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Lemmatization of Northern Sotho Multiword Expressions in a Special Purpose Dictionary

By

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Declaration

I declare that, *Lemmatization of Northern Sotho Multiword Expressions in a Language for Special Purposes Dictionary***,** has not been submitted for any degree or examination in any other university, and that all the sources I have used or quoted have been indicated and acknowledged by complete references.

Desiree Moshibe Kgarose ` March 2020

Signature**……**

Dedication

This dissertation is dedicated to my mother and father for their devotion and endless support, and sacrifices. Le mpontšhitše gore lerato ga le na magomo. Ke a leboga Mateadi le Mphela.

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Ke rata go lebiša ditebogo tša go tšwa boteng bja pelo yaka go batho ka moka bao ba nthušitšego go phethagatša sengwalwa se. Ke leboga thušo le dikeletšo tša bona ka ge di mphihlišitše mo ke lego gona. Ke rata go leboga batho bao ba latelago:

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- Baithuti-mmogo le nna Molebogeng Leshabane, Mmanape Hlungwane le Thabiso Raphaphula ka thekgo ya bona.

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- National Research Foundation (NRF) ka thušo ya mašeleng.
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- Sesi waka Pitsi Molepo le motlogolo waka Mokgoba Molepo ka thekgo ya bona.

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- Bagwera baka Masenyane Mashaphu le Sizakele Nene ka thekgo le mantšu a bona a tlhohleletšo.

- Bohle bao ba tšerego nako ya bona go thuša go tlhatholla tše dingwe tša dika le diema tšeo di lego ka gare ga nyakišišo ye.

Abstract

A number of lexicographic challenges has been identified and lemmatization of metaphors, particularly multiword expressions, in general purpose dictionaries remains a key problem in the development of Bantu lexicography MWEs are usually catered for in GPDs in different ways: sometimes they are sub-lemmatized and other times they are excluded. One of the proposed solutions is to develop a language for special purposes dictionary, henceforth LSPD where they are given full lemmatic status and a detailed microstructure. Therefore, the aim of this research is to compile an LSPD of Northern Sotho MWEs. Following the alphabetization and thematization principles, in this special purpose dictionary the lemmas have full lemmatic status and are categorized according to the typology of each metaphor type while the macrostructure is divided into three sections to make it convenient for the user and manageable for the lexicographer. A NS LSPD of 335 entries has been developed.

Keywords: lemma, sub-lemma, lemmatization, multiword expression, macrostructure, microstructure, proverb, idiom, alphabetization, Northern Sotho

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Abbreviations

cf. – cross reference

CTX – context

Eng. – English

Etym. – etymology

Fig – figurative meaning

FLEx - Fieldworks Language Explorer

GPD - General purpose dictionary

ID. EXPR - Idiomatic expression

Lit – literal meaning

LSPD - Language for special purpose dictionary

MWEs - multiword expressions

NLP – Natural language processing

NLU - National Lexicography Units

Nom – nominal idiom

NS – Northern Sotho

PROV - proverb

Sem. – semantic domain

SIL - Summer Institute of Linguistics

Sot – Sotho

Us – Example of usage

Var – variant

Chapter 1: Introduction

This introductory chapter provides an overview of the dissertation. First, multiword expressions are discussed as broadly as possible, and how and where they are stored in dictionaries is examined. An overview of methodologies used to analyse the data and the results arising therefrom are discussed briefly. Finally, the synopsis of each chapter is provided.

1.1. Multiword expressions

Multiword expressions, henceforth MWEs, have been studied over centuries for varying aspects such as their nature/properties/characteristics, their structure, their classification, usage, relationship with figures of speech, language and thought, ideology, culture, their representation in dictionaries, etc. MWEs are multilexical items found in every language. Various scholars such as Wray (2005), Sprenger (2003: 4), Masini (2005: 145), define MWEs based on different characteristics, with the most common of these properties being their syntactic structure and meaning or idiomaticity. According to these scholars, a MWE can be comprehensively defined as a multilexical unit of fixed structure with both idiomatic and compositional meaning and further, it is stored in the mental lexicon that as a whole refers to a specific concept (Müller 2015: 450). Due to their multilexical nature and the abundant terminology related to MWEs, the term can also refer to collocations, fixed expressions, multiword units, phrases, phrasal lexemes, lexical phrases, phrasemes, and so forth. Some of the most common types that have been identified and regarded as MWEs include phenomena such as proverbs, verbal idioms, phrasal verbs, metaphoric expressions, collocations, complex nominals, similes, routine formulas, etc. (Müller at al 2015: 451). Some MWEs follow a different pattern with less fixed lexical items that may be different but share a similar meaning. For example, "*to hit the roof*" or "t*o hit the ceiling*". In Northern Sotho, the examples include *"go betha fase"* or *"go itia fase"*, literally to beat

or hit the ground, which means to fail at something. Another example is *“go utswa ka tsebe”* or go *“tšea ka tsebe”* meaning to steal or take by the ear, figuratively meaning to eavesdrop. The challenge for scholars is determining whether these varying lexical items are dialectal variations or rather combinations that are less fixed (Müller et al. 2015: 453).

The different definitions are synonymous because their meanings overlap and usually vary depending on the degree of lexical and syntactic fixedness, however, it should be noted that their fixedness is related to the semantics, as they are fixed in meaning, and not necessarily the syntactic structure. Though their structure is not completely fixed, it is rigid and allows minimal interception. For example, some MWEs allow verbs to take different tenses and nouns to change number without change in meaning. In addition to syntactic and semantic aspects, MWEs are also defined in terms of their pragmatic aspects, that is, the different contexts under which they are used. For example, MWEs can be used in varying contexts to illustrate exaggeration, comparison, repetition, allusion, personification, etc. The different contexts are shown when a word or phrase is used in for rhetorical or vivid effect (Müller et all 2015: 452).

MWEs are also characterized by adaptability in new contexts such as the modern context. The adaptability is achieved through alterations, deletion or addition of words or parts to form new MWEs that can reflect the situation or concept. As societies evolve, new MWEs are coined to replace the old ones that cannot address modernity and contemporary issues, and because they are adaptable, some old MWEs can be used to in contemporary contexts by shifting their meaning or giving them new interpretations (Possa 2014).

1.2. Relationship between MWEs and metaphors

Of the abundant terminology, as listed above, and their overlapping meanings, some terms are considered general while others are restricted or more specific, hence, definitions of MWEs vary among scholars. The term MWE is, though general, preferred by scholars as it is more inclusive and broader, and further allows for classification of MWE types (classes) such as proverbs, idioms, verbal idioms, similes, nominals, routine formulas, etc., based on their general properties such as definition, syntactic structure, idiomaticity. Based on some of the characteristics of MWEs given here, there is a relationship between MWEs and metaphors which stems from the emphasis on compositional meaning, that is, meaning that can only be determined from the expression as a whole and not from the single words in isolation. However, the difference is that, though all MWEs have compositional meaning, not all MWEs are idiomatic, and these include fossilised or formulaic expressions. They include examples such as “happy birthday”, “good morning”, “instead of”, and so forth. Another difference is that unlike MWEs, metaphors are inclusive of all lexical units with metaphoric, figurative or idiomatic meaning, be it single lexical or multilexical (Müller et al. 2015: pp. 452-54).

1.3. Metaphor, Culture, Ideology and Thought

General language is instrumental in communicating facts that are correct, unambiguous and impersonal, and seldom their meaning changes depending on the speaker or the context. It has, however, been found in more recent studies of metaphors that all words have affective connotations that speakers use to express their feelings (Hayakawa 1964). The process to speak of abstract concepts such as emotions and ideas or thoughts is called conceptual mapping, where speakers use conventional ways to express complex ideas such as opinions, judgements, beliefs, etc. (Patterson 2017: 103).

Metaphors, synonymous with MWEs, were previously viewed as speech ornaments due to their affective elements such as rhythm, alliteration, assonance, etc. This viewed has shifted as metaphors are recognised as communicative devices used to express thoughts and emotions. This view shows that metaphors have two purposes, aesthetic and cognitive. Metaphors are often used as poetic devices in literature and speeches to appeal to the senses, while their cognitive purpose is to describe mental processes. Metaphors are figures of speech used in ordinary or general language by ordinary people as a way to understand one concept in terms of another. As figures of speech, the high affective connotations of MWEs allow users to be sarcastic, ironical, euphemistic, and so forth, in order to avoid impoliteness or verbal taboos. Some of these expressions are no longer recognised as metaphoric expressions because they are embedded in language and people use them without being aware. Their meaning vary from speaker to speaker, and can also change based on context. Metaphors originate in beliefs, politics, philosophies, value systems, norms, etc. They come from observations of animals, occurrences, natural phenomena, and so forth, hence their understanding depends on understanding of literal meaning, social experiences and insight into a society (Hayakawa 1964; Nokele 2014).

Metaphors are peculiar to language and culture, without historical insight into the ideology and culture of a society, metaphors become nonsensical if interpreted literally. The term metaphor is strongly linked to culture as it describes the relationship between embodied experiences, culture and metaphoric expressions at conceptual level. The conceptual mapping is influenced by both language and culture, so the metaphors are a reflection of a particular society's traditions, values and norms based on history and experience, hence their origin. Similarities are drawn between humans and animals, natural phenomena, inanimate objects that are familiar to a particular

society to make comparisons. In the Sotho culture, a cow has a high value as a sign of wealth, currency, source of food and for its role in marriage, thus there are multiple metaphors that are based on the cow. Therefore, without familiarity with the society and its culture it would be difficult to understand some of them (Hayakawa 1964: pp.124-125).

The relationship between metaphor and culture shows even in non-related languages as some metaphoric mappings are universal while others are culture specific and thus, arise as a result of cultural influences. For example, eating is familiar to all humans and therefore, familiar to all cultures regardless of cultural codes. The informative connotations of eating are related to the sensation of hunger satisfied by the physical intake of food by biting, chewing, swallowing and so forth, and are similar across all societies. However, the affective connotations vary across societies due to social and cultural habits. For example, it is impolite to speak of eating in some, impolite to speak while eating, impolite to eat and not invite the next person to join you (Taljard and Bosman 2014).

1.4. MWE Classification

The definitions above show that MWEs can be classified in different ways based on time, types or their syntactic structure. MWEs are classified according to era into traditional or classical and contemporary based on time. Traditional metaphors reflect how communication and communication devices were developed in the past and thus refer to the past. They include examples such as proverbs and idioms which will be discussed below. Contemporary metaphors are representative of modern life and new technologies. Cartoons are one such example of how traditional metaphors have evolved. The rise of contemporary metaphors is evidence of the adaptive nature of metaphors discussed above, and their ability to evolve from generation to generation (Domínguez 2015: pp.241-42). Some theorists distinguish between three kinds of

conceptual metaphor based on the different levels of conceptualisation. The three kinds are structural, orientational and ontological metaphors. These conceptual metaphors describe abstract concepts, human spatial orientation and mental processes (Lakoff and Johnson 1980).

Metaphors are further classified linguistically into different types of idioms based on their syntactic and semantic properties. They are nominal, verbal and sentential idioms. Nominal idioms are short phrases that consist of a noun followed by a qualificative. Verbal idioms, also short phrases, begin with the infinitive /go/ '/to/' and followed by a verbal stem and a syntactic complement which can be a noun, relative construction, locative, etc. There are two types of sentential idioms, proverbs and fixed expressions which are both complete sentences, the difference being that proverbs are non-descriptive and can be used in varying contexts while fixed expressions are used to describe specific situations. Nominal idioms, verbal idioms and fixed expressions allow syntactic alterations, though minimal, and do not allow any change (Seroke 1994).

1.5. Statement of the problem

Though MWEs have been studied over centuries (Kövecses 2008) to understand their structure, characteristics, their classification, usage, relationship with figures of speech, language and thought, ideology, culture among others, their representation in dictionaries remains problematic, especially in the Sotho languages of the South Eastern Bantu Languages classification (see Figure **2.1**), which shows the position of Northern Sotho and its relation to other Sotho languages. In the main, in the Sotho languages, MWEs are captured as sub-lemmas in General Purpose dictionaries (GPDs). A GPD is a dictionary of any size that contains words from all spheres of life and human knowledge for various users, that deals with general vocabulary and grammatical information (Mihindou 2004: 120). GPDs, by their nature of being quick

reference books, mainly contain single words, hence, MWEs in GPDs are lemmatized as sub-lemmas and not the main lemmas. A lemma is a lexicographic term for a normalised form of a word that directs users to a dictionary article, with nouns lemmatized in the singular while verbs are lemmatized in the infinitive. (Bergenholtz and Tarp 1995: 15). A sub-lemma is a subentry or secondary sense of the main lemma that usually follows the definition in order to support as proof the information given in the main entry. The lemma forms part of the macrostructure of the dictionary as it is the headword that users will seek first in their search. A sub-lemma is an additional entry included in the microstructure to support the main entry, often considered more important (Ilson 1988: pp. 74-5). As sub-lemmas, MWEs are treated inadequately as they provide insufficient macrostructures and microstructures thus leaving out some major components that make their access and understanding easier.

The microstructure is the arrangement of the information provided under each lemma; that is the arrangement of the information given in the macrostructure. The microstructure plays a significant role in ensuring that the type of information given in each field is adequate and consistent across each lemma. In GPDs, the type of information provided in the fields informs the users about the lexical category, morphology and syntax and, gender where necessary. In the envisioned dictionary fro this study, the microstructure includes the literal meaning in English, figurative meaning in Northern Sotho definition and in English, semantic domain(s), context, etymology/ etymological analysis, dialectal variation if available and example.

Dictionaries require planning to ensure that they provide information that is easily accessible and adequate for understanding of concepts. It is thus important to ensure that dictionaries are compiled according to consistent methods to ensure that they are user-friendly. One of the key steps to make dictionaries meet the acceptable lexicographic standards is to determine the information in the macrostructure through

a process called lemmatization. Lemmatization is described by various scholars such as Sinclair (1991), Hartmann & James (1998) and Plisson et al. (2005) as a process not only reducing word paradigms for canonical forms to be used as lemma in dictionary making, but also selecting and furthering these word forms. The process of determining the lemma is based largely on the degree they are most likely to be looked for. GPDs, whether traditional or online use single-word lemmas. In these dictionaries, nouns are lemmatized in the singular and verbs in the default tense which is usually the present tense. Any additional information related to the lemmas such as number, tense, derivation or verb forms, etymology, variants, etc. thus, forms part of the microstructure (Nthambeleni and Musehane, 2014: pp. 215-16).

Due to the multilexical nature of MWEs, lexicographers of GPDs face a challenge when it comes to their lemmatization, hence they treat them as sub-lemmas. Gouws and Prinsloo (2010) argue that all lexical items should have full lemmatic status as they share an equal status as units of meaning. In addition to the single word lemmata, they maintain that sub-lexical and *multilexical* items should be recorded as lemmas. Sub-lexical items are affixes and stems of nouns and verbs that may indicate tense or number. *Multilexical* items include phrases or MWEs such as idioms and proverbs whose meaning cannot be determined from the individual words that make up the phrases, hence, should be lemmatized as single units (Kosch 2016; Mulhall 2010: 1355).

Further, MWEs are a lexicographic challenge for GPDs because dictionaries of this typology are intended for common or general vocabulary and mainly includes mainly semantic data and are intended for use by a wide range of people from school learners to advance users. GPDs are divided into two types; academic or normative dictionary which deals with standard language from all domains of life and referential or descriptive dictionary which includes data from written texts as well as oral literature.

General dictionaries tend to be large in size because they try to cover general language entries and the facts related to those entries. GPDs cover linguistic information such as grammatical information, pronunciation, spelling and some non-linguistic information (Mihindou 2004: pp.119-28).

The inclusion of MWEs as sub-lemmas leads to inconsistencies in terms of MWE selection and headword selection where lexicographers have to ask which MWEs to include, how and where to include, a tendency that makes the selection process incomplete and subjective in that it is known to the compiler only. Also, because metaphors are included randomly as sub-entries or example sentences in some of the available dictionaries, users often struggle to access them. A survey of different Sotho dictionaries shows that the lemmatization standards and strategies that are currently in practice regarding MWEs are inconsistent, inadequate and without clear guidelines, thus, users are faced with a challenge when they look them up (Kosch 2016:149).

The Setswana compilation titled *Setswana English Setswana* by Matumo (1993) is a bilingual dictionary, Setswana into English in the first part and English into Setswana in the second part. This is a general dictionary where the inclusion of idioms and proverbs is random and inconsistent in that they are not included under every lemma. Idioms are labelled *ID. EXPR.* and proverbs are labelled *PROV.* In *Thanodi ya Setswana* (1995) by Kgasa and Tsonope, a Setswana monolingual dictionary, the proverbs are also included as example sentences with explanations however there are no labels or markers to make the users aware that the phrases are idioms or proverbs.

In Sesotho, the same lexicographic challenges and limitations identified by Kosch are also found in general dictionaries such as *Southern Sotho-English Dictionary* by Dieterlen et al. (1961) and *Sethantšo sa Sesotho* by Hlalele (2005). The

first compilation is bilingual and one directional from Sesotho into English while Hlalele's compilation is monolingual. In both dictionaries, idioms and proverbs are sub-lemmatized as example sentences and are randomly included in some entries while left out in other entries. In the former, the some proverbs are listed more than once under different headwords, though it may be argued that this selection and lemmatization method takes us space, it is also argued that this makes the metaphor more accessible and decreases the discrepancies that users encounter when the metaphor is lemmatized under a different keyword than the assumed keyword (Kosch 2016: pp.150-1). For example, in the Dieterlen et al. compilation, the idiom *ho kgora mpa* 'to become pregnant' has been lemmatized under both keywords *kgora* and *mpa*.

In Northern Sotho, MWEs have been excluded from most general dictionaries surveyed. Majority of the available general compilations are referential or reference dictionaries made up of Northern Sotho entries with English equivalents. Dictionaries of this nature are usually intended as quick references or guides for users interested in learning the language. Some notable authors are Kriel's *New English – Northern Sotho Dictionary* (1976) which is a bilingual dictionary with English entries and their Northern Sotho equivalents and excludes MWEs. Ziervogel and Mokgokong (1975)'s *Groot Noord-sotho Woordeboek* is also a translation dictionary with no regard for MWEs. The Northern Sotho Terminology and Orthography No. 4 (1988) is an all-purpose terminology list that covers a wide range of subject fields across different spheres such as religion, education, work, etc. with some subject fields noted in brackets. It is trilingual, from English to Afrikaans to Northern Sotho and the entries are arranged alphabetically and follows the macrostructure of a GPD (Prinsloo and de Schryver, 2002: pp. 161-67).

Sesotho sa Leboa-English: bilingual and explanatory dictionary (2006) follows the same fashion as Kriel, Ziervogel and the others as it is a translation dictionary of

single-word lemmas and their equivalent in another language and therefore, MWEs are excluded as the design of these dictionaries is not conducive to their structure. Another example of this nature is the *Oxford Bilingual School Dictionary: Northern Sotho and English* by de Schryver (2007), which is mainly linguistic in nature and focuses on the grammar of the language. It is bilingual with two directionalities first from Northern into English where the Northern Sotho are followed by English equivalents and explanations. The second directionality is English into Northern Sotho. The exclusion of MWEs and their inclusion as sub-lemmas is an injustice to language learners because they denied access to metaphors, which make up a large part of general vocabulary.

Notwithstanding this problem, there are Language for Special Purposes Dictionaries (LSPDs) for these languages and others where multilexical items such as MWEs are accorded full lemmatic status. LSPDs are dictionaries that focus on specific users such as experts, semi-experts and non-experts and deal with the terminology and technical terms of different subject fields or special field. Examples of LSPDs include dictionaries of MWEs, thesauri of homonyms, synonyms or antonyms, dictionaries of abbreviations and acronyms, dictionaries of collocations, dictionaries of borrowed or foreign words (Mihindou 2004: pp.119-20).

In order to resolve the lemmatization challenges explained above, scholars such as Kosch (2016) and Mojela (2004) have suggested the compilation of special purpose dictionaries dedicated to metaphors where these metaphors will be the actual lemmas. They suggest that the entries can still be arranged alphabetically without any inconvenience for the users because they will be approached with a different expectation. There have been efforts to develop specialized dictionaries to improve the lemmatization of MWEs. Attempts have been made in the Sotho languages to present MWEs in special collections with some notable works such Mokitimi (1997),

Letšhama (1998) and Rakoma (2016). Mokitimi and Letšhama were referenced to highlight the similarities and differences between the various metaphor anthologies to show the general structure of the compilations, and to further justify the reasons for conducting this research.

Mokitimi's (1997) *The voice of the people: Proverbs of the Basotho* in *African proverbs series, vol. 4,* which is a collection of Sesotho proverbs. The compilation's macrostructure is semantic domain-oriented, meaning that the metaphors are arranged according to the contexts under which they are used. The semantic domains are numbered from numerals 1 to 18 and each one is followed by an explanation before the proverbs are lemmatized. The entries are lemmatized thematically and the entries under each theme are not arranged in an alphabetic order. The different themes are God, ancestors, death, human condition, values, virtues, vices, wisdom, feelings, etc. This is a bilingual collection with Sesotho lemmata followed by their English equivalents. The microstructure includes the English gloss, literal meaning and the metaphoric meaning which refers to the explanation in this collection. Some entries have been provided with illustrations while others do not have them. The entries are marked with numbers with an alphabetical index provided in the back of the compilation. The etymological analyses of the proverbs are not provided but are rather contextualised in the definitions of the semantic domains (Mokitimi 1997).

Letšhama's (1998) *Bagologolo ba re! Botlhale jwa batho ba maloba mo dianeng tsa Setswana* is also a useful reference that provides guidance in terms of understanding the lemmatization, macrostructure and microstructure of specialized dictionaries of MWEs metaphors under the suitable semantic domains. It is a trilingual anthology of Setswana metaphors with English and Afrikaans equivalents, thus making it a reference for metaphor translation. The macrostructure is made up of Setswana metaphors that have been lemmatized in full under semantic domains such

as community and family life, youth, behavioural guide, etc. The microstructure consists of Setswana proverbs with definitions in Setswana followed by English equivalents, their meanings and then Afrikaans equivalents and their meanings. The etymological and semantic analyses as explained in Mojela (2004) have not been provided. Rakoma's (2016) collection which is sampled for this research is also a special dictionary of Northern Sotho metaphors in which the entries are lemmatized in full with explanations. It is the biggest metaphor collection in Northern Sotho and thus considered reliable, however, its monolingual nature limits it to L1 speakers and makes it exclusive of other speakers and further lacks context for both L1 and other speakers. See 3.3 for further analysis of this dictionary (Letšhama 1998).

Sub-lemmatization of MWEs also leads to inconsistencies with the microstructure because there is no common microstructure for lexical items of their nature. For example, in most dictionaries, MWEs are treated as example sentences under the lemmas and sometimes with no labels to make the user aware that they are idioms or proverbs. A dictionary microstructure is the arrangement of the information provided under each lemma; that is the arrangement of the information given in the macrostructure. The microstructure plays a significant role in ensuring that the type of information given in each field is adequate and consistent across each lemma. In GPDs, the type of information provided in the fields informs the users about the lexical category, morphology and syntax and, gender where necessary.

A survey of the LSPDs or metaphor collections listed above reveals the attempts have improved how MWEs are lemmatized, however, there are still some weaknesses. In some, the problem is the infrequent, inconsistent, haphazard, covert treatment of MWEs in GPDs and anthologies and their microstructures which provide inadequate information about their usage, context and origin which is necessary for full understanding of the expressions. It is for these reasons that Mojela has proposed

strategies to improve the microstructure which refers to the arrangement of the information provided under each lemma. Mojela proposes that the microstructure should include not only the explanations but also the etymological analysis to establish the relationship between the literal and figurative of the individual words. The microstructure plays a significant role in ensuring that the type of information given in each field is adequate and consistent across each lemma. In GPDs, the type of information provided in the fields informs the users about the lexical category, morphology and syntax and, gender where necessary. In this research, the design of the microstructure for the proposed dictionary will be based on Mokitimi, Rakoma and in particular Mojela.

1.6. Aims and Research Questions

In view of the problems above, it is the aim of this research to compile an LSPD for Northern Sotho MWEs, in particular, proverbs and idioms with full lemmatic status amd providing sufficient detail under the lemmas. The envisaged dictionary is characterized as a dictionary of phrases or phraseological dictionary based on the multilexical nature of idioms and proverbs. Kosch (2016) argues that the way in which MWEs are lemmatized in GPDs is problematic because their inclusion as sub-lemmas is inconsistent and makes their access difficult and due to their sub-lemmatic status they are treated inadequately in their microstructures. The study also draws from findings and recommendations by Mojela (2004: 332) who stresses “the importance of having specialized dictionaries which will give users detailed etymological explanations of the meaning of idiomatic and proverbial expressions as used in Sesotho sa Leboa”. It is the second aim of this investigation to develop a Northern Sotho LSPD that will also provide MWE lemmas with adequate explanations including these recommended by Mojela above.

The research questions are as follows:

1. What factors should be considered in lemmatizing multilexical items?
2. What should the microstructure of a multiword expression article include?

1.7. Rationale, goals and objectives

As stated above, the aim of this research is to compile an LSPD of Northern Sotho MWEs in order to improve their lemmatization and presentation in dictionaries. In the GPDs surveyed, it was found that MWEs are given sub-lemmatic status with inadequate microstructures. MWEs are given lemmatic status in the LSPDs surveyed, thus showing that MWEs can be lemmatized in full. However, their microstructures in such dictionaries still remain inadequate, it is therefore a second aim of this research to give fuller or more detailed microstructures in LSPDs.

The literature and the surveyed GPDs and LSPDs of NS have revealed that the inconsistent lemmatization and inadequate treatment in their microstructures makes MWEs difficult to access, learn and understand. Therefore, the rationale of this study is to provide a better resource which makes MWEs easily accessible and enhance users' knowledge and understanding of the culture and ideology of Basotho ba Lebowa because MWEs are an embodiment of the culture and ideology of a people. They will contribute towards the efforts of the National Lexicographic Units and ensure that NS is preserved. Language acquisition and learning inevitably includes the learning of the culture and ideologies of the speakers and MWEs are a sine qua non in any language learning or enhancement effort. Speakers learn these as they experience situations that require them or where they are used. Notwithstanding this, they need to be included in the basic resource of language learning, which is the dictionary, hence this investigation. Lastly, in South Africa, NS is one of the national official languages and since language is organic and continually growing, it is imperative that LSPDs be developed further by enhancement instruments such as the kind of LSPD envisaged here.

The goal is to provide a resource that will satisfy the needs of various users ranging from learners - basic and advanced, to researchers, as well as L1 and L2 speakers. The objective of this study is to select MWEs from Rakoma (2016) which is a primary text and develop a prorotype dictionary of NS MWEs with richer microstructures. These will be analysed to establish if there is a link between common themes and figures of speech, and culture, philosophy and ideology of Basotho ba Lebowa.

1.8. Method

The data selected and sorted for this study was harvested from Rakoma's *Marema-ka-dika tša Sesotho sa Lebowa* (2016) and *Sepedi (Northern Sotho) Proverbs* by A'Motana (2004) and was analysed using both quantitative and qualitative methods and semasiology, a lexicographic method. The MWEs types lemmatized in the dictionary are nominal idioms, verbal idioms and proverbs, the three most common types of MWEs. The traditional MWEs were sampled from Rakoma and developed into a dictionary using FieldWorks Language Explorer (*FLEx*), a multifunctional tool which includes dictionary-making functionality (cf. 3.4). The 25 contemporary MWEs were selected based on author's knowledge and observation as an L1 speaker of NS. The MWEs were lemmatized as headwords and arranged using both the alphabetic and thematic approaches, which are some of the most common approaches in lexicography (cf. 3.2). The microstructures were developed using the semasiological approach which is a lexicographic method concerned with providing meaning to words and phrases.

1.9. Scope

As stated, the aim of this study is to compile a prototype special purpose dictionary of Northern Sotho MWEs in order to improve their lemmatization and the way in which their microstructures are presented in some dictionaries. The corpus for the intended

dictionary comprises of 310 traditional MWEs sampled from Rakoma (2016) and the other 25 are contemporary MWEs selected based on the author's knowledge and observation. The English literal meanings provided in the dictionary were guided by A'Motana (2004). Copyright permission has been granted from publishers of both texts.

1.10. Results and their significance

A diachronic, alphabetized, thematic-based, bilingual Northern Sotho - English LSPD prototype of 335 MWEs was developed using *FLEx*, and of the corpus, 310 are traditional metaphors while 25 are contemporary ones (cf. 3.4), amounting to 95% and 5% respectively. The MWEs are given full lemmatic status and are arranged alphabetically. First, they were manually grouped into three MWE types which are verbal idioms, nominal idioms and proverbs and then alphabetized under each sub-class. In the case of verbal idioms which all begin go, the alphabetization was based on the first alphabetic symbol of the verbal stem. The thematic approach was guided by the various spheres or domains of life such as life, death, marriage, work, etc. The themes were provided by *FLEx*, the tool employed in this study.

The surveyed literature revealed that the tendency in GPDs and anthologies was to provide only the figurative meaning of the proverb or idiom in the microstructure. In this case the microstructure was made fuller by including information such as literal meanings guided by A'Motana (2004), figurative meanings in both Northern Sotho and English for the benefit of L1 and L2 speakers, semantic domains, context, etymology, variants and cross-references and as regards the last three items only where possible. The NS LSPD will contribute significanlty to the NS lexicography and by implication serve as a model for other languages to develop their own dictionary to ensure that they are preserved.

1.11. Chapter Synopses

Chapter 2 begins with the historical background of Northern Sotho, which is a Bantu language spoken in the northern region of South Africa as one of the country's official languages and forms part of the Sotho languages (cf. 2.1). The chapter further presents literature from the field of lexicography and the metaphor scholarship, and how the two are related. It focuses on defining metaphors, how they develop, how they are used and under which circumstances. It is also shown how metaphors are linked to language and/or culture and how metaphors are conceptualised differently across different societies, thus, metaphors reflect a society's traditions, philosophy, customs, values, etc. (cf. 2.2). The chapter makes reference to the history of Bantu lexicography and how it has developed. However, the focus is on how metaphors have been documented in the Sotho languages, particularly, Northern Sotho and how that has impacted how they are accessed and learned, as discussed in the statement of the problem (cf. Section **1.5**)

The purpose of chapter 3 is to outline the research design underpinning this research. The chapter is organised into five sub-sections. The first sub-section defines the two broad research approaches – quantitative and qualitative – and the lexicographic methodologies that are used in the compilation of the dictionary and how each approach is appropriated according to the dictionary criteria. The two approaches are alphabetic and thematic approaches. Some dictionaries use either one of the two approaches while others combine the two. For this research, the two methods are combined as will be explained in detail in chapter 3. The second sub-section is on the structure of the envisaged dictionary. The third section deals with data selection techniques used in this research. The data collected for the intended dictionary is analysed in chapter 4 using *FLEx* and the methodologies outlined in the previous chapter. The lemmas are multilexical items which *FLEx* has arranged alphabetically

and the author has manually arranged the MWEs according to type. The microstructures defined in the dictionary are fuller than the ones in the surveyed dictionaries. Most of the analysis is presented graphically to show the distribution of the MWEs types and the themes in percentages.

The chapter defines the scope of the research design and the data selected for this study. The data comes largely from Rakoma (2016) and A'Motana (2004), and the MWEs are selected based on high frequency of use and popularity. The fourth sub-section deals with *FLEx*, which is a dictionary compilation tool selected for this study, and the reasons or justifications for its selection. Finally, the fifth sub-section is about steps of the research design and it will describe the lemmatization steps and the steps in defining the microstructures of each lemma with additional information that is not found in GDPs and some LSPDs.

In the results chapter, the results and their significance arising therefrom are discussed. The findings are discussed and interpreted to assess whether the research questions have been answered and if the aims have been met and achieved. The results and their significance therefrom are discussed and interpreted based on comparisons with existing dictionaries to determine their similarities and differences, and how the new findings add to existing lexicographic practices in Northern Sotho. Furthermore, this chapter discusses the limitations of the research, future research and recommendations, and draws conclusions.

Chapter 2: Literature Review

The purpose of this chapter is to review literature related to metaphor scholarship, also called paremiology and metaphor collection, known as paremiography. On paremiography, this review focuses on Bantu lexicography and challenges faced by lexicographers when lemmatizing multilexical items or MWEs in dictionaries for various purposes, thus revealing the rationale behind this study. This part of the research contextualises the literature through detailed discussions and use of relevant examples where necessary.

2.1. Historical background of Northern Sotho

Northern Sotho or *Sesotho sa Lebowa*, which one of the languages for this study, is a South African official language that forms part of the Sotho language group, which also includes Setswana, formerly classified as Western Sotho, and Sesotho, formerly classified as Southern Sotho, in the classification of the South-eastern Bantu zone as shown below. It is also a sister language to Nguni, Tshivenda and Xitsonga as per figure 2.1 below:

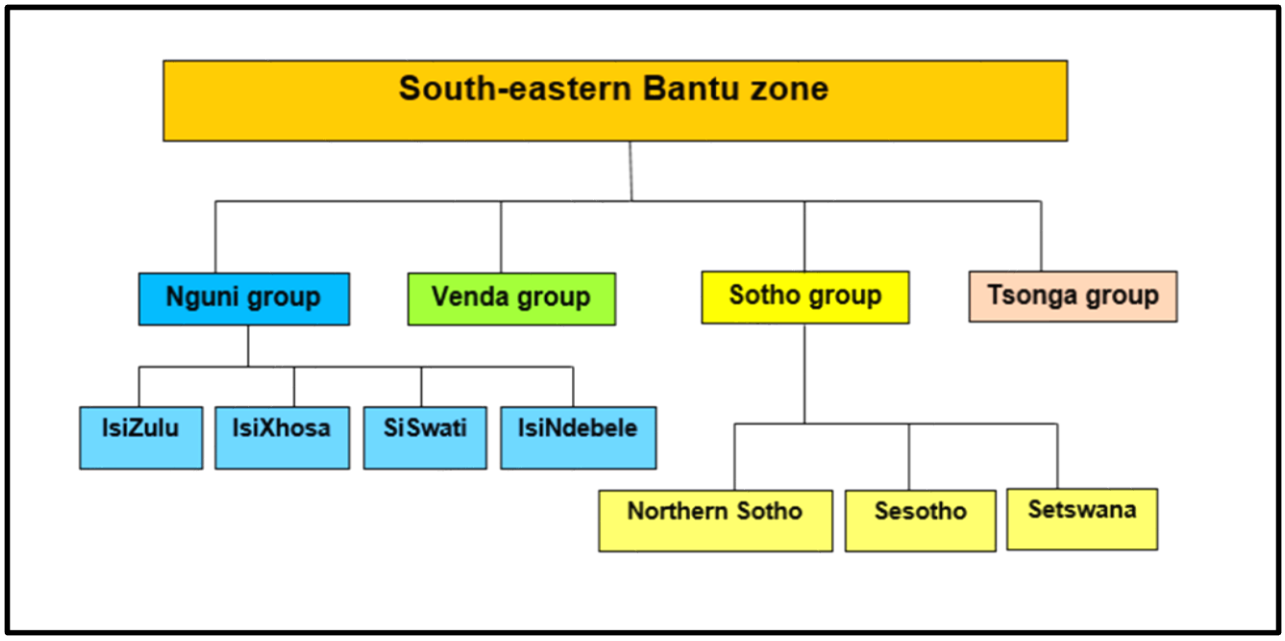

Figure. 2.1 South African Bantu languages clusters (Source: English-Zulu Zulu-English dictionary: Doke/ Malcolm/ Sikakana/ Vilakazi)

The source diagram (Fig 2.1) had excluded IsiNdebele in the Nguni group, however, the group has been extended to include it as there is a consensus that the general classification of Nguni includes IsiNdebele.

Northern Sotho is often equated to Sepedi, a dialect which was erroneously given the official status in the 1996 South African constitution. It is argued that Sepedi is only one of the dialects that form the basis of Northern Sotho, an embracing name for all the dialects of Sotho spoken in the north of South Africa. The Northern Sotho-Sepedi dichotomy has caused controversy as it excludes other dialects. As the name suggests, Northern Sotho is spoken mainly in the northern regions of South Africa in Limpopo, Mpumalanga and Gauteng provinces along with other indigenous languages (Faaß 2010: pp. 1-2). Figure 2.2 below is a South African map showing the approximate geographical area of South Africa and the region where Northern Sotho is spoken is indicated in brown:



Figure 2.2. Map of South Africa (Map is subject to copyright of **africanlanguages.com)**

Northern Sotho is believed to be made up of some thirty dialects that are not classified in the same manner by various scholars who seemingly base their classification on geographical area. A dialect may be defined as “a regional variety of the standard language and the geographical region in which such differences occur” (Ramajela 2011: 10). It is also defined in the Concise Oxford Dictionary as a subordinate variety of a language with distinguishable vocabulary, pronunciation or idioms peculiar to district, class or person. An example of variation in terms of pronunciation in the case of Northern Sotho would be the pronunciation of /tl/. In some areas such as Ga-Molepo, Ga-Marishane and Zebediela, the laterality or /l/ is distinguishable while in other areas such as Seshego, Bochum and Ga-Matlala, /tl/ is pronounced as a /t/ (cf. Appendix 1 for Northern Sotho alphabet).

Further, geographical classification was shown by Van Warmelo (1935), who classified the Northern Sotho dialects into central, eastern, north-eastern and northern dialect clusters. Van Wyk (1969) classified them into central, east-central, northern, eastern and north-eastern dialect clusters. Mokgokong (1966) classified it as the Pedi-like, Tlokwa-like, Lobedu-like, Kopa-like, Pulana-Khutswe and Pai clusters. The comparison of the three classifications shows that they are based on different criteria. Due to insufficient linguistic data available on the dialects, scholars are forced to deal with divergent classifications (Ramajela 2011: pp.3-7).

Sepedi was standardised as the official dialect in the South African constitution in 1996. Northern Sotho is the preferred name as it encompasses all the official and non-official dialects, hence, the Pan South African Language Board and the Northern Sotho National Lexicography Unit now specifically prefer and endorses the names ‘Northern Sotho’ and the translation equivalent *Sesotho sa Leboa*. Sepedi is the dialect spoken by Bapedi, while Sesotho sa Leboa refers to the official language and all the speech varieties it has been taken to cover. The reason there has always been

confusion between Northern Sotho and Sepedi stems from the first orthographic developments by missionaries who used Sepedi as the basis of the language as a whole, after they had settled in the northernmost regions of the country where the dialect is widely spoken. Sepedi, thus, refers specifically to the Bapedi, was also the dialect of the ruling elite who established its dominance over other communities in the eighteenth century, and to the culture and lifestyle of that group and of those over whom it ruled.

2.2. What is Metaphor?

Initially metaphor was referred to as a linguistic phenomenon, understood simply as instances of poetic language in which words are not used in their normal everyday senses. Metaphor was initially described as a matter of language rather than thought, however, there has been a shift in paradigm revealing the relationship between language and thought. Thus, in their 1980 study, Lakoff and Johnson observed that metaphors play a fundamental role in the structuring process of the human conceptual system as they from part of the human language, thought and action. In this view, metaphors arise when one concept is understood in terms of the properties of the other. A metaphor is seen as an instrument of understanding when used as a form of comparison that compares words in a sentence. It means that metaphor makes one thing to become something different by renaming it instead of a making a simple comparison (Lakoff and Johnson 1980: pp. 202-203).

Metaphors were believed to be ornaments of speech, described as direct expressions of evaluations that are abound to occur whenever people have strong feelings to express. They were considered to be the most useful communicative devices for their quick affective power that is applicable in various contexts. Thus, they are found in abundance in all primitive speech, folk speech, speech of the unlearned and children, etc. (Hayakawa 1964: 121). According to Hayakawa, metaphors have

two kinds of connotations, the informative and affective. The informative connotations are the impersonal meanings that are agreed upon by society. For example, a pig is understood as a mammalian, domestic, quadruped raised by farmers provide a protein through pork, bacon and ham. The informative connotations may differ, and in that instance a special substitute terminology that is more fixed will be used. These are mostly scientific names for plants and animals such as prunus persica for peach, aegilops cylindrical for grass, canis familiaris for dog and felis domesticus for cat (pp. 83-4).

Affective connotations are the personal feelings that may be aroused by certain words without any regard to their informative connotations. Unlike informative connotations, affective connotations do not require any agreement, the feelings are expressed by uttering the words with connotations appropriate to those feelings. Hence, there are often obstacles to communication with the affective connotations of some words due verbal taboos (Hayakawa 1964: pp. 84-86). The main reason for this obstacle is that metaphors are peculiar to the genius of a language which cannot be separated from the culture itself (Ntsanwisi 1968: 2).

In an attempt to show how metaphor is linked to culture, Taljard and Bosman (2014: 225) conducted a study on the relationship between embodied experience, culture and metaphorical expressions in Afrikaans and Northern Sotho which are considered non-related languages under the international classification code by Guthrie (1948). The study was based on the semantics of eating and it revealed that the concept of eating in both languages gives rise to metaphorical expressions as a result of the cultural influences. This assumption is premised on Lakoff's statement that some metaphorical mappings are universal while others seem to be culture specific. The concept of eating is familiar to all human beings regardless of specific cultural codes, (Taljard and Bosman 2014: 226). This is evident in the informative

connotations of eating across most societies, which are related to the sensation of hunger satisfied by the physical intake of food, including biting and chewing as well as swallowing (p. 230). However, not all societies share social and cultural habits as it is indicated in the affective connotations of the concept eating. For example, it was found to be impolite to speak of eating in some societies, so instead of saying *Morena Mothapo o a ja* 'Mr Mothapo is eating', they would rather say *Morena Mothapo o leteneng* 'Mr Mothapo is at lunch' (Hayakawa 1964: 86).

There are some words that have the ability to arouse informative and affective connotations resulting from a special complexity involving religious, racial and political groups. These are usually words applying to occupations that one may disapprove with, thus, communicating a fact, a judgement and strong prejudices. One example is the word *moloi* 'witch' whose informative connotations are one who bewitches others while it affectively means one who ought to be burnt or killed (Hayakawa 1964: 88). This confusion of informative and affective connotations is the reason why word meanings change from speaker to speaker, and from context to context. Words that are often used as an insult and a designation are sometimes used without the intent to offend. Examples include words such as *lekgwehle* or *leswafi*, which are words for people with albinism (Hayakawa 1964: 90).

The classical theory of metaphor dating back to the 15th century was premised on the assumption that comprehension of all subject matter can only be literal as it was previously thought that conventional language is literal and cannot be metaphorical. From this assumption on literality, also came the assumption that only literal language can be contingently true or false and this came from another assumption that concepts used in the grammar of a language are all literal; none are metaphorical. The old distinction between literal and metaphorical interpretations was based on assumptions that were proved to be false (Lakoff and Johnson 1980: 204).

Some of the approaches that followed, tried to unify metaphor with processes of analogy and similarity in that some metaphors are considered comparisons that share relational information, while others are based on common object attributes (Gentner et al. 2001: 200). Shutova and Teufel (2010) found that in metaphorical expressions, seemingly unrelated features of one concept are associated with another concept (p. 3255). It was added that metaphors are figures of speech found in most, if not all languages around the world, in which a word or phrase literally denoting one kind of object or idea is used in place of another to suggest an analogy between them (Merriam-Webster Online Dictionary). Therefore, a metaphor can be defined as an imaginative way of describing something by referring to something else that has the same qualities that the speaker may wish to express, hence metaphors are highly productive in daily communication (Domínguez 2015: 241).

Another area of research on metaphor has revealed that metaphors can be used in various contexts, such as evangelisation, where the expressions are substituted for biblical proverbs, thus resulting in a meaningful contribution to contextualisation and inculturation. This is to further highlight that the interpretation of metaphors is dependent on contextual circumstances even though they may arise in specific contexts. Another area of research that seems to be exemplary of how African metaphors can be re-interpreted as to be adaptable in new contexts is the representation of women and their role in society. Such metaphors, in particular proverbs, usually re-interpret traditional proverbs that place an emphasis on the subordination of women in an attempt to liberate them in new contexts of industrialisation and westernisation (Mieder 1997: 25).

Metaphors are used in different contexts as a means of social control which has proven to be quite effective. They are often used to teach, to encourage cooperation, to advise, to console, to disapprove or ridicule socially unacceptable behaviour

(Mokitimi 1997: pp.52-53). To reveal how, why, where and when a particular metaphor is used, Mokitimi (1997) explains that their use is dependent on context and the identity of speakers. Their adaptability in different contexts means that a similar metaphor can be used in different contexts, while various metaphors can be used in the same discourse (1997: 54). The different contexts show when, how and why they can be used and also by who (Kövecses 2010: 4). The contexts are called figures of speech as they can be used to express and achieve speech functions such as euphemism, sarcasm, irony, humour, exaggeration (hyperbole), personification and so forth. These figures of speech are used in instances where a speaker wishes to hide the affective connotations found in general words and phrases. Figures of speech are, in the simplest terms, an intended deviation from ordinary grammatical usage. They are classified as siblings in the family of rhetorical ‘‘figures of speech’’, especially in the analysis of political rhetoric (Charteris-Black 2014: pp.45-9). Some figures of speech such as metaphor, irony or sarcasm could be used together ‘‘by imposing on the hearer two stages of interpretation (Musolff 2017).

2.3. Nature and characteristics of metaphors

Metaphoric language has developed from the help of symbols, metonymies and comparisons for better understanding made possible by what is called “shared understanding” which consists of concepts and propositions shared by a linguistic community, hence, its use is highly adaptive. This means that metaphors have an evolutionary advantage for they can be adapted into different context (Domínguez 2015: 240). Further, probe into the study has revealed that metaphors are naturally adaptable in various contexts as they can be carried from generation to generation. Thus it has been found that though metaphors are linked to the past, they still continue to have a presence in the contemporary context of urbanisation and westernisation. It is then argued that the philosophy of any society can be studied through metaphors

as they tend to reveal cultural particularities (Mieder 1997: 25). Metaphors are sociocultural units that can also evolve and reproduce themselves across time. Their success depend on their capacity for transmission which usually depend on the culture in which the metaphor exists and the participants.

Metaphors have a stylistic nature or form, and proverbs in particular, are regarded as poetic based on a number of features such as repetition, parallelism, word arrangement and sound patterns since most languages are tonal in nature. These features indicate that the structure of proverbs employs the techniques of poetry thus confirming their poetic nature (Mokitimi 1997: pp.54-55). Another characteristic of metaphors is their ambiguous nature as they tend to have a both a literal and metaphorical meaning. The metaphorical meaning usually relies on the semantic properties inferred on a concept through comparison of unrelated concepts to provide a meaningful concept (Fromkin et al. 2007: 183). Metaphors are made more effective by new adaptations and various communicative contexts and combinations with new metaphors to enhance its communicative role thus making it possible for efficient communication (Domínguez 2015: pp.241-242).

2.4. Relationship between metaphors and multiword expressions

The multilexical nature of metaphors shows that there is a link between metaphors and MWEs, hence, metaphors are also called MWEs because they are literally fixed phrases consisting of more than one word. Not only are they fixed in form but they also have a fixed meaning that cannot be inferred from the individual words in isolation. Examples of MWEs are idioms and proverbs which are defined and described by various linguistic and literary scholars such as Svensén (1993) and Gouws (1999) in several different ways. Their main perception is directed towards the possible lemmatization and the inclusion of these figures of speech in dictionary corpora and linguistic and sublanguage dictionaries without any regard for the significance for the literal meanings in order to show the link between basic and metaphoric meanings (Mojela 2004: 332). Unlike general language which is learned unconsciously, the meaning of metaphorical expressions has to be learned consciously because metaphors do not apply the usual semantic rules for meaning interpretation. This is why metaphors need to be learned with an understanding of their special restrictions on when, where, how and why they are used in sentences to ensure that meaning is not lost (Fromkin et al. 2007: pp.184-186).

According to scholars such as Wray (2002), Sprenger (2003: 4), Masini (2005: 145), a MWE can be comprehensively defined as a multilexical unit of fixed structure with both idiomatic and compositional meaning and further, it is stored in the mental lexicon that as a whole refers to a specific concept (Müller 2011: 450). Further, due to their multilexical nature and the abundant terminology related to MWEs, the term can also refer to collocation, fixed expressions, multiword units, phrases, phrasal lexemes, lexical phrases, phrasemes, and so forth. Some of the most common types that have been identified and regarded as MWEs include phenomena such includes proverbs,

verbal idioms, phrasal verbs, metaphoric expressions, collocations, complex nominals, similes, routine formulas, etc. (Müller at al 2011: 451).

Some MWEs follow a different pattern with less fixed lexical items that may be different but share a similar meaning. For example, “to hit the roof” or “to hit the ceiling”. In Northern Sotho, the examples include “go betha fase” or “go itia fase”, literally to beat or hit the ground, which means to fail at something. Another example is *go utswa ka tsebe* or *go tšea ka tsebe* meaning to steal or take by the ear which figuratively means to eavesdrop. The challenge for scholars is determining whether these varying lexical items are dialectal variations or rather combinations that are less fixed (Müller et al. 2011: 453).

The different definitions of MWEs are synonymous because their meanings overlap and usually vary depending on the degree of lexical and syntactic fixedness however, it should be noted that their fixedness is related to the semantics, as they are fixed in meaning, and not necessarily in syntactic structure. Though their structure is not completely fixed, it is rigid and allows minimal interception. For example, some MWEs allow verbs to take different tenses and nouns to change number without change in meaning. In addition to syntactic and semantic aspects, MWEs are also defined in terms of their pragmatic aspects, that is, the different contexts under which they are used. For example, MWEs can be used in varying contexts to illustrate exaggeration, comparison, repetition, allusion, personification, etc. The different contexts are shown when a word or phrase is used in for rhetorical or vivid effect (Müller et all 2011: 452).

2.5. Metaphor classification

The definitions above show that MWEs can be classified in different ways based on time, types or their syntactic structure. MWEs are classified according to era into traditional or classical and contemporary based on time. Traditional metaphors are representative of a past communication system that was able to develop over time and stay in a language, even if they refer only to past times. They include examples such as proverbs and idioms which will be discussed below. Metaphors are regarded as sociocultural units that reveal cultural particularities, thus their success depends on the culture in which they exist and the participants. Metaphors are linked to the past though they still continue to have a presence in contemporary contexts of urbanisation, westernisation, the various industrial revolutions and their technological innovations due to their ability to evolve and reproduce themselves across time (Mieder 1997: 25). This ability is necessary to ensure that metaphors as the genius of a language, can express new occurrences, ideologies and social factors in modern contexts and it is called adaptability. Adaptability is the ability of metaphors to adhere to new contexts and interpretations and may involve alterations, deletions or additions in order to create contemporary metaphors (Possa 2014). The use of cartoons in the contemporary are just one example of the evolution of metaphors through the combination of image and text to create an efficient multimodal communicative content (Domínguez 2015: pp.241-242).

Example 2. 1. Traditional MWE

Nom: *Seroka thetho*
Lit: Sewer of an apron made of animal skin worn by women
Fig: A man who is always in the company of women

This is regarded as a traditional MWE reflective of a past time because *thetho* ‘apron made of animal skin’ is no longer due to modernity which came with clothes that are worn in modern times.

Contemporary metaphors are the newly coined or adapted that include new or borrowed words, code-mixing or code-switching, and follow the same form as traditional metaphors. Code-mixing and code-switching usually involve English because it is a language of wider use, especially in urban spaces while Afrikaans is seldom used as it is less popular. In the envisaged dictionary, words borrowed from English and Afrikaans are italicised to ensure that the user can read and understand them. Contemporary metaphors are similar to traditional metaphors in that they are also poetic, rhythmic, metaphoric, etc. They are further grouped into variation, extended traditional proverbs and semantic variation based on their different structures (Possa 2014: pp. 62-67).

Contemporary metaphors show variation which occurs at different levels, and they are lexical items, extended lexical items and semantic variation whereby some lexical items are replaced by new ones. Lexical variation occurs when a word is replaced by a new words to suit new contexts while the figurative meaning remains the same (Possa 2014). For example, ***selepe*** ‘axe’ is replaced with *stalk sweet* ‘lollipop’ in ***monna ke stalk sweet o a monišanwa ‘***a man is an lollipop, he is licked form one person to another’ *(Lit.)* from the old proverb, ***monna ke selepe o a adimišanwa*** ‘a man is an axe he is borrowed from one person to another’ *(Lit.)*. Axes are no longer used as much as they were in the past because people use electricity instead of fire. Lollipops, or stalk sweets as they are called in South Africa, are a new concept that was not there in the past and are popular now. New metaphors can also be created by inserting new words to give new meanings to traditional metaphors. This

is a process called extended traditional items variation as it is shown in example 2.2 below.

Example 2.2. Contemporary MWE

Old: *Ngwana wa noga* ***o tswalwa le bohloko***
Lit: A small snake is born with poison (venom)
Fig: Children inherit their parents' bad behaviour

New: *Ngwana wa noga* ***ke nogana****.*
Lit: A snake's offspring is a small snake.
Fig: Children inherit their parents' bad behaviour, characteristics or nature

MWEs are characterized by their adaptability in various contexts such as the modern context in order to reflect new situations or express new concepts (Possa 2014). MWEs are metaphoric in nature as they are mainly comparisons of a state, event or behaviour, etc. to another in colourful language and have similar sources with metaphors. Also, it is common for speakers to use the concept MWEs, idioms and metaphor interchangeably. Metaphors come from the realm of poetic or figurative language, also known as the conceptual domain called the source domain. Metaphor arise when everyday abstract concepts like time, states, change, causation and purpose are turned out to be metaphorical and the reason is that metaphor is central to ordinary natural language semantics. Hence, metaphor came to be newly defined as the essence of understanding and experiencing one kind of thing in terms of another. Two kinds of metaphor have been identified, and they are conceptual and conventional metaphors (Lakoff and Johnson 1980: 203).

Conceptual metaphor is a concept understood in terms of another conceptual domain through a set of systematic correspondences or mappings between two domains. Conceptual metaphors are typically characterized by a more abstract concept as target and a more a more concrete concept as their source. For example, love and argument are more abstract concepts compared to journey and food, therefore, the concrete concepts are used as logical foundation for understanding

abstract concepts. This metaphorical process that goes from the more concrete to the more abstract but not the other way round is called the principle of undirectionality. For example, a love relationship may be conceptualized as a journey, with the implication that the relationship is stalled (Lakoff and Johnson 1980: 203).

Example 2.3. Conceptual metaphor

Prov: *Lerato la rena le fihlile magahlanong a ditsela*
Lit: our love is at crossroads
Fig: a relationship is stalled

Conventional metaphors are manifestations of conceptual metaphors which come from language and terminology of the more concrete conceptual domain. Examples include talking and thinking about life in terms of journeys, arguments in terms of war, love also in terms of journeys, theories in terms of buildings, ideas in terms of food and social organizations in terms of plants (Kövecses 2010: pp. 4-7). An example of ideas in terms of food.

Example 2.4. Conventional metaphor

Idiom*: Go **ja** marapo a hlogo*
Lit: to **eat** the skull (bones of the head)
Fig: to think hard

Various views on metaphor discussion share the idea that metaphors usually have two conceptual domains, the source and the target. The target domain is constituted by the immediate subject matter. Metaphorical reasoning takes place within the source domain which provides the source concepts used in the reasoning.

Example 2.5. Domain mapping

Prov: Monna ke nku, o llela teng.
Lit: A man is a sheep, he cries within himself
Fig: A real man is strong and courageous, he doesn't expose his problems publicly.

A mapping of ‘man’ to ‘sheep’ is employed and here, the target concept which is man is viewed in terms of sheep, the source concept. This analogy not only allows speakers to talk about humans in terms of animals, but it also gives rise to a number of metaphor thus allowing them to be used in various contexts (Shutova and Teufel 2010: 3255).

Contemporary theory on metaphor brought forth a new argument that common concepts like causation and purpose are metaphorical, though there is an extensive range of concepts that are non-metaphorical. Such concepts would require a shift from concrete physical experience to abstractions or emotions for metaphorical understanding that would arise and become a norm. As such the old literal-metaphorical distinction failed because it assumed that one arrives at a metaphorical interpretation of a phrase or sentence by starting with the literal meaning. Newer research shows that metaphorical expressions come from the domain of everyday conventional metaphor which is characterized by generalizations governing polysemy, that is, the use of words with a number of related meanings (Gentner et al. 2001: 205). This can be seen in the use of *hlogo* ‘head’ in metaphors 2.6.1 to 2.6.3, where though the meanings are slightly different, they are still related.

Example 2.6.1: polysemy in metaphor

Idiom: Go ba le **hlogo**
Lit: to have a head
Fig: to have a big head

Example 2.6.2: polysemy

Idiom: go ba le **hlogo**
Lit: to have a head
Fig: to have a headache

Example 2.6.3: polysemy

Idiom: go ba le **hlogo**
Lit: to have a head
Fig: to be intelligent

It is through metaphors that humans are able to conceptualize the world and their own activity and thoughts (Gibbs 2006). Some concepts are abstract and complex and are understood through metaphoric language which makes them familiar, thus making it easier to express thoughts and concepts that are difficult to understand in literal language. This is because literal language can be derogatory, vulgar or impolite (Semino 2008) (cf. **2.2**).

Metaphors are further classified linguistically into different types of idioms based on their syntactic and semantic properties. Idioms are a subclass of metaphor and they are used in different ways with different meanings thus the many definitions which are similar in both phraseology and meaning. Doke's definition of the idiom as a structural form of expression that is peculiar to a language places an emphasis on the linguistic nature of the idiom thus neglecting its fixed nature and unpredictability of meaning which cannot be deduced from its component parts. It has been shown that an idiom can be literally meaningless and illogical, grammatical or ungrammatical (Ntsanwisi 1968: pp.2-4).

The three types of idioms based on syntactic and semantic structure are nominal, verbal and sentential idioms. Nominal idioms are short phrases that consist of a noun followed by a qualificative construction which can be a possessive, relative, adjective, enumerative, etc.

Example 2.7. Nominal idiom

Idiom: *ngwedi wa marega*
Lit: the winter moon
Fig: nothing

Verbal idioms, also short phrases, begin with the infinitive /go/ '/to/' and followed by a verbal stem and a syntactic complement which can be a noun, relative construction, locative, etc. The example below is made up of the verbal stem *go ya* 'to go' and the locative *badimong* 'to the ancestors'

Example 2.8. Verbal idiom

Idiom: go ya badimong
Lit: to go to the ancestors
Fig: to die

There are two types of sentential idioms, proverbs and fixed expressions which are both complete sentences, the difference being that proverbs are non-descriptive and can be used in varying contexts while fixed expressions are used to describe specific situations (Seroke 1994: pp.5-6). The term proverb is multifaceted, sparking interest from as early as 1823, with John Russell defining a proverb as *one man's wit and all men's wisdom* (Taylor 1975: 68). Proverbs are a genre of oral literature with a fixed structure that makes them distinct from other genres (Possa, 2014).

Example 2.9.1: sentential idiom – fixed expression

Idiom: *Mogolo o rongwa a eme*
Lit: An adult is sent while standing
Fig 1: It is not disrespect to ask a senior or an adult for a favour
Fig 2: It is wise to have sexual intercourse while one is still aroused

Example 2.9.2: sentential idiom – proverb

Prov: *Le ge o ka e buela leopeng, magokobu a go bona*
Lit: Even if you skin it in a ditch, the crows are watching you
Fig: Everything that is done in the dark shall come to light

Nominal idioms, verbal idioms and fixed expressions allow syntactic alterations, though minimal, and do not allow any change (Seroke 1994). Though fixed in form, idioms are not as rigid as proverbs which do not allow syntactic alteration of their components. The idiom is susceptible to modifications within the basic pattern, meaning that the syntactic position and the morphology can be modified by formative addition such as mood, tense and conjugation of the sentence into which it is incorporated (Ntsanwisi 1968: pp.2-4). Below are modifications of the example showing the positive conjugation in present and future tense based on example, *go bolaya mabele* meaning 'to have a good harvest'.

Example 2.10.1. Positive conjugation with present tense

Idiom: *ke bolaya mabele*
Lit: I kill maize
Fig: I get a good harvest

Example 2.10.2. Positive conjugation with future tense

Idiom: *ke tla bolaya mabele*
Lit: I will kill maize
Fig: I will get a good harvest

Negative conjugation in both present and future tenses is also based on the idiom ***go bolaya mabele*** as shown below.

Example 2.11.1. Present tense

Idiom: *Ga ke bolaye mabele*
Lit: I do not kill maize
Fig: I don't get a good harvest

Example 2.11.2: Future tense

Idiom: *Nka se bolaye mabele*
Lit: I will not kill maize
Fig: I will not get a good

2.6. MWEs in Dictionaries

Metaphors have been collected for years by various scholars and individuals and it has become a popular practice to publish these collections as volumes of metaphor essays. Some of these scholars focus mainly on collection methods while some study the structure of the metaphors so as to analyse their origin and history. Others have widened their scope wider into the use of metaphors in literary works, in real discourse and in contemporary media. Some of the notable works on this subject include a volume titled The wisdom of many: essays on the proverb (1981) and Wise words: essays on the proverb (1994) which are interdisciplinary and comparative, covering a wide range subjects that are linguistic, historical and philosophical. The German proverb scholarship of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries sought to address specific questions and it was significantly major for addressing topics such as misogyny, stereotypes, religion, animals, etc, in proverbs (Mieder 1997: pp.4-5).

The collection of metaphors, also known as paremiography, traces the history of metaphor collections from earlier centuries before the advent of computers, most of which are in European languages such as Danish, English, French, German, Italian and Spanish. The most notable paremiography work was completed by Hans Walther in 1963, who assembled approximately 150 000 Latin proverbs and their variants from the Middle Ages in a seminal nine-volume Proverbia sententiaeque Latinitatis medii ac recentioris aevi. Many of these major collections have become invaluable and only appear as reprints (Mieder 1997: 7).

Through their collections of proverbs indigenous to various African tribes, missionaries and anthropologists were able to compile valuable collections that have contributed significantly to proverb scholarship. However, their analysis were limited due to their lack of the necessary basis for determining the common heritage of proverbs and how they are related as there are some proverbs that express similar

ideas using different concepts (Mieder 1997: pp.10-11). Some of the analyses were limited as a result of how the proverbs were arranged as the arrangement failed to show any links or relationships between concepts since meaning is not dependent on individual words, hence the need for thematization to show the relatedness of concepts (Mieder 1997: 16). For example, metaphors that are related to the concept *monna* ‘man’ will most likely be found under keywords such as *nku* ‘sheep’ and *selepe* ‘axe’ in dictionaries. In special dictionaries such as *Marema-ka-dika*, all the proverbs related to *monna* ‘man’ will be found under the keyword *monna*. It is in these collections that proverbs are found to be contradictory because their social context is ignored, hence the need to study them in context which can be done through thematization. A scholar named Kwesi Yankah explains that proverbs become contradictory when they are only perceived as a concept of a cultural fact or truism, hence, their meaning can only be realised when they are in contextual usage (Mieder 1997: 19).

There has been work done on how the metaphors in the volumes and anthologies that have been published can be arranged, hence there is no sufficient literature on how these metaphors can be compiled into user-friendly dictionaries. In the Bantu lexicographic context, South African scholars such as Mojela have published some works dedicated to Northern Sotho proverbs. His article *Etymological Aspects of Idiomatic and Proverbial Expressions in the Lexicographic Development of Sesotho sa Leboa: A Semantic Analysis* sought to highlight the importance of the etymological definition of idioms and proverbs in lexicography, especially with reference to specialized dictionaries for Sesotho sa Leboa and other African languages, as a means of preserving the African cultures embedded in these expressions. He argues that a knowledge of the literal meaning of words as they

appear in dictionaries without inclusion of their figurative meaning seems to be a shortcoming, thus MWEs remain a major lexicographical challenge (Mojela: 332).

2.7. Lexicographic analysis of MWEs

Lexicography is defined as the practice of dictionary compilation and a theory that studies theories and methods on how to handle and enter information into a dictionary. Hartmann's (1983) definition of a dictionary as a reference book or list of words in alphabetical order, with their meanings, pronunciation, spelling and equivalents in other language, is evidence that lexicographical theories were traditionally formulated based on linguistic theories. Hence the fundamental requirements in dictionary-making practices were the notion of a word and understanding of its usage or context (Kiango 2010: 17).

It is difficult to separate lexicography from society in that most dictionaries are compiled mainly to serve the needs of their users. It is not surprising that lexicographic activity occurs in different areas of human life, this can be at an individual or societal level. Hence, Svensén describes dictionaries as a cultural phenomenon, reflective of a culture in which they are produced. He adds that there are different dictionaries, all with different purposes. Some of the most common areas are religion, literature, education and politics (Svensén 1993). In terms of religion, dictionaries have been used by religious groups for the study of scriptures when coming into contact with foreign cultures and languages. The emergence of lexicographic activity in Africa is one example in particular where missionary work and the dissemination of religious faith was made possible by some of the earliest special lexicographic aids (Svensén 1993: pp.1-2).

In literature, dictionaries have made it possible to read ancient and foreign-language works. Lexicography plays an important role in education where dictionaries are a necessity for improving proficiency in one's own native language and for the learning

of foreign languages. Thus, education is the one sphere of life where there is a great need for dictionaries. Also, most of the available dictionaries such as monolingual and bilingual general purpose dictionaries were produced for educational purposes. The fourth area is politics where lexicography plays a multifaceted role in ensuring that governments are able to influence the ideologies of their citizens and to perform their diplomatic activities such as the colonial aspirations and the activities of international organizations such as the United Nations. Due to their cultural connotations and overtones, dictionaries can be a useful tool for promoting nationalist and regionalist ideologies (Kiango 2010: 2).

Two types of lexicography have been identified. The first one is called utility lexicography where the dictionary is produced mostly to meet the individual user's needs or the needs of a community for national, political or scientific purposes. The main purposes of utility lexicography are to support communication and the learning of a language, either a native language or a foreign language. Therefore, it can be concluded that this type of lexicography plays an important part in all the areas or spheres of life discussed above which are also considered the driving forces behind the lexicographic activity. The second is documentary lexicography where the dictionary is produced to preserve information for the future as in the case for this study (Kiango 2010).

Lexicography also consists of methods for observing, collecting, selecting, analysing and describing the different lexical items - may be words, word elements or phrases - in a dictionary which may belong to one or more languages depending on the nature and purpose of the dictionary in question. Theoretical lexicography examines the theories concerned with the compilation, characteristics, purposes and use of dictionaries Based on the purposes and use of dictionaries, a distinction is made between general language lexicography for general-language dictionaries and

technical lexicography, usually interchangeable with specialized lexicography, for specialized or technical dictionaries which is the subject of this study. One of the most evident differences between the two is that while general-language dictionaries will include technical terms, technical dictionaries seldom include general language vocabulary (Svensén 1993: 3; Kiango 2010).

The general assumption is that the object of study in specialized lexicography is the terminology or terms which are usually single words and word combinations. However, there are some dictionaries that may fall within the field of technical lexicography, with some characteristics of specialized dictionaries, although the scope of work or subject classification is usually not within the discipline of terminology and that is the case in this research (Svensén 1993: 3). The similarities are often found in the lexicographic theories, methods and technological products that tend to have the same objective of developing digital tools for natural language processing (NLP), and that will be electronic dictionaries in this context as well as for the purpose of this study. Other digital tools are for production, editing and translation of texts (Svensén 1993: 4).

There has been a considerable progress in the production of specialized dictionaries of lexicographic terminology, particularly with the 1989-91 publication of the three volume encyclopedia titled *Wörterbücher/ Dictionaries/ Dictionnaires* by Hausmann et al. (eds.). However, it was limited by its restriction to English, German and French, consequently being accessible to the few with linguistic competence of those languages. In an attempt to solve some of these lexicographic issues, groups such as the Nordic Association of Lexicography dedicated their efforts to developing a Scandinavian lexicographic terminology. Years later they joined other groups, forming a larger association that published *Nordisk leksigografisk ordbok* in 1997, six years after the first association in 1991, which contained Norwegian definitions and

explanations, terms in all the major Scandinavian languages and in English. This was followed by the publication of *Dictionary of Lexicography* by Hartmann and James in 1998 which contained English definitions and terms (Svensén 1993: pp. 4-5).

The term ‘dictionary’ encompasses different genres that are classified according to a set of criteria including form, structure and content. Dictionary form is determined by the types of linguistic activities it is intended for, user needs and their capabilities, that is expert or non-expert user (Svensén 1993: 5). Major dictionaries are classified based on formal features such as size that can range from pocket, abridged or concise dictionary. In terms of classification according to function and user’s needs, they are categorised into general purpose dictionaries (GPD) and special purpose or specialized dictionaries. Hartmann and James (1998) add that the functional categorization based on contextual uses should focus on the types or categories of data (Svensén 1993: 5).

The content of a dictionary is usually a reference to its typology thus dictionaries consist of an expression, a certain form, and a content, a certain meaning. The content also serves as a guideline to the function of a dictionary or its relation to other linguistic signs. Linguistic signs usually have three components that can be grouped on the basis of the characteristics of words and word combinations. These are explained in general purpose dictionaries or the most common type. The characteristics are formal characteristics which may include spelling and pronunciation; semantic characteristics refer to meaning; syntagmatic characteristics which show word combinations; and pragmatic characteristics which include use and factors relating to their use. General lexicography is concerned with the description of words in general language, also using general vocabulary following the alphabetic macrostructure and contain mostly semantic data or common vocabulary. General lexicography is aimed at ordinary users

or the lay man because of its non-restrictive register or style used in GPDs (Bergenholtz and Tarp 1995: 10; Mihindou 2004: pp.120-1; Svensén 1993: 5).

Specialized dictionaries or language for Special Purposes Dictionaries (LSPD) tend to focus on specific users who may be experts, semi-experts or non-experts, hence the data can be presented in many ways, mostly the systematic macrostructure as opposed to the alphabetic one. Apart from specialized dictionaries, other terms of reference for LSPDs are technical dictionaries or restricted dictionaries. It is important to note that 'restricted' in this context does not mean shorter or smaller in size, rather, it refers to a large and heterogeneous group of dictionaries. Some examples are phraseological dictionaries, terminological dictionaries, dialect dictionaries and hard word dictionaries (Bergenholtz and Tarp 1995: 10; Mihindou 2004: 119).

Some technical dictionaries focus on the vocabulary of a specialized discipline to inform experts, thus they are characterised by their precision and less ambiguity on the expression of technical and complex ideas. Others are semi-technical in that they can be used by experts, semi-experts and non-experts as they tend to include the average user's knowledge. This occurs mostly in domains that require new terms of technical expression such as computing and broadcasting. The vocabulary is therefore determined by the potential users depending on their needs, which also guides the compilation process. The type of lemmata and the structure of lexical items included in specialized dictionaries are often indicated win the title along with the subject field that the work covers (Mihindou 2004: 120). However, though metaphors are not a field and do not use a specialized or technical vocabulary, a dictionary of metaphors is still considered a specialized dictionary because the compilation process is guided by the lexicographic theory of LSPDs.

Dictionaries have both a macrostructure and a microstructure that should be taken into consideration before starting the compilation. A macrostructure is the

different type of lemma that is entered into the dictionary such a single-word lemma or a multiword lemma. A microstructure includes features such as form, style, register, additional features and meaning. Meaning is considered the most important goal of any general dictionary and this may be due to the fact that meaning cannot be separated from use. Meaning can only be deduced from real and sufficient contexts of use. Therefore meaning becomes unsatisfactory if it relies on outside information (Čermák 2010: pp.568-70).

A lexicographer is compelled to contextualize the language within a more general world to make it relevant to the speech community concerned. However, most dictionaries have failed to serve as what Kosch (2016) terms “an authoritative container of knowledge”, a dictionary that reflects the culture of a particular linguistic community. Some of the reasons for this failure are due to the development of lexicography in Africa (2016: 146). The cultivation and development of a dictionary culture in the indigenous languages is minimal, hence the need to cultivate and develop a dictionary culture in African languages (Mafela 2005: pp. 277-8).

The African lexicographical practices can be traced to the eighth century and it is classified into West African lexicography, Arabic lexicography and Bantu lexicography. The pioneers of lexicography in West Africa were the missionaries, explorers and colonial administrators who compiled bilingual and large polyglot vocabularies. Though smaller in size, the Hausa dictionaries were very useful to native speakers, learners and scholars. Considering that these wordlists were intended for European users, it is no surprise that they were poorly arranged, with limited grammatical and semantic information. There have been minor developments in West African lexicography with additional elements such as pronunciation, morphological and cultural information though the dictionaries are still bilingual and remain smaller in comparison to European languages dictionaries (Kiango 2000: 6)

Bantu lexicography, also pioneered by missionaries and colonial administrators, can be traced back to the 19th century when bilingual wordlists and dictionaries of indigenous languages were compiled for evangelical and colonial mission. This tradition of compiling monolingual and bilingual dictionaries has failed to contribute to the development of Bantu lexicography because it was aimed at foreigners and not the native speakers of the languages in question. The dictionaries do not provide complete records of the languages concerned because they were primarily focused on the foreign users, lexical coverage and methods of presenting semantic and grammatical information, hence they included mainly grammar features and example sentences (Kiango 2000: pp.4-5).

The Arabic lexicography, which began in the 8th century, differs from Bantu and West African lexicographical practices because its pioneers were the Arabs themselves with the target users being the Arabs, not foreigners. The Arabic dictionaries were aimed at preserving the Arabic language in order to protect it from distortion, thus compelling the lexicographers to compile comprehensive, monolingual dictionaries that were really big in size, with the biggest one containing as many as 120 00 entries. While most of them followed the traditional system of alphabetization, others were arranged by subject. Bilingual dictionaries were only introduced in the 14th century by Coptic priests who gave Arabic equivalents of Coptic terms to aid the population who were beginning to adopt Arabic as their mother tongue. Bilingual dictionaries were expanded to enhance communication due to growing contact with the rest of the world, containing both general and technical terms (Kiango 2000: pp.6-8).

Various literature in linguistics and lexicography show the lexicographical problems that linguists and lexicographers have encountered in dictionary making. Kiango (2000) has identified interlanguage and extralanguage factors as the major

contributing factors of lexicographical problems in different dictionary making practices of natural languages. Interlanguage factors are linguistic in nature, meaning that they focus on the internal structures of the language, i.e. phonological, morphological, syntactic and semantic. Extralanguage factors are non-linguistic and seek to address the components that are necessary in dictionary making. Kiango classifies the extralanguage factors as the most important components such as the goals for compiling the dictionary, the target users and their needs, the size and type. The problems are characterized at a general level, with specific problems identified under each component. However, due to the differences in language structures and historical developments, specific problems may differ from language to language (Kiango 2010: 1).

The first are interlanguage and extralanguage problems which are most in bilingual and trilingual dictionaries. There have been attempts to address both the interlanguage and extralanguage problems in dictionary-making practices, in particular monolingual dictionaries (Kiango 2010: 10). There are things to be considered before compiling a dictionary starting with the resources for the corpus to ensure that it is balanced, the dictionary type, its target users and the main concerns and orientation of the proposed new dictionary to ensure that it is not limited by the shortcomings of existing dictionaries. With the technological advancements of the 21st century, it is important to give some attention to software to ensure that the data will be re-usable, easy to expand, redesign and use with other software products (Čermák 2010: 560).

Another challenge is that lexicographers are faced with problems of description and explanation of the meaning as they are yet to develop ways to identify meaning behind corpus forms, splitting the corpus data into manageable groups, interrelationships and elegant and efficient description, especially when dealing with

abundant data, some of which was not always available. The cause of this problem is that most lexicographers continue to pay exclusive attention to verbs and their salient formal and semantic features, while no attention is paid to nouns, which make up a large part of the word classes. One of the proposed solutions to managing corpus for analysis is to use multiple sources as one source cannot be regarded as reliable. It should be noted that the internet should not be considered a trusted source due to its lack of authentic spoken language and dialogue (Čermák 2010: pp. 561-8).

2.8. Conclusion

Lemmatization (cf. Section **1.5.**) remains a central problem in lexicography, tracing back to the earliest dictionary-making practices and this study seek to address lemmatization problems and propose ways on how these can be solved. Lemmatization of multiword expressions (MWEs) in general purpose dictionaries has always been a challenge because the design of a traditional dictionary follows the macrostructure of single-word items, in which MWEs are included as sub-entries. It then becomes a challenge when lexicographers have to make a choice of how and where to list a word or phrase in a dictionary. The same expression may be listed under different lemmas depending on the lexicographer's choice Kosch 2016: pp.146-8).

Example 2.12. Lemmatization of MWEs

Prov: *Ngwana wa tadi o tsebja ka mereto/mebala*
Lit: The child of the field mouse is recognised by its stripes/ colours
Fig: Children often bear their parents' characteristics "Like father like son"

Based on the lexicographer's decisions, MWE in example 2.12 may be sub-lemmatized under *ngwana*, *tadi*, *tseba*, *mereto* or *mebala*. However, sub-lemmatization of MWEs also leads to inconsistencies with the microstructure because there is no common microstructure for lexical items of their nature. For example, in

most dictionaries, MWEs are treated as example sentences under the lemmas and sometimes with no labels to make the user aware that they are idioms or proverbs. A dictionary microstructure is the arrangement of the information provided under each lemma; that is the arrangement of the information given in the macrostructure.

One of the proposed solutions to dealing with lemmatization of MWEs is to give lemmatic status to words and phrases on the premise that all lexical items have equal status as units of meaning in the lexicon, yet lexicographers continue to make a distinction in how words and phrases are recorded (Kosch 2016: 147). The choice is highly subjective and is sometimes based on popularity and a relative frequency of use, thus the selection may be considered incomplete. Therefore, there is a need for special purpose dictionaries as part of the solution to the issue of lemmatization of MWEs in general purpose dictionaries. The reason is that it is impossible to list all existing metaphors in a comprehensive dictionary of any language (Kosch 2016:150).

The microstructure plays a significant role in ensuring that the type of information given in each field is adequate and consistent across each lemma. In GPDs, the type of information provided in the fields informs the users about the lexical category, morphology and syntax and, gender where necessary. A survey of Sotho LSPDs (cf. Section **1.5**.) shows that their microstructures are limited in that they provide inadequate information about their usage, context and origin which is necessary for full understanding of the expressions. Thus Mojela's recommendations to provide the literal meanings, etymology, context and other encyclopaedic details about the MWEs. It is, then, the aim of this research to compile an LSPD for Northern Sotho MWEs with full lemmatic status and to provide sufficient detail under the lemmas to design fuller microstructures.

Chapter 3: Research Design

The aims of this research are to compile a specialized dictionary of Northern Sotho MWEs which will lead to the betterment of their lemmatization and to make the microstructures richer. This chapter outlines the research design and presents the methods used to fulfil the aims. The chapter draws from existing approaches and lexicographic functions developed by Bergenholtz and Tarp (1997) to outline how existing approaches can be combined with computer technologies to make compilation and access easier. Also in this chapter, the data analysed in the subsequent chapter will be defined as well as the development/design tool and which methods will be used to analyse the data in order to answer the research questions posed.

3.1. Methodologies

The qualitative methodology is concerned with understanding human behaviour from the informant's perspective. It deals with words and meanings hence it is expressed in words whilst it also deals with words and meaning[1]. Qualitative methods include, among others, direct observations, interviews with open-ended questions, and literature reviews to name a few and provides a better understanding of concepts. Analysis is by summarizing, categorizing and interpretation mainly expressed in words. The advantages of this approach are that the data collection occurs in the real world through open-ended questions, observations described in words and literature reviews. The open-ended questions can be adjusted to preserve the perspective of the participants. However, this makes it subjective and unreliable as it uses people's feelings and personal experiences. The approach is also labour intensive because the analysis often requires manual input. Some of the types of qualitative research are

case study, content analysis, ethnography and participant observation. This study has used observations, literature review and ethnography.[1]

The quantitative approach is the opposite of this because it is concerned with numbers and statistics which are expressed through graphs. Quantitative methods include surveys, experiments, observations, etc. Some advantages of the quantitative approach are its use of standardised collection methods which can be used to analyse different types of data and it is reliable because it analyses large samples. The methods can be biased as they are based on predetermined procedures which often fail to consider historical and cultural contexts that may affect data collection and results. The four main types of quantitative research are descriptive, correlational, Causal-Comparative/Quasi-Experimental, experimental research, etc.

3.2. Specific Approaches

Both the qualitative and quantitative approaches have various sub-classes or types or principles about sourcing data, how to analyse and interpret it[23]. The next paragraph explains these principles or methods: it was decided that this research will use mixed methodologies, that is, the quantitative and qualitative ones in order to address its questions adequately. First, the topic of research required a corpus for use in the envisaged dictionary and trying to get this from speakers of the language or language practitioners would have required a lot of time and money for the interviews. As such a survey of the literature was done which revealed that there were two NS anthologies of MWEs by Rakoma (2016) and A'Motana (2004) in the University of the Witwatersrand library. These were survey and were found rich with data needed.

The data for this research was then sourced from the two publications. Further, these sources contained only traditional metaphors and so the researcher tapped contemporary metaphors from her own knowledge and what she heard in her

[1] www.scribbr.com/disseration/methodologies

environment, thus applying the direct observation method of data collection. According to literature such *as*[2], the direct observation method of research is about collecting information using our senses, documenting activities, behaviour and physical aspects of structures without depending on their willingness or ability to respond to questions. In so far as the research does not depend on the willingness of subjects to get information, but because it is based on secondary text, that is, it is a desk or secondary research method, the researcher needs permission from the copyright holder to use the primary source and this was obtained accordingly as per Section 3.4. Its greatest advantage is that collection of data is made is easier by being readily available, quicker and cost effective than in primary desk research. Lastly, desk research allows one to get a broader understanding of the subject matter in hand as shown in the interpretation section in Chapter 5.

The Information collected requires to be sorted for purposes of analysis and this was achieved by using both the thematic and alphabetization approaches in the treatment of the lemmas. For the descriptive part of the headwords, the descriptive and semasiological approaches were adopted. The latter approach is an established lexicographic method which was used to assign meanings to words and phrases and informed the interpretation of literal meanings into figurative ones and in this particular case, to phrases because of the nature of the data of the dictionary. The former, the descriptive, together with the direct method, were used again for all other aspects of the microstructure to explain them. A' Motana (2004) was very useful with literal meanings which helped with the interpretation of figurative ones from Rakoma (2016). The analysis was presented in measured terms and the data was interpreted informed by the two sources and the researcher's knowledge and intuition of the lemmas. It is

[2] www.questionpro.com/blog/secondary-research

believed that using these mixed methods has been instrumental in achieving the results of this research.

3.2.1. Alphabetic approach

Cawdry (1966) states that the alphabetic principle is almost inseparable from the understanding of lexicography, hence the majority of available dictionaries follow this tradition of alphabetic arrangement. The principle dates back to some of the earliest dictionaries such as the first monolingual dictionary in English, which honoured the alphabet in its title called *A Table Alphabeticall*. Hence, the definition of the dictionary as a book of alphabetically listed words in a language with definitions, pronunciations and so forth. The alphabetic principle was established to make the work manageable and systematic for the lexicographer and the user. It is therefore, considered resourceful due to its convenience (Kawalya and de Schryver 2013: pp.174-5).

The alphabetic approach is the ordering of dictionary entries according to the set of letters that constitute the alphabet of a particular language, thus its basis is the expressional aspect of the linguistic sign, the alphabetic symbol. The arrangement may vary from language to language because languages have different symbols representing different sounds, therefore it is important to provide a description of the sound system of a particular language in the preface of the dictionary to guide its users (cf. 4.1.2). It becomes easier to arrange and retrieve the information when the user knows the alphabet of the language. The advantage of this principle is that it can be used in both GPDs and LSPDs thus making it universal (Bergenholtz and Tarp 1995: 190).

The alphabetic approach arranges the letters in a fixed order, there is a distinction between the alphabet in its usual sense and access alphabet. The latter vary from dictionary to dictionary and may have additional letters from other alphabets,

hyphens and numbers. Therefore, it is important for the lexicographer to state where these additional symbols are placed in the dictionary and provide this information in the preface for consistency and user's convenience. It is important to provide a user's guide which adequately informs the user of the lexicographer's choices.

3.2.2. Systematic approach

The systematic approach is a non-alphabetic arrangement of lemmata based on the content aspect rather than the linguistic one. The lemmata is arranged according to conceptual systems which are based on definitions with the aim of establishing their mutual relationships to ensure that each entry does not occur out of context as would be the case with the alphabetic principle. The structure of the dictionary wordlist is, therefore, determined by the place of the concepts in their relevant conceptual systems. However, if the user is not familiar with the concepts, accessing them within a conceptual system may be time consuming in comparison to access using the alphabetic approach. Thus, lexicographers are required to provide an alphabetic index to make it easier for the user. This will, however, require a lookup in the alphabetic index and another lookup in the wordlist. Computer technologies have made it easier to generate and access alphabetic indices thus making the process less time-consuming.

The first attempts at systematic approach in specialised dictionaries were made in subject areas such as botany, medicine, engineering, etc. hence, it is the most preferred method of arrangement when compiling dictionaries for different subject fields, that is, LSPDs. The reason is that by establishing mutual relations, among other things, it provides an overview of the subject field in question, shows the hierarchical relations between terms which illustrate superordination, subordination or coordination. The relations are rather complex in social sciences and thus difficult to present in orthodox conceptual systems and systematic lists. In such instances, the

lexicographer is required to choose a criteria that is based on a thematic classification to illustrate the context and relation to other terms. With systematisation, terms are placed in their systematic-encyclopaedic context that provides encyclopaedic knowledge which is a prerequisite, particularly when dealing with translation in bilingual and trilingual dictionaries (Bergenholtz and Tarp 1995: pp.195-7). Of the surveyed LSPDs, Mokitimi (1997) uses the systematic or thematic approach where the lemmas have been arranged according to themes.

A list of surveyed dictionaries such as Rakoma (2016), A'Motana (2004), Chitja (2000) Letšhama (1998) and Sabbagha and Kritzinger (1968) shows that a majority of lexicographers prefer the alphabetic arrangement. One of the reasons that the alphabetic method is the most preferred may be that the systematic processing of comprehensive subject areas and their corresponding terminologies is time consuming and it also requires teams of experts and terminologists. In an attempt to combine the two approaches, lexicographers design a structure, for instance a thematic classification, based on a systematic arrangement and present the lemmata in an alphabetic order under each theme (Bergenholtz and Tarp 1995: pp.198-9). The envisaged dictionary will combine the alphabetic and the systematic approach as informed by Rakoma. The macrostructure of the envisaged dictionary is alphabetic in this study because the tool (cf. 3.5) used for the design alphabetizes automatically. The lemmas are arranged alphabetically using the Northern Sotho alphabet and further arranged systematically into three sections according to MWE types. The three MWE types are nominal idioms, verbal idioms and proverbs.

3.3. Structure of the Dictionary

Decisions that govern designing a dictionary macrostructure and microstructure depend on the dictionary classification. Most macrostructures are alphabetic for easy access and for making the lexicographer's work less time-consuming. Hence, the

alphabetic macrostructure for the prospective dictionary. In terms of the microstructure, some of the basic components that are common in most microstructures regardless of the dictionary type are spelling, pronunciation, orthography, tone and intonation, grammatical categories, inflection and derivation, etymology, meaning or definition, which aspects are linguistic in nature and do not always occur in LSPDs.

One of those components to be featured in the proposed dictionary is the equivalent which refers to the translation of the lemma and it is only provided in bilingual and multilingual dictionaries, as such the dictionary in this study is a bilingual one, from Northern Sotho to English. The equivalent as shown in the literal meaning is used to show the relationship between the lemma in the source language (SL) and its translation in the target language (TL). The degree of equivalence usually varies ranging from full, partial and zero equivalence and in a dictionary of idioms and proverbs, for instance, the degree of equivalence will vary due to the culture-specific nature of idioms and proverbs.

Evidence based on the list of surveyed dictionaries shows that some of the inconsistencies relating to the microstructure arise from the lack or poor classification of the dictionary in question. Although, it is impossible to delimit and categorize a dictionary into one criterion, a typological classification is essential. Dictionaries can be classified into different types on the basis of several criteria, thus, it is important for the lexicographer to define the criteria of classification for their dictionary. Classification of dictionaries is an important aspect of lexicography which governs and determines the preparation of dictionaries at different stages such as the planning, collection of materials, selection and setting of entries and their arrangement and meanings. The basis for classification of dictionaries into different types varies from the nature of the lexical entry to the prospective user of the dictionary. Some of the

main criteria for classification include purpose, depth of entries (general knowledge), number of languages & directionality, function, target user, size, etc. These elements inform the microstructure and help close some of the gaps and discrepancies identified by Mojela as a result the dictionaries become user-friendly.

The purpose of the dictionary provides guidelines as to how restrictive the dictionary will be and whether the dictionary will be prescriptive or descriptive depending on the potential users who vary from laymen/ non-experts, semi-experts and experts. The criterion that govern the classification of the envisaged dictionary for this investigation are purpose, function and target users, and as a result the dictionary is classified as an LSPD. While GPDs include mainly linguistic data and lemmas are part of common and general vocabulary, the prospective dictionary is categorised as an LSPD though it does not cover data related to any subject field. Its data is classifiable under special languages. The individual words that make up MWEs are part of the general vocabulary but have a special meaning which is figurative and are lemmatized in their phrasal or sentential form.

Special dictionaries are classed into different groups based on the nature of the data and treatment of the lemma. Examples of LSPDs are dictionaries of homonyms, synonyms or antonyms, dictionaries of abbreviations and acronyms, dictionaries of collocations, dictionaries of borrowed or foreign words, dictionary of terms and special languages. The proposed dictionary for this study is classified as a dictionary of proverbs and idioms which will be dealing with the Northern Sotho proverbs and idioms. The characteristics also fit the criterion of a dictionary of phrases or phraseological dictionary based on the multilexical nature of idioms and proverbs, hence they are called multiword expressions. The criterion of purpose also determines whether the dictionary wordlist covers regional and social dialects, jargons and slangs and archaism which sometimes relate to the criterion of language, that is whether a

dictionary is monolingual, bilingual or multilingual. An analysis of Rakoma's dictionary revealed that it is limited due to being monolingual therefore, the proposed dictionary will be bilingual to ensure that it is accessible to speakers of other languages.

For a dictionary of MWEs, this criterion is also related to the depth of encyclopaedic knowledge provided under each lemma where the microstructure includes minimal, if any, linguistic information. Another important factor of classification in determining the user type and the density of the dictionaries is size. General dictionaries tend to be large in size, that is, the number of lemmata and different senses in language entries because they try to cover general language entries and the facts related to those entries whereas, special dictionaries are smaller because they focus on the specialised vocabulary of specific subject fields or special language. However, special dictionaries of MWEs such as the one to be compiled for the purpose of this research are bigger in size because the entries are lemmatized in full and they try to include as many entries as possible.

Dictionaries are further classified into GPDs or LSPDs based on the depth of general knowledge that is included in the microstructure and general classes of dictionaries. The depth is measured to determine the type of information that needs to go with each entry. Depending on the degree of concentration on the lexical data, the information can be either lexical only or encyclopaedic. GPDs cover more linguistic information while LSPDs focus on more in-depth information. The encyclopaedic information is, for example, the context for the use of idioms and proverbs and their origin. Therefore, the prospective dictionary for this study fits the classification of an encyclopaedia because it provides more in-depth information such as concepts and objects of extra-linguistic character and tries to present information on aspects of human knowledge.

The encyclopaedic information such as etymology and semantic domains is also required because idioms and proverbs are culture-bound and often require extra information to show how the literal meaning of the individual words of each MWE determine the figurative meaning. The attempt to give etymology, categorizes the dictionary based on the criterion of time, as either diachronic or synchronic, meaning that they deal with words across time or at a particular point time. In this study, this will show the evolutionary nature of metaphors and how they have developed to have different meanings that can be used in different contexts and also their semantic domains.

3.4. Data

The data for this research which consists of Northern Sotho nominal and verbal idioms and proverbs, is harvested from A'Motana (2004) and Rakoma (2016). *Marema-ka-Dika tša Sesotho sa Lebowa* is a collection of Northern Sotho idioms and proverbs. It is made up of over 3800 entries of which 2301 are verbal idioms, 1405 are proverbs and 96 are nominal idioms. The book is arranged into two sections, idiomatic expressions in the first section and proverbs in the second. The idiomatic expressions are further divided into two sub-sections, verbal idioms in sub-section one and nominal idioms in sub-section two. The entries are arranged alphabetically in all the sections.

The first sub-section which deals with verbal idioms, makes up a larger part of the collection with over 2000 entries. All verbal idioms start with /*go*/ and are thus, organised using the alphabetic arrangement of the verbal stems used as keywords. The verbs include their inflections such as tenses and extensions. The idioms are organised into groups following the alphabetic symbols of the verbal stems. For instance, all the verbs that begin with "a" such as *aba, apea, atla*, etc. are listed under the letter "A", while the ones that start with "D" like *duba, dula, dumela*, *dutla,* and so forth, are also grouped together, and the same method is followed with the other

alphabetic symbols respectively. The second sub-section deals with nominal idioms and their syntactic structure is made up of either two nominal (nouns), or a nominal followed by a qualifier which can be an adjective, possessive construction, enumerative stem etc. They are arranged alphabetically based on the first element of the nominal, that is, the first nominal in instances of two nominals. Similar to the verbal idioms, nominal idioms with the same noun are grouped under that noun as a subheading. For example, all nominal that start with *"bana"* are all listed under "*bana"* and arranged based on the first alphabetic element of the second nominal or qualifier. Some verbal and nominal stems have more entries listed under them to show their significance in the Basotho ba Lebowa culture. The second section consists of proverbs which are also arranged alphabetically based on the first element. Unlike verbal and nominal idioms, proverbs are only arranged alphabetically without any further grouping under key elements such as nouns or verbs.

The second anthology where data is sampled from is *Sepedi Proverbs* by A'Motana (2004). This is a shorter collection of at least 112 Northern Sotho proverbs. They are arranged alphabetically based on the first element of the key nominal in the English translation. For example, all proverbs whose key words start with "a" are listed under "A", however, the keywords are not always the first elements of the proverbs. They can be in the middle or last part of the proverbs. The microstructure includes three parts, the proverb in Northern Sotho, the literal meaning or translation in English and the figurative meaning in English. The collection also includes illustrations for the proverbs but only for a selected few.

3.5. Design Tools

One of the aims of this study is to develop an LSP dictionary in order to contribute to developing, promoting and preserving Northern Sotho, often used interchangeably with Sepedi. There are various dictionary-making tools that have been explored in

order to inform the choice for the suitable tool. The tools are *TshwaneLex* (2002), *Lexique Pro* (2012) and FieldWorks Language Explorer (*FLEx*) by SIL (2014).

TshwaneLex, also known as *TLex,* is a dictionary-making software that was developed in 2002 in Pretoria. It was first used at Northern Sotho National Lexicography Unit (NLU). The software was found to be user-friendly through close cooperation between its developers and testers across the world. It has been commended for its language-independency and customisability which has led to two adaptations, namely *TshwanePedia* used for the production of encyclopaedia and *TshwaneTerm* for managing terminology. It has been used for government-sponsored, commercial projects as it allows for the creation of reference works such as bibliographies, address databases and diaries. Some of its disadvantages are that it is not freely available – one needs to buy its licence and it is pricey and it is pricey as it is a data collection tool, a concordance and dictionary-making tool all in one. Further, using it is exceptionally demanding as it requires different files for interlinearisation amongst others (de Schryver and Joffe 2005: pp.306-9).Overall, its costs and complexities resulted in its disfavour.

Lexique Pro is a lexicographic tool that was developed by the Summer Institute of Linguistics, SIL for short. The software is used to put information in a database structure rather than in word processor text files. This gives the tool the advantages when it comes to compiling, checking and formatting the information. It has fast searches which can save time when dealing with large lexical databases. As the data is stored electronically, it becomes easier to copy information from one entry to the other. The tool is advanced and applicable to many languages. *Lexique Pro* is easier to use because for all new entries, it makes use of a template which allows users to automatically insert user-defined codes.

Lexique Pro is quicker to learn as it is a dictionary tool. It is able to manage information such as dates, quality of source, notes, questions, etc, on its own without any interference on the printing or reversing of lexical information. *Lexique Pro* can easily manipulate the data for analytic purposes as it can store data of multiple languages and for different purposes. This is why glosses can be in different languages. The tool is ideal because of its consistency and automatic ability to format a lexicon database thus making manipulating it easier and quicker. It also makes structuring easier and quick, a feature which is necessary when dealing with large databases that could be time-consuming if done manually. Another advantage of this software is that it is freely available online, usable on all operating systems – Microsoft Windows, Apple and Linux, however, it is no longer supported by its developers, SIL. Some of its disadvantages are that it crashes easily and has a limited display (Coward and Grimes 2000).

FLEx was also developed by SIL and is considered an upgraded version of *Lexique Pro* with some additional features that were not available in *Lexique Pro*. It is a freely available software that consists of tools that help manage linguistic and cultural data. Not only is it a dictionary-making tool but it also helps to perform many common language documentation and analysis tasks. Some of its advantages are that it allows for customised fields to be added, existing ones to be omitted, reordered and formatted. In addition, it supports an extended system of cross-references. Illustrations can be attached, data can be exported among others to XML and it offers semantic domain-based built-in descriptions of the lexicon, thus making it useful for pictorial dictionaries and audible pronunciation of lemmas. In the case of power surge or a system crash the lexicographer's work will not be lost and for first time users, the software comes with a number of useful, easy to learn training resources provided online. Further, but most importantly it is freeware. One of the weaknesses of *FLEx* is

that it is time-consuming as it does not have a website publication module thus relying on *Pathway* to create dictionary documents in various formats. The data needs to be exported in XHTML format and then imported by *Webonary* which is used to publish the dictionary online. A new version of Fieldworks is usually released at least once a year enabling the software to keep up with the fast-paced technological developments (Wójtowicz 2016: 409).

After considering the three dictionary-making software products discussed above, *FLEx* was preferred as it is an enhanced *Lexique Pro* which the author had mastered and could easily bootstrap into *FLEx* and above all it is freeware which came highly recommended.

3.6. Methods and steps

Below are the steps followed in the preparation and compilation of the prospective dictionary:

1. Select data from Rakoma (2016) and A'Motana (2004) based on frequency and popularity of use – metaphors that are in wide usage.
2. Arrange MWEs manually according to type, as in nominal idioms, verbal idioms and proverbs.
3. Assign full-lemmatic status to each MWE. Lemmatize selected MWEs in full using *FLEx* which automatically arranges each category of the data alphabetically.
4. Design the microstructure using the fields in *FLEx* which include several components that are listed and explained below.
    i) Pronunciations is a field for storing the pronunciation using a phonetic or IPA writing system. In this dictionary, the focus is on the height of the vowel sounds, particularly /e/ and /o/ which are highlighted using the diacritics **ʌ** and **ᴠ**.

ii) Literal meaning of the headword in English which is necessary for understanding of idioms and proverbs which are made up of different parts to sum up their meanings. The field is abbreviation is ***lit*** in italics.

iii) Figurative meaning is the definition or the statement that expresses the meaning of the headword. Figurative meaning is in Northern Sotho and English. The field is marked ***fig***, followed by ***Sot*** for NS and ***Eng*** for English.

iv) Sense field stores the second figurative meaning for MWEs with more than one meaning or sub-senses. The figurative meaning in this field is numbered **2** while the first one is numbered **1.**

v) Semantic domains, abbreviated ***sem.***, displays the abbreviation and name of one or more items from the semantic domain list in order to categorize the sense semantically. An entry may belong to one or more semantic domains.

vi) Context field provides information regarding social usage, that is the speech function achieved by the MWEs. Examples of contexts of use are sarcasm, hyperbole, euphemism, etc. The field is marked with the abbreviation ***CTX***.

vii) Etymology field displays information about etymon of the headword and is abbreviated ***etym***.

viii) Variant of (Sense) displays entries of senses of which the current entry is a variant and is used if an entry has dialectical variant(s). Variants are marked with ***Var.***

ix) Cross references field is usually used to display lexical relations between sets of cross references. For the purpose of this dictionary, this field displays the semantic relations to establish links between various idioms

and proverbs that belong to the same semantic domain. The field is abbreviated with *cf*.

x) Example field displays sentences that exemplify the use of a headword and its abbreviation is ***Us***.

Fields that are not relevant to the entries are left blank and do not appear in the final dictionary.

3.7. Conclusion

This chapter has outlined the mixed methodological approach adopted herein which will assist anchor this investigation in order to be able to address the research questions guiding the study. It proposes to use both the quantitative and the qualitative paradigms to source and sort the corpus of the product being designed, to determine the arrangement of headwords, the content of headword descriptions and the final appearance of the dictionary. It also describes three dictionary-making tools and considers which one is best for this project, describes the data to be employed and finally the methods that will be followed. All these were used to analyse the data as discussed in the next chapter.

Chapter 4: Data Analysis

Chapter 3 identified and described the two broad methodologies – the quantitave and qualitative approaches – and the specific principles under each of the two that are selected and the design decisions taken to investigate the research propositions of this study which are the lemmatization of NS MWEs and the development of their fuller microstructure in the envisaged LSPD. Inherent in the research questions is the assumption that MWEs are treated inadequately in both general dictionaries and LSPDs and, as such, an attempt is made to improve the status quo. This chapter, therefore, intends to analyse the data sampled from Rakoma and A'Motana in relation to the main research questions in this study: *What factors should be considered in lemmatizing phrases* and the second one is *what should the microstructure of a multiword expression article include?* As the data is analysed, the results become apparent and they will be highlighted at the end of the chapter. Generally, a dictionary is arranged into three sections, namely, the foreword, the dictionary itself and the afterword. The dictionary under development in this study consists of only the two sections excluding the afterword and the two are analysed below.

4.1. The dictionary front matter

This section relies heavily on the qualitative approach as it is sourced from formal linguistic knowledge gained and acquired from textbooks. It consists of the following sections: Preface, NS alphabet, dictionary features and abbreviations used in the dictionary being developed.

4.1.1. Preface

The purpose of a dictionary preface is to clearly explain the subject, scope, or aims of the dictionary. The dictionary for this study is compiled as a resource for the understanding and preservation of Northern Sotho language and the philosophy embedded in the idioms and proverbs. The preparation and development of the

dictionary was guided by the following concerns: user friendliness; making the dictionary technologically advanced and a useful tool for speakers and learners of Northern Sotho.

4.1.2. Northern Sotho alphabet

The Northern Sotho alphabet can be traced back to the early developments of the Alphabetic writing system developed by the Phoenicians. The Phoenician alphabet originally had twenty-two symbols representing their sounds which included only consonants. When it was adopted by the Greeks, they added four symbols and used some consonant sounds for vowels. The Etruscans also became familiar with the Greek alphabet, and adopted and adapted it to their own symbols and spread it across Rome during the rise of the Roman Empire through art and conquering of different countries. The Roman or Latin adaptation of the Etruscan alphabet had the twenty-six symbols with some consonants change into vowels and semi-vowels or semi-consonants. The twenty-six symbols made the Latin alphabet easy to learn, convenient to use and efficient for transcribing, thus it has been adopted by Greek, Roman and Phoenician languages to develop their own alphabet. Most of the Roman sounds are found in most languages of the world (Fromkin et al. 2007).

The Latin alphabet was not sufficient for other languages hence the need to adopt and adapt it to develop their own conventions that include sequences of sounds into strings of alphabetic symbols, with Northern Sotho alphabet being one example. Adoption of an alphabetic system means taking Latin symbols which are simple sounds to represent the same speech value in a different language. For example, the symbol [m] has the same speech value in both English and Northern Sotho. Adaptation of the alphabet happens in three different ways. The first adaptation of simple sounds occurs when a symbol is written the same in two different languages but with different speech values. For example, [b] in English /bill/ and [b] in Northern Sotho /bana/ have

different speech values. The former is explosive while the latter is an implosive sound. Adaptation also occurs when two or three simple symbols are combined to represent a sound that is not found in the Latin source languages in order to give different speech values. Lastly, adaptation occurs when a symbol changes its meaning in a language, for instance, /tsh/ in Sotho has a different speech value in Nguni languages (Fromkin at al. 2007).

Northern Sotho alphabet adopted twenty-two symbols from the Latin alphabet and they are [a], [b], [d], [e], [f], [g], [h], [i], [j], [k], [l], [m], [n], [o], [p], [r], [s], [t], [u], [x], [w] and [y]. The adopted symbols were modified and adapted into sixteen additional symbols to represent complex consonants of NS. Further, the three basic vowels [a, i and u] were added symbols for the four mid-vowels of NS which are [e] and [o]. The mid-vowels are sometimes difficult to distinguish for both L1 and L2 speakers. When it comes to writing, these are marked using the diacritics ˆ for mid-low tone, and ˇ for high-back tone. NS is thus made up of seven vowels, twenty-eight consonants and two semi consonants/vowels. The twenty-eight consonant symbols include fifteen adopted letters and fourteen with modifications. Of the fifteen that have been altered to match the speech sounds of Northern Sotho, [š] and [x] are monographs, ten are digraphs and three are trigraphs. The ten digraphs, two letters pronounced as one sound, are [hl], [kg], [kh], [ng], [ny], [ph], [th], [tl], [ts] and [tš]. The trigraphs are [tlh], [tsh] and [tšh] and they are a combination of three alphabetic symbols pronounced as one speech sound. The letters [w] and [y] are semi-consonants and vowels because in instances where they are prefixed to a syllable, they function as full consonants, and in instances where they are preceded by a consonant in a syllable, they are considered semi-consonants/ vowels. (cf. appendix 1 for complete NS alphabet).

Vowels	Semi cons/ vowels	Simple consonants	Complex sounds
a, i, u	y	b	hl
e	w	d	kg, kh
e		f	ng, ny
o		g	ph
o		h	š
		k	th, tl,tsh

Table 4.1: Sample of NS sound classes

4.1.3. Dictionary Features

Figure 4.1 below shows the two parts of the dictionary, the macrostructure and the microstructure, and how each has been outlined. It guides the user in terms of accessing the relevant information, that is how and where the MWEs are lemmatized in the dictionary and how the microstructure is arranged. The **headwords** are given full-lemmatic status and are bolded to distinguish them from other information related to the lemma. The **literal meaning** is given in English or as a translation to highlight that idiomatic expressions are peculiar to a language and sometimes become nonsensical when translated into another language with a different culture. The **figurative meaning** is provided in both NS and English and in cases where an English equivalent is available it is then given. For the headwords with more than one **sense**, each one is numbered to indicate the differences and lemmas with extra meanings or interpretations, are included as synonyms, hence, the use of /;/ instead of numbers. The **semantic domain** guides the users in terms of the different life spheres under which the particular MWE can be used. The **context** under which an MWE can be used reflects the emotions that user or speaker may wish to express. **Dialect variations** are provided for headwords that are phrased or express differently due to factors such as geographical variation or variation due to language shift over time and are provided in full and bolded like the headwords.

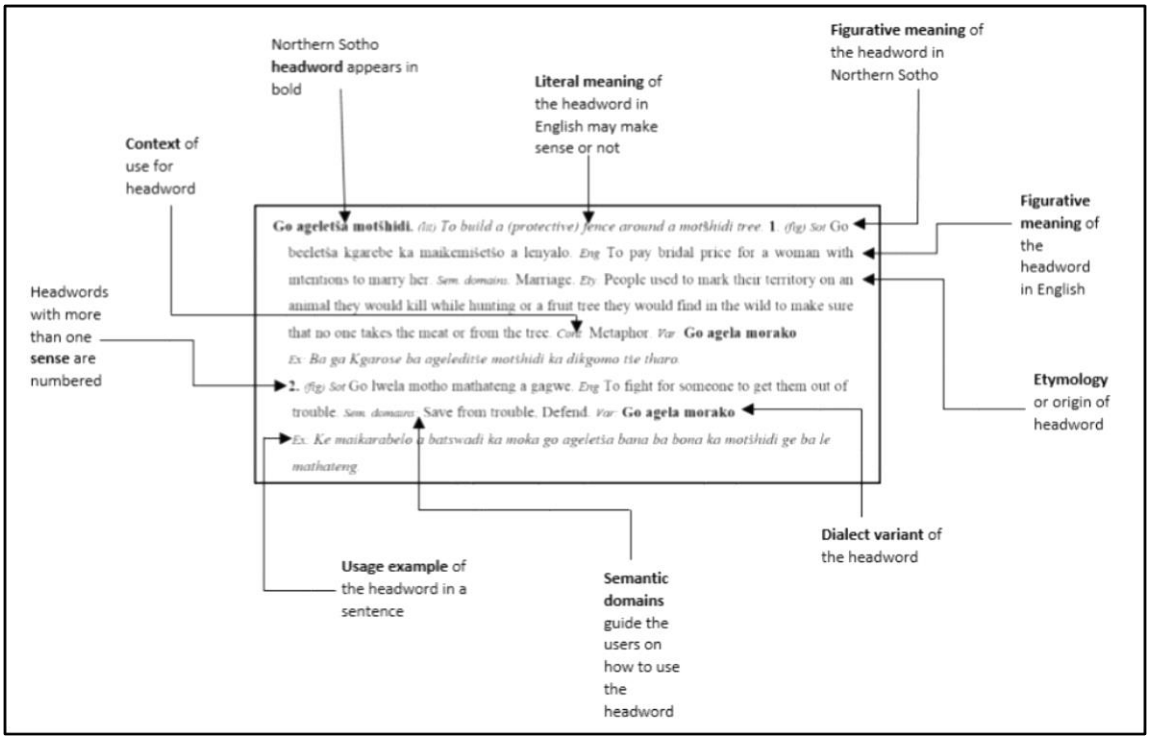

Figure 4.1: Dictionary features

If available, the **etymology** is provided to show the source of the MWE and the relation between the literal and figurative meanings and how the MWE came to be. **Usage** is an example sentence to show how an MWE can be used in a sentence, sometimes with or without change in the verb tense, truncation of nouns and verbs, as well as change in the number of nouns.

4.1.4. Dictionary Abbreviations

Below are the abbreviations that are used in the dictionary

Abbreviation	Full Word
Lit	Literal meaning
fig.	Figurative meaning
Sot.	Northern Sotho
Eng.	English
Sem.	Semantic
Us.	Usage Example
Var.	Variant
etym.	Etymology
CTX	Context

Table 4.2: Abbreviations used in the dictionary

Sot. is used as an abbreviation for Northern Sot, as it is provided by *FLEx* and it is not to be confused with Southern Sotho.

4.1.5. Conclusion of the foreword

The diagrams and the discussions above have attempted to provide guidelines and insights into how the dictionary is designed and how the lemmas are arranged to ensure that it is user-friendly and easy to access. The next section will discuss the dictionary itself.

Data analysed

Data analysed in this investigation was sourced from Rakoma (cf. 3.4) in order to answer the overarching question as to how to develop an LSPD of Northern Sotho MWEs and how improve ways in which MWEs can be treated in dictionaries using the alphabetic approach (cf. 3.2.1). Of the 3802 entries in Rakoma's *Marema-ka-dika*, 2301 are verbal idioms, 1405 are proverbs and 96 are nominal idioms. Their distribution is 60,5%, 37% and 2,5% respectively. 310 MWEs were sourced for this study and that makes about 8% of Rakoma. The sampled data is made up of 170 verbal idioms, 90 proverbs and 50 nominal idioms. The additional 25 entries are contemporary MWEs and their percentage distribution is illustrated in the pie chart below.

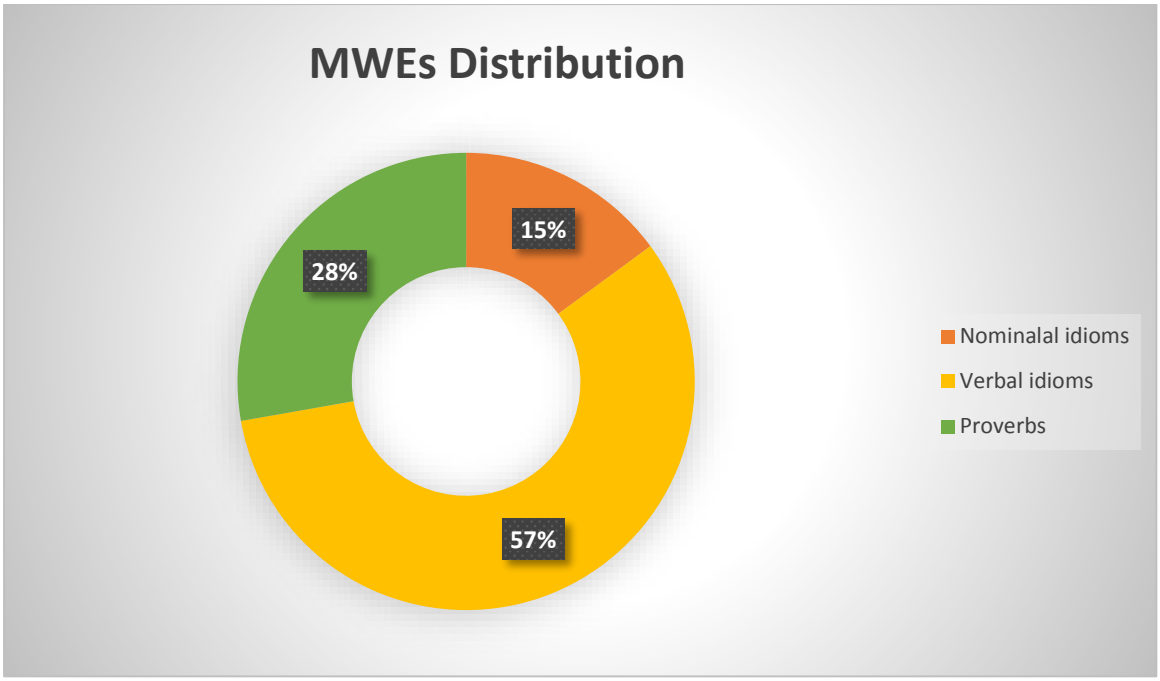

Figure 4.2: Distribution of entries

4.2. Lemma

335 MWEs were lemmatized in full and arranged alphabetically according to the first alphabetic symbol of the MWE. The lemmas which are multilexical in nature, were first grouped according to their types as was done in Rakoma (2016), and the different types covered are nominal idioms, verbal idioms and proverbs. Under the different sub-classes (types), *FLEx* arranged the lemmas alphabetically following the lexical structure of each. All verbal idioms start with the infinitive /go-/ and are thus, alphabetized on the first symbol of the verbal stem, e.g. If the verbal stems begin with /š-/, then they are lemmatized and arranged according to that, as in Figure 4.3 below.

Gŏ apara bŏsŏ. ***(lit)*** *To wear blackness*. **1.** ***(fig) Sot*** Go nyama. ***Eng*** To be sad. ***Sem:*** Emotion - sadness. ***CTX:*** *pebofatšo* 'euphemism. ***etym:*** In the culture of the Basotho, when a male spouse dies, the wife is required to dress in black clothes for the duration of the mourning period which can last for six months to a year. In the contemporary, family and close relatives also pin a small piece of black cloth to their clothes to signify the mourning period. ***Var:*** **Gŏ apara sĕfifi.**

Us: *Ba ga Molepo ba apere boso ka ge ba hlokofaletšwe ke ngwana.*

'The Molepos are wearing blackness as they have lost a child'

Figure 4.3: Verbal idiom sample

Nominal idioms, which all begin with nominals or nouns, were also arranged alphabetically according to the first symbol of the noun. As shown in Figure 4.4 below, lemmas that begin with /b/, are alphabetized based on the first alphabetic symbols.

Bana ba sĕtsiba. ***(lit)*** *Children of a loin skin.* ***(fig) Sot*** Bana ba go arogana ka bommago bona, fela ba belegwe ke monna o tee. ***Eng*** Children with one biological father but different mothers. ***Sem:*** Social behaviour - relationships, kinship, family. ***CTX:*** Metonymy. ***etym:*** *Setsiba* 'loin skin' is a garment made from animal skin that was worn by men to cover their groin area in the olden days. In this metaphor, the loin skin is a reference to the male reproductive organ.

Us: *Thuso le Katlego ba gotše ba sa tsebe gore ke bana ba setsiba go fihlela tatago bona a hlokofala.*

'Thuso and Katlego grew up not knowing that they are children of a loin skin until their father passed.'

Figure 4.4: Nominal idiom sample

Proverbs were arranged in the same fashion following the alphabetic ordering. The first elements of the lemmas ranged from nouns, verbs, to various morphemes such as subject-verb agreement (SVAs) morphemes and subject concords. In instances where the first elements or alphabetic symbols of the verbal stem were similar, the next symbol was considered and alphabetized according to that. Proverbs are

sentential in nature – both simple, complex and compound, and thus most could not be provided with usage examples as shown in Figure 4.5 below.

Ǒ sě bônĕ thŏla bŏrêlêdi, têng ga yôna gŏ a baba. ***(lit)*** *Do not see the smoothness of an apple, its inside is bitter.* ***(fig) Sot*** Motho yo mobotse sebopegong ga se gantši a ba le pelo ye e lokilego le botho bjo bo tumišegago, gantši e no ba moradia, senokwane goba mohufegadi wa dilo tša batho gore nkabe e le tša gagwe. ***Eng*** It is seldom that a beautiful person will be kind and have a good heart, they are usually dishonest, deceptive and envious of other people's success. ***Sem:*** Social behaviour – reputation, personality. ***CTX:*** *kgegeo* 'irony'

Figure 4.5: Proverb sample

4.3. Microstructure

The second aim of this investigation was to develop a Northern Sotho LSPD that would also provide MWE lemmas with adequate explanations including those recommended by Mojela above. Mojela suggested that in order to make proverbs and idioms easier to understand, dictionary makers should consider providing both their literal and figurative meanings, as that would subsequently trace their origin and further provide an insight into the philosophy, culture and history of a society. The microstructure which has been expanded, now includes literal meaning, figurative meaning in both Northern Sotho and English, semantic domains, etymology, dialect variants, context and usage examples where possible.

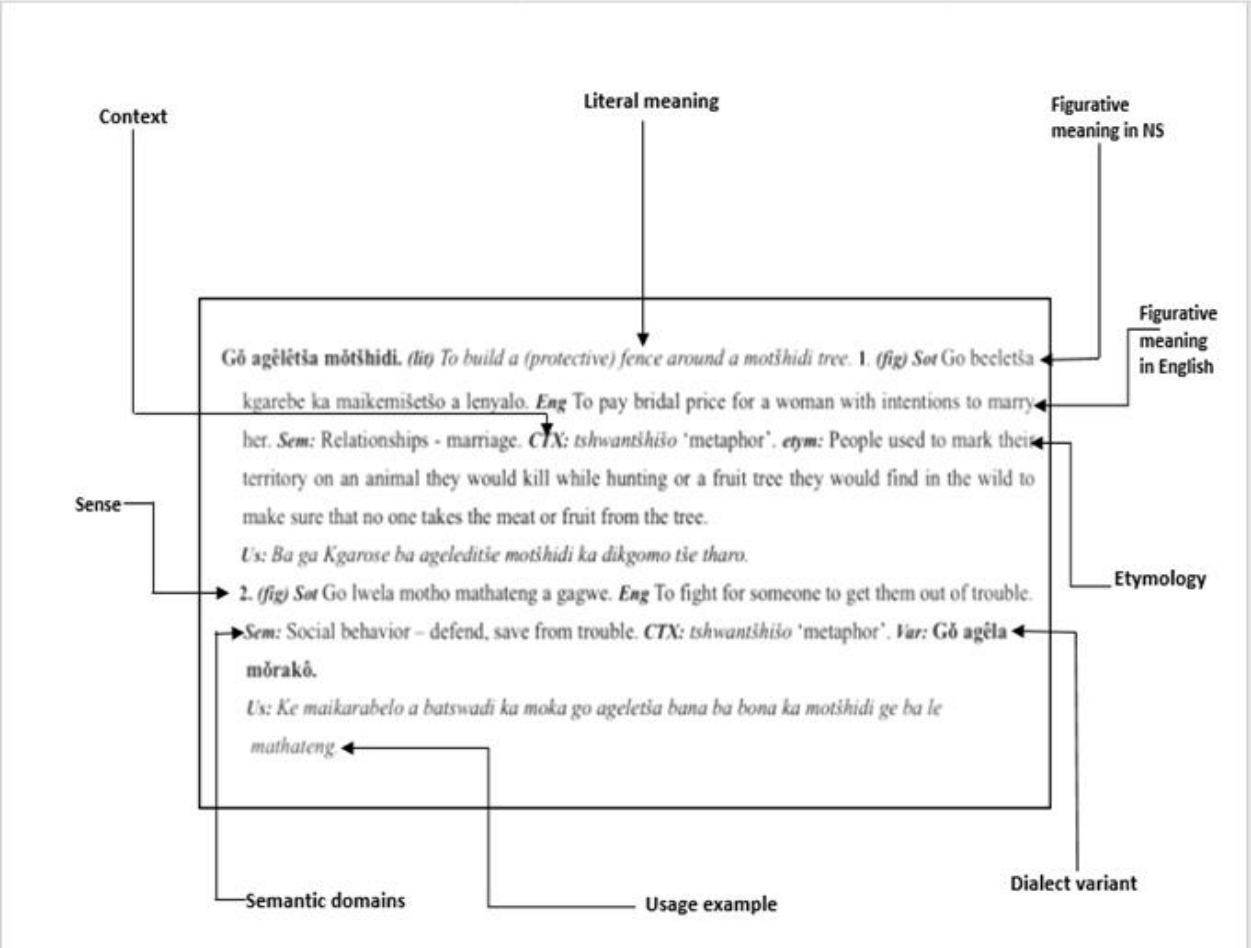

Figure 4.6: Microstructure sample

4.3.1. Semantic domains

The lemmas were also arranged based on their semantic relation. The themes that were used include the various spheres of life which range from life/death, community, health, marriage, wealth, work, etc. *FLEx* arranged the lemmas automatically, thus the themes were included as part of the microstructure in order to aid the users with easy access and improve the understanding of the different idioms and proverbs and contexts where they can be used. The themes identified for this study were provided by *FLEx* as semantic domains. Figure 4.6 above shows the way in which themes have been included in the dictionary as semantic domains. These are the different spheres of life that indicate the way of living of a particular society, that is the religion, education, traditions, culture, government, economics and ways in which various sub-

cultures within that society are organised. This reveals the social hierarchies through their beliefs, norms, beliefs and what they regard as taboo. The dominant themes across the different types of metaphors of Basotho ba Leboa are work, mental state, death and relationships with different sub-themes under each theme. For example, the theme of relationships includes family, unity, community, altruism and compassion.

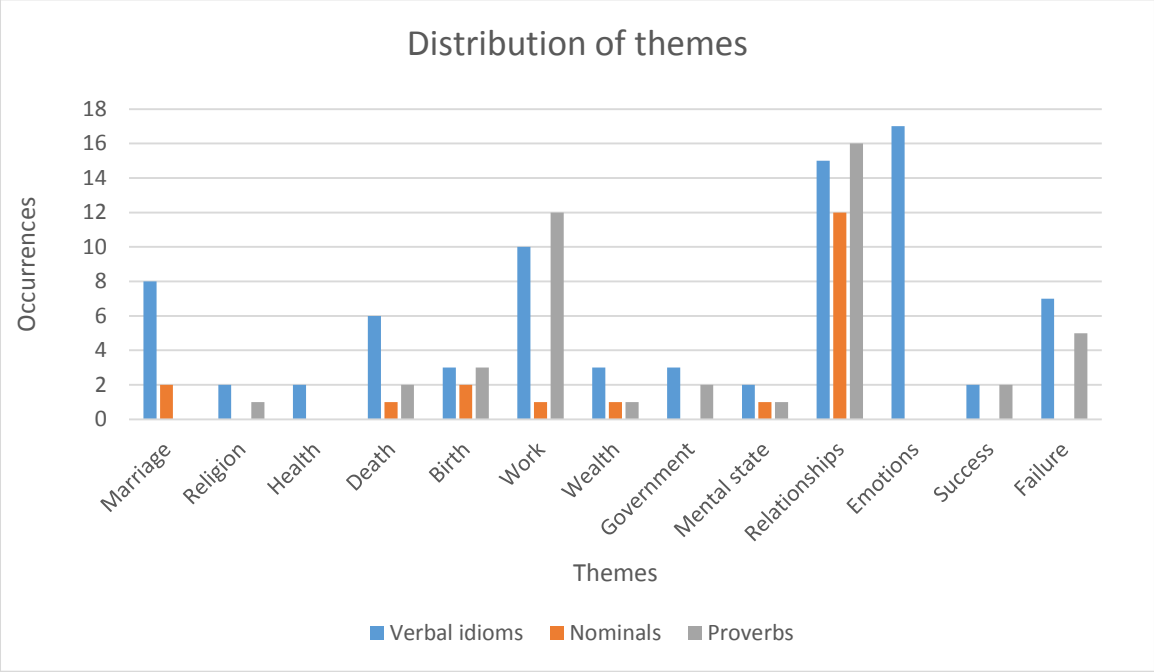

Figure 4.7: Distribution of themes

Figure 4.7 above presents the frequency of occurrences for the themes selected across the different metaphor types, verbal idioms, nominal idioms and proverbs. The horizontal shows axis are the themes and the vertical axis the number of occurrences. All themes occur in verbal idioms whereas, some themes do not appear in nominal idioms and proverbs. It is shown in the graph that the most dominant theme is emotions which makes up 10% of the sampled verbal idioms. Despite being the most dominant theme, there are no occurrences of emotions in nominal idioms and proverbs in the graph based on the data analysed. The least common theme is health with at least 2 to 3 occurrences in verbal idioms whereas there are no occurrences in nominal idioms and proverbs. The theme that occurs frequently across the three types of

metaphors is relationships, occurring 12 to 18 times, thus making up 14% of the harvested data.

Based on the sampled data, the most dominant theme across all three types is that of relationships. The MWEs about relationships are associated with unity or lack thereof, marriage, family and family dynamics, and so forth. Examples of MWs about relationships are ***go nwešana meetse*** 'to make each other drink water' *(Lit.)*, ***bana ba monna*** 'children of a man' *(Lit.)* and *bana ba kgwale ba bitšana ka melodi* 'children of a patridge call each by whistles' *(Lit.)*. Death, though not the most prevalent theme, occurs in all three MWE types. It is often associated with blackness, ancestors and unexpected traveling or going away, usually to a place where one cannot return. For example, *go ya badimong* 'to go to the gods' *(Lit.)*, ***go ya koti*** 'to go to the hole' *(Lit.)*, ***go ya ga maotwana hunyela*** 'to go to a place where small legs disappear' *(Lit.)*, ***lehu ga le apeelwe mphago*** 'death does not have provisons cooked for it' *(Lit.),* etc. Although only occurring mostly in verbal idioms, emotions as a theme, has the highest frequency of occurrences. The MWEs about emotions are associated with the heart, whether negative or positive. Examples include ***go bušwa ke pelo*** 'to be governed by the heart' *(Lit.),* ***go kgoka pelo*** 'to bind the heart' *(Lit.)*, ***go nyaoga pelo*** 'to wet the heart' *(Lit.)*, ***go šweufala pelo*** 'to have a whitened heart' *(Lit.)*, etc. Some of the MWEs about emotions show co-reference chains of related MWEs. For instance, there are MWEs that are solely about emotions that are a resultant of death and often show the downward human spatial orientation. Examples are; ***go apara boso*** *(Lit.)* 'to dress black' *(Lit.)*, ***go inamiša sefahlego*** 'to lower your face' *(Lit.)*, ***go wa mahlong*** *(Lit.)* 'to fall at the eyes' *(Lit.)*, and so forth.

4.3.2. Context

The microstructure has been developed further to include context of use which is dependent on the identity of the speaker such as class, status, age, etc. Context of

use shows the relationship between MWEs and figures of speech. The figures of speech show the speech function that a speaker may wish to achieve due to their high affective nature (cf. 1.1 and 2.2). In the developed dictionary, euphemism, irony and sarcasm are the most prevalent contexts of use found in the sampled NS MWEs. See Figure 4.6 for example of context.

4.3.3. Sample dictionary

The foregoing discussion concentrated on analysing the different parts of the dictionary which when put together produce the envisaged special dictionary, the sample of which is appended as Fig. 4.8 below. The following notable points also recap what this dictionary looks like: It is common practice for headwords in GPDs and subject-specific dictionaries to be arranged alphabetically and to adopt the two column per page format. However, a survey of anthologies on MWEs showed that although alphabetization is also used, the preferred arrangement is for headwords and their descriptions to be presented in the one column approach, likely, for ease of reading as the articles are dense. The first entry of the sample corroborates this. The headword, which is sentential does not have phonetic and/or phonological information as in general and subject-specific dictionaries. In fact, the microstructure is heavily encyclopaedic information: literal meaning in both NS and English, figurative meaning, one or more senses, semantic domain, situation under which the MWE is used and where applicable, the variant or reference or etymology of the idiom.

Verbal idioms

A

Gŏ agêlêtša mŏtšhidi. ***(lit)*** *To build a (protective) fence around a motšhidi tree.* **1**. ***(fig) Sot*** Go beeletša kgarebe ka maikemišetšo a lenyalo. ***Eng*** To pay bridal price for a woman with intentions to marry her. ***Sem:*** Relationships - marriage. ***CTX:*** *tshwantšhišo* 'metaphor'. ***etym:*** People used to mark their territory on an animal they would kill while hunting or a fruit tree they would find in the wild to make sure that no one takes the meat or fruit from the tree.

Us: *Ba ga Kgarose ba ageleditše motšhidi ka dikgomo tše tharo.*

'The Kgaroses built a protective fence around a motšhidi tree with three cows.

2. ***(fig) Sot*** Go lwela motho mathateng a gagwe. ***Eng*** To fight for someone to get them out of trouble. ***Sem:*** Social behaviour – defend, save from trouble. ***CTX:*** *tshwantšhišo* 'metaphor'. ***Var:*** **Gŏ agêla mŏrakô.**

Us: *Ke maikarabelo a batswadi ka moka go ageletša bana ba bona ka motšhidi ge ba le mathateng.*

'It is the parents' responsibility to build a protective fence around their children when they are in trouble'

Nominal idioms

B

Bana ba sětsiba. ***(lit)*** *Children of a loin skin.* ***(fig) Sot*** Bana ba go arogana ka bommago bona, fela ba belegwe ke monna o tee. ***Eng*** Children with one biological father but different mothers. ***Sem:*** Social behaviour - relationships, kinship, family. ***CTX:*** Metonymy. ***etym:*** *Setsiba* 'loin skin' is a garment made from animal skin that was worn by men to cover their groin area in the olden days. In this metaphor, the loin skin is a reference to the male reproductive organ.

Us: *Thuso le Katlego ba gotše ba sa tsebe gore ke bana ba setsiba go fihlela tatago bona a hlokofala.*

'Thuso and Katlego grew up not knowing that they are children of a loin skin until their father passed.'

Proverbs

C

A ba tlalê ba atê mŏnapělŏ ga a tsěbjě. **(*lit)*** *Let them fill and multiply, the one with a heart is unknown.* ***(fig) Sot*** Ga se tshwanelo gore motho a fele a hlaola batho gobane motho yo a tlogo mo thuša ge a le mabothateng e ka ba yo mongwe wa bao a ba nyenyago gomme a tloga a lewa ke dihlong. ***Eng*** People should treat all people equally because one of them might help them in their time of need. ***Sem:*** Social behaviour. ***CTX:*** *pheteletšo* 'hyperbole'

Figure 4.8 Sample dictionary

4.4. Conclusion

Using the research design provided in chapter 3, in this chapter, an LSPD of NS MWEs was developed. The two aims of the research have been realised in that all the lemmas

are given full-lemmatic status and were arranged and alphabetized automatically by *FLEx*. More detailed microstructures were developed following Mojela's recommendations to provide better understanding of the MWEs. And, finally, a sample of the designed dictionary was provided and analysed.

Chapter 5: Discussion of results and Conclusion of study

This chapter discusses the results of this research as they became apparent in the previous chapter. As it is the function of this reseach to The aims of this research are to develop an LSPD of NS multiword expressions wherein the said expressions are given full lemmatic status and further have more detailed microstructures following Kosch (2016) and Mojela (2004) recommendations. Kosch states that *multilexical* items like idioms and proverbs should be given full-lemmatic status and that it should be done in a specialized dictionary to ensure that they are treated adequately as full lemmas. Mojela recommends that for MWEs to be treated adequately, their microstructures should be expanded and include factors relating to their etymological analysis. In order to achieve these aims, the research questions that were asked are *what factors should be considered when lemmatizing multilexical items, what details should be included in the microstructure of MWEs?* and *what considerations informed the choice of MWEs for this dictionary? Which methods were used?* A prototype NS dictionary of multiword expressions, specifically proverbs and idioms, consisting of 335 embracing traditional and contemporary multilexical items has been developed in which the MWEs have full lemmatic status, that is, they are headwords. Secondly, detailed microstructures have also been designed for these headwords. Each of these results are discussed in relation to existing scholarship and the implications and limitations of the study are considered. Lastly, the study will be summarised in the conclusion.

5.1. Interpretation

In response to the first research question, which is *what factors should be considered when lemmatizing multilexical items*, a diachronic dictionary of NS MWEs has been developed. The dictionary is diachronic in that the etymology shows the evolutionary and adaptable nature of metaphors to be used across different generations (cf. 2.3).

The developed dictionary is an LSPD of 335 NS MWEs sourced from Rakoma (2016) and A'Motana (2004). The developed product, a prototype, is a bilingual dictionary with NS lemmas and microstructure in NS and English and targeted to L1 and L2 speakers. It is a prototype as it forms the basis for the larger dictionary envisaged. (cf. 5.4.5. below) and the lemmas are in NS whilst the microstructures, descriptions, are in NS and English. As already mentioned in Section 3.4, 310 headwords of the corpus of this dictionary, was selected mainly from Rakoma (2016), whose publication is a primary text that was first published in 1978, reprinted and extended over the years with the latest publication in 2016 and lastly, through direct observation by the author using both quantitative and qualitative methods. Of the 335 MWEs, 25 are contemporary metaphors gleaned from direct observation while the rest are traditional sourced from Rakoma (op.cit. 2016).

The lemmas are automatically arranged alphabetically by *FLEx* and the author further arranged them into three categories manually based on metaphor type for user-friendliness and the three metaphor types are verbal idioms, nominal idioms and proverbs. The list of surveyed MWE anthologies shows that MWEs can be arranged in various ways, thematically as in Mokitimi (1997) and alphabetically as in Letšhama (1998), Rakoma (2016), Chitja (2000) and A'Motana (2004). A closer look at alphabetic arrangement shows that alphabetization can be done in two ways, alphabetically with mixed categories as shown in A'Motana and Chitja, and alphabetically per MWE category as in Rakoma (2016). This suggests that the standard arrangement method is alphabetic, however, the method in the developed dictionary is informed by Rakoma in that the dictionary is not only alphabetically arranged but also further classified according to metaphor type, which has proven to be more advantageous because the learners will also learn the different metaphor classes, thus making it an even better resource. Dealing with multilexical items, in

dictionaries, turns to exclude pronunciation, probably, to obviate cluttered lemmas and so assumes full understanding of speech values, that is, the meaning of orthographic symbols of the language. However, it is an established fact that the mid-vowels of the Sotho languages present a challenge in reading, especially, for L2 speakers. In consideration of this difficulty the phonetic and phonological aspects of mid-vowels, that is, /e/ and /o/ are indicated in this dictionary using the circumflexes to differentiate them, for example, *mŏlômô* 'mouth' and *lĕmilê* 'ploughed' (cf. 4.1.2).

In the surveyed MWEs dictionaries of authors such as Rakoma (2016), Mokitimi (1997), Letšhama (1998), Chitja (2000), the evidence shows that the distribution of verbal idioms is larger than that of nominal idioms and proverbs. There are, actually, fewer nominal idioms in the stock. In Rakoma, for example, there are 2301 verbal idioms to 1405 proverbs and 96 nominal idioms. Chitja's anthology is made up of 357 verbal idioms, 16 nominal idioms and 339 sentential idioms, which are fixed expressions and proverbs. In both Rakoma (2016) and Chitja (2000), there are more verbal idioms than there are proverbs and there are fewer nominal idioms in both. In the developed dictionary, there are 187 verbal idioms, 93 proverbs and 50 nominal idioms. Their distribution in percentages is 60,5%, 37% and 2,5% respectively. This data suggests that NS MWEs are largely based on actions or action words. Nominal idioms are based on collocations of nouns and proverbs are mostly descriptions of situations. The size of the developed dictionary has been informed by the said distribution and proportions in the surveyed anthologies including Rakoma and Chitja.

According to scholars such as Possa (2014) and Domínguez (2015) another way of classifying the MWEs is according to era, hence, traditional and contemporary metaphors. Of the 335 MWEs analysed in this study, only 25 are contemporary metaphors, making about 8% of the data, and are commonly used in Limpopo, Gauteng and Mpumalanga where NS is the most common Sotho spoken. This low

number is an indication that language change happens gradually hence it takes long before new metaphors can gain currency and form part of everyday language. As Hayakawa (1964) mentions, it can take some time before a metaphor is accepted and used in similar contexts to express a similar concept by various speakers.

The developed dictionary has attempted a more detailed microstructure following Mojela's prescripts as will be discussed in response to the second research question which is *what details should be included in the microstructure of MWEs?* A microstructure, also known as a dictionary article, refers to the arrangement of the information provided under a lemma and the type of information that goes into the microstructure is determined by the dictionary classification. According to Mihindou (2004) dictionaries are generally classified into GPDs and LSPDs. Mihindou states that GPDs are concerned with the description of words in general language, hence, they are mainly linguistic in nature and minimally encyclopaedic. LSPDs are mainly encyclopaedic and less linguistic as in GPDs. However, the kind of detail under encyclopaedic tends to be minimal in the surveyed dictionaries, for instance, authors such as Rakoma (2016) include only the figurative meaning but lack issues raised by Mojela (2004). He argues that some metaphors are used incorrectly due to lack of understanding of their origin, relationship between the literal and figurative meanings of the individual words that make up each MWE, their semantic domains and contexts of use. In anthologies such as Rakoma, Mokitimi, Chitja, A'Motana, etc., the microstructures include figurative meanings, with literal meanings and themes in some. Thus, the developed dictionary includes in its microstructure the literal meanings in English, figurative meanings in NS and English, semantic domains, context, etymology, variant and example, however, it was not always possible to establish etymology and context.

According to Hayakawa (1964) metaphors are nonsensical when interpreted literally and can only make sense if interpreted metaphorically. Therefore, understanding often depends on understanding of literal meaning and social experience and insight into a society as highlighted by Mojela.

Example 5.1. Literal meaning

Idiom: Go jewa ke ntlo
Lit: To get eaten by a house
Fig: To die during child-birth or as a result of child-birth.

The literal meaning is nonsensical because a house is an inanimate object and cannot eat a human being. The figurative meaning is rooted in the time before the introduction of hospitals or clinics in African societies, where women gave birth in their own homes in a hut prepared specially for the occasion. If there were complications during birth resulting in the mother's death, the mother would come out as a corpse and it would be said that 'she was eaten or swallowed by the hut'. This is a comparison to eating where if one swallows food it can only come out in the form of vomit or faeces which have no purpose.

Though literal meanings of MWEs are nonsensical in most instances, the results show that in cases where the origin cannot be traced, the literal meaning does provide a historical or cultural background. For instance, most MWEs originate in the technological innovations and industrial revolutions of their time. The data indicates that traditional metaphors are based on the agrarian lifestyle, hence, work, child-rearing, laziness and other concepts are expressed in terms of farming or hoeing. An example is shown below.

Example 5.2. MWE based on agrarian lifestyle

Prov: *Ka hlagolela leokana la re go gola la ntlhaba*
Lit: I hoed around a small bush when it grows up it will pierce me.
Fig: As a parent, you can raise your children only for them to turn against you someday

Ka hlagolela leokana la re go gola la ntlhaba is used when speaking of child-rearing and it is related to tending to crops to ensure that they can grow. Example 5.2 also shows that some MWES have overlapping figurative meanings though their literal meanings may be unrelated. Example 5.2 as well as examples in the dictionary such as ***pinyana ge e re ping e kwele ping ye kgolo***, 'when a sunbird chirps, it has heard the big one' *(Lit.)*, ***etetša serathana ka moso se go etetše,*** *(Lit.)* 'lead a young child to lead you tomorrow', ***mmala wa kgomo o gola namaneng****, (lit)* 'the colour of a cow grows on the calf' are about the general beliefs that children learn their behaviour from their parents and that parents do things for the benefit of their children with the hope that they will help or care for them in future. Therefore, it is an unexpected event when children turn against their children or fail to live according to their parents' teachings as in example 5.2 above.

There are also cases where the literal meaning is meaningful, thus the figurative meaning is interpreted or understood incorrectly.

Example 5.3: Figurative meaning

Prov: *Sa koša ke lerole*
Lit: Of a song is dust.
Fig: To work carelessly without any care on the outcome

The proverb ***sa koša ke lerole*** ‘of a song is dust’ is often understood to mean that even if one is a bad dancer, they should join when others are dancing, especially at weddings and other gatherings without fearing that they may get judged or laughed at for their kind of dancing. However, the analysis indicates that, although the interpretation is not far off, the proverb is related to work and/or unity used in a context where a person without care about the results of their work or in a context where a person is expected to help out whenever they find people working to show unity as a people, even if he or she is not skilled for the job at hand.

As Mokitimi (1997) has stated, the use of certain metaphors is dependent on the context which is dependent on the identity of the speaker – age, class, status. Some MWEs cannot be used by children because they would show disrespect. For example, a child cannot say ***mosadi ke nku o rekwa mosela*** ‘a woman is a sheep, her tail is bought’ due its sexual connotations (cf. 5.6). However, when speakers are not aware of the context, the figurative meaning is interpreted incorrectly. Example 2.9.1 is another example that is often understood incorrectly because its literal meaning is sensible thus leading to ambiguity. The proverb ***mogolo o rongwa a eme*** (lit) ‘an adult is sent while he is standing’ has two meanings that are ambiguous at times. The first meaning is that an adult is sent while standing to avoid disrespect. The second deeper meaning has sexual connotations and its use depends on context and the speakers’ identities. The context is usually private and the speakers may be women amongst themselves or men amongst themselves.

Traditional metaphors also use animal comparisons to describe human nature, behaviour and emotions as evidence that life in the past was centred on agriculture.

Human behaviour like dishonesty and disloyalty are linked to wild animals due to their unpredictable and predatory nature. Below is as example of an animal MWE.

Example 5.4. MWE based on animal characteristics

Prov: *Mariri a tau a kgakala, a motho a ka teng.*
Lit: *A lion's mane is on the outside, a man's mane is inside*
Fig: An animal's nature and cruelty can be judged based on its physical form while it is difficult to judge the characteristics of a human being based on their appearance.

In example 5.4 above, the comparison is made between a lion and a human being, where it is suggested that though wild animals are unpredictable, based on the appearance of a lion and the knowledge of their predatory nature, it is common knowledge lions are dangerous. However, human features are not a representation of their nature so one cannot tell just by looking at a person if they are a murderer, a thief, a robber, etc., that is, that they have antisocial or abominable characters.

Animals are not only used in MWEs for comparisons but they are also used as totems by most traditional societies. A totem is defined in the Merriam-Webster online dictionary as "an object (such as an animal or plant) serving as the emblem of a family or clan and often as a reminder of its ancestry", and a totem can be shared by families with different surnames but a shared ancestry. Thus, totems are used to symbolise the history and values of a tribe or clan as it is believed that people derive their existence from their totems. Totems are prevalent in traditional MWEs because they express not only the history but social views, norms and conventions of the past which can all be linked to the organization of old societies. For instance, in African societies, the use of totems is significant in that it helps ensure that there are no incestuous relationships between people who may be related, especially if they do not share a surname, therefore, totems play a significant role in tracing the 'etymology' of people. Totems are found not in NS but also in the other Sotho languages, Nguni and other

Bantu languages. An example of a totem is *tau* 'lion' used by the Batau and Bataung clans and can be found across all Sotho groups. As their totem, this means that the Batau and/or Bataung honour the lion and regard it as a symbol of luck, wealth and bravery, and lion can be found in MWEs about bravery as shown in the example below.

Example 5.5. Symbols in MWEs about animals

Idiom: *Go bea tau setswetši*
Lit: To look after a lioness during maternity
Fig: To be very brave or daring

The idiom is based on the Basotho's understanding of the habits of lionesses and how protective they are of their cubs, so much that they would not let anyone near them even if they mean well. So, one would have to be really brave to attempt going near a lion's cub or a nursing mother. On the other hand, caring for a human being during maternity period means that they trust you enough to leave you with the baby when they are not around. Example 5.5 uses midwifing a lion to make a comparison of the danger that may arise from the event because while midwifing is about nurturing, a lion is a predator that can attack its prey at any time regardless of their good intentions.

According to Lakoff and Johnson (1980), metaphors are not just a linguistic phenomenon but they indicate a relationship between language and thought in that they reflect traditions, habits, democracy, equality, gender of any society. The use of animals in NS metaphors thus reflects the perception of men and women due to the relationship between people and animals, hence humans are compared to animals to convey certain ideologies. It has been found that in most cultures, animal metaphors related to women express negative connotations while the positive connotations are often associated with men. For instance, in most cultures women are considered men's properties, thus indicating that their value is based on their ability to satisfy men (Barasa & Opande, 2017: 84). ***Mosadi ke nku o rekwa mosela (lit) a woman is a***

sheep her tail is bought' is one such example in NS where women are compared to sheep.

Example 5.6. Representation of women in animal MWEs

Prov: Mosadi ke nku o rekwa mosela.
Lit: A woman is a sheep, her tail is bought.
Fig: A woman's worth is her beauty or physical attractiveness

Mosela 'tail' in this proverb has sexual connotations in that it is referring to the buttocks, therefore, the bigger the buttocks the better the sexual satisfaction. The sheep in this example is not only preferred for its physical appearance but because sheep rarely make noise or complain, even when they are being slaughtered. The message embedded in this MWE is that a woman is appreciated for her apparent passiveness. The data analysed shows that MWEs about animals show how "culture plays a vital role in determining the meanings attached to the animal metaphors" (Barasa and Opande, 2017: 84). In the Bantu culture, it is believed that women are only valued when they are considered 'domesticated' and are able to take care of household duties such as child-rearing, cooking, cleaning, hoeing the fields, etc.

Example 5.7. Gender stereotypes in MWEs

Prov: Mosadi ke tšhwene o lewa mabogo.
Lit: A woman is a baboon, her hands are eaten.
Fig: A woman is considered attractive when she works hard and takes care of her husband.

In this proverb, the target concept may not always be physical appearance but human behaviour or characteristics. In the proverb ***mosadi ke tšhwene o lewa mabogo***, tšhwene, (Lit.) 'a woman is a baboon, her hands are eaten', a '*baboon*' is used to conceptualise a woman who, though not pretty physically, is appreciated for being a hard-worker and can, therefore, make a good wife. It is a belief held by most cultures that women are good homemakers but lack the necessary skills for leadership, hence the saying ***tša etwa pele ke ya tshadi, di wela ka leope***.

Example 5.8. Sexism in MWEs

> Prov: *Tša etwa pele ke ya tshadi, di wela ka leope*.
> Lit: Should they be led by the female one, they fall into a ditch.
> Fig: When men are led by a woman, they often get into trouble and make endless mistakes because women are inexperienced and weak

In this proverb, *ya tshadi* is referring to 'a female animal' though it is underspecified which animal and is used to perpetuate the gender stereotype upheld by most societies that women cannot hold leadership positions. This is evidence that proverb scholarship can address questions and topics such as misogyny, sexism and gender stereotypes in proverbs as highlighted by Mieder (1997: pp. 4-5). The analysis of traditional MWEs which use farming and animal terminology further shows that the etymology of traditional MWEs is rooted in the agrarian lifestyle of the past.

As mentioned above that animal metaphors associated with men express positive connotations, the use of ***nku*** '*sheep*' in ***monna ke nku o llela teng*** 'a man is a sheep he cries inside' *(Lit.)* expresses the idea that just like sheep, men are strong and hardly cry, complain or show that they are suffering (Barasa & Opande, 2017: pp. 82-4). A baboon is a preferred source concept in NS when expressing physical appearance as it is further indicated in example 5.7 in the proverb ***tšhwene ga e ipone makopo***, 'a baboon does not see its sticking-out forehead'.

Mojela (2004) argues that the etymological analysis of idioms and proverbs is a result of the link between their literal and figurative meanings. For instance, traditional MWEs are rooted in the life of the past while contemporary ones originate in contexts of westernisation, urbanisation and technological innovations of the various industrial revolutions, i.e. **go lahlegelwa ke *network***, 'to lose the network', with network being an innovation that came with the advent of satellite technologies. The example is shown in example 5.9 below.

Example 5.9. Etymological analysis

Idiom: Go lahlegelwa ke *network*
Lit: To lose network
Fig: To go crazy

The analysis further proves Possa (2014) argument that contemporary MWEs follow the same form as traditional MWEs with variation occurring only where some lexical items are replaced by new ones that are suitable for modern contexts or by simply giving contemporary meaning to traditional MWEs while the syntactic structure remains the same as shown in the example below.

Example 5.10. Traditional MWE with contemporary meaning

Idiom: Go felelwa ke moya
Lit: To run out of air
Old Fig: To die

Idiom: Go felelwa ke moya
Lit: To run out of air
New Fig: To run out of airtime

In example 5.10 ***go felelwa ke moya***, new meaning is given to a traditional MWE. 'Airtime', just like 'network', is a technological development that came with the current industrial revolution, including cell phones and satellites used to make phone calls, send instant messages, access the internet amongst other things so when you run out of airtime, you cannot do much with the phone or other devices that are network based. In the NS translation, *moya,* 'air' gives the connotations that one needs airtime to survive in the same way they need oxygen to survive.

In the contemporary proverb ***monna ke stalk sweet re a mo monišana*** 'a man is a lollipop, we all lick him', *selepe* 'axe' is replaced with stalk sweet from the traditional ***monna ke selepe o a adimišanwa***.

Example 5.11. Lexical variation in contemporary MWEs

Old Prov: *Monna ke selepe o a adimišanwa*
Lit: A man is an axe, he is shared
Fig: A man can have multiple sexual partners

New Prov: *Monna ke stalk sweet re a mo monišana*
Lit: A man is a lollipop, he is shared
Fig: A man can have multiple wives or sexual partners.

Axes are no longer used as much as they were in the past because most people use electricity instead of wood or coal for home energy. Lollipops, or *stalk sweet* as they are called in South Africa, are a new concept that was not there in the past and are now popular. This confirms the argument by Possa (2014) that lexical items can be replaced with new ones while the figurative meaning remains the same. The data further confirms that contemporary metaphors can be coined through semantic variation, where meaning of words change over time to suit modern contexts as Possa points out. This proves that metaphors have an evolutionary advantage in that they can be carried from generation to generation as stated by Domínguez's (2015: 240).

The etymological analysis demonstrates that there is a correlation between language and culture, thus a field for etymology is included in the microstructure of the dictionary compiled for this study. Death, for instance, is associated with ancestors or unexpected traveling or going away, usually to a place where one cannot return or a place that is not suitable for human life. Examples of MWEs with the verb *go ya* 'to go' that all mean to die include *go ya badimong*, *go ya koti*, *go ya ga maotwana hunyela* as shown in 5.12 below.

Example 5.12. Basotho culture and death

Idiom: *Go ya badimong*
Lit: To go to the ancestors

Idiom: *Go ya koti*
Lit: To go to pit

Idiom: *Go ya ga maotwana hunyela*
Lit: To go to a place called *maotwana hunyela*

The conceptualization of these MWEs is an indication that death is linked to people's beliefs and attitude. *Badimong* 'at the ancestors' originates in the belief of Basotho, meaning all Sotho speakers, that when a person dies, they go to their ancestors who are believed to live in the spiritual or supernatural world. *Koti* 'hole' is the poetic form of *mokoti* in which the noun class /mo/ has been truncated to invoke affective connotations. *Ga maotwana hunyela* 'a place called maotwana hunyela' has its origins in the manner in which Basotho ba Lebowa used to bury their dead with their knees pressed against their chest in the old days. The analysis shows that death is understood as a mystery because when a person dies, it is believed that their spirit travels into the spiritual world while their journey comes to an end in the physical world, hence, the view of life as a journey by Lakoff and Johnson (1980).

The link between language and culture is also reflected in the conceptualisation of MWEs on marriage which plays a vital role in building relationships and a pre-condition for procreation. Marriage is significant for Basotho in general due to its ritual, social and economic value. The idioms ***go ya seyantlo*** and ***go ya setlogolo*** in 5.13 express the practice where a woman is married as a substitute for her deceased sister if the sister dies before having had any children, or if she has had only daughters.

Example 5.13. Basotho culture and marriage in MWEs

Idiom: *Go ya seyantlo*
Lit: To go house-like

Idiom: *Go ya setlogolo*
Lit: To go niece-like

Based on these examples, it is shown that in the culture of Basotho, the conceptualisation of marriage and the specific language for expressing it is based on

the nature or context of marriage. The economic value of marriage through *magadi* perpetuates misogyny and sexism in that it entitles the groom and his family the power to treat the bride as property or a commodity (Mankga 2013 and Mőnnig 1983: 203).

According to Mieder (1997: 25), the philosophy, customs, values and norms of any society can be studied through their metaphors as they tend to reveal cultural particularities. One of the African philosophies that is expressed in NS MWEs is *botho* or *ubuntu* which refers to human nature, humanity or humanness, is an important philosophy for African societies and it is centred on the belief that being human is based on a sense of belonging to a group or society than being an individual. Hence, the saying in NS and other Sotho languages ***motho ke motho ka batho*** or ***umuntu ngumuntu ngabantu*** in Nguni, which literally means 'a person is a person by others in English but metaphorically means that humans need each other to survive and therefore, should always treat each other with respect, kindness and help each other when in need. According to Eze (2010: 190), when a person behaves according to societal norms, a Sotho person will say ***ke motho*** meaning that ‘he/she is a person’ whereas when a person behaves in an unacceptable manner, Sotho people will then say ***ha se motho*** which means ‘(s)he is not a person’. Some of the core values of Ubuntu are virtue, goodness, kindness and unity, hence, the dominant themes in the analysed data are relationships, emotions and work. All these themes place an emphasis on building communities with members who treat each other with respect, kindness and consideration and help each other especially in their times of need as shown example in 5.14 below.

Example 5.14. Basotho philosophy - unity

Prov: *Babedi ga ba lwe ba ronana dinta*
Lit: Two do not fight, they keep lice off of each other
Fig: It is important for people or communities to get along and live in harmony

Prov: *Bana ba kgwale ba bitšana ka melodi*

Lit: Children of a partridge call each other by whistles
Fig: It is important for people or relatives to get along and help each other

The proverbs ***babedi ga ba lwe ba ronana dinta*** and ***bana ba kgwale ba bitšana ka melodi*** 'children of a patridge call each other by whistles' (lit) above express the importance of having good relations as a people or tribe and helping each other in the time of need.

MWEs about work also reflect beliefs about working together and stress the importance of patience which is a virtue related to humanity hence the English metaphor "patience is a virtue". Examples below include ***kodumela moepathutse, ga go lehumo le tšwago kgauswi*** and ***la fata ga le boe fela*** which both mean that patience breeds success.

Example 5.15. Patience

Prov: *Kodumela moepathutse ga go lehumo le tšwago kgauswi*
Lit: Bend your back digger of baboon's tail, there is no wealth that comes from near
Fig: Success does not come easy, therefore one must work hard with dedication, perseverance and patience

Prov: *La fata ga le boe fela*
Lit: If it digs it does not come back empty handed
Fig: Patience breeds success

Though being the most dominant theme, MWEs on emotions occur mainly in verbal idioms and this may be a reflection that Basotho ba Lebowa value emotional well-being. In the analysis, the MWEs about positive emotions are conceptualised with the whiteness while negative emotions are expressed with the blackness or darkness. Examples are as shown below.

Example 5.16. Emotions

Idiom: *go šweufala pelo*
Lit: to whiten in the heart

Fig: to be happy

Idiom: *go apara boso*
Lit: to wear blackness
Fig: to be sad

In the example, ***go šweufala pelo*** in 5.16, the colour white is compared to happiness, while in ***go apara boso*** blackness is mapped to sadness. The use of colour in MWEs is also used in English where green is often used to express emotions such as envy and anger, with red being a metaphor for danger.

Context (CTX) indicates where, when and how an MWE can be used (see section **3.3**). Hayakawa (1964) and Semino (2008) argue that language can be derogatory, vulgar or impolite, hence, people use figures of speech to hide affective connotations of general language that are considered offensive. As such, there is a very close relationship between figures of speech and MWEs as discussed in chapter 2. Though euphemism is the most prevalent context as it saves face as indicated by the data analysed, other figures of speech are also used as exemplified in 5.18 to 5.21. This suggests that Basotho ba Leboa are mainly euphemistic in their speech in order show respect and/or kindness or avoid embarrassment. Euphemism is applied mostly to language around sex, pregnancy, body functions, etc. as seen in examples 5.17 belo and other figures are used elsewhere.

Example 5.17. Euphemism

Idiom: *go kga morogo*
Lit: to pick a green leafy vegetable
Fig: to have sexual intercourse

Idiom: *go ba mmeleng*
Lit: to be on the body
Fig: to be pregnant

Idiom: *go fahla magotlo*
Lit: to blind mice
Fig: to urinate

In the culture of Basotho ba Leboa it is considered derogatory to speak of these concepts using literal language due to the connotations attached to sex and body functions, and also because the literal names are often used as swear words used in contexts where speakers wish to express anger and/or contempt as Hayakawa points out (1964).

Basotho ba Lebowa often use hyperbole, which is an exaggerated statement, to caution or show emphasis on actions or behaviour that is considered significant.

Example 5.18. Hyperbole

Idiom: *go adima mahlo*
Lit: to lend eyes
Fig: to help look for a person, animal or object

In example 5.18 above, the emphasis is on the verb ***go adima*** which stems from the idea that it is easier to achieve anything if people help each other. This further supports their ideology that unity is important amongst people and that people can only prosper if they work together.

Basotho ba Lebowa also use contradiction, irony and sarcasm to avoid being direct in various contexts.

Example 5.19. Contradiction

Idiom: *go anega molaleng*
Lit: to hang in the open
Fig 1: to reveal a secret publicly
Fig 2: to speak sensibly

Example 5.19 shows contradiction between openness and secrecy which are two ideas that are opposed to one another. Figurative meaning 1 is about secrecy and is a caution about the cosequences of speaking openly while figurative meaning 2 encourages speaking openly, a contraditction of figurative meaning 1.

Although speakers tend to use figurative language to save face as in the case of euphemism, there are contexts where metaphor is used to offend while being indirect as exemplified in 5.20 and 5.21 below.

Example 5.20. Sarcasm

Idiom: *go ba mafakudu a boJohnny*
Lit: to be a great giver of Johnny
Fig: to be easily accessible, especially in terms of sex.

Example 5.21. Irony

Idiom: *go fereya monna go bona a rota*
Lit: to court a man after seeing him urinate
Fig: To befriend someone or pretend you like them just so you can get the things they have

In 5.20, ***go ba mafakudu a bo Johnny*** is a sarcastic way of mocking women for their societally unacceptable sexual behaviour, also known as 'slutshamming' which is the act of degrading women for their sexual behaviour or for having multiple partners. This indicates that in the culture of Basotho ba Lebowa, sexual MWEs assoaciated with women tend to express negative tones whereas, the ones associated with men have positive connotations because men are allowed to have multiple wives or partners at a time (cf.Example 5.11). This proves that MWEs are gendered and perpetuate traditional gender role and gender stereotypes as discussed in examples 5.6 and 5.7 above. While they encourage sexual liberation in men, they tend to do the opposite in women. In 5.21, ***go fereya monna go bona a rota***, suggests that women only want a man's possessions, hence, they are often called golddiggers. A gold digger is defined in the Oxford Online dictionary as "a person who forms relationships with others purely to extract money from them, in particular, a woman who strives to marry a wealthy man." However, this is a contradiction of the Bantu philosophy about wealth and/or marriage that a man's worth depends on his wealth as expressed in the proverb ***bobotse bja monna ke dikgomo tša gagwe*** which literally means that 'a man's beauty is his cows'

5.2. Implications

The African Languages Lexicography now has a bilingual, NS to English, LSPD of NS MWEs with full lemmatic status and richer microstructures, which is hoped will enrich specialized lexicography in NS, in particular paremiography, and by implratication, other Sotho languages and Nguni languages as well not only in paremiology but in terminology as well. It is also hoped that the dictionary will appeal to other languages to compile their own LSPDs because it is important to save Bantu languages from extinction. The lemmas in the developed dictionary are easily accessible and can be used in conjunction with existing anthologies like Rakoma (2016) *Marema-ka-dika* to help with better understanding of the MWEs.

5.3. Limitations

It was not always possible to establish etymology and context because the microstructure depended on the literature surveyed and the author's knowledge of NS. The research design did not include interviews with elderly speakers and other knowledgeable people so as to establish etymology of some of the idioms due to time restrictions. Also, the sample size was restricted and could not allow more themes to be covered in the sample analysed. Copyright permission took long to be acquired and therefore, delayed the data selection process (cf. to attachments in appendices 3.1 and 3.2). *FLEx* could not sort the data per MWE category and that required manual input from the author.

5.4. Conclusion

This section summarizes the study by recapping the following: problem statement that led to undertaking this research, the aims and the research questions that guided the investigation, the goals and rationale informing the research, the use of mixed various

approaches employed, the results achieved, implications and limitations thereof and closes with recommendations and suggestions for future work.

5.4.1. Brief statement of the problem

While there has been growth in the development of specialized dictionaries for MWEs in Northern Sotho, a majority of these are anthologies where the metaphor and its figurative meaning only are provided without any context or encyclopaedic information. As regards GPDs, MWEs are either included or completely left out as in De Schryver (2007). When they are included in GPDs, there does not seem to be a clear method guiding the user about their location. First, the lemmatization of MWEs in GPDs is problematic because they are sub-lemmatized, that is, they are not headwords but are included under the description of the headword. Secondly, though they are sometimes presented as sub-lemmas, there is no clear methodology about their location as to under which headword they can be found as any of the keywords can be used thus making their inconsistent, infrequent sub-lemmatization seriously problematic for learners - basic or advanced - and researchers alike. Thirdly, their description includes only the figurative meaning as in anthologies. Lastly, their coverage is also haphazard and inadequate as most are not included. Thus, in GPDs, they are not only treated inadequately but are also hidden from the user and yet they are an important part of the vocabulary as they carry the ideology and culture of a language. In the anthologies that deal specifically with MWEs, such as Rakoma (2016) and A'Motana (2004) and others from sister languages, they are given full lemmatic status following a consistent method of lemmatization, alphabetic or thematic, however, their microstructures often lack details about their usage. A survey of the literature indicates a paucity of NS LSPDs with MWEs headwords and better detailed description of their lemmas.

5.4.2. Aim(s), RQ(s), Rationale, Goal(s)

This research aimed to compile an LSPD for Northern Sotho MWEs, in particular, proverbs and idioms with full lemmatic status and providing sufficient detail in their microstructures. The research questions "*what factors should be considered in lemmatizing multilexical items?*" and "*what should the microstructure of a multiword expression article include?*" guided the investigation so that its goals are achieved.

By putting the MWEs in an LSPD, this study was able to improve the way in which MWEs are accessed and learnt. This was also achieved by providing their microstructures with more details about when, where and how each MWE can be used. Consequentially, the microstructures provide the user with more detail about the MWEs to enrich their knowledge about the culture, ideologies and the beliefs of Basotho ba Lebowa following the recommendations of both Kosch and Mojela.

The literature and the surveyed GPDs and LSPDs of NS have revealed that the inconsistent lemmatization and inadequate treatment in their microstructures makes

MWEs difficult to access, learn and understand. Therefore, the rationale of this study is to provide a better resource which makes MWEs easily accessible and enhance users' knowledge and understanding of the culture and ideology of Basotho ba Lebowa embodied in the MWEs. This will contribute towards the efforts of the National Lexicographic Units and ensure that NS is preserved.

5.4.3. Methods used for analysis

In order to fulfil these aims, an LSPD of NS MWEs with full lemmatic status selected on the basis of identification of common MWEs has been developed. The selection method is both quantitative and qualitative as the sampling was based on authentic primary text, Rakoma (2016), and own knowledge as a born and bred speaker of the language and direct observations. The steps outlined in Section 3.6 based on these methods guided the lemmatization process, thus, ensuring that the MWEs are

methodically presented by not only arranging them alphabetically using *FLEx* for automatic alphabetization but also classifying them into the three components of the data of the study, that is, proverbs, nominal idioms and verbal idioms. The samples were selected based on common themes which were defined by the author from the information gained from semantic domains listed in *FLEx*, the dictionary-making tool employed here. Thus, making the approach in the macrostructure both thematic and alphabetic.

In order to process and analyse the lemmas, the study used the semasiological approach in the microstructures, an approach concerned with the meanings of words and phrases, hence, the provision of the figurative and literal meanings in NS and English. Furthermore, the study used a qualitative approach to provide the extra information such as semantic domains, context, etymology, variants and examples in the microstructures. The extra information in the microstructure was based on commonly shared knowledge in order to produce a better and user-friendly resource. Thus, using the qualitative approach made it possible to craft all the extra details related to the meaning of the lemmas. The quantitative method was used to select a set number of data required, that is, 335 of multilexical items for investigation. The ratio used in the selection of the corpus is reflective of the ratio in Rakoma (2016) and Chitja (2000) in that, the number of verbal idioms in a language is always the highest in comparison to proverbs and nominal idioms, and the latter's frequency of occurrence is the lowest of the three types of MWEs. Further, the quantitative approach was used to analyse the data numerically as in chapter 4.

5.4.4. Results: their significance, practicability and generalizability

A prototype bilingual diachronic LSPD of NS - English of 335 MWEs with full lemmatic status was developed and arranged both alphabetically and thematically in the macrostructure. The microstructures were made richer by including additional

information such as literal meanings, figurative meanings in both Northern Sotho and English, usage examples, semantic domains, context, etymology, variants and cross-references. By compiling an LSPD of NS MWEs, this study shows that the way in which MWEs are arranged and the way the microstructures are designed have an impact on how the lemmas are accessed, learned and understood. The lemmas in the developed dictionary are easily accessible and can be used in conjunction with existing anthologies like *Marema-ka-dika* to help with better understanding of the MWEs.

As a result of this study, the African Languages Lexicography now has a bilingual, NS to English LSPD of MWEs with full lemmatic status and richer microstructures. It is hoped that this development will enrich specialized lexicography in NS, in particular, paremiography, and by implication, other Sotho languages, Nguni languages and other Bantu languages as well as terminology. It is also hoped that the dictionary will appeal to other languages outside the Bantu family to compile their own LSPDs because it is important to save Bantu and other lesser-known languages from extinction.

5.4.5. Future Study

Future research will look deeper into etymologies by including interviews with the elderly and other knowledgeable speakers such as historians to make microstructures even richer. The current dictionary will be made online in order to get as much input from others as possible and will be updated accordingly. In the third phase of future work, the dictionary size will be expanded in order to cover more themes.

5.4.6. Recommendations

It is recommended that more institutions, including the lexicographic units of the 12 official languages of the country, should take up the challenge of producing specialised

dictionaries of MWEs. As the Khoi languages now have their own language body and lexicographic unit, it is recommended that they also develop LSPDs of their own MWEs in order to preserve their languages as well as their culture, philosophies and ideologies

Appendices

Appendix 1: Alphabetic system of the Northern Sotho language

Letter	Example	Gloss	IPA Symbol
A	**a**bul**a**	crawl	ɑ
B	**b**ala	read	B
D	ma**d**i	blood	d
E	r**e**ka	buy	ɛ
E	b**e**la	boil	e
f	le**f**o**f**a	feather	f
g	**g**ola	grow	ɣ
h	**h**ema	breathe	h
hl	**hl**api	fish	ɬ
i	f**i**hla	arrive	i
j	di**j**o	food	ʤ
k	**k**itima	run	k
kg	**kg**omo	cow	x
kh	**kh**utšo	peace	kʰ
l	**l**e**l**eme	tongue	l
m	**m**olo**m**o	mouth	m
n	**n**ama	meat	n
ng	**ng**aka	doctor	ŋ
ny	no**ny**ane	bird	ɲ
e	b**o**fa	tie	ɔ
o	r**o**ka	sew	o
p	**p**udi	goat	p
ph	se**ph**iri	secret	pʰ
r	**r**uta	teach	r
s	**s**ega	laugh	s
š	**š**ila	grind	ʃ
t	**t**ala	green	t
th	**th**aba	mountain	tʰ
tl	le**tl**alo	skin	tl
tlh	**tlh**ompho	respect	tlʰ
ts	le**ts**ogo	arm	ʦ
tsh	**tsh**warelo	forgiveness	ʦʰ
tš	le**tš**oba	flower	ʧ
tšh	le**tšh**ogo	fear	ʧʰ
u	d**u**la	sit	u
w	le**w**a	cave	w
x	n**x**ae!	sorry!	ǁ
y	lo**y**a	bewitch	j

Appendix 2: Dictionary

Verbal idioms

A

Gǒ adima mahlô. ***(lit)*** *To lend eyes.* ***(fig) Sot*** Go thuša go tsoma selo. ***Eng*** To help look for a person, animal or object. ***Sem:*** Behaviour - help. ***CTX:*** *pheteletšo* 'hyperbole'

Us: *Setšhaba ka moka se ile sa kgopelwa go adima ba mošate mahlo morago ga gore ba timelelwe ke dikgomo.*

'The society was asked to lend eyes to the royal house after their cattle went missing'

Gǒ agêlêtša mǒtšhidi. ***(lit)*** *To build a (protective) fence around a motšhidi tree.* **1**. ***(fig) Sot*** Go beeletša kgarebe ka maikemišetšo a lenyalo. ***Eng*** To pay bridal price for a woman with intentions to marry her. ***Sem:*** Relationships - marriage. ***CTX:*** *tshwantšhišo* 'metaphor'. ***etym:*** People used to mark their territory on an animal they would kill while hunting or a fruit tree they would find in the wild to make sure that no one takes the meat or fruit from the tree.

Us: *Ba ga Kgarose ba ageleditše motšhidi ka dikgomo tše tharo.*

'The Kgaroses built a protective fence around a motšhidi tree with three cows.

2. ***(fig) Sot*** Go lwela motho mathateng a gagwe. ***Eng*** To fight for someone to get them out of trouble. ***Sem:*** Social behaviour – defend, save from trouble. ***CTX:*** *tshwantšhišo* 'metaphor'. ***Var:*** **Gǒ agêla mǒrakô.**

Us: *Ke maikarabelo a batswadi ka moka go ageletša bana ba bona ka motšhidi ge ba le mathateng.*

'It is the parents' responsibility to build a protective fence around their children when they are in trouble'

Gǒ anêga mǒlalêng. ***(lit)*** *To hang in the open.* **1.** ***(fig) Sot*** Go bollola sephiri phatlalatša. ***Eng*** To reveal a secret publicly. ***Sem:*** Communication - secrecy. ***CTX:*** *irony* 'kgegeo'.

Us: *Motho ge a ikutswa ga se a swanela go anega molaleng gobane o tla itshwariša.*

'If a person is doing something that they should not be doing, they should not hang in the open or they might get caught.

2. Go bolela taba ye e kwalago. ***Eng*** To speak sensibly. ***Sem:*** Intelligent, Sensible

Us: *Bohle ba dumelelane le Morena Thema gobane a anegile molaleng.*

'Everyone agreed with Mr Thema because he hung in the open'

Gŏ apara bŏsŏ. ***(lit)*** *To wear blackness.* **1.** ***(fig) Sot*** Go nyama. ***Eng*** To be sad. ***Sem:*** Emotion - sadness. ***CTX:*** *pebofatšo* 'euphemism. ***etym:*** In the culture of the Basotho, when a male spouse dies, the wife is required to dress in black clothes fro the duration of the mourning period which can last for six months to a year. In the contemporary, family and close relatives also pin a small piece of black cloth to their clothes to signify the mourning period. ***Var:*** **Gŏ apara sĕfifi.**

Us: *Ba ga Molepo ba apere boso ka ge ba hlokofaletšwe ke ngwana.*

'The Molepos are wearing blackness as they have lost a child'

2. Sot Go hloka tsebo. ***Eng*** To lack knowledge or be misinformed about something. ***Sem:*** Language and thought - knowledge. ***CTX:*** *pebofatšo* 'euphemism'. ***etym:*** When it is dark (black) it becomes difficult to see anything thus, difficult to know what is happening.

Us: *Ke be ke apere boso gobane ke fihlile kopano e šetše e thomile.*

'I was wearing blackness because I arrived after the meeting had already begun'

Gŏ atlwa kĕ lĕhumô. ***(lit)*** *To be kissed by wealth.* ***(fig) Sot*** Go tšwelela pele medirong yohle yeo motho a e dirago. ***Eng*** To succeed in all that one does. ***Sem:*** Work and occupation – success, wealth, finance. ***CTX:*** *mothofatšo* 'personification'

Us: *Thabo o atlilwe ke lehumo le ge a hloka bana.*

'Thabo has been kissed by wealth even though he does not have children'

B

Gŏ ba lĕ *airtime*. ***(lit)*** *To have airtime.* ***(fig) Sot*** Go bolela kudu. ***Eng*** To talk too much. ***Sem:*** Behaviour. ***CTX:*** *pebofatšo* 'Euphemism'. ***etym:*** Airtime is a modern concept that came with the cell phones and it is used to make phones and with a lot of airtime one can make multiple or longer phone calls, and because it is expensive people usually keep the calls short and brief.

Us: *Kabelo o katogwa le go hlokomologwa ke batho ba bantši ka ge a na le airtime gomme a sa fe batho ba bangwe sebaka sa go fana ka dikgopolo tša bona.*

'Kabelo is avoided by a lot of people because he has airtime and does not give other people a chance to share their thoughts'

Gŏ ba mafakudu a bŏJohnny. ***(lit)*** *To be a great giver of Johnny.* ***(fig) Sot*** Go se kgone go itshwara, kudu go tša thobalano gomme wa hwetša o dumela go robalana le ge e k aba mang. ***Eng*** To be easily accessible, especially in terms of sex. ***Sem:*** Body functions – sexual intercourse. ***CTX:*** *sarcasm* 'kodutlo'. ***cf:*** **Gŏ hlephiša lĕkgêswa; Gŏ lahla.**

Us: *Ka moka re šetše re tseba gore Thabiso ge a tagilwe ke mafakudu a boJohnny.*

'*We all know that when Thabiso is drunk she becomes a great giver of Johnny.'*

Gŏ bakwa lĕ badimŏ. ***(lit)*** *To be fought over by ancestors.* ***(fig) Sot*** Go ba magareng a lehu le bophelo

ka baka la bolwetši. ***Eng*** To be gravely ill (between life and death because of illness). ***Sem:*** Death, Sickness, Critical illness or injury. ***CTX:*** *Pheteletšo* 'hyperbole'. ***etym:*** Originates in the belief of Basotho ba Lebowa that when one dies they go and become an ancestor.

Us: *Baithuti ba bane ba bakwa le badimo morago ga kotsi ya koloi mmileng wa N1.*

'Four students are fought over by ancestors after a car accident on the N1 highway.'

Gǒ bêtha ka lěfiêlô. ***(lit)*** *To beat with a broom.* ***(fig) Sot*** Go šilofatša motho. ***Eng*** To make a fool out of someone. ***Sem:*** Language and thought - foolishness, stupidity. ***CTX:*** *kgegeo* 'irony'; *kodutlo* 'sarcasm'

Us: *Tsela ye Matlebjane a laolwago ke mosadi, okare o mmethile ka lefielo.*

'The way Matlebjane is controlled by his wife, it is as if she beat him with a broom.'

Gǒ bêtha *six nine*. ***(lit)*** *To beat six nine.* ***(fig) Sot*** Go rota. ***Eng*** To urinate. ***Sem:*** Body functions– urinate. ***CTX:*** pebofatšo 'euphemism'. ***cf:*** **Gǒ ripa katsě mǒsěla.**

Us: *Pese e tla re go ema ra betha six nine.*

'We will beat a six nine when the bus stops.'

Gǒ bina felô gô těě. ***(lit)*** *To dance in one place.* ***(fig) Sot*** Go hloka tšwelopele medirong. ***Eng*** To work without any improvement or progress. ***Sem:*** Work and occupation - work poorly. ***CTX:*** *pheteletšo* 'hyperbole'

Us: *Ga ba fetše go hlagola ba no bina felo go tee.*

'They cannot finish hoeing as they are busy dancing in one place.'

Gǒ bôfa dinta. ***(lit)*** *To tie lice.* ***(fig) Sot*** Go huduga goba go tloga. ***Eng*** To relocate or move to another place or to leave. ***Sem:*** Daily life – relocate, move (to a new house).

Us: *Baagišane ba rena ba bofile dinta ba tšhaba bosenyi.*

'Our neighbours tied lice as they in fear of the crime rate.'

Gǒ bǒlawa kě lětswai. ***(lit)*** *To be killed by salt.* ***(fig) Sot*** Go dula ntle ga thobalano nako ye telele. ***Eng*** To stay without sex for a long time. ***Sem:*** Body functions – sexual intercourse, abstinence. ***CTX:*** *kgegeo* 'irony'.

Us: *Ke dumetše go kopana le motho waka wa kgale gore fela a tle a nntšhe letswai.*

'I agreed to meet up with my ex so he can help get rid of the salt.'

Gǒ bušwa kě pělǒ. ***(lit)*** *To be governed or ruled by the heart.* ***(fig) Sot*** Go se kgone go itshwara kganyogong ya selo goba pefelong. ***Eng*** To lack control of your desires or emotions, esp. anger. ***Sem:*** Emotions - lack self-control. ***CTX:*** *pebofatšo* 'euphemism'

Us: *O dula a le mathateng gobane o bušwa ke pelo.*

'He/she is always in trouble because he/she is governed by his/her heart.'

D

Gǒ dikǒlǒga sěǒlǒ. ***(lit)*** *To circle a molehill.* ***(fig) Sot*** Go dikadika taba pele motho a ka bolela. ***Eng*** To beat around the bush. ***Sem:*** Daily life – delay, Time; Communication – hesitation. ***CTX:*** *pheteletšo* 'hyperbole'

Us: *Re feditše re ngadile gobane o be a dikologa seolo a sa tšwe ka nnete.*

'We ended up sulking because he was circling the molehill instead of telling the truth.'

Gǒ dira dihlôgô tša bathǒ. ***(lit)*** *To make human heads.* ***(fig) Sot*** Go belega bana. ***Eng*** To give birth to children. ***Sem:*** Life – birth. ***CTX:*** Metonymy

Us: *Mosima o thabišitše ba bogadi ka go ba direla dihlogo tša batho.*

'Mosima made her in-laws happy by making human heads.'

Gǒ dula ka diatla. ***(lit)*** *To sit with your hands.* ***(fig)Sot*** Go tšwafa. ***Eng*** To be lazy. ***Sem:*** Work and occupation - laziness. ***CTX:*** *pebofatšo* 'euphemism'.

Us: *Monna wa go dula ka diatla o ganwa ke basadi ka bontši.*

'A man who sits with his hands is often rejected by most women.'

Gǒ dumêdiša ka lěbôtwana. ***(lit)*** *To greet through a small wall.* ***(fig) Sot*** Go hlodumela tiragalo ya selo sa sephiri o sa swanela go se bona. ***Eng*** To witness an incident that is not supposed to be seen by anyone. ***Sem:*** Senses - see, witness.

Us: *Nka se fe bohlatse gobane le nna ke dumedišitše fela ka lebotwana.*

'I will not be a witness because I also just greeted through a small wall.'

Gǒ dupa ka nkô. ***(lit)*** *To smell with a nose.* ***(fig) Sot*** Go kgona go tseba selo seo se tlo go direga. ***Eng*** To predict things before they happen. ***Sem:*** Language and thought - prophecy, predict. ***CTX:*** *pheteletšo* 'hyperbole'

Us: *Nkabe ke kgona go dupa ka nko nkabe ke širogile kotsi ye.*

'If I could smell with my nose I could have avoided this accident.'

E

Gǒ êdiša sěfahlêgô. ***(lit)*** *To brighten up the face.* ***(fig) Sot*** Go thaba. ***Eng*** To be happy. ***Sem:*** Emotion - happiness.

Us: *Lehono o edišitše sefahlego go phala maabane.*
'Today his/her face is more brightened than it was yesterday.'

Gǒ êla dikudumêla. ***(lit)*** *To sweat.* ***(fig) Sot*** Go šoma ka phišego. ***Eng*** To work hard. ***Sem:*** Work and occupation – hard work. ***CTX:*** *pheteletšo* 'hyperbole'; metonymy
Us: *Motho o swanetše go ela dikudumela gore a hwetše moputso wo mo kaone.*
'A person must sweat to get better results/ rewards.'

Gǒ êma ka lěǒtǒ lê těě. ***(lit)*** *To stand on one leg.* ***(fig) Sot*** Go hloka khutšo goba go tlaišega. ***Eng*** To suffer or lack inner peace. ***Sem:*** Language and thought - mind, mental state. ***CTX:*** *pebofatšo* 'euphemism'
Us: *Mmatswale wa Mokgadi o mo emišitše ka leoto le tee go fihlela Mokgadi a ngala ebile boela gae.*
'Mokgadi's mother in law made her stand on one leg until she left and returned to her home.'

Gǒ êpa ǒ tšhêlêtša. ***(lit)*** *To dig while pouring.* ***(fig) Sot*** Go tšhaba ka lebelo le legolo. ***Eng*** To run away very fast. ***Sem:*** Physical movement – running, speed. ***CTX:*** *pheteletšo* 'hyperbole'
Us: *Nkwe e rile go tsupuloga ka lešokeng badiši ka moka ba epa ba tšheletša le morago ba sa lebelele.*
'As soon as the leopard appeared from the bush, all the herders dug while pouring without looking back.'

Gǒ êta lě lělěmě. ***(lit)*** *To travel with the tongue.* ***(fig) Sot*** Go hudugela nageng yeo e seng ya geno, yeo batho ba gona ba sa bolelego polelo ya go swana le ya geno. Ka fao wa nama wa tlogela le go bolela polelo ya geno gomme wa iphetoša motho o šele wa go bolela leleme la batho bao gore le ba geno ba se sa go tseba. ***Eng*** To relocate to a place where they do not speak your language thus forcing you to learn and adopt theirs as your own. ***Sem:*** Language and thought – communication; Behaviour - conformity, culture. ***CTX:*** *pheteletšo* 'hyperbole'
Us: *Baswa ba lehono ba lahlegelwa ke dipolelo tša bo bona ka ge ba eta le leleme.*
'The youth of today hardly speak their home languages because they travel with their tongues.'

F

Gǒ fahla magôtlô. ***(lit)*** *To blind rats.* ***(fig) Sot*** Go rota. ***Eng*** To urinate. ***Sem:*** Body functions - urinate. ***CTX:*** *pebofatšo* 'euphemism'
Us: *Tate o raretše ka morago ga ntlo go yo fahla magotlo.*
'Dad went behind the house to blind rats.'

Gǒ fêhla maru. ***(lit)*** *To stir clouds.* ***(fig) Sot*** Go hlola ntwa goba phapang (phapano). ***Eng*** To cause a fight or conflict. ***Sem:*** Behaviour – conflict. ***CTX:*** *pheteletšo* 'hyperbole'

Us: *Motho wa ditshele o dula a fehla maru gohle mo a yang.*

'A violent person is always stirring the clouds wherever he/she goes.'

Gǒ fêlêlwa kĕ môya. ***(lit)*** *To run out of air..* **1.** ***(fig) Sot*** Go hlokofala; go hwa. ***Sem:*** Life – death. ***CTX:*** *pebofatšo* 'euphemism'. **2.** ***(fig) Sot*** Go felelwa ke *airtime.* ***Eng*** To run out of airtime. ***Sem:*** Communication. ***CTX:*** *tshwantšhišo* 'metaphor'.

Us: *Ke ile ke sa bolela le koko ka felelwa ke moya.*

'I ran out of air while talking to my grandmot her.'

Go fereya monna go bona a rota. ***(lit)*** *To court a man after seeing him urinate.* ***(fig) Sot*** Go itira okare o rata motho goba go ikgweranya le motho go bona a na le dilo tše o di kganyogago. ***Eng*** To befriend someone or pretend you like them just so you can get the things they have. Sem: Social behaviour – deceit, dishonesty. ***CTX:*** *kgegeo* 'irony'.

Us: *Banenyana ba Pitori ba setše thoko ebile ba tumile ka go fereya banna go bona ba rota.*

'Pretoria girls are such schemers that they are known for courting a man after seeing him urinating.'

Gǒ fihla hlôgô. ***(lit)*** *To hide a head.* **1.** ***(fig) Sot*** Go epela mohu lebitl***Eng***. ***Eng*** To bury a dead person (body). ***Sem:*** Life – burial, funeral. ***CTX:*** *pebofatšo* 'euphemism'

Us: *Ka Mokibelo re ya go fihla hlogo ya Bakone.*

'On Saturday we are going to hide a Bakone head.'

2. ***(fig) Sot*** Go robala. ***Eng*** To sleep. ***Sem:*** Daily life - sleep.

Us: *Ke nako ya gore motho a ye go fihla hlogo gobane gosasa e sa le letšatši la mošomo.*

'It is time for one to hide their head because tomorrow is a work day.'

Gŏ fŏfa ka dihlôgông. ***(lit)*** *To jump over the heads.* ***(fig) Sot*** Go nyatša motho wa geno gomme la phetha melato le sa mmotše selo. ***Eng*** To disregard or disrespect a relative or family member by excluding them from family matters and gatherings. ***Sem:*** Social behaviour – relationships, family. ***CTX:*** *pebofatšo* 'euphemism'

Us: *Motho wa go atlega mo lelokong o na le go fofa batho ka dihlogong gobane a re yena o a ikgona.*

'Successful relatives tend to jump over other people's heads because of their wealth.'

Gŏ fula bjang. ***(lit)*** *To graze on grass (eat grass).* ***(fig) Sot*** Go hloka khutšo goba go tshwenyega. ***Eng*** To be restless, stressed or worried. ***Sem:*** Language and thought - mental state, worried. ***CTX:*** *pheteletšo* 'hyperbole'

Us: *Bana ba Matlebjane ba mo fudiša bjang ebile o amogwetšwe bookelong.*

'Matlebjane's children made him graze on so much grass he ended up in hospital.'

G

Gŏ gadika fasě. ***(lit)*** *To fry down.* ***(fig) Sot*** Go fenya motho tlhabanong. ***Eng*** To defeat someone in a fight or war. ***Sem:*** Social behaviour - defeat, war, conflict. ***CTX:*** *kgegeo* 'irony'; *pheteletšo* 'hyperbole'

Us: *Mašole a gadiketše marabele fase etšwa ba itlhamile ka dibetša.*

'The soldiers fried down the rebels despite being heavily armed.'

Gŏ gama kgômŏ lě gê ě hwilê. ***(lit)*** *To milk a cow even when it is dead.* ***(fig) Sot*** Go kgopela motho thušo le ge a se sa na le selo. ***Eng*** To ask someone for help even when they have nothing left to offer. ***Sem:*** Behaviour – selfishness. ***CTX:*** *pheteletšo* 'hyperbole'

Us: *Motho wa megabaru otla no gama kgomo le ge e hwile gobane a sa naganele batho ba bangwe.*

'A greedy person will milk a cow even when it is dead because they are inconsiderate.'

Gŏ gana gŏ bôna. ***(lit)*** *To refuse to see.* **1.** ***(fig) Sot*** Go galefa gagolo. ***Eng*** To be furious (very angry). ***Sem:*** Emotion – anger (angry). ***CTX:*** *pheteletšo* 'hyperbole'

Us: *Motho wa pelo ye mpe o gana go bona le ngwana a mmatametše.*

'An evil person refuses to see a child anywhere near them.'

2. ***(fig) Sot*** Go hloya selo gagolo. ***Eng*** To hate something strongly. ***Sem:*** Emotion – hatred (hate), contempt. ***CTX:*** *pheteletšo* 'hyperbole'

Us: *O gana go bona dinawa gobane o di jele kudu bjaneng bja gagwe.*

'He/she refuses to see beans because he/she ate them a lot in his/her childhood.'

Gŏ gŏba lě naga. ***(lit)*** *To bark around the world.* ***(fig) Sot*** Go tšama motho a botša batho maaka, gomme

ba tloga ba mo nyatša. ***Eng*** To go around telling lies, then making people lose respect for you. ***Sem:*** Social behaviour – dishonesty, immorality. ***CTX:*** *kgegeo* 'irony'; *kodutlo* 'sarcasm'. ***etym:*** Dogs sometimes bark at nothing whilst giving people the false expectation that they are barking at someone or something. This barking at nothing might become a habit so next time when they bark people will assume that they are barking at nothing.

Us: *Ge o goba le naga o tla nyatša le ke digotlane.*

'If you bark around the world, even toddlers will lose respect for you.'

Gǒ gôga ka nkô. ***(lit)*** *To pull by the nose.* ***(fig) Sot*** Go laola motho ka mokgwa wo o ratago ka gona (mokgwa wa ge basadi ba laola banna ba bona). ***Eng*** To control a person, especially associated with men who are controlled by their wives. ***Sem:*** Social behaviour – authority, control. ***CTX:*** *pheteletšo* 'hyperbole'

Us: *Mothibi ga a sa etela le gae ka ge a gogwa ke mosadi ka nko.*

'Mothibi no longer visits his parents because his wife is pulling him by the nose.'

H

Gǒ hêmêla têng. ***(lit)*** *To breathe into the stomach.* ***(fig) Sot*** Go pitla moya gore go lapa go se bonale. ***Eng*** To hold your breath so as to not show that you are tired. ***Sem:*** Body condition - tired.

Us: *Ke ile ka hemela teng gore ke se lemogwe gore ke tlile ka maoto.*

'I had to breathe into my stomach so that no one would notice I walked all the way.'

Gǒ hudua ka lěoto. ***(lit)*** *To stir with the foot.* ***(fig) Sot*** Go dira bjalwa goba go apea dijo ka bošaedi. ***Eng*** To make beer or food that is unsavoury. ***Sem:*** Daily life - food preparation, cooking. ***CTX:*** *kgegeo* 'irony'; *kodutlo* 'sarcasm'

Us: *Bjala bja ga malome bo huduilwe ka leoto ebile bo patlile le banna.*

'The men could not even finish my uncle's traditional beer because it was stirred with the foot.'

Gǒ huma lě dinala. ***(lit)*** *To be rich even at the nails.* ***(fig) Sot*** Go huma gagologolo. ***Eng*** To be very rich. ***Sem:*** Wealth –very rich. ***CTX:*** *pheteletšo* 'hyperbole'

Us: *Matlebjane o humile le dinala ebile o abela le ba leloko la gabo dithoto tša gagwe.*

'Matlebjane is rich at the nails he is even sharing his wealth with his family.'

Gǒ hwa lětswalô. ***(lit)*** *To have a dead conscience.* **1.** ***(fig) Sot*** Go hloka kwelobohloko. ***Eng*** To lack a conscience or empathy for others. ***Sem:*** Behaviour – lack of empathy, evil-hearted. ***CTX:*** *pebofatšo* 'euphemism'. **2.** ***(fig) Sot*** Go se tšhoge selo ka baka la ge motho e le mogale a tlo itwela, goba e le mohumi a tlo lwa ka ditšhelete tša gagwe moo kotsing yeo. ***Eng*** To be brave. ***Sem:*** Behaviour – bravery.

Us: *Baswa ba matšatši a ba hwile letswalo ebile ga ba sa hlompha le batswadi.*
'The youth of today have a dead conscience they no longer respect their parents.'

Gǒ hwêtša ka bǒdulwana. ***(lit)*** *To only find a small sitting place.* ***(fig) Sot*** Go humana selo se o se nyakago gomme o tlilego go se tšea se šetše se tšerwe ke motho yo mongwe. ***Eng*** To find that what you were looking for has already taken by someone else. ***Sem:*** Time – late, delayed; Loss (opportunity). ***CTX:*** *kgegeo* 'irony'
Us: *Ke rile ge ke ya go rwala magapu ka hwetša ka bodulwana.*
'I only found a small sitting place when I went to get the watermelons.'

HL

Gǒ hlaba kǒlǒbê. ***(lit)*** *To slaughter a pig.* ***(fig) Sot*** Go hlwa motho a lofile a sa šome selo gobane a feditše modiro wa gage pele ga lebaka, ka fao a ipha sebaka sa go khutša goba go lofa ntle ga lebaka la go kwagala. ***Eng*** To stay away from school or work without good reason. ***Sem:*** Work and occupation – laziness, rest. ***CTX:*** *kgegeo* 'irony'
Us: *Beke ye baithuti ba Wits ba hlabile kolobe ka bontši.*
'A lot of Wits students slaughtered a pig this week.'

Gǒ hlatswa diatla. ***(lit)*** *To wash someone's hands.* ***(fig) Sot*** Go leboga motho ka go mo nea mpho ka baka la modiro o mobotse woo a go diretšego wona. ***Eng*** To give someone a gift as a sign of gratitude for doing something for you. ***Sem:*** Behaviour – gratitude.
Us: *Ba re hlatswitše diatla ka pudi morago ga go ba hlagodiša mašemong.*
'They washed our hands with a goat for helping them hoe their fields.'

Gǒ hlêphiša lěkgêswa. ***(lit)*** *To loosen pants.* ***(fig) Sot*** Go se kgone go itshwara, kudu go tša thobalano. ***Eng*** To Lack self-control, usually refers to a person who has multiple sexual partners. ***Sem:*** Behaviour - lack self- control. ***CTX:*** *pebofatšo* 'euphemism'. ***cf:*** **Gǒ lahla.**
Us: *Motho wa go hlephiša lekgeswa gantši o ipiletša malwetši a le kgole.*
'A person with loose pants is at a risk of contracting sexually transmitted diseases.'

Gǒ hlôka dinala. ***(lit)*** *To lack nails.* ***(fig) Sot*** To be lazy or too weak to work. ***Eng*** To be lazy. ***Sem:*** Work and occupation - laziness; Body condition - weakness. ***CTX:*** *pebofatšo* 'euphemism'
Us: *Motho wa go hloka dinala a ka se go thuše ka selo.*
'A person who lacks nails will never be of any assistance to you.'

Gǒ hlwaya tsêbê. ***(lit)*** *To prick the ear.* ***(fig) Sot*** Go theeletša ka hlokomelo. ***Eng*** To listen carefully.
domains: Senses - listen, hear, attentive.
Us: *Kgoši ge a bolela bohle ba swanetše go hlwaya tsebe.*
'When the king is speaking everyone must prick their ears.'

I

Gǒ ila kgaka wa nwa mǒrô. ***(lit)*** *To avoid a guinea fowl but drink its soup.* ***(fig) Sot*** Go hloya motho fela wa rata go amogela dimpho tša gagwe. ***Eng*** To hate someone but want to accept their gifts. ***Sem:*** Behaviour – greed, relationships. ***CTX:*** *kgegeo* 'irony'.
Us: O be a ka se hlale monna wa gagwe gobane e le seila kgaka senwa moro.
'She could not divorce her husband because she avoided the guinea fowl while drinking its soup.'

Gǒ imêla bathǒ. ***(lit)*** *To be heavy on people.* **1.** ***(fig) Sot*** Go šitiša batho go iketla gobane ba go tšhaba. ***Eng*** To prevent people from relaxing and enjoying themselves because they fear you. ***Sem:*** Sense - fear; perception. **2.** ***(fig) Sot*** Go hlomphiwa gagolo. ***Eng*** To be highly respected. ***Sem:*** Person – status; Behaviour – relationships, admiration of someone. ***CTX:*** *pebofatšo* 'euphemism. ***etym.*** If something is heavy, it weighs you down and makes it hard for you to move or do anything.
Us: *Matlebjane o imela batho gobane ele mohumi gomme ba tšhoga gore a ka ba tšeela fase.*
'Matlebjane is heavy on people because they fear he might belittle them for being poor.'

Gǒ inêla matsôgô mêêtsěng. ***(lit)*** *To soak hands in water.* ***(fig) Sot*** Go itswaloganya le motho goba taba ka gobane o sa kwane le ka mokgwa wo e rerwago ka gona. ***Eng*** To distance yourself from a person or a matter because you do not like how it is handled. ***Sem:*** Communication – disagreement.
Us: *Mokgatlo wa baswa o inetše matsogo meetseng gobane o sa kwane le tšhišinyo ya gore baithuti ba lefele dithuto tša godimo.*
'The youth league soaked its hands in water because it could not agree with the suggestion that students should pay for higher education.'

Gǒ iša marapô gǒ bêng. ***(lit)*** *To take bones to their owners.* ***(fig) Sot*** Go yo robala. ***Eng*** To sleep. ***Sem:*** Daily life - rest, sleep. ***CTX:*** Metonymy
Us: *E re motho a iše marapo go beng gore a se tlo selwa gosasa.*
'I should take the bones to their owner so that I do not oversleep.'

Gǒ itia fasě. ***(lit)*** *To hit the ground.* ***(fig) Sot*** Go hweka goba go palelwa ke seo o se tsomago. ***Eng*** To miss or fail to find what you are searching for. ***Sem:*** Physical action – miss; Failure. ***var.*** **Gǒ bêtha fasě.** ***CTX:*** *kgegeo* 'irony'

Us: *Tate o bethile fase ge a be a ile go rea dihlapi ka gona o boile a lekelelditše matsogo.*
'My father hit the ground when he went fishing as he came back empty-handed.'

J

Gǒ ja panana ka lětlakala. ***(lit)*** *To eat a banana with its peel on.* ***(fig) Sot*** Go tsenela tša thobalano ka kgotlopo; go šomiša kgotlopo. ***Eng*** To have protected sex or sex with a condom. ***Sem:*** Body functions – sexual intercourse. ***CTX:*** *pebofatšo* 'euphemism'. ***cf:*** **Gǒ ja *stalk sweets* ka pampiri.**

Us: *Bašomi ba lefapha la maphelo ba dula ba lemoša batho ka kotsi ya go ja panana ntle le letlakala.*
'Health workers always warn people about the dangers of eating a banana without its peel.'

Gǒ ja bŏlôkô. ***(lit)*** *To eat dung.* ***(fig) Sot*** Go diila gagolo. ***Eng*** To be poor, destitute or impoverished. ***Sem:*** Wealth – poor. ***CTX:*** *kgegeo* 'irony'; *pebofatšo* 'euphemism'

Us: *Re gotše re eja boloko ebile le batho ba re šišingwa.*
'People used find us disgusting because we grew up eating dung.'

Gǒ ja bŏphělô ka llêpŏla. ***(lit)*** *To eat life with a spoon.* ***(fig) Sot*** Go phela gabotse ka boiketlo. ***Eng*** To live a good life. ***Sem:*** Daily life – wellbeing. ***CTX:*** *pheteletšo* 'hyperbole'. ***etym:*** Spoons make eating a lot easier than using plain hands.

Us: *Mma o ile go hwetša tlhatlošo mošomong ra thoma go ja bophelo ka llepola.*
'When my mother get the promotion at work we will start eating life with a spoon.'

Gǒ ja ka diphaěpě. ***(lit)*** *To eat through pipes.* ***(fig) Sot*** Go hloka khutšo goba go tlaišega. ***Eng*** To suffer. ***Sem:*** Mind, Mental state. ***CTX:*** pheteletšo 'hyperbole'. ***etym:*** Patients with serious illness or injuries are fed through tubes (medical) as they are in such pain that they can hardly do anything. ***cf:*** **Gǒ êma ka lěŏtŏ lê těě.**

Us: *Kgaotšo ya mohlagase e ješa maAfrika Borwa, kudu borakgwebo, ka diphaepe.*
'Load shedding is forcing South Africans to eat through pipes, particularly business people.'

Gǒ ja *stalk sweets* ka pampiri. ***(lit)*** *To eat a lollipop with its wrapper on.* ***(fig) Sot*** Go tsenela tša thobalano ka kgotlopo; go šomiša kgotlopo. ***Eng*** To have protected sex or sex with a condom. ***Sem:*** Body functions – sexual intercourse. ***CTX:*** *pebofatšo* 'euphemism'. ***cf:*** **Gǒ ja panana ka lětlakala**

Us: *Bašomi ba lefapha la maphelo ba dula ba lemoša batho ka kotsi ya go ja stalk sweets ntle le pampiri.*

'Health workers always warn people about the dangers of eating a stalk sweet withoiut its wrapper.'

Gǒ jêla gôlông. ***(lit)*** *To eat into the mouth.* ***(fig) Sot*** Go jela dinose ka phagong goba go jela nageng. ***Eng*** When you get food or earn something (money) but finish it before it gets home. ***Sem:*** Behaviour - greed, gluttony; Daily life – food, eating. ***CTX:*** *kgegeo* 'irony'. ***var.*** **Gǒ jêla ganǒng**.

Us: *Mmatšhela yena ga se a boa le selo mabilong gobane o be a jela ganong.*

'Mmatšhela came back without any 'mabilo' because she was eating into the mouth.'

Gǒ jêlana tšêlanĕ. ***(lit)*** *To eat each other's tšelane.* ***(fig) Sot*** Go ja sethaka. ***Eng*** Taking turns eating from each other's home as friends or peers. ***Sem:*** Social behaviour - friendship, peers. ***CTX:*** *tshwantšhišo* 'metaphor'

Us: *Bana ba mephato ya fase ba rata go jelana tšelane ka ge ba phela mebileng.*

'Younger children like eating each other's tšelane as they are always out in the streets.'

Gǒ jěša bathǒ ka diphaěpě. ***(lit)*** *To feed people through pipes.* ***(fig) Sot*** Go atlega bophelong gomme batho ba kganyoga go swana le wena. ***Eng*** To make people envious of your success. ***Sem:*** Social behaviour – prosperity, success; Wealth. ***CTX:*** *pebofatšo* 'hyperbole'. ***etym:*** Patients with serious illness or injuries are fed through tubes (medical) as they are in such pain that they can hardly do anything.

Us: *Mola Mmanape o thomang go šoma o re ješa ka diphaepe ka legae le leswa le koloi ya majabajaba.*

'Since Mmanape started working she is feeding us through pipes with a new house and a nice car.'

Gǒ jěša hlôgô makêkê. ***(lit)*** *To feed a head to maggots.* ***(fig) Sot*** Go beola hlogo ya motho ka mokgwa wa bošaedi. ***Eng*** To shave someone's head (hair) badly. ***Sem:*** Daily life - shave, cut hair. ***CTX:*** *pebofatšo* 'euphemism'; *pheteletšo* 'hyperbole'. ***var:*** **Gǒ jěša hlôgô magôtlô.**

Us: *Sekero sa go kuba se ješa makeke.*

'A blunt knife is likely to feed your head to maggots.'

Gǒ jěwa kě ntlô. ***(lit)*** *To be eaten by a house.* ***(fig) Sot*** Go hwela ntlong ka baka la pelego goba go bolawa ke pelego botswetšing. ***Eng*** To die during child-birth or as a result of child-birth. ***Sem:*** Life - death, birth. ***CTX:*** *pebofatšo* 'euphemism'

Us: *Moshibe o godišitšwe ke tatagwe a le noši gobane mmagwe o jelwe ke ntlo.*

'Moshibe was raised by a single father because her mother was eaten by a house.'

K

Gǒ katêla sěatla ka ganǒng. ***(lit)*** *To shove a hand in the mouth.* ***(fig) Sot*** Go gapeletša kamogelo ya selo seo se sa rategego. ***Eng*** To force someone to accept something against their will. ***Sem:*** Behaviour - compelling. ***CTX:*** *pheteletšo* 'hyperbole'

Us: *Malome ba mo katetše seatla ka ganong ka ngwana yo e se go wa gagwe.*

'My uncle was shoved with a hand in the mouth with a child that is not his.'

Gǒ kêta dikêtô. ***(lit)*** *To play diketo.* ***(fig) Sot*** Go raloka gore bodutu bo tloge. ***Eng*** To play. ***Sem:*** Daily life - play, fun. ***CTX:*** *kgegeo* 'irony'

Us: *Banna ba selehono ba keta diketo ka basadi ka go ba aketša gore ba a ba rata.*

'Men these days play diketo with women by lying that they love them.'

Gǒ kitima lě phěfô. ***(lit)*** *To run with the wind.* ***(fig) Sot*** Go kgona go tšhabeša gagolo. ***Eng*** To be a fast runner. ***Sem:*** Physical movement – running, speed – fast or quick. ***CTX:*** *pheteletšo* 'hyperbole'

Us: *Caster Semenya o kitima le phefo.*

'Caster Semenya runs with the wind.'

Gǒ kǒkǒna lěrapô. ***(lit)*** *To gnaw a bone.* ***(fig) Sot*** Go leka go dira modiro o mo thata, ka kholofelo ya gore mohlomongwe otla kgonega. ***Eng*** Trying to achieve a difficult task with the hope that you will succeed despite the struggles and challenges. ***Sem:*** Mental state - determination, perseverance. ***CTX:*** *pheteletšo* 'hyperbole'

Us: *Le ge yunibesithi e le bothata, Moshibe o kokonne lerapo go fihlela a tšwelela.*

'Even though university is difficult, Moshibe gnawed a bone until she succeeded.'

Gǒ kôrôpa. ***(lit)*** *To scrub.* ***(fig) Sot*** Go šoma mešongwana ye mennyane ya go se lefe gagolo, fela gore motho a kgone go iphediša. ***Eng*** To work odd jobs. ***Sem:*** Work & occupation. ***CTX:*** *pebofatšo* 'euphemism'. ***etym:*** The word *koropa* originated during colonial times where black people would kneel to scrub floors for their white masters, thus the word has slavery connotations. ***var:*** **Gǒ kôrôkôrôpa**.

Us: *Morago ga go tlogelwa ke monna, Lethabo o be a goga ga boima gobane a fepa bana ka go korokoropa mo le mola.*

'After losing her husband Lethabo was struggling because she had to feed her children by scrubbing here and there.'

Gǒ kwêla thǒkô. ***(lit)*** *To hear to the side.* ***(fig) Sot*** Go se kwešiše. ***Eng*** To misunderstand. ***Sem:*** Sense - perception, misunderstanding. ***CTX:*** *kgegeo* 'irony'

Us: *Bana ba sekolo ga nke ba botšišiša barutiši ba bona le ge ba kwetše thoko ka baka la dihlong.*

'School children are always shy to ask their teachers for clarity even if they heard to the side.'

KG

Gŏ kgama tŏla. ***(lit)*** *To strangle a spring hare.* ***(fig) Sot*** Go patesetša lenaba le sa itebetše. ***Eng*** To attack an enemy or show up unexpectedly. ***Sem:*** Social behaviour - ambush, attack. ***CTX:*** *pheteletšo* 'hyperbole'

Us: *Re be re tlamegile go kgama tola gobane re tseba gore Madimetša a ka tšhaba ge a ka tseba gore re mohlaleng wa gage.*

'We had to strangle a spring hare because we knew Madimetša could run away if he knew we were on his trail.'

Gŏ kgaŏla lĕlĕmĕ. ***(lit)*** *To cut someone's tongue.* ***(fig) Sot*** Go šitiša motho go bolela therešo gobane o mo tšhošetša ka gore o tlo mo otla gagolo ge a ka dira bjalo. ***Eng*** To prevent someone from speaking the truth by threatening to hurt them. ***Sem:*** Threaten. ***CTX:*** *kgegeo* 'irony'

Us: *Mopresidente o dula a kgaola mekgahlo ya kganetšo maleme gobane a sa rate go swaiwa diphošo.*

'The president always cuts opposition parties' tongues because he does not like criticism.'

Gŏ kgêila dikŏbô. ***(lit)*** *To tear clothes.* **1.** ***(fig) Sot*** Go gafa goba go tsenwa. ***Eng*** To be crazy or mentally ill. ***Sem:*** Life – mental health; Language and thought - mind, mental illness. **2.** ***(fig) Sot*** Go befelwa. ***Eng*** To be furious. ***Sem:*** Emotion - anger. ***CTX:*** *kgegeo* 'irony'

Us: *O rile go kwa gore morwa wa gagwe o bethilwe a ba a tšeelwa tšhelete, a kgeila dikobo.*

'He tore clothes after hearing that his son was assaulted and robbed.'

Gŏ kgŏka pĕlŏ. ***(lit)*** *To tie your heart.* **1.** ***(fig) Sot*** Go itshwara dikganyogong tša mmele. ***Eng*** To control your desires or emotions. ***Sem:*** Emotion - self-control. **2.** ***(fig) Sot*** Go ikhomotša pefelong. ***Eng*** To calm yourself down from anger. ***Sem:*** Emotion - calmness. ***CTX:*** *kgegeo* 'irony'

Us: *Le ge re be re swerwe ke tlala, re ila ra kgoka dipelo gobane dijo di apeetšwe baeng.*

'Although we were hungry, we tied our hearts because the food was prepared for guests.'

Gŏ kgŏpêla sĕgô sa mêêtsĕ. ***(lit)*** *To ask for a water calabash.* ***(fig) Sot*** Go kgopela mosadi go magagabo gore a nyalwe gomme a išwe bogadi. ***Eng*** To ask for permission to marry a woman from her family. ***Sem:*** Marriage – marriage proposal. **CTX:** Metonymy

Us: *Ka Mokibelo re ya go kgopelela morwa wa rena sego sa meetse ga Leshabane.*

'On Saturday we are going to the Leshabanes to ask for a water calabash on behalf of our son.'

KH

Gǒ khǒra môya. ***(lit)*** *To be full on air.* ***(fig) Sot*** Go se swarwe ke tlala gona etšwe motho a se a ja selo. ***Eng*** When you do not feel hungry though you have not eaten anything. ***Sem:*** Daily life - Satiated, full. ***CTX:*** *pheteletšo* 'hyperbole'

Us: *Ge o šetše o tlalelane o tla no khora moya.*

'When you are overwhelmed you get full on air.'

Gǒ khunama ka matôlô. ***(lit)*** *To bend on your knees.* ***(fig) Sot*** Go ikokobetša ka mokgwa wa go bokgama fase ge motho a kgopela selo; Mokgwa wa go rapela Modimo. ***Eng*** To humble yourself by kneeling down while begging for something; To pray. ***Sem:*** Behaviour – Humble; Communication - request. ***CTX:*** *pheteletšo* 'hyperbole'. ***Var:*** **Gǒ kwatama ka dikhuru.**

Us: *Barutwana ba khunametše Morena Mothapo ka matolo gore a se ba fe kotlo fela gwa se thuše selo.*

'The learners bended their knees for MrMothapo so he would not punish them but that did not help.'

Gǒ khupêtša ka lěpai. ***(lit)*** *To cover with a blanket.* ***(fig) Sot*** Go fihla therešo gore batho ba se lemoge. ***Eng*** To hide the truth from people. ***Sem:*** Behaviour - deceptive. ***CTX:*** *kgegeo* 'irony'

Us: *Batswadi ba bantši ba rata go khupetša magwahla a bana ba bona ka lepai.*

'Many parents like to cover their children's flaws with a blanket.'

Gǒ khuta ka tlǒǒ. ***(lit)*** *To hide behind a nut.* ***(fig) Sot*** Go inyatšiša ka batho ka gobane o se na therešo. ***Eng*** To lack dignity due to your dishonesty. ***Sem:*** Behaviour - dishonesty. ***CTX:*** *pebofatšo* 'euphemism'

Us: *Boradipolotiki ba dula ba khuta ka tloo ka ditshepišo tša maaka ka nako ya dikgetho.*

'Politicians always hide behind a nut by making false promises during elections.'

Gǒ khutšiša marapô. ***(lit)*** *To rest your bones.* ***(fig) Sot*** Go robala. ***Eng*** To sleep. ***Sem:*** Daily life - sleep. ***CTX:*** Metonymy

Us: *Motho o hloka go khutšiša marapo gore a kgone go šoma ka mafolofolo.*

'A person needs to rest their bones so they can be able to work.'

L

Gǒ lahla. ***(lit)*** *To throw.* ***(fig) Sot*** Go se kgone go itshwara, kudu go tša thobalano gomme wa hwetša o dumela go robalana le ge e k aba mang. ***Eng*** To be easily accessible, especially in terms of sex. ***Sem:*** Body functions – sexual intercourse. ***CTX:*** *pebofatšo* 'euphemism'. ***cf:*** **Gǒ hlephiša lěkgêswa; Gǒ ba mafakudu a bǒJohnny.**

Us: *Basadi ba bangwe ge ba no tagwa ba a lahla.*

'Some women tend to throw when they get drunk.'

Gǒ lahla lěgarě phǒkêng. ***(lit)*** *To throw a razor blade in the dew.* ***(fig) Sot*** Go iketla ka mokgwa woo motho a sa gopolego ge a ka tlelwa ke selo seo se ka mo tlaišago. ***Eng*** To relax. ***Sem:*** Daily life – rest, relax.

Us: *Re be lahlile legare phokeng ebile re itebetše ge re tla tšhošwa ke modumo wa magadima.*

'We had thrown a razor blade in the dew and were lost in thought when we were suddenly scared by the lightning.'

Gǒ lahla *side.* ***(lit)*** *To throw a side.* ***(fig) Sot*** Go itebala nakonyana gomme motho a tšea sephetho goba go dira selo sa botlaela sa go dira gore a šale a itshola. ***Eng*** To make a foolish mistake that could have been avoided. ***Sem:*** Language and thought – error in judgement; foolishness. ***CTX:*** *kgegeo* 'irony'

Us: *Batho ba bantši ba lahlile side ka go tsenela stokvel sa WhatsApp ngwagola.*

'Most people threw a side by joining the WhatsApp stokvel last year.'

Gǒ lahlêgêlwa kě *network*. ***(lit)*** *To lose network.* ***(fig) Sot*** Go gafa. ***Eng*** To be crazy or mentally ill. ***Sem:*** Mental state – madness. ***CTX:*** *pebofatšo* 'euphemism'. ***etym:*** A network is a modern concept that came with cell phones. A network helps a cellphone function and gives it the ability to make calls, connect to the internet, send messages, etc., and a phone without a network is useless as it cannot perform any of these functions. ***cf:*** **Gǒ gapa tšê tšhwêu.**

Us: *Lebogang o bonagetše ka go se hlape gore a ka ba a lahlegetšwe ke network.*

'Lebogang showed by not bathing that he/she had lost the network.'

Gǒ lahlêla tôulô. ***(lit)*** *To throw in the towel.* ***(fig) Sot*** Go tlogela selo ntle le go se fetša morago ga go palelwa. ***Eng*** To give up. ***Sem:*** Social behaviour - defeat. ***CTX:*** Metonymy. ***etym:*** The act of throwing in the towel originated in boxing where a boxer would throw a towel inside the ring as a sign that they no longer want to continue fighting.

Us: *Ke no bona gore bokaone ke lahlele toulo go feta gore ke bušeletše mphato wa marematlou lekga la boraro.*

'I thought it best to throw in the towel instead of repeating matric for the third time.'

Gǒ lêbǒga maǒtǒ. **(lit)** *To thank the legs.* **1.** ***(fig) Sot*** Go leboga ketelo ya motho ge ele moeng gare ga lena. ***Eng*** To thank someone for their visit. ***Sem:*** Social behaviour - gratitude. **2.** *Sot* Go fa motho mpho ka baka la modiro wo a go diretšego fao o bego o sa kgone go fihla. ***Eng*** To give someone a gift for

doing something for you or for going where you could not go. ***Sem:*** Social behaviour – gratitude. ***CTX:*** Metonymy

Us: *Motho ge a go yetše mo o bego o palelwa go fihla, gagolo ka lebaka la bofokodi, ke tshwanelo gore o leboge maoto ka go mo lefa.*

'If another person goes somewhere on your behalf, it is only right that you thank their legs by paying them.'

Gŏ lĕfa ka sĕtŏpŏ. ***(lit)*** *To pay with a corpse.* ***(fig) Sot*** Go fediša molato wa gago ka go swarwa gomme wa otlwa goba wa bolawa. ***Eng*** To be killed as punishment for your crimes. ***Sem:*** Social behaviour - justice, punishment. ***CTX:*** *phetelet*šo 'hyperbole'

Us: *Motho yo a bego a tlaiša basadi ba Mahlakung, o ile go swarwa a lefišwa ka setopo.*

'The person who was terrorising the women in Mahlakung was made to pay with a corpse after he was caught.'

Gŏ lŏma tsêbê. ***(lit)*** *To bite an ear.* ***(fig) Sot*** Go sebela motho sephiri; go sedimoša motho. ***Eng*** To inform someone or tell them a secret. ***Sem:*** Communication – inform. ***CTX:*** Metonymy

Us: *Ba re lomile tsebe gore go tla ba le mogwanto wa bašomi beke ye e tlang.*

'We were bitten on the ear that there will be a workers' protest in the coming week.'

Gŏ lwa ntwa ya mŏgôlô. ***(lit)*** *To fight a war of the throat.* ***(fig) Sot*** Go ja. ***Eng*** To eat. ***Sem:*** Daily life - eating. ***CTX****: pheteletšo* 'hyperbole'. ***Var.*** **Gŏ lwa ntwamŏgôlô**.

Us: *Ge o ka hwetša sejagobe se lwa ya mogolo, se tla go bethiša moya.*

'If you find a greedy person fighting a war of the throat they will ignore you.'

M

Gǒ měla bǒgoši. ***(lit)*** *To grow royalty* **1.** ***(fig) Sot*** Go mela meriri ye mešweu e sa le wena motho o moswa, e le pontšho ya gore o tlo huma. ***Eng*** To grow grey hair in your youth, as a sign that you are going to be wealthy. ***Sem:*** Behaviour – religion, belief. **2.** *Sot* Go tšofala gobane e le lehlogonolo go phela go fihlela lebaka leo. ***Eng*** To reach old age as it is considered a blessing to do so. ***Sem:*** Life - old age, grow or get bigger. ***CTX:*** *tshwantšhišo* 'metaphor'

Us: *Motsepe o metše bogoši a sa le sekolong gomme barutwana ba bangwe ba be dira metlae ka yena.*

'Motsepe grew royalty while he was still in school and the other learners would make fun of him.'

Gǒ měna nôka. ***(lit)*** *To bend and twist your waist.* ***(fig) Sot*** Go kgantšha noka ga kgarebe gore masogana a mo kganyoge. ***Eng*** When a girl shows off her body for boys to look at her with desire. ***Sem:*** Body - attract sexually. ***CTX:*** *pebofatšo* 'euphemism'

Us: *Makgarebe ge a thoma go ba le maitemogolo ba thoma go mena noka o hwetše masogana a palelwa ke go kgoka dipelo.*

'When girls reach puberty they start bending and twisting their waists and you will find boys lusting over them.'

Gǒ mětšwa kě marumô. ***(lit)*** *To be swallowed by spears. (fig)Sot* Go hwela tlhabanong. ***Eng*** To die in battle or war. ***Sem:*** Life - death, war. ***CTX:*** *mothofatšo* 'personification'

Us: *Rakgolo waka o meditšwe ke marumo ka nako ye maburu a thopa naga.*

'My grandfather was swallowed by spears when the Boers were conquering their lands.'

Gǒ mǒna měnwana. ***(lit)*** *To lick fingers.* ***(fig) Sot*** Go ja sejo se se bose gomme motho a šala a sa se galala gobane a sa se khora. ***Eng*** To enjoy delicious food. ***Sem:*** Daily life – food; Emotion – enjoyment, pleasure. ***CTX:*** *pheteletšo* 'hyperbole'

Us: *Mohla Mmanape a ratile go apea, o tla šala o mona menwana.*

'Whenever Mmanape cooks you will be left licking your fingers.'

Gǒ muma mǒlômô. ***(lit)*** *To purse your lips.* ***(fig) Sot*** Go homola goba go se fetole ge motho a boledišwa. ***Eng*** To keep quiet and not respond even when spoken to, usually when one is angry or thinking. ***Sem:*** Communication - quiet, say nothing. ***CTX:*** Metonymy

Us: *Lehodu le otlilwe ga bohloko fela la muma melomo ge le botšišwa gore le tšwa kae.*

'The robber was beaten to a pulp yet he pursed his lips when asked where he came from.'

N

Gŏ naba maŏtŏ. ***(lit)*** *To stretch legs.* ***(fig) Sot*** Go dula ka go iketla. ***Eng*** To live in peace. ***Sem:*** Emotion or state – peaceful.

Us: *Monna wa Mosima o ile go swarelwa go mo tlaiša, a šala a nabile maoto.*

'After Mosima's husband was arrested for abusing her, she could finally stretch her legs.'

Gŏ nêêlana ditsêbê. ***(lit)*** *To give ears to each other.* ***(fig) Sot*** Go theeletšana le go tlhomphana poledišanong. ***Eng*** To listen to each other and respect each other in a debate or conversation. ***Sem:*** Communication – attentive; Behaviour – polite, respect. ***CTX:*** Metonymy

Us: *Kopano ya maloba e fedile ntle le tumelelano gobane mekgahlo e be e sa neelane ditsebe.*

'The meeting ended without a consensus because the parties were not giving ears to each other.'

Gŏ nŏka ka lětswai. ***(lit)*** *To season with salt.* ***(fig) Sot*** Go oketša taba ka maaka gore e be le maatlakgogedi goba go kgahla batheeletši. ***Eng*** To add lies to a story to make it interesting. ***Sem:*** Behaviour - dishonest, deceptive. ***CTX:*** *pheteletšo* 'hyperbole'

Us: *Khutšo o be a no fela a noka ka letswai ge a be a laodiša tša leeto la gagwe la Amerika.*

'Khutšo was seasoning with salt when he was narrating his trip to America.

Gŏ ntša ka ga tšhwênĕ. ***(lit)*** *To take out (show) ways of a baboon.* ***(fig) Sot*** Go dira modiro ka phišego. ***Eng*** To work hard with determination. ***Sem:*** Work & occupation - determination, passion. ***CTX:*** *pheteletšo* 'hyperbole'; *tshwantšhišo* 'metaphor'

Us: *Baithuti ba ntša ka ga tšhwene ka nako ya ditlhahlobo fela.*

'Students only show ways of a baboon during exams season.'

Gŏ nwěšana mêêtsĕ. ***(lit)*** *To help each other drink water.* ***(fig) Sot*** Go gwerana goba go kwana. ***Eng*** To get along or begin a relationship. ***Sem:*** Relationships – unity. ***CTX:*** *tshwantšhišo* 'metaphor'

Us: *Ba gaMolepo le ba gaKgarose ga ba sa nwešana meetse morago ga gore bana ba bona ba hlabane ka thipa ba le mabjaleng.*

'The Molepo and Kgarose families no longer help each other drink water after their children stabbed each other while out drinking.'

NG

Gŏ nganga dirŏpĕ. ***(lit)*** *to tighten your thighs.* ***(fig) Sot*** Go kitima goba go tšhaba. ***Eng*** To run (away). ***Sem:*** Physical movement – run. ***CTX:*** *pheteletšo* 'hyperbole'

Us: *Lehodu le ile go kwa mašata la nganga dirope la tsena ka sethokgweng.*

'The thief tightened his thighs and disappeared into the bushes after hearing screams.'

Gŏ ngatêla dikŏbô. ***(lit)*** *To tuck your clothes in.* ***(fig) Sot*** Go tiiša maatla modirong. ***Eng*** To work hard. ***Sem:*** Work and occupation - hard work, determination. ***CTX:*** *pheteletšo* 'hyperbole'

Us: *Ka nako ya ditlhahlobo baithuti ba ngatela dikobo.*

'During exams students tuck their clothes in.'

Gǒ ngôngwa kě dintši. ***(lit)*** *To be avoided out of disgust by flies.* **1.** ***(fig) Sot*** Go diila gagolo. ***Eng*** To be very poor. ***Sem:*** Wealth – very poor, destitute. ***CTX:*** *pheteletšo* 'hyperbole'

Us: *Ka tsela yeo ba bego ba bolawa ke tlala, ba be ba ngongwa ke dintši.*

'They were so poor, they were avoided by flies out of disgust.'

2. ***Sot*** Go nkga ka baka la go se hlape. ***Eng*** To smell bad, usually due to poor hygiene. ***Sem:*** Body - hygiene, dirty; Senses – smell. ***CTX:*** *pebofatšo* 'euphemism'

Us: *Bana ba go tšhaba meetse otla humana ba ngongwa ke dintši.*

'Children who do not like to bathe are avoided by flies out of disgust.'

Gǒ ngwapša kě nkwê. ***(lit)*** *To get scratched by a leopard.* **1.** ***(fig) Sot*** Go hlokofala la go gomela lehu. ***Eng*** To get grievously injured or nearly get killed. ***Sem:*** Body condition - pain, injured. ***CTX:*** *pebofatšo* 'hyperbole'

Us: *Morago ga go hlaselwa ke dinokwane o hweditšwe a ngwapilwe ke nkwe ebile a sa holofetše.*

'After being attacked by criminals, he/she was scratched by a leopard that they did not have hope he/she would make it.'

2. ***Sot*** Go palelwa ke selo. ***Eng*** To fail at something. ***Sem:*** Work and occupation - failure. ***CTX:*** *pebofatšo* 'hyperbole'. ***cf.*** **Gǒ patlama ka sěbětě.**

Us: *O lekile go itefeletša fela a ngwapša ke nkwe.*

'He/she tried to retaliate but was scratched by a leopard.'

Gǒ ngwaya lěbadi. ***(lit)*** *To scratch a scar.* ***(fig) Sot*** Go tsošološa goba go gopola bohloko bjo bo bego bo šetše bo fedile. ***Eng*** To revisit or remember a painful event of incident that may still hurt. ***Sem:*** Language and thought – mind, memory; Emotion – pain and suffering. ***CTX:*** Metonymy

Us: *Go gopola ka lehu la tate e no ba go ngwaya lebadi.*

'Remembering my father's death is like scratching a scar.'

NY

Gǒ nyaka phiri ya tsěla. ***(lit)*** *To search for a hyena of the road.* ***(fig) Sot*** Go nyaka selo seo o ka se kego wa se bona. ***Eng*** To search for something you that you will never find. ***Sem:*** Mind – hopeless. ***CTX:*** pheteletšo 'euphemism'

Us: *Go nyakana le mošomo seemong se sa ekonomi e no ba go nyakana le phiri ya tsela.*

'Looking for a job in this economy is like searching for a hyena of the road.'

Gǒ nyalwa kě mǒsadi. ***(lit)*** *To be married by a woman.* ***(fig) Sot*** Go bušwa ke mosadi ka lapeng. ***Eng*** To be controlled by your wife. ***Sem:*** Relationships – marriage. ***CTX:*** *kgegeo* 'irony'

Us: *Morena Rakgwatha o nyetšwe ke mosadi ebile e palelwa ke go ya makgotleng.*

'Mr Rakgwatha is married by a woman he cannot even attend community meetings.'

Gǒ nyaǒga pělǒ. ***(lit)*** *To melt at the heart.* ***(fig) Sot*** Go tlelwa ke lethabo gagolo ka morago ga ge motho a be a nyamile. ***Eng*** To feel happy after being sad for a while. ***Sem:*** Emotion – happiness.

Us: *Go golegwa ga bagononelwa go ile gwa nyaoša ba ga Letsoalo dipelo morago ga polao ya morwa wa bona.*

'The suspects' arrest melted the Letsoalo's hearts after their son's murder.'

Gǒ nyatša lěêtô. ***(lit)*** *To underestimate a journey.* ***(fig) Sot*** Go se tsebe gore mo o yago ke bokgole bjo bokaakang gomme wa bo nyefola. ***Eng*** To underestimate the distance that one may have to travel. ***Sem:*** Emotion or mental state – regretful. ***CTX:*** *kgegeo* 'irony'

Us: *Re nyaditše leeto gomme ra se kgone go ipeakanya gabotse.*

'We underestimated the journey and thus could not prepare properly.'

Gǒ nyěgama môkô. ***(lit)*** *To slacken the marrow.* **1.** ***(fig) Sot*** Go nyama. ***Eng*** To be sad. ***Sem:*** Emotion – sadness, feel bad, upset. ***CTX:*** *pebofatšo* 'euphemism'

Us: *O ile a nyegama moko morago ga go hwetša dipoelo tša gagwe tša marematlou di sa kgotsofatše.*

'His marrow slackened after finding that his matric results were unsatisfactory.'

2. ***Sot*** Go felelwa ke maatla. ***Eng*** To feel weak. ***Sem:*** Body condition - weak. ***CTX:*** *pebofatšo* 'euphemism'

Us: *O se bolele bjalo gobane o nnyegamiša moko.*

'Do not speak like because you are slackening my marrow.'

O

Gǒ ôba ka mǒlala. ***(lit)*** *To bend down by the neck.* ***(fig) Sot*** Go laola motho ka moo o ratago. ***Eng*** To control someone as you like. ***Sem:*** Social behaviour - control, authority. ***CTX:*** *pebofatšo* 'euphemism'

Us: *Bahumi ba oba badiidi ka molala gobane ba na le sa bona.*

'The wealthy bend the poor by their necks because they have money and resources.'

Gǒ ôkêtša maswi ka mêêtsě. ***(lit)*** *To increase milk with water.* ***(fig) Sot*** Go bolela maaka. ***Eng*** To lie. ***Sem:*** Behaviour - dishonesty, deceit, exaggeration. ***CTX:*** *pheteletšo* 'hyperbole'

Us: *Puleng ga a sa theeletšwa ke motho gobane o dula a oketša maswi ka meetse.*

'No one listens to Puleng or take him seriously anymore because he always increases milk with water.'

Gǒ ôma nkô. ***(lit)*** *To become dry on your nose.* ***(fig) Sot*** Go hwa ka mokgwa wo o sa tsebjego. ***Eng*** To die mysteriously. ***Sem:*** Life - death, mysterious death. ***CTX:*** *pebofatšo* 'euphemism'

Us: *Lesiba o no hwetšwa a omile nko ntle le hlaloso.*

'Lesiba was found dry on his nose with no explanation.'

Gǒ ôpêlêla kgǒpa. ***(lit)*** *To sing for a shell.* ***(fig) Sot*** Go direla kgarebe monyanya wa go mo laya ditiro tša bokgarebe gobane a godile e le mosadi. ***Eng*** Hosting a celebration when one formally becomes an adult, usually for girls when they become women; a rite of passage or a coming of age. ***Sem:*** Life - stage of life, adulthood.

Us: *Re be re ile go opelela kgopa ya ga Rameriri.*

'We went to sing for Rameriri's shell.'

Gǒ ôra mǒllô. ***(lit)*** *To bask by the fire.* ***(fig) Sot*** Go ba boiketlong bja mabobo a tšohle. ***Eng*** To live a good life, where one does not have to want for anything. ***Sem:*** Emotion - happiness, contentment. ***CTX:*** *tshwantšhišo* 'metaphor'.

Us: *Mola mmušo wa maburu o fedišwago, bathobaso ba oretše mollo.*

'Black people have been basking by the fireside since the end of apartheid.'

P

Gǒ patlama ka sěbětě. ***(lit)*** *To lie on your liver.* ***(fig) Sot*** Go palelwa ke mediro. ***Eng*** To fail at something. ***Sem:*** Work and occupation - failure. ***CTX:*** *pebofatšo* 'euphemism'. ***cf.*** **Gǒ ngwapša kě nkwê**.

Us: *Dipalo di patlamišitše baithuti ba bantši ka sebete.*

'Many students are lying on their livers because of Mathematics.'

Gǒ pêtla mělômô. ***(lit)*** *To stick out your lips.* ***(fig) Sot*** Go gana selo goba go se gana ka mokgwa wa go kganya goba wa go ngaletša; go ngala. ***Eng*** To disapprove or be unpleasant to people because you are angry about something; to sulk. ***Sem:*** Emotion - bad-temper. ***CTX:*** *kgegeo* 'irony'

Us: *Bana ge ba swanetše go šeba ka moro ntle le nama ba petla melomo.*

'Children stick their lips out whenever they have to eat with no meat.'

Gǒ pidinya mǒrǒpa. ***(lit)*** *To beat a drum.* **1.** ***(fig) Sot*** Go ba mokgorong wa dijo. ***Eng*** To be satiated. ***Sem:*** Emotion – satisafaction; Daily life - satiated or full, food. ***CTX:*** *pheteletšo* 'hyperbole'. **2.** ***(fig) Sot*** Go thaba. ***Eng*** To be excited. ***Sem:*** Emotion – excitement, happiness. ***CTX:*** *pheteletšo* 'hyperbole'

Us: *Ye kgolo e rile go ja, ya pidinya moropa ya ba ya hlaba mankokwane.*

'When he was done eating, he beat the drum and even ululated.'

Gǒ pôtapôta lě mabôta. ***(lit)*** *To run around hiding behind walls.* ***(fig) Sot*** Go se rate go bolela therešo. ***Eng*** When someone does not like or want to tell the truth. ***Sem:*** Behaviour – dishonesty. ***CTX:*** *kgegeo* 'irony'

Us: *O be a potapota le mabota ge maphodisa o mo hlaba ka dipotšišo.*

'He was running around and hiding behind walls when the police were interrogating him.'

Gŏ pshatla nôga hlôgô. ***(lit)*** *To crush a snake's head.* ***(fig) Sot*** Go bolaya goba go fenya lenaba. ***Eng*** To defeat or kill your enemy. ***Sem:*** Social behaviour – prosperity, defeat. ***CTX:*** *pheteletšo* 'hyperbole'

Us: *Ge maphodisa a ka golega moetapele wa lekoko la mahodu, ke gona ge ba pshatlile noga hlogo.*

'If the police arrest the leader of the gang, they would have crushed the snake's head.'

PH

Gŏ phaka bŏrôkô. ***(lit)*** *To catch sleep.* ***(fig) Sot*** Go tlalafala. ***Eng*** To be foolish. ***Sem:*** Language and thought – mind, stupidity, foolishness. ***CTX:*** *pebofatšo* 'euphemism'

Us: *Batho ba go phaka boroko ba hlalefetšwa ke dithaka.*

'People who catch sleep are often cheated by the peers.'

Gŏ phěla ka mahlatsě. ***(lit)*** *To live on luck.* ***(fig) Sot*** Go phonyokga kotsing ka mokgwa woo tlabago bohle. ***Eng*** To survive an accident in a way that shocks everyone. ***Sem:*** Religion – belief, miracle, supernatural power, luck.

Us: *Bao ba phologileng kotsi ya N1 ba phela ka mahlatse.*

'Those who survived the accident on N1 are living on luck.'

Gŏ phŏphŏlêtša mŏthŏ. ***(lit)*** *To grope a person.* ***(fig) Sot*** Go itiya goba go betha motho. ***Eng*** To beat someone. ***Sem:*** Physical movement - hit or beat. ***CTX:*** *pebofatšo* 'euphemism'

Us: *Barutiši ba na le go phopholetša barutwana ge ba sa theeletše.*

'Teachers grope students sometimes if they misbehave.'

Gŏ phôša ka mŏlômô. ***(lit)*** *To miss with the mouth.* ***(fig) Sot*** Go bolela maaka. ***Eng*** To tell lies. ***Sem:*** Behaviour – deceit, dishonesty. ***CTX:*** *pebofatšo* 'euphemism'

Us: *Motho yo mogolo ga a bolele maaka, o phoša ka molomo.*

'An elderly does not lie, they miss with their mouth.'

Gŏ phula khudu ka mpêng. ***(lit)*** *To open a tortoise's stomach.* ***(fig) Sot*** Go utulla sephiri. ***Eng*** To reveal a secret. ***Sem:*** Communication – secrecy.

Us: *Monna o ile a tlamega go phula khudu ka mpeng gore o humile bjang.*

'A man was forced to open a tortoise's stomach about how he got his riches.'

R

Gŏ raga lěpai. ***(lit)*** *To kick a blanket.* ***(fig) Sot*** Go hwa. ***Eng*** To die. *Sem domains:* Life – death. ***CTX:*** *pebofatšo* 'euphemism'

Us: *Monna yola bego a swara batho poo o ragile lepai.*

'The man who used to rob people kicked a blanket.'

Gǒ rêma sêêma. ***(lit)*** *To chop a proverb.* ***(fig) Sot*** Go bolela therešo ka polelo ya batala gore mang le mang a kgonthiše ge e le therešo. ***Eng*** To speak the truth using metaphors so everyone can understand. ***Sem:*** Communication – truth; Grammar – semantics. ***CTX:*** *pheteletšo* 'hyperbole'

Us: *Moruti Jakobo o remile seema therong ya gagwe ka tlhorišo ya basadi.*

'Pastor Jacob chopped a proverb in his sermon about gender-based violence.'

Gǒ ripa katsě mǒsěla. ***(lit)*** *To cut a cat's tail.* **1.** ***(fig) Sot*** Go rota. ***Eng*** To urinate. ***Sem:*** Body functions - urinate, urine. ***CTX:*** *pebofatšo* 'euphemism'

Us: *Tate o tšwetše ka ntle go yo ripa mosela katse mosela.*

'Dad went outside to cut a cat's a tail.'

2. ***(fig) Sot*** Go thabiša kganyogo ya mmele wa gago. ***Eng*** To satisfy one's desires, esp. sexual desires. ***Sem:*** Bodily fucntions – sexual intercourse, lust. ***CTX:*** *pebofatšo* 'euphemism'. ***Var:*** **Gǒ fahla magôtlô**

Us: *Banna ba rata go ripa mosela e sa le goseng pele ba thoma mešomo ya letšatši.*

'Men tend to cut a cat's tail early in the morning before starting with their day.'

Gǒ rôba kgarěbê lěětǒ. ***(lit)*** *To break a girl's leg.* ***(fig) Sot*** *Go* senya kgarebe gomme ya ba le lesea ka ntle ga lenyalo. ***Eng*** To impregnate a young woman out of wedlock. ***Sem:*** Body condition – pregnancy; Relationships - marriage. ***CTX:*** *pebofatšo* 'euphemism'

Us: *Thuto o tlogetše sekolo gobane a robegile leoto.*

'Thuto left school because her leg is broken.'

Gǒ ruta mpšhê lěbělo. ***(lit)*** *To teach an ostrich how to to run.* ***(fig) Sot*** Go ruta motho selo se o sa tsebego ge a se tseba go fetiša wena. ***Eng*** To teach someone how to do a job they already know how to do. ***Sem:*** Language and thought – knowledge, expertise. ***CTX:*** *kgegeo* 'irony'

Us: *Go ruta Rebecca Malope go opela e no ba go ruta mpšhe lebelo.*

'Teaching Rebecca Malope how to sing is like teaching an ostrich how to run.'

S

Gǒ sêga lěswika ka thipa. ***(lit)*** *To slice a rock with a knife.* ***(fig) Sot*** Go palelwa ke selo; go šitwa ke selo. ***Eng*** To fail at something. ***Sem:*** Work and occupation - failure. ***CTX:*** *pebofatšo* 'euphemism'. ***cf:*** **Gǒ ngwapša kě nkwê; Gǒ patlama ka sěbětě.**

Us: *Re lekile go mo eletša fela e no ba go sega leswika ka thipa.*

'We tried to advise him/her but it was like slicing a rock with a knife.'

Gǒ sěnya *mooi* ka *lelik*. *(lit)* *To ruin beauty with ugliness.* ***(fig) Sot*** Go senya mediro goba selo se se botse ka lebaka la maitshwaro a mabe. ***Eng*** To ruin a good thing, usually due to bad behaviour. ***Sem:*** Behaviour. ***CTX:*** *tatolano* 'oxymoron'.

Us: *Ba ga Mashia ba be ba ikemišeditše go hlokomela Lesedi empa yena a senya mooi ka lelik ka go ipha bjala le matekwane.*

'The Mashia family was determined to take care of Lesedi but he/she ruined beauty with ugliness by drinking and smoking marijuana.'

Gǒ sěpěla ǒ pôntšê. ***(lit)*** *To walk with your eyes closed.* ***(fig) Sot*** *Go* hloka tlhokomelo ya dilo tšeo di diregago. ***Eng*** To be ignorant. ***Sem:*** Language and thought – mind, ignorance, foolishness. ***CTX:*** *kgegeo* 'irony'; *kodutlo* 'sarcasm'

Us: *Motho ge a sepela a pontše o hlalefetšwa ke batho ka moka.*

'If you walk with your eyes closed people tend to take advantage of you.'

Gǒ sǒba mabu a lěbitlêng. ***(lit)*** *To pinch soil from a grave.* ***(fig) Sot*** Go tšea mabu a lebitla la mohu gomme a yo epelwa ka boswa gae, gobane mohu yo a bolokilwe kgole le gagabo. ***Eng*** To take soil from the grave of someone who was buried far from home to go and bury it at/near their home. ***Sem:*** Life – burial. ***CTX:*** Metonymy

Us: *Motho ge a bolailwe tlhabanong a ba o bolokwa moo, ba gabo ba no tla ka go soba mabu lebitleng gore e be segopotšo*.

'If a person dies in war and is buried there, their relatives get to pinch soil from their grave in their memory.'

Gǒ swa nkô. ***(lit)*** *To burn your nose.* ***(fig) Sot*** Go butšwetša mollo. ***Eng*** To blow air into fire. ***Sem:*** Daily life - fire. ***CTX:*** *pheteletšo* 'hyperbole'

Us: *Mollo wa meketla o tla go bolaiša go swa nko.*

'Fire made with wet wood will force you to burn your nose.'

Gǒ swara baki. ***(lit)*** *To hold a jacket.* ***(fig) Sot*** Go godiša ngwana yo e sego wa gago o nagana gore go bjalo. ***Eng*** To raise a child after being made to believe thay you are the father. ***Sem:*** Life – child-rearing; Relationships – family, paternity. ***CTX:*** *kgegeo* 'irony'; *kodutlo* 'sarcasm'. ***cf:*** **Gǒ swariša *baki* (jasě).**

Us: *Pule o lemogile gore o be a swarišitšwe baki morago ga mengwagangwaga.*

'Pule realised he was made to hold a jacket after many years.'

Gǒ swara ka pělǒ. ***(lit)*** *To hold with the heart.* ***(fig) Sot*** Go se lebalele motho morago ga ge a go dirile bošula goba a go kgopišitše; go swara sekgopi. ***Eng*** To hold a grudge. ***Sem:*** Emotion – anger; Social behaviour – forgiveness. ***CTX:*** *pheteletšo* 'hyperbole'

Us: *Go swara motho ka pelo go bjala lehloyo.*

'Holding someone with your heart plants hatred.'

Gǒ swara kerese. ***(lit)*** *To hold a candle.* ***(fig) Sot*** Go felegetša mogwera wag ago go bona molekane wa gagwe gomme wa fihla wa mo emela ge a ipshina le yena wena o se na molekane wa gago. ***Eng*** To accompany your friend to visit their lover, while you wait alone; to be a third wheel. ***Sem:*** Relationships. ***CTX:*** *kgegeo* 'irony'; *kodutlo* 'sarcasm'. ***etym:*** This is a comparison to holding a candle for someone to help a person see better when they are doing something, e.g. cooking, because candles do not provide enough light. ***Var:*** **Gǒ swara pala.**

Us: *Ge o ka sepela le Molebogeng o tla no tšama o mo swaretše kerese.*

'If you walk around with Molebogeng you will hold a candle for her all the way.'

Gǒ swara (mǒthǒ) môyêng. ***(lit)*** *To get hold of someone on air.* ***(fig) Sot*** Go ikgokoganya le motho ka mogala. ***Eng*** To contact someone via telephone or cellphone. ***Sem:*** Communication. ***CTX:*** Metonymy.

Us: *Tate o laetše gore o tla re swara moyeng ge a fihla Kapa.*

'Dad said he will get hold of us on air when he gets to Cape Town.'

Gǒ swariša *baki* (jasě). ***(lit)*** *To make someone hold a jacket.* ***(fig) Sot*** Go fora monna goba wa mo phara ka molato wa go go imiša fela e se yena tatago ngwana. ***Eng*** To lie and deceive a man into believing that he fathered your child(ren). ***Sem:*** Life – child-rearing; Relationships – family, paternity; Language and thought – deception. ***CTX:*** *kgegeo* 'irony'. ***cf:*** **Gǒ swara baki.**

Us: *Dineo o swarišitše Neo baki.*

'Dineo made Neo hold a jacket.'

Š

Gǒ šala dinônyaně mǒragǒ. ***(lit)*** *To follow birds.* **1.** ***(fig) Sot*** Go holofela dilo tšeo di ka se thušego motho ka selo. ***Eng*** To put your hope in things that are useless. ***Sem:*** State - hopeless, useless. **2.** *Sot* Go tšea dikeletšo tše e sego tša nnete goba tša go agiša. ***Sem:*** Behaviour - stubborness. ***CTX:*** *pebofatšo* 'euphemism'. ***Var:*** **Gǒ kwa dinônyaně.**

Us: *Lesedi o ikhweditše a le kgolegong morago ga go kgetha šala dinonyane morago bakeng sa gore a theeletše batswadi.*

'Lesedi found himself/herself in jail after following birds instead of listening to his/her parents.'

Gǒ šila mǒtsǒkǒ. ***(lit)*** *To grind snuff.* ***(fig) Sot*** Go itokišetša go romela bommaditsela go bomokgotsi gore ba phake ba tliše dikgomo tša go nyala mosadi wa bona. ***Eng*** To make preparations to send delegates (representatives) for *magadi* negotiations. ***Sem:*** Relationships - marriage; Social behaviour – tradition, culture.

Us: *Re šetše re thomile go šila motsoko re šilela ba ga Maputla ka ge ba morwa wa rena a kgahlilwe ka gona.*

'We have started grinding snuff for the Maputlas as our son is interested in their daughter.

Gŏ šŏmêla tônki ya gŏ hwa. ***(lit)*** *To work for a dead donkey.* ***(fig) Sot*** Go šoma mošomo wa go se bušetše motho selo. ***Eng*** To work without pay or results. ***Sem:*** Work and Occupation – exploitation. ***CTX:*** *pebofatšo* 'euphemism'; *kgegeo* 'sarcasm'

Us: *Mma o tlogetše mošomo ka ge a be a šomela tonki ya go hwa.*

'Mom quit her job as she was working for a dead donkey.'

Gŏ šupa gôdimŏ. ***(lit)*** *To point up.* ***(fig) Sot*** Go gana selo gobane o sa tsebe. ***Eng*** To strongly refuse something; to deny knowledge of something or a person. ***Sem:*** Language and thought -rejection, refusal, denial. ***CTX:*** *pheteletšo* 'hyperbole'

Us: *Kgorong ba ile ba mmona molato eupša a šupa godimo a re a ka se ntšhe kgomo.*

'He was found guilty but he pointed up and refused to pay the fine of a cow.'

Go šweufala pelo. ***(lit)*** *To become white in the heart.* ***(fig) Sot*** Go thakgala; go thaba. ***Eng*** To be happy, excited or ecstatic. ***Sem:*** Emotion – happiness, excitement or joy. ***CTX:*** *pheteletšo* 'hyperbole'

Us: *Ke rile go hwetša dipoelo pelo yaka ya šweufala.*

'My heart whitened after I got my results.'

T

Gŏ tabŏša mahlô. ***(lit)*** *To make your eyes skip over someone.* ***(fig) Sot*** Go nyatša. ***Eng*** To undermine or disrespect. ***Sem:*** Social behaviour – disrespect, impolite behaviour. ***CTX:*** *pebofatšo* 'euphemism'

Us: *Rena ba go sepela ka maoto ba be ba re taboša mahlo ba solela ba dikoloi tša mabaibai.*

'They were skipping over us with eyes because we do not have cars while serving those with fancy cars.'

Gŏ tênŏla dinaô. ***(lit)*** *To push out your feet.* ***(fig) Sot*** Go tšhaba. ***Eng*** To run away. ***Sem:*** Physical movement - escape, running. ***CTX:*** *pheteletšo* 'hyperbole'

Us: *O rile go bona noga e emiša hlogo a tenola dinao.*

'He/she pushed out his/her feet after seeing the snake raise its head.'

Gŏ tima mŏllô. ***(lit)*** *To put out a fire.* ***(fig) Sot*** Go fediša phapang; go fediša pefelo. ***Eng*** To end a dispute or a conflict; to calm someone down. ***Sem:*** Social behaviour - reconciliation, peace.

Us: *Ge bana ba motho ba e lwa, mollo wa gona o tingwa ke motswadi wa bona fela.*

'When siblings are fighting, only their parent can put out the fire.'

Gŏ tôpa mphaka. ***(lit)*** *To pick up a knife.* **1.** ***(fig) Sot*** Go wela fase ka baka la boreledi. ***Eng*** To slip and fall. ***Sem:*** Physical movement - slipping, sliding, falling. **2.** ***Sot*** Go palelwa ke seo motho a bego a leka go se

dira. ***Eng*** To fail at something you were trying to achieve. ***Sem:*** Work and occupation - failure. ***cf:*** **Gǒ sêga lěswika ka thipa.**

Us: *O tšwetše a kitima a raga leswika mme a topa mphaka.*

'He/she was running when he/sheq kicked a rock and picked up a knife.'

Gǒ tuka mǒllô. ***(lit)*** *To be blazing with fire.* ***(fig) Sot*** Go galefa gagologolo. ***Eng*** To be furious. ***Sem:*** Emotion – anger, fury. ***CTX:*** *pheteletšo* 'hyperbole'

Us: *O ile a tuka mollo morago ga go hwetša koloi ya gagwe e utswitšwe.*

'He/she was blazing with fire after finding that his/her car had been stolen.'

TH

Gǒ thatafatša pělǒ. ***(lit)*** *To harden the heart.* ***(fig) Sot*** Go gana dikeletšo. ***Eng*** Refuse to heed advice from others. ***Sem:*** Language and thought - stubborness; Behaviour – immaturity. ***CTX:*** *pheteletšo* 'hyperbole'

Us: *Baswa ba matšatši a ba iphile dinotagi le ge batswadi ba leka go bolela le bona ba thatafatša dipelo.*

'The youth of today are so addicted to alcohol, they harden their hearts when their parents try to reprimand tm.'

Gǒ thêkga dithô. ***(lit)*** *To support body parts.* ***(fig) Sot*** Go iketlela selo gore motho a se ke a se kitimela gomme sa buša sa mo kwiša bohloko. ***Eng*** To be patient. ***Sem:*** Behaviour – patience, calmeness.

Us: *Ditaba tša marato le lenyalo di nyaka gore o thekge ditho o tsebe molekani wa gago bokaone.*

'Marriage and relationships need one to support their body parts and get to know their partner better.'

Gǒ thiba lětšatši. ***(lit)*** *To block the sun.* ***(fig) Sot*** Go botsefala gagolo ga lekgarebe. ***Eng*** To be beautiful. ***Sem:*** Body - appearance, beauty. ***CTX:*** *pheteletšo* 'hyperbole'

Us: *Bobotse bja Basetsana Kumalo bo be bo thiba letšatši ge a thopa sefoka sa masebotsana wa Afrika Borwa.*

'Basetsana Kumalo's beauty blocked the sun when she won the title of Miss South Africa.'

Gǒ thǒpa mǒsadi. ***(lit)*** *To capture a woman.* ***(fig) Sot*** Go nyala mosadi ka mokgwa wa go mo tšhabiša. ***Eng*** To marry a woman by eloping. ***Sem:*** Relationships – marriage; Social behaviour – tradition. ***CTX:*** *pebofatšo* 'euphemism'

Us: *Setšo sa bogologolo sa go thopa mosadi se a fedišwa gobane basadi ba na le ditokelo tša go ikgethela balekani ba bona.*

'The old tradition of capturing women is coming to an end because women have the right to choose their partners.'

Gǒ thumana ka dihlôgô. ***(lit)*** *To knock heads against each other.* ***(fig) Sot*** Go lwa. ***Eng*** To fight. ***Sem:*** Social behaviour – conflict; Relationships – disunity. ***CTX:*** *pebofatšo* 'euphemism'

Us: *Ba lapa la Mandela ba ile ba thumana ka dihlogo morago ga lehu la gage ba baka dithoto tša gage.*

'Mandela family knocked heads after his death because of his estate.

TL

Gǒ tla gabǒtsě. ***(lit)*** *To come well.* ***(fig) Sot*** Go tšwelela ka nako yeo motho a tsomegago ka yona. ***Eng*** To arrive on time or when one is expected. ***Sem:*** Time – punctuality.

Us: *Moetapele was lekgotla la baswa ga se a tla gabotse bjale ka mehleng.*

'The youth league leader did not come well as he/she always does.'

Gǒ tlala bǒrôkô. ***(lit)*** *To be full of sleep.* ***(fig) Sot*** Go se hlalefe. ***Eng*** To be foolish or stupid. ***Sem:*** Language and thought – mind, stupidity, foolisness. ***CTX:*** *pebofatšo* 'euphemism'

Us: *Mošemane wola o tletše boroko.*

'That boy is full of sleep.'

Gǒ tlêmêlêla fasě. ***(lit)*** *To tie down.* **1.** ***(fig) Sot*** Go šomiša motho ka boima gobane e le mohlanka goba sebofša. ***Eng*** To overwork a person and treat them as a slave or prisoner. ***Sem:*** Social behaviour – imprisonment, slavery, oppression. **2.** ***Sot*** Go hloriša motho gobane o mo fenya. ***Eng*** To torment someone simply because you are stronger. ***Sem:*** Social behaviour – abuse, oppression. ***CTX:*** *pheteletšo* 'hyperbole'

Us: *Bana ba tšhaba go ya sekolong gobane go na le mošemane wa ka godimo yo a dulago a ba tlemeletše fase.*

'Children are afraid to go to school because there is an older boy who is always tying them down.'

Gǒ tlǒtla khudu ě sě na lěgapi. ***(lit)*** *To praise a tortoise without a shell.* ***(fig) Sot*** Go tumiša selo seo se se nago mohola. ***Eng*** To praise something that is useless or has no purpose. ***Sem:*** State - value, worth, purpose, usefulness. ***CTX:*** *'kodutlo* 'sarcasm'; *kgegeo* 'irony'

Us: *Setšhaba se be se lebeletše gore mabenkele a maswa a Mall wa Afrika a tla hlola mešomo go sere ba tlotla khudu e se na legapi.*

'The nation was expecting that the stores at Mall of Africa would create new jobs not knowing that they are praising without a shell.'

Gǒ tlôtša ngwêtši makhura. ***(lit)*** *To anoint a bride with fats.* ***(fig) Sot*** Go tumiša motho medirong ya gagwe ye mebotse. ***Eng*** To praise someone for their good deeds. ***Sem:*** Social behaviour – honour.

Us: *Re tloditše ngwetši ka makhura morago gore mokhanselara a re lokišetše ditsela.'*

'We anointed the bride with fats after the councillor fixed our roads.'

TS

Gǒ tsarǒga phǒka. ***(lit)*** *To skip over the dew.* ***(fig) Sot*** Go hlalefa dilong ka moka. ***Eng*** To be smart. ***Sem:*** Language and thought – mind, intelligence. ***CTX:*** *pheteletšo* 'hyperbole'

Us: *Ba go tsaroga phoka, ba kgona go fihlelela dilo tše di botse mo bophelong.*

'Those who skip over the dew are able to achieve great things in life.'

Gǒ tsěba mô ǒ thômilêgǒ. ***(lit)*** *To know where you started.* ***(fig) Sot*** Go otlwa; go hlokofatšwa gagolo gobane o sentše. ***Eng*** To get punished for wrongdoing. ***Sem:*** Social behaviour – justice, punishment. ***CTX:*** *kgegeo* 'irony'

Us: *Ke tsebile mo ke thomilego tšatši le ka go bowa gae ka iri ya bone mesong.*

'I knew where I started the day I came back home at four in the morning.'

Gǒ tsêna bjangbǒtala. ***(lit)*** *To enter green grass.* ***(fig) Sot*** Go nyamelela; go timelela. ***Eng*** To disappear; to go missing. ***Sem:*** Daily life – disappearance, go missing.

Us: *Lenaneo la Khumbul'ekhaya le thuša go hwetša batho bao sa le ba tsena bjangbotala kgalekgale.*

'Khumbul'ekhaya is a show that helps to find people who entered green grass long ago.'

Gǒ tsǒga bahung. ***(lit)*** *To rise from the dead.* ***(fig) Sot*** Go fola bolwetšing bjo bošoro. ***Eng*** To recover from illness. ***Sem:*** Life - health, sickness. ***CTX:*** *kgegeo* 'irony'.

Us: *Mola mmušo o thomago go abela setšhaba dihlare tša di-ARV, batho ba bantši ba tsogile bahung.*

'Since the government started providing ARV treatment to the nation, many people rose from the dead.'

Gǒ tswala mafahla. ***(lit)*** *To give birth to twins.* ***(fig) Sot*** Go tlelwa ke mediro ye mentši ka nako e tee, gomme wa se tsebe gore o ka dira ofe wa lesa ofe. ***Eng*** To be overwhelmed with work or responsibilities all at once. ***Sem:*** State (of being) – disorganized; Emotion – confusion, overwhelmed. ***CTX:*** *pheteletšo* 'hyperbole'.

Us: *Ngwaga wo e tswetše mafahla ka baka le ditlhahlobo le mešongwana ye mengwe ya sekolo.*

'This year it gave birth to twins because of exams and other school activities.'

TSH

Gǒ tshěla rôbôtô. ***(lit)*** *To skip the robot.* ***(fig) Sot*** Go tsenela tša thobalano le mosadi a le matšatšing. ***Eng*** To have sex with a woman while she is on her period. ***Sem:*** Body functions – menstruation, sexual intercourse. ***CTX:*** *pebofatšo* 'euphemism. ***etym:*** Traffic lights or robots, as they are called in South Africa, are a modern concept and when it is on red it instructs drivers and pedestrians alike to stop,

and skipping the red light is considered illegal. The comparison is between the red light and blood which is also red.

Us: *Ga se gantši batho ba dumela gore ba na le go tshela roboto.*

'People never admit that they sometimes skip the robot.'

Gŏ tshêpa tônki ya gŏ hwa. ***(lit)*** *To trust a dead donkey.* ***(fig) Sot*** Go holofela lefela. ***Eng*** To put your hope in something that is useless; to yield no rewards. ***Sem:*** State - value, worth, purpose, usefulness. Language and thought – hopeful. ***CTX:*** *'kodutlo* 'sarcasm'; *kgegeo* 'irony'

Us: *Re ile ra tshepa tonki ya go gwa ka go nagana gore mmušo otla fediša hlokego ya meetse.*

'We trusted in a dead donkey by thinking that the government would end water shortage.'

Gŏ tshŏtshŏma makhura. ***(lit)*** *To be greasy.* ***(fig) Sot*** Go tšwa dikudumela, gagolo ge motho a na le mmele wo mogolo. ***Eng*** To perspire, especially when one is fat or over-weight. ***Sem:*** Body functions - Sweat. ***CTX:*** *'kodutlo* 'sarcasm'; *kgegeo* 'irony'

Us: *Ka tsela yeo a bego a kitima, o be tshotsoma makhura a sa kgone le go bolela.*

'The way he/she was running, he/she was so greasy he/she could not even talk.'

Gŏ tshwa dinôsĕ. ***(lit)*** *To spit bees.* ***(fig) Sot*** Go bolela ditaba tše di thabišago. ***Eng*** To say something pleasant. ***Sem:*** Communication – humour. ***CTX:*** *pheteletšo* 'hyperbole'

Us: *Ka baka la leleme la gagwe le boreledi, Malema o no tshwa dinose ge a bolela.*

'Malema was spitting bees because he has such a smooth tongue.'

Gŏ tshwêla mŏthŏ marĕ. ***(lit)*** *To spit on someone.* ***(fig) Sot*** Go rumula motho gore a lwe, ka go mo sema mpša. ***Eng*** To rile someone someone so they can fight you. ***Sem:*** Behaviour – violent. ***CTX:*** *pebofatšo* 'euphemism'

Us: *Boy Mamabolo o tshwetše Malema ka mare eupša Malema a kgona go itshwara.*

'Boy Mamabolo spit on Malema but Malema was able to control his emotions.'

Gŏ tshwĕša mŏthŏ tša ganŏng. ***(lit)*** *To make someone spit what is in their mouth.* ***(fig) Sot*** Go hlalefetša motho dilo tša gagwe, gomme wa di tšeela go wena ka bofora. ***Eng*** To cheat a person and steal their belongings through lies and deceit. ***Sem:*** Behaviour - deceit, treachery, betrayal. ***CTX:*** *kgegeo* 'irony'

Us: *Masogana a Forex a re holofeditše gore tšhelete ya rena e tla tswala e le ge ba nyaka go re tshweša tša ka ganong.*

'The guys from Forex promised us that our money would gain interest in an attempt to make us spit food from our mouths.'

TŠ

Gǒ tšěa ka maǒtǒmabêdi. ***(lit)*** *To take with two feet.* **1.** ***(fig) Sot*** Go kitima. ***Eng*** To run. **2.** *Sot* Go tšhaba ka poifo gore o se welwe ke kotsi. ***Eng*** To run out of fear so as to escape from danger. ***Sem:*** Physical movement – run, escape; Emotion – fear. ***CTX:*** *kgegeo* 'irony'

Us: *Ba kwele koloi ya maphodisa e sa tšwela kgole ba nama ba tšea ka maotomabedi.*

'They heard the police sirens from a distance and took with two feet.'

Gǒ tšěêla taba gôdimǒ. ***(lit)*** *To take a matter high*. ***(fig) Sot*** Go befelwa ka baka la molato wo o begwago. ***Eng*** To get upset or riled up after receiving information or news about something. ***Sem:*** Emotion – anger. ***CTX:*** *pheteletšo* 'hyperbole'

Us: *O no thoma ka go tšeela taba ya gore monna wa gagwe o na le motlabo godimo pele a ka kwa nnete.*

'She took the matter that her husband has a mistress high before hearing the truth.'

Gǒ tšěêlana měllô. ***(lit)*** *To take fires from each other*. ***(fig) Sot*** Go kwana; go kgona go thušana medirong ya lena ka mehla. ***Eng*** To get along; to always help each other whenever it is necessary. ***Sem:*** Relationships –unity, harmoniuos living. ***CTX:*** *tshwantšhišo* 'metaphor'

Us: *Le ge molato o rarollotšwe, nna le ba bogadi ga re sa tšeelana mello.*

'Even though the matter was resolved, my in-laws and I no longer take fires from each other.'

Gǒ tšěwa kě madi. ***(lit)*** *To be taken by blood.* **1.** ***(fig) Sot*** Go idibala. ***Eng*** To faint. ***Sem:*** Body condition – sickly; Health. **2.** ***Sot*** Go rata selo gagolo gomme motho a itira segafa ka bala la sona. ***Sem:*** Emotion – passion, Self-control (lack of). ***CTX:*** *pebofatšo* 'euphemism'

Us: *Batho ba bangwe ge ba bona bjala ba tšewa ke madi.*

'Some people are taken by blood when they see alcohol.'

Gǒ tšěwa kě phiri. ***(lit)*** *To be taken by a hyena*. ***(fig) Sot*** Go hwa. ***Eng*** To die. ***Sem:*** Life - death. ***CTX:*** *pebofatšo* 'euphemism'. ***etym:*** Hyenas are animals that usually hunt at night and people hardly see them during the day, as a result most people rarely see one live, especially children. When a person dies, children are told that they were taken by a hyena which came at night while people were sleeping because it is considred taboo in Bantu culture to discuss death with children.

Us: *Ka ge a be a ikgoletše, rakgolo o letše a tšewa ke phiri.*

'My grandfather was taken by a hyena last night as he was very old.'

TŠH

Gǒ tšhaba mahlô a bathǒ. ***(lit)*** *To fear people's eyes.* ***(fig) Sot*** Go ba le dihlong pele ga batho. ***Eng*** To be shy. ***Sem:*** Social behaviour –personality, shyness, timidity. ***CTX:*** Metonymy.

Us: *Ka baka la go tšhaba mahlo a batho, Madi o ile a itwatša gore morutiši a se ka mo gapeletša go bolela sefaleng.*

'Madi faked being sick so that the teacher would not force him to speak on stage because he feared people's eyes.'

Gǒ tšhêla lětsŏlŏbŏlŏ ka mabu. ***(lit)*** *To pour soil on a puff-adder.* ***(fig) Sot*** Go rumula motho yo boleta gomme a buša a go hlokofatša gampe. ***Eng*** To rile up a gentle person and end up getting hurt. ***Sem:*** Social behaviour - violent. ***CTX:*** *pheteletšo* 'hyperbole'

Us: *Re be dira metlale ka bokgopana bja Tebogo go se re re tšhela letsolobolo ka mabu.*

'We were making jokes about Tebogo's height not realising that we are pouring soil on a puff-adder.'

Gǒ tšhirimŏlla mŏêtsê. ***(lit)*** *To make the hair stand on end.* ***(fig) Sot*** Go befelwa. ***Eng*** To become angry; become enraged. ***Sem:*** Emotion - anger, rage. ***CTX:*** *pheteletšo* 'hyperbole'.

Us: *Tebogo o tšhirimollotšwe moetse ke go kwa bana ba sekolo ba mo sega.*

'Tebogo's hair stood on its ends when he heard the pupils laughing at him.'

Gǒ tšhŏšêtša bŏrôkô. ***(lit)*** *To frighten sleep.* ***(fig) Sot*** Go robala ka gonnyane gore motho a lapologe. ***Eng*** To take a short nap to rest. ***Sem:*** Daily life - rest, sleep; Body condition – tired, exhaustion. ***CTX:*** mothofatšo 'personification'.

Us: *Ke ile go bowa bokgobapuku ka masa, ka re ke tšhošetša boroko pele ke eya sekolong empa ka selwa.*

'When I returmed from the library in the morning, I decided to frighten sleep before going to school but I overslept.'

Gǒ tšhuma mŏllô. ***(lit)*** *To light fire.* ***(fig) Sot*** Go tsoša phapang bathong. ***Eng*** To cause conflict between people. ***Sem:*** Social behaviour - quarrelsome, violent. ***CTX:*** *pheteletšo* 'hyperbole'.

Us: *Motho wa maaka o tšhuma mello gohle mo a yang.*

'A deceptive person lights fires wherever they go.'

U

Gǒ upa mŏgôkông. ***(lit)*** *To drive away an army-worm.* ***(fig) Sot*** Go fenyetša batho lenaba. ***Eng*** To defeat an enemy on people's behalf. ***Sem:*** Social behaviour – heroism, protective.

Us: *Maphosa o upetše batho ba Mahlakung mogokong ka go bolaya Ratau.*

'Maphosa drove away the army-worm in Mahlakung by killing Ratau.'

Gǒ upa tšhĕmŏ. ***(lit)*** *To protect a farm.* ***(fig) Sot*** Go phekola tšhemo gore mabele a yona a ntšifale gagologolo go feta a mašemo a batho ba bangwe. ***Eng*** To conjure your farm to ensure it produces more grain than other people's farms. ***Sem:*** Religion - sorcery.

Us: *Temo ga e sa atile gagolo mehleng yeno gobane batho ga ba sa upa ditšhemo.*
'Farming is no longer prevalent as people no longer protects their fields (farms).'

Gŏ utswa ka lĕihlô. ***(lit)*** *To steal with an eye.* **1**. ***(fig) Sot*** Go lebelela selo ka poifo. ***Eng*** To glance at something or look at it with fear. ***Sem:*** Sense – sight, see; Emotion – fear. **2.** ***(fig) Sot*** Go lebelela selo ka kganyogo. ***Eng*** To look at something with desire. ***Sem:*** Emotion - lust, want, like, love. ***CTX:*** Metonymy
Us: *Re be re no utswa kgoši Letsie ka mahlo ka baka la seriti sa gagwe.*
'We were stealing King Letsie with our eyes because of his stature.'

Gŏ utswa ka tsêbê. ***(lit)*** *To steal with the ear*. ***(fig) Sot*** Go kwa taba ya sephiri yeo baboledi ba yona ba sa bonego ge o le kgauswi le bona, gomme o ba kwa le go ba bona. ***Eng*** To listen secretly to a private conversation; to eavesdrop. ***Sem:*** Sense – listening, eavesdropping. ***CTX:*** Metonymy.
Us: *Taba ge o e utswitše ka tsebe ga se wa swanela go e gaša gobane o ka tsena mathateng.*
'If you steal something with the ear you cannot go around spreading that because you might get into trouble.'

Gŏ utswa pĕlŏ. ***(lit)*** *To steal a heart.* ***(fig) Sot*** Go dira gore motho a go rate gagologolo go fetiša ba bangwe. ***Eng*** To make a person love you more than anyone else. ***Sem:*** Emotion - love.
Us: *Thabiso o utswitše pelo ya Bontle le ge a tšhaba go mmotša.*
'Thabiso stole Bontle's heart although she is afraid to tell him.'

W

Gŏ wa ka dinkô. ***(lit)*** *To fall on your nose.* ***(fig) Sot*** Go palelwa ke selo; go šitwa. ***Eng*** To fail at something. ***Sem:*** Work and occupation – failure; State - difficult, impossible. ***CTX:*** *pebofatšo* 'euphemism'.
Us: *Mošomo wo o se nang maitemogelo a wona, otlo go wiša ka dinko.*
'If you do not have the experience for a job, you will fall on your nose.'

Gŏ wêla dikôma. ***(lit)*** *To fall upon an initiation (circumcision) school.* ***(fig) Sot*** Go bona diphiri tša batho, gomme o be o se wa swanela. ***Eng*** To see or witness a secret you were not supposed to. ***Sem:*** Language and thought – witness, secrecy.
Us: *Moagišane o boile mošomong pele ga nako a sa nagane gore o tla wela dikoma ge a hwetša mosadi wa gagwe a ikutswa le mogwera wa gagwe.*
'The neighbour came back from work before time not knowing he will fall upon an initiation school when he found his wife in bed with his friend.'

Gŏ wêlana gôdimŏ. ***(lit)*** *To fall on top of each other.* **1.** ***(fig) Sot*** Go gahlana le sa holofelana. ***Eng*** To meet unexpectedly. ***Sem:*** Daily life - surprise, ambush. **2.** ***(fig) Sot*** Go otlana ga šoro. ***Eng*** To beat each other badly. ***Sem:*** Social behaviour - fight, attack.

Us: *Motho le go mo tseba ke sa mo tsebe, o no fihla a nkwela godimo ka matswele a nagana gore ke nna motlabo wa monna wa gagwe.*

'Someone I do not even know just fell on top of me with fists for she thought I was her husband's mistress.'

Gŏ wêlwa kĕ phŏka. ***(lit)*** *To have dew fall on you.* ***(fig) Sot*** Go kaonafala bolwetšing. ***Eng*** To recover from illness. ***Sem:*** Life – health (healthy), recovery from sickness.

Us: *Re be sa gopole gore rakgadi a ka welwa ke phoka ka ge re be re mo tlhobogile.*

'We did not my aunt would have dew fall on her as we had given up on her.'

Gŏ wêtša dinaô tsĕlêng. ***(lit)*** *To make one's feet fall onto the road.* ***(fig) Sot*** Go tloga; go thoma mosepelo. ***Eng*** To go; to start a journey (walking). ***Sem:*** Physical actions – walk, travel.

Us: *Letšatši ge le ntša nko re tla wetša dinao tseleng gore re fihle Moletji pele mokete o thoma.*

'When the sun rises we will make our feet fall onto the road so that we arrive in Moletji before the wedding starts.'

Y

Gŏ ya badimŏng. ***(lit)*** *To go to the ancestors.* ***(fig) Sot*** Go hwa. ***Eng*** To die. ***Sem:*** Life - death. ***CTX:*** *pebofatšo* 'euphemism'

Us: *Makgolo o letše a yile badimong.*

'My grandmother went to the ancestors last night.'

Gŏ ya gôdimŏ lĕ fasĕ. ***(lit)*** *To go up and down.* ***(fig) Sot*** Go tsoma selo gape le gape fela wa se hloka. ***Eng*** To search for something and fail to find it. ***Sem:*** Daily life - search, failure. ***CTX:*** *phetelетšo* 'hyperbole'

Us: *Re letše re ya godimo le fase re nyakana le dikgomo.*

'We were going up and up last night looking for our cows.'

Gŏ ya lĕ bŏôrê. ***(lit)*** *To go with the mildew.* ***(fig) Sot*** Go timelela. ***Eng*** To disappear. ***Sem:*** State and/or Daily life - lost, missing, wandering. ***etym:*** Idiom originates from the way dew just disappears in the morning without anyone realizing when or how.

Us: *Malome sa le a ya le boore, re mo nyakile go fihlela re lahlegelwa ke tshepho.*

'My uncle has long been gone with the mildew, we searched for him until we lost hope of finding him.'

Gŏ ya lĕ mĕlômô ya bathŏ. ***(lit)*** *To go with people's mouths.* ***(fig) Sot*** Go ba matheeletšabohle. ***Eng*** To heed everyone's advice or opinion. ***Sem:*** Senses - listening, perception. ***CTX:*** *phetelетšo* 'hyperbole'. ***etym:*** Idiom is related to how words com from the mouth and can be said by everyone and change from person to person, therefore it becomes confusing to know whose advice to heed if you listen to all.

Us: *Motho wa go se itsebe o ya le melomo ya batho a fetša a tlatlafetše.*

'A person who does not know themselves goes with people's mouths and end up looking stupid.'

Gŏ ya sětlŏgŏlŏ. ***(lit)*** *To go niece-like.* **1.** ***(fig) Sot*** Go nyalwa ke monna wa mogolo wa gago, gobane mogolo yo wa gago a hlokofetše gomme wena o eya go tsoša lapa la gagwe le go mmelegela bana. ***Eng*** Marrying your sister's husband after your sister's passing in order to take care of her home and bear children for him. ***Sem:*** Relationships - marriage, family; Religion - tradition. **2.** ***(fig) Sot*** Go nyalwa ke monna wa mogolo wa gago wa moopa gore o ye o mmelegele bana gore lapa la gagwe le tsoge. ***Eng*** Marrying your sister's husband when she cannot bear children so you can bear children for her. ***Sem:*** Life - birth, fertility (infertile); Relationships – marriage. ***CTX:*** pebofatšo 'euphemism'.
Us: *Khutšo o ganne go ya setlogolo ka ge a be a šetše a ikhweleditše lesogana.*
'Khutšo refused to go niece-like as she had already found herself a boyfriend.'

Nominal idioms

B

Bana ba sětsiba. ***(lit)*** *Children of a loin skin.* ***(fig) Sot*** Bana ba go arogana ka bommago bona, fela ba belegwe ke monna o tee. ***Eng*** Children with one biological father but different mothers. ***Sem:*** Social behaviour - relationships, kinship, family. ***CTX:*** Metonymy. ***etym:*** *Setsiba* 'loin skin' is a garment made from animal skin that was worn by men to cover their groin area in the olden days. In this metaphor, the loin skin is a reference to the male reproductive organ.
Us: *Thuso le Katlego ba gotše ba sa tsebe gore ke bana ba setsiba go fihlela tatago bona a hlokofala.*
'Thuso and Katlego grew up not knowing that they are children of a loin skin until their father passed.'

Bathŏ ba nama lě madi. ***(lit)*** *People of flesh and blood.* ***(fig) Sot*** Batho ba leloko le tee. ***Eng*** People of the same clan. ***Sem:*** Social behaviour - relationships, kinship, family. ***CTX:*** Metonymy.
Us: *Re rile ge re dira dinyakišišo ra hwetša gore rena le ba ga Monyela re batho ba nama le madi.*
'When we did our research we discovered that we and the Monyela family are people of flesh and blood.'

Bjala bja phiri. ***(lit)*** *The alcohol of the wolf.* ***(fig) Sot*** Bjala bja go se be bose. ***Eng*** Alcohol that does not taste nice. ***Sem:*** Daily life – Food. ***CTX:*** *pebofatšo* 'euphemism'.
Us: *Motho wa go rata bjala ga a hlaole gore bo bose goba ke bja phiri, o inwela fela.*
'An alcoholic does not care if the alcohol is delicious or it is alcohol of the wolf, they just drink.'

Bŏgwêra bja nkgau lě nkgawaně. ***(lit)*** *Friendship of nkgau and nkgawane.* ***(fig) Sot*** Bogwera bja Mmakgonthe. ***Eng*** True friendship. ***Sem:*** Social behaviour – friendship. ***CTX:*** *tshwantšhišo* 'metaphor'.
Us: *Segwera sa Moshibe le Molebogeng ke sa nkgau le nkgawane.*

'Moshibe and Molebogeng's friendship is that of nkgau and nkgawane.'

D

Dinala tšê ditêlêlê. ***(lit)*** *Long nails.* **1.** ***(fig) Sot*** Bobodu goba go tšwafa. ***Eng*** Laziness. ***Sem:*** Work and Occupation – laziness. **2.** ***(fig) Sot*** Go rata kudu go betha. ***Eng*** Bullying behaviour. ***Sem:*** Behaviour.
Us: *Ba nthakile sekolong ka baka la go ba le dinala tše ditelele.*
'I was expelled from school for having long nails.'

Ditaba tša kgŏlê lě kgauswi. ***(lit)*** *News from near and afar.* ***(fig) Sot*** Magang a dinaga ka moka. ***Eng*** Global news. ***Sem:*** Communication.
Us: *Mola go bago le dithelebišene re kgona go iponela le go ikwela ditaba tša kgole le kgauswi.*
'Since we have televisions we can watch and hear news from near and afar.'

HL

Hlôgô yê thata. ***(lit)*** *A hard head.* ***(fig) Sot*** Motho wa go se kgone go hlatha dilo ka pela gomme a nyaka go rutwa. ***Eng*** Slow learner; learning difficulties. ***Sem:*** Person - sense/perception. ***CTX:*** *pebofatšo* 'euphemism'
Us: *Bana ba malome waka ba no dula ba kgalemelwa gobane ba na le hlogo tše thata.*
'My uncle's children are always being reprimanded because they have hard heads.'

K

Kŏlŏbê tlasě. ***(lit)*** *Pig down.* ***(fig) Sot*** Motho yo mogolo o bolela bjalo go lemoša bašimane gore ba mo šutelele madulo. ***Eng*** Something an adult says to the youth so they can move from a seat and let him/ her sit. ***Sem:*** Social behaviour - respect.
Us: *Ge mokgekolo goba mokgalabje a ka re kolobe tlase wa no ganelela, ke go laetša lenyatšo*
'If an old man or woman says pig down and you remain seated, it shows disrespect.'

KG

Kgarĕbê ya lĕkitla. ***(lit)*** *A sleeping maiden.* ***(fig) Sot*** Kgarebe/mosetsana wa go fetwa. ***Eng*** Young woman

who is not married. ***Sem:*** Life – marriage. ***CTX:*** *pebofatšo* 'euphemism'.

Us: *Kgarebe ya lekitla ga ya dumelelwa go išetša banna dijo ka kgorong.*

'A sleeping maiden is not allowed to serve food to men in the traditional court.'

Kgŏgwana rôbala. ***(lit)*** *Small chicken sleep*. ***(fig) Sot*** Go itira tše e rego o rata motho gona o dira maano a go mo jeletša thoto ya gagwe. ***Eng*** To pretend you love someone in order to steal or cheat them out of their money or belongings. ***Sem:*** Social behaviour – Deceit.

Us: *Ratoropo wa Mankweng o be a dirile badudi kgogwana robala a le gare a ikhola ka mašeleng a go ba agela dintlo.*

'The Mankweng mayor made small chicken sleep out of residents while stealing the funds for building their houses.'

Kgômŏ ya lětswêlê. ***(lit)*** *A breast cow.* ***(fig) Sot*** Kgomo ye e fiwago kgarebe mohla e nyalwa gore maswi a yona a fepe lapa la gagwe. ***Eng*** A cow given to a lady when gets married to feed her family. *Sem:* Daily life – food; Relationships - marriage. ***CTX:*** Metonymy.

Us: *Ga se ka fiwa kgomo ya letswele gobane re se na dikgomo ka gešo.*

'I was not given a breast cow because my family does not have cows.'

Kgwadi ya šêlêng. ***(lit)*** *A long knife of shilling*. ***(fig) Sot*** Thipa ya bogale ye telele ya go bolaya, ya go swarwa kudu ke dikebeka le bahlakodi gobane ba bolaya batho ka yona. ***Eng*** Long sharp knife for killing, usually carried by criminals to kill people. ***Sem:*** Daily life – household equipment (knife); Life – crime, murder.

Us: *Masogana a Gauteng a swara batho poo ka go ba tšhošetša ka kgwadi ya šeleng.*

'The young men in Gauteng rob people by scaring them with a long knife of shilling.'

L

Lěswika la mŏthêô. ***(lit)*** *A rock of foundation.* ***(fig) Sot*** Motho yoo a lwelago ba gabo ka baka la maatla a gagwe le bohlale. ***Eng*** Someone who fights for his/her family because of their physical power and wisdom. ***Sem:*** Relationships – family. ***CTX:*** pheteletšo 'hyperbole'

Us: *Thuto ke lona la motheo, o bona ka tsela ye a ntšhitšego tatagwe kgolegong.*

'Thuto is indeed a rock of foundation, you can tell by how he was able to get his father released from prison.'

Lětswai namêng. ***(lit)*** *Salt on meat.* ***(fig) Sot*** Go amogelega; a warm welcome. ***Eng*** To be welcomed. ***Sem:*** Social behaviour. ***CTX:*** *tshwantšhišo* 'metaphor'.

Us: *Le ge e be e le la mathomo re kopana le ba bogadi, e fihlile ya ba letswai nameng.*

'Although we were meeting my in-laws for the first time, it was salt on the meat when we arrived.'

M

Maabanĕ kĕ malôba. ***(lit)*** *Yesterday is the day before yesterday.* ***(fig) Sot*** Go šetše go phethegile. ***Eng*** Something that has already been done. ***Sem:*** Daily life – time.

Us: *Ka baka la go diega, ke hweditše maloba e le maabane magadi a šetše a rerilwe.*

'Due to my delay, I found that yesterday was the day before yesterday as magadi negotiations had been concluded.'

Maaka a matalatala. ***(lit)*** *Green-green lies.* ***(fig) Sot*** Taba ya go hloka therešo le gannyane. ***Eng*** News or any information that do not have any truth; lies without any truth. ***Sem:*** Language and thought – untruthful. ***CTX:*** *pheteletšo* 'hyperbole'.

Us: *Boradipolotiki ba bolela maaka a matalatala ba botša setšhaba gore ba lwantšha bomenetša.*

'Politicians tell green-green lies when they tell the community that they are fighting corruption.'

Mabala a nkwê. ***(lit)*** *A tiger's spots.* **1.** ***(fig Sot)*** Dihlogo tša ditaba goba go bolela dihlogo tša ditaba fela. ***Eng*** Headings of news. ***Sem:*** Language and thought. **2.** ***fig) Sot*** Modiro wa go se kgotsofatše, wa go dirwa motho a le lebelong. ***Eng*** Touch-ups or work done so quick it leaves one unsatisfied. ***Sem:*** Daily life – cleaning.

Us: *Ke romile ngwana go hlatswa mafesetere, o no fihla a betha mabala a nkwe.*

'I sent a child to wash the windows, all he/she did was a tiger's spots.'

Madi phatlêng. *(lit) Blood on the forehead.* ***(fig) Sot*** Go na le fao seaparo sa gago se gagogilego gomme mmele wa gago wa sephiri o bonala gona. ***Eng*** When a zipper is down and private parts are exposed. ***Sem:*** Daily life, Body parts.

Us: *Mothotsoko o rile go mpontšha madi phatleng ka swaba kudu.*

'I was very embarrassed when a stranger showed me blood on the forehead.'

Mahlô a mantši. ***(lit)*** *Many eyes.* ***(fig) Sot*** Go rata selo sefe le sefe seo motho a gahlanago naso. ***Eng*** To love a lot of things due to greed or lack of self-control. ***Sem:*** Behaviour - greed, lack of self-control.

Us: *Malome waka o hladilwe ke mosadi ka baka la go ba le mahlo a mantši.*

'My uncle was divorced by his wife for having many eyes.'

Makŏkŏ a setšhaba. *(lit) The impudence of a nation. (fig) Sot* Maitekelo le tšwelopele ya batho gore ba ipope bomaatla le lehumo. *Eng* Building of wealth and power as a nation or community. ***Sem:*** Social behaviour, Unity, Community.

Us: *Tlhabologo e tlišwa ke makoko a setšhaba ge go na le kwano.*

'Development is brought by the impudence of a nation if there is unity among them.'

Marŏgaadutšě. ***(lit)*** *The one who swears sitting down.* ***(fig) Sot*** Mokgwa wa lempate le nogo hlokofatša batho fela le kaname. ***Eng*** The way in which a devil's thorn hurts though it is always placed in a lying position. ***Sem:*** Creation/Universe - plants. ***CTX:*** *mothofatšo* 'personification'

Us: *Bohloko bja marogaadutše bo palediša le go sepela.*

'The pain of the one who swears while sitting down can even prevent you from walking.'

Marumô fasě. ***(lit)*** *Spears down.* ***(fig) Sot*** Phapano a e fele gomme e be khutšo. ***Eng*** Differences should end so there can be peace. ***Sem:*** Social behaviour - peace, conflict.

Us: *Amerika le Iran ba fihleletše tumelano ya marumo fase.*

'The USA and Iran reached an agreement of spears down.'

Mathukhu lě matlakala. ***(lit)*** *Mathukhu and leaves.* ***(fig) Sot*** Batho ba badiitšana bao ba ka se kego ba thuša motho le ka mohla o mong. ***Eng*** Poor people who can never be able to help anyone. ***Sem:*** Wealth – poverty, destitute. ***CTX:*** *pebofatšo* 'euphemism'

Us: *Bontši bja badudi ba Mayibuye ke mathukhu le matlakala ka baka la tlhokego ya mešomo.*

'The majority of Mayibuye residents are rubbish and leaves due to unemployment.'

Mŏgwêra wa bŏhlŏkŏ. ***(lit)*** *A friend of pain.* ***(fig) Sot)*** Mogwera wa makgonthe. ***Eng*** A real friend. ***Sem:*** Relationships – friendship. ***CTX:*** *pheteletšo* 'hyperbole'; *papišo* 'simile'

Us: *Molebogeng ke mogwera wa Mmanape wa bohloko.*

'Molebogeng is Mmanape's friend of pain.'

Mŏlatŏ wô ŏ šiišang mênô. ***(lit)*** *A transgression that frightens teeth.* ***(fig) Sot*** Molato wo mogolo. ***Eng*** A serious transgression**.** ***Sem:*** Social behaviour – criminal act. ***CTX:*** *pheteletšo* 'hyperbole'; *mothofatšo* 'personification'

Us: *Bašemane ba Thokoza ba dirile selo sa go šiiša meno ka go kgatla motho ka maswika.*

The boys in Thokoza committed a transgression that frightens teeth by stoning someone.'

Mŏllô wa pôô. ***(lit)*** *A bull fire.* ***(fig) Sot*** Mollo wa go bonega gohle; mollo wo mogolo. ***Eng*** Fire that can be seen from everywhere; a huge fire. ***Sem:*** Daily life - fire. ***CTX:*** *pheteletšo* 'hyperbole'; *mothofatšo* 'personification'

Us: *Marega re phela re goditše wa poo gore re futhumale ka moka.*

'We always make a bull fire in winter so we can all keep warm.'

Mŏlŏkwana kôšêng. ***(lit)*** *A small relative at the song.* ***(fig) Sot*** Go kgona go bina gagolo, gomme motho a ba a bewa boetapele. ***Eng*** Someone who can dance so well they are put in charge to lead. ***Sem:*** Social behaviour - Social activity.

Us: *Kamo Mphela ke molokwana košeng.*

'Kamo Mphela is a small relative at the song.'

Mŏlômô wa ntsukula. ***(lit)*** *A mouth with rounded lips.* ***(fig) Sot*** Molomo wa go befa. ***Eng*** An ugly mouth**.** ***Sem:*** Person - Body parts. ***Var.*** **Molomo wa ntsupu goba ntsupula.** ***CTX:*** *kgegeo* 'irony'.

Us: *Yena o botsana le ge a na le molomo wa ntsukula.*

'She is beautiful even though she has a pouting mouth.'

Mŏnkgô lĕ mŏhlôdi. ***(lit)*** *Odour and flavour.* ***(fig) Sot*** Lefate la go tswalela. ***Eng*** A pole for closing. ***Sem:*** Daily life – household equipment.

Us: *Modiša o tswalela ka monkgo le mohlodi mathapama gore diruiwa di se ka šohla*.

'The shepherd closes with odour and flavour to ensure that the livestock does not escape.'

Mŏnwana lĕ lĕnala. ***(lit)*** *Finger and nail.* ***(fig) Sot*** Batho ba go botana gagolo. ***Eng*** Very close friends or people. ***Sem:*** Relationships – trust. ***CTX:*** *pheteletšo* 'hyperbole'.

Us: *Thabiso le Thulani ke monwana le lenala.*

'Thabiso and Thulani are finger and nail.'

Mŏsadi wa gŏ sĕ yĕ nŏkêng. ***(lit)*** *A woman who does not go to the river.* ***(fig) Sot*** Mosadi wa go se sa ipona tša mabaka a basadi gobane a tšofetše goba a se sa belega ka baka la bolwetši, goba a ntšhitšwe pelego. ***Eng*** A woman who has stopped menstruating because of age or can longer give birth due to illness or because her womb was taken out. ***Sem:*** Body fucntions - menstruation, fertility. ***CTX:*** *pebofatšo* 'euphemism'.

Us: *Go a makatša go bona Lerato a sa ya nokeng morago ga go ntšhiwa popelo.*

'It is surprising that Lerato still goes to the river after having her womb removed.'

Mŏthŏ wa kgŏbê. ***(lit)*** *A person of prosperity/ fortune.* **1.** ***(fig) Sot*** Motho wa go bopega le gona wa botho le lerato la botho. ***Eng*** Someone with physical beauty, love and kindness. ***Sem:*** Social behaviour - kindness; Body – beauty. **2.** ***(fig) Sot*** Mosadi wa moimana. ***Eng*** A pregnant woman. ***Sem:*** Body condition – pregnancy. ***CTX:*** *pebofatšo* 'euphemism'.

Us: *Dineo ga a sa tla mošomong gobane ke motho wa kgobe*.

'Dineo no longer comes to work because she is a person of prosperity.'

N

Nkô ya lĕnônô. ***(lit) A stalk nose.*** ***(fig) Sot*** Nko ye botsana ya go thekgega. ***Eng*** A beautiful, elongated nose. ***Sem:*** Body parts - appearance. ***CTX:*** *pheteletšo* 'hyperbole'.

Us: *Botlhale o na le nko ya lenono.*

'Botlhale has a stalk nose.'

Nku garĕ ga dipudi. ***(lit)*** *A sheep amongst goats.* **1.** ***(fig) Sot*** Motho wa setlatla gare ga bahlalefi. ***Eng*** An

idiot amongst smart, wise people. ***Sem:*** Language and thought – mind, foolishness, intelligence. **2.** ***(fig) Sot*** Monna gare ga basadi. ***Eng*** A man amongst women. ***Sem:*** Social behaviour. ***CTX:*** *tshwantšhišo* 'metaphor'; *kgegeo* 'irony'.

Us: *Thabiso o dula e le nku gare ga dipudi.*

'Thabiso is always a sheep amongst goats'.

NG

Ngwaga wa Mpǒ lě Tšhikidi. ***(lit)*** *The year of fowl-tick and bed bug.* ***(fig) Sot*** Bogologolo; kgalekgale. ***Eng*** A long time ago. ***Sem:*** State; Daily life - time***. CTX:*** pheteletšo 'hyperbole'

Us: *E sa le ba romile Makoko go reka borotho ka ngwaga wa Mpo le Tšhikidi.*

'They sent Makoko to buy bread in the year of fowl-tick and bed bug.'

Ngwana wa thagalětswalô. ***(lit)*** *A child for cleansing the conscience.* ***(fig) Sot*** Ngwana wa mathomo ka lapeng yo batswadi ba gagwe ba bego ba se sa kholofelo ya gore ba ka ba le ngwana. ***Eng*** First-born child who is born after his or her parents had given up hope that they would have a child. ***Sem:*** Life - Birth (birthright), fertility. ***CTX:*** *tshwantšhišo* 'metaphor'

Us: *Molefi ke thagaletswalo ya mmagwe.*

'Molefi is his mother's child for cleansing the conscience.'

P

Pělǒ yê bǒruthô. ***(lit)*** *A warm heart.* ***(fig) Sot*** Botho le kwelobohloko; go loka gagolo gomme motho a ba le kwelobohloko go batlaišegi. ***Eng*** Kindness, compassion and empathy. ***Sem:*** Social behaviour.

Us: *Batho ba na le go namela Tlotlo hlogong ka baka la pelo ya gagwe ye borutho.*

'People have a tendency to climb on top of Tlotlo's head because of his warm heart.'

Pitša ya tšhutabaêng. ***(lit)*** A pot for removing visitors. ***(fig) Sot*** Go apea dijo lebaka le letelele gore le ge di budule di no se hlatlolwe ka baka la bojato bja go se rate go abelana le batho bao ba bego kgaufi le wena. Motho o dira seo gore batho bao ba tloge a šale a eja a nnoši. ***Eng*** Food that is cooked for a long time and left on the stove/ fire even when it is ready to avoid sharing it. ***Sem:*** Social behaviour – greed, gluttony. ***CTX:*** *kgegeo* 'irony'

Us: *Neo o apea pitša ya tšhutabaeng le ge yena mong a swerwe ke tlala.*

'Neo will cook a pot for removing visitors (guests) even if he/she is hungry.

PH

Phěta ya thaga. ***(lit)*** *A bead of thaga.* ***(fig) Sot*** Selo sa bohlokwa seo se rategago gagolo. ***Eng*** Something that is considered to be very important and cherished deeply. ***Sem:*** State – quality, value, worth. ***CTX:*** pheteletšo 'hyperbole'. ***cf:*** **Tšhaka ya lěihlô.**

Us: *Koloi ke pheta ya thaga matšatši a.*

'A car is a bead of thaga these days.'

S

Sělabi maswing. ***(lit)*** *A fly in milk.* ***(fig) Sot*** Selo sa go se loke gare ga dijo. ***Eng*** Anything that could be poisonous to food. ***Sem:*** Daily life - food.

Us: *Nakong ye ya leuba la twatši ya Corona, selo se sengwe le se sengwe ke selabi maswing.*

'During the Corona virus pandemic, every thing is a fly in milk.'

Swělě ka swělě. ***(lit)*** *Petulance with petulance.* ***(fig) Sot*** Manganga; mereba. ***Eng*** Stubbornness ***Sem:*** Behaviour. ***CTX:*** *poeletšo ya lentšu* 'anaphora'. ***cf:*** **Swinê ka swinê.**

Us: *Motho wa go rata swele ka swele ga a na kagišano goba phedišano le batho ba bangwe.*

'A person who likes petulance with petulance has no relations with other people.'

Swinê ka swinê. ***(lit)*** *Pettiness with pettiness.* ***(fig) Sot*** Boitefeletšo; go kwiša motho bohloko gobane le yena a go kwišitše bohloko. ***Eng*** Revenge; vengeance; hurting someone because they hurt you first. ***Sem:*** Social behaviour – justice. ***CTX:*** *poeletšo ya lentšu* 'anaphora'. ***cf:*** **Swělě ka swělě.**

Us: *Swine ka swine ga e bušetše motho selo.*

'Pettiness with pettiness does not benefit anyone.'

T

Taba ya mŏgwapa. ***(lit)*** *A biltong matter.* ***(fig)*** **Sot** Taba ya go se fele, ya go no sekwa gape le gape. ***Eng*** A matter that is discussed from time to time without a solution. ***Sem:*** Communication.

Us: *Taba ya gona e ile go re paella ra e bea mogwapa.*

'After failing to resolve the matter, we hung it like biltong.'

TH

Thipa ya lěihlô. ***(lit)*** *Knife of the eye.* ***(fig) Sot*** Motho wa go kgona go lemoga diphošo tša batho ka pela. ***Eng*** A person who can easily notice people's faults. ***Sem:*** Social behaviour – judgemental; Language and thought – alert, attentive.

Us: *Thato o thapetšwe gore e be thipa ya leihlo.*

'Thato was hired to be the knife of the eye.'

TL

Tladi ya mŏthŏ. ***(lit)*** Lightning of a person. ***(fig) Sot*** Lehu goba bohloko bjoo bo tlišwago ke malealea a motho yo a tsebjago e le moloi. ***Eng*** Death brought by the actions of someone who is believed to be a witch. ***Sem:*** Life – death; Religion – beliefe, witchcraft, supernatural. ***CTX:*** *pheteletŏ* 'hyperbole'.

Us: *Lehu la rakgolo ga le amogelege gobane e le tladi ya motho.*

'Our grandfather's death is hard to accept because it was a person's lightning.'

Tlasě lě tlêtlŏlô. ***(lit)*** Up and down; down and elevation. ***(fig) Sot*** Go tlala ga batho ka bontši. ***Eng*** Filled with a lot of people. Sem: State – quantity. ***CTX:*** *pheteletŏ* 'hyperbole'.

Us: *Ka nako ya go boingwadišo dikolong ka moka ke tlase le tletlolo.*

'During registration season, it is down and elevation in all schools.'

TS

Tsêbê ya kgauswi. ***(lit)*** *A nearby ear.* ***(fig) Sot*** Motho wa kgauswi. ***Eng*** Someone close to you or nearby. ***Sem:*** Relationships – neighbour.

Us: *Tsebe ya kgauswi e kgona go lamolela motho ka pela.*

'A nearby ear can quickly rescue a person in need.'

Tsěla kě pêtlêkê. ***(lit)*** *The road is wide open.* ***(fig) Sot*** Tsela e bulegile gomme o ka no sepela wa ya go bega. ***Eng*** The road is open to make an announcement. ***Sem:*** Language and thought - communication. ***CTX:*** *pheteletšo* 'hyperbole'.

Us: *Le ge tsela e be e le petleke, bontši ba be ba tšhaba go yo ipolela dillo tša bona.*

'Although the road was wide open, many were afraid to report their worries.'

TŠH

Tšhaka ya lěihlô. ***(lit)*** *Muscle of the eye.* ***(fig) Sot*** Selo se bohlokwa seo se rategago gagolo. ***Eng*** Something that is considered to be very important and cherished deeply. ***Sem:*** State – quality, value. ***CTX:*** *pheteletšo* 'hyperbole'. ***etym:*** Eye muscles are very important because if something were to happen to them, one would be blind. ***cf:*** **Phěta ya thaga.**

Us: *Tšhelete ke tšhaka ya leihlo bophelong bja selehono.*

'Nowadays money has become the muscle of the eye.'

Tšhŏma ya masêrung. ***(fig) Sot*** Motho wa go se phele gare ga batho ka baka la bogale le bošoro bja gagwe bjo bo tšhabegago. ***Eng*** A person who does not live with others because they are feared for their bravery and cruelty. ***Sem:*** Social behaviour - personality. ***CTX:*** *kgegeo* 'irony'; *pheteletšo* 'hyperbole'

'Mathule does not have a wife or children because he is a tšhoma of maserung.'

Proverbs

A

A ba tlalê ba atê mŏnapĕlŏ ga a tsĕbjĕ. **(*lit)*** *Let them fill and multiply, the one with a heart is unknown*. ***(fig) Sot*** Ga se tshwanelo gore motho a fele a hlaola batho gobane motho yo a tlogo mo thuša ge a le mabothateng e ka ba yo mongwe wa bao a ba nyenyago gomme a tloga a lewa ke dihlong. ***Eng*** People should treat all people equally because one of them might help them in their time of need. ***Sem:*** Social behaviour. ***CTX:*** *pheteletšo* 'hyperbole'

A ĕ agĕ ka gŏ tšĕa kudu, ĕ aga ka gŏ bŏêlêla. ***(lit)*** *It does not build by taking a lot, it builds by going repeatedly*. ***(fig) Sot*** Go phetha modiro gabotse ke go se o felele pelo, gomme ge o ka dira ka potlako gona modiro wo o tlo pala. ***Eng*** To complete a task and do it well, one must be patient because rushing it may lead to failure. ***Sem:*** Behaviour - patience, Work and occupation - success. ***CTX:*** *kganetši* 'antithesis'. ***etym:*** The building process is one that takes time to ensure that the house or building comes out strong and therefore, takes time to complete.

Alafa mŏlwêtši a rĕ gŏ fôla a rŏgê ngaka. ***(lit)*** *Cure a patient so they can recover and swear at the doctor*. ***(fig) Sot*** O thuša motho mabothateng a gagwe, gomme ka morago ga ge a thušegile a thome go go nyatša le go tšama a go senya leina gomme a go dira motho yo mobe. ***Eng*** You can help someone in their time of need and afterwards they will mistreat you and go around telling lies about you making you out to be a bad person. ***Sem:*** Social behaviour – Dishonesty. ***CTX:*** *kgegeo* 'irony'

B

Babêdi ga ba lwĕ ba rŏnana dinta. ***(lit)*** *Two do not fight, they keep lice off of each other*. *(fig) Sot* Mokgwa wa setho gare ga batho ga se go phela ka diphapang le dintwa, fela ke go phedišana ka kwano le khutšo le go fela go thušanwa mabothateng le mahlokong. ***Eng*** People should live in peace and harmony, and avoid conflicts so they can help each other in trouble and time of need. ***Sem:*** Social behaviour – relationships, peace, unity.

Bana ba kgwalĕ ba bitšana ka mĕlôdi. ***(lit)*** *Children of a partridge call each other by whistles. (fig) Sot* Batho ba kgoro e tee medirong le mabothateng ba a thušana ka go hlatlolana gore yo mongwe le yo mongwe wa bona a se leselwe kotsing. ***Eng*** When people are related or from the same tribe, they tend to help each other and work together. ***Sem:*** Social behaviour - relationships, unity

Bŏbŏtsĕ bja mŏnna kĕ dikgômŏ tša gagwê. ***(lit)*** *A man's beauty is his cows.* ***(fig) Sot*** Boleng bja monna bo ya ka borui goba bohumi bja gagwe. ***Eng*** A man's worth depends on his wealth. ***Sem:*** Wealth. ***CTX:*** Metonymy, tshwantšhišo 'metaphor'. ***etym:*** Cattle has always been important and had a high value for Basotho ba Lebowa and was thus, used as a currency for trading, in marriage, in farming, etc. ***cf:*** **Mŏnna ŏ bĕfa ka kanapêng.**

Bŏhlalĕ bŏ tšwa lĕbading. ***(lit)*** *Wisdom comes from scars.* ***(fig) Sot*** Motho ge a kile a wela kotsing o fela a hlokomela gore a se ke a hlwa a sa wela kotsing ye bjalo. ***Eng*** People become wiser by learning from their mistakes. ***Sem:*** Language and thought - intelligence, wisdom. ***CTX:*** *pebofatšo* 'euphemism'

Us: *Ke ithutile gore bohlale bo tšwa lebading morago ga go tšeelwa dithoto ka boradia.*

'I learnt that wisdom comes from scars after getting robbed.'

D

Dinaka tša gŏ rwêšwa ga di gŏmarêlĕ hlôgô. ***(lit)*** *Horns that are emburdened do not adhere to the head.* ***(fig) Sot*** Modiro ge o se wa o rutwa gore o šongwa bjang, le ge o ka leka go o dira o tlo go palela gobane o se wa go lebana ka tlhago le thuto godimo ga wona. ***Eng*** If you do something without experience or knowledge you will fail. ***Sem:*** Work and occupation - failure, expertise. ***CTX:*** *kgegeo* 'irony'

Dipshiô tša tlôu ga di pataganywĕ. ***(lit)*** *An elephant's kidneys should not be compressed*. ***(fig) Sot*** Ga go motho yo a ka kgonago go dira mediro ye mentši ka nako ye tee gobane e tlo mo palela ka moka. ***Eng*** Doing too many things at once usually leads to failure and disappointment. ***Sem:*** Work and occupation – failure. ***CTX:*** *kgegeo* 'irony'

Ditau tša hlôka sĕbŏka di šitwa kĕ narĕ ĕ hlôtša. ***(lit)*** *When lions lack unity they are surpassed by a limping buffalo.* ***(fig) Sot*** Batho ge ba hloka kwano magareng a bona ba ka se ke ba kgona selo mešomong ya bona ka moka gobane le mešongwana ye mennyane e tlo ba palela gobane ba phela ka diphapano. ***Eng*** When there is no sense of unity amongst people, they are unable to work together and fail to achieve even the smallest tasks because of their conflicts. ***Sem:*** Social behaviour – relationships, unity. ***CTX:*** *pebofatšo* 'euphemism'; *kgegeo* 'irony'

E

Ĕ ilê ĕ itja ya rĕ kĕ ja mŏdiši. ***(lit)*** *When it was eating itself it thought it was eating the herdsman.* *(fig) Sot* Motho o ke a re o direla yo mongwe bonya ka go mo senyetša mošomo wa gagwe, gomme a itshenyetše leina ka tiro ya gagwe ye mpe le mediro ya gagwe e thome go mo senyagelela. ***Eng*** When you sabotage someone and destroy things they have worked for, you also sabotage yourself as your name will be tarnished by your bad deeds. ***Sem:*** Social behaviour – Reputation. ***CTX:*** *kgegeo* 'irony; *kodutlo* 'sarcasm'

Ê maswi ga ĕ itswalĕ. ***(lit)*** *The milky one does not give birth to itself.* ***(fig) Sot*** Motswadi wa botho gantši ga a ke a belega ngwana wa botho bjalo ka yena. ***Eng*** Parents who are kind and have good morals rarely give birth to children who are like them. ***Sem:*** Social behaviour - types of people. ***CTX:*** *pebofatšo* 'euphemism'

Êtêtša sĕrathana ka mŏsô sĕ gŏ êtêtšê. ***(lit)*** *Lead a toddler so tomorrow they can lead you.* *(fig) Sot* Batswadi ba swanetše gore ba hlokomele, go godiša le go fepa bana ba bona gabotse gore ka moso le bona ge ba tšofetše goba e le dikoka ka baka la bolwetši goba kgobalo, bana bao ba tle ba ba hlokomele ka lerato. ***Eng*** Parents must care for their children and raise them well so that the children can also look after them when the parents are older or ill. ***Sem:*** Life - stage of life, child-rearing.

F

Fêgŏllang sê bŏrala mampša rĕ lapa mĕlala. ***(lit)*** *Take down from the shelf, us the dogs, our necks are getting tired.* ***(fig) Sot*** Re feng seo le re bileditšeng sona gobane ke kgale re se letetše gomme re bile re fela pelo. ***Eng*** Give us what you called us for becasue we have been waiting for too and we are getting impatient. ***Sem:*** Social behaviour – impatience

Fĕta kgômŏ ŏ swarê mŏthŏ. ***(lit)*** *Pass the cow and hold the person.* ***(fig) Sot*** Motho ka gobane e le sephidi sa bohlokwa go fetiša tšohle ka moka, o swanetše gore a hlokomelwe gagolo go fetiša tšohle. ***Eng*** Humans are more important than all living things and should therefore, come before everything else. ***Sem:*** Universe - Nature, Environment; Person – life. ***CTX:*** *pebofatšo* 'euphemism'

Fihla thupa, ŏ sĕnyê ngwana. ***(lit)*** *Spare the rod and spoil the child.* ***(fig) Sot*** Ngwana ge a sa otlwe le go solwa ge a sentše, gona o tlo senyega le go amara mekgwa ye mebe bjalo ka phoofolo. ***Eng*** Spare the rod and spoil the child. ***Sem:*** Social behaviour – discipline; Life - parenting/ child-rearing. ***CTX:*** *kgegeo* 'irony'

G

Gabŏ lěfšêga ga gŏ ribêgwě mŏgŏpŏ. ***(lit)*** *No one cries at the home of a coward, people cry at the home of a hero.* ***(fig) Sot*** Motho ge e le mogale tlhabanong, go hwa ka pele ke ga gagwe, feela lefšega lona ka gobane le boifa go hlabana le dikotsi tšeo tše šoro di ka mmolayago, gona le no fela le phela ka go lelele go fetiša mogale yo a feletšego marumong. ***Eng*** Brave people usually die fast while those considered cowards live longer because they avoid danger. ***Sem:*** Behaviour (personality) – cowardice. ***CTX:*** *pebofatšo* 'euphemism. ***etym:*** The practice of *go ribega mogopo* is an old way that was used by Basotho to inform family or others of a person's passing, esp. in a case where someone died away from home. For example, if an initiate died during initiation, some messengers from the initiation school would be sent to inform the initiate's relatives and they would do so by taking the initiate's mogopo in his home and turning it upside-down as a way of informing them. So, an upside-down *mogopo* came to be associated with death. ***Var:*** **Gabŏ lěfšêga ga gŏ lliwě, gŏ lliwa gabŏ mŏgalě.**

Gê ŏ ka ja kgaka ŏ lě nôši ŏ ka sě tsěbě měnônêlô ya yôna. ***(lit)*** *If you eat a guinea fowl alone you will not know its fat parts.* ***(fig) Sot*** Motho ge a eja sejo a le noši ga a se kwe bose bjalo ka ge a se dikišane le bagwera ba gagwe; ke gore sejo se bose mo go lego batho ba bantši ba se dikišane. ***Eng*** Food is best enjoyed when it is shared. ***Sem:*** Social behaviour – altruism. ***CTX:*** *kgegeo* 'irony'

Gŏ nyatša kgôši kě gŏ tlŏga. ***(lit)*** *To disrespect the king is to leave.* ***(fig) Sot*** Motho ge a sa ipee ka tlase ga babuši a tsebe gore ba tlo mo leleka mebušong ya bona. ***Eng*** If a person does not respect their ruler or king they get banished. ***Sem:*** Social behaviour - government, authority. ***CTX:*** *pebofatšo* 'euphemism'

H

Hubêla a sě ka gŏ rěa, kě bê kě rêilê mmakwělě, nônyana ya tlôpô. ***(lit)*** *Hubela, I did not set a trap for you, I set a trap for a bulbul, a bird with a hair pattern.* ***(fig) Sot*** Motho ge a ka re a reile lehodu gore a le sware gomme a le hlokofatše, o tlo makala ge a swara motho o šele e sego yo a bego a mo gopotše. ***Eng*** Usually when you set a trap to catch a thief, you will be shocked when you catch someone else and not the person you expected. ***Sem:*** Physical actions - capture

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HL

Hlapi hŏlŏfêla lĕraga, mêêtsĕ a pshilê ŏ a bôna. ***(lit)*** *Fish trust in the mud, water dried out while you were looking.* ***(fig) Sot*** Ngwana o fela a tepelela ge a bona batswadi ba gagwe ba le kgauswi gomme tšohle tšeo a di hlokago ba mo nea tšona, gomme mohla batswadi ba mo tlogela ka lehu goba bokoka matepe ao a fela gobane a lemoga gore seo a bego a se botile se fedile ka gona o swanetše go itšhomela. ***Eng*** When children are used to being provided for by their parents they become spoilt and when their parents die or become old, they are left in destitute when they have to work and provide for themselves. ***Sem:*** Life – child-rearing; Behaviour – maturity, responsibility. ***CTX:*** *kodutlo* 'sarcasm'

Hlatsĕ ya mŏthŏ kĕ mŏlômô. ***(lit)*** *A person's witness is the mouth.* ***(fig) Sot*** Motho ge a ipolela tšohle tše di mo tshwenyago go batho ba gabo, o phaka a hwetša thušo le tlhatlolo ka pela. ***Eng*** It is better to talk when a person is in trouble so people can help. ***Sem:*** Communication – ask, help

Hlôgô ê mêêtsĕ ĕ lôtwa kĕ mŏng. ***(lit)*** *A watery head is protected by its owner.***1.** ***(fig) Sot*** Motho yo mongwe le yo mongwe yo a itsebago gore ke sekoka ke tshwanelo gore a ikilele medirong ye boima gobane ge a ka se dire bjalo a ka godiša bohloko bja mmele. ***Eng*** When a person is enfeebled or disabled by illness or injury, it is important for them to avoid hard labour so as to not aggravate the illness. ***Sem:*** Body condition – weak. **2.** ***(fig) Sot*** Maitshwaro a mabotse a lota seriti sa motho. ***Eng*** A person's dignity is protected by good behaviour. ***Sem:*** Behaviour. ***CTX:*** *pebofatšo* 'euphemism'

I

Itia lĕšilŏ maragŏ, wa lĕ itia mahlô lĕ tlô gŏ lêmŏga. ***(lit)*** *Hit a fool on the buttocks, if you hit them in the face they will notice.* ***(fig) Sot*** Motho ge ele setlatla gomme a fela a go nea dilo tše di go holago mola yena mong a itima, wena leboga o mo hlohleletše gore a iše pele go abela bahloki gobane ge o ka mmotša ge a se a hlalefa mola a hola batho, gona o tlo se sa direla motho selo le gannyane gobane o mo hlalefišitše. ***Eng*** If a person likes to give away things that they also need, then it is better to show gratitude and encourage them to keep doing so because if you make them aware that their behaviour is foolish then they will become wiser and stop doing that. ***Sem:*** Language and thought - Stupid, Mind. ***CTX:*** *kgegeo* 'irony'. *Var:* **Sĕtlaêla ŏ sĕ phaphatha maragŏ, wa sĕ phaphatha mahlông sĕ tlô gŏ lêmŏga.**

K

Kalatšaně ga ě lapě, gŏ lapa ga yôna kě lěhu. ***(lit)*** *A deceiver does not get tired, their tiredness is death.* ***(fig) Sot*** Motho ge a tlwaetše go dira mediro ye mebe bjalo ka go utswa goba go bolela maaka ga a ke a e tlogela, o e tlogela ge a ka swarwa gomme a otlwa goba a bolawa. ***Eng*** A person that is used to deceiving people never stops unless they are caught or get killed. ***Sem:*** Behaviour – dishonesty, deceptive; Law – punishment. ***CTX:*** *poeletšomodumo* 'alliteration'; *kgegeo* 'irony'; *pebofatšo* 'euphemism'

Kě swana ya mŏšatê, wa ě gapa ŏ mŏlatŏ, wa ě fěta ŏ mŏlatŏ. ***(lit)*** *It is a royal black cow, you are guilty if you drive it, you are guilty if you leave it.* ***(fig) Sot*** Selo ge se timetše wa se topa, go ke go thwe o se utswitšwe, le gona ge o ka se bona wa se tlogela gore o yo bega go mong wa sona, le gona go tlo thwe o be o se tlogelela eng. ***Eng*** A dilemma or difficult circumstance from which there is no escape because of mutually conflicting or dependent conditions. ***Sem:*** Emotion – confusion. ***CTX:*** *kgakantšhano* 'paradox'

Kôdumêla mŏêpathutsê, ga gŏ lěhumô lê tšwagŏ kgauswi. ***(lit)*** *Bend your back digger of baboon's tail, there is no wealth that comes from near.* ***(fig) Sot*** Dilo tše di botse di hwetšwa ka bothata ka mehla, ka fao ge motho a rata go ba le tšona o swanetše go gore a di šomele ka kgotlelelo. ***Eng*** Success does not come easy, therefore one must work hard with dedication, perseverance and patience. ***Sem:*** Behaviour – patience; Work and occupation - success

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KG

Kgakakgŏlŏ sě na mabala, mabala a na lě kgakana. ***(lit)*** *The elderly guinea fowl does not have spots, the spots are on the younger guinea fowl.* ***(fig) Sot*** Motho ge a godile, tšohle tšeo a di šomilego le tšeo a sa di šomago o direla bana ba gagwe gore ka tšona ba tle ba iketle le gore ba bonale ba tšwela pele natefong pele ga batho ka moka. ***Eng*** Parents work in order to provide for their children and to ensure that their children can enjoy life and never want for anything. ***Sem:*** Life – parenting, child-rearing. ***CTX:*** *poeletšomodumo* 'alliteration'

Kgênkgêrêpê gê ĕ sêga ka lĕinô lê tĕĕ, ka lê lĕngwĕ ĕ a êpa. ***(lit)*** *When a crab laughs with one tooth, it digs with the other one.* ***(fig) Sot*** O se ke wa bona motho ge a go segiša wa nama wa itebala, gomme wa bona e ke ke mogwera wa nnete gobane mmolayi wa motho ke yo a segišago batho tše e rego o a ba rata. ***Eng*** Do not assume that everyone who is friendly towards you is your friend because people usually hide their bad intentions behind acts of kindness. ***Sem:*** Behaviour - relationships, trust, deception. ***CTX:*** *pebofatšo* 'euphemism'

Kgômŏ ka mŏgŏbêng ĕ wêtšwa kĕ namanĕ. (*lit) A cow is thrown into the pan by its calf. (fig) Sot* Ngwana ge a dira mediro ye mebe o tsenya batswadi ba gagwe melatong le dikotlong gobane ba tlo leka go mo lwela gore a phologe, gomme ka fao le bona molato wa ba ja le dikotlo tša ba wela. ***Eng*** Parents always suffer the consequences of their children's actions, good or bad. ***Sem:*** Social Behaviour – relationship, kinship; Life - child-rearing, parental responsibility.

KH

Khudu ga ĕ lahlĕ lĕgapi la yôna. ***(lit)*** *A tortoise never throws its shell away.* ***(fig) Sot*** Motho ge a tlwaetše go dira mediro ye mebe, go thata go yena gore a e tlogele, ebile a ka upša a hwa a bolawa ke mediro yeo ye mebe. ***Eng*** When a person is used to deceiving people, it is hard to rid themselves of that behaviour so they would rather get killed as punishment for their actions. ***Sem:*** Behaviour – troublesome. ***CTX:*** *kgegeo* 'irony'

Khudu ya marĕga ĕ tsĕbja kĕ mmêi. ***(lit)*** *A winter tortoise is known by the one who places it. (fig) Sot* Selo se sengwe le se sengwe se tsebja ke mong wa sona gobane e le yena a nnoši a tsebago bohlamo le boteng bja sona go fetiša batho ka moka. ***Eng*** People always know and understand their belongings better than anyone else; may refer to how couples or parents and their children know each other well. ***Sem:*** Language and thought – knowledge, understanding; Social behaviour – relationships. ***CTX:*** Antonomasia.

L

La fata ga lĕ bŏĕ fêla. ***(lit)*** *If it digs it does not come back empty handed.* ***(fig) Sot*** Modiro o mongwe le o mongwe ge o ka šongwa ka kgotlelelo ga o ke o sa bušetše motho selo. ***Eng*** Patience breeds success. ***Sem:*** Work and occupation – success, Behaviour - patience

Lě gê ŏ ka ě buêla lěôpêng, magôkôbu a gŏ bôna. ***(lit)*** *Even if you skin it in a ditch, the crows are watching you.* ***(fig) Sot*** Ga go bobe bjo motho a ka bo dirago a hloka le motho o tee yo a mmonago. ***Eng*** Everything that is done in the dark shall come to light. ***Sem:*** Language and thought - revelation. ***CTX:*** *kgegeo* 'irony'

Lěhu ga lě apěêlwě mphagô. ***(lit)*** *Death does not require food (provisions) for the road.* ***(fig) Sot*** Motho ga nke a tseba lebaka leo kotsi e tlilego go mo wela ka lona, gagolo kotsi ya lehu. ***Eng*** No one ever knows when they will die or be in an accident (fatal accident). ***Sem:*** Life – death. ***CTX:*** *mothofatšo* 'personification'

Lětswalô lê mŏlatŏ lě a ikahlŏla. ***(lit)*** *A guilty conscience judges itself.* ***(fig) Sot*** Motho ge a tseba a senyeditše ba batho dilo tša bona o phela ka poifo ka mehla gobane a sa kgone go lebala molato wo a o dirilego. ***Eng*** A person always knows when they are at fault so they start living in fear that someone might want revenge. ***Sem:*** Language and thought - mental state, conscience. ***CTX:*** *mothofatšo* 'personification'.

M

Mariri a tau a kgakala, a mŏthŏ a ka têng. ***(lit)*** *A lion's mane is on the outside while a human's are inside.* ***(fig) Sot*** Bošoro bja sebata bo bonala ka sebopego sa sona, fela bošoro bja motho ga bo tsebege go fihlela bo direga, le gona bošoro bjoo gantši bo dirwa ke motho yo o bego o re ke mogwera wa gago. ***Eng*** An animal's nature and cruelty can be judged based on its physical form while it is difficult to judge the characteristics of a human being based on their appearance. ***Sem:*** Personality; Social behaviour. ***CTX:*** *pebofatšo* 'euphemism'

Mmala wa kgômŏ ŏ gŏla namanĕng. ***(lit)*** *The colour of a cow grows on its calf.* ***(fig) Sot*** Go loka le go itapiša ga motswadi go bonala godimo ga ngwana wa gagwe gobane go yena go bonala seo motswadi a lego sona, ka mekgwa le ka bohlale. ***Eng*** The goodness and character of any parent is reflected in their children's behaviour and actions. ***Sem:*** Social behaviour; Life – child-rearing. ***CTX:*** *pebofatšo* 'euphemism'

Mŏnna ke nku ŏ llêla têng. ***(lit)*** *A man is sheep, he cries on the inside.* ***(fig) Sot*** Monna ga a ke a lla ge a le bohlokong goba go bolela ka mathata a gagwe. ***Eng*** A man never cries when in pain or discuss his problems with anyone. ***Sem:*** Behaviour; Emotion. ***CTX:*** *tshwantšhišo* 'metaphor'

Mŏnna kĕ *stalk sweet* ŏ a mŏnišanwa. ***(lit)*** *A man is a lollipop, he is shared.* ***(fig) Sot*** Monna o dumeletšwe gore a ka ba le basadi ba go feta o tee. ***Eng*** A man can have multiple wives or partners. *Sem. domains:* Relationships; Tradition. ***CTX:*** Simile. ***etym:*** In the Basotho ba Lebowa culture, polygamy is allowed, thus a man can have multiple wives at a time. ***cf:*** **Mŏnna kĕ sĕlêpê ŏ a adimišanwa.**

Mŏnna ŏ bĕfa ka kanapêng. ***(lit)*** *A man is ugly in the pocket.* ***(fig) Sot*** Boleng bja monna bo ya ka borui bja gagwe e sego dipopo. ***Eng*** A man's worth is based on his wealth and not his looks. ***Sem:*** Wealth. ***CTX:*** Metonymy; tshwantšišo 'metaphor'. ***etym:*** In the past wealth could be measured based on the number of cattle one had. However, with the introduction of money, currency has changed and wealth is measured in terms of money which is usually carried in pockets. *cf:* **Bŏbŏtsĕ bja mŏnna kĕ dikgômŏ tša gagwê.**

N

Namakgapêlêtšwa ĕ phuma pitša. ***(lit)*** *Forced meat spills the pot.* ***(fig) Sot*** Motho ge a gapeletšwa go dira modiro ka swele gona modiro woo o ka se phethekge gabotse gobane modiri wa ona a se a lokologa go o dira ka lerato. ***Eng*** If a person feels forced to do something and they do it unwillingly, the results will be poor to show that there was no commitment. ***Sem:*** Work and occupation; Language and thought – willingness.

Nkôkgŏlŏ gŏ dupa ga ĕ gŏ tsĕbĕ. ***(lit)*** *A big nose does not know how to smell.* ***(fig) Sot*** Motho ge a tlo tlelwa ke madimabe a kotsi ga a ke a tseba pele ga lebaka. ***Eng*** No person can predict when misfortune will befall them. ***Sem:*** Religion – Prophecy; Language and thought – predict. ***CTX:*** mothofatšo 'personification'

Ntlhômŏlê mŏŏtlwa ga sĕ mpuwê lĕnaô. ***(lit)*** *Pull out the thorn does not mean flay my foot. (fig) Sot* Motho ge a tsoma thušo go wena ga a go biletše gore o name o mo laole mo modirong wa gagwefela o go bileditše gore o mo eletše gomme o mo široge yena a šale a itšhomela. ***Eng*** When a person asks for your help, it does not mean you should take advantage of them but only for advice so they can work on their own. ***Sem:*** Behaviour – help. ***CTX:*** *phetheletšo* 'hyperbole'

NG

Ngwana a llêla nakana ya mŏkhura, sêhlang lĕ mŏ nĕyê. ***(lit)*** *If a child cries for a flute made from the castor oil plant, carve and give to him/her.* ***(fig) Sot*** Motho ge a re mola a ganetšwa selo seo se nago le kotsi gomme yena a ganelela go sonago kaone a lesetšwe gobane o tlo re mola a wetše kotsing ka baka la sona gomme a se sole motho gobane dikeletšo ka moka a di ganne. ***Eng*** If a person is advised against something and they insist despite its dangers, it is best to let them so that they will have no one to blame should they get into trouble or danger. ***Sem:*** Language and thought - influence (warn, advise). ***CTX:*** *kgegeo* 'irony'

Ngwana a phôša dira ga a bŏlawĕ. ***(lit)*** *A child that wrongs the enemies should not be killed.* *(fig) Sot* Motho ge a dirile molato ga se tshwanelo gore ge a otlwa a otlwe ka kotlo ye šoro, fela o swanetše gore a kgalengwe ka lerato go mo laetša phošo ya gagwe. ***Eng*** When a person makes a mistake, it is only fair to reprimand them with love and give them punishment that fits the crime so they can learn from that mistake. ***Sem:*** Behaviour - punishment, discipline. ***CTX:*** *kgegeo* 'irony'

Ngwana a sa llĕgŏ ŏ hwêla tharing. ***(lit)*** *A child that does not cry dies in a baby sling (cradle).* *(fig) Sot* Motho yo a rego ge a le tlaišegong gomme a se kgopele thušo, o tlo no fela a le fao tlaišegong gobane go se motho yo a tsebago gore o tlaišegong le gore o hloka thušo. ***Eng*** If a person does not ask for help when they are in trouble, then they will continue to suffer because no one will know that they need help. ***Sem:*** Language and thought – communication.

NY

Nyatšamŏlala ĕ hwêtšĕ mŏlalêng. ***(lit)*** *The belittler of the plain died in the plain.* ***(fig) Sot*** Motho yo a sa ratego go eletšwa go fela a wela dikotsing ke ga gagwe gomme a tloge a kwerwe ke batho. ***Eng*** A person that never heeds advice from anyone usually finds themselves in trouble and ends up getting mocked by others. ***Sem:*** Language and thought - influence (warn, advise). ***CTX:*** *kgegeo* 'irony'

Nyôba rĕ šala rĕ sôhla bŏsĕ ĕ lĕ kgalê bŏ fêdilê. ***(lit)*** *We are left chewing the sweet reed, the sweetness is long finished.* ***(fig) Sot*** Taba ye e kgahlago batho e re le ge e le kgale e fetile gomme batho ba no šala ba sa bolela le go kgahlwa ke yona neng le neng ge ba e gopola. ***Eng*** People hardly forget interesting things and experiences, and they will continue talking about them long after they have happened. ***Sem:*** Language and thought – memory, remembering.

O

Ǒ sě bônĕ gǒ akalala ga bŏnông, gǒ wa fasĕ kĕ ga bôna. ***(lit)*** *Do not see the soaring of vultures, falling down is theirs.* ***(fig) Sot*** Motho wa makoko le boikgogomošo gantši o fela a palelwa ke tšeo a bego a ikgantšha gore o a di kgona. ***Eng*** Arrogance and pride hardly yield any results; those who boast about their abilities tend to fail when it comes to producing results. ***Sem:*** Behaviour - pride, arrogance. ***CTX:*** *kgegeo* 'irony'; *pebofatšo* 'euphemism'

Ǒ sě bônĕ thŏla bŏrêlêdi, têng ga yôna gǒ a baba. ***(lit)*** *Do not see the smoothness of a bitter apple, its inside is bitter.* ***(fig) Sot*** Motho yo mobotse sebopegong ga se gantši a ba le pelo ye e lokilego le botho bjo bo tumišegago, gantši e no ba moradia, senokwane goba mohufegadi wa dilo tša batho gore nkabe e le tša gagwe. ***Eng*** It is seldom that a beautiful person will be kind and have a good heart, they are usually dishonest, deceptive and envious of other people's success. ***Sem:*** Social behaviour – reputation, personality. ***CTX:*** *pebofatšo* 'euphemism'

Ǒ sě rĕ gǒ ĕ bôna ĕ hlôtša wa ĕ namêtša thaba. ***(lit)*** *Do not see it limping and make it climb a mountain.* **1.** ***(fig) Sot*** O se re go bona motho a befetšwe gomme wa mo hlohleletša gore a befelele pele; o se re go bona seemo se befile wa se befišetša pele. ***Eng*** Do not make a bad situation worse than it already is; do not add fuel to fire. ***Sem:*** Emotion – anger. ***CTX:*** *pebofatšo* 'euphemism'. **2.** ***(fig) Sot*** O se re mola o bona mafokodi a motho wa a hlohleletša go ya pele. ***Eng*** Do not take advantage of another person's weaknesses for your own benefit. ***Sem:*** Social behaviour – take advantage of. ***CTX:*** *pebofatšo* 'euphemism'.

P

Pĕla ĕ hlôkilê mŏsĕla ka gǒ rŏmêlêtša. ***(lit)*** *A rock-rabbit (hyrax) lacked a tail because of sending others.* ***(fig) Sot*** Go fela motho a tlwaela go laeletša ba bangwe gore ba mo tlele le dilo bakeng sa gore a ye ka noši, o tlo no fela a hlaela le dilo tšeo di mo lebanego ka baka la go tšwafa ga gagwe. ***Eng*** A person that likes to send other people to do things on his/ her behalf usually misses out on great opportunities in life. ***Sem:*** Work and occupation - laziness, opportunity; Behaviour – irresponsible. ***CTX:*** *kgegeo* 'irony'

Pinyana gê ĕ rĕ ping, ĕ kwêlê ping yê kgŏlŏ. ***(lit)*** *When a young black bird says "ping", it heard the older black bird.* ***(fig) Sot*** Bana ge ba dira ditiro tšeo di belaetšago, ke tšeo ba di bonego go batswadi goba bagolo ba bona. ***Eng*** Children's behaviour is often learnt from their parents or elders. ***Sem:*** Behaviour; Life - child-rearing. ***CTX:*** *leekiši* 'onomatopoeia'; *kgegeo* 'irony'.

Pŏlawa kĕ mŏng ga ĕ na lĕbĕlô. ***(lit)*** *Killing by one's own has no speed.* ***(fig) Sot*** Ge motho a

hlokofatšwa ke wa gabo ga a na boyo goba mo a ka tšhabelago gona. ***Eng*** When a person is illtreated or abused by one of his/her own, friend or relative, they have nowhere to run. ***Sem:*** Social behaviour - relationships, disunity. ***CTX:*** *pebofatšo* 'euphemism'

Pudi gê ě šitwa gŏ tswala ě rě mŏkaka kě ô mŏnnyaně. ***(lit)*** *When a goat is unable to give birth it says its udder is too small.* ***(fig) Sot*** Motho ge a bona a palelwa ke mediro ya gagwe o bea batho ba bangwe molato gore ke bona ba mo emego pele, ba mo paledišago go phetha mediro ya gagwe ka tshwanelo. ***Eng*** People often like to make excuses for their failures. ***Sem:*** Behaviour - carelessness, irresponsible; Work and occupation – failure. ***CTX:*** *pebofatšo* 'euphemism'

PH

Phatasědiba ě těě, bŏntši tša tla ka gŏ nwa. ***(lit)*** *The well-digger is alone, many only come to drink.* ***(fig) Sot*** Go šomeng go na le bao ba sa ratego go šoma, fela go jeng gona ga go na yo a ganago go ja gobane go ja le bose go phala go šoma. ***Eng*** Many people will refuse to work but will want to reap the rewards. ***Sem:*** Work & occupation – laziness. ***CTX:*** *pebofatšo* 'euphemism'

Phiri ya mĕkôkaměbêdi ě phatlŏga nôka. ***(lit)*** *A hyena with two loads splits its hip.* ***(fig) Sot*** Go leka go leka mediro ye mentši ka nako e tee go thata gobane e tlo go palela ka moka gomme le o tee wo o ka o kgonago. ***Eng*** Trying to do too many things all at once always leads to failure in all. ***Sem:*** Work and occupation – failure. ***CTX:*** *pheteletšo* 'hyperbole'

Phukubjê ya tshěla mŏêdi kě mpšana. ***(lit)*** *When a jackal crosses a valley it is a small dog.* *(fig) Sot* Motho ge a etela nageng ye e sego ya gabo o khutiša mekgwanakgwana ya gagwe ka moka gore a šale a bonala e ke ke motho wa go loka, ka moso a tlo ba hlanogela mola a šetše a tlwaetše. ***Eng*** When a person is a guest or a foreigner they usually hide their true nature and behave well only to reveal their true nature later when they have settled. ***Sem:*** Behaviour – personality, manners (well-mannered). ***CTX:*** *pebofatšo* 'euphemism'

R

Rě lêbŏga nthŏlê, rě gana nthwěšê. ***(lit)*** *We thank remove a burden from me, we refuse emburden me.* ***(fig) Sot*** Mokgwa wa batho ke go leboga dilo tšeo di tlišwago malapeng a bona fela go hlallela batho dilo tša go thata gagolo gomme le lehufa le be le tsene ka gare. ***Eng*** It is easier to receive than it is to give. ***Sem:*** Behaviour - selfish, greedy. ***CTX:*** *kgegeo* 'irony'; *kodutlo* 'sarcasm'

Rě tlô rě rě rě kě dipitsi, ra bôna ka mĕbala. ***(lit)*** *We will say they are zebras when we see the*

colours. ***(fig) Sot*** Batho ba kgodišwa fela ke selo se ba se bonago e sego seo se bolelwago fela pele se direga. ***Eng*** People believe by seeing not by hearsay. *Sem domains:* Language and thought - mind, belief.

Rutang bana ditaŏla lě sě yě natšô badimŏng. ***(lit)*** *Teach the children divining bones and do not go with them to the ancestors.* ***(fig) Sot*** Batswadi rutang bana ba lena mekgwa ye mebotse le mabohlale ohle a lefase le a tsebago gore mohla le hwago bana ba lena ba šale ba phela go se matshwenyego. ***Eng*** It is important for parents to teach their children good behaviour and share their wisdom and knowledge so that they will be able to take care of themselves once their parents have passed on. ***Sem:*** Life – child-rearing; Language and thought – wisdom, teachings.

S

Sa kôša kě lěrŏlê. ***(lit)*** *Of a song is dust.***1.** ***(fig) Sot*** Go itatolela mošomo goba sengwe le sengwe seo motho a se dirago. ***Eng*** To work carelessly without any care on the outcome. ***Sem:*** Work and occupation - carelessnes, irresponsible, work poorly. ***CTX:*** *kgegeo* 'irony'. **2.** ***(fig) Sot*** Motho ge a hwetša batho ba šoma le yena a ba šomiše gobane a se dire bjalo ba tlo re ga loka gomme ba mo nyatša, le ge e ka bago modiro woo o dirwago ga o tsebe, gona fao o tlo no ba o thušitše. ***Eng*** When a person finds people working, he should help out even if he is not skilled on the task. ***Sem:*** Social behaviour – relationships, unity. ***CTX:*** *pebofatšo* 'euphemism'

Sěhlarě sa muši kě gŏ ŏ tlŏgêla. ***(lit)*** *The medicine for smoke is to leave it.* ***(fig) Sot*** Motho ge a bona gore o phedišwa ka go tšitlaganywa ke batho ba bangwe, bokaone ke gore a ba tlogele gomme a dule kgole le bona gore ba hloke maatla a go mo tshwenya. ***Eng*** If a person feels that he/she is being abused by other people, it is best to move and stay far from them. ***Sem:*** Social behaviour - relationships, disunity. ***CTX:*** *pebofatšo* 'euphemism'.

Sěyamŏšatê ga sě bŏě. ***(lit)*** *The one that goes to the palace does not come back.* ***(fig) Sot*** Motho ge a ile a nea motho yo mongwe selo ga se tshwanelo gore a bone e ke o mo neile sona ka phošo gomme a nyake go mo tšeela sona. ***Eng*** It is wrong to give something to a person and then want it back. ***Sem:*** Social behaviour - selfish, greedy. ***CTX:*** *kgegeo* 'irony'

Š

Šikiša dira lě mŏlapô, mphagô wa dira kě mêêtsě. ***(lit)*** *Make an army go along the valley, water is*

road provisions for armies. ***(fig) Sot*** Motho ge a šomiša batho mošomo a hlokomele gore a ba fepe ka dijo gobane maatla a go šoma a tšwa dijong. ***Eng*** When people are working for you, make sure you feed them so they can have the strength to work. ***Sem:*** Daily life – food; Body condition – strength. ***CTX:*** *kgegeo* 'irony'

Šilŏ, ilêla šilwana, a tlê šilwana a gŏ ilêlê. ***(lit)*** *Šilo, mourn over šilwana so šilwana can mourn over you.* ***(fig) Sot*** Motswadi yo a hlekago ngwana wa gagwe ka tshwanelo o dira ka bohlale gore le yena a tle a re mola a tšofetše, ngwana yo a mo hlokomele le go mo fepa ka tša bohlokwa. ***Eng*** It is important for parents to care for their children so that the children can also take care of the parents in their old age. ***Sem:*** Life – child-rearing. ***CTX:*** *poeletšomodumo* 'alliteration'

T

Taba ga ĕ lalĕ. ***(lit)*** *News do not lie down (sleep).* ***(fig) Sot*** Taba ge e diregile ga e ke e sa kwale bathong le ge e ka no utwa bjang le bjang. ***Eng*** News travel fast even if you try to hide it. ***Sem:*** Language and thought – communication, news, message. ***CTX:*** *mothofatšo* 'personification'

Tau gê ĕ rôbêtšĕ ĕ rôbêtšĕ lĕ mênô a yôna. ***(lit)*** *When a lion is sleeping, it is sleeping with its teeth.* ***(fig) Sot*** Motho ge a ile a se be a bona ge go jewa, a se ke a llela gore nkabe a šielwe sesola sa gagwe gobane go se be gona ga gagwe ke gobane o be a sa ja tša mo a bego a le gona. ***Eng*** If people eat in your absence then you should not complain that they should have left some for you because the assumption is that you ate while you were out. ***Sem:*** Daily life – food; Behaviour – greed. ***CTX:*** *kgegeo* 'irony'

Têbŏgô ya mŏêtapĕlĕ kĕ lĕhlapa. ***(lit)*** *A leader's gratitude is a swear word.* ***(fig) Sot*** Moetapele wa batho ge a sa phela batho ba bontši ba fela ba sa mo rate ka baka la mediro ya gagwe le ge go bonala gore o thuša setšhaba. Sa batho ke go no fela ba mo seba le mo sema motho wa go se loke. ***Eng*** Leaders are often disliked by their subjects despite their good deeds that benefit the people. People usually speak evil of them and consider them to be evil-hearted. ***Sem:*** Social behaviour -government, authority. ***CTX:*** *pheteletšo* 'hyperbole'

TH

Thakadu ga ĕ kĕ ĕ tsêna mŏlĕtĕ gatĕĕ. ***(lit)*** *An ant-bear does not enter a hole once.* ***(fig) Sot*** Batho ge ba kile ba a ratana, le ge ba kgaogane ga ba ke ba lebalana, le mohlang ba gahlanago go tsošološa lerato leo kega bona. ***Eng*** If people were once in a relationship, they do not forget each other easily and it is easy for them to rekindle their love at any point. ***Sem:*** Social behaviour – relationships.

Thibêla-malwêtši ĕ phala kalafô. ***(lit)*** *Prevention is better than cure.* ***(fig) Sot*** Go lekola selo pele se ka senyega, goba go ipoloka ka go hlahloba mmele pele motho a ka lwala. ***Eng*** Taking care of something before it breaks down or taking care of one's well-being to avoid sickness. ***Sem:*** Daily life – prevention. ***CTX:*** *kgegeo* 'irony'

Thutêlabŏgŏlŏ ĕ a rôba. ***(lit)*** *Learning at an old age breaks.* ***(fig) Sot*** Go ithuta selo mola motho a godile go boima gagolo go fetiša ge motho a ithuta sona e sa le yo moswa gore a gole a se tlwaetše. ***Eng*** Learning new things at an old age is more difficult than at doing it at a younger age. ***Sem:*** Life - stage of life, old age, youth. ***CTX:*** *pebofatšo* 'hyperbole'

TL

Tlala ĕ ntšhitšê nôga mŏlĕtĕng. ***(lit)*** *Hunger brought the snake out of its hole.* ***(fig) Sot*** Motho ge a swerwe ke tlala, le ge a ka leka gore o a ikuta a ka se ke a kgona gobane tlala e le bohloko gomme mafelelongna tlo ba a tšwela kgakala go kgopela dijo goba go di šomela gore a iphološe. ***Eng*** No matter how hard a peson hides themselves from other people, it will be hard because eventually they will have to come out due to hunger. ***Sem:*** Daily life - hunger, thirst. ***CTX:*** *kgegeo* 'irony'

Tlŏgatlŏga ĕ tlŏga kgalê, mŏdiši wa kgômŏ ŏ tšwa natšô šakêng. ***(lit)*** *Leaveleave leaves a long time ago, the cattle herdsman leaves the kraal with them.* ***(fig) Sot*** Mang le mang o swanetše go ithuta mediro e sa le yo moswa gore mohla a godile a tle a kgone go e šoma gabotse go fetiša ge a ka ithuta yona mola a godile gobane a ka se e tsebe ka tshwanelo. ***Eng*** It is best to learn to do things when a person is still young because it becomes difficult when one is grown. ***Sem:*** Life - stage of life, youth, learn. ***CTX:*** Anaphora

Tlôu gê ĕ ja mĕrĕ ĕ a ikapŏla. ***(lit)*** *When an elephant eats trees, it undresses itself.* ***(fig) Sot*** Motho ge a senya motse wa gabo a tsebe gore le yena o itshenyetša ka noši gobane o tlo sengwa motho yo mobe. ***Eng*** When a person destroys his own home or community, he is ruining things for himself because his dignity and character will be ruined and people will lose respect for him. ***Sem:*** Language and thought – mind, stupid; Behaviour - immature in behaviour, irresponsible. ***CTX:*** *kgegeo* 'irony'

TS

Tsêbê ga ě na sěkhurumêlô. ***(lit)*** *An ear does not have a lid.* ***(fig) Sot*** Go sebana kgauswi le motho yo mongwe ke kotsi gobane le ka re le re ga a le kwe, kganthe o gare o theeleditše sephiri seo sa lena. ***Eng*** It is risky to discuss private matters next to another person because you can never be sure if they can hear you or not. ***Sem:*** Body functions - listen, hear, eavesdrop. ***CTX:*** *kgegeo* 'irony'; *kodutlo* 'sarcasm'

Tsěla ya kgalê ě lahla lěšilô. ***(lit)*** *Only a fool gets lost on an old path.* ***(fig) Sot*** Selo seo se tsebjago ke mang le mang ga se ke se palela motho go se hlatha. ***Eng*** Anything that is widely known can easily be understood by everyone. ***Sem:*** State – easy; Language and thought. ***CTX:*** *kgegeo* 'irony'

Tswala e a bolaya, e bolaile Matlebjane. ***(lit)*** *Birth kills, it killed Matlebjane.* ***(fig) Sot*** Ngwana o ke a no re mola a godišitšwe gabotse a tloge a fetogele motswadi wa gagwe lenaba le le šiišang. ***Eng*** It is not surprising for children to be raised well but grow up and change to become mischievous and unprincipled. ***Sem:*** Life – child-rearing.

TŠ

Tša etwa ke ya tshadi pele, di wela ka leope. ***(lit)*** *Should they be led by the female one, they fall into a ditch.* ***(fig) Sot*** Banna ge ba ka laolwa ke basadi ba tlo no fela ba wela dikotsing le diphošong tše dintši tšeo di sa ba swanelago gobane ba laolwa ke yo a sa tsebego selo e bile a se na maatla. ***Eng*** When men are led by a woman, they often get into trouble and make endless mistakes because women are inexperienced and weak. ***Sem:*** Gender discrimination

Tše di ratanago le phokeng di a lala. ***(lit)*** *Those that love each other even sleep in the dew.* ***(fig) Sot*** Batho bao ba botanago ke bao ba rego ge yo mongwe wa bona a wetše kotsing gomme ba hlatlolane le go phela ka go lwelana. ***Eng*** People who trust each other always help each other out of trouble and protect each other. ***Sem:*** Relationships, Friends (friendship), Trust

Tšiê ě fŏfa ka mŏšwang. ***(lit)*** *A locust flies on chyme.* ***(fig) Sot*** Motho ge a jele ke gona a kgonago go hwetša maatla a go šoma gobane maatla a go šoma a tšwa dijong. ***Eng*** Energy and strength to work or do anything comes from food. ***Sem:*** Daily life – Food; Body condition – strength. ***CTX:*** *kgegeo* 'irony'

TSH

Tshêkaŏêmĕ ě phalwa kĕ tshêkaŏrôbêtšĕ. ***(lit)*** *To be tried while sleeping is better than being tried*

while standing. ***(fig) Sot*** Go rera molato ka lebelo go phalwa ke go rera ka tlhokomelo go se lebelo. ***Eng*** It is best to try a case slowly instead of rushing it so it can be done with care. ***Sem:*** Behaviour – patience. ***CTX:*** *poeletšomodumo* 'alliteration'

Tshêtlŏ ya lla rĕ a lata ra lahliša pshikila mĕrwalô. ***(lit)*** *When a honey-guide cries we follow and make a liar drop the load.* ***(fig) Sot*** Motho ge a go bitša mo arabe gore o bone selo seo a go biletšago sona, gore ge e ka bago o go biletša maaka o name o mo hloboge, fela ge e le gore o go biletša selo sa tshwanelo gona o name o mo tshepe. ***Eng*** When someone calls you, you should heed the call to check if there is a reason and if not, then you can prove that for yourself. ***Sem:*** Behaviour – trust. ***CTX:*** *kgegeo* 'irony'.

TŠH

Tšhailê ga sĕ gŏ sĕnya kĕ gŏ thabiša makgwahlê. ***(lit)*** *Time to stop work is not to ruin anything, it is to please single (unmarried) people.* ***(fig) Sot*** Go khutša mošomong ke taba ye e ratwago ke bahlanka le ge e le gore beng ba mešomo bona ba rata ge nkabe go sa khutšwe gore mešomo ya bona e phethekge ka pela gomme ba tle ba boelwe ka yona. ***Eng*** All workers enjoy taking a break from work while their bosses wish they could work continuously so they can reach their targets quicker. ***Sem:*** Work and occupation. ***CTX:*** *kgegeo* 'irony'

Tšhipu ĕ rilê kĕ lĕbĕlô mŏhlaba wa rĕ kĕ nabilê. ***(lit)*** *A spring hare said I am fast, malt said I am stretched out.* ***(fig) Sot*** Motho wa manganga go fela a wela dikotsing ke ga gagwe gobane a gana go eletšwa, gomme a fela a re yena o tseba gagolo go fetiša batho ka moka. ***Eng*** A stubborn person will always find himself/ herself in trouble because they never heed advice and believe that they know better. ***Sem:*** Behaviour – stubbornness. ***CTX:*** *pheteletšo* 'hyperbole'

Tšhwênĕ ga ĕ ipônĕ makôpô. ***(lit)*** *A baboon does not see its eye ridges.* ***(fig) Sot*** Ga go motho yo a kgonago go bona diphošo goba mafokodi a gagwe fela o kgona gagolo go bona ba bangwe. ***Eng*** It is easy to see other people's faults, flaws and weaknesses, and not your own. ***Sem:*** Behaviour – hypocricy. ***CTX:*** *kgegeo* 'irony'; *kodutlo* 'sarcasm'

W

Wa gêšŏ kĕ wa ka gôdimŏ. ***(lit)*** *The one belonging to my family is the one on top.* ***(fig) Sot*** Motho re tumiša yo a fenyago, fela yo a fenywago ga se wa lena. ***Eng*** People praise the person that is winning or is successful in life and reject the one that is losing or is seen as a failure. ***Sem:*** Behaviour – hypocricy. ***CTX:*** *kgegeo* 'irony'; *pebofatšo* 'euphemism'

Us: Maloko a ANC ga a na botshephegi, wa bo bona ke wa ka godimo gore a ba fe maemo ka palamenteng.

'ANC members are untrustworthy, their family is the one on top so they can give them seats in the parliament.'

Wa hlôka kgŏa ŏ hlôka mŏwišêtši. ***(lit)*** *If you lack a scandal (rumour), you lack the person to make it fall on you.* ***(fig) Sot*** Motho ge a sa bolelwe ka ditiro tša gagwe tše mpe ke gore o a tšhabega. ***Eng*** If no one is talking about you or your evil deeds it is because people fear you. ***Sem:*** Social behaviour – reputation. ***CTX:*** *kgegeo* 'irony'

Wa ithuta mŏlôdi bŏgŏlŏng, mŏlômô ŏ tlô sĕkama. ***(lit)*** *If you learn to whistle in adulthood, your mouth will slant.* ***(fig) Sot*** Thuto ya nnete ke ge motho e sa le ngwana gobane ge a ka rutwa mola a godile gona o tlo pala. ***Eng*** Learning a new skill at a late stage in life makes it more difficult and nearly impossible. ***Sem:*** Life - stage of life, youth, old age. ***CTX:*** *pebofatšo* 'euphemism'

Y

Ya bŏêla pitšêng ĕ a swa. ***(lit)*** *If it returns to the pot, it burns.* ***(fig) Sot*** Motho ge a ka re mola a sodilwe ka baka la bobe bjo a bo dirilego gomme a hlwa a sa boelela go senya gape gona kotlo ye a tlogo otlwa e tlo ba ye kgolo ka go fetiša. ***Eng*** If a person is punished for a crime but repeats the same thing again then the punishment becomes harsher than the first one. ***Sem:*** Behaviour - immaturity, carelessness, irresponsible. ***CTX:*** *kgegeo* 'irony'*; pheteletšo* 'hyperbole'

Ya šika lĕ yê ĕ garagŏ lĕ yôna ĕ tlô gara. ***(lit)*** *If it goes along with one that coils it will also coil. (fig) Sot* Motho yo e sego mosenyi ge a ka gwerana le motho yo e lego mosenyi le yena o tlo fetoga mosenyi gobane bosenyi bo fetela ka pela gobane bo kgodiša dikganyogo tša mmele. ***Eng*** If a good person befriends a criminal then he/ she will eventually become a criminal too. ***Sem:*** Behaviour; Relationships - types of people. ***CTX:*** *pebofatšo* 'euphemism'

Yê thata ĕ sêgwa dikôtsĕ. ***(lit)*** *The hard one is cut its shields.* ***(fig) Sot*** Motho wa maatla le kgotlelelo medirong ya gagwe o holofelwa ke batho bohle gobane a kgona go ba thuša ka tšeo ba di hlokago tša go bopa bophelo bja bona. ***Eng*** A strong and resilient person is trustworthy and is therefore, helpful to people. ***Sem:*** Behaviour - reliability, honesty.

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