

## The Morphology of the Sesotho Form /bo-/: An Exploratory Study

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### **Abstract**

*This paper explores the phonological, morphological, syntactic, and semantic behaviour of the Sesotho form /bo-/. The form /bo-/ is bound and has been classified as a class 2a prefix. The paper examines the recently observed use of the morpheme beyond its traditional function as a class 2a prefix. Using a morpheme-based approach, it demonstrates that /bo-/ is now superimposed on nouns of other classes as well as on words that belong to other grammatical categories. This phenomenon is hitherto unrecorded. The paper proposes that the form /bo-/ is prefixal and syntactically inactive when affixed to nouns and can have several meanings when attached to adverbs and qualificatives.*

**Keywords:** *morpheme, morpheme-based approach, nouns, adverb, qualificatives*

### **Introduction**

In their comparative study of Bantu languages, early linguists such as Meinhof (1932) observed that in Bantu languages nouns can be classified according to their prefixes into 21 classes. That is, each class has its own unique prefix which, in most cases, marks the nouns as either plural or singular. Later grammarians such as Doke and Mofokeng (1985) and Guma (1971) adopted Meinhof's classification of nouns and discovered that Sesotho nouns belong to classes 1-15, with the omission of classes 11, 12, and 13. The noun classes are presented below.

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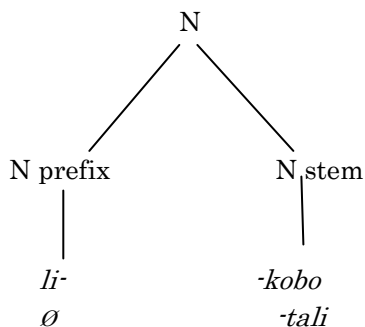
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**Table 1: Noun Prefixes**

Class	Prefix
1	mo-
1a	∅
2	ba-
2a	bo-
3.	mo-
4.	me-
5.	le-
6.	ma-
7.	se-
8.	li
9.	[N]-
10.	li[N]-
14.	bo-
15.	ho-

The internal structure of the Sesotho noun, according to Guma (1971:41), consists of a prefix and a noun stem. Using the morpheme-based approach for mono-morphemic nouns such as *kobo* 'blanket' and *tali* 'rat', we mark the prefix with a null morpheme, hence *likobo* 'blankets' and *litali* 'rats' in the plural forms. The internal structure of the Sesotho noun can be depicted on a tree structure as follows:

**Figure 1: The Internal Structure of the Sesotho Noun**

For the noun *likobo* 'blankets', the prefix is /li-/ and the stem is *-kobo*, while for the noun *tali* 'rat', a null morpheme is posited as the prefix and *-tali* as a stem.

The present study is motivated by the researchers' observation that speakers of Sesotho currently alternately attach the form /bo-/ to all Sesotho nouns before the usual prefix, with the exception of classes 1(a) and 2(a). They also attach it before adverbs, qualificatives, and qualificative pronouns, as exemplified in (1) below.

(1) a. The form /bo-/ is attached to nouns as the nouns below show:

- i) *Bo-mabitso* 'names'
- ii) *Bo-li-tlhare* 'medicines'
- iii) *Bo-ba-na* 'children'
- iv) *Bo-bo-nyatsi* 'adultery'

The prefixes of the nouns above are *ma-*, *li-*, *ba-*, and *bo-*. It can be observed, therefore, that the form /bo-/ is affixed before them.

(1) b. It is also affixed to adverbs:

- i) *Bo-masimong* 'at the fields'
- ii) *Bo-ka maoto* 'on foot'
- iii) *Bo-tjena* 'in this way'

The word *masimong* 'at the fields' and *ka maoto* literally 'by feet' are adverbs derived from the nouns *masimo* 'fields' and *maoto* 'feet' through the attachment of the locative suffix *-ng* and the prefix *ka-*, while *tjena* 'in this way' is a primitive adverb of manner.

(1) c. It is further attached to qualificatives and qualificative pronouns:

- i) *Bo- ba- ba-holo* 'the old ones'
- ii) *Bo- tse- khubelu* 'the red ones'
- iii) *Tsena tsa- bo-ngoana oa lla* 'these of a child cries'

In example 1c (i and ii), the phrases *ba baholo* 'the old ones' and *tse khubelu* 'the red ones' are qualificative pronouns. As Guma (1971:99) indicates, the qualificative is dependent upon the substantive that it follows, in the absence of which it becomes a qualificative pronoun. The first two qualificatives in (1c) above are composed of the qualificative concords *ba ba-* and *tse-* together with the stems *-holo* and *-khubelu*, respectively. In the third example, *tsa bo-ngoana oa lla* is a qualificative that follows the substantive *tsena*.

### The Current Study

This study is exploratory because it is based on limited data. However, it is believed that the data adequately provides some information and direction for a more rigorous research. It seeks to answer the following questions:

- a) What are the phonological, morphological, and syntactic features of the form /bo-/?
- b) What are the syntactic and semantic roles of the form /bo-/?

Because the study is exploratory, the data was collected through convenience sampling between the beginning of February and the end of March in 2011 from the National University of Lesotho residents' casual conversations, from various Radio Lesotho Programmes, from people's conversations on public transport and from family members' free talk. These were the places where the researchers could conveniently obtain data without doing scientific sampling. Once the data was collected, the occurrence of the form /bo-/ was categorized according to the syntactic categories to which it is affixed. The following observations were made.

### The Findings

The study identifies specific phonological, morphological, syntactic, and semantic features of the form /bo-/.

#### Phonological Features

The form /bo-/ is similar to the class 2 noun prefix which is /bo-/. Both are composed of the initial bilabial, plosive sound followed by the rounded, mid-high, back, oral sound /o/. The distinguishing feature between the latter oral sound and the /o/ of class 14 prefix /bo-/ is that the /o/ of class 14 is rounded, high, back, oral.

#### Morphological Features of /bo-/

Although the form /bo-/ is phonologically similar to the class 2a prefix, it differs from the class 2a prefix morphologically in the following ways:

- (a) The form /bo-/ is affixed to both singular and plural nouns. The class 2a prefix /bo-/, on the other hand, attaches and is restricted to singular nouns of class 1a;
- (b) The form /bo-/ is affixed to words other than nouns, while the class 2a prefix is affixed only to the nouns of class 2a; and
- (c) The form /bo-/ is not syntactically active, while the class 2a prefix is syntactically active, as it determines the concordial agreement in a sentence.

The form /bo-/, like a typical morpheme, is not segmentable into other meaningful units and it recurs with a relatively stable meaning in all environments. It does not alter the class or part of speech of the noun, verb, qualificative, and adverb to which it attaches. It is against this background that we call it a bound, inflectional, and prefixal morpheme.

#### Syntactic Features

According to Guma (1971), the prefix of the Sesotho noun is a governing element in the sentence, determining the form of the prefixal concords which appear in the words that are brought into a concordial relationship with the noun. The noun prefixes *li-* in *litamati* 'tomatoes' and *ba-* in *bana* 'children' are the governing elements in that they determine the subjectival concords, as the examples in (2) show: (2) a.

*Li-tamati li bol-ile.*  
10-tomatoes 10-AGR rot-PERF<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Abbreviations:

ADV	adverb	AGR	agreement	APPL	applicative	CONJ	conjunctive	COP	copula
DEM	demonstrative	FUT	future	LOC	locative	PRES	present	PERF	perfective

- (2) b.           ‘The tomatoes are rotten.’  
**Ba-na ba li-khutsana**  
 2-children 2-AGR 10-orphans  
 ‘Orphaned children’

Machobane (2010) gives a more detailed analysis of this function. She says,

*Lihlooho ...li laola tumela-moetsi* (subjectival concord), *tumela-moetsuo* (objectival concord) *le litumela-phafo* (qualificative concords) ‘Noun prefixes control subjectival, objectival and qualificative concords’ (Machomabe, 2010:12-13).

However, as it can be noted in the data, it is the normal noun class prefix that continues to determine concordial agreement despite the presence of the superimposed form. The phrases in (3) exemplify this phenomenon:

- (3) a.           **Bo-bana ba likhutsana**  
 2-children 2-AGR 10-orphans  
 ‘Orphaned children’  
 (3) b.           *Ba-fokolitse bo-palo e kholo*  
 2-AGR reduce-PERF 9-number AP  
 ‘They have reduced the large number.’

It is observed, therefore, that the form /bo-/ does not play the role of the governing element at all in the sentence as is expected of any noun prefix. If the form /bo-/ were to determine the concordial agreement, the constructions to which it attaches would be ill-formed, as shown in (4):

- (4) a.           *Li-tamati li bol-ile*  
 10-tomatoes 10-AGR rot-PERF  
 ‘The tomatoes are rotten.’  
 \**Bo-litamati bo bol-ile*  
 10-tomatoes 14-AGR rot-PERF  
 (4) b.           **Ba-na ba li-khutsana**  
 2-children 2-AGR 10-orphans  
 ‘Orphaned children’  
 \**Bo-bana bo likhutsana*  
 2-children 2-AGR 10-orphans

This observation leads to the conclusion that the form /bo-/ does not have any syntactic function. It does not control the shape of the concord in any way. The controlling prefix is the one closest to the noun stem or the qualificative. Syntactically, the form /bo-/ does not play any function.

**Distribution****Table 2: Frequency of the Use of the Form *bo-* in the Data**

Category attached to	Frequency
Noun class prefix	31 (49.2 %)
Adverb	22 (34.9 %)
Absolute Pronoun	1 (1.6 %)
Qualificative stem	1 (1.6 %)
Qualificative pronoun	2 (3.2 %)
Qualificatives	4 (6.3%)
Copulative	2 (3.2%)
Total	63 (100 %)

The form /*bo-*/ frequently occurs with nouns (49%) and adverbs (35%) and less frequently with qualificatives, qualificative pronouns and qualificative stems (11.1%), the copulative (3.2%), and the absolute pronoun (1.6%).

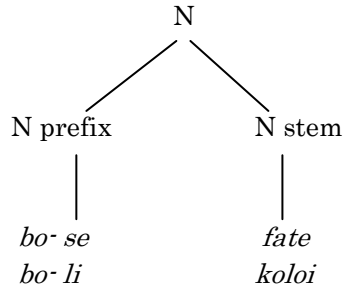
**Affixation of the Form /*bo-*/ to Nouns**

Affixation of the form /*bo-*/ to nouns covers all the noun classes, with the exception of the nouns that belong to classes 1(a) and 2(a).

**Table 3: The Distribution of the Form /*bo-*/ to Various Noun Classes**

Class	Noun	Sample / <i>bo-</i> / marked noun
1.	<i>ngoana</i>	<i>bo-ngoana</i>
1a		
2.	<i>bana</i>	<i>bo-bana</i>
2a.		
3.	<i>momang</i>	<i>bo-momang</i>
	<i>moroko</i>	<i>bo-moroko</i>
4.	<i>metlakase</i>	<i>bo-metlakase</i>
5.	<i>lera</i>	<i>bo-lera</i>
6.	<i>malakabe</i>	<i>bo-malakabe</i>
7.	<i>sefate</i>	<i>bo-sefate</i>
8.	<i>litlama</i>	<i>bo-litlama</i>
9.	<i>palo</i>	<i>bo-palo</i>
10.	<i>likoloi</i>	<i>bo-likoloi</i>
14.	<i>bofubelu</i>	<i>bo-bofubelu</i>
	<i>bonyatsi</i>	<i>bo-nyatsi</i>
15.	<i>ho pheha</i>	<i>bo-hopheha</i>

All the nouns above are taken from the data. The internal structure of a noun with the imposition of the form /bo-/ is shown below.

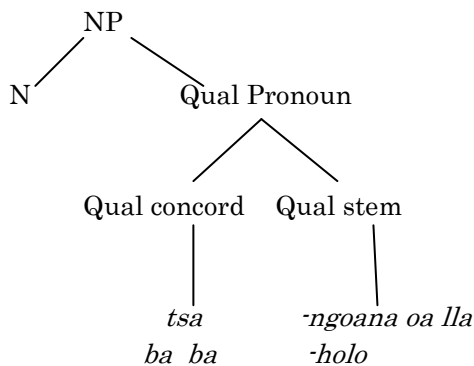


**Figure 2: The Imposition of the Form /bo-/ on a Noun**

The noun *sefate* ‘tree’ is singular, while *likoloji* ‘vehicles’ is plural. Both *sefate* and *likoloji* have two prefixal morphemes, after the attachment of the form /bo-/. We observe that the resulting noun has a dual-prefix structure, because the form /bo-/ is affixed to the already existing noun prefix.

#### The Form /bo-/ and the Qualificative Pronoun

The form /bo-/ is not affixed to nouns only but also to the qualificative pronoun. As a type of the substantive, the qualificative pronoun also accepts the form /bo-/. The qualificative, according to Doke and Mofokeng (1985), becomes a qualificative pronoun when the substantive that is qualified is omitted or placed in the second position (after the qualificative). Figure 3 presents the normal structure of the qualificative pronoun before the attachment of the form /bo-/. Binary branching is used with the assumption that it will facilitate understanding since Machobane (2010) states that binary branching facilitates acquisition of sentence structure by children more easily than ternary branching.

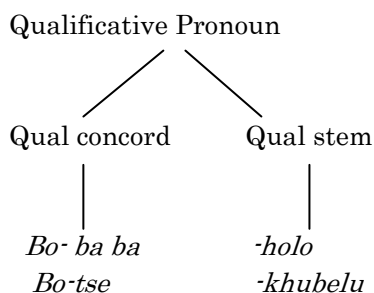


**Figure 3: The Normal Structure of a Qualificative Pronoun**

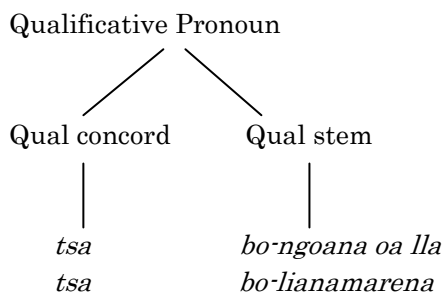
The possessive qualificative pronoun *tša ngoana oa lla* ‘of the child is crying’, like a qualificative, is composed of the qualificative concord *tša-* (monosyllabic) and qualificative stem *-ngoana oa lla* ‘a child cries’ while the adjectival qualificative pronoun *ba baholo* has disyllabic concord *ba ba-* and the stem *-holo* ‘old/big’.

In Figure 4, the affixation of the form */bo-/* to qualificative pronouns is two-fold. It is affixed to the qualificative concord *ba ba-*, thus becoming *bo- ba ba-*, as in (4a), while in (4b) it is affixed to the qualificative stem which is a noun. The noun becomes *bo-bana*.

a.



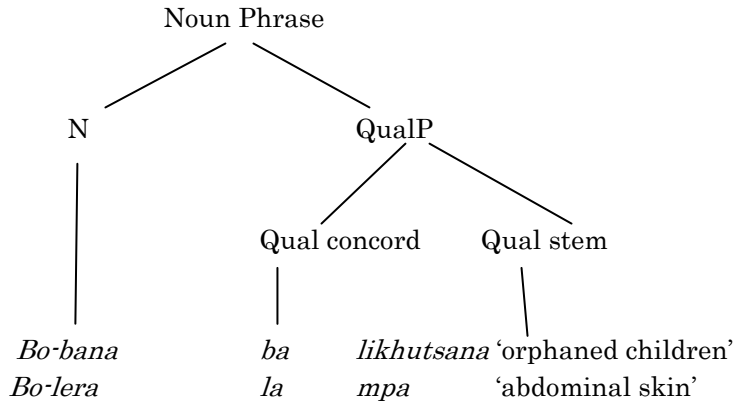
b.



**Figure 4: The Structure of a Qualificative Pronoun with an Imposed */bo-/* Form**

In the case of the qualificative phrase, since there is a substantive that is being qualified (not omitted as in the qualificative pronoun above), the form */bo-/* is attached to the substantive that is qualified and not to the qualificative concord or stem. *Bo-bana ba likhutsana* ‘even the orphaned children.’





**Figure 5: The Structure of a Qualificative with an Imposed /bo-/ Form**

#### The Form /bo-/ and the Absolute Pronoun

The absolute pronoun, like the noun and the qualificative pronoun, is a substantive. It also appears in the data with the form /bo-/ attached to it. However, it seems to be less productive because there is only one example from the data, as shown in example (5) below.

- (5) *Ke-ba-fa bo-tsona libuka tsena...*

1<sup>st</sup> person-AGR 2-AGR give-PAST PRON 10-books DEM-these  
 'I gave them even these books.'

In this example, the form /bo-/ is affixed to the absolute pronoun. Every Sesotho noun can be replaced with an absolute pronoun. Absolute pronouns, including those in class 2(a), seem to take the form /bo-/.

#### The Form /bo-/ and the Adverb

The prefix /bo-/ is further superimposed on adverbs of place, time, and manner. The examples in (6) illustrate this phenomenon:

- (6) a. *E tla be e le bo-kamono*  
 AGR-9 will-FUT be LOC-thereabouts  
 'It will be thereabouts.'

- (6) b. *Sehlopha se ile sa etela bo-mola?*  
 7-Group 7-AGR PAST 7-AGR visit-APPL DEM-there  
 'Did the group visit that place (and others)?'

- (6) c. *Ha re laella bo-lipakeng mona*  
 CONJ-when 1<sup>st</sup> person-AGR pick up-APPL in between-LOC DEM-here  
 'They do not allow us to pick up passengers on the way.'

- (6) d. *Ba tletse bo-Virginia bo-Matlatsane*

- 2-AGR full-PERF Virginia-LOC Matlatsane-LOC  
 ‘They are all over Virginia and Matlatsane and other places.’
- (6) e. *Bo-ka nako e ’ngoe ha ke ile ka koata...*  
 At times-ADV some-ADJ when-CONJ 1<sup>st</sup> person- AGR PAST be sulky-  
 COP  
 ‘Sometimes, if I became sulky...’
- (6) f. *Terafiki e ngata ka bo-paseka, bo-keresemese, bo-liholitei*  
 9-Traffic ADJP-is many PP-on Easter, PP-on Christmas, PP-on holidays  
 ‘There is a lot of traffic around Easter, around Christmas and during  
 other holidays.’

The adverbs (34.9% of the use of the form /bo-/ in the data), while not quite productive, are the second most frequent category. The most frequently used adverbs with the form /bo-/ are the locatives. They are, in and of themselves, either nouns inflected with the /-ng/ suffixal morpheme (as in: *masimong* ‘at the fields’ (class 6), *lipakeng* ‘between’ (class 10) to make them locatives or the few derivatives/remnants of UR-Bantu noun class prefixes *pa-* (as in, *fatše* ‘down’), *ku-* (as in, *hole* ‘far’) and *mu-* (as in, *mose* ‘across/ overseas’). The examples are *bo-fatše*, *bo-masimong*, *bo-mona*, and *bo-hole*.

### The Syntax of the /bo-/ Prefixed Nouns

Syntactically, the nouns to which the form /bo-/ is affixed are found in three syntactic positions (i.e. the NP, the VP and the PP) where they function as subject, object, and prepositional complement. The frequency of each function, as illustrated in Table 4, indicates that 75.0% of them are objects while 15.6% are subjects and 9.4% are prepositional complements. The frequency of the subject function is lower than that of the object function, possibly because Sesotho is a pro-drop language.

Pro-drop languages are defined by Haegeman (1994:455) as languages that allow the subject to be left unarticulated. For example, in some examples in the data, the subjects have not been articulated, but this is not the case with noun objects. In cases where the subject is unarticulated a small **pro** is used, as the examples in (7) show:

- (7) a. **pro** *Re noa bo-lithhare tsena tsa Sesotho*  
 1<sup>st</sup> person-AGR PRES-drink 8-medicine DEM-this QUALP-of Sesotho  
 ‘We drink even these Sesotho medicines.’
- (7) b. **pro** *Ba sebelisa bo-mabitso a fapaneng*  
 2-AGR work- APPL 6-names QUALP-different  
 ‘They use names different from their own.’

- (7) c.            **pro** *Ke tla fihla ka bo-sebene*  
 1<sup>st</sup> person- AGR will-FUT arrive-PRES PP-at seven  
 ‘I will arrive around seven o’clock.’
- (7) d.            **pro** *O fihlile ho bo-masanta le bo-mapelo*  
 AGR-1 PP-to 6-St. Anna Guild CONJ-and 6-Sacred Heart Guild  
 ‘He/she went even to the members of St. Anna Guild and Sacred Heart Guild.’

In the examples above, the nouns in subject position are omitted and their position is occupied by the samll **pro**.

**Table 4: Frequency of the Three Functions**

Function	Frequency
Subject	5 (15.6%)
Object	24 (75.0%)
Prepositional complement	3 (9.4%)
Total	32 (100.0%)

### The Semantics of the Form /bo-/

The study examined the semantic function(s) of the form /bo-/ in order to find out its semantic role. Several hypotheses came to mind. Firstly, the study has found that the form /bo-/ plays the role of a quantifier, very much like the determiners **some**, **a few**, etc. and very much like the articles and other determiners in English. When one says *bo-litamati* ..., one may mean tomatoes and other things or some tomatoes. Thus, the form /bo-/ may serve a function similar to that of the class 2(a) prefix, which indicates or means more than one thing.

The second finding is that it is used with the English meaning **among others**. This would mean that people think in English and speak in Sesotho. In this way, one does not have to list the various items. If one says, *bo-lianamarena*, it means that there are different kinds of blankets and by saying *bo-lianamarena* the interlocutor understands that the speaker does not refer only to the *seanamarena* type of blanket. There are other types which the speaker does not have to mention. The form /bo-/ does that and the list is understood. Therefore, the form /bo-/ plays the same role as the Sesotho phrase *har’a tse ling* ‘among others,’ hence the variation. The form /bo-/ may also have the meaning of **approximation or around**, when used with adverbs of time or place, as illustrated in (8):

- (8) a. *Bo-hakae ka beke?*  
ADV-how many times PP-in a week  
'Approximately, how many times a week?'
- (8) b. *Nka e lata bo-neng?*  
MOOD- I might 9-AGR fetch-PRES ADV-when  
'When might I fetch it?'

These sentences could be interpreted to mean approximately how many times a week or around when/what time.

The use of the form /*bo-*/ may further be ascribed to language change and dynamism. As Rapeane et al. (2010) show, Sesotho shows evidence of dynamism like other languages. It is this dynamism that may be responsible for the new form /*bo-*/ that attaches to the noun prefixes (regardless of number) as well as to the pronouns, qualificatives, and adverbs. If so and if it exists for a long time, perhaps grammarians will have to consider this role and incorporate this new phenomenon in their books.

One wonders whether other Bantu languages are experiencing the use of a similar form and, if they do, with what explanations. Langa<sup>2</sup> (2011) reports a structure similar to this one for Changaan-speaking children's language. They have been observed using the prefix /*va-*/ with the nouns of class 2 quite unnecessarily, as example (9) shows.

- (9) *vaJowawu avajondzi*  
1-John NEG-PRES-study  
'John does not study.'

Langa observes that this extra (superimposed) prefix occurs in the speech of the children in urban areas as a developmental error, because the children are not yet competent in Changaan (Langa's own, un-researched opinion). According to Langa, the meaning of an expression such as *va-Jowawu* is generic, rather than specific. It means that boys in general do not study or do not go to school. John is just an example of such boys.

### **Concluding Remarks**

This paper has explored the phonological, morphological, and syntactic features of the form /*bo-*/. It went on to explore its syntactic and semantic functions as well. Phonologically, the form /*bo-*/ has similar features to those of the class 2a noun prefix /*bo-*/. That is, it is a bilabial, plosive sound followed by the rounded, mid-high, back, oral sound /*o*/.

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Morphologically, the form /bo-/ is affixed to both singular and plural nouns, with the exception of the nouns that belong to classes 1(a) and 2(a), where the traditional prefix /bo-/ is used. It is also affixed to adverbs, qualificatives, absolute and qualificative pronouns, and to the copulative.

The form /bo-/ is not syntactically active as a prefix. It does not play the role of the governing element at all in sentences as the normal noun prefixes do. Semantically, this form seems to play the role of a quantifier. It is also used with the English meanings of **among others** and **approximately**.

### **Recommendations**

This study recommends further research on other Bantu languages to find out whether this phenomenon is taking place or has always existed in such languages as well, and to find out its limitations and impact on such languages.

Further research on this phenomenon is necessary in order to see who dominates the use of this form. For example, a researcher could compare the speech of the educated with that of the uneducated, the speech of males with that of females, the speech of people who reside in urban areas with the speech of people who reside in rural areas, and the speech of young people with that of the elderly.

### **Note**

Langa, D. (2011). *Personal Communication* at a LASU XI Biennial Conference held in Lusaka.

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## Appendix 1

### Data

(The number that follows the example indicates the noun class, while the letter indicates number (singular/plural)).

1. Re ka ba ra chaisoa ke **bo-likoloi**. 10p
  2. Re batla **bo-liplastic**. 10p
  3. Le litlama tse kang **bo-moomang**. 3s
  4. U re ka mora' hore e be sehlopha se ile sa etela **bo-mola**? Adverb
  5. Re tla be ntse re bua tsona taba tsena tsa **bo-HIV and AIDS**. Qualificative
  6. ...ba se ba le teng ka litaba tsa **bo-HIV and AIDS**. Qualificative
  - 7-9. Ke ne ke bile ke ba fa **bo-tsona** libuka tsena tsa **bo-Mr Joe** 2(a)p tsa **bo-ngoana** 1(a)s oa lla ke re ba ipalle.
  10. Ke lumela hore ntho e bobebe ke ha ho ka etsoa **bo-pitso**. 9s
  11. **Bo-tse khubelu**. Qual Pronoun
  12. U tlotse **bo-bofubelu** mono ho ntlafatsa. 14s
  13. **Bo-litamati** li bolile. 10p
  14. **Bo-mose koana** ba ke ke ba li etsa. Adverb
  15. Mohlomomg e tla be e le **bo-kamono** kapa moo re bonang hore sehlopha se tla laoleha. Adverb
  16. Ha ho ntse ho buuo ka ntho tsena tsa **bo-HIV and AIDS**. Qualificative
  17. Ba se ba fokolitse **bo-palo**. 9s
  18. **Bo-hakae** ka beke? Adverb
  19. Le batho ba baholo ba na le bona **bo-bonyatsi** bono. 14s
  20. Ke kopa ho botsa hore na nka e lata **bo-neng**. Adverb
  21. Ke kopa ho botsa hore na motho ha a ngotse **bo-article** a ka e isa kae. 9s
  22. Hobane ba se ba fokolitse **bo-palo** e kholo ea linyatsi. 9s
  23. **Bo-bana** ba likhutsana ke boikarabello ba hae. 2p
  24. O rata **bo-ho pheha**. 15
  25. Ha ke khathetse ke ee ke utloe ka **bo-lera** la mpa. 5s
  26. Ke tlala feela **bo-masimong** mona, ha ho lijo. Adverb
  27. ...Ha u re u entse **bo-liappointment** le bona ha ba tle. 10s
  - 28-31. ...Ba apara **bo-liana-marena**, (8p) **bo-malakabe**, (6p) **bo-sefate** (7s) joale morao tjena ho na le **bo- Motlatsi khosana** . Copulative
  - 32-33. Ba tletse **bo-Virginia** koana, **bo-Matlatsane** (Klerksdorp), ba siile bana hae mona. Adverb
  34. Ba bua **bo-Sekhooa** ba nahana hore ha re se tsebe. 7s
  35. Ae bo! **Bo-masimong** mona ke mekhoabo feela. Adverb
  36. Ba itsamaela **bo-ka maoto** hoseng ho bata, ba ea lifemeng. Preposition
  37. Le **bo-terata** tsena li fokotsoe. 10p
  38. O na le **bo-mahlaseli**. Copulative
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39. Ke bua ka ntho tsa **bo-development and administration**. Qualificative
40. Ha ke rate ho noa **bo-mabese**. 6p
41. Le bana ba lulang **bo-hona hae mona**. Adverb
42. ... **bo-ba baholo** bana ha ba re mamele. Qual pronoun
43. Ba re hanela ha re laella **bo-lipakeng** mona. Adverb
44. (Hlooho) E ka u nka **bo-nako** e kae e ntse e u tsoere? 9s
- 45-46. Ngaka o batla ho bona hore na **bo-litsoekere** tsena le **bo-liX-ray** liphetho tsa tsona li re'ng. 10s
- 47-48. O khutlile o re eena a ke ke a pheha **bo-fatše** (16) kapa ka **bo-porema** lekhale. 9s
49. **Bo-ka nako** e 'ngoe ha ke ile ka koata, pelo e be e liehe ho otlā. Preposition
50. (Interlocutor: Le hokae lehlaba?) **Bo-mona**. Adverb
51. Re noa **bo-litlhare** tsena tsa Sesotho. 8p
52. Ba se ba sebelisa **bo-mabitso** a fapaneng le a bona. 6p
53. Ke tla fihla ka **bo-sebene** re tsebe ho bua. Adverb
- 54-55. O fihlile le ho **bo-masanta** le **bo-mapelo** a ntse a bua taba tseno. Adverb
- 56-57. Re etsa mesebetsi eohle, **bo-mepheho** (4p), **bo-moroko** (3s) le ho lema.
58. Hoja ha se ka mokola, **bo-metlakase** (4s) ena re ka be re sa e tsebe.
- 59-61. Terafiki e ba ngata ka **bo-paseka**, **bo-keresemese** le ka **bo-liholetei**. Adverb
62. Makopokopo ao a poone a ka ba **bo-mararo**. Copulative
63. Ke khone le ho etsa **bo-tjena**. Adverb

## Appendix 2

### The Coding Matrix

Categories	1. Nouns	a) subject b) Object c) Prepositional complement	
	2. Adverb (locatives)		
	3. Pronouns (absolute and qualificative)		
	4.	Other	Adverbs