in the surface structure. In their deep structure, however, they are formed like others. In the underlying structure, the zero prefix causes phonological alternation, i.e., plosivation to initial (non-plosive) sound of certain stems.

(166)

(a)

**Mpsa*	*ye*	*ke*	***ye***	***Nsese***
Mpsa	*ye*	*ke*	***ye***	***tshese***
9-Dog	Dem9	COP	**Dem9**	**9-thin**
9-Dog	Dem9	COP	**AdjC9-thin**	

'This dog is thin'

(b)

**Mpsa*	*ye*	*ke*	***ye***	***N-kaakang?***
Mpsa	*ye*	*ke*	***ye***	***kaakang*****?**
9-Dog	Dem9	COP	**Dem9**	**9-*kaakang***
9-Dog	Dem9	COP	**AdjC9-*kaanang***	

'How big is this dog?'

This Q-word can also be used with the adverbial prefix *ga-* and the noun class prefix 14 *bo-*.

(c) *Le-sea* *le* *j-ele* *ga-kaakang*?
5-Infant SC5 eat-PEF AdvP-how much
'How much did the infant eat?

(d) *Ke* *ye* *telele* *bo-kaakang*?
COP Dem9 tall 14-how
'How tall is it?

5.3.8 The interrogative word -fe

This stem asks the question – which. It is preceded by a concord that resembles the subject concord and this concord and the stem are written as one word (Poulos and Louwrens, 1994). It is also referred to as an enumerative stem that qualifies a noun. Syntactically, the stem *-fe* (which) in Sepedi is used to ask questions about qualificatives for things or people. Just like other interrogative stems, *-fe* can also be attached to different noun class prefixes to have various forms:

Class	**Pfx**	**E.g.**	**SC**	**Q-form**
1	*mo-*	*Mosadi*	*O*	*ofe*
2	*ba-*	*Basadi*	*Ba*	*bafe*
1a	*Ø-*	*Mme*	*O*	*ofe*
2b	*bo-*	*Bomme*	*Ba*	*bafe*
3	*mo-*	*Mohlare*	*O*	*ofe*
4	*me-*	*Mehlare*	*E*	*efe*
5	*le-*	*Leoto*	*Le*	*lefe*
6	*ma-*	*Maoto*	*A*	*afe*
7	*se-*	*Sediba*	*Se*	*sefe*
8	*di-*	*Didiba*	*Di*	*dife*
9	*N-*	*Ntlo*	*E*	*efe*
10	*diN-*	*Dintlo*	*Di*	*dife*
14	*bo-*	*Botho*	*Bo*	*bofe*
15	*go-*	*go bolela*	*Go*	*gofe*

16	*fa-*	*Fase*	*Go*	**gofe*
17	*go-*	*Godimo*	*Go*	**gofe*
18	*mo-*	*Morago*	*Go*	**gofe*

Table 5.3: The enumerative *-fe*

In the following examples, an interrogative is derived from a declarative using the stem -fe. The Q-word is used to question the noun. Note that the final Q-word is composed of a subject concord and the Q-stem, and they are written as one word. The writing convention of this Q-word is: [Q-word [SC][Stem]]. The chosen Q-form of *–fe* should always correspond to a relevant noun class. The different *–fe* variants specify the direction in which the speaker wants to extend the presupposition implied by the question. The interrogative words *ofe* and *bafe* are used when asking a question about a person [+human] in classes 1, 1a, 2 and 2b while *lefe* and *afe* can be used to ask a question about a noun with a [+human] feature in class 5 (*lephodisa*) and 6 (*maphodisa*) respectively and *sefe* and *dife* can be used to ask a question about a noun with a [+human] feature in class 5 (*seopedi*) and 6 (*diopedi*) respectively.

(167)

(a) *Ke* *di-fe* *tšeo*?
Are 10-which Dem10
Are which those?
Which are those?

(b) *Ba* *j-ele* *panana* *e-fe*?
2SG eat-PEF 9-banana 9-which
They ate bananas which?
Which banana did they eat?

(c) *Matome* *o* *ra* *ba-sadi* *ba-fe*?
1a-Matome SC1a refer 2-women 2-which
Matome (he) refers women which?
Which women is Matome referring to?

Examples (a) to (c) in 167 above illustrate that *-fe* refers to noun concepts. The answers to the questions '*dife*', '*efe*' and '*bafe*' will be descriptions of a noun.

5.3.9 The interrogative word -bjang

In forming interrogative words using the stem *–bjang* that asks the question 'what kind, the stem takes a concord that resembles the noun class prefix and this concord and the stem are written as one word. The chosen concord refers to a noun of a particular class. For example,

(168)

(a) *Ye* *bjang*?
Dem9 9-what kind
'What kind?'

Since the Q-word has no prefix in the surface structure then it is assumed that it is referring to a noun class 9. *–bjang* is an adjectival Q-word; with adjectives the demonstrative and the noun class prefix are used as a compound adjectival prefix. The writing convention of this Q-word is: [Q-word [Dem] [Pfx][Stem]]; the prefix is attached to the stem but the demonstrative is not attached to the prefix. Thus, the Q-word is written as two words.

Class	**Pfx**	**E.g.**	**Dem**	**AdjC**	**Q-form**
1	*mo-*	*mosadi*	*Yo*	*yo mo-*	*yo mobjang*
2	*ba-*	*basadi*	*Ba*	*ba ba-*	*ba babjang*
1a	*Ø-*	*mme*	*Yo*	*yo mo-*	*yo mobjang*
2b	*bo-*	*bomme*	*Ba*	*ba bo-*	*ba babjang*
3	*mo-*	*mohlare*	*Wo*	*wo mo-*	*wo mobjang*
4	*me-*	*mehlare*	*Ye*	*ye me-*	*ye mebjang*
5	*le-*	*leoto*	*Le*	*le le-*	*le lebjang*
6	*ma-*	*maoto*	*A*	*a ma-*	*a mabjang*
7	*se-*	*sediba*	*Se*	*se se-*	*se sebjang*
8	*di-*	*didiba*	*Tše*	*tše* N/*Ø-*	*tše dibjang*
9	*N-*	*ntlo*	*Ye*	*ye* N/*Ø-*	*ye bjang*
10	*diN-*	*dintlo*	*Tše*	*tše* N/*Ø-*	*tše dibjang*
14	*bo-*	*botho*	*Bjo*	*bjo bo-*	*bjo bobjang*
15	*go-*	*go bolela*	*Mo*	*mo go -*	*mo gobjang*
16	*fa-*	*fase*	*fa/mo*	*mo go-*	**mo gobjang*

17	*go-*	*godimo*	*fa/mo*	*mo go-*	**mo gobjang*
18	*mo-*	*morago*	*fa/mo*	*mo go-*	**mo gobjang*

Table 5.4: The interrogative form *-bjang*

Table 5.4 above shows formation of *-ng* words using the stem *-bjang*. The demonstrative and the noun class prefix are used as a compound adjectival prefix. The writing convention of this Q-word is: [Q-word [Dem] [Pfx][Stem]]; the prefix is attached to the stem but the demonstrative is not attached to the prefix. Thus, the Q-word is written as two words.

(b) *Matome* *o* *ny-etše* *mo-sadi* ***yo*** ***mo-bjang?***
1a-Matome SC1a marry-PEF 1-woman **Dem1 1-what kind**
1a-Matome SC1a marry-PEF 1-woman **AdjC-what kind**
What kind of a woman did Matome marry?

(c) *O* *nyaka* *koloi* *ye* *bjang*?
SC1 want 9-car Dem9 what kind
What kind of a car do you want?

Koloi falls under class 9 and has a zero prefix in the surface structure. The Q-stem –*bjang* does not carry any noun class prefix, it is only preceded by a demonstrative that corresponds to noun class 9.

5.3.10 The interrogative word -kae

This stem asks the question 'how much' with reference to price, 'how many' with reference to number and 'what' with reference to rebel form. With reference to 'how many', it assumes an adjective, it is used together with the adjectival concord which is compound in nature similar to *–kaakang* and *–bjang*. The *-kae* question words include the adverb of place *kae* (where) and the stem *-kae* can be attached to different noun class prefixes to form adverbs such as: *bokae* (how much), *mokae* (what nationality), *sekae* (what language) and *gakae* (how many). The stems *-kae* can be attached to different noun class prefixes to have various forms:

Class	Pfx	E.g.	Dem	AdjC	Q-form
1	*mo-*	*mosadi*	*Yo*	*yo mo-*	*#yo mokae*
2	*ba-*	*basadi*	*Ba*	*ba ba-*	*ba bakae*
1a	*Ø-*	*mme*	*Yo*	*yo mo-*	*#yo mokae*
2b	*bo-*	*bomme*	*Ba*	*ba bo-*	*ba bakae*
3	*mo-*	*mohlare*	*Wo*	*wo mo-*	*#wo mokae*
4	*me-*	*mehlare*	*Ye*	*ye me-*	*ye mekae*
5	*le-*	*leoto*	*Le*	*le le-*	*#le lekae*
6	*ma-*	*maoto*	*A*	*a ma-*	*a makae*
7	*se-*	*sediba*	*Se*	*se se-*	*#se sekae*
8	*di-*	*didiba*	*Tše*	*tše* N/*Ø-*	*tše kae*
9	*N-*	*ntlo*	*Ye*	*ye* N/*Ø-*	*#ye kae*
10	*diN-*	*dintlo*	*Tše*	*tše* N/*Ø-*	*tše dikae*
14	*bo-*	*botho*	*Bjo*	*bjo bo-*	*#bjo bokae*
15	*go-*	*go bolela*	*Mo*	*mo go -*	*#mo gokae*
16	*fa-*	*fase*	*fa/mo*	*mo go-*	*#mo gokae*
17	*go-*	*godimo*	*fa/mo*	*mo go-*	*#mo gokae*
18	*mo-*	*morago*	*fa/mo*	*mo go-*	*#mo gokae*

Table 5.5: The interrogative form *-kae*

Table 5.5 above shows the formation of *-ng* words using the stem *-kae*. The demonstrative and the noun class prefix are used as a compound adjectival prefix. The writing convention of this Q-word is: [Q-word [Dem] [Pfx][Stem]]; the prefix is attached to the stem but the demonstrative is not attached to the prefix. Thus, the Q-word is written as two words. The symbol (#) indicates forms which may not be possible.

(169)

(a) *Beke* *e* *na-le* *ma-tsatsi* ***a*** ***ma-kae***?
9-Week SC9 COP 6-day **SC6** **6-how many**
9-Week SC9 COP 6-day **Adj C6-how many**
How many days does a week have?

With reference to price, it always has one form. The interrogative word is composed of a class prefix and the Q-stem. 'Price' is Sepedi falls under class 14 which is prefixed with *bo*-. The interrogative takes a copula form:

(b) *Koloi* *ya* *gago* *ke* ***bo-kae***?
9-car PC9 POSSPR COP **14-how much**
How much is your car?

With reference to rebels, the form of the Q-word is a class prefix and the stem. The interrogative takes a copula form when asking 'What…?':

(c) *Matome* *ke* ***mo-kae***?
1a-Matome COP **1a-what nationality**
What nationality is Matome?

(d) *Ba-šomi* *ba* *gago* *ke* ***ba-kae***?
2-Worker PC POSSPR COP **2-what nationality**
What nationality are your workers?

(e) *Matome* *o* *bolela* ***se-kae***?
1a-Matome SC1a speak **6-what language**
What language does Matome speak?

(f) *Mandela* *ke* *mo-etapele* *wa* ***bokae***?
1a-Mandela COP 1-leader PC1a 14-what number
What number in sequence is Mandela's leadership?

In the formation of an adverbial interrogative, this linearity principle is followed: [Q-word[AdvP] [AdvC][Q-stem]]. That is, the adverbial interrogative is composed of an adverbial particle and adverbial concord which are prefixes used as a compound adverbial prefix.

5.3.11 The interrogative word mong/ mo eng

The interrogative word *mong* or *mo eng* is normally used to identify the gender subject or with a human referent for singular nouns. The composition of the word consists of noun class 1 prefix *mo* and the interrogative stem *-ng*. It can also be used as '*mo eng'*.

(170)

Ngwana wa	*gago*	*ke*	*mong?*
1-Child PC1	POSSPR	SC	what gender

Your child is (of) what gender?

5.3 Interrogative word categories

Lexical items are usually categorised into different lexical categories through their meanings. Interrogative words as part of lexical items also fall under categories. Some are closed word classes used to substitute corresponding open word classes while others are open word classes that question the action of the sentence; others play a complementary role. Some interrogative words are inflected for number and case, while others are determined by the range of positions in which they occur in sentences. Interrogative words differ in their distributional properties, their inflectional characteristics and the syntactic functions they perform in a sentence. Therefore, the interrogative words cannot be characterised as elements constituting a homogeneous set. In Sepedi, interrogative words can be categorised into pronouns, adverbs, adjectives, particles, tags and complements. This section differentiates between the various interrogative words in Sepedi based on the aforementioned characteristics. Morphological composition, syntactic function and distribution are criteria used for the grammatical categorisation of interrogative words.

5.3.1 Grammatical description of interrogative words

Interrogative words can be classified according to word categories such as pronouns, adverbs or adjectives, and can be described according to distinctive feature [+/-Human]. In Sepedi, words that can be described through the feature [+/-Human] belong to the category of interrogative pronouns; these interrogative words are used to question the information in the nouns. The content interrogative words were found to be two kinds of question markers, the nominal and the adjunct types. The question words referred to as nominal are called so because they occupy argument positions in sentences (Caesar, 2016). There is a set of wh-words that sought content information associated with people, things, and facts, and one that sought content information associated with time, place, reason, and manner. In formal linguistic, arguments and adjuncts are considered to represent different roles in language

modeling and processing (Akal, 2017). The interrogative words associated with time, place, reason, and manner are known as adjuncts, while those associated with people, things, and facts are called argument question words. Therefore, the words *mang*, *mong*, *-fe* and *eng* are argument are argument question words since they are associated with people and things; *bjang, neng, goreng, kae, -bjang, -kaakang* and –kae are adjuncts because they are associated with time, place, reason, and manner.

Interrogative words which are used to question the information in the verb; these particular interrogatives are used in respect to manner, time and location. They question the modifiers of a verb which make them to belong to the category of adverbs.

Words that question the description of a noun belong to the category of adjectives; words that question the description of the entire sentence belong to the category of particles; words that are appended to a sentence to enable it to become an interrogative belong to the category of tags; words that are appended to a sentence to modify an interrogative belong to the category of elements.

Question word	**Grammatical category**
eng, mang, -fe, mong	Argument
neng, goreng, kae, bjang, -kaakang, -bjang, -kae	Adjunct

Table 5.6: Open interrogative words

The interrogative *eng* can be described through the feature [-Human]; however, it can also be used in a context where there is a human referent. Generally, this pronoun has a non-human reference, but it can appear in noun phrases with rebel nouns of human referent. When it refers to a human referent, it can either be in a condescending manner or for rebel nouns. Furthermore, the interrogative pronoun can ask for a particular information about someone or something, or the reason of a certain action.

(171)

(a) *O* *n-nyak-el-a* *eng*?
SC1 OC-want-APPL-FV what
You me want (for) what?
Why do you want me?

In example (a) above, the pronoun asks the reason for the given action of the verb. On the syntactic arrangement of the sentence, when the verb is in an applicative form, the pronoun asks for a reason.

(b) *O* *nyaka* *eng*?
SC1 want what
You want what?

In example (b) above, the pronoun asks for a particular information about something. On the syntactic arrangement of the sentence, when the verb is in its canonical form, the pronoun asks for particular information relating to the subject or object noun phrase.

(c) *Lesiba* *ke* *eng*?
Lesiba COP what
Lesiba is what?

In example (c) above, the pronoun asks for particular information about someone. On the semantic level of the sentence, the pronoun refers to a human referent of rebel nouns.

(d) *O* *nagana* *ke* *yena* *eng*?
SC1 think SC PRN3SG what
He thinks he is a what?
What does he think he is?

In the example (d) above, the pronoun asks for a particular information about someone. On the semantic level of the sentence, the pronoun refers to a human referent. It is also in a condescending manner to form a rhetorical question.

The interrogative *mang* can be described through the feature [+Human]; however, it can also be used in a context where there is a non-human referent. When referring to a human referent to ask about the name or identity of someone. In general circumstances, this pronoun has a human reference.

(e) *Ke* *wena* *mang*?
SC PRN1SG who
You are who?

In example (e) above, the pronoun asks for the name of a particular person. This is the general usage of the pronoun.

(f) *Ke* *nako* *mang*?
COP time what
Is time what?

In example (f) above, the interrogative word asks for particular information about something. The context of this example makes the pronoun to acquire a non-human referent. Time has the feature [-Human], and the pronoun which usually questions human referents is used. Therefore, the pronoun assimilates to the feature [-Human].

(g) *Ke* *di-lo* *mang*?
COP 8-thing what
Are things what?

Similar to the example in (f), the interrogative word in example (g) above asks for a particular information about something. The context of this example makes the pronoun to acquire a non-human referent. Things, in a general sense, have the feature [-Human]. Therefore, the pronoun in this context assimilates to the feature [-Human].

Question word	**Grammatical category**
naa, na, afa, a	particles
a ke re, ga go bjalo, goba bjang	tags
bjale, kgane, nketse, o ra gore, e ka ba, e le gore	complements

Table 5.7: closed interrogative words

These are interrogatives that do not require the identification of any specified referent; they rather function as modifiers of sentences. These words, used attributively, restrict or add to the sense of a question. Thus, they provide interrogative descriptions in sentences.

5.3.2 Composition of interrogative words

This section deals with interrogative words that are morphologically complex. Considering that the morphological complexity of some interrogative words is transparent, combinatorial operations are outlined to account for the contribution of the constituent morphemes to the meaning of the interrogative words.

The following interrogative is composed of the neutral subject marker '*e*', the potential morpheme '*ka*' and the copulative verb '*ba*'.

e	*ka*	*ba*
NSM	PM	CV

The following interrogative is composed of the infinitive prefix '*go*', the verb '*re*' and the pronoun '*eng*'.

go	*re*	*eng*
IP	V	PRN

The following interrogative is composed of the conjunction '*gobane*' and the pronoun '*eng*'.

gobane	*eng*
CONJ	PRN

The following interrogative is composed of the neutral subject marker '*e*', the copulative verb '*le*' and the conjunction '*gore*'.

e	*le*	*gore*
NSM	CV	CONJ

The following interrogative is composed of the subject marker '*o*', the verb '*ra*' and the conjunction '*gore*'.

o	*ra*	*gore*
SC	V	CONJ

The following interrogative is composed of the hortative particle '*a*', the auxiliary verb '*ke*' and the verb '*re*'. The hortative particle marks a request and the auxiliary verb

expresses a negative meaning. Therefore, the word *a ke re*, is in a negative form which means it has a positive presupposition.

a	*ke*	*re*
HP	AUX	V

The following interrogative is composed of the negative morpheme '*ga*', the indefinite subject concord '*go*' and the adverb '*bjalo*'. Therefore, the word *ga go bjalo*, is in a negative form which means it has a positive presupposition.

ga	*go*	*bjalo*
NM	ISC	Adv

The following interrogative is composed of the conjunction '*goba*' and the adverb '*bjang*'.

goba	*bjang*
CONJ	Adv

The following interrogative is composed of the conjunction '*goba*' and the interjection '*aowa*'.

goba	*aowa*
CONJ	INTJ

The following interrogative is composed of the copulative verb '*ke*', the instrumental particle '*ka*', the noun '*baka*', and a combination of the possessive concord '*la*' and the pronoun '*eng*'.

ke	*ka*	*baka*	*lang*
COP	IP	5-*baka*	PC5-what

The following interrogative is composed of the copulative verb '*ke*', the instrumental particle '*ka*', the noun '*lebaka*', the possessive concord '*la*' and the pronoun '*eng*'.

ke	*ka*	*le-baka*	*la*	*eng*
COP	IP	5-*baka*	PC5	what

5.3.3 Morphological Structures

The morphological structure is important to help classify interrogative words which may be specified through formal differences, such as inflection and derivation. Inflection and derivation serve to transfer morphological elements to other categorial sets. These morphological elements stand to be category-establishing for interrogative words. Three morphological structures were identified from the data.

The stem *-ng*

The morphological element *-ng*, from the set of data analysed, comprises eight interrogative words. In Sepedi, this element is usually inflected to nouns to form locatives and verbs to form interrogatives. The similarity of the following interrogative words is morphologically transparent: *eng* (what), *bjang* (how), *neng* (when), *mang* (who), *-kaakang* (how big/small), *goreng/gobaneng/hleng/ke ka baka lang* (why), *-bjang* (what kind) and *mong* (what sex).

The *kae* stem

The morphological element *kae,* from the set of data analysed, comprises nine interrogative words. This element is two-fold: the fully fledged word *kae* and the stem *-kae*. The similarity of the following interrogative words is morphologically transparent: *kae* (where), *bokae* (how much), *gakae* (how many), *mokae* (what tribe or nationality), *sekae* (what language), *ba bakae* (class 2: how many), *e mekae* (class 4: how many), *a makae* (class 6: how many) and *tše kae* (class 8 and 10: how many).

The enumerative *-fe*

The morphological element *-fe*, from the set of data analysed, comprises nine interrogative words. This element is inflected in every noun class. Some of the morphologically composed interrogative forms occur in more than one noun class. The similarity of the following interrogative words is morphologically transparent: *ofe* (class 1 and 3: which), *bafe* (class 2: which), *lefe* (class 5: which), *afe* (class 6: which), *sefe* (class 7: which), *efe* (class 4 and 9: which), *dife* (class 8 and 10: which), *bofe* (class 14: which), and *gofe* (class 15: which).

Therefore, content interrogative words can be classified under three classes: the *-ng* class, the *-kae* class and the *-fe* class. This classification is morphologically determined.

5.4 Interrogative phrases

An interrogative phrase is a type of phrase that asks a question, as opposed to declarative phrase that makes a statement, imperative phrase that delivers a command, or exclamative phrase that expresses emotions. Interrogative phrases are typically a combination of concord(s) and open interrogative words; that is, a concord or group of concords appear(s) before the open interrogative word. Importantly, an interrogative phrase can stand on its own and still request an answer. In the Minimalist Program, the Merge operation combines two constituents, each consisting of one or more words, and through this combination it creates a new constituent that carries the feature of one of those constituents as its feature (Koeneman and Zeijlstra, 2017). This is shown in the five interrogative phrases were identified:

5.4.1 Copulative Interrogative Phrase

Copulative interrogative phrases serve to question the relationship between the subject and its complement. The copulas can take the form of subject concords which is determined by the class of subject. When a copulative phrase takes a class concord as its particle, its function is to question the description of the subject. Sometimes the phrase takes the copulative particle in order to question the identity of the subject. There is also a copulative verb that is used in a phrase to question the association between the subject and its complement. A copulative interrogative phrase can take either a positive or negative form. The copulative elements should be regaderd as verbs since they are linking verbs that have little independent meaning and that their main function is to show the relationship that exists amongst the elements of a clause, especially the subject and the complement (Madadhze, 2000). Therefore, a copulative element, as a verb, must take an obligatory complement of the category X or XP as shown below:

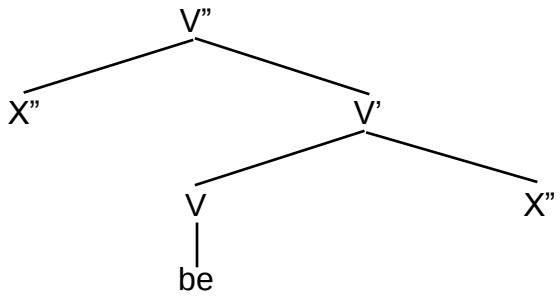

Figure 5.2: The structure of copulative elements

In the case of the diagram above, X of X or XP may be a noun [N] or any other major category such as a [P] or [A], or even a [V] (Madadhze, 2000). The following are examples of copulative interrogative phrases:

5.4.1.1 Identifying copula

The identifying phrase consists of the copulative particle *ke* (positive), *ga se* (negative) and an open interrogative word. For example,

(172)

(a) *ke mang*?

is who?

The identifying interrogative phrase above questions the identity of a subject that has a human feature. Syntactically, this phrase expresses three things that can be illustrated as follows:

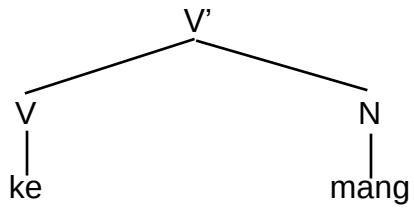

Figure 5.3: The structure of identifying copulative phrase *ke mang*

The diagram above expresses that a constituent with the categorical feature [V] is merged with a constituent carrying the feature [N]. It also expresses that Merge provides a new constituent as an output. Initially there was [V] and [N], then [V’]

emerged as a consequence of Merge. There are three rather than two constituents and these directly correspond to three separate nodes in the structural representation. The top node [V'] did not exist before *ke* and *mang* were combined. Furthermore, it expresses that the whole constituent is a [V'] and not an [N] constituent, recognising that the feature of *ke* determines the feature for this whole construction. Merging two constituents thus give rise to three features: one for *ke*, one for *mang* and the one at the top for *ke mang*. Therefore, *ke* is the head of this constituent because it determines the feature of the new constituent (Koeneman and Zeijlstra, 2017).

(b) *ke eng*?

is what?

The identifying interrogative phrase above questions the identity of a subject that has a non-human feature. Syntactically, this phrase expresses three things that can be illustrated as follows:

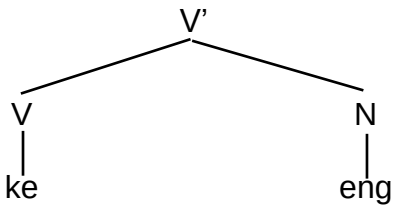

Figure 5.4: The structure of identifying copulative phrase *ke eng*

The diagram above expresses that a constituent with the categorical feature [V] is merged with a constituent carrying the feature [N]. It also expresses that Merge provides a new constituent as an output. Initially there was [V] and [N], then [V'] emerged as a consequence of Merge. There are three rather than two constituents and these directly correspond to three separate nodes in the structural representation. The top node [V'] did not exist before *ke* and *eng* were combined. Furthermore, it expresses that the whole constituent is a [V'] and not an [N] constituent, recognising that the feature of *ke* determines the feature for this whole construction. Merging two constituents thus give rise to three features: one for *ke*, one for e*ng* and the one at the top for *ke eng*. Therefore, *ke* is the head of this constituent because it determines the feature of the new constituent.

(c) *ga se mang*?

is not who?

The identifying interrogative phrase above questions the identity of a subject that has a human feature in a negative form. Syntactically, this phrase expresses five things that can be illustrated as follows:

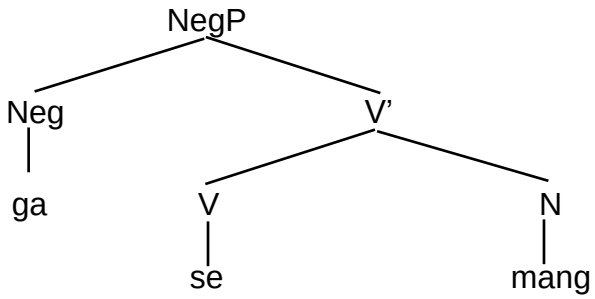

Figure 5.5: The structure of identifying copulative phrase *ga se mang*

The Minimalist Program is derivational; that is, syntactic representations are built from the bottom-up (Al-Horais, 2013). The diagram above expresses that a constituent with the categorical feature [V] is merged with a constituent carrying the feature [N]. It also expresses that Merge provides a new constituent as an output. Initially there was [V] and [N], then [V'] emerged as a consequence of Merge. There are three rather than two constituents and these directly correspond to three separate nodes in the structural representation. The node [V'] did not exist before *se* and *mang* were combined. Furthermore, it expresses that the whole constituent is a [V'] and not an [N] constituent, recognising that the feature of *se* determines the feature for this whole construction. Merging two constituents thus give rise to three features: one for *se*, one for *mang* and the one at the top for *se* mang. Therefore, *se* is the head of this constituent because it determines the feature of the new constituent. However, it is not only the features [V] and [N] that can be merged as also seen in the representations in 172 (a) and (b), but that a feature [Neg] can be merged with a constituent that is the result of a merger between [V] and [N]. Since the combination of featurers [V] and [N] creates a constituent with the feature [V'], it can effortlessly be combined with another constituent with a [Neg] feature. Initially there was [Neg] and [V'], then [NegP] emerged as a consequence of Merge. There are now five constituents and these directly

correspond to five separate nodes in the structural representation. Before the second Merge, i.e before *ga* and *se mang* were combined, the node [NegP] did not exist. The structural representation expresses that the whole constituent is a [NegP] and not a [V'] constituent, recognising that the feature of *ga* determines the feature for this whole construction. The feature of the new constituent is determined as before where the former constituent determines the feature of the new constituent. Merging two constituents thus give rise to five features: one for *ga,* one for *se mang,* one for *se*, one for *mang* and the one at the top for *ga se mang*. Therefore, *ga* is the head of the whole constituent because it determines the feature of the new constituent (Koeneman and Zeijlstra, 2017).

5.4.1.2 Descriptive copula

The descriptive phrase consists of the copulative particle that resembles the concord of the subject (positive) and an open interrogative word. In a negative formation, the subject concord is preceded by the negative morpheme *ga.* For example,

(173)

(a) *le bjang*?

is how?

The descriptive interrogative phrase above questions the description of a subject in a positive form. Syntactically, this phrase expresses three things that can be illustrated as follows:

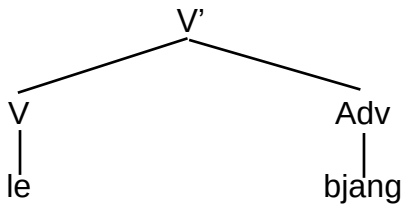

Figure 5.6: The structure of descriptive copulative phrase *le bjang*

The diagram above expresses that a constituent with the categorical feature [V] is merged with a constituent carrying the feature [Adv]. It also expresses that Merge provides a new constituent as an output. Initially there was [V] and [Adv], then [V'] emerged as a consequence of Merge. There are three rather than two constituents

and these directly correspond to three separate nodes in the structural representation. The top node [V'] did not exist before *le* and *bjang* were combined. Furthermore, it expresses that the whole constituent is a [V'] and not an [Adv] constituent, recognising that the feature of *le* determines the feature for this whole construction. Merging two constituents thus give rise to three features: one for *le*, one for *bjang* and the one at the top for *le bjang*. Therefore, *le* is the head of this constituent because it determines the feature of the new constituent.

(b) *ga le bjang*?
is not how?

The descriptive interrogative phrase above questions the description of a subject in a negative form. Syntactically, this phrase expresses five things that can be illustrated as follows:

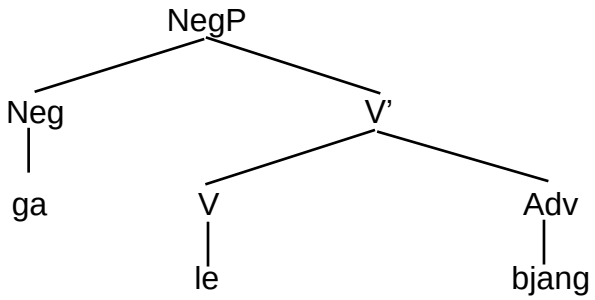

Figure 5.7: The structure of descriptive copulative phrase *ga le bjang*

The diagram above expresses that a constituent with the categorical feature [V] is merged with a constituent carrying the feature [Adv]. It also expresses that Merge provides a new constituent as an output. Initially there was [V] and [Adv], then [V'] emerged as a consequence of Merge. There are three rather than two constituents and these directly correspond to three separate nodes in the structural representation. The node [V'] did not exist before *le* and *bjang* were combined. Furthermore, it expresses that the whole constituent is a [V'] and not an [Adv] constituent, recognising that the feature of *le* determines the feature for this whole construction. Merging two constituents thus give rise to three features: one for *le*, one for *bjang* and the one at the top for *le bjang*. Therefore, *le* is the head of this constituent because it determines the feature of the new constituent. However, it is not only the features [V] and [Adv]

that can be merged as also seen in the representations in 173 (a), but that a feature [Neg] can be merged with a constituent that is the result of a merger between [V] and [Adv]. Since the combination of featurers [V] and [Adv] creates a constituent with the feature [V'], it can effortlessly be combined with another constituent with a [Neg] feature. Initially there was [Neg] and [V'], then [NegP] emerged as a consequence of Merge. There are now five constituents and these directly correspond to five separate nodes in the structural representation. Before the second Merge, i.e before *ga* and *le bjang* were combined, the node [NegP] did not exist. The structural representation expresses that the whole constituent is a [NegP] and not a [V'] constituent, recognising that the feature of *ga* determines the feature for this whole construction. The feature of the new constituent is determined as before where the former constituent determines the feature of the new constituent. Merging two constituents thus give rise to five features: one for *ga,* one for *le bjang,* one for *le*, one for *bjang* and the one at the top for *ga le bjang*. Therefore, *ga* is the head of the whole constituent because it determines the feature of the new constituent.

5.4.1.3 Associative copula

The associative phrase consists of the copulative particle that resembles the concord of the subject (positive), the copulative verb *na* and an open interrogative word. The copulative verb has variables *ba*, *be* and *bile*. In the composition of these phrases, there is an associative particle *le* which is not necessarily regarded as a part of the copulative phrase. The copulas can take the form of subject concords which is determined by the class of subject. In a negative formation, the subject concord is preceded by the negative morpheme *ga.* For example,

(174)

(a) *o na le mang*?

you have who?

The associative interrogative phrase above questions the association of a subject and its complement in a positive form. Syntactically, this phrase expresses seven things that can be illustrated as follows:

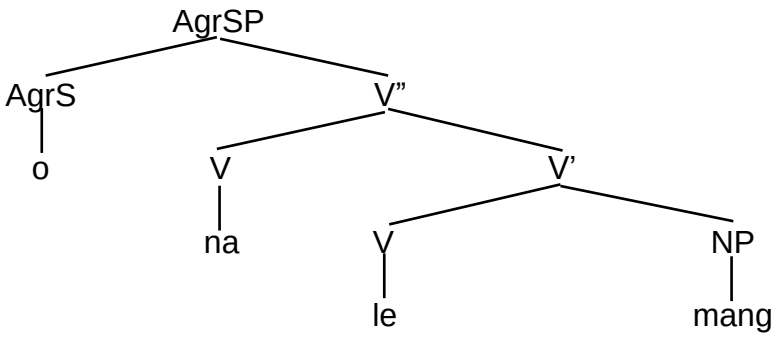

Figure 5.8: The structure of associative copulative phrase *o na le mang*

(b) *o ba le eng*?

you having what?

The associative interrogative phrase above questions the association of a subject and its complement in a positive form. Syntactically, this phrase expresses seven things that can be illustrated as follows:

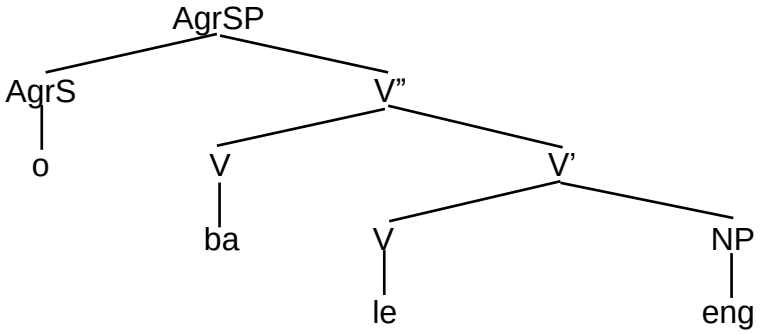

Figure 5.9: The structure of associative copulative phrase *o ba le eng*

(c) *o be le eng*?

you (to) have what?

The associative interrogative phrase above questions the association of a subject and its complement in a positive form. Syntactically, this phrase expresses seven things that can be illustrated as follows:

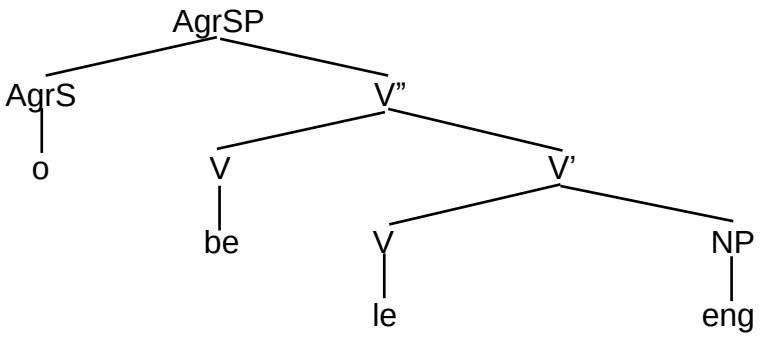

Figure 5.10: The structure of associative copulative phrase *o be le eng*

(d) *o bile le eng*?
you had what?

The associative interrogative phrase above questions the association of a subject and its complement in a positive form. Syntactically, this phrase expresses seven things that can be illustrated as follows:

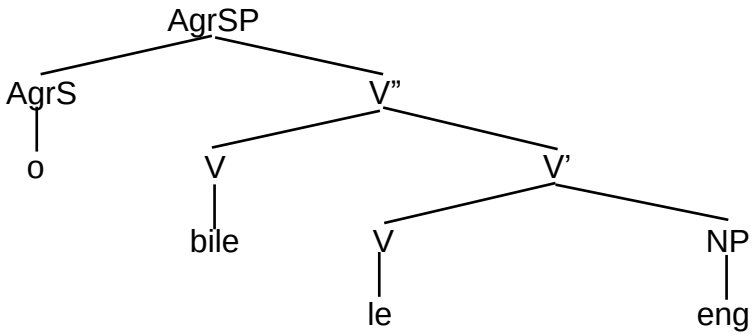

Figure 5.11: The structure of associative copulative phrase *o ba le eng*

The associative interrogative phrases above question the association of a subject and its complement in a positive form with different variable copulative verbs. The diagrams above (174 a-d) express that a constituent with the categorical feature [V] is merged with a constituent carrying the feature [NP]. It also expresses that Merge provides a new constituent as an output. Initially there was [V] and [NP], then [V’] emerged as a consequence of Merge. There are three rather than two constituents and these directly correspond to three separate nodes in the structural representation. The node [V’] did not exist before [V] and [NP] were combined. Furthermore, it expresses that the whole constituent is a [V’] and not a [NP] constituent, recognising

that the feature of [V] determines the feature for this whole construction. Merging two constituents thus give rise to three features: one for [V], one for [NP] and the one at the top for [V']. However, it is not only the features [V] and [NP] that can be merged, but that another feature label [V] can be merged with a constituent that is the result of a merger between [V] and [NP]. Since the combination of featurers [V] and [NP] creates a constituent with the feature [V'], it can effortlessly be combined with another constituent with a [V] feature where [V"] emerges as a consequence of Merge. Furthermore, the feature [V"] is merged with a constituent carrying the feature [AgrS] then the feature [AgrSP] emerges because of merge. There are now seven constituents and these directly correspond to seven separate nodes in the structural representation. Before the Merge, i.e before [NP], [V], [V] and [AgrS] were combined, the nodes [V'], [V"] and [AgrSP] did not exist. Merging the four constituents thus give rise to seven features: one for [NP], one for [V], one for [V'], one for [V], one for [V"], one for [AgrS] and the one at the top for [AgrSP]. The structural representation expresses that the feature of the top nodes is determined by the constituent of the left.

(e) *ga di na eng*?

they have not what?

The associative interrogative phrase above questions the association of a subject and complement in a negative form. Syntactically, this phrase expresses seven things that can be illustrated as follows:

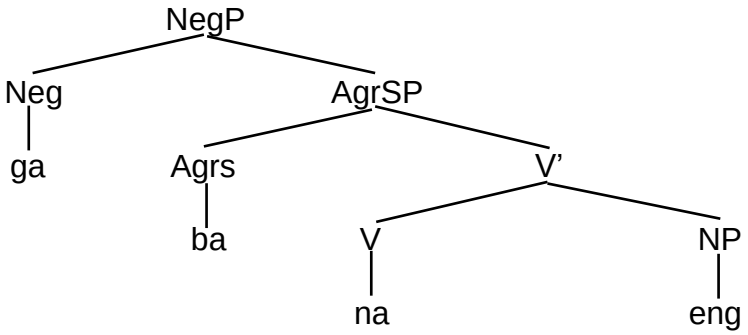

Figure 5.12: The structure of associative copulative phrase *ga di ne eng*

The diagram above expresses that a constituent with the categorical feature [V] is merged with a constituent carrying the feature [NP]. It also expresses that Merge provides a new constituent as an output. Initially there was [V] and [NP], then [V']

emerged as a consequence of Merge. There are three rather than two constituents and these directly correspond to three separate nodes in the structural representation. The node [V'] did not exist before [V] and [NP] were combined. Furthermore, it expresses that the whole constituent is a [V'] and not a [NP] constituent, recognising that the feature of [V] determines the feature for this whole construction. Merging two constituents thus give rise to three features: one for [V], one for [NP] and the one at the top for [V']. However, it is not only the features [V] and [NP] that can be merged, but that another feature [AgrS] can be merged with a constituent that is the result of a merger between [V] and [NP]. Since the combination of featurers [V] and [NP] creates a constituent with the feature [V'], it can effortlessly be combined with another constituent with a [AgrS] feature where [AgrSP] emerges as a consequence of Merge. Furthermore, the feature [AgrSP] is merged with a constituent carrying the feature [Neg] then the feature [NegP] emerges because of merge. There are now seven constituents and these directly correspond to seven separate nodes in the structural representation. Before the Merge, i.e before [NP], [V], [AgrS] and [Neg] were combined, the nodes [V'], [AgrSP] and [NegP] did not exist. Merging the four constituents thus give rise to seven features: one for [NP], one for [V], one for [V'], one for [AgrS], one for [AgrSP], one for [Neg] and the one at the top for [NegP]. The structural representation expresses that the feature of the top nodes is determined by the constituent of the left.

5.4.2 Instrumental Interrogative Phrase

Instrumental interrogative phrases are used to question the instrument used in performing a certain action. The instrumental particle *ka* always takes a nominal as its complement. The noun which the particle takes can be either concrete or abstract. The following is an example of an instrumental interrogative phrase:

(175)

ka eng?
with what?

The instrumental interrogative phrase above questions the means with which the agent performed an action.

5.4.3 Adverbial Interrogative Phrase

Adverbial interrogative phrase functions to question the action of the verb. Thus, they question the degree or frequency in which the action is happening. They can also question the place where something happened. The following are examples of adverbial interrogative phrases:

(176)

(a) *ga kae*?
how many?

The adverbial interrogative phrase above questions the frequency of how something happened.

(b) *ga kaakang*?
how deep?

The adverbial interrogative phrase above questions the degree of how something happened.

(c) *bokae*?
how much?

The adverbial interrogative phrase above questions the degree of how something happened.

(d) *ka kae*?
Where?

The adverbial interrogative phrase above questions the place where something happened. It is used in a prepositional form in order to locate the action of the verb.

5.4.4 Possessive Interrogative Phrase

Possessive interrogative phrases are used to question the belonging or ownership. These phrases are formed by the combination of possessive concords and open interrogative words that question nouns that are [+human] and [-human]. They question the relationship between the possessor and the possessed. Furthermore, possessive interrogative phrases question the relationship between people, the

relationship between people and tangible and intangible things. Eight possessive concords (*wa, ba, ya, la, a, sa, tša* and *ga*) were identified in the noun class system. Some of the concords (*wa, ba, ya, tša* and *ga*) appear for more than one noun class. The following are examples of locative interrogative phrases:

(177)

(a) *tša mang*?
whose?

The possessive interrogative phrase above questions the ownership of things.

(b) *wa mang*?
whose?

The possessive interrogative phrase above questions the relationship between people.

(c) *la mang*?
whose?

The possessive interrogative phrase above can question intangible things expressed by abstract nouns.

(d) *wa bokae*?
what number?

The possessive interrogative phrase above questions the association of people and a series or sequence in numbers.

(e) *ya kae*?
from where?

The possessive interrogative phrase above questions the association of something and a location.

(f) *ba ga mang*?
whose?

The possessive interrogative phrase above questions the relationship among a group of people. The concord *ba* indicates the plurality of the phrase.

(g) *ka ga mang*?
whose?

The possessive interrogative phrase above questions the belonging to or ownership of something. The concord *ka* emphasises the possessiveness.

5.4.5 Locative Interrogative Phrase

Locative interrogative phrases are multi-word modifiers whose meanings relate to spatial location. In Sepedi, interrogative locatives consist of a locative particle (*ga, go, ka, kua* or *mo*), followed by an open interrogative word. The phrase as a whole inquires about the location previously specified or inferred in the discourse. The nature of the relation, which is usually a place, is specified by the anchoring locative particles. The particles specify the degree of the relation. The following are examples of locative interrogative phrases:

(178)

(a) *ga-mang*?
at whose?

The particle *ga* is also possessive. It can be interpreted as ‘at the’ and it denotes the place where someone or something is from or at. Therefore, the phrase *ga mang* can be taken to mean ‘at the place, area or location of who’.

(b) *go mang*?
at/ to/ from whom?

The particle *go* has a specific meaning. The scope of its reference is restricted to particular referents. It selects objects with the feature [+human]; these can be human nouns found in classes 1, 1a, 2, 2a, 5, 6, 9 and 10, and pronouns. It can be interpreted as ‘at whom’, ‘to whom’ or ‘from whom’. The phrase *go mang* generally denotes the place of a certain person where someone or something is or was.

(c) *ka kae*?
in/ into/ inside where?

The notion expressed by the particle *ka* relates to enclosure, inclusion or position within certain limits. The phrase *ka kae* expresses the situation of something or someone that appears to be enclosed within certain confinements.

(d) *kua kae*?
there where?

The particle *kua* has a general meaning. It is used to indicate the intended place or location which may be remote or out of sight. The phrase *kua kae* generally expresses the uncertainty of a place whose reference is vague.

(e) *mo kae*?
on where?

The particle *mo* expresses locative relation of referents so as to be or remain supported by or suspended from. The phrase *mo kae* can be interpreted as ‘on what’.

5.5 Interrogative types

There are six interrogative types identified in Sepedi: polar questions, alternative questions, tag questions, content questions and rhetorical questions. These interrogative types are discussed below.

5.5.1 Polar questions

Polar questions are the most basic and popular interrogative type. Like the other Sotho languages, Sepedi polar questions are marked by a final rising intonation, particles, tags or complements. This type of interrogatives seeks agreement or disagreement, and is commonly considered to be unbiased towards yes or no. For example,

(179)

O *j-ele*?
SC1 eat-PEF
You ate?

The answer to this question will either be yes or no.

Polar question markers

Intonation

Polar questions are an interrogative type accompanied by distinct intonation patterns. These patterns are the meaningful pitch changes at the sentence level that distinguish interrogatives from other sentence types. In Sepedi, interrogatives are formed on declarative sentences with a distinct intonation pattern signaling that a declarative has changed to an interrogative. The meaningful alternations from a falling intonation of declaratives to rising intonation of interrogatives indicate uncertainty. The uncertainty in rising intonation is also associated with indecision, reluctance and anxiety. Hence rising intonation is used to mark interrogatives. This rising intonation in interrogatives is the pitch of the voice that rises usually at the end of a sentence.

(180)

(a) *Monna* *o* *a* [*j*↘a].
1-man SC1 TM eat
Man he is eat.
The man is eating.

(b) *Monna* *o* *a* [j↗*a*]*?*
1-man SC1 TM eat
Man he is eat?
Is the man eating?

The difference in the examples (180a and b) lies in the intonation which is at the right edge of clause boundaries. The tone of a syllable is usually carried by the vowel as seen in the examples above. Example (a) has a falling intonation; it expresses certainty towards the factual content of the declarative sentence while (b) has a rising intonation that expresses uncertainty towards the factual content of the declarative sentence. The length of the penultimate syllable is another significant feature in distinguishing interrogatives from declaratives.

(181)

(a) *O sepe:tš↘e*.
SC1 leave-PEF
He left.

(b) *O sepetš↗e*?
SC1 leave-PEF
He left?
Did he leave?

In addition to the distinction brought by intonation, the difference in the two examples (181a and b) lies in their penultimate syllables that are at the right edge of clause boundaries as well. The first example (a) has lengthened penultimate syllable which indicates that the sentence is a declarative, while the second one (b) is marked with a raised pitch and a shortened penultimate syllable which marks the sentence as an interrogative.

(182)

(a)	*Ngwana*	*ola*	*ke*	*wa*	*ga: go*.
	1-child	Dem1	SC	PC1	POSSPRN1
	That child is yours.				
(b)	*Ngwana*	*ola*	*ke*	*wa*	*gag↗o*?
	1-child	Dem1	SC	PC1	POSSPRN1
	That child is yours?				

The length of the syllables of the last word, especially the penult of the sentence, in the example (a) is long while in example (b) is very short and the final syllable is clearly clipped. The rising intonation in the interrogative example (b) shows incompleteness of the conversation; hence there should be a reply.

In addition to the rising intonation and the length of the penultimate syllable, polar question can also be constructed by adding particles, tags or complements.

Particles

Sepedi constructs interrogatives by simply adding particles to a declarative sentence. The function of question particles is to express uncertainty towards the factual content of the declarative sentence, which results into a question. Sepedi has four particles used to mark interrogative: *afa, a, na,* and *naa*. The distribution of these particles in a sentence is determined by the word order of that particular sentence. Basically, the interrogative markers *a* and *afa* occur at the sentence-initial position while *na* and *naa* occur at the initial position. However, certain word order patterns allow all the particles to also occupy the middle position. There are word orders that show the subject can move from the sentence initial position to either sentence medial or final position, a verb can move from sentence medial position to either sentence initial or final position, and an object from sentence final to either sentence initial or medial position.

Declaratives

(183)

(a) *O bo j-ele.*
SC1 OC14 eat-PEF
You ate it.

(b) *Matome o j-ele bo-gobe.*
1a-Matome SC1 eat-PEF 14-porridge
Matome ate porridge.

(c) *Matome, o j-ele.*
1a-Matome, SC1 eat-PEF
Matome, you ate.

Example (a) has the word order subject, object and verb, example (b) has subject, verb and object, and example (c) has subject and verb. It is also important to note that when a subject and its concord are used simultaneously, the subject is followed by the subject concord.

Interrogatives

(184)

(a) *Afa* *o* *bo* *j-ele*?
QP SC1 OC14 eat-PEF
Did you eat it?

(b) *Afa* *Matome* *o* *j-ele* *bo-gobe*?
QP 1a-Matome SC1 eat-PEF 14-porridge
Did Matome eat porridge?

(c) *Matome,* *afa* *o* *j-ele*?
1a-Matome, QP SC1 eat-PEF
Matome, did you eat?

(d) *A* *o* *bo* *j-ele*?
QP SC1 OC14 eat-PEF?
Did you eat it?

(e) *A* *Matome* *o* *j-ele* *bo-gobe*?
QP 1a-Matome SC1 eat-PEF 14-porridge
Did Matome eat porridge?

(f) *Matome,* *a* *o* *j-ele*?
1a-Matome, QP SC1 eat-PEF
Matome, did you eat?

It is observed that the particles *afa* and *a* can occupy the sentence initial and medial positions. Basically, the two particles occupy the sentence initial positions, but examples (c) and (f) show that the particles can also occupy the medial position. Furthermore, *afa* is used when the speaker presupposes that the listener knows what the speaker knows, and it is used as a form of a reminder or recollection of the information they both are aware of. The answer to this particle is either yes or no, however the speaker expects a positive answer. On the other hand, *a* is used as a neutral particle where the speaker presupposes that the addressee is willing and able to respond either by a positive or a negative answer.

(g) *Naa* *o* *bo* *j-ele*?
QP SC1 OC14 eat-PEF
Did you eat it?

(h) *Naa* *Matome* *o* *j-ele* *bo-gobe*?
QP 1a-Matome SC1 eat-PEF 14-porridge
Did Matome eat porridge?

(i) *Matome* *o* *j-ele* *naa*?
1a-Matome SC1 eat-PEF QP
Did Matome eat?

(j) *Matome,* *naa* *o* *j-ele*?
1a-Matome, QP SC1 eat-PEF
Matome, did you eat?

(k) *Na* *o* *bo* *j-ele*?
QP SC1 OC14 eat-PEF
Did you eat?

(l) *Na* *Matome* *o* *j-ele* *bo-gobe*?
QP 1a-Matome SC1 eat-PEF 14-porridge
Did Matome eat porridge?

(m) *Matome,* *na* *o* *j-ele*?
1a-Matome, QP SC1 eat-PEF
Matome, did you eat?

(n) *Matome,* *o* *j-ele* *na*?
1a-Matome SC1 eat-PEF QP
Matome did you eat?

It is observed that the particles *naa* and n*a* can occupy the sentence initial, medial and final positions. Basically, the two particles occupy the sentence initial and final positions, but examples (j) and (m) show that the particles can also occupy the medial position. Furthermore, *naa* is used when the speaker presupposes that the listener is

aware of the information sought while the speaker does not have knowledge of such information. When the speaker uses *naa* he or she presupposes that the listener has the information they require; the listener might not have that information but in the understanding of the speaker, the listener knows. *Na,* on the other hand, is used as a neutral particle where the speaker presupposes that the addressee is willing and able to respond either by a positive or a negative answer. When both *naa* and *na* are used in a question, the speaker expects a yes or no response.

There are instances where *a* and *na* can be used together, with *a* coming first then immediately followed by *na* such as in example (o) or *a* at the beginning of the question and *na* at the end such as in example (p).

(o) *A* *na* *o* *bo* *j-ele*?
QP QP SC1 OC14 eat-PEF
Did you eat it?

(p) *A* *o* *bo* *j-ele* *na*?
QP SC1 OC14 eat-PEF QP
Did you eat it?

There are instances where *a* and *naa* can be used together, with *a* coming first then immediately followed by *naa* such as in example (q) or *a* at the beginning of the question and *na* at the end such as in example (r).

(q) *A* *naa* *o* *bo* *j-ele*?
QP QP SC1 OC14 eat-PEF
Did you eat it?

(r) *A* *o* *bo* *j-ele* *naa*?
QP SC1 OC14 eat-PEF QP
Did you eat it?

There are instances where *na* or *naa* may appear twice in the same sentence, at the beginning of the question and after the first predicate such as in example (s) or (t).

(s) *Na* *o* *bo* *j-ele* *na*?
QP SC1 OC14 eat-PEF QP
Did you eat it?

(t) *Naa* *o* *bo* *j-ele* *naa*?
QP SC1 OC14 eat-PEF QP
Did you eat it?

The use of two particles in one sentence puts an emphasis on the question and demands an answer. Semantically, the particle complements a sentence and gives it an interrogative meaning.

Tags

Tags are tacked onto declaratives and imperatives in order to confirm that the answer might be correct and want the hearer to agree or disagree. Tags are usually added at the end of a sentence to verify that something has been understood, to clear uncertainty or to ask for confirmation. However, in Sepedi the tag *a ke re* can be added at both the beginning and the end of a sentence.

(185)

(a) *A ke re* *o* *bo* *j-ele*?
QT SC1 OC14 eat-PEF
You ate it, didn't you?

(b) *O* *bo* *j-ele* *a ke re*?
SC1 OC14 eat-PEF QT
You ate it, didn't you?

The tag contributes a certain bias by raising expectations towards a specific answer. The general function of the tag *a ke re* is to elicit agreement or confirmation from the listener.

Complements

There are nine question complements identified in Sepedi: *e ka ba, bjale, kgane, kganthe, nketse, etse, e le gore, o ra gore* and *le ra gore*. The complements *nketse* and *etse* are variants, and *kganthe* and *kgane* are also variants. The variants do not

differ in meaning therefore can respectively be used interchangeably. While *le ra gore* is the plural form of *o ra gore*. Question complements are used to support a question by providing additional information to contextualise the question.

(186)

(a) *E ka ba* *o* *bo* *j-ele*?
QC SC1 OC14 eat-PEF
Did you eat it?

(b) *Bjale* *o* *bo* *j-ele*?
QC SC1 OC14 eat-PEF
Did you eat it?

(c) *O* *bo* *j-ele* *bjale*?
SC1 OC14 eat-PEF QC
Did you eat it?

(d) *Kgane* *o* *bo* *j-ele*?
QC SC1 OC14 eat-PEF
Did you eat it?

(e) *O* *bo* *j-ele* *kganthe*?
SC1 OC14 eat-PEF QC
Did you eat it?

(f) *E le gore* *o* *bo* *j-ele*?
QC SC1 OC14 eat-PEF
Did you eat it?

(g) *O ra gore* *o* *bo* *j-ele*?
QC SC1 OC14 eat-PEF
Did you eat it?

(h) *Etse* *o* *bo* *j-ele*?
QC SC1 OC14 eat-PEF
Did you eat it?

The use of *e ka ba* in example (a) is meant to seek confirmation, *bjale* in (b) and (c) seeks clarity, *kgane* and *kganthe* in (d) and (e) respectively expresses a surprise, *e le gore* in (f) emphasises that a question in a surprised manner, *o ra gore* in (g) seeks confirmation, and *etse* in (h) seeks a reminder. In all the examples (a-h), the expected response is either yes or no. In example (h) for instance, the speaker has prior knowledge about the state of the porridge in his or her subconscious, but at that particular moment he or she seems to have forgotten. The speaker knows that the listener is aware of the information sought and the listener will remind the speaker with either a yes or no response.

5.5.2 Alternative questions

Alternatives are questions involving a disjunction and whose possible answers correspond to the propositional disjuncts of the disjunction. They present two or more options for the reply coordinated with the help of the disjunctive conjunction '*goba*' (or). In these types of questions, two or more polar questions are connected. However, even if alternative questions are a sequence of polar questions, the answers yes and no are not appropriate (see 187c and 188d):

(187)

(a) *O ja bogobe*? Polar question
SC eat 14-porriage
You eat porridge?

(b) *O ja nama*? Polar question
SC eat 9-meat
You eat meat?

(c) *O ja bogobe goba (o ja) nama*? Alternative
SC eat 14-porriage CONJ (SC eat) 9-meat
You eat porridge or (you eat) meat?

(188)

(a) *O bone Mpho?* Polar question
SC saw 1a-Mpho
You saw Mpho?

(b) *O* *bone* *Mpho* *le* *Mahlako?* Polar question
SC saw 1a-Mpho CP 1a-Mahlako
You saw Mpho and Mahlako?

(c) *O* *bone* *Mahlako* *a* *le* *noši?* Polar question
SC saw 1a-Mahlako SC COP alone
You saw Mahlako alone?

(d) *O bone Mpho, (o bone) Mpho le Mahlako goba (o bone) Mahlako a le noši?*
You saw Mpho, Mpho and Mahlako or Mahlako alone?

The elements in parenthesis in examples (187c and 188d) are ellipted during construction. During the construction of alternatives, the speaker provides a certain range of possible answers by giving options. From the options provided, if the first one is negative while the expected answer is a positive, the listener proceeds to the second option, and so on. Sepedi has more ways of constructing alternative questions. The options that come after the disjunctive conjunction can be (1) a polar question, (2) elements of a polar question, (3) the adverb *bjang* (how), or (4) the adverb *aowa* (no). See examples below:

(189)

(a) *O* *jele* *goba* *ga* *se* *o* *je*?
SC eat-PEF CONJ NEG NEG SC eat
You ate or did not (you) eat?

(b) *O* *nyaka* *apola* *goba* *panana*?
SC want 9-apple CONJ banana
You want apple or banana?

(c) *O* *a* *bolela* *goba* *bjang*?
SC TM talk CONJ what
You are talking or what?

(d) *O* *a* *nyaka* *goba* *aowa*?
SC TM want CONJ not
You want or no?

The questions present different alternatives that either seek information or confirmation. Moreover, particles and complements can also be used to mark alternative questions. For example,

(e) *Afa* *o* *bone* *Mpho* *goba* *Mahlako?*
QP SC saw 1a-Mpho CONJ 1a-Mahlako
You saw Mpho or Mahlako?

The addition of the particle *afa* in example (e) above introduces uncertainty. Even though there are two options given, the question implies that it is *Mahlako* who was seen not *Mpho*. This type of question questions mistaken identity. It does not seek confirmation but to clarify. It has features of a rhetorical question.

(f) *Ekaba* *o* *bone* *Mpho* *goba* *Mahlako?*
QC SC saw 1a-Mpho CONJ 1a-Mahlako
You saw Mpho or Mahlako?

In contrast to the example in (e) above, the addition of the complement *ekaba* in example (f) above maintains the characteristics of an alternative question. This question either seeks information or confirmation.

5.5.3 Tag questions

In Sepedi, declarative statements can be turned into questions by appending the following group of words: *a ke re* (right), *ga go bjalo* (isn't it) and *goba bjang* (right). These are tag questions and consist of a combination of a host sentence and a tag. In most cases, a host sentence is a declarative. Tags are the words appended onto declaratives in order to confirm that the answer might be correct and want the hearer to agree or disagree. Although the declarative is the host, the tag is the one responsible for the turn-allocation. The tag enables the host to become an interrogative. Tag questions request confirmation of the information presented by the declarative. Consider the following examples:

(190)

(a) *O* *a* *mo* *tseba, a ke re*?
SC TM OC know, QT
'You know her, right?'

The tag *a ke re* is used when the speaker wants the listener to confirm if the declarative statement is true or false. This tag presupposes a positive answer, even though it is not always that the answer will be positive. The tag *a ke re* can be used together with other interrogative words.

(b) *O* *a* *mo* *tseba, a ke re* *naa*?
SC TM OC know, QT QP
'You know her, right?'

When the particle *naa* is added to the tag question, it puts more emphasis to the question. It leaves little room for the listener to disagree with the declarative statement. This formation contributes a certain bias by raising expectations towards a specific answer. The tag *a ke re* and the particle *naa* are used when the speaker wants to corner the listener into agreeing to something. Depending on the tone of voice of the speaker the combination of these two interrogative words may also be interpreted as being aggressive.

(c) *O* *a* *mo* *tseba, ga go bjalo*?
SC TM OC know, QT
'You know her, don't you?'

The tag *ga go bjalo* is a negative tag that presupposes a positive answer. This tag can have meanings such as 'aren't you', 'won't you', 'isn't it' or 'don't you'. The distinction in interpretation of the tag *ga go bjalo* is determined by the formation of the host sentence. The distinction in the form of host sentences is accompanied by difference in meaning since the factors determining the interpretation of the tag are not syntactic but semantic.

(e) *O* *tlo* *mo* *tseba, ga go bjalo*?
SC AUX OC know QT
'You will know her, won't you?'

(f) *O* *a* *ya,* *ga go bjalo*?
SC TM go QT
'You are going, aren't you?'

In languages such as English, the verb of a tag is a finite auxiliary functioning as an operator that refers to the finite verb of the host clause (Biber, 1999). In Sepedi, the syntactic structure of the tag is not affected by the structure of the host clause. The semantic structure of the verb phrase in Sepedi determines the interpretation of the tag. The tag *ga go bjalo* can take a different form when the host clause is in a negative form.

(g) *Ga* *o* *ye,* *go bjalo*?
NEG SC go QT
'You are not going, are you?'

Since the general function of tags is characterised as appealing to the interlocutor for agreement or eliciting the hearer's agreement or confirmation, the tag and the host must be symmetrical. Thus, the syntactic structure of a tag will be determined by the syntactic structure of the host. If the host takes a positive form then the tag will be in the negative, and if the host is in the negative then the tag will take the positive form. This means that there will be a negative tag and a positive tag; a negative tag presuppose a positive answer while a positive tag presupposes a negative answer. For example:

(h) *O* *a* *ya,* *ga go bjalo*?
SC TM go QT
'You are going, aren't you?'

(i) *Ga* *o* *ye,* *go bjalo*?
NEG SC go QT
'You are not going, are you?'

The sentence in (h) is marked with a negative tag and expects a positive answer, while the sentence (i) is marked positively and expects an answer that is negative.

(j) *Re* *a* *sepela,* *goba bjang*?
SC TM leave QT
'We are leaving, right?'

The tag *goba bjang* contributes a certain bias by raising expectations towards a positive answer. The tag question in (j), can be paraphrased as 'I ask for the confirmation of the truth of our leaving'. The tag *goba bjang* is appended onto declaratives in order to confirm that the statement is correct; it is intended to make the the hearer agree.

A tag question first presents the statement that requires confirmation then a tag to remove the uncertainty.

5.5.4 Content questions

Content questions are another type of popular interrogatives in Sepedi. These questions are typically formed with the help of the *-ng, -kae* and *-fe* words that represent some interrogative syntactic categories of question words.

The *-ng* question words include the following: *mang* (who, whom, whose), *eng* (what), *neng* (when), *goreng* (why), *bjang* (how), *mong* (what gender), *-bjang* (what kind) and *-kaakang* (how big/small). These *-ng* words belong to a number of different parts of speech, functioning differently in different linguistic contexts such as qualifiers, pronouns and adverbs. Syntactically, *neng* (time), *goreng* (reason), *-kaakang* (degree or quantity) and *bjang* (manner) are adverbs, *mang* (person) and *eng* (thing) are pronouns, and *mong* (gender) and *-bjang* (kind) are qualifiers. The stems *–kaakang* and *-bjang* can be attached to different noun class prefixes to have various forms.

Sepedi is assumed to be an SVO open interrogative in-situ language. The in-situ construction of content questions requires no movement in order to assign interrogative meaning to an interrogative structure. That is, the position where its answer would appear in its declarative counterpart. The open interrogative words remain in the canonical subject or object position during the construction of the interrogative. There is correspondence in the position of interrogative words and their counterparts in the other types of sentences. Characteristically, the position of an interrogative word is determined by its grammatical function. In Sepedi declaratives, the object occupies the sentence final position; *bogobe* (porridge) in example (a) below. Similarly, in its interrogative counterpart an interrogative word functioning as

the object automatically occupies this sentence final position; *eng* (what) in example (b) below.

(191)

(a) Mo-nna o ja bo-gobe.
1-man SC eat 14-porriage
Man (he) eats porridge
"The man eats porridge"

(b) Monna o ja eng?
1-man SC eat what
Man (he) eats what?
"What does the man eat?"

The example (b) above is the construction of an object content question. The interrogative word that questions the identity of the object remains in the canonical position of the object where it appears immediately after the verb.

The object in declaratives, as seen in example (a) above, usually occupies a postverbal position. In contrast to the interrogative construction in example (b) above, sometimes the object interrogative word may be topicalised to give the interrogative structure additional emphasis. Therefore, the object interrogative word moves to the initial position which is the subject position, which then results in the introduction of the copulative particle *ke*. Then the structure of the sentence changes to OSV. For example,

(c) Ke eng seo monna a se ja-go.
COP what Dem 1-man SC OC eat-RS
(It) is what that (the) man (he) is eating?
"What is the man eating?"

In Sepedi declaratives, the subject occupies the sentence initial position; *monna* (man) in example (a) above. Similarly, in its interrogative counterpart an interrogative word functioning as the subject automatically occupies this sentence initial position; *mang* (what) in example (d) below. When the subject interrogative occupies the initial position, it is forced to be preceded by the copulative particle *ke*.

(d) *Ke* *mang* *a* *ja-go* *bogobe*?
COP who SC eat-RS 14-porriage
Who (he) eats porridge?
“Who eats porridge?”

Example (d) above is the construction of a subject content question. The interrogative word that questions the identity of the subject remains in the canonical position of the subject where it appears at the first part of the sentence.

(e) *Monna* *o* *dira-ng* *bogobe*?
1-Man SC do-what 14-porriage
Man (he) does what porridge?
“What does the man do to the porridge?”

Example (e) above is the construction of an action content question. The interrogative word that questions the action of the verb remains in the canonical position of the verb where it appears in the medial section of the sentence.

Interrogative words remain in-situ when constructing object and action questions. They remain in the canonical position of the corresponding verbs and objects. For subject interrogatives, the question word is in the initial part of the sentence preceded by the copulative particle *ke*.

(f) *Monna* *o* *ja* *bogobe* *bjang*?
1-Man SC eat 14-porriage how
Man (he) eats porridge how?
“How does the man eats porridge?”

The example (f) above is the construction of an adjunct content question. The interrogative word that questions the adjunct remains in the canonical position of the adjunct where it appears at end of the sentence. Thus, this construction exhibits in-situ.

In-situ construction is twofold: main clause in-situ and embedded clause in-situ. A main clause can stand alone as a complete sentence; it contains at least one subject and

one verb, and expresses a complete thought (Louwrens, 1991; Nokaneng, 1991). An embedded clause lacks one of the elements that would make it a complete sentence, thus depends on the main clause. This means that an open interrogative in-situ construction is allowed in mono-clausal and multi-clausal sentences (Muriungi, 2015). For example,

(192)

(a) *Ngwana ke wa Mosebjadi.*
1-child COP PC 1a-Mosebjadi.
Child is for Mosebjadi.
It is Mosebjadi's child.

(b) *Ngwana ke wa mang?*
1-child COP PC who
Child is for who.
Whose child is it?

The declarative in example (a) above is a main clause and stands alone as a complete sentence; it contains one subject and one verb, and expresses a complete thought. Example (b) above is its interrogative counterpart, and the open interrogative word in example (b) occurred in-situ in a mono-clausal sentence.

(c) *Ngwana yo a bala-go puku ke wa Mosebjadi.*
1-child Dem1 SC1 read-RS 9-book COP PC 1a-Mosebjadi
Child who she read a book is for Mosebjadi.
It is Mosebjadi's child who is reading a book.

(d) *Ngwana ofe ke wa Mosebjadi?*
1-child which COP PC 1a-Mosebjadi
Child which is for Mosebjadi?
Which child is Mosebjadi's?

The declarative in example (c) above is a complex sentence that consists of a main clause and an embedded clause. The embedded clause of this sentence is an adjectival clause (*yo a balago puku*). In example (d), an embedded in-situ is created

by an embedded sentence which is introduced by an open interrogative word *ofe*. The open interrogative word *ofe* remains in the canonical position of the embedded clause where it appears between the subject and the predicate. However, in contrast to the interrogative construction in example (d) above, sometimes the interrogative word that questions the embedded clause may be topicalised to give the interrogative structure additional emphasis. Therefore, the interrogative word moves to the initial position which is the subject position, which then results in the copulative particle *ke* preceding the interrogative word.

(d) *Ke* *ofe* *Ngwana* *wa* *Mosebjadi?*
COP which 1-child PC 1a-Mosebjadi
Is which Child for Mosebjadi?
Which child is Mosebjadi's?

The aim of interrogative construction through open interrogative words is to elicit information that relate to someone or something. This eliciting of information is done when there is relevant presupposition. The interrogative generally presupposes the truth of the proposition in which it appears. Consider the following examples:

(193)

(a) *Go* *hwile* *mang?*
SC die-PEF who
Who has died?

(b) *Le* *kae* *lengwalo* *la* *gona?*
SC5 where 5-letter PC5 PRN
Where is that particular letter?

(c) *O* *mo* *hlabile* *ka-ng?*
SC OC stab-PEF IP-what
He stabbed him with what?

(d) *O* *na* *le* *bokae?*
SC CV AssP how much
How much do you have?

The examples in (193), (a) presupposes that someone died and the interrogative word wants to elicit information about the identity of the person who died, (b) presupposes that there is a letter somewhere and the interrogative word wants to elicit information about the location of the letter, (c) presupposes that there was something used to stab and the interrogative word wants to elicit information about the instrument which was used, while (d) presupposes that the addressee has money and the interrogative word wants to elicit information about the amount of that money.

Moreover, an interrogative construction can contain multiple interrogative words in which both the subject and the object are being questioned. It is also possible for both interrogative word to remain in-situ.

(194)

(a) *Ke mang a jago eng*?
COP who SC eat-RS what
Is who (he) eats what?
"Who eats what?"

The example (a) above is the construction of a subject and object content question. The interrogative word that questions the identity of the subject remains in the canonical position of the subject where it appears at the first part of the sentence while that which questions the identity of the object also remains in the canonical position of the object where it appears immediately after the verb. Example (a) is a multiple interrogative word question. In Sepedi, as an SVO language, the initial topic slot is usually reserved for the subject. As such, it is odd for the object to be topicalised in a multiple interrogative word questions. For example,

(b) *Ke eng seo mang a se jago?*
COP what Dem who SC OC eat-RS
(It) is what that who (he) it eats?
"What does who eats?"

In example (b) above the object interrogative word is topicalised in a multiple interrogative word question. The topicalisation of the object while having two

unknowns renders the question to sound odd since it requires more time to be processed.

5.5.5 Echo questions

These are the questions where the speaker repeats the statement or part of it in order to express either surprise or improper hearing. Echo questions are formed when the speaker did not understand a preceding utterance or wants to confirm what he or she heard. Echo questions feature rising intonation. The structure of these questions will take the form of a polar question if the speaker wants to confirm if he or she heard correctly; it will take a form of a content question if the speaker missed some part of the statement. Echo questions are intrinsically secondary because the always refer back to a preceding utterance (Haan, 2002). For example,

(195)

(a) *Ke bone Lesiba.*
SC saw 1a-Lesiba
I saw Lesiba

(b) *O bone Lesiba?*
SC saw 1a-Lesiba
You saw Lesiba?

In the construction in (195b), the speaker is either expressing disbelief or wants to confirm if what he heard is what was said.

(c) *Lesiba?*
1a-Lesiba
Lesiba?

In the construction in (195c), the speaker wants to confirm the fact that the person who was seen is *Lesiba* by repeating only the last part of the sentence. It may also be possible that the speaker is expressing disbelief to the fact that the person who was seen is *Lesiba*.

(d) *O bone mang?*
SC saw who

You saw who?

In the construction in (195d), the speaker is either expressing disbelief or wants to confirm if what the name heard is what was said.

(e) *Mang?*
Who?

In the construction in (195e), the speaker wants to confirm the name of the person who was seen by repeating only the last part of the sentence in an open interrogative form. It may also be possible that the speaker is expressing disbelief towards the name of the person who was seen.

Example (195b) is charaterised as full or complete repetition while (195c, d and e) can be characterised as partial repetition.

(f) *Matome o ja bogobe*.
1a-Matome SC1 eat 14-porridge
Matome eats porridge.

(g) *Mang o dira-ng eng?*
Who SC1 do-what what
Who does what (to) what?

In example 195f and 195g, the subject interrogative marker *mang* occurs in the preverbal position without the copulative particle *ke*. The subject marker occurs in-situ, so do the action and object interrogative words.

Echo questions are not only formed from declaratives but can also be formed from interrogatives and imperatives.

Interrogatives

In the following example, speaker A poses a question to speaker B, Speaker B replies with questions.

(196)

A: (a) *O bone Lesiba?*
SC saw 1a-Lesiba
You saw Lesiba?

B: (b) *Ke bone Lesiba?*
SC saw 1a-Lesiba
I saw Lesiba?

(c) *Ke bone mang?*
SC saw who
I saw who?

In the constructions labelled (B: b), the speaker replies with a full repetition of speaker A's question in order to either express disbelief indicating that the question was unexpected or inappropriate, or wants to confirm if what he heard is what was said. This type of an echo question does not seek information, but rather asks for clarity.

In the constructions labelled (B: c), the speaker replies with a partial repetition of speaker A's question in order to either express surprise indicating that the question was unexpected or inappropriate, or wants to confirm if what the name he heard is what was said.

Imperatives

(197)

A: (a) *Bona Lesiba.*
See 1a-Lesiba
See Lesiba!

B (b) *Ke bone Lesiba?*
SC see 1a-Lesiba
I (should) see Lesiba?

(c) *Ke bone mang?*
SC see 1a-Lesiba
I (should) see who?

In the constructions labelled (B: b), the speaker replies with a full repetition of speaker A's question in order to confirm if what he heard is what was said. This type of a question reflects a request for confirmation. The construction labelled (B: c), on the other hand, expresses disbelief indicating that the statement was unexpected or inappropriate, or wants to confirm if what the name he heard is what was said.

5.5.6 Rhetorical questions

In Sepedi, rhetorical questions are not determined syntactically. That is, these questions can take the structure of the questions discussed above. Rhetorical questions are constructed to make a point rather than to elicit an answer. Thus, functionally it should be regarded as a statement rather than a question. Rhetorical questions can be formed using content interrogative words, particles or interrogative elements. The particles *a/afa* are used for rhetorical questions where no answer is expected (Zerbian, 2006). They are used to emphasise a point.

(198)

(a) *Ke* *beth-el-w-a-ng?*
SC beat-APPL-PASS-FV-what
I (am being) beaten for what?
Why am I being beaten?

The sentence above does not necessarily need an answer or reply. The speaker is just expressing surprise for what is happening to him/her.

(b) *Afa* *o* *a* *n-tseba?*
QP SC TM OC-know
Do you know me?

The speaker in (b) considers him/herself to be an important person. This is usually an arrogant expression from such a person when they think they are receiving an unfair treatment.

(c) *E* *le* *ge* *o* *gola* *bokae?*
NSM COP CONJ SC earn how much
How much are you earning?

The utterance in (c) above is usually said when the speaker undermines someone's financial status. The utterance does not expect the addressee to disclose his or her income.

(d) O a thoma a ke re?
SC1 TM start QT
You are starting now?

The sentence in (d) expresses disapproval. Even though it is formulated in a form of a question, it does not require an answer. The aim of this utterance is to discourage a certain inappropriate act.

(e) Naa ke dilo mang tše di dirwago ke ngwana yo?
QP SC 8-thing what Dem8 OC do-PASS-RS AP 1-child Dem1
What things are these being done by this child?

The sentence in (e) expresses surprise. The speaker does not expect the agent of the sentence to be doing what is being done. The sentence expects no answer.

(f) Ke neng ke go emetse?
COP when SC OC wait-PEF
It is when I have been waiting for you?

This utterance in (f) expresses annoyance. The speaker knows that the addressee has no knowledge about the waiting time period, therefore the speaker cannot be expecting an answer from the addressee.

As mentioned earlier, a rhetorical question is not intended to function as a question; it is a figure of speech typically employed to express some (strong) opinion on the part of the speaker (Haan, 2002).

5.6 Interrogative word order

Sepedi exhibit the SVO word order as its basic word order. Sepedi as a dominant SVO order in declarative sentences, it frequently puts interrogative words in-situ. However,

it is not restricted to that specific word order; the word orders VSO, SOV, OVS and OSV are also prevalent in Sepedi. However, some word orders are more dominant than others. SVO is the word order in that determines word order alternations in different environments. These different word orders show the movement of a subject from the sentence initial position to either sentence medial or final position; a verb can move from sentence medial position to either sentence initial or final position, and an object from sentence final to either sentence initial or medial position. When the movement of word order occurs, the position of an interrogative within the interrogative clause is affected.

In certain instances, the construction of interrogative sentences results in some change of word order and word structure of declarative sentences. Thus, the transformation of a declarative into an interrogative may exhibit a word order change. For the purpose of discussion, some of the examples from Chapter 4 are repeated.

(199)

(a) *Matome* *o* *ja* *eng*?
1a-Matome SC1a eat what
S V O
Matome he eat what?
What is Matome eating?

(b) *Ke* *mang* *a* *ja-go* *bo-gobe*?
COP who SC1 eat-RS 14-porridge
S V O
(It) is who eating porriage?
Who is eating porriage?

(c) *Go* *ja* *mang* *bo-gobe*?
InfPr eat who 14-porridge
V S O
Is eat who porridge?
Who is eating the porridge?

(d) *Bo-gobe* *bo* *j-ew-a* *ke* *mang*?
14-porridge SC14 eat-PAS-FV COP who
O V S
Porridge it is eat by who?
Who is eating the porridge?

(e) *Ke* *eng* *seo* *Matome* *a* *se* *ja-go*?
COP what Dem6 1a-Matome TM OC6 eat-RS
O S V
Is what that Matome is it eat?
What is it that Matome is eating?

(f) *O* *mo* *dira-ng*?
SC1 OC1 do-what
S O V
You him do what?
What are you doing to him?

From the examples above, the possible correlation between basic word order and the position of interrogative phrases can be illustrated as: in SVO and OVS structures, interrogative words can be fronted or occur in-situ; in verb-final word order (SOV, OSV) interrogative occur in-situ; in verb-initial VSO in-situ. The alternation of word order from one structure to the other does not always suggest a change of interrogative word position, because in some instances the position of either the subject which occurs pre-verbally or the object which is normally occupied by pronominal interrogative phrases does not change in these alternations.

In Sepedi, the normal position of subjects is usually before the verb, but different word order strategies may be employed in different contexts; the focus may be placed on the object in a pre-verbal position.

(200)

(a) *Bogobe* *o* *a* *bo* *ja* *Matome.*
14-Bogobe SC TM SC eat 1a-Matome
Porriage (he) eats it Matome.

Matome eats porridge.

In Sepedi, subjects normally carry the emphasis and prominence in discourse; in this case, the focus is on the object which is in the initial position of the statement. However, the OVS structure of the sentence in (a), does not allow for the object to be questioned in its current position.

(b) **Eng o a bo ja Matome*?
What SC TM SC eat 1a-Matome
*What he it eats Matome?

The construction of an object interrogative calls for the change of word order from OVS to SVO.

(c) *Matome o ja eng*?
1a-Matome SC eats what
Matome he eats what?
What does Matome eats?

The declarative word order is OVS, when interrogative is formed the basic word order SVO is followed. The position of the interrogative word does not correlate with the position of its counterpart in the word order of declarative. If they were to correlate, the interrogative would be ungrammatical.

5.7 Interrogatives transformational rules

In syntactic theory, syntactic structures can be built through a displacement operation, or movement. According to Chomsky (1995), the Minimalist Program proposes that displacement and plain structure-building are established by the Merge operation. Merge generates “movement” structures i.e., phrase markers where the same expression occupies different positions in the structure. The merge operation can effect changes in the string through rearrangement, addition, deletion, modification and substitution. In other words, the same Merge operation that allows for the construction of arbitrarily complex hierarchical structures will also suffice to generate

movement dependencies (Hornstein, 2018). According to Hornstein (2018), Merge can be recursively specified as follows:

a) If α is a lexical item, then α is a syntactic object (SO).
b) If α is an SO and β is an SO, then Merge (α, β) is an SO.
c) For α and β, SOs, Merge (α, β) → {α, β}.

Therefore, the Merge operation account for properties displacement and reconstruction effects (Hornstein, 2018). The displacement property is the tendency for syntactic objects to have moved relative to the location dictated by basic phrase structure rules. This proposal significantly simplifies the theory of structure-building. The following three transformational processes were identified: (1) imperative transformation, (2) replacement transformation and (3) passive transformation.

5.7.1 Imperative transformation

In Sepedi, an imperative sentence is a sentence that expresses an order, request, instruction, advice, invitation or permission to someone, and expects the listener to respond appropriately. This transformation turns imperative sentences into interrogatives.

(201)
Imperative
(a) *M-meth-e*!
OC1-beat-FV
Him beat!
Beat him!

The imperative example above consists of an object and a verb. However, it is understood as a sentence with a subject pronoun (*wena*). In the deep structure the sentence consists of a subject pronoun (*wena*), the verb (*betha*) and the object pronoun (*yena*). For example,

Imperative
(b) *Wena* *betha* *yena*!
PRN2SG beat PRN3SG

You beat him!

Hence the transformation from example (a) to an interrogative will consist of a subject concord even when the surface structure of the imperative did not exhibit any subject. In the examples below, the construction of interrogatives introduces reconstruction effects. Reconstruction involves the interpretation of a syntactic object in a position different from the one it occupies at the surface, but which it can be argued to have occupied at a different level of representation.

Interrogative

(c) *Ke* *mo* *dir-e* *eng*?
SC OC1 do-FV what
I him do what?
What should I do to him?

In example (c), the transformation rule effected addition and substitution of words. The subject concord *ke* and the interrogative word *eng* have been added while verb *betha* was replaced by the verb *dira*.

(d) *Ke* *dir-e* *eng*?
SC do-FV what
I do what?
What should I do?

In example (d), the transformation rule effected deletion, addition and substitution of words. The object concord is deleted, the subject concord *ke* and the interrogative word *eng* have been added while verb *betha* was replaced by the verb *dira*.

(e) *Ke* *m-meth-el-e-ng*?
SC OC-beat-APPL-FV-what
I him beat for what?
Why should I beat him?

In example (e), the transformation rule effected addition and modification of words. The subject concord *ke* and the interrogative word *eng* have been added, and the verb

betha was modified into an applicative form. Therefore, imperative transformation exhibits deletion, addition, modification and substitution.

5.7.2 Replacement transformation

This transformation is a result of substitutions whereby nouns and verbs are replaced by interrogative words. The replacement depends on the word that appear in the primary expression. Thus, elements in the primary expression always determine the kind of substitution that can be made in transformations. Replacement transformation is more effective in echo questions that exhibit partial repetition. The transformation is from an interrogative structure to the other interrogative structure. For example,

(202)

(a) *O* *bone* *Lesiba?*
SC saw 1a-Lesiba
You saw Lesiba?

The construction in (a), is the primary interrogative expression. After transformation the expression looks as:

(b) *Ke* *bone* *mang?*
SC saw who
! saw who?

In example (b), the transformation rule effected replacement of words. The subject concord *o* was replaced by the subject concord *ke* and the noun *Lesiba* was replaced by the interrogative word *mang*.

(c) *Ke* *dir-ile-ng* *Lesiba?*
SC do-PEF-what 1a-Lesiba
I did what (to) Lesiba?

In example (c), the transformation rule effected replacement of words. The verb bone was replaced by the interrogative verb *dirileng*.

(d) *Ke* *dir-ile-ng* *mang?*
SC do-PEF-what who
I did what (to) Lesiba?

In example (d), the transformation rule effected multiple replacement of words. The verb bone was replaced by the interrogative verb *dirileng* and the noun *Lesiba* was replaced by the interrogative word *mang*.

5.7.3 Passive transformation

Merge generates “movement” structures i.e., phrase markers where the same expression occupies different positions in the structure (Hornstein, 2018). In operation Merge, displacement is always to the left and upwards. Movement structures might be formed using the following statements:

a) If α is a lexical item, then α is a syntactic object (SO).
b) If α is an SO and β is an SO, then Merge (α, β) is an SO.
c) For α and β, SOs, Merge (α, β) → {α, β}.

Given the structure in 203a below, the statements (a-c) above can yield the structure in 203b. This is because Merge does not affect the properties of the combining elements in any way. That is, if α has some property before being combined with β (e.g., being an SO), it will have this property after it is combined with β (Hornstein, 2018).

(203)

(a)	*Matome*	*o*	*ja*	*bogobe*?
	1a-Matome	SC1a	eat	porridge
	S		V	O

Matome he eats porridge?

Does Matome eats porridge

The Minimalist Program has dubbed this quality the No Tampering Condition. The No Tampering Condition permits the structure in 203b from structure 203a. The formula below represents structure 203b:

N_2 + OC + V + COP + Q (N_1)

Which can be read as, the OVS structural change consist of an object noun, an object concord, a verb, a copulative particle and an interrogative word that replaced a subject noun. For example,

(b)	*Bo-gobe*	*bo*	*j-ew-a*	*ke*	*mang*?
	14-porridge	SC14	eat-PAS-FV	COP	who
	O		V	S	

Porridge it is eaten by who?

Who is eating the porridge?

In example (b), the transformation rule effected rearrangement, addition, deletion, modification and substitution of words. The basic structure was rearranged from SVO to OVS, the copulative particle *ke* and the object concord *bo* have been added, the subject concord *o* was deleted, the verb *ja* was modified into a passive form, and the subject *monna* was replaced by the interrogative word *mang*.

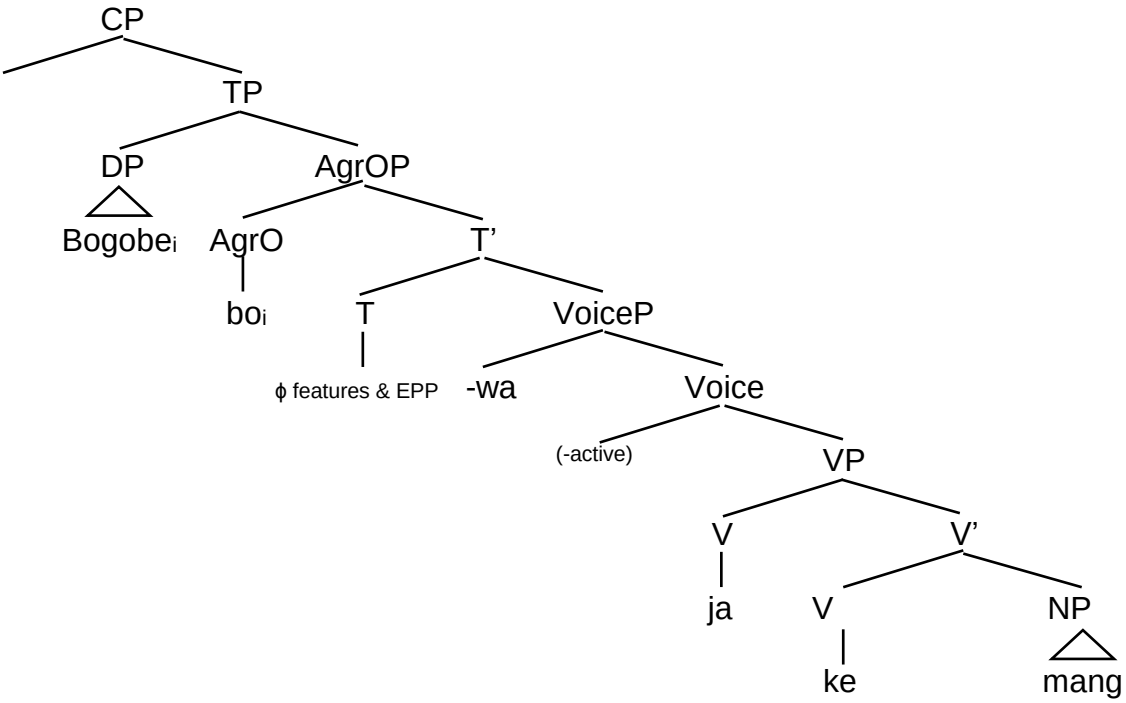

Figure 5.13: The hierarchical tree structure of '*Bogobe bo jewa ke mang?'*

In the diagram above, the identifying copula '*ke mang'* is merged with the verb '*ja*' to satisfy the c-selection requirement of the head. Then, the verb phrase "*ja ke mang*" enters the derivation carrying a verb on its base form with an unvalued voice feature.

Since the sentence is in passive, a voice° with a valued [- active] feature is introduced to the derivation forming a voice bar. The suffix now joins the derivation as [spec, Voice] forming a VoiceP. Now, the verb starts probing upward to value its unvalued voice features. Consequently, it locates the goal voice° which carries a valued voice (-active) feature. Simultaneously, the voice° triggers the movement of the verb for three reasons. First the voice head is affixal by nature. Second, the verb moves to value the voice feature carried by the verb “ja”. Finally and most importantly, to allow the verb to pick up the suffix available in [spec, Voice]. Now a T° with ϕ features and valued nominative case feature enters the derivation forming a T bar. This T carries an EPP feature that needs to be checked. Since the sentence is a VS sentence, the verb “jewa” will move to T° to satisfy the EPP feature leaving behind it a copy and simultaneously T will check the unvalued case feature carried by the AgrO and the DP *bogobe* with nominative case. Finally, a CP enters the derivation with an interrogative force feature marking the sentence as interrogative.

The syntactic objects in the sentence above can also be rewritten as follows:

COP + Q (N_2) + Dem + N_1 + SC + OC + V

Which can be read as, the OSV structural change consist of a copulative particle, an interrogative word that replaced an object noun, a demonstrative, a subject noun, a subject concord, an object concord, a verb. For example,

(c)	*Ke*	*eng*	*seo*	*Matome*	*a*	*se*	*ja-go*?
	COP	what	Dem6	1a-Matome	SC	OC6	eat-RS
	O			S	V		

Is what that Matome is it eat?

What is it that Matome is eating?

In example (c), the transformation rule effected rearrangement, addition, modification and substitution of words. The basic structure was rearranged from SVO to OSV, the copulative particle *ke*, the demonstrative *seo* and the object concord *se* have been added, the verb *ja* was modified into a relative form, and the subject concord *o* and the object *bogobe* were replaced by the subject concord *a* and the interrogative word *eng* respectively.

5.8 Summary

This chapter outlined the core issues in the construction of interrogative from the two forms of sentences. It was noted that a sentence is identified not only by its form but also its function. Therefore, a sentence was discussed as a grammatical expression (form) that has meanings and uses (function).

It also discussed the interrogative words which were grouped into four: content interrogative words, the interrogative words used to ask open types of questions; tags, the syntactic structures that have interrogative characters and can enable turn-allocation and modification of the host clause; particles, the interrogative invariable items that express attitudes on the part of the speaker towards the factual content of the utterance; complements, words that act as modifiers of interrogatives.

Various interrogative words were differentiated based on their categories: pronouns, adverbs, adjectives, particles, tags and complements. This was done through their morphological composition, syntactic function and distribution. Furthermore, different interrogative phrases were identified: copulative, instrumental, adverbial, possessive and locative interrogative phrase. These are the type of phrases that ask a question, as opposed to declarative phrases that make a statement, imperative phrases that deliver a command, or exclamative phrases that express emotions. They can stand on their own to request an answer.

There were six interrogative types discussed: polar questions, alternative questions, tag questions, content questions and rhetorical questions. From these interrogative types, it was also outlined that Sepedi exhibits the SVO interrogative word order as its basic word order. However, it is not restricted to that specific word order; the word orders VSO, SOV, OVS and OSV are also prevalent in Sepedi.

There were three interrogative transformational processes identified; the processes outlined the structural index of the original expression and the structural change as a result of the transformation.

CHAPTER SIX: SYNTACTIC REPRESENTATION OF SEPEDI INTERROGATIVES

6.1 Introduction

This chapter presents the syntactic representation of interrogative structures. The chapter is two-fold: lexical and phrasal rules are generated to outline how words follow each other in a sentence, and then the phrasal rules are then applied to account for interrogatives through the hierarchical tree structures.

6.2 Lexical and phrasal categories

The most basic categories that are important to the composition of phrase structure rules for Sepedi are the noun (*leina*), verb (*lediri*), adjective (*lehlaodi*), adverb (*lehlathi*) and concord (*lekgokedi*). Consider the sentences in (204), the lexical items that represent the lexical categories are shown in square brackets:

(204)

(a) *[Ba-nna]* *ba* *ba-telele* *ba* *rema* *[mo-hlare]* *bonolo*. (*leina*)
2-Man Dem2 SC2-tall SC cut 3-tree easy
Men *who (are) tall they cut (the) tree easily*.

(b) *Banna [ba batelele] ba rema mohlare bonolo.* *(lehlaodi)*

(c) *Banna ba batelele [ba] rema mohlare bonolo.* *(lekgokedi)*

(d) *Banna ba batelele ba [rema] mohlare bonolo.* *(lediri)*

(e) *Banna ba batelele ba rema mohlare [bonolo].* *(lehlathi)*

In order to have a clear system of syntactic representation, each category needs a label. For the purpose of understanding this chapter adopts initialism, an abbreviation strategy of forming lables from a string of initials. Notice that the lexical categories in (204) above start with the noun class 5 prefix *le-.* Initialism is only productive if the prefix is omitted to remain with *-ina, -hlaodi, -kgokedi, -diri* and *-hlathi*. Then the categories can be represented as follows:

(205)

(a) *ina* (I)

(b) *kgokedi* (Kg)

(c) *diri* (D)

Note that the first three letters of *-hlaodi* and *-hlathi* are the same; in order to distinguish the two, the initial letters of syllables are used. The category labels of these words are a result of a contraction of a word made by omitting certain letters and bringing together the initial letters of syllables:

(d) *hlaodi* (Hd)

(e) *hlathi* (Ht)

These labels are an easy way to indicate the lexical categories of a sentence. Syntactic analysis of a sentence requires a system of notations to represent syntactic analyses of sentences. This system of analysis reveals how a sentence conforms to the following: (1) words follow each other in a specific linear order; (2) words belong to a category or class; and (3) certain strings of words form larger groupings.

Words in a sentence occur in a specific linear order. Sepedi has an acceptable linear order of words in a sentence, and a sentence can be deemed ungrammatical if the permissible word order of sentences is violated. Words in each sentence should follow each other in a certain sequence, and if the sequence is changed, the sentence either becomes ungrammatical or changes meaning. Look at the following example:

(206)

(a) *Ba-nna* *ba* *ba-telele* *ba* *rema* *mo-hlare* *bonolo*.
2-Man Dem2 SC2-tall SC cut 3-tree easy
Men *who (are) tall they cut (the) tree easily*.

(b) **Banna* *ba* *mo-hlare* *rema* *bonolo* *ba* *ba-telele*.
2-Man Dem2 3-tree cut easy SC SC2-tall
Men *who tree cut easy they tall*.

The second sentence is ungrammatical because the permissible word order of Sepedi sentences has been violated.

The classification of the various constituents of a sentence, words and phrases, will be indicated by means of category labels such as I (for *leina*), D (for *lediri*), Kg (for *lekgokedi*), Hd (for *lehlaodi*), Ht (for *lehlathi*), etc. For example,

(207)

(a) [$_{I}$ *Banna*] [$_{Hd}$ *ba batelele*] [$_{Kg}$ *ba*] [$_{D}$ *rema*] [$_{I}$ *mohlare*] [$_{Ht}$ *bonolo*].

Syntactic analysis also involves labeling of larger groupings of certain strings of words. The phrases (*sehlophantšu* – singular form), in the same manner as lexical items are labelled, are indicated by means of phrasal labels such as SI (for *sehlophantšu ina*) a noun phrase, SD (for *sehlophantšu diri*) a verb phrase, SHd (for *sehlophantšu hlaodi*) an adjectival phrase, SHt (for *sehlophantšu hlathi*) etc. The larger groupings of the constituents of a sentence are indicated by square brackets below:

(b) [$_{SI}$ *Banna ba batelele*] [$_{SD}$ *ba rema mohlare bonolo*]

The further syntactic analysis of the sentence above can be presented as:

(c) [$_{SI}$ [$_{I}$ *Banna*] [$_{Hd}$ *ba batelele*]] [$_{SD}$ [$_{Kg}$ *ba*] [$_{D}$ *rema*] [$_{SI}$ [$_{I}$ *mohlare*]] [$_{SHt}$ [$_{Ht}$ *bonolo*]]].

The syntactic label of a sentence is (L for *lefoko*). Therefore, the complete syntactic analysis of the sentence above can be presented as:

(d) [$_{L}$ [$_{SI}$ [$_{I}$ *Banna*] [$_{Hd}$ *ba batelele*]] [$_{SD}$ [$_{Kg}$ *ba*] [$_{D}$ *rema*] [$_{SI}$ [$_{I}$ *mohlare*]] [$_{SHt}$ [$_{Ht}$ *bonolo*]]]]

From this analysis, the following phrasal rules are deduced:

1. L → SI SD

This rule says that a sentence (L for *lefoko*) is composed of a noun phrase (SI for *sehlophantšu ina*) and a verb phrase (SD for *sehlophantšu diri*).

2. SI → I Hd

This rule indicates that a noun phrase (SI for *sehlophantšu ina*) is composed of a noun (I for *leina*) and an adjective (Hd for *lehlaodi*).

3. SD → Kg D SI SHt

This rule says that a verb phrase (SD for *sehlophantšu diri*) is composed of a concord (Kg for lekgokedi), a verb (D for *lediri*), a noun phrase (SI for *sehlophantšu ina*) and an adverbial phrase (SHt for *sehlophantšu hlathi*).

4. SI → I

This rule says that a noun phrase (SI for *sehlophantšu ina*) is composed of a noun (I for *leina*).

5. SHt → Ht

This rule says that an adverbial phrase (SHt for *sehlophantšu hlathi*) is composed of an adverb (Ht for *lehlathi*).

The rules above, however, are specific to the sentence above and those syntactically similar to it. There are phrases in Sepedi that cannot be represented by the rules above. Therefore, there should be rules that account for those phrasal structures. There are other noun phrases that need separate rules from the ones above.

(208)

(a) *Matome* *le* *Lesedi*
1a-Matome CP 1a-Lesedi
Matome and Lesedi

(b) *Matome* *le* *Lesedi* *yo* *mo-golo*
1a-Matome CP 1a-Lesedi Dem1 SC1-big
Matome and Lesedi the elder

(c) *Matome* *yo* *mo-golo le* *Lesedi*
1a-Matome Dem1 SC1-big CP 1a-Lesedi
Matome the elder and Lesedi

(d) *Matome* *yo* *mo-golo le* *Lesedi* *yo* *mo-telele*
1a-Matome Dem1 SC1-big CP 1a-Lesedi Dem1 SC1-tall
Matome the elder and Lesedi the tall

The phrases above are compound noun phrases; the nouns are brought together by a connective particle (*lekopanyi*) *le*. Using the initialism strategy referred to above, the

category label for *lekopanyi* is K. The phrasal rules that account for the structures above are the following, respectively:

6. SI → I K I

This rule says that a noun phrase (SI for ***sehlophantšu ina***) is composed of a noun (I for *leina*), a connective particle (K for *lekopanyi*) and a noun (I for *leina*).

7. SI → I K I Hd

This rule says that a noun phrase (SI for ***sehlophantšu ina***) is composed of a noun (I for *leina*), a connective particle (K for *lekopanyi*), a noun (I for *leina*) and an adjective (Hd for *lehlaodi*).

8. SI → I Hd K I

This rule says that a noun phrase (SI for ***sehlophantšu ina***) is composed of a noun (I for *leina*), an adjective (Hd for *lehlaodi*), a connective particle (K for *lekopanyi*) and a noun (I for *leina*).

9. SI → I Hd K I Hd

This rule says that a noun phrase (SI for ***sehlophantšu ina***) is composed of a noun (I for *leina*), an adjective (Hd for *lehlaodi*), a connective particle or conjunction (K for *lekopanyi*), a noun (I for *leina*) and an adjective (Hd for *lehlaodi*).

There are verb phrases which are different to that in the sentence in (1) above:

(209)

(a) *o* *a* *sega*
SC3SG TM laugh
She is laughing.

(b) *ba* *sega* *kudu*
SC3PL laugh very much
They laugh very much.

(c) *le* *di* *bone*
SC2PL OC8 saw
You saw them.

(d) *re* *di* *bone* *gabotse*
SC1PL OC8 saw clear
We saw them clearly.

(e) *o* *phela* *a* *sega*
SC3SG always SC3SG laugh
She is always laughing.

(f) *ba* *a* *dula* *ba* *sega*
SC3PL TM sit SC3PL laugh
They are sitting, they laugh.

Some of the phrases above have a tense marker (*lebaka*) *a*. Using the initialism strategy that was applied above, the label for *lebaka* is B. The phrasal rules that account for the structures above are the following, respectively:

10. SD → Kg B D

This rule says that a verb phrase (SD for *sehlophantšu diri*) is composed of a concord (Kg for *lekgokedi*), a tense marker (B for *lebaka*) and a verb (D for *lediri*).

11. SD → Kg D SHt

This rule stipulates that a verb phrase (SD for *sehlophantšu diri*) is composed of a concord (Kg for *lekgokedi*), a verb (D for *lediri*) and an adverbial phrase (SHt for *sehlophantšu hlathi*).

12. SD → Kg Kg D

This espouses that a verb phrase (SD for *sehlophantšu diri*) is composed of a concord (Kg for *lekgokedi*), a concord (Kg for *lekgokedi*) and a verb (D for *lediri*).

13. SD → Kg Kg D SHt

This rule says that a verb phrase (SD for *sehlophantšu diri*) is composed of a concord (Kg for *lekgokedi*), a concord (Kg for *lekgokedi*), a verb (D for *lediri*) and an adverbial phrase (SHt for *sehlophantšu hlathi*).

14. SD → Kg D Kg D

This rule stipulates that a verb phrase (SD for *sehlophantšu diri*) is composed of a concord (Kg for *lekgokedi*), a verb (D for *lediri*), a concord (Kg for *lekgokedi*), and a verb (D for *lediri*).

15. SD → Kg B D SD (Kg D)

This rule says that a verb phrase (SD for *sehlophantšu diri*) is composed of a concord (Kg for *lekgokedi*), a tense marker (B for *lebaka*), a verb (D for *lediri*), and another verb phrase (SD for *sehlophantšu diri*) which is composed of a concord (Kg for *lekgokedi*) and a verb (D for *lediri*).

From the rules above, the following rules can be said to be the basic phrase structure rules:

L → SI SD

This rule states that a sentence (L for *lefoko*) is composed of a noun phrase (SI for *sehlophantšu ina*) and a verb phrase (SD for *sehlophantšu diri*).

SI → I (Hd)

This rule says that a noun phrase (SI for *sehlophantšu ina*) is composed of a noun (I for *leina*), and the noun can optionally be modified by an adjective (Hd for *lehlaodi*).

SD → Kg B D (SI) (SHt)

This rule says that a verb phrase (SD for *sehlophantšu diri*) is composed of a concord (Kg for *lekgokedi*), a tense marker (B for *lebaka*) and a verb (D for *lediri*), and can optionally be composed of additional noun phrase (SI for *sehlophantšu ina*) and (SHt for *sehlophantšu hlathi*).

These phrase structure rules are important to guide the syntactic analysis of interrogative structures.

6.3 The hierarchical tree structures of interrogatives

The previous chapter discussed different types of structures. This section presents the syntactic analysis of interrogative structures. The syntactic label of an interrogative structure is (LP for *lefoko potšišo*). Questions are marked differently, some are marked

by intonation, others particles, tags, Q-words and complements. Adopting the minimalist approach, interrogatives, as part of the mood of a sentence, is in the CP (van Gelderen, 2013). Interrogative wh-words are determiners that point out which entity they specify (van Gelderen, 2017), while polar questions have their marker as complementizers [+Q, -WH] (Carnie, 2013). The syntactic analysis of differently marked interrogative structures can be presented as:

6.3.1 Intonation

In Sepedi, some interrogatives are formed on declarative sentences with a distinct intonation pattern signaling that a declarative has changed to an interrogative. These patterns are the meaningful pitch changes at the sentence level that distinguish interrogatives from other sentence types. In a written text, these sentences are distinguished by punctuation; a declarative is marked with a period while an interrogative is marked with a question mark. For example,

(210)

Declarative

Matome	*o*	*a*	*ja.*
1a-Matome	SC	TM	eat

Matome eats.

The syntactic analysis of the sentence in (210) above can be presented as:

[$_{L}$ [$_{SI}$ [$_{I}$ *Matome*]] [$_{SD}$ [$_{Kg}$ *o*] [$_{B}$ *a*] [$_{D}$ *ja*]]]]

(211)

Interrogative

Matome o a ja?			
1a-Matome	SC	TM	eat

Matome eats?

The syntactic analysis of the sentence in (211) above can be presented as:

[$_{LP}$ [$_{SI}$ [$_{I}$ *Matome*]] [$_{SD}$ [$_{Kg}$ *o*] [$_{B}$ *a*] [$_{D}$ *ja*]]]]

The hierarchical tree structure of the interrogative in (211) above can be presented as:

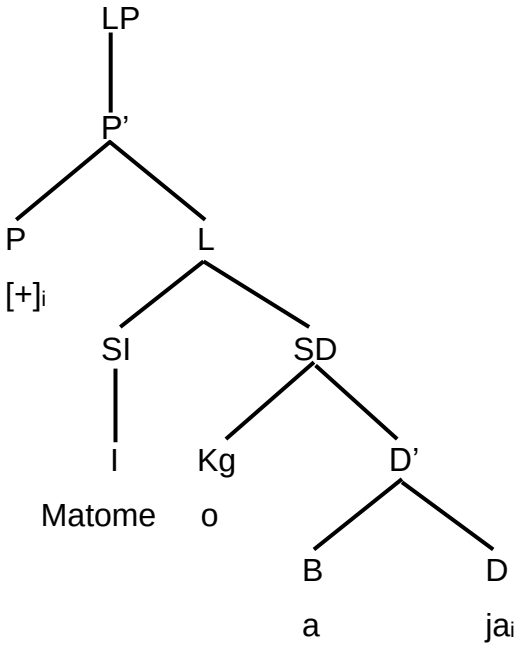

Figure 6.1: The hierarchical tree structure of ‘*Matome o a ja?’*

The hierarchical tree structure above states that the interrogative structure (LP for *lefoko potšišo*) consists of two constituents: interrogative marker (P for *potšišo*) [intonation represented by the symbol +] and a sentence (L for *lefoko*) [*Matome o a ja*]. The sentence constituent (L for *lefoko*) in turn consists of a noun phrase (SI for *sehlophantšu ina*) [*Matome*] and a verb phrase (SD for *sehlophantšu diri*) [*o a ja*]. The noun phrase (SI for *sehlophantšu ina*) is composed of a noun (I for *leina*) [*Matome*]. The verb phrase (SD for *sehlophantšu diri*) is further broken down into three parts: a concord (Kg for *lekgokedi*) [*o*], a tense marker (B for *lebaka*) [*a*] and a verb (D for *lediri*) [*ja*]. In the case of the diagram above, the coindexing of P and D does not imply that these nodes are one and the same, it serves to show that the high tone morpheme is morphologically realized at D.

In minimalism, Merge is a function that takes two objects (say X and Y) and merges them into an unordered set with a label (either X or Y, in this case X). The label identifies the properties of the phrase. That is, the objects in (a) will merge to become (b):

(a) {X, Y}

(b) {X {X, Y}}

The Merge operation can be used on the lexical items “*Matome*”, “*o*”, “*a*” and “*ja*” to give "*Matome o a ja*?" A simple polar question is headed by the LP head which is morphologically realized as a polar question interrogative marker. Thus, a polar question is derived as sketched in figure 6.2 below.

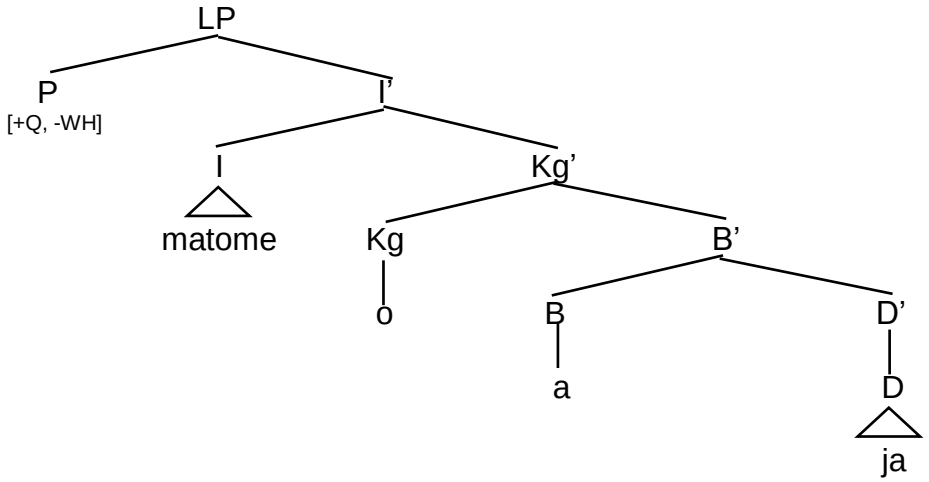

Figure 6.2: The hierarchical tree structure of ‘*Matome o a ja?’*

In the diagram above, the first external merge is between the verb (*lediri*) D and the tense (*lebaka*) B to satisfy the c-selection requirement of the head. That is, merge operates on the lexical items *a* (present tense) and *ja* (eat) to give *a ja* (eats). The phrase is identified with a label. In this case, the label is *a* since the phrase acts as a tense phrase. Secondly, the Kg head is merged with the B-bar to introduce agreement and project the agreement node. The subject is then merged with the agreement node in order to satisfy the demand of the head. The derivation proceeds by externally merging Inter head P to subject head to project Inter-bar. The Inter-head is morphologically realized as the high tone morpheme.

(212)

Matome	*o*	*a*	*ja*	*a*	*nwa*	*meetse*?
1a-Matome	SC	TM	eat	SC	drink	6-water

Matome eats and drinks water?

The hierarchical tree structure of the interrogative in (212) above can be presented as:

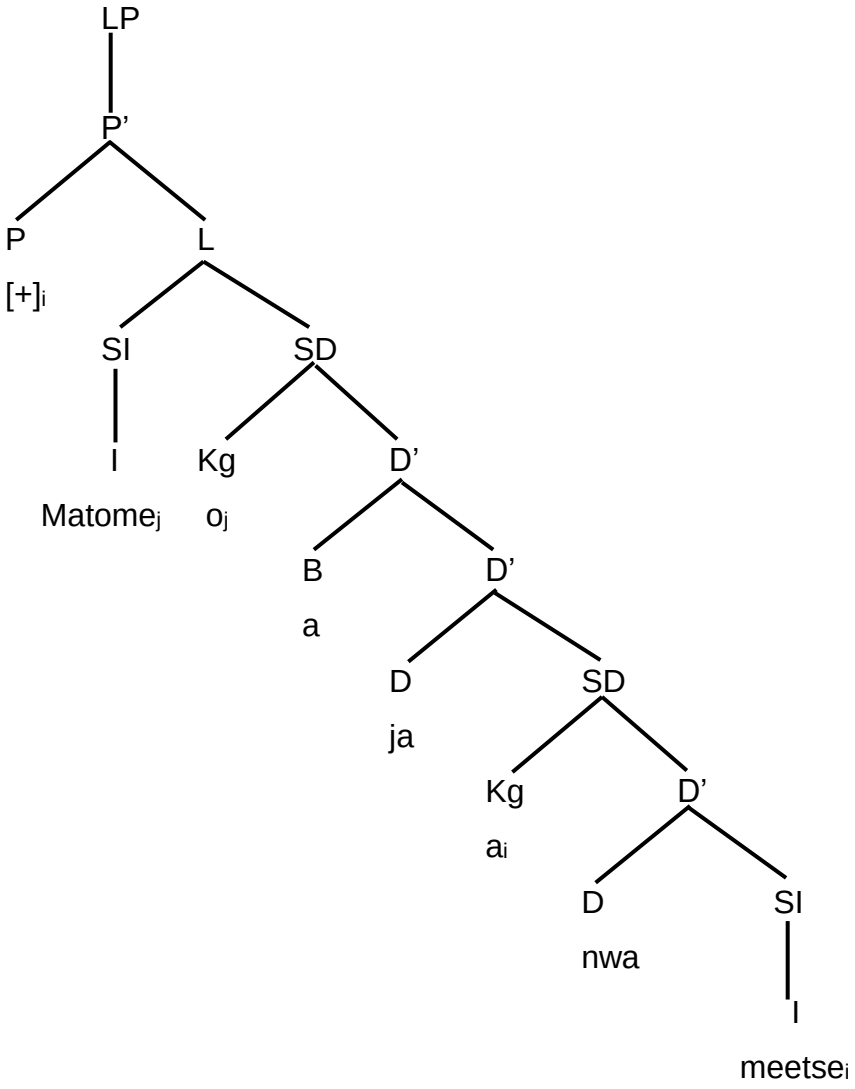

Figure 6.3: The hierarchical tree structure of ‘*Matome o a ja a nwa meetse?’*

The hierarchical tree structure above states that the interrogative structure (LP for *lefoko potšišo*) consists of two constituents: interrogative marker (P for *potšišo*) [intonation represented by the symbol +] and a sentence (L for *lefoko*) [*Matome o a ja*]. The sentence constituent (L for *lefoko*) in turn consists of a noun phrase (SI for *sehlophantšu ina*) [*Matome*] and a verb phrase (SD for *sehlophantšu diri*) [*o a ja a nwa meetse*]. The noun phrase (SI for *sehlophantšu ina*) is composed of a noun (I for *leina*) [*Matome*]. The verb phrase (SD for *sehlophantšu diri*) is composed of a concord (Kg for *lekgokedi*) [*o*], a tense marker (B for *lebaka*) [*a*], a verb (D for *lediri*) [*ja*], and another verb phrase (SD for *sehlophantšu diri*) [*a nwa meetse*] which is composed of a concord (Kg for *lekgokedi*) [*a*], a verb (D for *lediri*) [*nwa*] and a noun phrase (SI for *sehlophantšu ina*) is composed of a noun (I for *leina*) [*meetse*]. In the case of the diagram above,

the coindexing of P and the last SI does not imply that these nodes are one and the same, it serves to show that the high tone morpheme is morphologically realized at SI. And the coindexing of the first SI, the first Kg and the last Kg expresses agreement.

The Merge operation can be used on the lexical items "*Matome*", "*o*", "*a*", "*ja*", "*a*", "*nwa*" and "*meetse*" to give " *Matome o a ja a nwa meetse*?" The hierarchical tree structure of this is sketched in figure 6.4 below.

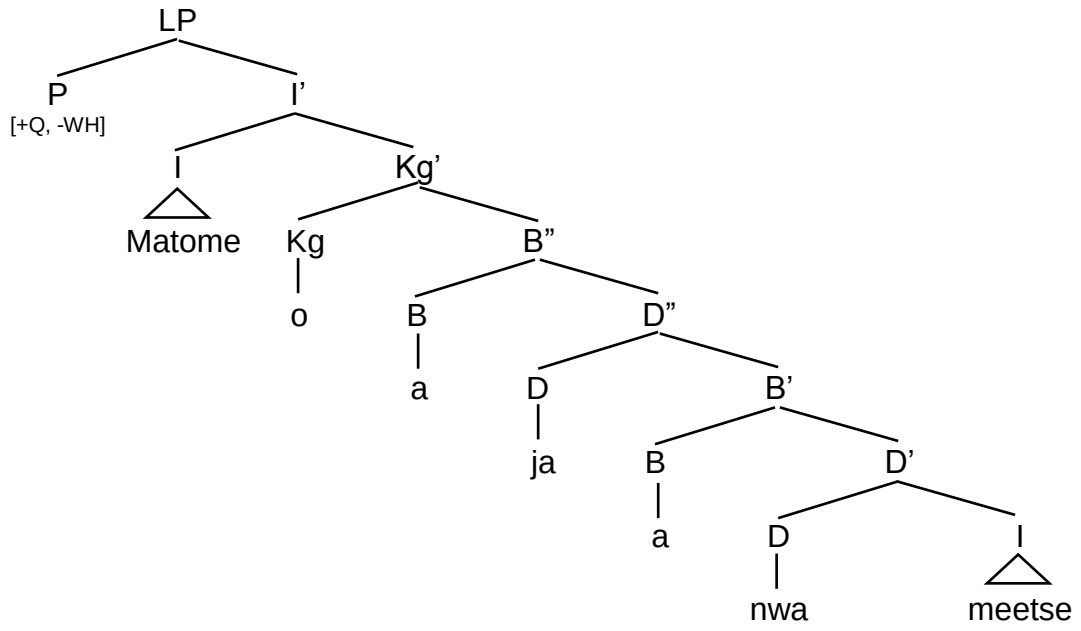

Figure 6.4: The hierarchical tree structure of '*Matome o a ja a nwa meetse?'*

In the diagram above, the first external merge is between the verb (*lediri*) D and the noun (*leina*) I to satisfy the c-selection requirement of the head. That is, merge operates on the lexical items *nwa* (drink) and *meetse* (water) to give *nwa meetse* (drink water). The merged phrase behaves as a verb than a noun. Therefore, the label is *nwa* since the phrase acts as a verb phrase. Secondly, the tense (*lebaka*) head B is merged with the verb phrase to project the B-bar. The second D head is externally merged with the B' to meet its c-selection condition. Then the second tense (*lebaka*) head B is merged with the D" to project the second B-bar. At this point, the Kg head becomes the probe which searches its c-command domain for a matching goal to attract to the spec-Kg' so as to introduce agreement and project the agreement node. The subject is then merged with the agreement node in order to satisfy the demand of the head. The derivation proceeds by externally merging Inter head P to subject head

to project Inter-bar. The Inter-head is morphologically realized as the high tone morpheme.

Other interrogative structures are composed of more than one sentence; the sentences are joint by a conjunction (*lekopanyi*). For example,

(213)

Matome	*o*	*a*	*ja*	*efela*	*ga*	*a*	*nwe meetse*?
1a-Matome	SC	TM	eat	CONJ	NEG	SC	drink 6-water

Matome eats but doesn't he drink water?

The hierarchical tree structure of the interrogative in (213) above can be presented as:

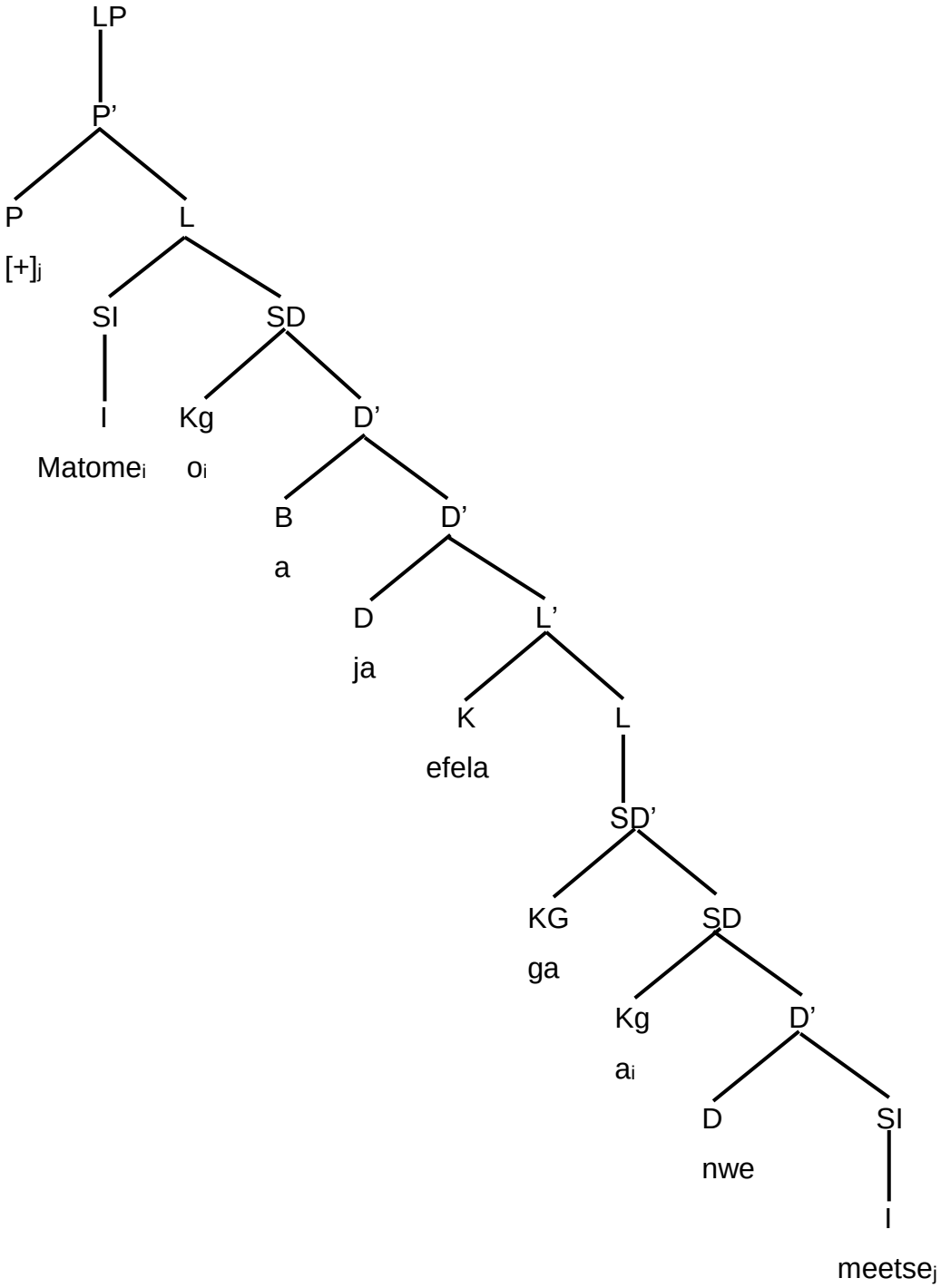

Figure 6.5: The hierarchical tree structure of ‘*Matome o a ja efela ga a nwe meetse?’*

The hierarchical tree structure above states that the interrogative structure (LP for *lefoko potšišo*) consists of two constituents: interrogative marker (P for *potšišo*) [intonation represented by the symbol +] and a sentence (L for *lefoko*) [*Matome o a ja efela ga a nwe meetse*]. The sentence constituent (L for *lefoko*) in turn consists of a noun phrase (SI for *sehlophantšu ina*) [*Matome*] and a verb phrase (SD for *sehlophantšu diri*) [*o a ja efela ga a nwe meetse*]. The noun phrase (SI for

sehlophantšu ina) is composed of a noun (I for *leina*) [*Matome*]. The verb phrase (SD for *sehlophantšu diri*) is composed of a concord (Kg for *lekgokedi*) [*o*], a tense marker (B for *lebaka*) [*a*], a verb (D for *lediri*) [*ja*], and another sentence constituent (L for *lefoko*) which consists of a conjunction [*efela*] and a verb phrase (SD for *sehlophantšu diri*) [*ga a nwe meetse*]. The verb phrase (SD for *sehlophantšu diri*) is composed of a negative morpheme (KG for *kganetšo*) [ga], a concord (Kg for *lekgokedi*) [*a*], a verb (D for *lediri*) [*nwe*] and a noun phrase (SI for *sehlophantšu ina*) which is composed of a noun (I for *leina*) [*meetse*].

There are other interrogative markers and they occupy different positions in sentences. A syntactic analysis of an interrogative structure should indicate the position of interrogative markers.

6.3.2 Particles

Sepedi has four particles used to mark interrogatives: *afa, a, na,* and *naa*. As it was mentioned in the previous chapters, the interrogative markers *a* and *afa* occur at the sentence-initial position while *na* and *naa* occur at the initial and final position. However, certain structures allow all the particles to also occupy the middle position. The syntactic analysis of the interrogatives with particles can be presented as:

(214)

Afa	*Matome*	*o*	*a*	*ja*?
QP	1a-Matome	SC	TM	eat

Does Matome eats?

The hierarchical tree structure of the interrogative in (214) above can be presented as:

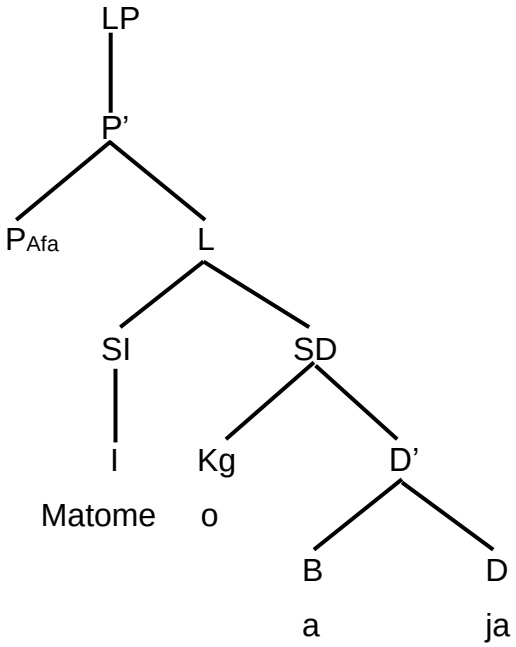

Figure 6.6: The hierarchical tree structure of ‘*Afa Matome o a ja?’*

The hierarchical tree structure above states that the interrogative structure (LP for *lefoko potšišo*) consists of two constituents: interrogative marker (P for *potšišo*) [*afa*] and a sentence (L for *lefoko*) [*Matome o a ja*]. The sentence constituent (L for *lefoko*) in turn consists of a noun phrase (SI for *sehlophantšu ina*) [*Matome*] and a verb phrase (SD for *sehlophantšu diri*) [*o a ja*]. The noun phrase (SI for *sehlophantšu ina*) is composed of a noun (I for *leina*) [*Matome*]. The verb phrase (SD for *sehlophantšu diri*) is further broken down into three parts: a concord (Kg for *lekgokedi*) [*o*], a tense marker (B for *lebaka*) [*a*] and a verb (D for *lediri*) [*ja*].

The Merge operation can be used on the lexical items “*afa*”, “*Matome*”, “*o*”, “*a*” and “*ja*”, to give "*Afa Matome o a ja*?" The hierarchical tree structure of this is sketched in figure 6.7 below.

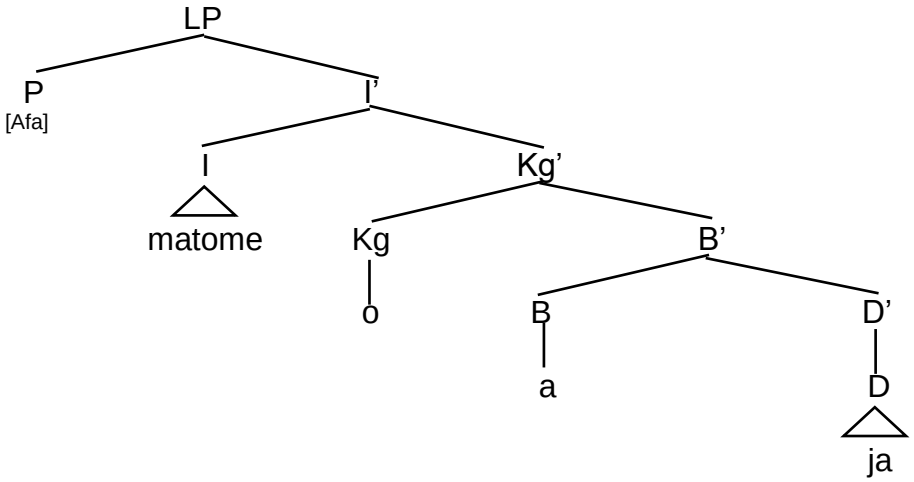

Figure 6.7: The hierarchical tree structure of 'Afa *Matome o a ja?'*

In the diagram above, the first external merge is between the verb (*lediri*) D and the tense (*lebaka*) B to satisfy the c-selection requirement of the head. That is, merge operates on the lexical items *a* (present tense) and *ja* (eat) to give *a ja* (eats). The phrase is identified with a label. In this case, the label is *a* since the phrase acts as a tense phrase. Secondly, the Kg head is merged with the B-bar to introduce agreement and project the agreement node. The subject is then merged with the agreement node in order to satisfy the demand of the head. The derivation proceeds by externally merging Inter head which is realized as *afa* to the subject head to project Inter-bar. At this stage, the Inter head becomes the probe and begins to search its c-command domain for an active goal to move to its spec and value the unvalued feature. The Inter-head is morphologically realized as the high tone morpheme.

(215)

Matome	*o*	*a*	*ja*	*naa?*
1a-Matome	SC	TM	eat	QP

Does Matome eats?

The hierarchical tree structure of the interrogative in (215) above can be presented as:

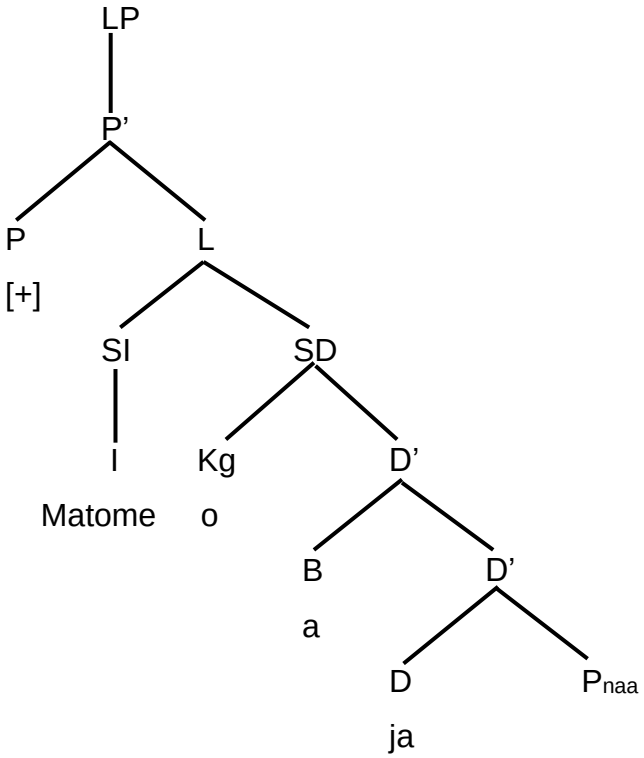

Figure 6.8: The hierarchical tree structure of '*Matome o a ja naa?'*

The hierarchical tree structure above states that the interrogative structure (LP for *lefoko potšišo*) consists of two constituents: a sentence (L for *lefoko*) [*Matome o a ja*] and an interrogative marker (P for *potšišo*) [*naa*]. The sentence constituent (L for *lefoko*) in turn consists of a noun phrase (SI for *sehlophantšu ina*) [*Matome*] and a verb phrase (SD for *sehlophantšu diri*) [*o a ja*]. The noun phrase (SI for *sehlophantšu ina*) is composed of a noun (I for *leina*) [*Matome*]. The verb phrase (SD for *sehlophantšu diri*) is further broken down into three parts: a concord (Kg for *lekgokedi*) [*o*], a tense marker (B for *lebaka*) [*a*] and a verb (D for *lediri*) [*ja*]. The interrogative structure (LP for *lefoko potšišo*) is marked with the interrogative marker (P for *potšišo*) [*naa*].

The Merge operation can be used on the lexical items "*Matome*", "*o*", "*a*", "*ja*", and "*naa*", to give "*Matome o a ja naa*?" The hierarchical tree structure of this is sketched in figure 6.9 below.

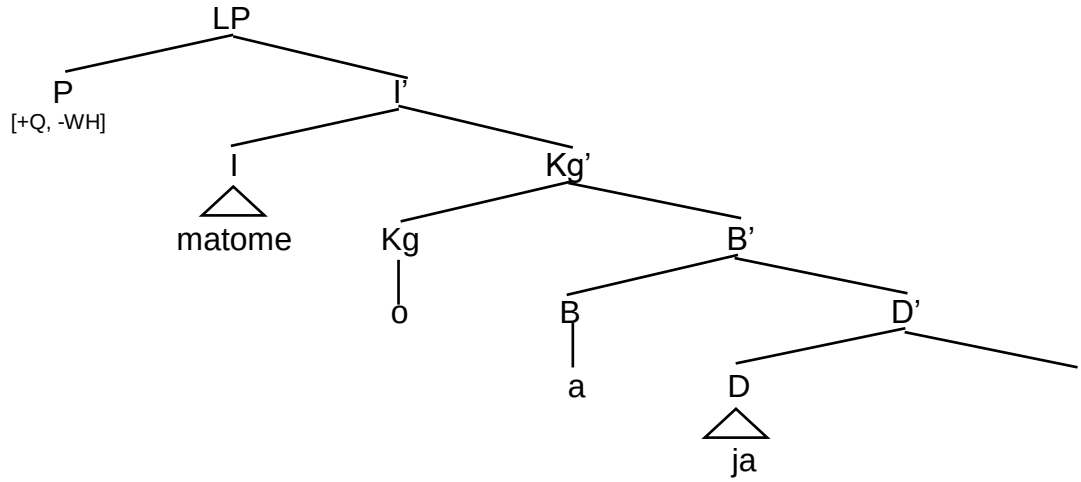

Figure 6.9: The hierarchical tree structure of '*Matome o a ja naa?'*

In the diagram above, the first external merge is between the verb (*lediri*) D and the tense (*lebaka*) B to satisfy the c-selection requirement of the head. That is, merge operates on the lexical items *a* (present tense) and *ja* (eat) to give *a ja* (eats). The phrase is identified with a label. In this case, the label is *a* since the phrase acts as a tense phrase. Secondly, the Kg head is merged with the B-bar to introduce agreement and project the agreement node. The subject is then merged with the agreement node in order to satisfy the demand of the head. At this stage, the Inter head becomes the probe and begins to search its c-command domain for an active goal to move to its spec and value the unvalued feature. The derivation proceeds by externally merging Inter head which is realized as *naa* to the subject head to project Inter-bar. The Inter-head is morphologically realized as the high tone morpheme.

(216)

Matome,	*na*	*o*	*a*	*ja?*
1a-Matome	QP	SC	TM	eat

Matome do you eat?

The hierarchical tree structure of the interrogative in (216) above can be presented as:

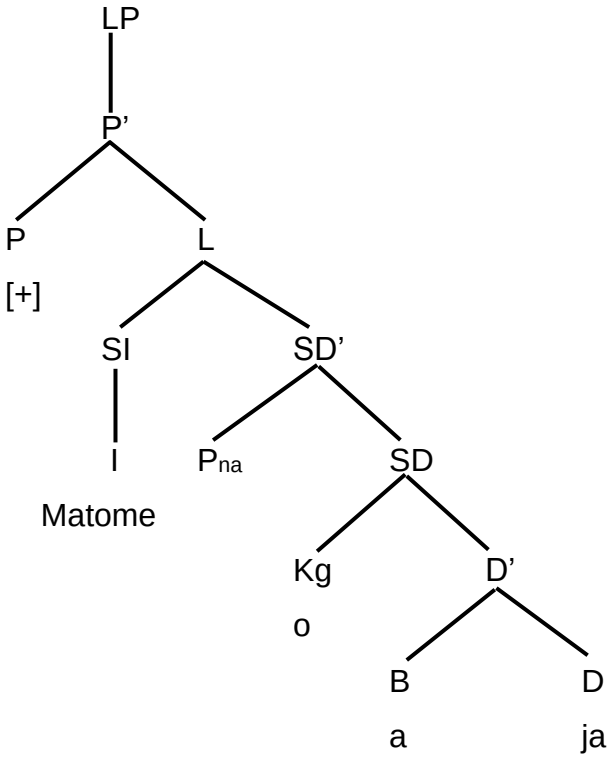

Figure 6.10: The hierarchical tree structure of '*Matome, na o a ja?'*

The hierarchical tree structure above states that the interrogative structure (LP for *lefoko potšišo*) consists of two constituents: a sentence (L for *lefoko*) [*Matome o a ja*] and an interrogative marker (P for *potšišo*) [*na*]. The sentence constituent (L for *lefoko*) in turn consists of a noun phrase (SI for *sehlophantšu ina*) [*Matome*] and a verb phrase (SD for *sehlophantšu diri*) [*na o a ja*]. The noun phrase (SI for *sehlophantšu ina*) is composed of a noun (I for *leina*) [*Matome*]. The verb phrase (SD for *sehlophantšu diri*) is composed of an interrogative marker (P for *potšišo*) [*na*], a concord (Kg for *lekgokedi*) [*o*], a tense marker (B for *lebaka*) [*a*] and a verb (D for *lediri*) [*ja*].

6.3.3 Tags

Tag interrogatives are a combination of a host sentence and a tag. The host sentence is usually in a form of a declarative sentence. The tag is attached to the host to enable the host to become an interrogative. The syntactic analysis of the interrogatives with tags can be presented as:

(217)

Matome	*o*	*a*	*ja*	*a ke re*?
1a-Matome	SC	TM	eat	QT

Matome eats, right?

The hierarchical tree structure of the interrogative in (217) above can be presented as:

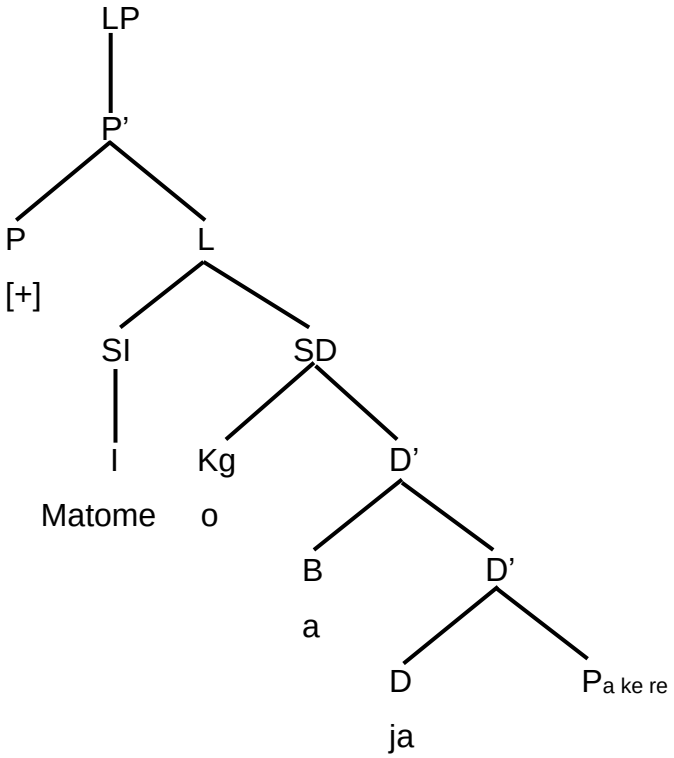

Figure 6.11: The hierarchical tree structure of '*Matome o a ja a ke re?'*

The hierarchical tree structure above states that the interrogative structure (LP for *lefoko potšišo*) consists of two constituents: a sentence (L for *lefoko*) [*Matome o a ja*] and an interrogative marker (P for *potšišo*) [*a ke re*]. The sentence constituent (L for *lefoko*) in turn consists of a noun phrase (SI for *sehlophantšu ina*) [*Matome*] and a verb phrase (SD for *sehlophantšu diri*) [*o a ja*]. The noun phrase (SI for *sehlophantšu ina*) is composed of a noun (I for *leina*) [*Matome*]. The verb phrase (SD for *sehlophantšu diri*) is further broken down into three parts: a concord (Kg for *lekgokedi*) [*o*], a tense marker (B for *lebaka*) [*a*] and a verb (D for *lediri*) [*ja*]. The interrogative structure (LP for *lefoko potšišo*) is marked with the interrogative marker (P for *potšišo*) [*a ke re*].

The Merge operation can be used on the lexical items "*Matome*", "*o*", "*a*", "*ja*", and "*a ke re*", to give "*Matome o a ja a ke re*?" The hierarchical tree structure of this is sketched in figure 6.12 below.

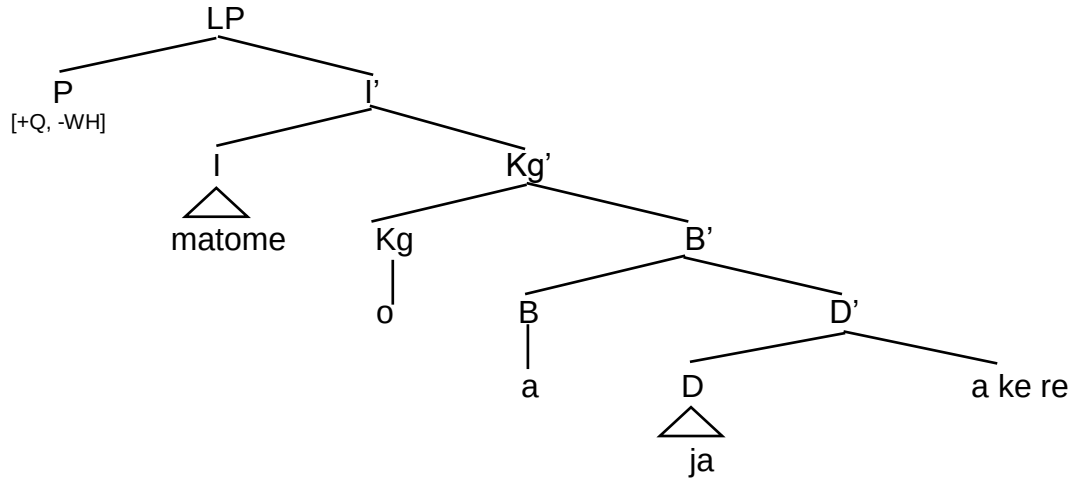

Figure 6.12: The hierarchical tree structure of '*Matome o a ja a ke re?'*

In the diagram above, the first external merge is between the verb (*lediri*) D and the tense (*lebaka*) B to satisfy the c-selection requirement of the head. That is, merge operates on the lexical items *a* (present tense) and *ja* (eat) to give *a ja* (eats). The phrase is identified with a label. In this case, the label is *a* since the phrase acts as a tense phrase. Secondly, the Kg head is merged with the B-bar to introduce agreement and project the agreement node. The subject is then merged with the agreement node in order to satisfy the demand of the head. At this stage, the Inter head becomes the probe and begins to search its c-command domain for an active goal to move to its spec and value the unvalued feature. The derivation proceeds by externally merging Inter head which is realized as *a ke re* to the subject head to project Inter-bar. The Inter-head is morphologically realized as the high tone morpheme.

(218)

A ke re Matome	*o*	*a*	*ja*?	
QT	1a-Matome	SC	TM	eat
Matome eats, right?				

The hierarchical tree structure of the interrogative in (218) above can be presented as:

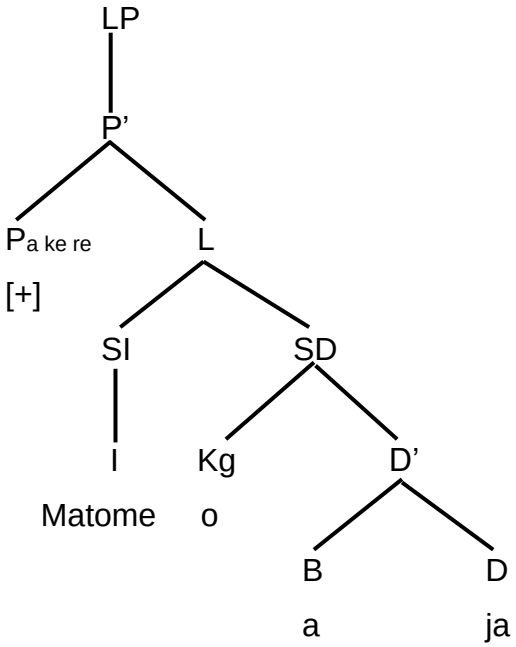

Figure 6.13: The hierarchical tree structure of ‘*A ke re Matome o a ja?’*

The hierarchical tree structure above states that the interrogative structure (LP for *lefoko potšišo*) consists of two constituents: interrogative marker (P for *potšišo*) [*a ke re*] and a sentence (L for *lefoko*) [*Matome o a ja*]. The sentence constituent (L for *lefoko*) in turn consists of a noun phrase (SI for *sehlophantšu ina*) [*Matome*] and a verb phrase (SD for *sehlophantšu diri*) [*o a ja*]. The noun phrase (SI for *sehlophantšu ina*) is composed of a noun (I for *leina*) [*Matome*]. The verb phrase (SD for *sehlophantšu diri*) is further broken down into three parts: a concord (Kg for *lekgokedi*) [*o*], a tense marker (B for *lebaka*) [*a*] and a verb (D for *lediri*) [*ja*].

The Merge operation can be used on the lexical items “*a ke re*”, “*Matome*”, “*o*”, “*a*” and “*ja*”, to give "*A ke re Matome o a ja*?" The hierarchical tree structure of this is sketched in figure 6.14 below.

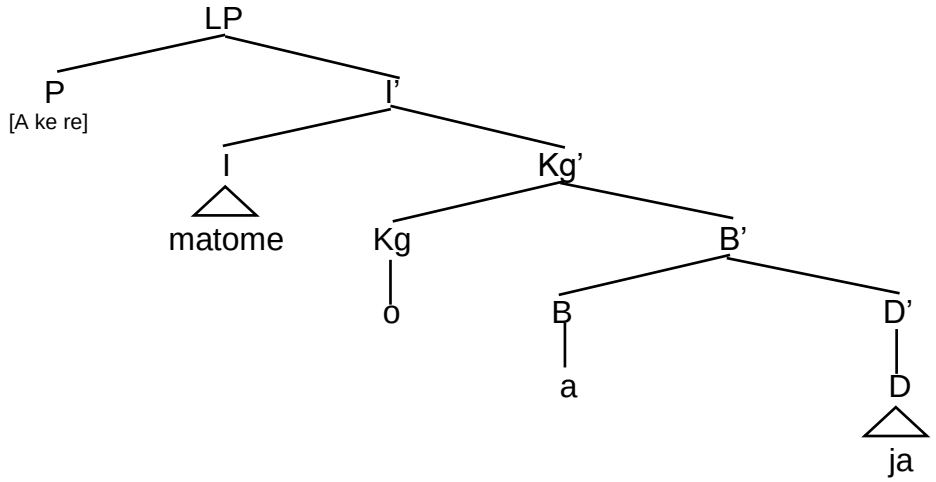

Figure 6.14: The hierarchical tree structure of 'A ke re *Matome o a ja?'*

In the diagram above, the first external merge is between the verb (*lediri*) D and the tense (*lebaka*) B to satisfy the c-selection requirement of the head. That is, merge operates on the lexical items *a* (present tense) and *ja* (eat) to give *a ja* (eats). The phrase is identified with a label. In this case, the label is *a* since the phrase acts as a tense phrase. Secondly, the Kg head is merged with the B-bar to introduce agreement and project the agreement node. The subject is then merged with the agreement node in order to satisfy the demand of the head. The derivation proceeds by externally merging Inter head which is realized as *a ke re* to the subject head to project Inter-bar. At this stage, the Inter head becomes the probe and begins to search its c-command domain for an active goal to move to its spec and value the unvalued feature. The Inter-head is morphologically realized as the high tone morpheme.

6.3.4 Complements

Similar to tag interrogatives, an interrogative complement is attached to the host to enable the host to become an interrogative. The syntactic analysis of the interrogatives with complements can be presented as:

(219)

E le gore	*Matome*	*o*	*a*	*ja*?
QC	1a-Matome	SC	TM	eat

Does Matome eat?

The hierarchical tree structure of the interrogative in (219) above can be presented as:

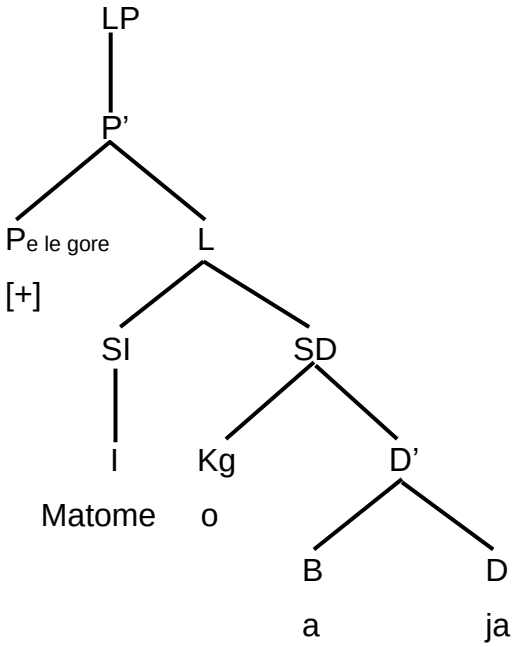

Figure 6.15: The hierarchical tree structure of ‘*E le gore Matome o a ja?’*

The hierarchical tree structure above states that the interrogative structure (LP for *lefoko potšišo*) consists of two constituents: interrogative marker (P for *potšišo*) [*e le gore*] and a sentence (L for *lefoko*) [*Matome o a ja*]. The sentence constituent (L for *lefoko*) in turn consists of a noun phrase (SI for *sehlophantšu ina*) [*Matome*] and a verb phrase (SD for *sehlophantšu diri*) [*o a ja*]. The noun phrase (SI for *sehlophantšu ina*) is composed of a noun (I for *leina*) [*Matome*]. The verb phrase (SD for *sehlophantšu diri*) is further broken down into three parts: a concord (Kg for *lekgokedi*) [*o*], a tense marker (B for *lebaka*) [*a*] and a verb (D for *lediri*) [*ja*].

(220)

Matome	*o*	*a*	*ja*	*bjale*?
1a-Matome	SC	TM	eat	QC
Matome eats?				

The hierarchical tree structure of the interrogative in (220) above can be presented as:

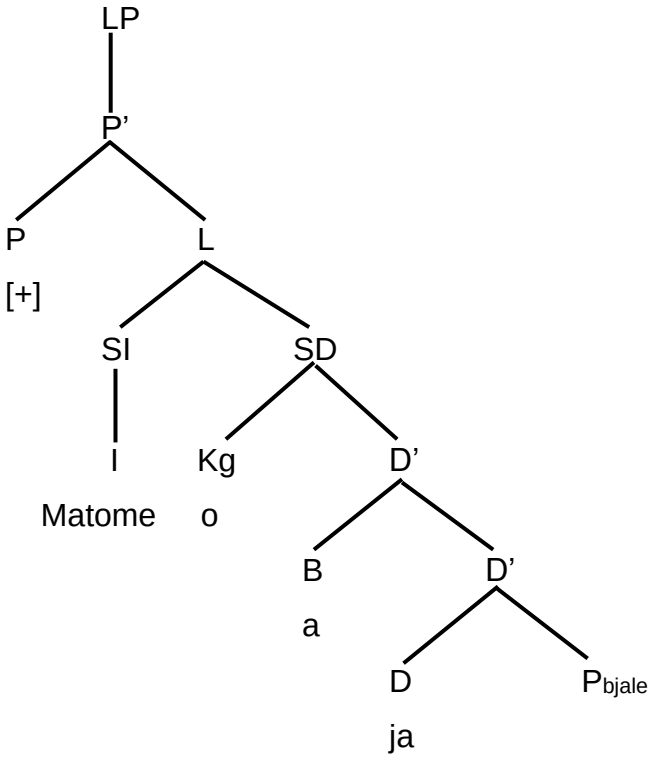

Figure 6.16: The hierarchical tree structure of '*Matome o a ja bjale?'*

The hierarchical tree structure above states that the interrogative structure (LP for *lefoko potšišo*) consists of two constituents: a sentence (L for *lefoko*) [*Matome o a ja*] and an interrogative marker (P for *potšišo*) [*bjale*]. The sentence constituent (L for *lefoko*) in turn consists of a noun phrase (SI for *sehlophantšu ina*) [*Matome*] and a verb phrase (SD for *sehlophantšu diri*) [*o a ja*]. The noun phrase (SI for *sehlophantšu ina*) is composed of a noun (I for *leina*) [*Matome*]. The verb phrase (SD for *sehlophantšu diri*) is further broken down into three parts: a concord (Kg for *lekgokedi*) [*o*], a tense marker (B for *lebaka*) [*a*] and a verb (D for *lediri*) [*ja*]. The interrogative structure (LP for *lefoko potšišo*) is marked with the interrogative marker (P for *potšišo*) [*bjale*].

6.3.5 Content interrogative words

In Sepedi, wh-words elicit information on particular parts of the sentence through the use of the *-ng, -kae* and *-fe* forms that represent some interrogative lexical categories of question words. These forms have a curious feature in that they carry pragmatic presuppositions. The syntactic analysis of the interrogatives with wh-words can be presented as:

(221)

Matome	*o*	*ja*	*eng*?
1a-Matome	SC	eat	what

Matome eats what?

The hierarchical tree structure of the interrogative in (221) above can be presented as:

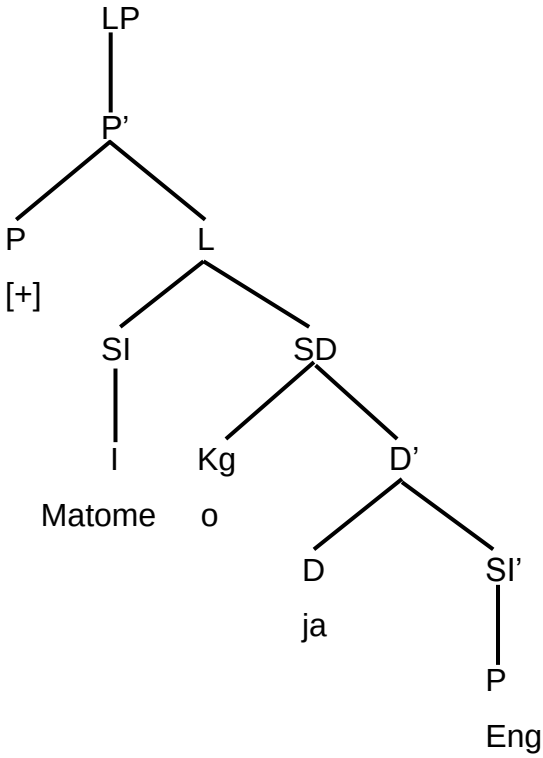

Figure 6.17: The hierarchical tree structure of '*Matome o a ja eng?'*

The hierarchical tree structure above states that the interrogative structure (LP for *lefoko potšišo*) consists of two constituents: interrogative marker (P for *potšišo*) [intonation represented by the symbol +] and a sentence (L for *lefoko*) [*Matome o ja eng*]. The sentence constituent (L for *lefoko*) in turn consists of a noun phrase (SI for *sehlophantšu ina*) [*Matome*] and a verb phrase (SD for *sehlophantšu diri*) [*o ja eng*]. The noun phrase (SI for *sehlophantšu ina*) is composed of a noun (I for *leina*) [*Matome*]. The verb phrase (SD for *sehlophantšu diri*) is further broken down into three parts: a concord (Kg for *lekgokedi*) [*o*], a verb (D for *lediri*) [*ja*] and a noun phrase (SI for *sehlophantšu ina*) which consists of an interrogative marker [*eng*].

Content questions have the complementizer [+Q, +WH]; this form of a complentizer is dependent upon the features it contain (Carnie, 2013). The Merge operation can be

used on the lexical items “*Matome*”, “*o*”, “*a*”, “*ja*”, and “*eng*”, to give "*Matome o a ja eng*?" The hierarchical tree structure of this is sketched in figure 6.18 below.

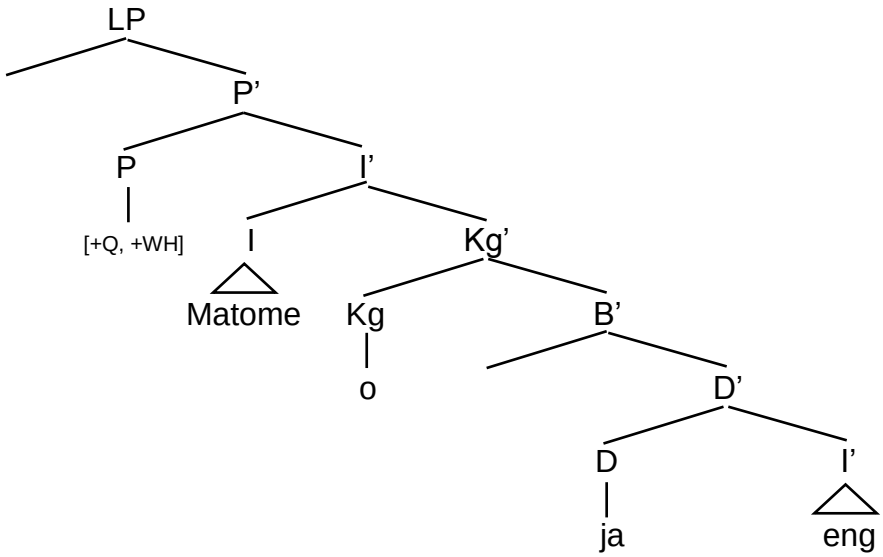

Figure 6.18: The hierarchical tree structure of ‘*Matome o a ja eng?’*

When other sentence forms are transformed into interrogatives there are certain words that are dropped for the interrogative to be syntactically correct. In the syntactic description the transformation, when certain words are left out they leave empty specifiers in the syntactic structure. When some interrogatives are constructed, interrogative markers are moved to occupy the empty specifier. Consider the following examples:

(222)

Bogobe	*ke*	*sona*	*seo*	*Matome*	*a*	*se*	*ja-go.*
14-porridge	COP	POSSPRN	Dem7	1a-Matome	SC	OC7	eat-RS

Porridge is (the) thing that Matome eats.

The hierarchical tree structure of the interrogative in (222) above can be presented as:

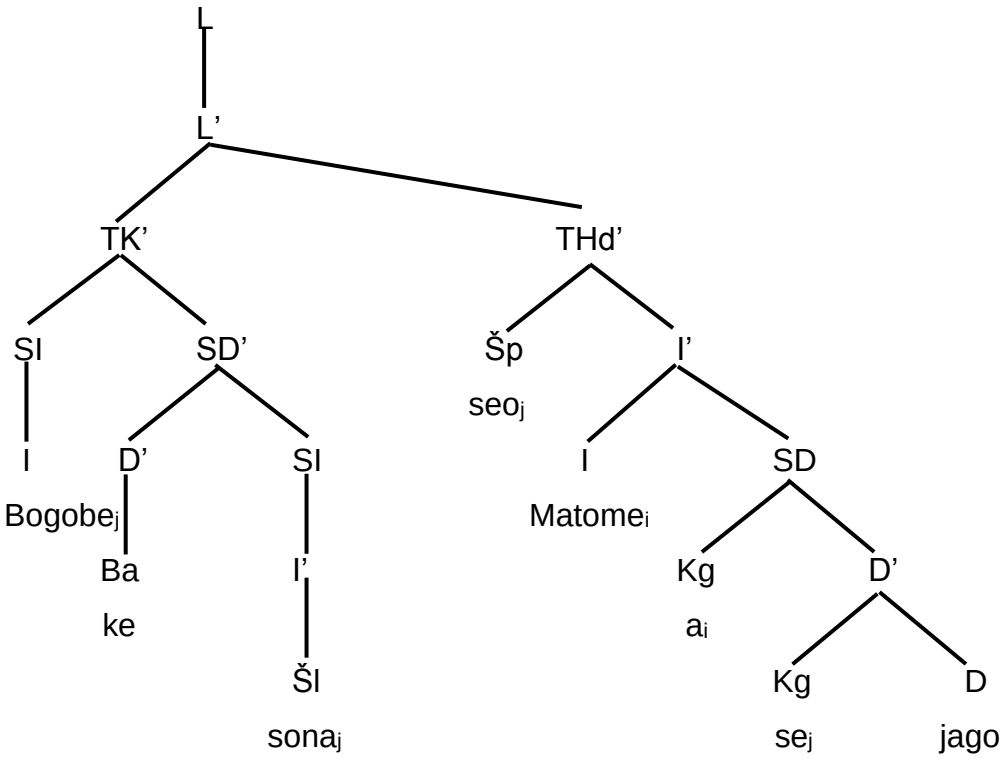

Figure 6.19: The hierarchical tree structure of ‘*Bogobe ke sona seo Matome a se jago.’*

The hierarchical tree structure above states that the interrogative structure (L for *lefoko*) consists of two constituents: a main clause (TK for *thabekutu*) which is composed of a noun phrase (SI for *sehlophantšu ina*) that consist of a noun (I for *leina*) [*bogobe*] and a verb phrase (SD for *sehlophantšu diri*) that consists of a verb (D for *lediri*) in a form of a copula (Ba for *leba*) [*ke*] and a noun phrase (SI for *sehlophantšu ina*) that consists of a noun (I for *leina*) in a form of a pronoun (ŠI for *lešala*) [*sona*]; and an adjectival clause (THd for *thabehlaodi*) which is composed of a demonstrative (Šp for *lešupi*) [*seo*], a nominal node (I for *leina*) [*Matome*] and a verb phrase (SD for *sehlophantšu diri*) [*a se jago*]. The verb phrase (SD for *sehlophantšu diri*) is further broken down into three parts: a concord (Kg for *lekgokedi*) [*a*], a concord (Kg for *lekgokedi*) [*se*] and a verb (D for *lediri*) [*jago*].

(223)

Bogobe	*ke*	*seo*	*Matome*	*a*	*se*	*ja-go.*
14-porridge	COP	Dem7	1a-Matome	SC	OC7	eat-RS

Porridge is that (what) Matome eats.

The hierarchical tree structure of the interrogative in (223) above can be presented as:

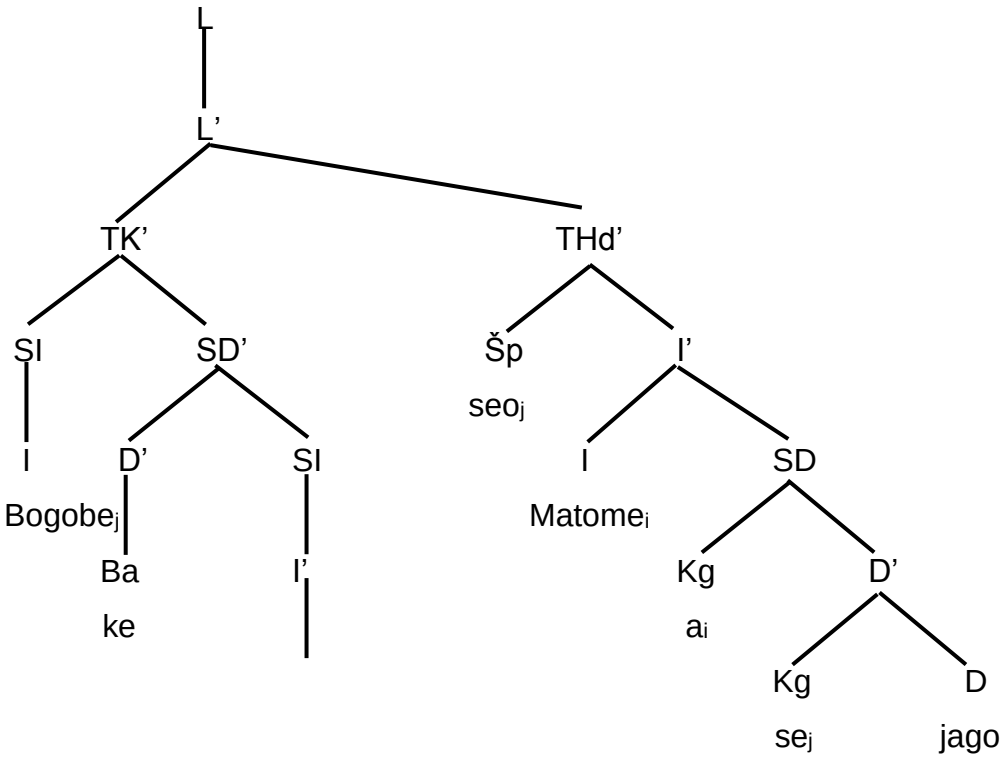

Figure 6.20: The hierarchical tree structure of '*Bogobe ke seo Matome a se jago.'*

The hierarchical tree structure above states that the interrogative structure (L for *lefoko*) consists of two constituents: a main clause (TK for *thabekutu*) which is composed of a noun phrase (SI for *sehlophantšu ina*) that consists of a noun (I for *leina*) [*bogobe*] and a verb phrase (SD for *sehlophantšu diri*) that consists of a verb (D for *lediri*) in a form of a copula (Ba for *leba*) [*ke*] and an empty specifier that should be occupied by a noun (I for *leina*); and an adjectival clause (THd for *thabehlaodi*) which is composed of a demonstrative (Šp for *lešupi*) [*seo*], a nominal node (I for *leina*) [*Matome*] and a verb phrase (SD for *sehlophantšu diri*) [*a se jago*]. The verb phrase (SD for *sehlophantšu diri*) is further broken down into three parts: a concord (Kg for *lekgokedi*) [*a*], a concord (Kg for *lekgokedi*) [*se*] and a verb (D for *lediri*) [*jago*].

(224)

Ke	*eng*	*seo*	*Matome*	*a*	*se*	*ja-go?*
COP	what	Dem7	1a-Matome	SC	OC7	eat-RS

Is what that Matome eats?

The hierarchical tree structure of the interrogative in (224) above can be presented as:

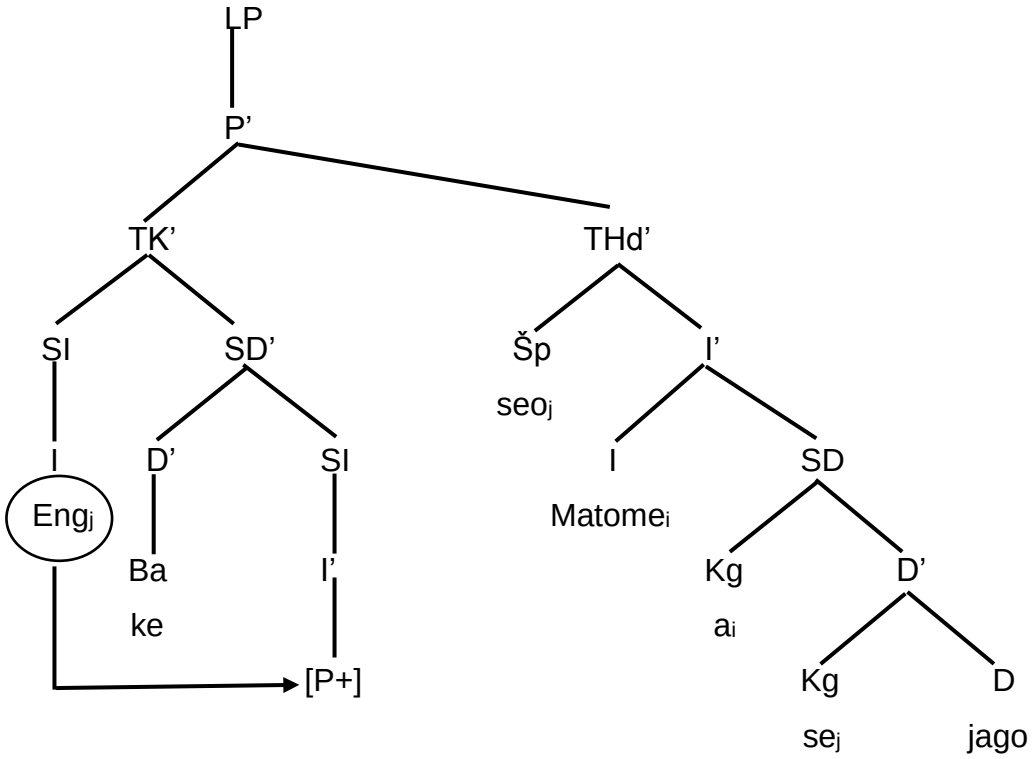

Figure 6. 21: The hierarchical tree structure of *‘Ke eng seo Matome a se jago?’*

The hierarchical tree structure above states that when constructing an interrogative, the interrogative word cannot occur in-situ therefore it moves to occupy the empty specifier. The interrogative structure (LP for *lefoko potšišo*) consists of two constituents: a main clause (TK for *thabekutu*) which is composed of a noun phrase (SI for *sehlophantšu ina*) that consist of a noun (I for *leina*) [*eng*] and a verb phrase (SD for *sehlophantšu diri*) that consists of a verb (D for *lediri*) in a form of a copula (Ba for *leba*) [*ke*] and an empty specifier which is then occupied by the interrogative word [*eng*]; and an adjectival clause (THd for *thabehlaodi*) which is composed of a demonstrative (Šp for *lešupi*) [*seo*], a nominal node (I for *leina*) [*Matome*] and a verb phrase (SD for *sehlophantšu diri*) [*a se jago*]. The verb phrase (SD for *sehlophantšu diri*) is further broken down into three parts: a concord (Kg for *lekgokedi*) [*a*], a concord (Kg for *lekgokedi*) [*se*] and a verb (D for *lediri*) [*jago*].

The hierarchical tree structure of the interrogative in (224) after movement can be presented as:

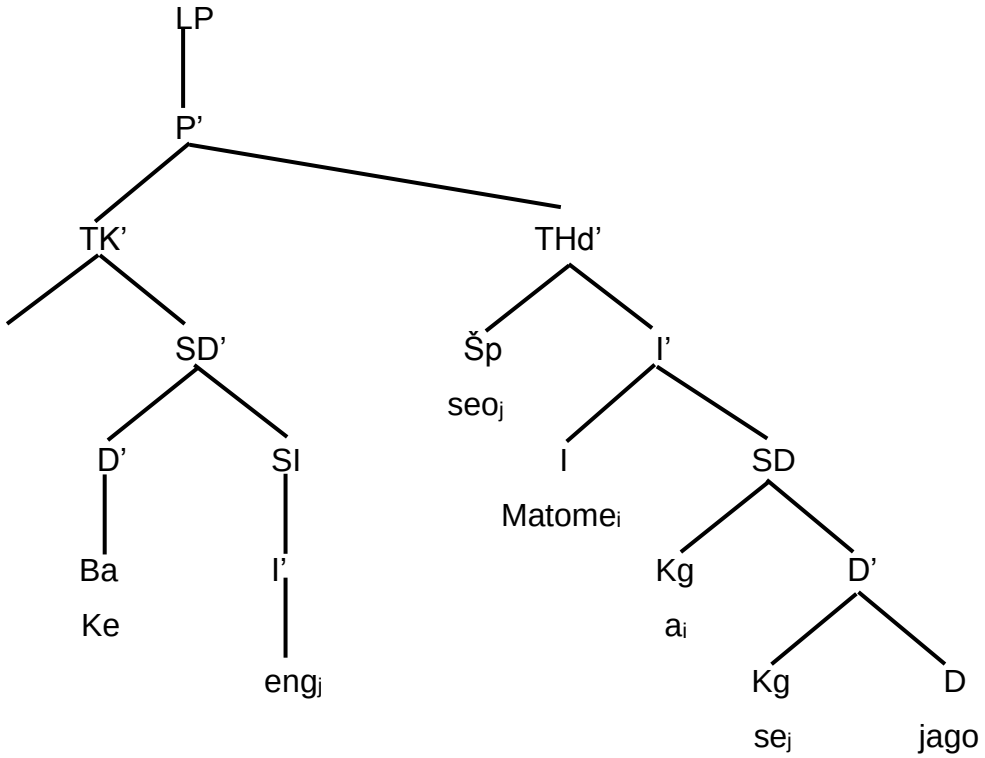

Figure 6.22: The hierarchical tree structure of *‘Ke eng seo Matome a se jago?’*

The hierarchical tree structure above states that when constructing an interrogative, the interrogative word cannot occur in-situ therefore it moves to occupy the empty specifier. The interrogative structure (LP for *lefoko potšišo*) consists of two constituents: a main clause (TK for *thabekutu*) which is composed of a verb phrase (SD for *sehlophantšu diri*) that consists of a verb (D for *lediri*) in a form of a copula (Ba for *leba*) [*ke*] and a noun phrase (SI for *sehlophantšu ina*) that is made up of a noun (I for *leina*) [*eng*]; and an adjectival clause (THd for *thabehlaodi*) which is composed of a demonstrative (Šp for *lešupi*) [*seo*], a nominal node (I for *leina*) [*Matome*] and a verb phrase (SD for *sehlophantšu diri*) [*a se jago*]. The verb phrase (SD for *sehlophantšu diri*) is further broken down into three parts: a concord (Kg for *lekgokedi*) [*a*], a concord (Kg for *lekgokedi*) [*se*] and a verb (D for *lediri*) [*jago*].

The Merge operation can be used on the lexical items “*Matome*”, “*o*”, “*a*”, “*ja*”, and “*eng*”, to give "*Matome o a ja eng*?" The hierarchical tree structure of this is sketched in figure 6.23 below.

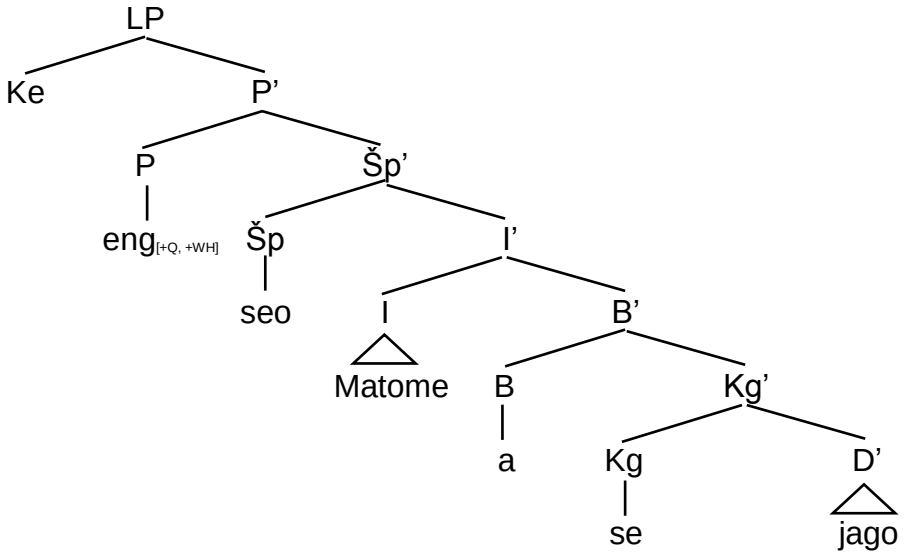

Figure 6.23: The hierarchical tree structure of '*Ke eng seo Matome a se jago'*

In case of figures 6.19 – 23, eng is the argument in the sentence and it starts out as a complement to the verb. Since this is a form of a passive sentence cannot get Case in this position. It must move to the specifier of I-bar to check nominative Case. Once this I has checked its Case features, it can move on to the specifier of LP for Wh-feature checking. The copula, demonstrative and agreement also undergoes movement for the [+Q, +WH] feature.

6.4 Summary

Phrase structure rules are important in the analysis of syntactic structures. This section focused on how phrase structure rules are needed to generate hierarchical tree structures that account for interrogatives. The following constituent nodes were produced: L for *lefoko* (sentence), LP for *lefoko potšišo* (interrogative structure), P for *potšišo* (interrogative marker), SI for *sehlophantšu ina* (noun phrase), SD for *sehlophantšu diri* (verb phrase), TI for *thabe ina* (noun clause), TD for *thabe diri* (verb clause), I for *leina* (noun), D for *lediri* (verb), Kg for *lekgokedi* (connective particle), K for *lekopanyi* (conjunction), Š for *lešupi* (demonstrative), Ba for *leba* (copula), B for *lebaka* (tense), KG for kganetšo (negative morpheme), Hd for *lehlaodi* (adjective), Ht for *lehlathi* (adverb), and SHt for *sehlophantšu hlathi* (adverbial phrase).

CHAPTER SEVEN: CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

7.1 Introduction

This chapter is threefold: it provides the summary of all the previous chapters, conclusion on the general findings and analysis of Sepedi interrogative constructions explored in Chapters 4, 5 and 6, and recommendations for future work. The aim of the study was to explore interrogative constructions in the Sepedi language. In exploring interrogatives as one of the four major syntactic types of sentences, it was important to include the morphological, lexical and semantic features, as well as, the syntactic positions of interrogatives.

7.2 Summary of previous chapters

The first chapter was an introductory chapter. It presented the background and motivation to the study. The research problem identified in the study was presented, and the theoretical approach of the study was discussed. The purpose of the study which encompasses the aim, objectives and research questions was also outlined. The significance of the study and the ethical consideration were presented.

In Chapter 2, the core issues in the construction of the two main question types (polar and constituent questions) were discussed. The discussion centred on the universal strategies (*tags*, *particles*, *interrogative word order*, *wh-movement*, and *in-situ*) used to construct the two different questions. For *polar questions*, three varieties were discussed: the inverted question; the inverted question offering an alternative; and the tag question. For *constituent questions*, the wh-forms such as who, what, which, when, where, why, and how were discussed. Sepedi, Sesotho and Setswana examples were discussed in order to identify the interrogative gaps that may exist in the three mutually intelligible languages. On top of the two interrogative types discussed, the following types were introduced: alternative questions, tag questions, declarative questions, echo questions, rhetorical questions, and embedded questions.

Chapter 3 discussed the methodology of the study. It focused on the approach taken in the research; this included the discussion of the research design, sampling

methods, the instruments used to collect data. The two methods of data analysis relevant to the study were also discussed.

In Chapter 4, collected data were presented. This began by providing the Sepedi noun class and concord system so that the reader can understand the data. The data were collected through three instruments: observations, documents and interviews. Observation data presented focused on everyday usage of interrogatives, the position of interrogative markers and interrogative word order. Documents data came from Sepedi literature books, the Bible and Hansard reports from Limpopo legislature. The final sets of data came from interviews. These data provided demographic relationships of the study participants and the variables of the study. The data collected represented crucial information that determined the outcomes of the study.

Chapter 5 outlined the core issues in the construction of interrogative from the two forms of sentences. The data showed that an interrogative is not only identified by its form but also by its function. Four groups of interrogative words were identified: *content interrogative words*, the interrogative words used to ask open types of questions; *tags*, the syntactic structures that have interrogative characters and can enable turn-allocation and modification of the host clause; *particles*, the interrogative invariable items that express attitudes on the part of the speaker towards the factual content of the utterance; and *complements*, words that act as modifiers and determiners of interrogatives. The chapter also differentiated the interrogative words based on their categories: pronouns, adverbs, adjectives, particles, tags and complements. This was done through their morphological composition, syntactic function and distribution. Furthermore, different interrogative phrases were identified: copulative, instrumental, adverbial, possessive and locative interrogative phrase. Furthermore, six interrogative types were discussed: polar questions, alternative questions, tag questions, content questions, echo questions and rhetorical questions. From these interrogative type, it was also outlined that Sepedi exhibits the SVO interrogative word order as its basic word order. However, it is not restricted to that specific word order; the word orders VSO, SOV, OVS and OSV are also prevalent in Sepedi.

The central problem addressed in Chapter 6 was the phrasal rules for different interrogatives. Within the frame of a syntactic analysis, interrogative words were classified according to their distribution and their syntactic function. As such, phrasal rules were deemed important for the analysis of interrogative structures. Consequently, the following constituent nodes were produced to account for interrogative phrasal structures: L for *lefoko* (sentence), LP for *lefoko potšišo* (interrogative structure), P for *potšišo* (interrogative marker), SI for *sehlophantšu ina* (noun phrase), SD for *sehlophantšu diri* (verb phrase), TI for *thabe ina* (noun clause), TD for *thabe diri* (verb clause), I for *leina* (noun), D for lediri (verb), Kg for *lekgokedi* (connective particle), K for *lekopanyi* (conjunction), Š for *lešupi* (demonstrative), Ba for *leba* (copula), B for *lebaka* (tense), KG for *kganetšo* (negative morpheme), Hd for *lehlaodi* (adjective), Ht for *lehlathi* (adverb), and SHt for *sehlophantšu hlathi* (adverbial phrase).

7.3 General findings and analysis

The study was conducted based on four specific objectives: (1) to identify the different types of interrogatives found in Sepedi; (2) to investigate interrogative markers in different types of Sepedi interrogatives; (3) to determine the syntactic structures of Sepedi interrogatives; and (4) to explore the transformational rules involved in the transformation of declaratives and imperatives into interrogatives.

7.3.1 Types of interrogatives

Six interrogative types were identified: polar questions, alternative questions, tag questions, content questions and rhetorical questions. The classification was based on the kind of reply they elicit.

Polar Interrogatives

In Sepedi, polar interrogatives can be formed in four ways: (1) on declarative sentences with a distinct *intonation* pattern signaling that a declarative has changed to an interrogative. The meaningful alternations from a falling intonation of declaratives to rising intonation of interrogatives indicate uncertainty. Hence a reply is necessary. (2) By simply adding a question *particle* to a declarative sentence. The function of the particles is to express uncertainty towards the factual content of the declarative sentence, which results into a question. (3) *Question tags* can also be tagged at the

end of a declarative or an imperative in order to clear uncertainty or to ask for confirmation. (4) Complements can be added to a declarative or interrogative sentence to restrict or add to the sense of a question.

Alternative interrogatives

Alternatives are questions that involve a disjunction and whose possible answers correspond to the propositional disjuncts of the disjunction. They present two or more options for the reply coordinated with the help of the disjunctive conjunction '*goba*'. The options that come after the disjunctive conjunction can take four forms: (1) a polar question, (2) elements of a polar question, (3) the adverb *bjang* (how), or (4) the adverb *aowa* (no). During the construction of alternatives, the speaker provides a certain range of possible answers by giving options. From the options provided, if the first one is negative while the expected answer is a positive, the listener proceeds to the second option, and so on. Sepedi has more ways of constructing alternative questions.

Tag interrogatives

In Sepedi, declarative statements can be turned into questions by appending the following group of words: *a ke re* (right), *ga go bjalo* (isn't it) and *goba bjang* (right). These type of questions are tag questions and consist of a combination of a host sentence and a tag. In most cases a host sentence is a declarative. Tags are the words appended onto declaratives in order to confirm that the answer might be correct and want the hearer to agree or disagree. Although the declarative is the host, the tag is the one responsible for the turn-allocation. The tag enables the host to become an interrogative.

Content Interrogatives

Content questions are another type of popular interrogatives in Sepedi. These questions are typically formed with the help of the *-ng, -kae* and *-fe* words that represent some interrogative syntactic categories of questions words. The *-ng* question words include the following: *mang* (who, whom, whose), *eng* (what), *neng* (when), *goreng* (why), *bjang* (how), *mong* (what gender), *-bjang* (what kind) and *-kaakang* (how big/small). These *-ng* words belong to a number of different parts of speech, functioning differently in different linguistic contexts such as qualifiers, pronouns and adverbs. Syntactically, *neng* (time), *goreng* (reason), *-kaakang* (degree or quantity) and *bjang* (manner) are adverbs, *mang* (person) and *eng* (thing) are

pronouns, and *mong* (gender) and *-bjang* (kind) are qualifiers. The stems *–kaakang* and *-bjang* can be attached to different noun class prefixes to construct various forms.

Echo Interrogatives

These are the questions where the speaker repeats the statement or part of it in order to express either surprise or improper hearing. Echo questions are formed when the speaker does not understand a preceding utterance or wants to confirm what he or she heard. Echo questions feature rising intonation. The structure of these questions will take the form of a polar question if the speaker wants to confirm if he or she heard correctly or a form of a content question if they missed part of the statement.

Rhetorical Interrogatives

In Sepedi, rhetorical questions are not determined syntactically. That is, these questions can take the structure of the questions discussed above. Rhetorical questions are constructed to make a point rather than to elicit an answer. Thus, functionally it should be regarded as a statement rather than a question. Rhetoric questions can be formed using content interrogative words, particles or interrogative elements.

7.3.2 Interrogative markers and strategies

There are 28 interrogative words identified and grouped into four major classes. The list below shows a list of interrogative words collected through documents, observations and interviews:

Content interrogative words	**Tags**	**Particles**	**Complements**
A. eng	*A. a ke re*	*A. Na*	*A. e ka ba*
B. bjang	*B. ga go bjalo*	*B. Naa*	*B. nkane*
C. neng	*C. goba bjang*	*C. A*	*C. bjale*
D. mang/ bomang		*D. Afa*	*D. kgane*
E. mong/ mo eng			*E. kganthe*
F. goreng/ gobaneng/ hleng/ ke ka baka lang			*F. e le gore*
G. -bjang			*G. o ra gore/ le ra gore*
H. -kaakang			*H. nketse*
I. kae			*I. etse*
J. –kae			*J. nke*
K. –fe			

Table 7.1: Interrogative word list 4

From the analysis in the study, Sepedi interrogative words can be divided into four major classes: content interrogative words, interrogative tags, interrogative particles and interrogative complements. All these words in Sepedi are called *mabotšiši* (question words). Content interrogative words (*mabotšiši thwi*) can be divided into three sub-classes: (1) the *-ng* interrogative words, those that are built on the stem *-ng*, (2) the *kae* interrogative words, those that are formed on the base stem *kae,* and (3) the *-fe* interrogative words, those that are formed on the base stem *-fe*. Tags (*mamometši*), which are the words appended onto declaratives in order to confirm that the answer might be correct and want the hearer to agree or disagree. Particles (*dikantšu*), words that are used to bring about uncertainty towards the factual content of a sentence. Complements (*matlaleletši*), words that restrict or add to the sense of a question, can be divided further into two sub-classes: (1) determiners (*malaetši*), those that are used in front of a sentence to specifically restrict the sense of a question, and (2) modifiers (*mafetodi*), those that specifically add to the sense of a question.

The following interrogative strategies were identified during the process of data analysis: intonation, content interrogative words, interrogative complements, tags, particles, interrogative word order. Intonation was used as a core marker for polar questions and alternative questions; content interrogative words were used as core markers for content questions, and as markers for echo questions and rhetorical questions as well; complements were used to emphasise the interrogative sense of polar questions, alternative questions and content questions; tags were used to mark both tag and polar questions; particles were used mainly for polar questions; the interrogative word order occurred during the transformation of content questions.

7.3.3 Interrogative syntactic structures

There were six interrogative types discussed: polar questions, alternative questions, tag questions, content questions and rhetorical questions. From these interrogative types, it was also outlined that Sepedi exhibits the SVO interrogative word order as its basic word order. However, it is not restricted to that specific word order; the word orders VSO, SOV, OVS and OSV are also prevalent in Sepedi.

7.3.4 Interrogatives transformational rules

The interrogative transformation rules are rules that can effect changes to a certain word order. These changes may be rearrangement, addition, deletion, modification and substitution. From the data collected, three transformational processes were identified: (1) imperative transformation, (2) replacement transformation and (3) passive transformation.

Imperative transformation occurs when imperative sentences are turned into interrogatives. This transformation exhibits the following changes depending on the nature of the interrogative formed: deletion, addition, modification and substitution.

The replacement transformation is a result of substitutions whereby curtained words are replaced by interrogative words. The elements in the primary expression always determine which words are to be replaced during the transformations. This transformation is more effective in echo questions that exhibit partial repetition.

The passive transformation process operates on a sentences with a transitive verb and a direct object. It brings about the following structural changes that exhibits the following: rearrangement, addition, deletion, modification and substitution of words. The rearrangement can turn the basic structure from SVO to either OVS or OSV.

7.3.5 Interrogative Positions

Basically, interrogative markers in Sepedi occupy the sentence final position. All the polar questions marked with intonation only are marked at the boundary of the last word of the sentence. However, there are interrogative words that occupy sentence initial and medial positions. The 28 interrogative markers that were harvested from data were distributed to the sentence initial position (SIP), sentence medial position (SMP) and/or sentence final position (SFP) based on how they were used during observations, in the documents and interviews.

The discussions in chapter 4 and 5 illustrated that the interrogative markers *eng, kae, neng, mang, -fe, bjang, goreng, kgane, kganthe* and *a ke re* can be placed at all three positions; the markers *naa, na* and *bjale* occupy the initial and final position; *afa, a, hleng, etse* and *nketse* occupy only the initial position; *e le gore, o ra gore, le ra gore,*

e ka ba, ke ka baka lang, gobaneng, nkane and *nke* occupy the initial and medial position; while *-kae, -kaakang,* and *-bjang* occupy the medial and final position.

Basically, the interrogative markers *a* and *afa* occur at the sentence-initial position while *na* and *naa* occur at the initial and final positions. However, certain word order patterns allow all the particle to also occupy the middle position. Moreover, the interrogative markers *mang, eng, neng, bjang, ofe* and *kae* are known to occupy only the medial and final positions. But it was shown that certain constructions permit them to occupy the initial position. Therefore, these interrogative words may be topicalised to give the interrogative structure additional emphasis without the introduction of the copulative particle *ke*.

7.4 Ambiguous senses of interrogative words

Interrogatives words are typically used in sentences to elicit information and/or ask questions. The study found that across a variety of interrogative words in Sepedi, there are those after a comprehensive treatment on their syntax, proved to convey different polysemic values. The interrogative words eng, mang and goreng have shown that they can elicit different types of information depending on how they are used. That is, they have the capacity to convey multiple meanings.

The interrogative word *eng* can be used to elicit information that relates to a non-human entities, human referents in noun class 5 and derogative human referents. The examples below show how this interrogative word is used:

(225)

(a) *Ke* *tšhoš-w-a* *ke* *eng*? (non-human)
SC afraid-PASS-FV AP what
I frightened by what?
What would I be afraid of?

(b) *O* *nagana* *gore* *ke* *yena* *eng*? (derogatory)
SC think CONJ COP PRN3SG what
He thinks that he is what?
What does he think he is?

(c) *Matome* *ke* *eng*? (human referent)
1a-Matome COP what
Matome is what?
What is Matome?

The interrogative eng does not only refer to the question what but why as well.

(d) *O* *m-phor-etš-e-ng*?
SC1 OC1-lie-APPL-FV-why
You lied to me why?
Why have you decieved me?

The interrogative word *mang* can be used to elicit information about the identify a noun with a human referent, information that that relate to a non-human entities and information that that relate to time. The examples below show how this interrogative word is used:

(226)

(a) *O* *rob-il-w-e* *ke* *mang*? (human referent)
SC1 break-PEF-PASS-FV AP who
You broken by who?
Who broke your leg?

(b) *Ke* *nako* *mang*? (time)
COP 9-time who
Is what time?
What time is it?

(c) *Ke* *di-lo* *mang*? (non-human)
COP 8-things who
Are what things?
What are these things?

The interrogative word *goreng* can be used to elicit information that relate to the question why as well as what. The examples below show how this interrogative word is used:

(227)

(a) ***Goreng*** *o* *sepela*?
Why SC1 leave
Why you leave?
Why are you leaving?

(b) ***Mong*** *ke* *goreng*?
What gender COP what
What gender is what?
What do you mean by what gender?

The examples shown in (225, 226 and 227) show that interrogative words can pose lexical ambiguity in a sentence.

7.5 Recommendations

This study described the interrogative constructions in Sepedi. The descriptions focused on the syntactic nature of the types of interrogatives in the language. It explored the distribution of the interrogative markers in different constructions and the strategies used to form those constructions.

For content questions, interrogative markers were found to occupy all the three positions, i.e., sentence initial, medial and final position. It was observed that the in-situ strategy was used to construct content questions. However, there is still controversy on the sentence initial position. Interrogative structures were identified where the markers occupied the initial position but some participants and scholars deemed the structures ill-formed or ungrammatical; even though these forms are used in everyday conversations. Based on the broad nature of interrogative structures, the study cannot be judged as exhaustive and without flaws. Therefore, there is a need for a study that looks at the positions of interrogative markers in elaborate and comprehensive terms. Future research needs to investigate the type of transformation

that allows content interrogative words to occupy the sentence initial position without the copulative particle *ke*.

The transformation of sentences into interrogatives revealed that there is a possibility that the ex situ strategy can also be used in Sepedi content question. During the transformation there was a movement of content interrogative markers spotted. The study however did not focus on the movement of the question words from their canonical position to the secondary position since it was assumed that there is no content word movement in Sepedi. Therefore, there is a need to check if movement can be accounted for in Sepedi content interrogatives.

The studies on polar and content interrogatives have overshadowed the other interrogative types in Sepedi. There is a need for elaborate and comprehensive studies on the other interrogative types that have been identified in this study.

7.6 Summary

This section provided the summary of all the previous chapters, the conclusion on the general findings and analysis of Sepedi interrogative constructions explored in Chapters 4, 5 and 6, and proferred recommendations for future research.

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