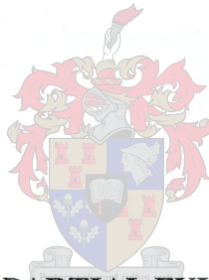


NEGATIVE CONSTRUCTIONS IN ISIXHOSA

BY

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UNIVERSITY OF STELLENBOSCH**

STUDY LEADER: PROF. J.A. DU PLESSIS

DATE SUBMITTED: MARCH 2000

DECLARATION

I, the undersigned hereby declare that the work contained in this assignment is my own original work, and has not been previously, in its entirety or in part been submitted at any other university for a degree.

MTHUTHUZELI TODD JOBELA

ABSTRACT

THE NEGATIVE CONSTRUCTION IN ISIXHOSA

This study aims at the investigation of negation in IsiXhosa with the main emphasis on negative morphemes and negative constituents.

This study examines negative morphemes that effect negation in verbs such as copulative and non-copulative verbs in all moods and tenses. This investigation will take the Noun Phrase as the centre of focus. **NP** will be examined with both specified and unspecified noun as head.

Chapter one deals with the brief overview of negation in syntax with special emphasis on negation as an inflectional category and on the structure of functional phrases.

Chapter two investigate the negative morphemes in the different moods with different tenses. These moods will be considered with regard to copulative and non-copulative verbs. Secondly this chapter explores negative construction involving the copulative verb and its complements which include the **NP**, adjective, relative, **PP** with **NGA** and **PP** with **na**. Deficient verbs properties are explored.

Chapter three aims at investigating the possibilities of putting different constituents of a sentence in the negative. These possibilities include subject inversion, clefting and etc. Modal structure theory is applied.

Chapter four aims at summarizing the findings contained in the previous chapters.

OPSOMMING

Hierdie studie het as doel 'n ondersoek na die negatief in Xhosa, veral die negatiewe morfeme en die negatiewe konstituente. Dit ondersoek negatiewe morfeme wat 'n invloed het op die negatief in werkwoorde soos die kopulatiewe en nie-kopulatiewe werkwoorde in alle modi en tye. Hierdie ondersoek het as fokuspunt die naamwoordgroep. Die naamwoordgroep is ondersoek met 'n gespesifiseerde en nie-gespesifiseerde naamwoord as kern.

Hoofstuk een gee 'n kort oorsig oor die negatief in sintaksis met spesiale nadruk op die negatief as 'n infleksie kategorie en op die struktuur van funksionele frases.

Hoofstuk twee ondersoek die negatiewe morfeme in die verskillende modi met verskillende tye. Hierdie modi is ondersoek met verwysing na kopulatiewe en nie-kopulatiewe werkwoorde. Tweedens, ondersoek hierdie hoofstuk die negatiewe konstruksie met die kopulatiewe werkwoord en sy komplemente wat insluit die naamwoordgroep, adjektief, relatief en preposisionele groepe met **nga** en **na**. Die eienskappe van hulpwerkwoorde is ook ondersoek.

Hoofstuk drie ondersoek die moontlikhede om verskillende konstituente van 'n sin in die negatief te plaas. Hierdie moontlikhede sluit in subjeksinversie en split.

Hoofstuk vier gee 'n opsomming van die bevindings in die vorige hoofstukke.

DEDICATION

This study is dedicated to the following important people:

Noluthando Dinah & Don

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1. CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

1.1 AIM

This study aims at the investigation of negation in isiXhosa with the main emphasis on negative morphemes and negative constituents.

This study examines negative morphemes that effect negation in verbs such as copulative and non-copulative verbs in all moods and tenses. This investigation will take the Noun Phrase as the centre of focus. **NP** will be examined with both specified and unspecified noun as head.

1.2 NEGATIVE IN SYNTAX (INFLECTION)

1.2.1 INFLECTIONAL CATEGORIES

IsiXhosa verb is regarded as having two parts, i.e. a verbal and an inflectional category. The verb **ba-ya-cul-a** represents a phonological word. This verb in syntax can be divided into the verbal category [V] i.e. [cul-] and various inflectional categories such as mood, tense and agreement. This verb **ba-ya-cul-a** has present tense, indicative mood and subjectival agreement **ba**. The inflection [I] category may appear as a feature representing various morphemes such as mood or tense. The inflectional category may have lexical content such as progressive **sa** as an **aspect** category.

The functional categories are also known as inflectional categories. IsiXhosa have five of them: **tense, mood, aspect, agreement and negative**. The inflectional categories play a role in establishing dependencies between parts of a sentence and they are represented as heads projecting X-bar phrases i.e. any morphosyntactic formation such as a negative morpheme or tense morpheme which corresponds to a functional category in a language is syntactically the head of a maximal projection. The categories above are the heads of a maximal projection. **Mood** is the head of the maximal projection mood phrase (MP), tense (T) of tense phrase (TP).

1.2.1.1 Mood

The following are examples of **moods** as head of the maximal projection **mood phrase**:

1.2.1.1.1 Indicative

Imoto [i-ya-baleka]

Amasela [a-ya-baleka]

1.2.1.1.2 Subjunctive

Ndifuna ukuba [i-baleke]

Ndifuna ukuba [a-baleke]

1.2.1.1.3 Potential

i-nga-baleka

a-nga-fika

1.2.1.2 Tense

The following are examples of **tense** as the head of the maximal projection **tense phrase**.

1.2.1.2.1 Present tense

i-ya-baleka

a-ya-goduka

1.2.1.2.2 Future tense

i-za ku-fika

a-za ku-tya

1.2.1.2.3 Perfect

ihambile

agodukile

1.2.1.2.4 Past tense

ahamba

agoduka

1.2.1.3 Aspect

Tabulated below are examples of **aspect** as head of a maximal projection **aspect phrase**:

1.2.1.3.1 Progressive

With progressive [**sa**]

i-sa-hamba

a-sa-goduka

With exclusive [**ka**]

a-yi-ka-lambi

a-wa-ka-tyi

Completion

Ndifika [besitya]

Ndiyibona [ihamba]

1.2.1.4 Agreement

Listed below are examples of **subject agreement (AgrS)** as maximal projection **subject agreement phase AgrSP**

i-ya-hamba

a-ya-tya

The following are examples of **object agreement [AgrO]** as head of a maximal projection **object agreement phrase (AgrOP)**:

Ba-ya-yi-betha

Si-ya-zi-thanda

1.2.1.5 Negative

Listed below are examples of the **negative morphemes** as the head of maximal projection **negative phrase [NEGP]**

Bathethe [abayeka]

Zihambe [azabuya]

1.2.2 THE STRUCTURE OF FUNCTIONAL PHRASES

1.2.2.1 The clausal constituents

The clausal constituents are [IP] inflectional phrase and [CP] (complementizer phrase).

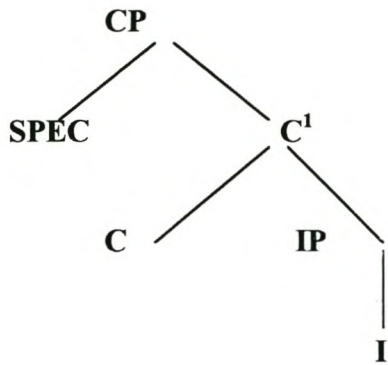
These categories are determined by functional heads:

Inflectional phrase is dominated by inflection. Inflection splits into different functional heads: negative, tense, aspect, agreement and mood.

Complementizer phrase is dominated by complementizer. Complementizer introduces a sentence i.e. an inflectional phrase.

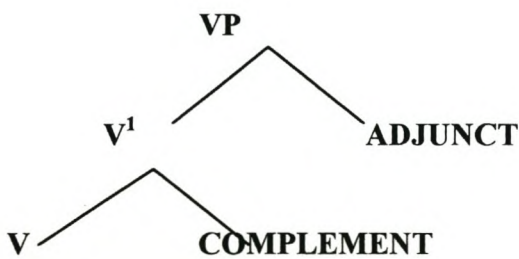
Then complementizer selects an inflectional complement.

Complementizer and inflectional phrase are therefore functional projections. The projections of functional head are therefore complementizer and inflection.



1.2.2.2 Phrasal constituents

Phrasal constituents are lexical items such as **noun**, **verb**, adjective, preposition as head. These phrasal constituents are noun phrase, verb phrase, adjective phrase (prepositional phrase) and noun, verb, adjective and preposition are the heads or zero level projections.

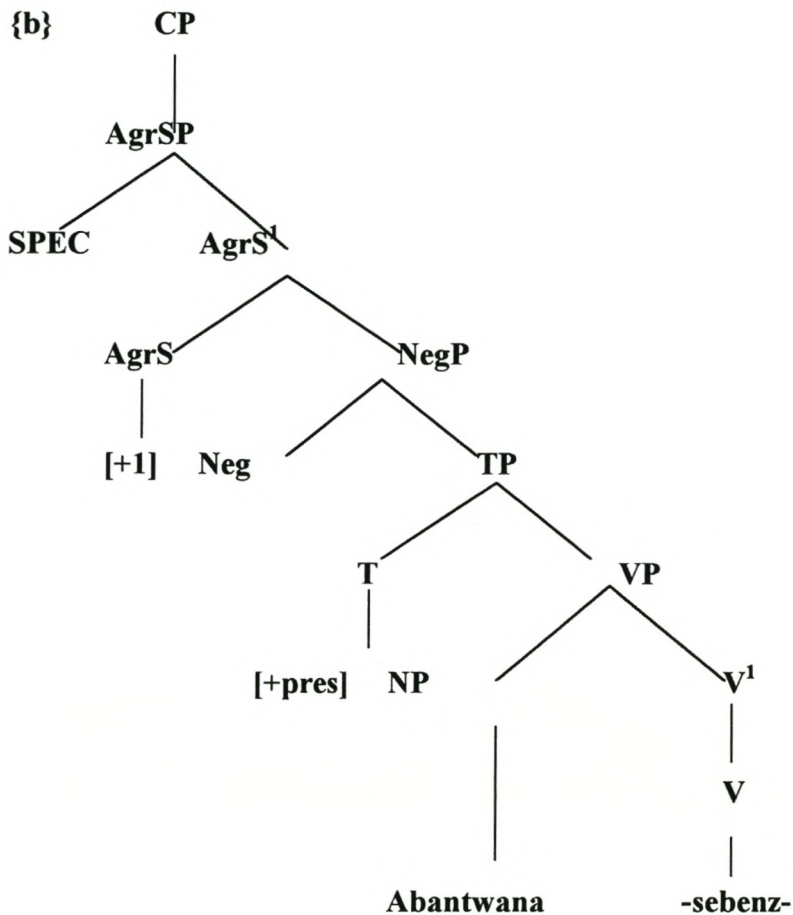


1.2.2.3 Complementizer phrase

Complementizer phrase (CP) refers to a sentence or clause. The head of complementizer (CP) is a complementizer {C}. The contents of a complementizer may be [\pm Q] (Q = question) where [+Q] refers to a question and [-Q] refers to a statement. Complementizer may also refer to the complementizer **ukuba**. The complementizer is related to inflectional phrase which may consist of the following categories: subject agreement (**AgrS**); object agreement (**AgrO**); tense phrase, aspect phrase (**AspP**) and negative phrase.

The sentence that follows appears with a deep structure:

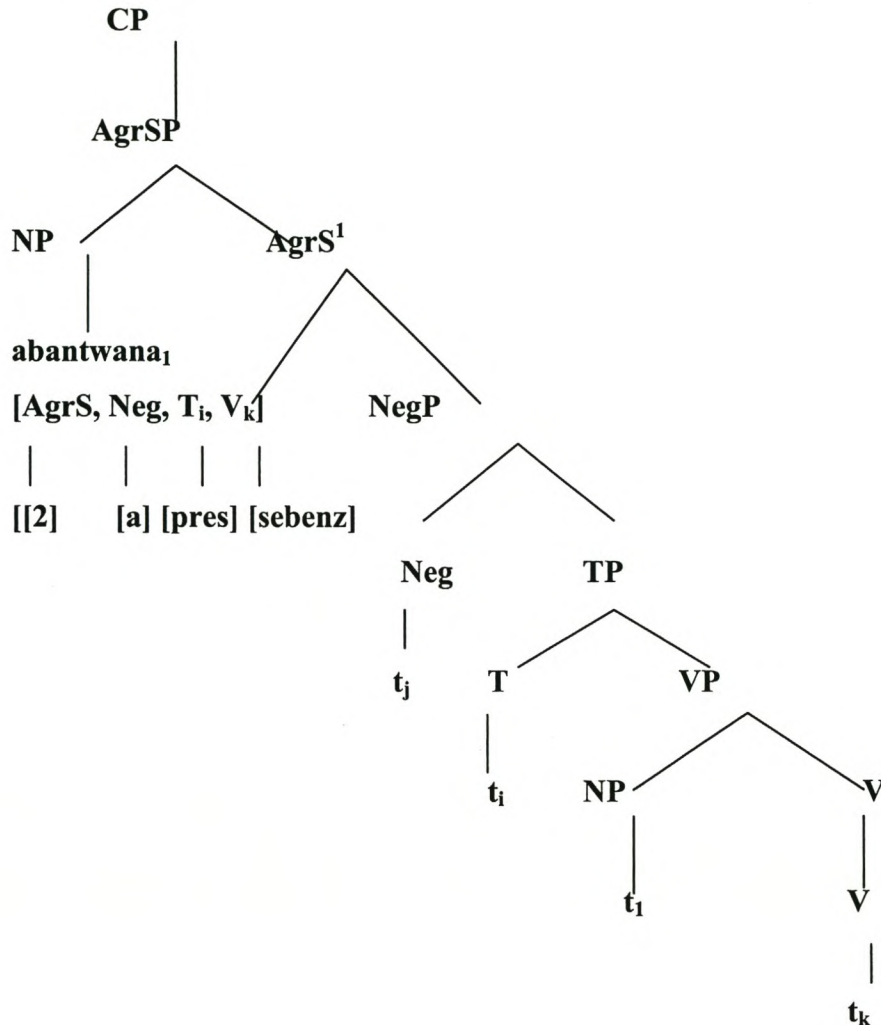
- {1} {a} Abantwana abasebenzi
 (The children are not working).



The argument **abantwana** in the above structure has been realised internally in the **verb phrase**. Lexical categories are inside the maximal projections of verb i.e. verb phrase. There are three functional categories: subjectival agreement, negative and tense. The specifier [spec] of agreement is empty to allow raising of **abantwana** to that position.

After movement of the various categories the structure would have the following form:

{2}

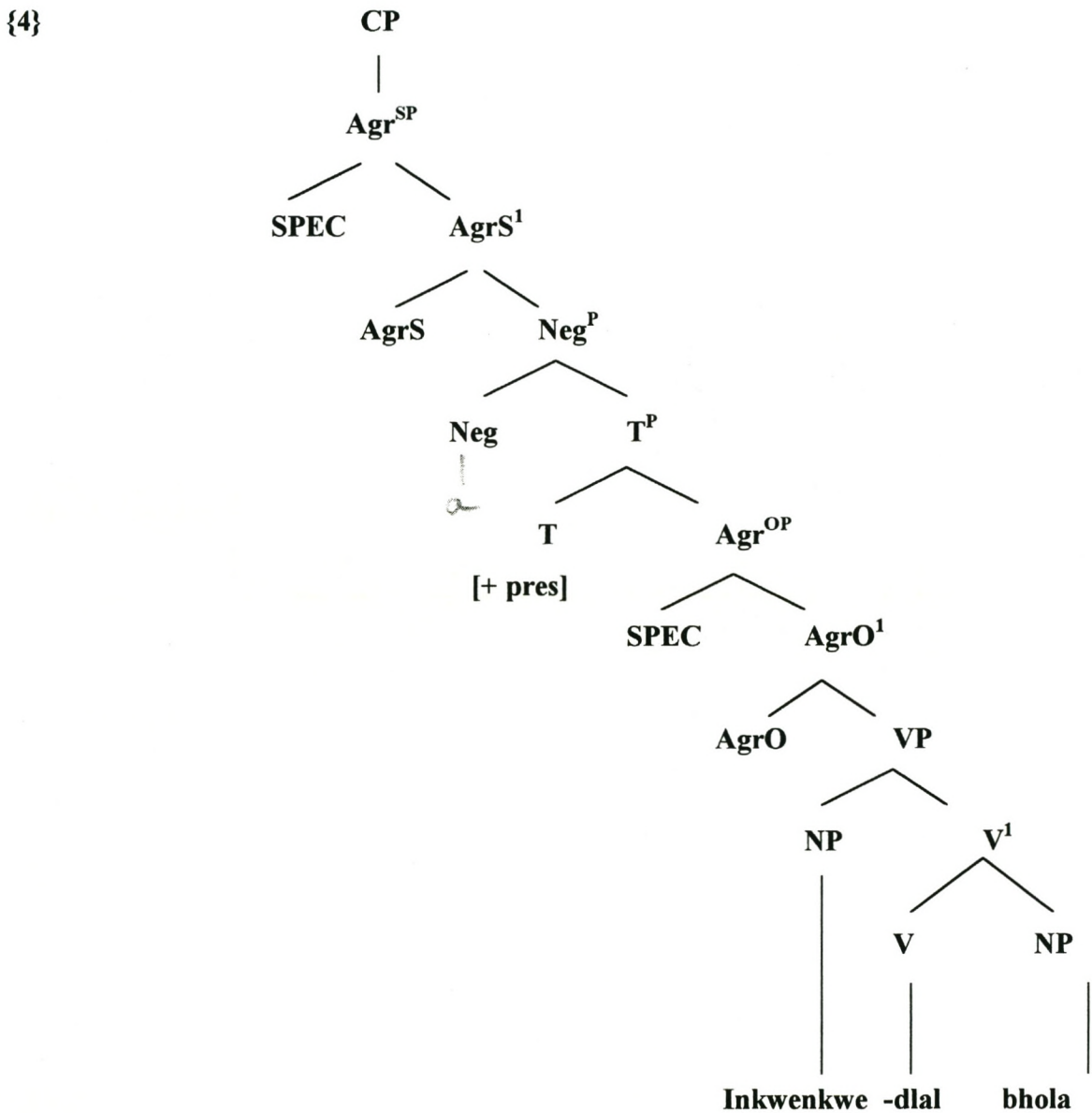


The argument subject **abantwana** has been moved to specifier position of agreement leaving behind trace (t). Tense (T) has to move to allow for case assignment to **abantwana**. The combination of agreement and tense will assign nominative case to **abantwana**. The verb **sebenz-** has to be raised to **AgrS** to allow the inflectional categories like negative **Neg** and the verb to form a surface structure verb.

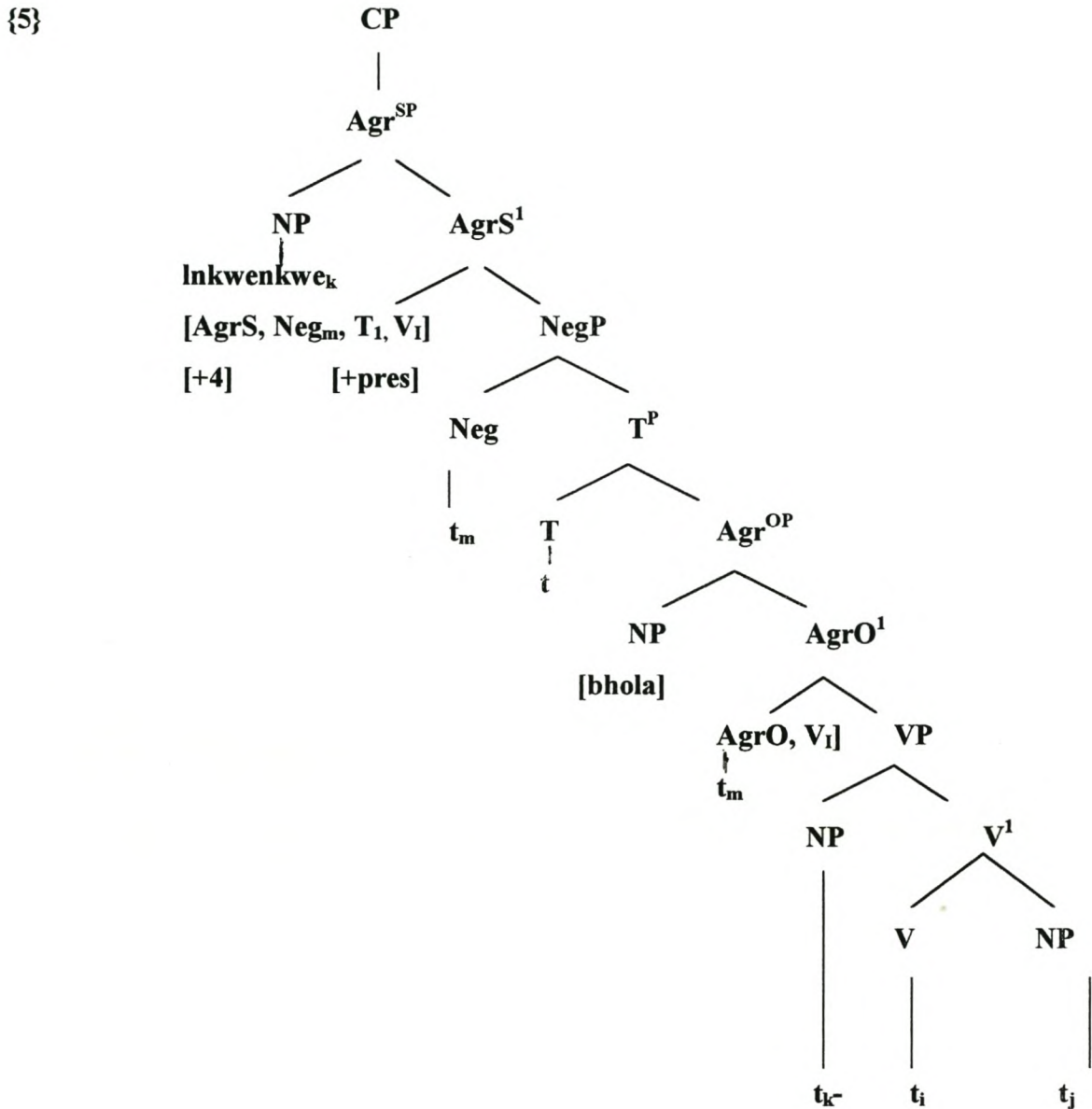
In the example that follows an internal (NP) argument (**bhola**) has been added in the object position:

- {3} Inkwenkwe a-yi-dlali bhola
 (The boy is not playing soccer)

The sentence can be represented by the following structure:



An extra functional category in this deep structure has been added –*ie* objectival agreement (**AgrO**). After raising the various categories, the S- structure would be as follows:



The subject argument **Inkwenkwe** has been raised to the specifier of **AgrS**. The verb **-dlal-** adjoins to **AgrO** while the object **ibhola** covertly raises to specifier position of **AgrO**. The combination of **AgrO** and verb will then allow the accusative case assignment to **ibhola**. The verb will then have to move to **AgrS** to allow a surface structure verb.

1.3 THE NEGATIVE IN SEMANTICS

1.3.1 THE THEORY OF MODAL STRUCTURE

Modal structure has to do with the semantic interpretation of sentences which include the conditions under which (NPs) in a sentence are claimed to have identifiable referents.

The conditions of identifiability of referents are determined by a class of markers called (modal operators): future, negative, questions, unrealised, possible, multiple, generic and quantifier.

Associated with each lexical item bearing a modal operator is a structural relation called the scope of the modal operator. The scope of the modal operator is the portion of the sentence within which the modal operator affects claims on the identifiability of referents.

Each modal operator has a modal condition which may be placed on the identifiability of noun phrase referents within the scope of modal operator. A noun phrase subject to a modal operator (**unrealised**) (in English) is claimed to have an identifiable referent only upon realization of the realised situation. The modal conditions make different claims about the identifiability of referents.

The modal projection rule is a rule of semantic interpretation which establishes claims made about a particular noun-phrase in a particular sentence. It brings about coherence between the modal structure of a sentence and syntactic structure. This rule states that a **Noun Phrase** that is within the scope of a modal operator is dependent on it. If a noun is outside the scope it does not depend on that modal operator.

1.3.2 NEGATIVE

Negative as a modal operator in isiXhosa is investigated. Usually noun phrases in isiXhosa are interpreted as specific e.g.

- {6}** **{a}** [**Inkomo**] isela [**amanzi**] edamini
(The cow drinks water from the dam)
- {b}** [**Umfundisi**] ufunda [ibhayibhile engcwele]
(The priest reads the holy Bible)

In the sentence in **{6}** above the nouns are specific. They have identifiable referents. There is a particular cow that drinks the water. The referent can then be identified.

Noun phrases occurring within the modal operator **NEG** outlined above are open to the option of being either specific or non-specific depending on whether they are dependent on the verb or not e.g.

- {7}** **{a}** Inkomo ayiseli [**manzi**] edamini
(The cow is not drinking any water from the dam)
- {b}** Inkomo anyiwaseli [**amanzi**] edamini
(The cow is not drinking water from the dam)
- {c}** u Mfundisi akafundi [**Bhayibhile**] engcwele
- {d}** Umfundisi akayifundi [**iBhayibhile**] engcwele
(The priest is not reading a holy Bible)

The [**NPs**] that occur in **{7}** after the negative verb i.e. within the scope of modal operator **NEG** and they may optionally be either specific or non-specific.

They will also be non-specific as in **{7}{a, c}** but specific in **{7}{b, d}**: in this last instance they are only specific because they appear with **Agro wa** in **{7}{b}** and **yi** in **{7}{d}**.

CHAPTER 2

NEGATIVE MORPHEMES

2.1 AIM

The aim of this section will be to investigate the negative morphemes in the different moods with different tenses. These moods will be considered with regard to copulative and non-copulative verbs.

2.2 NON-COPULATIVE VERBS

The negative of the non-copulative verbs will be considered first.

2.2.1 INDICATIVE

The first mood to be considered is the indicative which is the mood of statement or factivity.

The Indicative will always need a negative morpheme [a].

The following is a list of this negative morpheme with the negative subjectival agreement morpheme:

{a}	1ps	a-ndi-
	1pp	a-si-
	2ps	a-wu-/a-ku-
	2pp	a-ni-

Class

1. a – ka –
2. a – ba –
3. a – wu –
4. a – yi –
5. a – li –
6. a – wa –

- a – ka –
7. a – si –
8. a – zi –
9. a – yi –
10. a – zi –
11. a – lu –
14. a – bu –
15. a – ku –

Locative class a – ku –

Within the indicative mood the tenses will be considered separately.

2.2.1.1 Present Tense

The following are examples in the indicative mood within which one find the positive in the present tense.

- {10}** **{a}** Abafana [bayaxhentsa]
 (The young men are dancing).
- {b}** USipho [ubhala] kakuhle
 (Sipho writes well).
- {c}** Amadoda [asela] utywala
 (Men drink beer).
- {d}** Usisi [uyasipheka] isigwamba
 (My sister cooks vegetables).

In **{10a}** above the long form of the present tense is used. Such a form occurs when nothing follows after the verb or when the object agreement occurs together with the object as in **{10d}** The short form of the present tense is found in **{10b}** and in **{10c}**. In

both cases some category occurs after the verb e.g. an adverb in {10b} i.e. **kakuhle** and an NP in {10c} i.e. **utywala**.

The sentences above may appear in the negative as follows:

THE NEGATIVE WITHOUT AN OBJECT:

{11} {a} Abafana a-ba-xhents-i
(The young men are not dancing).

THE NEGATIVE WITH AN OBJECT:

{a} Without objectival agreement:
The noun phrase becomes indefinite i.e. it appears without its prefix:-
{b} La madoda a-wa-sel-i {tywala)
(These men do not drink beer).

WITH OBJECTIVAL AGREEMENT:

The noun phrase is definite i.e. it retains its prefix:

{c} La modado a-wa-bu-sel-i (utywala)
(These men do not drink beer).

The negative with a locative noun phrase:

The locative noun may appear without the locative prefix e-:

{d} (i) A-ndi-y-i {evenkileni}

- (ii) A-ndi-y-i {venkileni}
(I am not going to the shop).

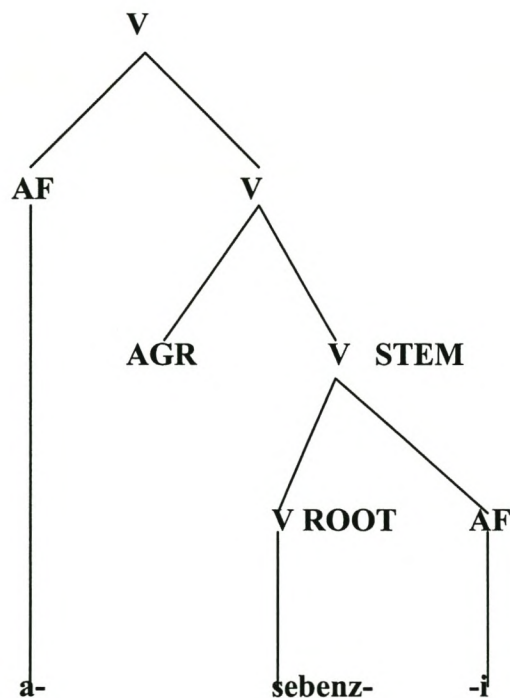
The negative with an infinitive clause:

The prefix of the infinitive ku may fall away:

- {e} (i) Andifuni {ukusebenza}
(ii) Andifuni (kusebenza)
(I do not want to work)

In all the negatives above one find the same forms. The difference between the long form and the short forms in the present tense has disappeared in the negative. These negatives must have the following Morphological Structure.

{12}



According to the structure in {12}, the present tense of the negative indicative must always have a prefix {a-} and this prefix must appear with negative suffix (-i):

[a-AgrS-V-i]

The negative suffix (-i) is sometimes not necessary : with verbs which do not end on the vowel (-a), the negative (-i) does not appear.

They may appear in the negative as follows:

- {13} {a} Aba bantu [ab-**azi**] nto
 (These people do not know anything).
- {b} La madoda [awa-**tsho**]
 (These men do not say no)
- {c} La madoda [awa-**thi**] masigoduke
 (These men do not say we should go).

with verb va:

- {14} Aba bantwana [abe-**va**] nto
 (These children do not hear / listen to anything).

With passive verbs the negative (-i) does not appear:

- {15} {a} Utywala [abuselwa] ngabafana
 (Beer is not being drunk by young men).
- {b} Inyoka [ayibanjwa] entloko.
 (The snake is not held by its head).

The copula in a copulative phrase after a passive verb may be left out in the negative.

- {16} {a} Abancedwa [ngabantu]
 {b} Abancedwa [bantu]
 (They are not being helped by people).

2.2.1.2 FUTURE TENSE

The following are examples in the indicative within which one finds the positive in the future tense.

- {17} {a} Amahashe [aza kubaleka] eKapa ngomso
 (Horses will run in Cape Town tomorrow).
 {b} [Siya kucula] nani kunyaka ozayo
 (We shall sing with you next year).

In {17} above the future is expressed in two ways: by the future tense morpheme [-za-] to indicate the immediate future and [-ya-] to indicate the remote future tense.

The future tense in Xhosa seems to be a derived form which originally made use of the motion verbs [-za-] and [-ya-] These motion verbs may be followed by an infinitival clause.

- {18} a-za [kubaleka]
 si-ya [kudlala]

In the negative of the future tense one can still find evidence of these motion verbs with an infinitive clause. The motion verbs will appear in the negative of the present tense followed by an infinitive clause.

{19} a-wa-z-i [ku-baleka]

The sentences in {17} may appear in the negative.

{20} {a} Amahashe [awazi kubaleka] eKapa ngomso
(Horses will not run in Cape Town tomorrow).

{b} [Asiyi kudlala] nani ngonyaka ozayo
(We will not play against you next year).

The negative of the indicative verb in {19} may be used in a shortened form without changing the meaning:

{21} **without ku:**

awazubaleka
(They will not run)

Asizudlala
(We will not play)

{22} **With ku:**

Abazukuya eCaweni
(They will not go to church)

2.2.1.3 PERFECT TENSE

Verbs in the perfect express two different meanings: **Stative** and **Non-Stative**. Stative perfect verbs indicate a state in which a person or object is:

- {23} Usana lulele
(The baby is asleep)

Non-Stative verbs are regular verbs in the perfect tense which may appear in long or short forms:

- {24} **Long form:**

aba bantu **bakhalile**
(These people cried)

- {25} **Short form:**

Aba bantu **bakhale** ecaweni
(These people cried in church)

- {26} **Stative Perfect:**

Ezi nkomo **zibhityile**
(These cattle are lean)

The shortened form of the indicative perfect does not occur at the end of a sentence: it must always be followed by something e.g.

- {27} Ndimbone eKapa
(I saw him in Cape Town)

In this case it is followed by a locative viz **e-Kapa**.

The long form does occur at the end of a sentence as in the following sentence.

- {28} Akazi ukuba **ndimbonile**
(He does not know that I have seen him).

In the negative of this tense there is a circumfix which has an affix [a] which is a prefix and [-anga] which is a suffix:

- {29} A-ndi-qond-anga
(I was not aware).

The verb **-tsho** has **-ongo** as suffix.

- {30} A-ka-tsh-**ongo**
(He did not say)

In the stative verbs there are two types of negatives.

- {31} {a} **Only the prefix [a]:**
a-nidi-lamb ile
(I am not hungry)
a-zi-lumk-ile
(They are not clever)
- {b} **The affix a- together with -anga:**
A-ndi-lamb-anga
(I am not hungry)
A-zi-lumk-anga
(They are not clever)

In the perfect tense the difference between the short and the long form will fall away:

{32} Short form:

Ndi-funde kakuhle

(I studied well)

Negative: A-ndi-fund-anga kakuhle

(I did not study well).

{33} Long form:

Aba bantu ba-fund-ile

(These people studied)

Negative: Aba bantu abafundanga

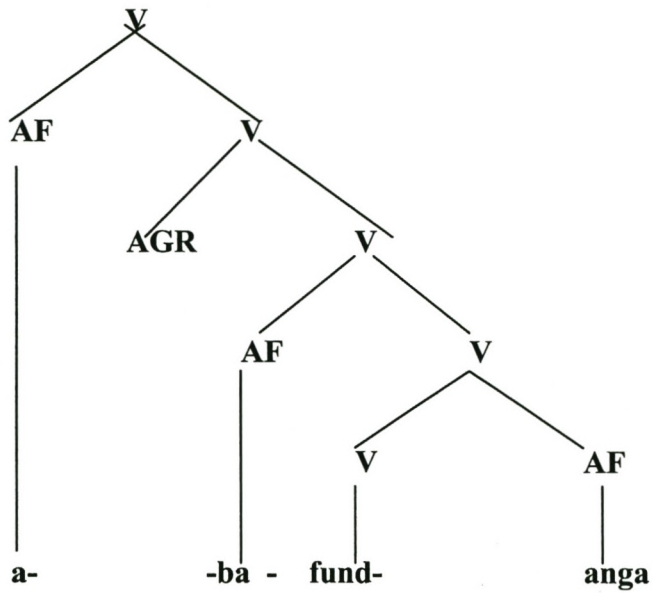
(These people did not study)

The negative has an influence on the object as in the present tense above:

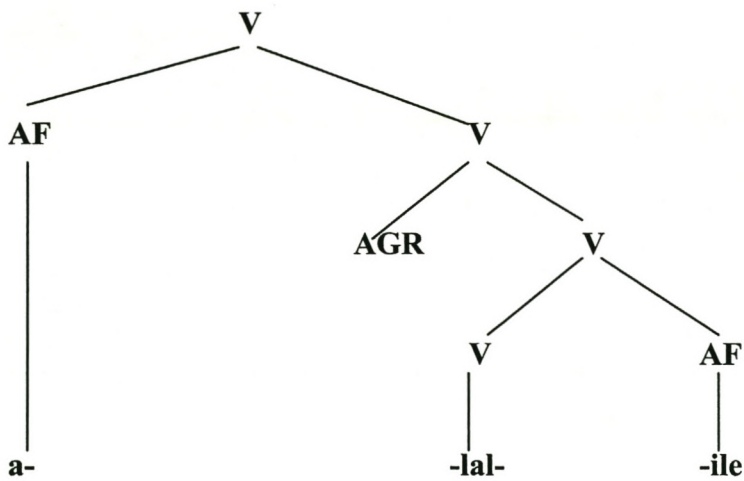
It makes the object indefinite if there is no objectival agreement morpheme.

The negative of the Perfect Tense shows the following morphological structures:

{34} Non-Stative Verb



{35} Stative Verb



2.2.1.4 A-PAST TENSE

The following are examples of the indicative mood within which one finds the positive in the A-past tense:

{36} {a} [Ndafunda] eBhayi ngo-1970
(I studied in Port Elizabeth in 1970).

{b} Lo mntwana [walahleka] kudala
(This child got missing long ago).

The verb in the A-Past tense of the indicative does not seem to have a negative of its own. Instead it is negated through the use of deficient verbs e.g.

{37} (a) [Andizange ndifunde] eBhayi ngo-1970
(I never studied in Port Elizabeth in 1970).

{b} Lo mntwana [akazange alahleke] kudala
(This child never got missing).

The A-Past tense shows something which had occurred long ago:

{38} [Mandulo] sasihamba ngenyawo
(Long ago we used to travel on foot).

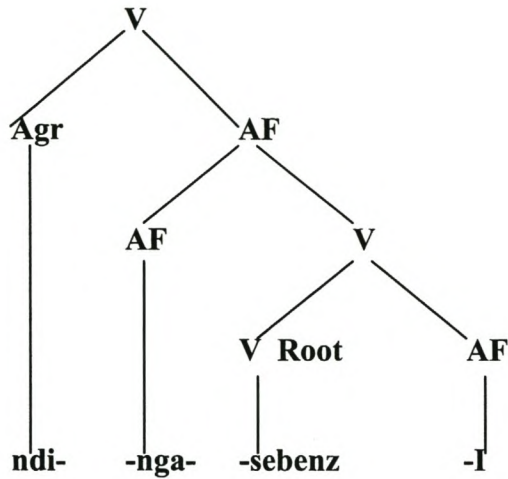
2.2.2 PARTICIPLE

The second mood to be considered will be the participial mood. The participial mood is always used with some other verb or clause to indicate a simultaneous action, and can therefore never be the main predicate of a sentence.

{39} Usindwa [ezama]
(He struggles whilst trying).

In {39} above the participle [**ezama**] cannot be the matrix predicate of the sentence. It complements the main predicate instead.

{42}



2.2.2.2 Future Tense

Below are the examples of sentences in which the participle is used in the future tense.

- {43} {a} Ndimbone [eza kufunda] incwadi
(I saw him while he was about to read a book).
- {b} Wafika [eza kucela] ukutya
(He came to ask for food).
- {c} Wahamba [esiya kulala]
(He went to sleep).

The sentences in {43} above may appear in the negative as follows:

- {44} {a} Ndibabone [bengazi kufunda] ncwadi
(When I saw them they were not reading a book).
- {b} Wafika [engazi kucela] kutya
(He did not come to ask for food).
- {c} Wahamba [engayi kulala]
(When he left he was not going to sleep).

According to the examples in {44} above the negative in the future tense of the participle must always have a negative formative [-nga-]. After the agreement of the subject a negative suffix [-i] will also appear as in the present tense.

[AgrS-nga-zi ku-V]

See also the section on the Future tense of the indicative.

In the future tense there are two motion verbs which both express future i.e. [ya] and [za].

With ya:

Ixesha **eliya** kuza (Remote future)

[Ya] is always followed by an infinitive e.g.

{45} Isikolo [siya kuvalwa] ekupheleni konyaka
(The school will close at the end of the year).

Therefore the motion verb [Ya] indicates that the closure of the school is still far away.

[Ya] is then used to express something which will happen a long time in the future.

With za:

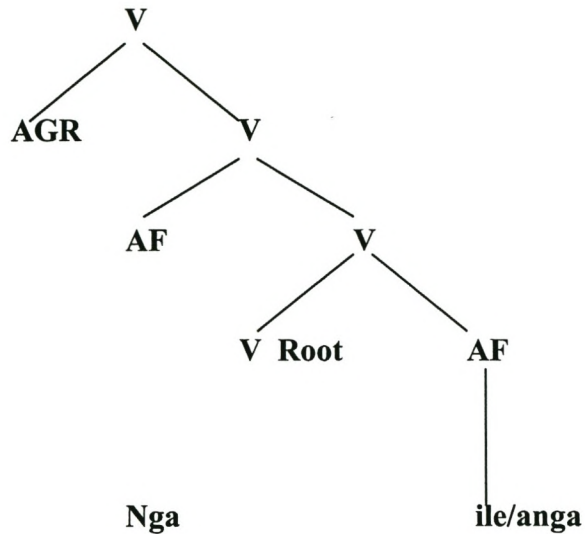
Ixesha eliza kuza (nearby future) Immediate future

{46} e.g. Izikolo [ziza kuvalwa] namhlanga
(The schools are going to close today).

The motion verb [za] is always used when referring to the immediate future as referred in sentence {46} above.

The examples as shown above have the following morphological structure:

{50}



2.2.2.4 A- Past tense

The A-Past tense does not appear in the participle.

2.2.3 RELATIVE

The relative in IsiXhosa can be divided into two clauses:

Nominal relatives and Verbal relatives.

{51} **Nominal relative:**

Utywala [obumnandi]

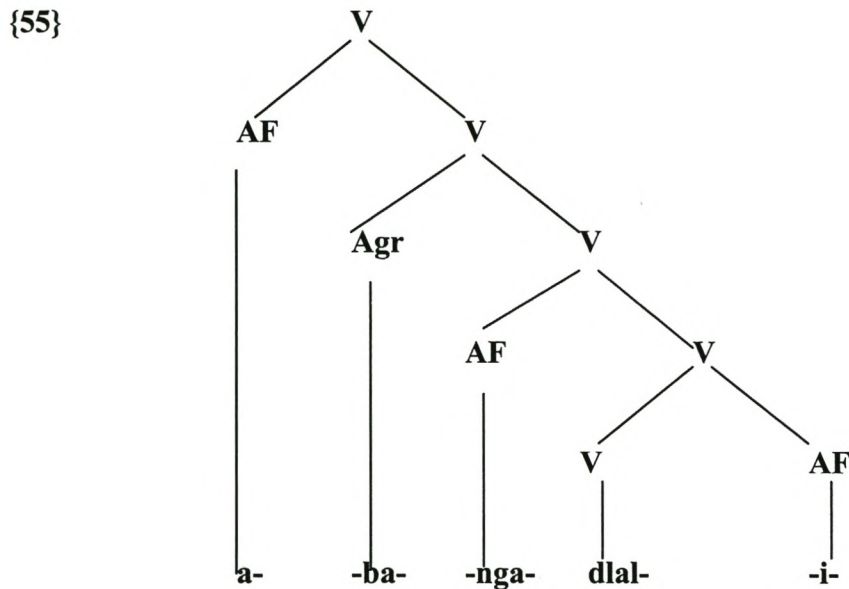
(A tasty liquor).

{52} **Verbal relative:**

Umtshini [osebenzayo]

(A working machine).

It has the following morphological structure:



The relative marker **-yo** occurs in the following instances:

First where the object agreement appears on the relative verb as in the sentences in {53c}:

{56} {a} Inkosi [endiyikhonzayo]
(The Chief that I worship).

Secondly, where the relative verb is not followed by a complement or adjunct:

{57} Inja [ekhonkothayo]
(A barking dog).

Thirdly, where the relative is followed by an adjunct e.g. a copulative noun phrase:

- {58} Umntwana [ofayo] yindlala
(A child who is dying (because) of hunger).

The relative marker **-yo** does not occur where the relative verb is followed by an object noun e.g.

- {59} Abantwana [abadlala] ibhola
(Children who play the ball).

It must be noted that in Isixhosa, the occurrence of the relative marker **-yo-** is compulsory in the negative with the long form,

- {60} {a} Inqwelo [e-nga-hamb-i-yo] ikhonkothwa zizinja
(A car which does not move)
{b} Ndibone indoda [e-ndi-nga-yi-fun-i-yo]
(I saw a man whom I do not like)

In the negative with the short form the marker **-yo** falls away:

- {61} {a} abantu **abangathengi apha**
(People who do not buy here)
{b} Indoda **engancedi** bantu
(A man who does not help people)

2.2.3.2 Future Tense

The positive of the future tense is used in the following examples:

- {62} {a} Bona [**abaza kucula**] mabashiyeke
(Those who are going to sing must remain behind).
- {b} Abantu [**abaya kumenywa**] ngabasebenzayo
(People who will be invited are those who work).
- {c} Izinto [**eziza kuthethwa**] zezigqityiweyo
(Things that are to be discussed are the finalised ones).

The same sentences in {62} may appear in the negative as follows:

- {63} {a} Bona [**abangazi kucula**] mabashiyeke
(Those who are not going to sing should remain).
- {b} Abantu [**abangayi kumenywa**] ngabasebenzayo
(Those who will not be invited are those who work).
- {c} Izinto **ezingazi kuthethwa** zezigqityiweyo
(Things not to be discussed are the finalised ones).

From these examples above one may conclude that the negative of the future tense must have the same negative morphemes of the present tense with **za** and **ya**.

2.2.3.3 Perfect Tense

The following are examples of the relative within which the positive of the perfect tense is used:

- {64} {a} Ukutya **okuleleyo** kuyingozi
(Left over food is poisonous).
- {b} Abantwana **abathethileyo** babhaliwe
(Children who have spoken have been noted).
- {c} Isikolo **esipaselwayo** sinconyiwe
(The school with many passes has been praised).

The same sentences may appear in a negative form with deficient verbs only:

- {69} {a} Umntu **ongazanga** afunde uyabonakala
(A person who never read is recognisable).
- {b} Umfazi **owayengantshatanga** ngengozi usahleli
(A wife that he did not marry accidentally still exists).
- {c} Abantwana **awayengabafumanga** kumtshato wokugala badala.
(Children that he did not get from the first marriage are old).

2.2.4 INFINITIVE

The infinitive is recognised by the class prefix –**ku-** which is prefixed to the stem of the verb. It is not marked for tense.

The following are the examples of the positive of the infinitive:

- {70} {a} Ndifuna **ukubona** indawo abelele kuyo.
(I wish to see the place where he slept).
- {b} Lo mntwana uthanda **ukulala** emini.
(This child likes to sleep during the day).
- {c} **Ukuthobela** ingqeqesho yabazali kulungile.
(To obey parent's teaching is good)

The following are the negative forms of the above sentences:

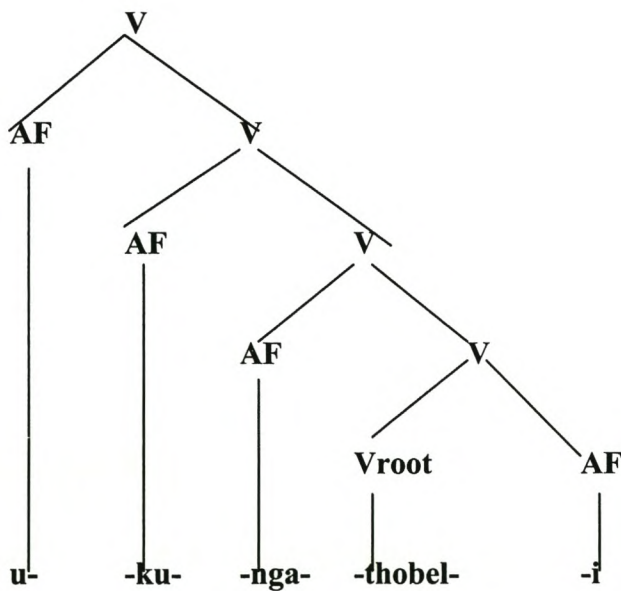
- {71} {a} Ndifuna **ukungaboni** indawo alele kuyo.
(I do not want to see the place where he slept).
- {b} Lo mntwana uthanda **ukungalali** emini.
(This child likes not to sleep during the day).

- {c} Ukungathobeli ingqeqesho yabazali akalungile.
(Not to obey parent's teaching is not good).

These examples show that the negative is formed by affixing **-nga-** after the prefix with a negative suffix **-i-** after the verb:

[u-Ku-nga-V-i]

{72}



2.2.5 SUBJUNCTIVE MOOD

The subjunctive is a mood which indicates that an action or state may or must possibly occur. The verb in this mood is not marked for tense.

Listed below are examples of the positive in the subjunctive:

- {73} {a} Ubawo unqwenela ukuba **sixhele** ibhokhwe.
(Father wishes that we should slaughter a goat).

- {b} Thandazani **nicele** iintsikelelo.
{Pray and ask for blessings}.
- {c} Kufanel'ukuba **nivuke** kuba kusile.
{You better wake up because it is a sunrise}.

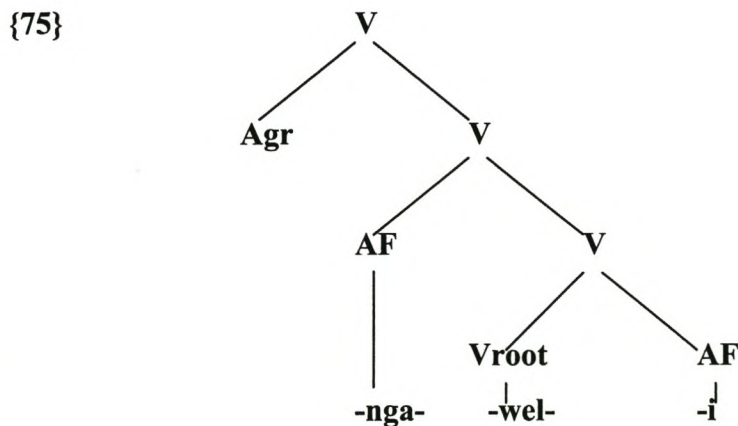
These sentences may appear in the negative as follows:

- {74} {a} Ubawo unqwenela ukuba **singaxheli** ibhokhwe.
{Father wishes that we should not slaughter a goat}.
- {b} Thandazani **ningaceli** iintsikelelo.
{Pray and do not ask for blessings}.
- {c} Kufanel'ukuba **ningavuki** kuba akukasi.
{You better not wake up because it is not yet sunrise}.

The negatives above show that the subjunctive must have an affix **-nga-** after the agreement of the subject and negative suffix **-i** after the verb:

[AgrS-nga-V-i]

It must have the following morphological structure:



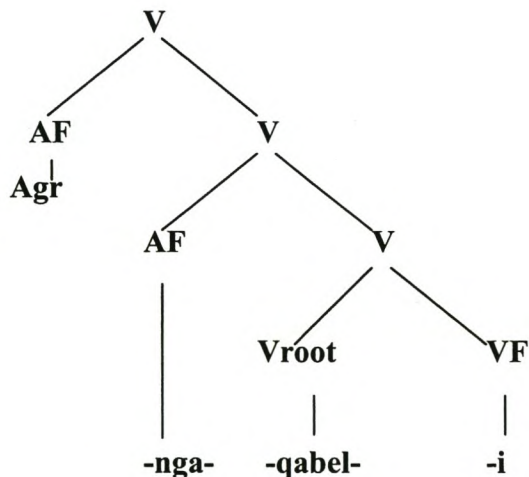
- {b} Uza kuhamba [angaqabeli milambo]
 (She will go and not cross rivers).

In the above examples i.e. {77} and {78} the negative of the present tense of the consecutive after a matrix clause in the present or future tense must have a negative affix – **nga-** after the agreement of the subject and negative suffix **-i-** which is a subjunctive negative:

[Agr S – nga – V – i]

It has the following morphological structure:

{79}



The following are the examples of the positive of a consecutive clause in the subjunctive that follows a subjunctive clause.

- {80} {a} Ndinqwenela ukuba [**andincede [andiphathele]**] imali
 (I wish that he may help me and give (bring) me money).

- {b}** Uthanda ukuba [**ndimhlambe** [**ndimsule**]] umqolo
(He likes that I wash him and dry his back).

The sentences above may appear in the negative as follows:

- {81}** **{a}** Ndingwenela ukuba [**andincede** [**angandiphatheli**]] imali.
(I wish that she may help me and not give (bring) me money).
{b} Uthanda ukuba [**ndimhlambe** [**ndingamsuli**]].
(He likes that I wash him and not dry his body).

In the above sentences the object noun in the verb phrase may lose its pre-prefix in the negative as illustrated by the following:

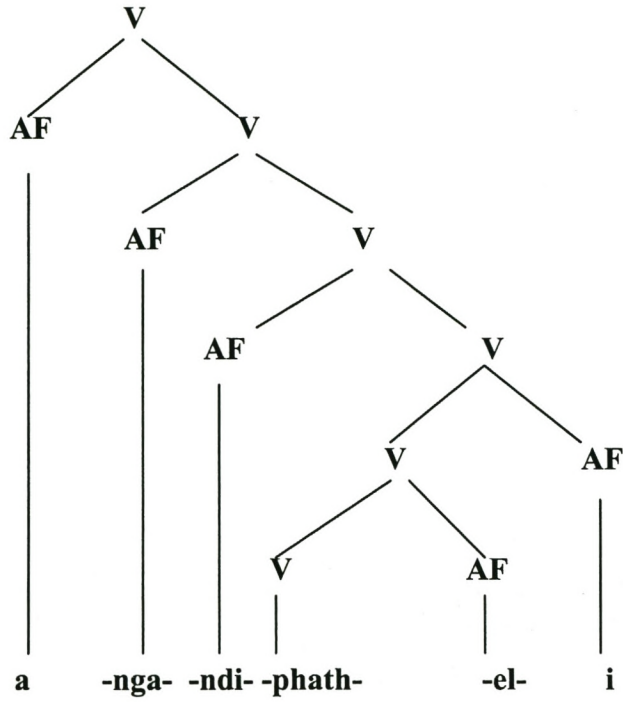
- {82}** **{a}** Ndingwenela ukuba [**andincede** [**angandiphatheli**]] [**mali**]
(I wish that he may help me and not (bring) give me money).
{b} Uthanda ukuba [**ndimhlambe ndingamsuli** [**mqolo**]].
(He likes that I wash him and not dry his back).

According to the examples in **{81}** and **{82}** the negative must have an affix **-nga-** after the subject agreement and negative suffix **-i**, which is a subjunctive negative.

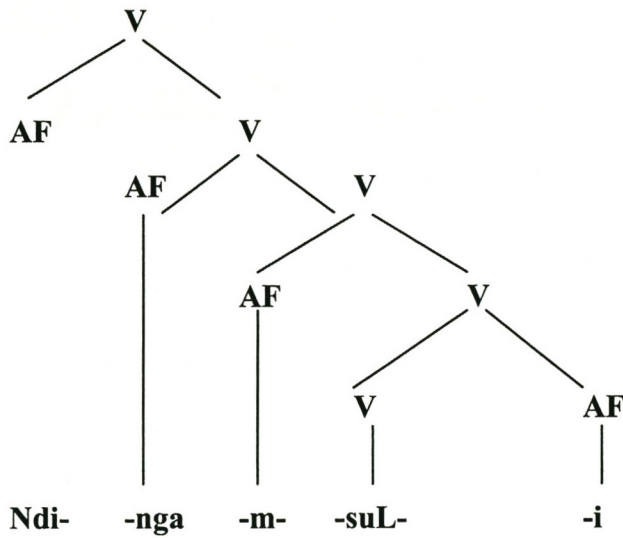
[AgrS – nga – AgrO – V – i]

They have the following morphological structure.

{83} {a}



{b}



The following are examples of the positive subjunctive which follows a matrix verb that is in the imperative:

- {84}** **{a}** **Yima unamele ilizwi**
 (Stand up and listen to a word (order)).
- {b}** **Yitya uhlambe izinja.**
 (Eat and wash up the dishes).

The sentences in **{84}** may appear in the negative as follows:

- {85}** **{a}** Yima [ungamameli ilizwi].
 (Stand up and don't listen to a word).
- {b}** Yitya [ungahlambi izitya].
 (Eat and do not wash the dishes).

The same sentences in **{85}** may appear in the negative with an indefinite object:

- {86}** **{a}** Yima ungamameli **lizwi**.
 (Stand up and do not listen to the word).
- {b}** Yitya ungahlambi **zitya**.
 (Eat and do not wash the dishes).

According to the examples in **{85}** and **{86}** the negative of the verb after the Imperative must have negative affix **-nga-** after the subject agreement and negative suffix **-i-** because it is a subjunctive verb.

The following are examples of the positive of the consecutive that follows a matrix verb which is in the perfect tense:

- {87} {a} Ndityale imbewu [**ndalindela** iziqhamo]
(I planted a seed and waited for the fruit).
{b} Umfazi umtshate [**wamthumela** ekhaya].
(A wife he married and sent home).

The consecutive consists of a morpheme [-a-] which combines with AgrS:

[u + a = wa]

The sentences in {87} may appear in the negative as follows:

- {88} {a} Ndityale imbewu [**andalindela** iziqhamo]
(I planted a seed and did not await fruit).
{b} Umfazi umtshate [**akamthumela** ekhaya]
(A wife he married and did not send home).

The same sentences in the negative form above {88} may appear with indefinite NPs:

- {89} {a} Ndityale imbewu **andalindela** [**zighamo**].
(I planted a seed and did not await fruit).
{b} Umfazi umtshate **akamthumela** [**khaya**],
(A wife he married and did not send home).

According to the examples above {88} and {89} the negative of the consecutive must have the negative affix [a-] before the subject agreement with consecutive -a-:

[a – Agr-S – a – V – a]

- {92} {a} [Ndingayitshata] intombi ka-President
(I can marry the daughter of the President).
- {b} Ubomi [bungamphalaza] umntu ongalumkanga.
(Life can corrupt a person who is not wise).
- {c} Isisu [singakuthwala] ukutya okumnandi.
(The stomach can carry food that is nice).
- {d} [Bangenza] abakuthandayo kula mabala abo.
(They can do what they like in these fields of theirs).

The sentences above may appear in the negative:

- {93} {a} [Andingeyitshati] intombi ka-President.
(I may not marry the President's daughter).
- {b} Ubomi [abungemphalazi] umntu ongalumkanga.
(Life may not corrupt a person who is not wise).
- {c} Isisu [asingekuthwali] ukutya okumnandi.
(The stomach may not carry food that is nice).
- {d} [Abangenzi] abayithandayo kula mabala abo
(They may not do what they like in these fields of theirs).

According to the examples above the negative of the potential must have a negative formative –nge- after the subject agreement and a negative suffix [-i]:

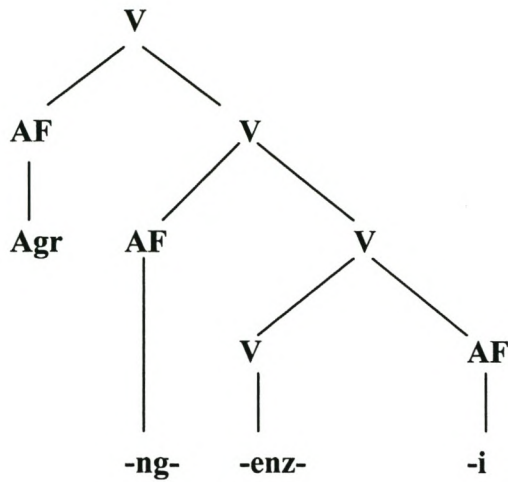
[AgrS – nge – V – i]

When affixed on to vowel verbs the –nge- becomes –ng- as in {93d} above.

[AgrS – ng – enz – i]

It has the following morphological structure:

{94}



2.2.8 IMPERATIVE

The imperative mood is a mood of command.

The following are examples of the positive of the imperative:

- {95} {a} [Hamba] ugoduke
 (Go home).
- {b} [Hlambani] umzimba nonke
 (Wash your bodies all of you).
- {c} [Thetha] ngokukhawuleza.
 (Speak quickly).

The sentences in {95} may appear in the negative as follows:

- {96} {a} [Ungahambi] ugoduke.
 (Do not go home).

- {b}** [Ningahlambi] umzimba nonke.
(Do not wash your bodies all of you).
- {c}** [Ungathethi] ngokukhawuleza.
(Do not speak quickly).

According to the examples in **{96}** the imperative is formed by affixing the negative formative **-nga-** after the subject agreement and suffixing negative formative [-i]:

[AgrS – nga – V – i]

It has the same morphological structure as the subjunctive.

The negative of the imperative may also appear with MUSA followed by the infinitive clause:

- {97}** **{a}** [Musa [ukugoduka]
(Do not go home).
- {b}** [Musani [ukuhlamba] umzimba nonke.
(Do not all wash your bodies).
- {c}** [Musa [ukuthetha] ngokukhawuleza
(Do not speak quickly)

2.2.9 HORTATIVE

The hortative expresses a wish. It has a subjunctive form which is preceded by **ma-**

The following are examples of the positive of the hortative:

- {98}** **{a}** [Masisebenze] sonke ngoku.
(Let us all work now).

- {b}** [Mazivalwe] izikolo ezingathembekanga.
(Let unreliable schools be closed).
- {c}** Amahashe am [mawaphumle] namhlanje.
(Let my horses rest today).
- {d}** Umntwana wam [makasebenze] namhlanje.
(Let my child work today).

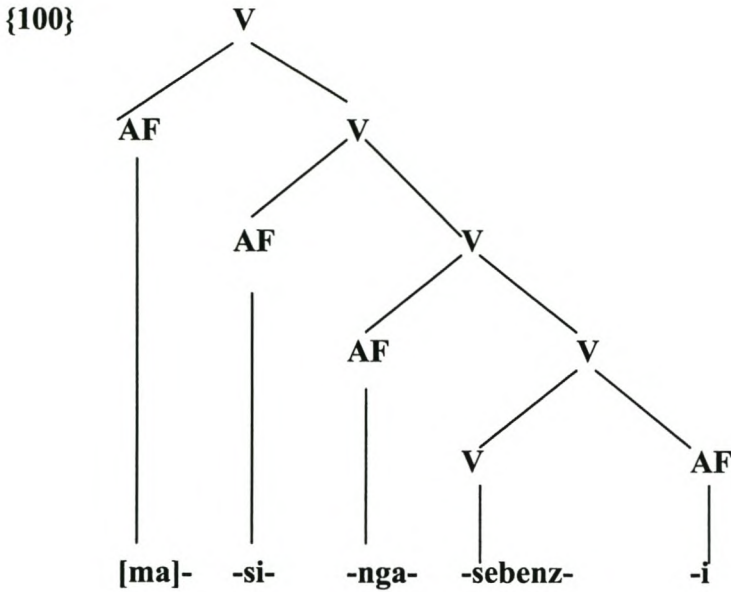
The sentences in **{98}** can appear in the negative as follows:

- {99} {a}** [Masingasebenzi] sonke ngoku.
(Let us not all work now).
- {b}** [Mazingavalwa] izikolo ezingathembekanga.
(Let us not close the unreliable schools).
- {c}** Amahashe am [mawangaphumli] namhlanje.
(Let my horses not rest today).
- {d}** Umntwana wam [makangasebenzi] namhlanje.
(Let my child not work today).

From the above examples in **{99}** the negative of the hortative must have an affix **-nga-** after the subject agreement and negative suffix **-i** as is the case with the subjunctive mood:

[ma – AgrS – nga – V -i]

It has the following morphological structure:



2.3 THE COPULATIVE VERB

In isiXhosa there are two verbs which may play a role in the copulative:

- {a} the copulative verb **LI**; and
- {b} the copulative verb **ba**.

The copulative verb **LI** is the one which traditionally introduces a stative copulative.

The stative verb has no overt form in the surface structure of isiXhosa. In Proto Bantu this verb has been assumed to have the form **LI**, which is not found in present day isiXhosa. What seems to be remnants of it may be observed in isolated cases e.g. the **a** of the progressive **sa** and negative **nga** seem to have coalesced to form **e** under the influence of the **I** of **Li**. In this way the progressive **sa** became **se** and negative **nga** became **nge**.

This coalescence is found in the following examples:

- {101}** **{a}** Indlu yakhe [isentsha].
 (Her house is still new).
- {b}** Utshate umfana [ongemhle] ncam.
 (She has married a guy who is not so handsome).

However it is important to note that the influence of the I of LI is not evident in other instances, it seems to be confined to the above case:

The agreement morpheme with **a**- e.g. **ba**, **ka** and **a** do not change to **e**.

- {102}** **{a}** Lo mfana [akamdala kangako].
 (This man is not that old).
- {b}** Abantwana baphaya [ababadala].
 (Children of that place are not old).
- {c}** Amazinyo ale ndoda [awamade].
 (The teeth of the man are not long).

The copulative verb in isiXhosa may be represented in an abstract form in the lexicon as LI or COP, with a stative meaning.

The copulative verb **ba** with an inchoative meaning is the other verb which may also play a role in the copulative as the following examples demonstrate:

- {103}** **{a}** Ubusuku [bubabude] ebusika.
 (The night becomes long in winter).
- {b}** Abantu baba [nobubele] xa berholile.
 (People become friendly when they have got their salary).

The complements of the copulative may be any one of the following categories:

NP; AP; PP or CP.

In the following section the negative of the copulative will be investigated with each complement in the indicative, participle and relative.

2.3.1 NP AS A COMPLEMENT

2.3.1.1 Positive

First the positive of the NP as complement of the copulative verb will be investigated.

The two verbs **Li** and the inchoactive **ba** which have been identified above, may regularly take noun phrases as complements.

2.3.1.1.1 With no Subject agreement

The copulative noun phrase may appear without subject agreement. In the following example [yitshomi] has no subject agreement:

{104} U-Andile [yitshomi yam] naxa sele elixhego.

(Andile is my friend although he is already an old man).

Itshomi has a copula on the noun. The copula is **yi** and it is one of various forms that the copula may take depending on the class prefix of the noun.

In IsiXhosa there are various ways to express this copula:

{105} Class

1.	Umfazi	ngumfazi
1.	Ugqirha	Ngugqirha
2.	Abantwana	Ngabantwana
3.	Umzi	Ngumzi
4.	Imizi	Yimizi
5.	Ilitye	Lilitye
6.	Amafu	Ngamafu
7.	Isitya	Sisitya
8.	Izitya	Zizitya
9.	Inja	Yinja
10.	Izinti	Zizinti
11.	Uluthi	luluthi
14.	Ubuso	bubuso
15.	Ukufa	kukufa

2.3.1.1.2 With Subject Agreement

The copulative verb with a noun phrase may appear with AgrS:

The agreement morpheme of the subject may appear with a subject NP:

- {106} {a}** UDon [ungumntwana wam oziphethe kakuhle].
 (Don is my child who is well behaved).
- {b}** Le ndoda [ingumzingeli ovunyiweyo].
 (This man is a known hunter).

They have the following structure:

[AgrS- [ngu –mntwana]

The use of the **AgrS** in isiXhosa is optional and when used, it is sometimes interpreted with emphasis. This would be evident if one was to compare the above sentence in {106} and the following sentence {107} which is without **AgrS**.

{107} UDon [ngumtwana wam ozibhethe kakuhle].
(Don is my child who is well behaved).

The **AgrS** in {106} stresses that he is not only my child who is well behaved, but he is the one child of mine who is well behaved.

2.3.1.2 Negative

In this section the negative of the copulative verb with a noun phrase complement as outlined above will be investigated in the indicative, participle and relative.

2.3.1.2.1 With no Subject Agreement

In this section the negative of the copulative verb with an NP with NO AgrS will be investigated. This investigation will only focus on the indicative because the participle and relative must always have AgrS.

The negative of the copulative with an NP complement which has prepositional agreement will be investigated, in which case no AgrS will appear and the following forms may thus only occur in the indicative.

The following are examples in the indicative:

- {108}** **{a}** uNosipho [asi[yiyo intanga yam]] ngoba....
 (Nosipho is not my peer because...).
- {b}** uNosipho [asi[yo ntanga] yam] ngoba...
 (Nosipho is not my peer because....)

According to the examples in **{108}** the negative of the copulative with no AgrS, but which has a prepositional agreement must have the negative prefix **a-** and negative affix **-si-**.

A further examination of **{108}** shows that in **{108}a** the prepositional agreement appears with a copula [yiyo]:

[a – si – [yiyo intanga yam]]

In **{108b}** the prepositional agreement is shortened to [yo] with loss of the copula:

[a – si – [yo ntanga yam]]

A third negative is also possible where the copula falls away. The noun will then be indefinite without any preprefix:

[a – si – ntanga yam]
(It is no friend of mine).

In this case an emphatic denial is realised.

The following forms of the negative of copulatives with an NP may appear in Xhosa:

	Full Agr	Shortened Agr	Indefinite
1ps	A – si – ndim		
1pp	A – si – sithi		
2ps	A – si – nguwe		
2pp	A – si – nini		
CLI	A – si – nguye umfo	A – si – ngo – mfo	A – si – mfo
2	A – si – ngabo abafo	A – si – ngo – bafo	A – si – bafo
3	A – si – nguwo umthi	A – si – ngo – mithi	A – si – mthi
4	A – si – yiyo – imithi	A – si – yo – mithi	A – si – mithi
5	A – si – lilo ilitye	A – si – lo – litye	A – si – litye
6	A – si – ngawo amatye	A – si – ngo – matye	A – si – matye
7	A – si – siso isitya	A – si – so – sitya	A – si – sitya
8	A – si – zizo izitya	A – si – zo – zitya	A – si – zitya
9	A – si – yiyo intaka	A – si – yo – ntaka	A – si ntaka
10	A – si – zizo – izinja	A – si – zo – zinja	A – si – zinja
11	A – si – lulo – ulugxa	A – si – lo – lugxa	A – si – lugxa
14	A – si – bubo – ubuso	A – si – bo – buska	A – si – buska
15	A – si – kuko ukutya	A – si – ko – kutya	A – si – kutya

2.3.1.2.2 With Subject Agreement

In this section the negative of the copulative with an NP complement with AgrS will be investigated.

- {109} Lo mntu a–si–yontombi
 Lo mntu a–yi–yontombi
 (This person is not a girl).

This morpheme **si** or **yi** does not agree with the subject which is **Lo mntu** in {109}. It is interpreted as an impersonal morpheme which may occur with all noun classes in the position of subject. It is a morpheme which is independent of the negative **a**. In the place of this impersonal morpheme an agreement morpheme of the subject may be used.

The negative – **si** – which appears together with the negative **a**- in the table above may be replaced by any subjectival agreement morpheme. The same three types of negative as above may appear with AgrS.

With full prepositional agreement:

{110} A – **ndi** – ngu – ye umfundi

With shortened prepositional agreement:

{111} A – **ndi** – ngo – mfundi

With indefinite negative

{112} A – **ndi** – mfundi

The negative **si** may be retained with AgrS:

{113} {**a**} Ukhozi lwaziqonda ukuba a – **lu** – **si** – nkuku.

(The eagle knew himself that he is not a chicken at all).

{**b**} Utitshala a – **ka** – **si** – yontanga yabantwana.

(The teacher is not a peer of children at all).

In some moods like the situative and relative some agreement morpheme in inflection is compulsory. In non-emphatic copulatives the impersonal morpheme **i** has to appear.

- {114} {a} Xa **i**-ngunina ndiza kumxelela.
(if it is her mother, I will tell her).
- {b} Xa **i**-lalam ityala ndiza kulihlawula.
(If it is my own debt, I will pay it).

The agreement morpheme of the subject may appear in the place of the **i** in {114} if it occurs with a subject:

- {115} {a} uThemba ndimshiye **e**-ngumntwana.
(I left Themba when she was a child).
- {b} Nangona uSipho **e**-ligqala akanamava.
(Although Sipho is middle-aged he has no experience).

The situative has to be used in {114} and {115} and also has to appear in the complement of certain deficient verbs like **be** and **ye**:

- {116} {a} Ya-**yi** bubusuku obungenanyanga.
(It was a night with no moonlight).
- {b} Eli gama la-**li**-ngelilo lona igama lakhe.
(This name was not his real name).
- {c} **Akwazi ukuba** ibe **i**-yimbizo?
(Do you not know that it was a meeting).
- {d} Aba bantu **be**-bengabamelwana **be**-zizihlobo.
(These people were neighbours and friends).

In {116} {a} and {c} the impersonal **i** is used while in {116} {b} and {d} the agreement morpheme of the subject appears.

In the case of relative clauses the agreement morpheme of the antecedent must occur in copulatives:

- {117} {a} Ngabantwana a-**ba**-ngamakhwenkwe
(It is children that are boys).
{b} Wenza amadangatye phambi kwabo **a**-ngumangaliso.
(He made flames before them which are a miracle).

In the negative of the participle and the relative the agreement morpheme must appear with the negative morpheme **nga** which usually changes to **nge** as it has been explained above.

With the non-emphatic copulative the impersonal agreement morpheme –i- appears in the negative.

- {118} Xa i-nge-ngo-nina, andizi kumxelela.
(If it is not her mother, I will not tell her).

With an overt subject the agreement morpheme of this subject must appear with the negative:

- {119} Ndifike uThoko [e-nge-ngo-mntwana]

Relative

- {120} UThoko o-nge-ngo-mfundi.
(Thoko who is not a student)

In the situative and relative one may find the same three forms of the negative as in the indicative above.

Situative

{121}

	Full Agr	Shortened Agr	Indefinite
1	Ndi-nge-ngu-ye umfundi	Ndi-nge-ngo-mfundi	Ndi-nge-
2	Si-nge-nga-boabafundi	Si-nge-ngo-bafundi	Si-nge-
3	Si-nge-ngu-wo umthi	Si-nge-ngo-mithi	Si-nge-
4	Si-nge-yi-yo imuthi	Si-nge-ngo-mithi	Si-nge-
5	Si-nge-li-lo ilitye	Si-nge-lo-litye	Si-nge-
6	Singe-ngawo amatye	Si-nge-ngo-matye	Si-nge-
7	Si-nge-siso isibane	Si-nge-so-sibane	Si-nge
8	Si-nge-zizo zibane	Si-nge-zo-zibane	Si-nge
9	I-nge-yiyo intaba	I-nge-yo-ntaba	I-nge
10	I-nge zizo iintaba	I-nge-zo-ntaba	I-nge
11	Inge-lulo usana	I-nge-lo-sana	I-nge
14	I-nge-bubo ubuso	I-nge-bo-buso	I-nge
15	I-nge-kuko ukusebenza	I-nge-ko-kusebena	I-nge

The negative **si** may combine with the negative **nga**. In such a case the negative **nga** will not change to **nge** as above.

{122} {a} e-nga-si-nguye umfundi

{b} e-nga-si-ngomfundi

{c} e-nga-si-mfundi

2.3.2 THE ADJECTIVE PHRASE (AP) COMPLEMENT

The adjective phrase is one of two complements of the copulative that occurs with copulative verbs only, and with no other forms of verb. The other one is the nominal relative phrase.

Adjective in IsiXhosa is limited in number and they form a closed system. The following is the list of the most widely used adjective stems arranged in the two semantic categories into which they fall:

{123} Descriptive

hle	(beautiful)	khulu	(big)
bi	(ugly / bad)	ncinane	(small)
de	(long)	ncinci	(small)
futshane / fuphi	(short)	tsha	(new)
dala	(old)		

{124} Quantitative

nye	(one)		
bini	(two)	ngaphi	(how many)
thathu	(three)	ninzi	(plenty)
ne	(four)	thandathu	(six)
hlanu	(five)		

Adjectives in IsiXhosa are morphologically marked with the class prefix of the subject of the sentence e.g.

{125} uSizwe mdala ngeminyaka.
(Sizwe is old in years).

The agreement morpheme on the adjective –**dala**, is the class prefix **m-** of the subject uSizwe. In the above sentence no agreement is found in **INFL** with adjectives. However, when aspectual morphemes such as **sa** are used with adjectives, an agreement morpheme with **INFL** becomes compulsory as the following example shows:

{126} Amasela a-se-maninzi
(Thieves are still many).

Agreement morphemes are also necessary with negative, past tenses and all cases of verb **ba** with adjectives as complements, and first and second person subjects as in the following:

{127} {a} Abafana balapha [ababahlanga]
(Young men of this place are not handsome).
{b} Aba bafundisi [ababaninzi]
(These ministers are not many).
{c} [Sibaninzi] abangenayo imali.
(There are many of us who do not have money).

2.3.2.1 NEGATIVE

In the following table the copulative with an AP- complement appears in the indicative. It has been put in the negative in which the subject of the copulative refers to the first and second person as well as various **NPs** which have as head a noun in one of the noun classes.

{128}	1ps	a-ndi- [m-khulu]
	1pp	a-si- [ba-khulu]
	2ps	a-wu- [m-hle]
	2pp	a-ni- [ba-hle]

Class

1	a – ka – [m-hle]
2	a – ba – [ba-hle]
3	a – wu - [mi-hle]
4	a – yi – [mi-hle]

5	a – li – [li-hle]
6	a – wa – [ma-hle]
7	a – si – [si-hle]
8	a – zi – [zi-hle]
9	a – yi – [n-tle]
10	a – zi - [zi-ntle]
11	a – lu – [lu-hle]
12	a - bu - [bu-hle]
13	a – ku – [ku-hle]

According to the above table, one could discern the following characteristics of these negatives:

First the negative morpheme [**a-**] before **AgrS** which appears only in the indicative:

{129} **Class 2:** [**a-ba-[ba-hle]**]

Secondly, as is evident from the table above negative subjectival agreement has to appear in all classes, e.g.

{130} **Class 4:** [**a-yi-[mi-hle]**]

Thirdly all adjective stems have to appear with the class prefix of the subject e.g.

{131} [Lo mfazi] [**a-ka** [m-hle]]
(This woman is not beautiful).

The noun prefix of class 1, which is **m** in the example above appears with the adjectival stem [**m-hle**].

The class prefix of class 1 and 2 are also used with 1st and 2nd person subjects.

- {132}** 1ps [a-ndi-[m-hle]]
2pp [a-ni[ba-hle]]

In class 10 the agreement falls away in the negative:

- {133}** [a-[zin – tle]]

The negative suffix –anga may sometimes appear in the negative on the adjective stem:

- {134}** U Nomsa a-ka-m-hl-**anga**.
(Nomsa is not beautiful).

The following stems may appear with –anga in the following sentences:

- {135}** {a} uNandi a-ka-m-b-**anga**.
(Nandi is not ugly).
{b} u Themba a-ka-m-d-**anga**.
(Themba is not tall).
{c} uSipho a-ka-m-futshan-**anga**.
(Sipho is not short).
{d} uTitshala a-ka-dal-**anga**.
(the teacher is not old).
{e} Umthi a-wu-m-khulw-**anga**.
(The tree is not big).

- {f}** amanzi a-wa-maninz-**anga**.
(The water is not so much).
- {g}** Amadoda a-wa-maninz-**anga**.
(The men are not many).
- {h}** le moto a-yi-ntsh-**anga**.
(This car is not new).
- {i}** le ndlu-a-yi-ncinan-**anga**.
(This house is not small).
- {j}** lo mntwana akamny-**anga**.
(This child is not one).
- {k}** Aba bafo aba-ba-bin-**anga**.
(These men are not two).
- {l}** Ezi zinja a-zininz-**anga**.
(These dogs are not many).
- {m}** Ezi zindlu a-zi-ntathw-**anga**.
(These huts are not three).
- {n}** Ezi mela a-zin-**anga**.
(These knives are not four)

There is an anomaly in the case of Class 9. The prefix of Class 9 is **{n-}** and this prefix is not syllabic in nature as the other prefixes and it needs a vowel in the positive for such an adjective to be acceptable:

- {136}** [le-ntombazana] [i-n-tle]
(This girl is beautiful)

The vowel **i** – is related to the agreement of Class 9, which is also **i**. In the negative the negative **AgrS** of **i** is **yi-**:

- [a-yi -[n-tle]]

According to the table below all negatives in the participle have to appear with subjectual agreement in the negative, e.g.

[e-nge – [m-hle]]

Secondly a negative morpheme **-nge-** occurs in all cases.

The negative **nge** is a coalesced form of the negative morpheme **nga** with a remnant of the old copulative verb [**LI**] which, most probably only occur as [**I**] in IsiXhosa.

[nga + i → nge]

TABLE OF SITUATIVE NEGATIVES:

{137}

1ps	ndi – nge – [m-khulu]
1pp	si – nge – [ba – khulu]
2ps	u – nge – [m – dala]
2pp	ni - -nge – [ba – dala]

CLASS

1. e-nge-[m-khulu]
2. be-nge-[ba-khulu]
3. u-nge-[m-khulu]
4. i-nge-[mi-khulu]
5. li-nge-[li-khulu]
6. e-nge-[ma-khulu]
7. si-nge-[si-khulu]

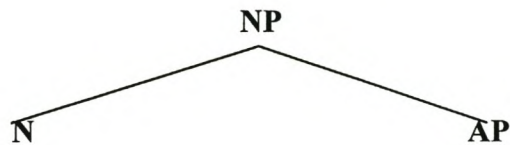
- 8. zi-nge-[zi-khulu]
- 9. I-nge-[n-kulu]
- 10. zi-nge-n-kulu]
- 11. lu-nge-[lu-khulu]
- 14. bu-nge-[bu-khulu]
- 15. ku-nge-[ku-khulu]

The noun class prefix which has to appear with the adjective stem follows the same pattern as with the indicative above.

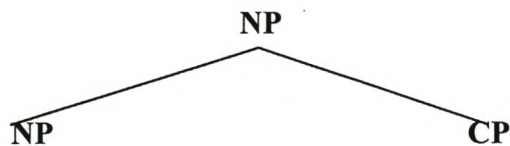
This **zi** – of Class 10 disappears.

The negative of the adjective in the relative has to appear with **Agr S**. The adjective in the positive will then change into a relative clause in the negative.

{138} {a} AP in the positive



{b} AP in the relative



The relative clause must have a copulative verb which is [LI] in the table below. The AP in the positive has no such verb.

TABLE OF RELATIVE NEGATIVES:

{139}	1ps	e – ndi – nge – [m – de]
	1pp	e – si – nge – [ba – de]
	2ps	o – nge – [m – de]
	2pp	e – ni – nge – [ba – de]

Class

1. o-nge-[m-dala]
2. a-ba-nge-[ba-dala]
3. o-nge-[m-dala]
4. e-nge-[mi-dala]
5. e-li-nge-[li-dala]
6. a-nge-[ma-dala]
7. e-si-nge-[si-dala]
8. e-zi-nge-[zi-dala]
9. e-nge-[n-dala]
10. e-zi-nge-[ndala]
11. o-lu-nge-[lu-dala]
14. o-bu-nge-[bu-dala]
15. o-ku-nge-[ku-dala]

According to the table above the negative of the relative follows the negative of the participle:

First, the negative morpheme **–nge** which is derived from [nga + i] is exactly the same in the participle and relative.

Secondly, an agreement morpheme has to appear before the negative –nge. This **AgrS** is the agreement of the relative and it frequently coalesces with the definite morpheme which appears with relative clauses.

Class 1 [a + u = o]

Class 2 [a + ba = aba]

Class 9 [a + i = e]

Thirdly the noun class prefix with the adjective stem behaves in the same way as with the participle.

2.3.3 THE RELATIVE NOUN PHRASE (NPrel) AS A COMPLEMENT

The relative noun phrase is the second of the complements which is exclusive to the copulative, the other being the adjective phrase. It has the same meaning as the adjective of description. Though it has a prefix, it does not function like a noun in a sentence, hence the relative feature **NPrel**. It has the following structure shown in the following example.

{140} Abantu abathembekileyo [AgrS **ba** [mbalwa]]
[People who are reliable are few].

In IsiXhosa **INFL** must always have an agreement morpheme with the relative complement; unlike the adjective which has no agreement of the subject with the complement in **INFL** as shown in the following.

{141} (a) Adjective [Intyatyambo] [zi – ntle]
(b) Relative [Umsebenzi] [AgrS u – nzima]]

It may also be found with the copulative verb **ba** e.g.

{142} Lo msebenzi [uza kuba nzima]

Relatives in IsiXhosa occur in an open system in comparison with the adjectives, which are a closed system. The following are the most well known relative stems:

{143}

mhlohpe	(white)	banzi	(wide)
bomvu	(red)	mxinwa	(narrow)
mnyama	(black)	ngaka	(so many\so much)
luhlaza	(green\blue)	ngakanani	– (how much\how big)
ntsundu	(brown)	mbalwa	(few)
mpofu	(grey)	bukhali	(sharp)
qanda	(yellow)	buthuntu	(blunt)
nzima	(difficult\heavy)	ngcono	(better)
lufifi	(faint\hazy)	ze	(naked\without)
lula	(easy\light)		
manzi	(wet)		
mnandi	(nice\sweet\tasty)		
dikidiki	(luke-warm)		
buhlungu	(painful)		
ntofofontofo	(soft)		
muncu	(sour)		

Some of the stems in {144} may appear with existential **ku** as shown in the following examples:

{144} (a) **Kumnandi ukufunda ngexesha**
(It is good to study in time).

- (b) **Kube buhlungu xa ebethwa ngumfama**
(It was painful when he was beaten by the farmer).

There are also some comparative elements that may appear as relative complements. The following is the list of some of these elements:

{145}

nje(na) like this)	ngakanani – (big as what)
njalo (so\like that)	ngaka – (big as)
njenga (as\like)	ngakaya
ngako (big as that)	nganga
njeya	

The following are examples of the comparative elements in the form of sentence:

- {146} (a) **Inkomo uza kuyixhela [ingangendlovu]**
(The ox he is going to slaughter is as big as an elephant).
- (b) **Akasixelelanga ukuba umntwana wakhe [ungakanani]**
(He has not told us as to how big is his child).

Except for the two complements in {143} and {145} one of the complements is also only found with copulative verbs, i.e. the quantifiers: **odwa** and **onke**.

- {147} (a) **UThemba [uyedwa] eKapa**
(Themba is back alone at Cape Town).
- {b} (Sisonke) apha
(We are all here)

2.3.3.1 Negative

The negative complements may partake of all the categories of inflection such as negation and moods. In this section the negatives of the copulative with relative complements will be considered with regard to the various moods, indicative, participle and relative.

The following are examples of the positive with an **NPrel** complement in the indicative.

- {148} (a) utywala **bumnandi** xa bubanda
(Liquor is nice when it is cold)
- (b) Indlela eya eKapa **ibanzi** kakhulu
(The road to Cape Town is very wide)

The sentences in {148} may be written in the negative as follows:

- {149} (a) Utywala **abumnandi** xa bubanda
(Liquor is not nice when it is cold)
- (b) Indlela eya eKapa **ayibanzi**
(The road to Cape Town is not very wide)

According to the examples in {149} the negative with a **NPrel** in the indicative must have a negative prefix **a-** before the subjectival agreement:

[A – AgrS – [mnandi]

It is also possible to use a negative suffix – **anga** together with the negative prefix **a-**:

[a – bu – mnand – **anga**]

The following are examples of the positive with a **NPrel** in the participle.

- {150} Ithanga lityiwa xa [liluhlaza]
(The pumpkin is eaten when it is green).

The sentence in {150} may be written in the negative as follows:

- {151} Ithanga lityiwa xa [li – nge – luhlaza]
(The pumpkin is eaten when it is not green).

In the participle a negative morpheme **nge** appears.

The following are examples of the positive with an **NPrel** in the relative.

- {152} (a) Kule moto kudlala iingoma [**ezimnandi**]
(In this car nice songs are played).
(b) Ihashe [**elimhlophe**] linamava okuphuma phambili emdyarweni
(The white horse usually wins a race).

The above sentences in {152} can be written in the negative as follows:

- {153} (a) Kule moto kudlala iingoma [ezingemnandi]
(b) Ihashe [**elingemhlophe**] alinamava okuphuma phambili emdyarweni

As in the case of the participle above, a negative morpheme **nge** must appear in the relative.

2.3.4 THE LOCATIVE NOUN PHRASE (NP_{loc})

Any locative may occur as complement of the two copulative verbs, i.e. the abstract verb **COP** and **ba**.

2.3.4.1 Locative noun with locative affixes [e-] and/or [-ini]:

In the examples below the locative noun with locative affixes [e -] and/or [-ini] appears in both the positive and negative in the indicative, participle and relative respectively.

In all of these moods the negative with a locative complement appears with **kho** which is derived from the absolute pronoun. This **khona** is now regarded as a verb in Xhosa because of the presence of the relative marker – **yo** on – **kho** e.g. [a – ba – kho – **yo**].

{154} Indicative

Pos. Umfana [u – s – **esikolweni**]

Neg. Umfana [a – ka – kho] **esikolweni**]

Participle

Pos. Xa umfana [e – s – **esikolweni**]

Neg. Xa umfana [e-nge-kho] **esikolweni**]

Relative

Pos. [o – s – **esikolweni**]

Neg. [o – nge – kho] **esikolweni**

2.3.4.2 Old Locative Class Noun

In the table below the old locative class noun appears in both the positive and negative in the indicative, participle and relative as indicated above: –**kho** has to appear in all these negatives.

{155} Indicative

Pos. Umfana [u – phakathi]

Neg. Umfana [a – ka – kho] phakathi]

Participle

Pos. Xa umfana [e – phakathi]

Neg. Xa umfana [e – nge kho] phakathi

Relative

Pos. Umfana [o – phakathi]

Neg. Umfana [o – nge – kho] phakathi]

Negative morpheme **nge** appears before the locative nouns with the copulative verb **kho**.

2.3.4.3 Locative nominal modifiers

In the examples below, the locative nominal modifiers: the absolute pronoun

Khona, demonstrative **apha** and quantifier **onke** appear in both the positive and negative in the indicative, participle and relative moods.

{156} Absolute Pronoun

Indicative

Pos. Umfuyi [u – khona]

Neg. Umfuyi [a – ka – kho]

Participle

Pos. Xa umfuyi [e – khona]

Neg. Xa umfuyi [e – nge – kho]

Relative

Pos. Umfuyi [o – khona]

Neg. Umfuyi [o – nge – kho]

{157} Demonstrative

Indicative

Pos. Umfuyi [u – lapha]

Neg. Umfuyi [a – ka kho] apha

Participle

Pos. Xa umfuyi [e – lapha]

Neg. Xa umfuyi [e – nge – kho] apha

Relative

Pos. Umfundi [o – lapha]

Neg. Umfundi [o – nge kho] apha

{158} Quantifier

Indicative

Pos. Abafuyi [bakonke]

Neg. Abafuyi [a – ba – kho] konke

Participle

Pos. Abafuyi [be – konke]

Neg. Xa abafuyi [be – nge – kho] konke

Relative

Pos. Abafuyi [a – ba konke]

Neg. Abafuyi [a – ba – nge – kho] konke

According to these examples above, one may discern the following characteristics of the negative of the locative nominal modifiers as a complement of the copulative. The negative of the locative nominal modifiers follows that of the negative of the locative nouns with locative affixes [e -] and/or [-ini], as is illustrated above, i.e. the copulative verb **kho** to appear with a negative **a-** or **nge -**.

The prepositional phrase [PP] with **nga** and **ku** may occur as complement of the copulative verbs. In this section these prepositional phrases will be investigated in the negative, in the indicative, participle and relative moods.

2.3.4.2 With prepositional Phrase (PP) with ku-

The prepositional phrase with **ku-** may appear with the following complements:

With nouns of **class 1a and class 2a:**

Ku – sisi

Koo - bhuti

With nouns of **class 1 and class 2:**

Ku – mfundi

Ku – bazali

With pronouns in the locative:

Ku – bo

Ku – zo

With all nominal modifiers when they appear next to **ku-**:

Ku – le ndawo

Kw-e-yakho

Kw-aba-phambili

With the quantifiers *onke*, *odwa* and the inclusive quantifier, which needs a pronoun together with **ku-**:

Ku – bo bodwa

Ku – bo bonke

Ku- bo bobathathu

With the media words like publications:

Kw – I-Sunday Times

Kw – ithelevishini

The locative PP with **ku** has been put in both negative and positive in the following categories: Indicative, participle and relative

{159}

Indicative

Pos: Imoto yam [i-[kutata]]

Neg: Imoto yam [a-yi-kho] kutata

Participle

Pos: Xa imoto yam [i[kutata]]

Neg: Xa imoto yam [i-nge-kho] kutata

Relative

Pos: Imoto yam [ekutata]

Neg: Imoto yam [e-nge-kho] kutata

According to the examples above, one may discern the following characteristics of the negatives of the **PP** with **ku** as above, the negative morpheme is either **a-** or **-nge-** which always appear with the copulative verb **kho**.

2.3.4.3.2 Prepositional phrase (PP) with nga

The preposition **nga** may appear with the following complements:

With the old locative nouns:

nga - phezulu

nga - sentla

With the locative nouns with the morpheme [e-] and [ini]:

nga – s - edamini

nga – s – emlanjeni

With absolute pronouns:

nga – khona

With the locative PP with head ku-:

nga – ku - malume

In the table below the locative with **nga** has been written both in the positive and negative in the indicative, participle and relative.

{160}

Indicative

Pos: umzi kaThemba u – [nga – phezu kwentaba]

Neg: umzi kaThemba [a-wu-ikho]nga –phem kwentaba

Participle

Pos: Xa umzi kaThemba u-[nga-phezu kwentaba]

Neg: Xa Umzi kaThemba [u-nge-kho] nga-phezu kwentaba

Relative

Pos: umzi kaThemba [o- nga-phezu kwentaba]

Neg: umzi kaThemba [o-nge-kho] nga –phezu kwentaba

The negative is the same as above with the other locative complements.

2.3.4.3.3 Prepositional Phrase with –na

The prepositional phrase with **–na** may appear as complement of a copulative verb, usually with a possessive interpretation.

{161} {a} Umlambo [unamanzi amaninzi]
(The river has got a lot of water).

{b} Umhloli [unemoto entsha]
(The inspector has got a new car}.

There are times when such sentences as in {161} may have other interpretations other than that of possession such as description:

- {162} {a} U nomsa yintombi [enomkhitha]
 (Nomsa is attractive).
- {b} Utitshala wethu [unengqondo].
 (Our teacher is clever).
- {c} uMama [unesithukuthezi]
 (Mother is lonely).

The following complements, combined with the preposition –na appear with descriptive interpretation:

- {163} nobubele (friendly, good-hearted)
 namaqhinga (shy)
 namava (experienced)
 nencasa (have taste)
 nomsindo (angry)
 namandla (strong)
 nomonde (patient)
 nentaka (coward)
 nesibindi (brave)
 nenkathazo (annoying)
 nomona (jealous)

2.3.4.7 Negative

The prepositional phrase (PP) with na are going to be investigated in the indicative, participle and relative.

Listed below are examples of positive of the **PP** with **na-** in the indicative.

- {164} {a} Lo mfana [**unom**mtshakazi oza kumphekela]
(This young man has a young wife to cook for him).
{b} USipho [**unem**oto yokuphangela]
(Sipho has a car to drive to work).
{c} Utitshala [**unol**oyiko lokuya esikolweni]
(The teacher is afraid to go to school).

The sentences in {150} may appear in the negative as follows:

- {165} {a} Lo mfana [**akanam**tshakazi oza kumphekela]
(This young man has no young wife to cook for him)
{b} USipho [**akanam**oto yokuphangela]
(Sipho has no car to drive to work).
{c} Utitshala [**akanal**oyiko lokuya esikolweni]
(The teacher is not afraid to go to school).

According to the examples in {165} above, the negative of the **PP** with **na-** in the indicative must have negative prefix **a-**

[a-AgrS-na-mtshakazi]

The pre-prefix of the noun is lost in the process as in the above structure:

- {166} [a-ka-na-mtshakazi]
[a-ka-na-moto]
[a-ka-na-loyiko]

The following are examples of the positive of the **PP** with **na-** in the participle:

- {167} {a} Utitshala wenze ityala elikhulu naxa [**enemali eninzi**]
(The teacher has made a big debt yet, he is having a lot of money).
- {b} Xa [**unamandla**] kufuneka usebenze
(When you have strength you have to work).
- {c} Xa [**unetyala**] kufuneka uhlawule
(When you have debt you have to pay).

The above sentences in {167} may be written in the negative as follow:

- {168} {a} Utitshala ulenzele ntoni ityala elikhulu xa [**engenamali** ininzi]
(Why did the teacher make a big debt when he does not have much money)
- {b} Xa [**ungenamandla**] kufuneka ungasebenzi
(When you do not have strength you do not have to work).
- {c} Xa [**ungenatyala**] akufuneki uhlawule
(When you do not have a debt you do not have to pay).

According to the examples in {168} the negative of the **PP** with **na** in the participle must have **nge** after the **AgrS**.

[AgrS-nge-natyala]

The following are examples of the **PP** with **na** in the relative:

- {169} {a} Umntu [**onomonde**] uyathandeka
(A person with patience is lovable).

- {b} Abantwana [**abanobubele**] bayathandwa ngotitshala
(Children who are friendly are loved by the teachers).
- {c} Utitshala [**onenceba**] uyathandwa ngabafundi bonke
(A teacher who is compassionate is loved by all the students).

The sentences in {169} may be written in the negative as follow:

- {170} {a} Umntu [**ongenamonde**] abathandeki
(A person without patience is not lovable).
- {b} Abantwana [**abangenabubele**] abathandwa ngotitshala
(Children who are not friendly are not loved by the teacher).
- {c} Utitshala [**ongenanceba**] akathandwa ngabafundi bonke
(A teacher who is not compassionate is not loved by all the students).

According to the examples {170}, the negative of the **PP** with **na-** in the relative must have the negative morpheme **nge** after the **AgrS**. It follows the same pattern as in the participle.

2.4 DEFICIENT VERBS

This section aims at investigating the properties of deficient verbs, and the behaviour of deficient verbs when put into negative. Deficient verbs with a negative interpretation will be dealt with in detail.

2.4.1 PROPERTIES OF DEFICIENT VERBS

2.4.1.1 Subcategorization

All deficient verbs are subcategorised for clausal complements. The obligatory occurrence of a clausal complement is the main outstanding feature of deficient verbs. It has the consequence that no other complement like a noun phrase (**NP**) may appear with deficient verbs.

{171} Abantwana [baza kubuya [bafunde]]
(Children will again study).

The deficient verb in {171} is **buya** and it has a compulsory clause as complement: this clause is **bafunde**.

2.4.1.2 Selection of Moods

It is a property of deficient verbs that they determine the selection of the mood in **INFL** of the clausal complement. Various moods may be selected:

2.4.1.2.1 Subjunctive or consecutive

{172} {a} Ndofunda le Bhayibhile [**ndandule ndikucacisele**].
(I will read this Bible and then I will explain to you).
{b} Uhleli apho lajika ilanga [wandula wagoduka].
(He sat there until the sun turned and then he went home).

2.4.1.2.2 Infinitive

{173} {a} [**Musa [ukuthetha]**] ndithetha.
(Do not speak while I speak).
{b} uYehova [**ufanele ukudungiswa**] lonke ixesha.
(The Lord should be praised all the time).

2.4.1.2.3 Situative

{174} {a} Intombi [**ifudula isikha**] amanzi.
(The girl usually fetched water).
{b} Amanzi etanki [**ahlala emahle**] lonke ixesha.
(Water from the tank remain clean at all time).

2.4.1.3 Anaphoric Agreement

A clausal complement of a deficient verb must also have compulsory agreement with the subject of the matrix clause. This means that the clausal complement of deficient verbs does not have an external argument which differs from the external argument of the deficient verb. Such pronouns which are compulsory with the clausal complements should be viewed as anaphors as stipulated below.

- {175} {a} Lo mfana [**akazange abethwe**].
(This man had never been punished).
- {b} Lo mfana [**a-ka-zange [pro abethwe]**].
(This man had never been punished).

According to examples in {175}, the clausal complement of the deficient verb is **abethwe** and has compulsory agreement with the subject of the matrix clause which is **a-**. The **pro** in {175} is an anaphor.

2.4.1.4 Derived affixes

Deficient verbs lack the property which is the characteristic of autonomous verbs i they may not be extended by derivative affixes as happens in the causative.

- {176} {a} Lo mfazi wam [**akazange**] abe abuye aphinde **abethwe**]].
(This wife of mine was never again given a hiding).
- {b} [**Ndandisendisaziwa**] ngabo bonke.
(I was already known by them all).

In {176} the derivative suffix **-w-** has been added to the complement verb, and not the deficient verb.

2.4.1.5 Terminal vowel

A characteristic property of some deficient verbs is that they have a terminal vowel –e as for example, the deficient verbs **khe**, **soze**.

2.4.2 NEGATIVE

All deficient verbs may appear in the negative as can be seen in the examples that follow:

- {177} {a} [Andiveli ndimbethe] uThemba.
(I do not just hit Themba).
{b} [Ndiphethe andasela] manzi angemahle.
(I last drank water which was not good).

There are a number of deficient verbs which regularly appear in the negative:

2.4.2.1 THE VERB ZE:

ZE + subjunctive / consecutive

Ze in the second person followed by a complement clause in the subjunctive mood appears in commands.

- {178} {a} [**Uze ubuze**] kuye.
(You must ask him).
{b} [**maze nizidle**].
(You must be proud of yourselves).
{c} [Maze nize nabo bonke].
(You must bring them all).

In the negative **ze** has the meaning of "never".

This **ze** may occur in a sentence in the following forms: [a-AgrS ze]:

- {179} {a} [Andisoze] ndikhe manzi].
(I never fetch water).
{b} [Abazange] bagoduke].
(They never went home).
{c} [le mbali [andizange] ndiyive].
(I have never heard this history).

2.4.2.2 The verb **khe**

Kha + Subjunctive

It is often used in friendly commands or requests addressed to the second person.

- {180} {a} **khawundibhalele**
(You must please write to me).
{b} **khawundiphe** le nto.
(You must please give me this thing).

Negative of khe

Meaning not at all, never.

Negative of khe + Subjunctive

- {181} {a} **Khange ubone** bantwana apha?
(Have you not at all seen any children here?).
{b} Umntwana **akakhange** awuphendule umbuzo.
(The child has not at all answered the question).
{c} Ufuna ukuba **angakhe avuke** lo mfazi.
(He wants that this woman does not wake up at all).

Negative of kha + consecutive

Andakhe ndambona.

(I have not seen him).

2.4.2.3 THE VERB ANDULA

Andula mostly denotes **consecutive action** at its complement may be either a subjunctive or consecutive mood clause depending on the tense or mood of the preceding verb.

{182} {a} Ndotya ndigqibe [**ndandule** [**ndikubalisele**]]

(I will finish eating then I will tell you).

{b} Ulele apho lada lajika ilanga [**wandula** [wagoduka]].

(He slept there till late then he went home).

Negative

{183} {a} Andizukutya ndigqibe [ndandule [**ndikubalisele**]]

(I will not finish eating then tell you)

{b} Akalelanga apho lada lajika ilanga [**wandula** [wagoduka]]

(He did not sleep there till late then went home)

2.4.2.4 The verb vela / suka

The deficient verb **vela** denotes an action that is done **without any reason**.

{184} {a} [**Ndivela**] **ndimbethe**].

(I just beat him).

{b} [**wasuka**] wandishiya engathethanga.

(He just left me without saying a thing).

Negative

- {185} Akavelanga / akasukanga wandibetha.
(He did not just hit me).

2.4.2.5 The verbs de tsho

The above verbs can be translated into English as **to** / **to such** an extent. They usually appear in the past tense followed by a consecutive mood clause.

- {186} {a} [yazala indlu [de] yatyekeza.
(The house was excessively full).
{b} yazala indlu [yatsho] yatyekeza

Negative

- {187} {a} Ayizange izale indlu [de] yatyekeza
(The house was not excessively full)
{b} Ayizalanga indlu [yatsho] yatyekeza
(The house was not excessively full)

2.4.2.6 The verb Phinda

Phinda can occur in any mood or tense and it can appear in the positive / negative.

- {188} [Ndiza [kumphinda] ndibuye ngomso].
(I will come back tomorrow).

- {189} **Negative Phinda**
Andizi kumphinda ndibuye ngomso.
(I will not come back tomorrow).

2.4.2.7 The verb **Buya**

Buya itself can appear in any tense or mood.

- {190} [Andibuyi] ndiqale ngoku].
(I do not begin again).

2.4.2.8 MUSA

[Musa] can only occur in the negative of the imperative. It has the meaning of "do not".

- {191} {a} [Musa] ukuthetha].
(Don't talk).
{b} [Musani ukuthetha].
(You – plural do not talk).

2.4.2.9 FUDULA

Fudula is always followed by the present tense clause in the participial mood and has the features of [- present] [+ habitual]. Thus it only appears in the **habitual actions** in the past and can be translated "**did usually**".

- {192} {a} [Ndifudula ndithandaza] ngokuhlwa].
(I usually prayed at evening).

Negative

- {193} [Ndifudula ndingathandazi] ngongokuhlwa]
(I do not usually pray in evening)

2.4.2.10 The deficient verb **nga**

nga + potential

The deficient verb **nga** appears with a complement clause which must have a potential morpheme.

- {194} {a} Ndinga [ndingathetha].
(I wish I could speak).
- {b} Inga [**angathetha**].
(I wish he could speak).

Negative

- {195} Inga [angangathethi]
(I wish he could not speak)

Nga / nge + indicative

This **nga** may sometimes have an indicative mood clause as complement.

- {196} {a} [**Wanga uyaphila**].
(He looked as if he was alive).
- {b} Yinto ethi xa ithetha noThixo **inge imbambe** ngesandla.
(When he talked to the Lord it was as if he took him by the hand).

Negative

- {197} {a} [Wanga akaphili]
(He looked as if he was dead)
- {b} Yinto ethi xa ithetha noThixo **inge ayimbambanga** ngesandla
(When he talked to the Lord it was not as if he was holding Him by hand)

2.5 ASPECT

The aspect morpheme is going to be investigated with regard to its behaviour when expressed in the negative:

2.5.1 PROGRESSIVE –sa-

The progressive aspect is expressed by the formative –sa-.

The progressive aspect expressed by **-sa-** conveys the meaning of "still" i.e. an ongoing process. This formative **-sa-** is inserted immediately after the **AgrS**.

[AgrS-sa-tshaya]

Progressive **-sa-** will first be looked at as it appears with non-copulative verbs and then, with copulative verb.

2.5.1.1 With non-copulative verbs

Progressive **-sa-** may appear with non-copulative verbs in the indicative, participle and relative.

According to the table below, progressive **-sa-** may appear with non-copulative verbs in the present, future and perfect tenses in the indicative.

{198} INDICATIVE

CLASS	PRESENT TENSE	FUTURE TENSE	PERFECT TENSE
1ps	A-ndi-sa-tyebi	A-ndi-za-zi kutyeba	A-ndi-sa-tyebanga
1pp	A-si-sa tyebi	A-si-sa-zi kutyeba	A-si-sa-tyebanga
2ps	A-wu-sa-tyebi	A-wu-sa zi kutyeba	A-wu-sa-tyebanga
2pp	A-ni-sa-tyebi	A-ni-sa-zi kutyeba	A-ni-sa-tyebanga
1	A-ka-sa-lambi	Aka-sa-zi kulamba	A-ka-sa-lambanga
2	A-ba-sa-lambi	A-ba-sa-zi kulamba	A-ba-sa-lambanga
3	A-wa-sa-lungi	A-wa-sa-zi kulunga	A-wu-sa-lunganga

CLASS	PRESENT TENSE	FUTURE TENSE	PERFECT TENSE
4	A-yi-sa-lungi	A-yi-sa-zi kulunga	A-yi-sa-lunganga
5	A-li-sa-bhityi	A-li-sa-zi kubhitya	A-li-sa-bhityanga
6	A-wa-sa-bhityi	A-wa-sa-zi kubhitya	A-wa-sa-bhityanga
7	A-si-sa-tyebi	A-si-sa-zi kutyeba	A-si-sa-tyebanga
8	A-zi-sa-tyebi	A-zi-sa-zi kutyeba	A-zi-sa-tyebanga
9	A-yi-sa-hluthi	A-yi-sa-zi kuhlutha	A-yi-sa-hluthanga
10	A-zi-sa-hluthi	A-zi-sa-zi kuhlutha	A-zi-sa-hluthanga
11	A-lu-sa-lambi	A-lu-sa-zi kulamba	A-lu-sa-lambanga
14	A-bu-sa-lungi	Abu-sa-zi kulunga	A-bu-sa-lunganga
15	A-ku-sa-lungi	A-ku-sa-zi kulunga	A-ku-sa-lunganga

According to the indicative table above one may discuss the following, concerning the negative of non-copulative verbs with progressive **-sa-**.

The present tense of the indicative mood must have negative prefix **-a-** and negative suffix **-i-**.

[**a-AgrS-sa-tshay-i**]

The future tense of the indicative mood the negative must have negative prefix **-a-**

[**a-AgrS-sa-zi kutshaya**]

The perfect tense of the indicative mood it must have the negative prefix **-a-** and a stative verb only or a verb with **-anga** as suffix:

[**a-AgrS-sa-tyebanga**]

From the table below, progressive –sa- may appear with non-copulative verbs in the present, future and perfect tenses of the participle.

{199} PARTICIPLE

CLASS	PRESENT TENSE	FUTURE TENSE	PERFECT TENSE
1ps	Xa ndinga-sa-tshayi	Xa ndi-nga-sa-zi kutshaya	Xa ndi-nga-sa-tyebanga
1pp	Xa si-nga-sa-tshayi	Xa-singa-sa-zi kutshaya	Xa si-nga-sa-tyebanga
2ps	Xa unga-sa-tshayi	Xa ninga-sa-zi kutshaya	Xa u-nga-sa-tyebanga
1	Xa enga-sa-tyi	Xa enga-sa-zi kutya	Xa enga-sa-tyebanga
2	Xa benga-sa-tyi	Xa benga-sa-zi kutya	Xa be-nga-sa-tyebanga
3	Xa unga-sa-tshi	Xa unga-sa-zi kutsha	Xa u-nga-sa-tyebanga
4	Xainga-sa-tshi	Xa inga-sa-zi kutsha	Xa i-nga-sa-tyebanga
5	Xa linga-sa-tshisi	Xa linga-sa-zi kutshisa	Xa li-nga-sa-tyebanga
6	Xa enga-sa-tyebangi	Xa enga-sa-zi kutyebe	Xa e-nga-sa-tyebanga
7	Xa si-nga-sa-thungi	Xa si-nga-sa-zi kuthunga	Xa si-nga-sa-thungekanga
8	Xa zi-nga-sa-thungeki	Xa-zi-nga-sa-zi tkutyeba	Xa-zi-nga-sa- thungekanga
9	Xa i-nga-sa-khonkothi	Xa-i-nga-sa-zi kukhonkotha	Xa-inga-sa-khonkothanga
10	Xa zi-nga-sa khonkothi	Xa-zi-nga-sa-zi kukhonkotha	Xa-zi-nga-sa-hluthanga
11	Xa lu-nga-sa-lali	Xa lu-nga-sa-zi kulala	Xa lu-nga-sa-lalanga
14	Xa bu-nga-sa-lungi	Bu-nga-sa-zi kubila	Xa ku-nga-sa-bilanga
15	Xa ku-nga-sa-vuthwa	Xa ku-nga-savuthwa	Xa ku nga-sa-vuthwanga

In the table above one may discern the following concerning the negative of non-copulative verbs with progressive –sa- in the participle.

The present tense of the participle the negative must have negative morpheme **-nga-** after the AgrS and negative suffix **-i**.

[AgrS-nga-sa-ty-i]

The future tense of the participle the negative must have negative morpheme **-nga-** after the AgrS:

[AgrS-nga-sa-zi kutya]

The perfect tense the negative must have the negative morpheme **-nga-** and stative verb only or a verb **-anga**:

[AgrS-nga-sa-tyebanga]

In the table below, progressive **sa** may appear with non-copulative verbs in the present, future and perfect tenses, in the relative mood.

{200} RELATIVE

CLASS	PRESENT TENSE	FUTURE TENSE	PERFECT TENSE
1ps	E-ndinga-sa-zitshayiyo	Endinga-sa-zikuzithaya	Endinga-sa-tshayanga
1pp	e-singa-sa-zitshoyiyo	Esinga-sa-zikuzitshaya	Esinga-sa-zithsayanga
2ps	Onga-sa-zitshayiyo	Onga-sa-zikutshaya	Onga-sa-zitshayanga
2pp	e-ninga-sa-zitshayiyo	Eninga-sa-zikurutshaya	Eninga-sa-zikuzitshaya
1	Onga-sa-dlakyo	Onga-sa-zi-kudlala	Onga-sa-dlalanga
2	A-ba-nga-sa-dlaleyo	Abanga-sa-zi-kudlala	Abanga-sa-dlalanga
3	Onga-sa-khuleyo	Onga-sa-khulanga	Onga-sa-khulanga
4	e-nga-sa-khuleyo	Engasa-zi-kukhula	-enga-sa-khulanga

CLASS	PRESENT TENSE	FUTURE TENSE	PERFECT TENSE
5	Eli-nga-sa-tshisiyo	Elinga-sa-zikutshisa	Elinga-sa-tshisanga
6	Anga-sa-tshisiyo	Anga-sa-zi-kutshisa	Anga-sa-tshisanga
7	e-sinasa-vulthiyo	Esi-se-zaku	Esi-nga-sa-vuthanga
8	Ezinga-sa-Vuthiyo	Ezi-se-zakwutha	Exi-nga-sa-vuthanga
9	e-nga-sa-khonkothyo	Enga-sa-zi-kukhonfolha	Enga-sa-khonkothanga
10	e-zi-nga-sa-khonkothiyo	Ezingazi-kukhonko tha	Ezinga-sa-khonkothanga
11	Olunga-sa-leleyo	Olunga-sa-zi-kulela	Olunga-sa-lelanga
14	Unga-sa-buhlambiyo	Unga-sa-zi-buhlamba	Unga-sa-buhlambanga
15	Onga-sa-kutyiyo	Onga-sa-zi-kutya	Onga-sa-kutyanga

The above table brings about the following concerning the negative of non-copulative verbs with progressive **-sa-** in the relative.

In the present tense of the relative the negative must have the negative morpheme **-nga-** after the AgrS and relative marker **yo**.

[o-AgrS-nga-sa-dlali-yo]

In the future tense of the relative the negative must have the negative morpheme **-nga-** after the AgrS

[o-AgrS-nga-sa-zikudlala]

In the perfect tense of the relative the negative must have the negative morpheme **-nga-** after the AgrS and a stative verb or a verb with **-anga**:

2.5.1.2 With copulative verbs

Copulative verbs with progressive **-sa-** will now be investigated in the negative in the indicative, participle and relative moods.

According to the examples that follow, progressive **-sa-** may appear with the following copulative complements. Noun phrase (NP), (NpreL), locative noun phrase (NPLoc) and prepositional phrase (PP).

Indicative

Noun Phrase

Positive

{201} UThemba [u-se-ngu-mshumayeli]]

Negative

{202} [uThemba akasengomshumayeli]]
(Themba is no longer a teacher).

With the adjective Phrase AP

Positive

{203} {a} uNomathamsanqa mhle
(Nomathamsanqa is beautiful).
{b} uNomathamsanqa u-se-m-hle

Negative

- {204} {a} uNomathamsanqa [a-ka-se-**kho** [mhle]
(Nomathamsanqa is no longer beautiful).
- {b} uNomathamsanqa a-ka-**se**-mhle
(Nomathamsanqa is no longer beautiful).
- {c} uNomathamsanqa a-ka-se-mhlanga
(Nomathamsanqa is no longer beautiful).

With the Relative Phrase

Positive

- {205} Le lokhwe [i-se-mhlophe]]
(This dress is still white).

Negative

- {206} {a} Le lokhwe [a-yi-se-kho mhlophe]]
(This dress is no longer white).
- {b} Le lokhwe ayisemhlophe
(This dress is not white).
- {c} Le lokhwe ayisemhlophanga
(This dress is no longer white).

With the locative phrase (NpLoc)

Positive

- {207} Abafundisi [ba-se-secaweni]
(The priests are still at the church).

Negative

{208} Abafundisi [a-ba-sekho [eCaweni]]
(The priests are no longer at the church).

With prepositional Phrase

Positive

{209} {a} Abantwana bam bane[mfuyo] eninzi
(My children have a lot of livestock).
{b} Abantwana bam ba-se-nemfuyo
(My children still have a lot of livestock).

Negative

{210} Abantwana bam [aba-se[namfuyo] ininzi
(My children no longer have a lot of livestock).

According to the above examples the negative of the copulative verbs with progressive – **sa-** in the indicative must have the following:

The noun phrase (NP) must have negative prefix **a** and **AgrS**

[a-ka-se-ngomfundi]
(He is no longer a student).

The negative morpheme **se** as shown above may appear after the **AgrS** as is the case in the above construction.

According to the examples below, progressive **-sa-** may appear with the following copulative complements **NP**, **AP**, **NPreI**, **NPloc** and **PP** in the participle.

Participle

Positive

{211} Xa[esengumfundisi] kufuneka ahloniphe amarhamente
(If he is still a number he should respect the congregation).

Negative

{212} [Xa e-nga-se-[ngomfundisi]]
(If he is no longer a Minister).

Xa e-nga-se-mfundisi

[Xa e-nga-se [ngu-ye umfundisi]]

With AP

{213} {a} Xa [e-nga-se mhle]
(When she is no longer beautiful).
{b} Xa [e-nga-se-kho-mhle]
(When she is no longer beautiful).
{c} Xa [e-nga-se-[mhlanga]]
(When she is no longer beautiful).

With NPrel

- {214} {a} Xa [li-nga-se [bomvu]]
(When no longer red).
- {b} Xa [li-nga-se-kho-bomvu]]
(When no longer red).
- {c} Xa [li-nga-se-[bomvanga]
(When no longer red).

With NPLoc

- {215} Xa [be-ngase- [kho ekhaya]]
(When they are no longer at home).
- Xa [li-nga-se- [kho ekhabhathini]
(When it is no longer in the cupboard).

With PP

- {216} Xa [e-be-nga-se [nankomo]]
(When he no longer have cattle).

If you consider the above table, the negative of the copulative with progressive **sa** in the participle will have the following:

In the NP it will have the negative morpheme **-nga-**

- Xa [e-nga-se-ngo-mfundisi]
(When he is no longer a priest).

According to the sentences above the **AP**, **NPreI**, **NPLoc** and **PP** the copulative must have the negative morpheme **-nga-**.

If you examine the examples below, you will find that progressive **-sa-** may appear with the following copula complements in the relative **NP**, **AP**, **NPreI**, **NPLoc** and **PP**.

Relative

With NP

- {217} Indoda [**e-nga-se**[ngo-mfundisi]] **ibanjiwe**
(A man who is no longer a priest has been arrested).

With AP

- {218} {a} Intombi [**e-nga-se** [ntlanga]] yaliwe
(A girl who is no longer beautiful has been rejected).
{b} Intombi [**e-nga-se-kho** [ntle]] yaliwe
(A girl who is no longer beautiful has been rejected).
{c} Intombi [**e-nga-se-**[ntle]] yaliwe
(A girl who is no longer beautiful is rejected).

With NPreI

- {219} {a} Ilitye [**e-li-nga-se-**[mhlophanga]] lophukile
(A stone which is no longer white is broken).
{b} Ilitye [**e-li-nga-se-**[mhlophe]] lophukile
(A stone which is no longer white is broken).

- {c} Ilitye [e-li-nga-se-[kho mhlophe]] lophukile
(A stone which is no longer white is broken).

With NPLoc

- {220} Abantwana [**a-ba-nga-se** [kho sikolweni]] abanambeko
(Children who are no longer at school have no respect).

With PP

- {221} [a-ba-nge-[namali]]
(They who have no longer money).

Having read the examples above, you will notice that the negative of the copulative verbs with progressive **-sa-** must have the negative **nga-** with the **NP**, **Nprel**, **NPLoc** and **PP** as it appears in the examples above.

2.5.2 THE EXCLUSIVE **ka**

The morpheme **-ka-** expresses an exclusive negative, i.e. an action that has not yet taken place, or has not been going on at a certain time as is shown in the example that follows:

- {222} uSipho uhambe ndi-nge-**ka**-phungi
(Sipho left before I drank tea).

The exclusivity of the morpheme **-ka-** can be found in relation to two categories of verbs:

2.5.2.1 With non-copulative verbs

The exclusive **-ka-** may appear with a **non-copulative verb** as illustrated in the table below. It may appear in the present tense of the indicative, participle and relative moods:

{223}

CLASS	INDICATIVE	PARTICIPLE	RELATIVE
1ps mna	Andikalali	Ndingekalali	Endingekalali
1pp thina	Asikalali	Singekalali	Esingekalali
2ps wena	Awukalali	Ungekcalali	Ongekcalali
2pp nina	Anikalali	Ningekcalali	Eningekcalali
1 umfana	Akakalali	Engekcalali	Ongekcalali
2 abafana	Abakalali	Bengekcalali	Abangekcalali
3 umlambo	Awukatshi	Ungekatshi	Ongekatshi
4 imilambo	Ayikatshi	Ingekatshi	Engekatshi
5 ilitye	Alikawi	Lingekawi	Elingekawi
6 amatye	Awakawi	Engekawi	Engekawi
7 isibane	Asikacimi	Singekacimi	Esingekacimi
8 izibane	Azikacimi	Zingekacimi	Ezingekacimi
9 indlu	Ayikadiliki	Ingekadiliki	Engekadiliki
10 izindlu	Azikadiliki	Zingekadiliki	Ezingekadiliki
11 usana	Alukalali	Lungekakhali	Olungekalali
14 utywala	Abukabili	Bungekapheli	Obungekapheli
15 ukufa	Akukafiki	Kungekafiki	Okungekafiki

If you study the above table you will discover that the negative non-copulative verb with exclusive **ka** will have the following:

In the **Indicative** it must have the negative prefix **a-** before **AgrS** and suffix **-i**

[A-Agr-ka-lal-i]

In the **participle** it must have the negative formative **-nge-** after **AgrS** and suffix **-i**.

[AgrS-nge-ka-lal-i]

In the **Relative** it must have the negative formative –nge- and suffix –i

{AgrS-nge-ka-lal-i}

2.5.2.2 With copulative verbs

The exclusive –ka- will only appear with the copulative verb –ba.

Study the table that follow, you will notice that the exclusive –ka will appear in the negative of the present tense in the indicative, participle and relative moods.

The different forms with the copulative verbs –ba will be the same as those above with non-copulative verbs:

{224}

CLASS	INDICATIVE	PARTICIPLE	RELATIVE
1ps	Andikabi yindoda	Ndingekabi yindoda	Endingekabi yindoda
1pp	Asikabi ngamadoda	Singekabi ngamadoda	Esingekabi ngamadoda
2ps	Awukabi yindoda	Ungekabi yindoda	Ongekabi yindoda
2pp	Anikabi ngamadoda	Ningekabi ngamadoda	Eningekabi ngamadoda
1	Akakabi yindoda	Engekabi yindoda	Ongekabi yindoda
2	Abakabi ngamadoda	Bangekabi ngamadoda	Abangekabi ngamadoda
3	Awukabi mde	Ungekabi mde	Ongekabi mde
4	Ayikabi mide	Ingekabi mide	Engekabi mide
5	Alikabi shushu	Lingekabi shushu	Elingekabi shushu
6	Awakabi shushu	Engekabi shushu	Angekabi shushu
7	Asikabi sidala	Singekabi sidala	Esingekabi sidala
8	Azikabi zidala	Zingekabi zidala	Ezingekabi zidala
9	Ayikabi yeyakhe	Ingekabi yeyakhe	Engekabi yeyakhe

CLASS	INDICATIVE	PARTICIPLE	RELATIVE
10	Azikabi zezakhe	Zingekabi zezakhe	Ezingekabi zezakhe
11	Alukabi luhle	Lungekabi luhle	Olulungekabi luhle
14	Abukabi buhle	Bungekabi buhle	Obungekabi buhle
15	Akukabi mnandi	Kungekabi mnandi	Okungekabi mnandi

Looking at the above table, the negative of the copulative verb **-ba** with exclusive **-ka-** must have the following characteristics:

In the **indicative** the negative prefix **a-** and negative **-i**

[a-AgrS-ka-b-i [yindoda]]

In the participle the negative morpheme **-nge-** and the negative morpheme **-i**

[Agr-nge-ka-b-i [yindoda]]

In the **relative** the negative morpheme **-nge-** and negative morpheme **-i**

[AgrS-nge-ka-bi[ngumfana]]

CHAPTER THREE

NEGATIVE CONSTITUENTS

3.1 AIM

The aim of this section is to investigate the possibilities of putting different constituents of a sentence in the negative. The following is an example of a constituent of a sentence.

{1} [Amadoda] adlala [ibhola] [ethafeni]
(The men play ball on the field).

The following constituents can be identified in {1} above.

NP Subject	amadoda
NP Object	ibhola
NP Locative	ethafeni

Each of them will be considered in detail.

3.2 NP SUBJECT

The possibility of putting the subject noun in the negative will be investigated with only a noun as head, and secondly with a noun and modifier, e.g.

{a}	Noun only	:	Amadoda
{b}	Noun and modifier	:	Amadoda amaninzi

3.2.1 SPECIFIED SUBJECT

The subject may either be specified or not specified. When specified, the reference of the noun is identified as in {1} above [**amadoda**]. When unspecified its reference is not readily identifiable.

3.2.1.1 The specified subject consisting of a noun only

To assist in understanding the way in which the subject noun occurs, example in which the NP is in the subject position and consisting **only of a noun** will be investigated. Subsequently the noun with a **nominal modifier** will be investigated.

The subject NP may appear with intransitive, monotransitive and ditransitive verbs. Each of these relationships will be investigated.

3.2.1.1.1 Intransitive verbs

Study the following example of a noun as a specified subject constituent with regard to the **intransitive verbs**. An intransitive verb does not take an object:

{2} Inkwenkwe iyabaleka
(The boy is running).

A problem always arises when we try to negate a noun in the subject position in Xhosa, as there are no negative words available for doing so as in the case in English.

A boy is running.

No boy is running.

The only solution to such a problem is to devise other means for negating the noun.

Subject inversion:

One of these means is **subject inversion**. Subject inversion refer to the act of moving the subject from its position as in example {2} above to a post verbal adjunct position. An empty **pro** co-indexed with **AgrS ku-** may then be inserted in the empty subject position:

{3} [Pro] **kubaleka inkwenkwe**
(It is the boy who runs).

The empty pro with **ku-** that is prefixed to the verb in {3} does share care with inkwenkwe
e.g.

{4} [Pro] kubaleka inkwenkwe
↑ _____ ↑

The effect of subject inversion is that when the **NP** is moved to the post verbal adjunct position, it becomes the focal point of the sentence. It gains emphasis known as **focus** e.g.

{5} Kubaleka **inkwenkwe** (Hayi indoda, intombazana,inja njalo-njalo)
(It is the boy that is running) (Not a man, a girl, a dog etc.).

Seeing that the noun has been identified, as a focal point in the sentence, it is obvious that if there is any negation to be done, the focus must fall on the noun e.g.

{6} Akubaleki [**nkwenkwe**]
(There is **no boy** running).

In {6} the noun **inkwenkwe** has lost its prefix **i-** and now appears as only [**nkwenkwe**]. The interpretation of this noun is now indefinite because it falls within the scope of the negative verb with the negative morpheme **a-** and **-i:**

{7} Akubaleki [**nkwenkwe**],yindoda ebalekayo

In any way, the noun **inkwenkwe** may retain its pre-prefix, and it will be interpreted as definite. In this way it will not fall within the scope of the negative verb.

{8} Akubaleki [**inkwenkwe**]

Forcing the **NP** to appear with the relative clause:

The second possibility in attempting to negate the noun in {2} viz [**inkwenkwe**], is to force the **NP** to appear with a **relative clause** e.g.

{9} Inkwenkwe ebalekayo [**NP + CP**]
(A running boy)

This **NP** may then appear as the subject of a copulative predicate with the locative absolute pronoun **khona**.

{10} [Inkwenkwe ebalekayo] [ikhona]
(A running boy is present).

Subject inversion may then be applied to this sentence:

{11} kukho [inkwenkwe ebalekayo]
(There is a running child).

In {11} above, the focus is on the inverted subject **inkwenkwe ebalekayo**. By negating the copulative **kukho**, the **NP** will fall within the scope of this negative:

{12} Akukho [nkwenkwe ebalekoyo]
(There is no boy that is running).

Clefting:

The third possibility in attempting to negate the noun in {2} viz [inkwenkwe] would be to force the **NP** to appear with a relative clause as above, viz, [inkwenkwe ebalekayo]. The new **NP** with the relative clause may appear as a predicate with the **copula yi-**

{13} [Yinkwenkwe] ebalekayo
(It is the boy that is running).

This copulative **NP** may then be put in the negative.

{14} [asiyonkwenkwe] ebalekayo

The process which has been outlined above is known as **clefting**. In clefting the constituent which is to be clefted must appear in the copulative e.g.

{15} [Inkwenkwe] ifuna [ukubaleka]
(The boy wants to run).

The noun **inkwenkwe** may appear with the copula **yi**

{16} [Yinkwenkwe]

The predicate with the remaining constituent must appear in a relative clause:

{17} [Yinkwenkwe] efuna ukubaleka]

The effect of clefting on a constituent is to put focus on the clefted constituent.

Applied to **inkwenkwe ebalekayo**, the result of clefting would be

{18} Yinkwenkwe ebalekayo

The copulative **NP** in {18} would then be put in the negative:

{19} [[Asiyonkwenkwe] ebalekayo]
(It is not the boy that is running).

In conclusion, the effect on the subject **NP**, brought about by the three possibilities above, is that it is placed in a **focus position**.

3.2.1.1.2 With monotransitive verbs

Consider the following example of a constituent in relation to **monotransitive verbs**. A monotransitive verb is a two place predicate, which means that it takes a subject and one object.

{20} Unovenkile uthenga inyama
(The shopkeeper buys meat).

The three processes which are used to put nouns which appear with intransitive verbs in the negative as outlined above, may also be used to put nouns which appear with monotransitive verbs in the negative.

Subject inversion:

Subject inversion as outlined above may be applied. In this case, the subject **NP** of the sentence in {20} may move to the post verbal adjunct position.

{21} kuthenga [unovenkile] inyama

When it is moved the subject **NP** is placed closest to the verb and brought into the **focus position** in the sentence.

{22} Kuthenga uNovenkile (hayi usisi, umalume njl)
(It is the shopkeeper that buys (not sister nor uncle etc.).

The subject **NP** may be put in the negative by negating the verb **kuthenga** in {21} resulting with the following:

{23} Akuthengi novenkile inyama
(There is no shopkeeper buying meat).

Secondly, the process whereby the subject **NP** is forced to appear with a relative clause (as was explained above under intransitive verbs) may be applied, e.g.

{24} Unovenkile [othenga inyama]
(The shopkeeper who buys meat).

The **Noun Phrase (NP)** may then appear as the subject of a copulative predicate with the locative absolute pronoun **khona** e.g.

{25} [unovenkile othenga inyama] **ukhona**

Using this technique, subject inversion may then be applied to the sentence {25}.

{26} Kukho [unovenkile othenga inyama]
(There is a shopkeeper who is buying meat)

The **NP** may then be put in the negative by negating the copulative **kukho**.

{27} Akukho [novenkile othenga inyama]
(There is no shopkeeper buying meat).

Clefting

Clefting (as outlined under intransitive verbs above) may be applied, in which case the subject **NP** would be forced to appear with a relative clause as was explained above.

{28} unovenkile [othenga inyama]
(The shopkeeper who is buying meat).

This new **NP** with the relative clause may then appear with the copula **ng-**

{29} [Ngunovenkile othenga inyama]
(It is the shopkeeper who buys the meat).

The copulative **NP** in {29} may now appear in the negative.

{30} [Asingonovenkile] othenga inyama
(It is not the shopkeeper who buys the meat).

In conclusion, the process of negating the subject **NP** that occurs with monotransitive verbs is the same as that of negating the subject **NP** which occurs with intransitive verbs and which entails putting the noun to be negated into **focus position**.

3.2.1.1.3 With ditransitive verbs

Consider thirdly, the following example of the noun as a specified subject of a **ditransitive verb**. A ditransitive verb is a verb which takes two objects, one a direct object and the other an indirect object.

{31} uThamsanqa ufundisa **ulutsha uvoto**
(Thamsanqa is teaching the youth to vote).

In {31} above **ulutsha** is an indirect object and **uvoto** is a direct object.

The three processes used above in attempting to negate nouns which appear with intransitive verbs and monotransitive verbs may also be used to put nouns which appear with ditransitive verbs in the negative.

Subject inversion

The subject **NP** in {31} may move to the post verbal adjunct position as a result of subject inversion.

{32} Kufundisa [uThamsanqa] ulutsha uvoto
(It is being taught by Tamsanqa the youth to vote).
(Voting is being taught by Tamsanqa to the youth).

The subject noun phrase (**NP**) may be put in the negative by negating the predicate **kufundisa**.

{33} Akufundisi Thamsanqa ulutsha uvoto
(It is not being taught by Thamsanqa the youth to vote).
(Thamsanqa is not teaching the youth to vote).

Forcing the NP to appear with a relative clause:

The process whereby the subject **NP** is forced to appear with a relative clause and then with the locative absolute pronoun **khona**, may be applied:

- {34} {a} [uThamsanqa] [ofundisa ulutsha uvoto]
(Thamsanqa who is teaching the youth to vote).
{b} [uThamsanqa ofundisa ulutsha uvoto] ukhona
(Thamsanqa who is teaching the youth to vote is present).

The subject inversion may then be applied. See the following sentences:

- {35} **kukho** [uThamsanqa ofundisa ulutsha uvoto]
(It is present Thamsanqa who is teaching the youth to vote).

The NP may then be put in the negative by negating the copulative **kukho**.

- {36} **Akukho** Thamsanqa ofundisa ulutsha uvoto
(There is no Thamsanqa who is teaching the youth to vote).

Clefting:

In the case of **clefting** as it has been explained above may be applied.

- {37} [Ngu Thamsanqa ofundisa ulutsha uvoto]
(It is Thamsanqa who is teaching the youth to vote).

The copulative NP may then appear in the negative:

- [**AsingoThamsanqa**] ofundisa ulutsha ivoto
(It is not Thamsanqa who teaches the youth to vote).

3.2.1.2 The subject as noun with a modifier: with adjective or relative

The specified **NP** consisting of noun and modifier which may be either an adjective **AP** or relative **NPrel** will be investigated to see how it behaves when put in the negative.

3.2.1.2.1 Intransitive verbs

The following is an example of a sentence in which the noun appears firstly, with an adjective and secondly, with a relative.

- {38} {a} [Unyana omkhulu] utshatile
(The son who is the eldest is married).
{b} [Imoto ebomvu] itshile
(The car which is red is burnt out).

The three processes of attempting to put nouns in the negative which have already been outlined above in relation to noun only, may also be applied when putting nouns with modifiers in the negative.

In {38} above the specified noun appears with a modifier in relation to an **intransitive verb**.

Subject inversion

Subject inversion may be applied to both of the sentences in {38}.

- {39} {a} [kutshate] unyana omkhulu
(There has married the eldest son).
(The eldest son is married).
{b} [kutshe] [imoto ebomvu]
(There has burnt a red car).

In each sentence the subject **NP** may be put in the negative by negating the verb:

- {40} {a} Akutshatanga [nyana] omkhulu
(It has not married the eldest son).
{b} [Akutshanga moto ebomvu]
(It is not burnt a red car).

Relativising the clause appearing with the noun and adding the NPLoc khona:

The process of relativising the clause appearing with the noun, then adding the locative absolute pronoun may be applied e.g.

- {41} {a} Unyana omkhulu otshatileyo [ukhona]
(The eldest son who is married is present).
{b} Imoto ebomvu etshileyo [ikhona]
(The red car which is burnt is present).

Subject inversion may then be applied and the noun may be put in the negative by negating the copulative verb **kho**.

- {42} {a} **Akukho** [nyana] omkhulu otshatileyo
(There is no eldest son who is married).
{b} **Akukho** moto ebomvu etshileyo
(There is no red car that is burnt).

Clefting:

Clefting may be applied:

- {43} {a} **Ngunyana** omkhulu otshatileyo
(It is the eldest son who is married).

- {b} **Yimoto** ebomvu etshileyo
(it is the red car which is burnt out).

The copulative **NP** may be put in the negative.

- {44} {a} Asingonyana omkhulu otshatileyo
(It is not the eldest son who is married).
{b} Asiyomoto ebomvu etshileyo
(It is not the red car which is burnt out).

With regard to the noun that appears with modifier, there seems to be a fourth and fifth possibility of putting the noun in the negative.

Forcing the NP to appear with the relative clause

The fourth possibility would be where the **NP** is made to appear with a relative clause.

- {45} {a} Unyana [otshatileyo]
{b} Imoto [etshileyo]

The **AP** or **NPreI** may then become a complement of the copulative verb:

- {46} {a} Unyana otshatileyo [**mkhulu**]
(The son who is married is big).
{b} Imoto etshileyo [**ibomvu**]
(The car which is burnt out is red).

The copulative with **AP**, or **NPreI**, may appear in the negative:

- {47} {a} [unyana otshatileyo] [**akamkhulwanaga**]
(The son who is married is not big).

- {b}** Imoto etshileyo [**ayibomvanga**]
(The car that is burnt out is not red).

The negative in {47} is not a negative of the subject **NP**, but of the **AP** or **NPrel**. Instead of negating the noun, the negative affirms the noun.

It is suggested that the son is married and that the car is burnt out, but the son was not the eldest and the car that burnt was not red.

AP or NPrel appearing with a relative clause

The fifth possibility would be for the **AP** or **NPrel** to appear in a relative clause which is in the negative.

- {48}** **{a}** [Unyana **ongemkhulu**] utshatile
(The son who is not the eldest is married).
{b} [Imoto **engebomvu**] itshile
(The car which is not red is burnt out).

Referring to {48} above it is possible for the **AP** to appear in the negative, but only on the condition that the modifier **AP** or **NPrel** must change to a relative clause.

Lastly although five possibilities were seen whereby the subject noun with modifier that appears with intransitive verbs may be put in the negative, only four are applicable. The fourth one in {47} does not negate the noun, instead it modifies.

3.2.1.2.2 With transitive verbs

In this section specified nouns are considered with a modifier which could be an adjective or relative as to how it behaves in the negative when it appears with transitive verbs: A

transitive verb is a verb which takes an object. Some verbs are monotransitive i.e. they take one object, whilst others are ditransitive i.e. they take two objects.

{49} [Abantu abadala] bathanda umdlalo wombhoxo
(Elderly people like rugby game).

A consideration has first to be taken as to how the **noun appearing with an adjective or relative** behaves when expressed in the negative e.g.

{50} {a} [Abantu abadala] bathanda umdlalo wombhoxo
(Elderly people like the rugby game).
{b} [Inkabi ebomvu] iwela umlambo
(A red ox is crossing the river).

The five possibilities that were outlined above in relation to intransitive verbs may be applied to negate a noun and its modifier occurring with transitive verbs.

Subject inversion:

The examples that follow illustrate as to what happen when subject inversion is applied:

{51} {a} Kuthanda abantu abadala umdlalo wombhoxo
(It is liked by old people the rugby).
{b} [kuwela] inkabi ebomvu umlambo
(It is the red ox that is crossing the river).

The subject **NP** may then be put in the negative by negating the verb:

{52} {a} Akuthandi [bantu abadala] umdlalo wombhoxo
(The rugby is not liked by old people).
{b} Akuweli [nkabi ebomvu] umlambo

Relativising the clause appearing with the noun and adding locative absolute pronoun khona

The process of **relativising the clause** appearing with the noun and adding the locative absolute pronoun **khona** may now be applied.

{53} {a} Akukho [**bantu**] abadala abathanda umbhoxo
(There are no elderly people who like rugby).

Clefting:

Clefting may be applied:

{54} {a} [**Ngabantu**] abadala abathanda umbhoxo
(It is old people who like rugby).

The copulative **NP** may appear in the negative.

{55} {a} [**Asingobantu**] abadala abathanda umbhoxo
(It is not old people who like rugby).
{b} [**Asiyonkabi**] ebomvu ephiwa abatshana
(It is not the red ox which has been given to the nephews).

Forcing the NP to appear with a relative clause

The fourth possibility is the one in which the **NP** is made to appear with a relative clause
e.g.

{56} Abantu abathanda umbhoxo [**ababaninzi**]
(The people who like rugby are not many).

The fifth possibility is where the **AP** or **NPrel** is made to appear with a relative clause which is in the negative:

{57} Abantu [**abangebada**] bathanda umbhoxo
(People who are not old like rugby).

3.2.1.3 The subject as a noun and a modifier with the possessive:

In this section the specified noun consisting of a noun and a possessive will be investigated how it behave in the negative when it appears with intransitive verbs.

3.2.1.3.1 With intransitive verbs

Take note of the following sentence as an example of a noun occurring with a possessive appearing with an intransitive verb:

{58} [**Abantwana benqununu bafike ngebhasi**]
(The children of the principal arrived by bus).

To put the subject noun of the sentence in {58} in the negative four things may happen:

- (i) Subject inversion;
- (ii) Relativising the clause;
- (iii) Clefting; and
- (iv) Making the possessive to appear in a relative clause which is in the negative.

Subject inversion:

When subject inversion is applied the following will be the result:

- {59} [Kufike] abantwana benqununu
(It has arrived children of the principal).
(The children of the principal have arrived).

The subject noun may now be put in the negative by negating the verb kufike.

- {60} [Akufikanga] bantwana benqununu
(No children of the principal have arrived).

Relativising the clause appearing with the noun:

When the process of relativising the clause appearing with the noun, and adding the locative absolute pronoun is applied it results in:

- {61} abantwana benqununu abafilhileyo bakhona

Subject inversion may **then be applied and the noun put in the negative by negating the copulative verb ikhona.**

- {62} {Akukho} bantwana benqununu abafikileyo

Clefting:

- {63} [Asingabantwana] benqununu abafikileyo
(It is not the principal's children who arrived).

Finally the possessive may be made to appear in a relative clause which is in the negative.

- {64} Abantwana abangengabo abenqununu bafike ngebhasi
(Children who are not the principal's arrived by bus).

In conclusion, the subject noun occurring with a possessive and appearing with transitive verb may be put in the negative by first elevating it to a focal position in the sentence.

3.2.1.3.2 With transitive verbs

Study the following example in which the subject noun occurring with possessive appears with transitive verb. A monotransitive verb is used in example {65a} and a ditransitive verb is used in example {65b}.

- {65} {a} Abantwana besikolo bathanda ukufunda
{b} Utitshala wesikolo ufundisa abantwana isiXhosa
(The school teacher teaches children Xhosa).

To put the subject of the example in {65} in the negative the possibilities as were applied with intransitive verbs can be used.

Subject inversion:

When subject inversion is used the result is:

- {66} {a} Kuthanda abantwana besikolo ukudlala
(It is liked by the school children to play).
(The school children like to play).
{b} Kufundisa utitshala wesikolo abantwana isiXhosa)
(It is taught by the teacher of the school the children isiXhosa).
(the children are taught Xhosa by the school teacher).

- {67} Akuthandi bantwana besikolo ukudlala
(It is not the school children who like to play).

Relativising the clause appearing with the noun

When the process of relativising the clause appearing with the noun, and adding the locative absolute pronoun **khona** is applied the result is:

- {68} {a} Abantwana besikolo abathanda ukudlala [**bakhona**]
(The school children who like to play are present).
{b} Utitshala wesikolo ofundisa abantwana isiXhosa [**ukhona**].
(The teacher of the school who teaches Xhosa is present).

Subject inversion may then be applied, and the subject noun put in the negative by negating the copulative.

- {69} {a} Akukho bantwana besikolo abathanda ukudlala
(There are no school children who like to play).
{b} Akuko titshala wesikolo ofundisa abantwana isiXhosa
(There is no school teacher who teaches children Xhosa).

Clefting:

When clefting is applied the result is as follows:

- {70} Ngabantwana besikolo abathanda ukudlala
(it is the school children who like to play).
- {71} {a} Asingobantwana besikolo abathanda ukudlala
(It is not the school children who like to play).

- {b}** Asingotitshala wesikolo ofundisa abantwana isiXhosa
(It is not the teacher of the school who teaches children isiXhosa).

Making the possessive to appear in the relative clause:

When the possessive is made to appear in the relative clause which is in the negative: the result is:

- {72}** **{a}** Abantwana **abangengabo** abesikolo bathanda ukudlala
(The children who are not the school children like to play).
{b} Utitshala **ongenguye** owesikolo ufundisa abantwana isiXhosa
(The teacher who is not of school teaches children Xhosa).

3.2.2 UNSPECIFIED SUBJECT

In this section the negation of the unspecified subject of the sentence will be investigated. An unspecified subject is a subject which has no reference, or whose reference is not specified, e.g.

- {73}** Akukho [**ufikileyo esikolweni sakhe**]
(There is no one who arrived at his school).

In the sentence in **{73}**, the subject is not specified. It does not refer to a specific person. There are various possibilities of expressing the unspecified subject in the negative. However, the presence of the negative copulative **a- kukho** is common in all of the possibilities.

3.2.2.1 The Unspecified subject with [-bani]:

- {74}** [**Akukho**] bani ohamba waya edolophini
(There is no one who has gone to towns).

The noun **bani** has no specific reference.

3.2.2.2 The unspecified subject with [-nto]

Having undergone the process outlined above with regard to the locative absolute pronoun **khona** and the subsequent subject inversion, and lastly, negation of the copulative **kukho**, the noun **into** lands in the environment of the negative copulative and loses its vowel.

{75} [akukho] nto ifikileyo

3.2.2.3 The unspecified subject with [noba ngubani]

The copulative **akukho** may appear with **noba ngubani**. This combination of the **noba** and the noun **ubani** in the subject position result in an unspecified subject. This combination may appear in the positive.

{76} [Noba ngubani] angamtshata umtwana wakhe
(Anyone can marry his child).

After having undergone the process outlined in relation to {73} the subject lands in the environment of the negative copulative **akukho**.

{77} [Akukho [noba ngubani] [oyibeke phezulu kwetafile]
(There is no one who has put it on the table).

Noba may appear with the quantifier **nye**.

{78} [Akukho [noba mnye] [oyibekileyo phezu kwetafile]
(There is not even one who has put it on the table).

3.2.2.4 The unspecified subject with **na**, **nye**, **phi**

The copulative **akukho** may appear with the conjunct **na**, and the quantifiers **nye** and **phi**. The combination of the conjunct **na** and **nye** and **na** and **phi**, in the subject position add up to an unspecified subject. These two combinations may not appear in the positive.

The unspecified subject may be put in the negative by negating the copulative **akukho**.

- {79} {a} [akukho [namnye oyibeke phezu kwetafile]
(There is not one person who has put it on the table).
- {b} [Akukho [nawuphi oyibeke phezu kwetafile]
(There is no one who has put it on the table).

3.2.3 SCOPE OF NEGATIVE IN RELATION TO THE SUBJECT NP

The scope of the negative on the immediate constituent i.e. within its immediate environment will be investigated.

The constituent which occupies the object position of a transitive verb may frequently be indefinite. The conditions under which this interpretation can be possible will be examined. NP noun phrases in a sentence may either be definite, i.e. have identifiable referents. or indefinite i.e. have no identifiable referents. The conditions for indentifiability of referents will be determined by a semantic marker called **modal operator**.

One of the various modal operators available, which may have an influence on noun phrases is the negative.

Therefore, negative morphemes like **-a**, **-nga-**, **-anga-** and **-ka** all have a semantic marker **NEG**.

Associated with each lexical item or morpheme bearing a modal operator is a structural relation called the scope of the modal operator. The scope of the modal operator is that portion of the sentence within which the modal operator may affect claims about the indentifiability of referents.

3.2.3.1 On the subject NP

The subject NP is the first sentence constituent falling within the scope of the modal operator of the negative which will be examined.

3.2.3.1.1 The noun only

Consider the following examples of sentences in which the subject noun falls within the scope of the modal operator of the negative verb.

{80} {a} Akafundiswanga [**mantombazana**] isiNgesi esikolweni
(It was not taught any girls English at school).

{b} Akufundiswanga [**amantombazana**] isiNgesi esikolweni
(It was not taught girls English at school).

The nouns [mantombazana] in {80}{a} and [amantombazana] in {80}{b} fall within the scope of the modal operator NEG, [Akufundiswanga]. It is the scope of this modal operator which affects claims about the indentifiability of referents of the nouns in question above, **mantombazana** and **amantombazana**.

The noun **mantombazana** in {80}{a} is within the scope of modal operator of NEG. This has resulted in it being rendered indefinite. An indefinite noun phrase is one that has no reference to a particular thing or person so that the noun **mantombazana**, which means **any girls** do not refer to any specific girls. It is, therefore, non-specific.

In isiXhosa non-specific noun phrases are recognised by the absence of the initial vowel of the definite prefix of the noun which is there in the positive.

{81} [Amantombazana] afunde isiNgesi esikolweni
(The girls learnt English at school).

The NP **amantombazana** in {80}{b} though also within the scope of the modal operator **NEG**, retains its status of being definite. The retention by the NP of the initial vowel in the construction in {80}{b} within the scope of the negative, has a semantic implication suggesting that there is an alternative e.g.

{82} Akufundanga amantombazana isiNgesi esikolweni
(kufunde amadoda, amakhwenkwe, abafazi njlnjl)
(It was not learnt by the girls English at school, but by the men, boys and women etc.)

One may, therefore, conclude that non-specificity in the case of subject NP of a sentence is induced optionally by **NEG**, as the initial vowel of the NP may either be dropped or retained as in {80} above.

3.2.3.1.2 Consisting of a noun with a modifier

The specified noun consisting of a noun and modifier may be linked to different forms of modifier such as adjective or relative, **N + Possessive** and **N + Relative clause**.

Consisting of an adjective:

The following are examples of sentences within which the subject noun + **adjective** or **relative** falls within the scope of the modal operator **NEG**.

{83} {a} Akufikanga [**madoda made**] ekhaya
(There did not arrive any tall men at home).

- {b}** Akukho [**moto ibomvu**] emsebenzini wakhe
(There is no red car at her work).

The noun **madoda** in **{83}** which appears with an adjective modifier **made** and **moto** which appears with a relative modifier **ibomvu** are within the scope and direct influence of the modal operator NEG. Both the nouns have dropped their initial vowels and as a result, have no identifiable referent as previously explained above.

However, the initial vowel of both nouns may be retained e.g.

- {84}** **{a}** Akufikanga [**amadoda amade**] ekhaya
(There did not arrive tall men at home).
{b} Akukno [**imoto ebomvu**] emsebenzini wakhe
(There is no red car at his work).

In **{84}** above, the subject NP retains its status of being definite. The retention by the nouns of the initial vowel has a semantic implication of an alternative, as outlined above.

Conclusion therefore is that, where the noun occurs with either an adjective or a relative, the question of non-specificity in the case of the subject NP is induced optionally as in the case where only the noun appears as the subject.

Consisting of a noun and a possessive

The following are examples of sentences within which the noun with a possessive falls within the scope of modal operator NEG.

- {85}** **{a}** Akuhambanga [**mntwana womfundisi**] esikolweni sethu
(There did not leave any child of the priest from our school).

- {b}** Akuhambanga [**mntwana wamfundisi**] esikolweni sethu
(There did not leave no child of no priest from our school).

The noun **mntwana** with the possessive **wamfundisi** in **{85}** falls within the scope of the negative verb **akuhambanga**.

In **{85}{a}**, only the noun, and not the noun with the possessive, has dropped its initial vowel, and has therefore no identifiable referent.

In **{85}{b}**, both the noun and the possessive have dropped their initial vowels. Both these constituents have no identifiable referent. This has a semantic implication of a more vigorous and emphatic negation.

But, the initial vowel of both nouns may be retained, in which case it would have a semantic implication of an alternative as outlined above.

In conclusion, with regard to noun + possessive, either only the first noun may drop its vowel or both may drop their vowels or no vowels may be dropped.

Consisting of a noun and a relative clause:

The sentences that follow are examples within which the subject NP occurring with a relative clause falls within the scope of the modal operator **NEG**.

- {86} {a}** Akukho [**nkwenkwe ebayo**] apha ekhaya
(There is no boy who is stealing at this house).
{b} Akukho [**inkwenkwe ebayo**] apha ekhaya
(There is no boy who is stealing at this house).
{c} Akukho [**nkwenkwe ibayo**] apha ekhaya

The noun [**nkwenkwe**], occurring with a relative clause **ebayo** in {86} above falls within the scope of the modal operator **NEG**. However, only the noun [**nkwenkwe**] in {86}{a} is affected by the influence of the modal operator **NEG** which has caused it to drop its initial vowel, and became indefinite, while in {86}{c} both the noun and the possessive are indefinite.

3.2.3.2 On the object NP

The sentence constituent to be examined is that of the object. The focus of this investigation will be the possibility that the influence of modal operator **NEG** on the subject can be extended to the object.

The sentences that follow are examples within which the subject noun occurs together with the object **NP**.

- {87} {a} Akukho [mfundisi othuke [**amarhamente**]] kule cawa
 (There is not present any priest who has insulted the congregation at this church).
- {b} Akukho [**mfundisi othuka**] [**marhamente**] kule cawa
 (There is not present any priest who insults any congregation in this church).
- {c} Akukho [mfundisi owathukileyo [**amaramente**]] kule cawa
 (There is not present any priest who has insulted any congregation at this church).

According to sentences {87}{a, c} the object **NP amarhamente** does not seem to be affected by the fact that the subject appears within the scope of the negative, whether the subject has its initial vowel dropped as is in {87}, or whether it is retained as in {88} below, and whether the object agreement is represented on the verb as in {87}{c}.

{88} Akukho [**umfundisi**] othuke amarhamente]

(There is not present a priest who has insulted the congregation).

The object NP in {87}{b} however, is affected by the fact that the subject NP appears within the scope of the negative. It is without its initial vowel and as a result, it is indefinite.

Not only is the object NP affected, the verb **wothuka** preceding it appears in the past tense relative without the definite morpheme **a-**. This causes it to appear within the scope of the negative and to be indefinite.

This is the indefiniteness of the preceding relative verb that causes the object NP **marhamente** in {87}{b} to be indefinite.

In conclusion therefore, the object NP is not affected by the negative, except in the case of an emphatic negation in which the relative verb, preceding the object NP, is affected by negation, e.g. by losing its definite morpheme **a-** as in {87}{b} above.

3.2.3.3 Adjunct NP

In this section, the possibility of the modal operator **Neg** having an influence on the adjunct NP will be investigated.

The following sentences are examples within which the adjunct NP occurs together with a subject NP.

{89} {a} Akukho [ntsimi ezakuwela [**emntwaneni**]] ndisekho

(There is no field that will fall to a child while I'm still alive).

{b} Akukho [ntsimi yawela [mntwaneni] ndisekho

(There is no field that will fall to any child while I'm still alive).

The adjunct NP in {89}{a} **emntwaneni**, is not affected by the negative. It follows the same pattern as was explained above i.e. because the relative verb preceding it is not affected, it is also not affected.

On the other hand, the adjunct NP **mntwaneni** in {89}{b} is affected by the negative, mainly because the relative verb preceding it is affected as is explained above.

The conclusion therefore is that only if the verb that precedes the adjunct NP, which appears in the relative, is forced to appear in the past tense, in which case it is able to drop its definite morpheme in response to negativity, can the adjunct NP be influenced by the negative.

3.2.3.4 Embedded NP

The following are examples of sentences where the subject appears within an embedded clause.

{90} Akazange aqonde ukuba [**ilanga litshonile**]
(He never realised that the sun has set).

In the above example the embedded NP [**ilanga**] is not affected by the negative verb in the matrix clause.

3.3 THE OBJECT

This section will investigate the possibility of putting the object NP of a sentence in the negative. The object NP will be investigated as specified and as unspecified.

3.3.1 SPECIFIED OBJECT

The object of a sentence is either specified or unspecified. The specified object is one whose reference is identified.

3.3.1.1 Consisting of a noun only

In this section the object noun, which may consist of a noun only will be investigated when expressed in the negative together with monotransitive verbs and ditransitive verbs.

3.3.1.1.1 The noun with monotransitive verbs

Firstly, the object may be put in the scope of the negative by negating the verb occurring with it, in this case the monotransitive verb as in the following:

- {91} {a} Amadoda awatyanga [**mngqusho**] emngcwabeni wakhe
(The men did not eat any samp at his funeral).
- {b} Amadoda awazange atye [**mngqusho**] emngcwabeni wakhe
(The men never ate any samp at his funeral).

In the above examples {91} the object **NP mngqusho** appears without the initial vowel. This is because the verb in both sentences i.e. {91}{a,b} falls within the scope of the modal operator **NEG**. The loss of its pre-prefix has rendered the object **NP** indefinite i.e. it has no identifiable referent. It now has a broad meaning **any samp**, in the men did not eat any samp instead of just “samp”.

The object noun in {91} which is without its initial vowel may appear with the conjunct **na-** as follows.

- {92} {a} Amadoda awatyanga [**namngqusho**] emngcwabeni wakhe
(The men did not eat even any samp at his funeral).
- {b} Amadoda awazange atye [**namngqusho**] emngcwabeni wakhe
(The men never ate any samp at his funeral).

The appearance of conjunct **na** above adds emphasis to already existing negation, that of “not even”. It is now as if the men did not eat anything, not even samp which is always available at a funeral.

This **na-** may also appear with quantifiers – **phi, nye and odwa**:

- {93} {a} Abamemanga [**nasiphina isihlobo sakho**] embulisweni wakhe
(They did not invite not even any of his friends to his farewell).
{b} Irhamente ayimemanga [**namnye umfundisi**] embulisweni wakhe
(The congregation did not invite not even one priest to his farewell).

The conjunct **na** in {93} above together with the quantifiers add emphasis to the negation as in **nasiphina** {not even anyone}, **namnye** (not even one).

However, unlike as in {91} the object **NP** may appear with its initial vowel,

- {94} {a} Amadoda awatyanga [**umngqusho**] emngcwabeni wakhe
(The men did not eat samp at his funeral).
{b} Amadoda awazange atye [**umngqusho**] emngcwabeni wakhe
(The men never ate samp at his funeral).

The object **NP** in {94} has not been morphologically affected by the negative within the scope of the negative verb “**awatyanga**” and **awazange atye**. In both examples, it retains its initial vowel.

However it has been semantically affected. According to {94} it is a fact that the men did not eat samp, but it does not end there. They did eat something else which is not mentioned.

- {95} Amadoda [awatyanga [**umngqusho**] emngcwabeni wakhe, [**atya inyama, imfuno kunye nezonka**]
{The men did not eat samp at the funeral, they ate meat, vegetables and bread).

Secondly, the object **NP** may be expressed in the negative by first clefting it. The following sentence is an example within which the object **NP** appears in the positive.

{96} Amadoda atye [**umngqusho**] emngcwabeni
(The men ate samp at the funeral).

When clefting, the object **NP** appears in a focus position at the beginning of the sentence where it appears with a copula and is followed by a relative clause:

{97} Ngumngqusho [**abawutyileyo abantwana**] emngcwabeni
(it is the samp that children ate at the funeral).

The copulative **NP** in {97} may appear as subject of a copulative clause with the locative pronoun **khona**:

{98} Umngqusho abawutyileyo abantwana [ukhona]

In this sentence subject inversion may be applied whereby the subject, together with the relative clause, may move to the post verbal adjunct position.

In order to put the **NP** in the negative the copulative may be negated as follows:

{99} Akukho mngqusho abawutyileyo abantwana emngcwabeni
(There is not present any samp the children ate at the funeral).

The **NP** in {99} may appear with the conjunct **na** with the quantifiers **phi, nye, odwa** before the object **NP** as illustrated below.

- {100} {a} Akukho nasiphina isihlobo sakhe asimemileyo embulisweni wakhe
(There is not present not even any relative of his that she invited to his
farewell).
- {b} Akukho namnye umrhamente umfundisi ammemileyo embulisweni
wakhe
(There is not present even one congregant that the priest invited to
his farewell).
- {c} Akukho nokuba abemnye umrhamente umfundisi ammemileyo
embulisweni wakhe.

3.3.1.1.2 The noun with ditransitive verbs

The specified object noun when expressed in the negative in association with ditransitive verbs i.e. verbs with two objects, one a direct object and the other an indirect object will now be investigated,

In the following example the noun **abantwana** is the indirect object and **umsebenzi** is the direct object.

- {101} Umfundisi unika [**abantwana**][**umsebenzi**]
(The priest gives children work).

The object NP may be put in the scope of the negative by negating the verb, in this case, the ditransitive verb preceding it.

- {102} Umfundisi [akanikanga [**bantwana**] umsebenzi
(The priest did not give any children work).

In {102} above only the indirect object **bantwana** is affected. In the process it has lost its initial vowel and is, therefore indefinite as well.

The negation may be emphasised by putting both the direct and indirect objects in the scope of the negative. In this example both the direct and indirect objects are without the initial vowels and, therefore, indefinite:

{103} Umfundisi akanikanga bantwana msebenzi
(The priest did not give any children any work).

The direct object may also appear in the scope of the negative without affecting the indirect object.

{104} Umfundisi akanikanga abantwana [msebenzi]
(The priest did not give the children any work).

In **{104}** above, the direct object **msebenzi** is without its initial vowel, and therefore indefinite. However, the object NP's may appear with their initial vowels:

{105} uMfundisi akanikanga abantwana umsebenzi
(The priest did not give children work).

In **{105}** above, the object, though in the environment of the negative, retains its initial vowel and it has the same semantic implication of an alternative.

{106} Umundisi akanikanga abantwana umsebenzi, unike abazali, abasebenzi njl-njl
(The priest did not give children work, he gave work to parents, workers,
etc.)

The object NP when it occurs with a ditransitive verb may be put in the negative by first clefting it.

The following sentences are examples within which the object to be negated is clefted.

- {107} {a} [Ngabantwana] umfundisi abanike umsebenzi
(It is the children that the priest gave work to).
{b} [Ngumsebenzi] umfundisi awunike abantwana
(It is work that the priest gave to the children).

In {107} above, the objects to be clefted are elevated to a focus position through clefting. In {107}{a} the indirect object is clefted, and in {107}{b}, the direct object is clefted.

The copulative in both sentences in {107} may appear in the negative as follows:

- {108} [Asingobantwana] umfundisi abanike umsebenzi
(It is not children the priest gave work to).
[Asingomsebenzi] uMfundisi anike abantwana
(It is not work the priest gave to the children).

The NP in {103} may also appear as a subject of a copulative clause with the locative pronoun **khona**.

- {109} {a} Abantwana umfundisi abanike umsebenzi [bakhona]
(The children the priest gave work to are present).
{b} Umsebenzi umfundisi awunike abantwana [ukhona]
(The work the priest gave to the children is present).

Subject inversion may be applied to {109} above and to put the clefted object in the scope of the negative, the new copulative verb may be negated:

- {110} {a} Akukho [bantwana umfundisi abanike amsebenzi]
(There is not present any children the priest gave work to).

- {b} Akukho [**msebenzi umfundisi awunike abantwana**]
(There is not present any work the priest gave to the children).

The noun phrase **NP** may appear with the conjunct **na-** together with the quantifiers **phi**, **nye** before the **NP**.

- {111} {a} Akukho [**nawuphi / namnye umntwana umfundisi amnike umsebenzi**]
(There is not present even any / even one child the priest gave work to.
{b} Akukho [**nawuphi umsebenzi umfundisi awunike abantwana**]
(There is not present even any / even one work the priest gave to the children).

3.3.2 UNSPECIFIED OBJECT

The unspecified object i.e. the noun which has no identifiable reference will now be investigated to see how it behaves when expressed in the negative.

There are various possibilities in which the unspecified object noun may be expressed in the negative consider the following example:

- {112} Umfama ubedubula nokuba yintoni ephambi kwakhe
(The farmer was shooting at anything before him).

The object **nokuba yintoni** in {112} above does not refer to any identifiable referent. It is therefore unspecified. The unspecified object may appear in the negative. The unspecified object [**nokuba yintoni**] in {112} which consists of **nokuba** and the copulative **yintoni** may be put in the negative by negating the verb of the sentence as follows:

- {113} Umfama [**ubengadubuli nokuba yintoni**] ephambi kwakhe
(The farmer was not shooting at anything that is before him).

The following nouns may serve as unspecified object nouns:

Into, ubani

To put these object nouns in the scope of the negative, the verb with which they appear is put in the negative. In this way the above nouns, which are now in the environment of a verb in the negative, lose their initial vowels. In this way they are rendered indefinite as can be illustrated in the following examples:

{114} {a} Umfama ebengabulali [**nto**] ephambi kwakhe

{b} Umfama ebengabulali [**mntu**] ophambi kwakhe

{c} Umfama ebengabulali [**bani**] ophambi kwakhe

(The farmer was not shooting at anything/nobody/anyone/nothing).

The following combinations [**namnye umntu nawuphi umntu**], which consist of the conjunct **na-** the quantifier **nye** or **phi** and the noun **umntu** may appear as unspecified object nouns as in {114} above and illustrated in the following example.

{115} Umfama ebengabulali [**namnye umntu / nawuphi umntu**] ophambi kwakhe

(The farmer was not shooting at even one person / any person who was before him).

3.3.3 SCOPE OF NEGATIVE IN RELATION TO THE OBJECT NP

In this section, the scope of the negative as outlined above will be investigated.

3.3.3.1 On the object NP

The behaviour of the object **NP** in its various forms falling within the scope of the modal operator **NEG** will be investigated to see how it performs.

3.3.3.1.1 Consisting of a noun only

The following are examples of sentences within which the object noun falls within the scope of the modal operator **NEG**.

- {116} {a} Umfundisi akafuni [**nyama**] namhlanje
(The priest does not want any meat today).
{b} Umfundisi akafuni [**inyama**] namhlanje
(The priest does not want meat today).

The object nouns **nyama** and **inyama** both fall within the scope of the modal operator **NEG**. The fact that one has dropped its initial vowel and become indefinite or unspecified, as is evident in {116}{a} above is evidence that even with the object noun specificity is induced optionally by modal operator **NEG**, as with the subject noun.

3.3.3.1.2 The noun with a modifier

There are a number of possibilities concerning the form of the modifier.

Consisting of a noun and an adjective or relative:

Consider the following examples of sentences in which the object noun with an adjective or nominal relative clause falls within the scope of the modal operator **NEG**.

- {117} {a} Umfundisi akafuni [**nyama eninzi**] namhlanje
(The priest does not want any meat that is much today).
{b} Umfundisi akafuni [**nyama ebomvu**] namhlanje
(The priest does not want any meat that is red today).

The object noun **inyama**, occurring with adjective **eninzi** in {117}{a} is within the scope and direct influence of the modal operator **NEG**. It has dropped its initial vowel, and as a result, has no identifiable referent.

The scope of the negative may include the adjective and relative in which case the definite morpheme *a* will fall away:

{118} Akafuni [nyama ininzi]
Akafuni [nyama ibomvu]

However, the nouns in {117} may retain their initial vowel and semantic implication of an alternative as in the following:

{119} {a} Umfundisi akafuni [**inyama eninzi**] namhlanje
(The priest does not want meat which is much today).
{b} Umfundisi akafuni [**inyama ebomvu**] namhlanje
(The priest does not want meat which is red today).

The conclusion is that the influence of the modal operator **NEG** on the noun occurring with either an adjective or relative is optional in that it can either drop its initial vowel or retain it.

Consisting of a noun and a possessive:

The following examples of sentences within which the noun together with a possessive falls within the scope of the modal operator **NEG**.

{120} {a} Umfundisi akafuni [**nyama**] yebhokhwe
(The priest does not want any meat of a goat).

- {b}** uMfundisi akafuni [**nyama yabhokhwe**]
(The priest does not want any meat of any goat).

In **{120}{a}**, only the noun occurring with the possessive has dropped its initial vowel in response to being within the scope of the modal operator **NEG**. However in **{120}{b}** both the noun and the **NP** with the possessive have dropped their initial vowels. This has the semantic implication of a more emphatic negation.

The noun may retain its initial vowel, in which case the semantic implication would suggest an alternative e.g.

- {121}** Umfundisi akafuni [inyama yebhokhwe] namhlanje [**ufuna eyehagu**]
(The priest does not want meat of a goat today) (he wants that of a pig).

In this case the conclusion is that in the environment of the negative verb, the object noun only may lose its initial vowel whereas both the object noun and the **NP** in the possessive may lose their initial vowels or there may be no loss of the initial vowel at all by either the object noun or the **NP** in the possessive.

Consisting of a noun and a relative clause:

The following are examples of sentences in which the object noun occurring with a verbal relative clause falls within the scope of the modal operator **NEG**.

- {122} {a}** Akukho [**nyama abayifunayo**] abantu
(There is no meat that the people want).
{b} Akukho [**nyama bayifunayo**] abantu
(There is no meat that the people want).

The noun **nyama** occurring with a relative sentence in {122}{a} is affected by the influence of the modal operator **NEG**, which has caused it to drop its initial vowel and become indefinite.

In {122}{b} the influence of the negative is expanded to the relative clause, where the initial vowel is left out. This adds emphasis to the statement.

The conclusion is that the influence of the modal operator **NEG** on the noun occurring with a relative sentence is not optional. Instead it may extend to the relative clause.

3.3.1.2 On the adjunct NP

The following are examples of sentences within which the object noun occurs together with an adjunct.

- {123} {a} Andithengi moto [**marikeni**]
(I buy no car from any market).
- {b} Andithengi imoto [**emarikeni**]
(I buy no car from the market).
- {c} Andithengi imoto [**emarikeni**]
(I do not buy a car from the market).

In {123}{a} the adjunct follows the object which is without its initial vowel and it also appears without an initial vowel.

The initial vowel which is left out makes the sentence to be more emphatic.

In {123}{b} it does not drop the initial vowel though it is in the same position as {123}{a}.

Therefore a conclusion can be made that in a sentence where the object noun appears with an adjunct the dropping of the initial vowel in the environment of the negative verb is optional.

3.3.3.1.4 The embedded NP

The example that follows is a sentence in which the object appears with an embedded noun.

{124} Utitshala akafuni ukuba sitshaye [**icuba**]
(The teacher does not want us to smoke tobacco).

Icuba the embedded noun above is not morphologically affected by the fact that the object appears within the scope of the negative in the sentence. This is mainly because the verb preceding it does not appear in the negative.

In the following example the embedded NP follows a negative verb, and is therefore, within the scope of the modal operator **NEG**.

{125} Umalume [akaqondi ukuba asitshayi [**cuba**]
(Uncle does not understand that we are not smoking tobacco).

3.3.4 THE NEGATIVE SCOPE IN RELATION TO OTHER CONSTITUENTS

The following are some further cases in which the negative needs to be considered.

3.3.4.1 nga- with the NP

The prepositional phrase **PP** with **nga-** may not be negated, but the complement **NP** of **nga** may appear within the negative scope.

The sentences that follow are examples within which the **NP** is put in the scope of the negative by negating the verb of the sentence.

- {126} {a} Ubuntu [**abuthengwa nga- mali**]
(Humanity is not bought by money).
- {b} Abantwana [**abakhali nga- nto imbi**]
(The children are not complaining about anything bad).
- {c} [**Abancokoli nga-bani**]
They are not conversing about anyone.

In the examples {126}, all the three nouns occurring with **PP nga-** have dropped their initial vowels.

The sentences in {126} can be emphatically negated by adding **na-** and **phi**.

- {127} {a} Ubuntu [**abuthengwa na-nga-mali**]
(Humanity is not bought even by money).
- {b} Abantwana [**abakhali na-nga-nto imbi**]
(Children are not complaining about even anything bad).
- {c} Abantwana abancokoli na-nga-bani
(Children are not conversing even about anyone).

The noun phrase which is the complement of **nga-** may be clefted and it may then appear with a relative clause. This new **NP** will then appear as subject of the copulative and the locative absolute pronoun **khona** may be forced to appear with this relative clause. The following illustrates the effect of such changes.

- {128} [**Imali ekuthengwa ngayo**] intsangu [**ikhona**]
(The money dagga is bought with is present).

Subject inversion is then applied, and the copulative at the beginning of the sentence is negated.

{128} Akukho mali ekuthengwa ngayo intsangu
(There is not present any money dagga is bought with).

Another method is that in which the **PP** with **nga-** and the **NP** may be clefted and it may then appear with a copula followed by a relative clause.

The above **PP** may be clefted in two possible ways. The following examples illustrate that.

- {129} {a} [Kungomzamo] wabahlali baseKapa ukuba abe ngusodolophu
(It is because of the effort made by residents of Cape Town that he is the mayor).
- {b} [Kuzakuba ngumzamo] wabahlali baseKapa ukuba abe nguSodolophu
(It will be because of the efforts made by the residents of Cape Town that he be the mayor).

The copulatives in {129} may be written in the negative.

- {130} {a} Akungomzamo wabahlali baseKapa ukuba abe nguSodolophu
{It is not because of the efforts made by the community of Cape Town that he be the mayor}.
- {b} Akuzukuba ngumzamo wabahlali baseKapa ukuba abe ngusodolophu
(It will not be because of the efforts made by the community of Cape Town that he be the mayor).

3.3.4.2 na- with the NP

As in the case of **nga-** the **PP** with **na-** may fall within the scope of the negative verb.

- {131} {a} [Akahambi na-mntu / na-mntana] ukuya edolophini
(He does not go with anybody / any child to town).
{b} Abantwana abana-nto ekhaya
(The children do not have anything at home).

In the above examples {131} the nouns appearing with **na-** are all without the initial vowel showing that they are affected by being within the scope of negative.

The **NP** which is the complement of **na-** may also be clefted and it may then appear with a relative clause as in {128}. This new **NP** will then appear as subject of the copulative. When this occurs the locative absolute **khona** may be forced to appear with the relative clause as in the sentence that follow.

- {132} [Umfo] ahamba naye [ukhona]
{The man he goes along with is here).

It is then possible to apply subject inversion and the copulative at the beginning of the sentence is put in the negative.

- {133} {a} Akukho mntu ahamba naye
(There is not present any person whom he is going along with).

The prepositional phrase **PP na-** may also be clefted. The clefted **PP** may then appear with the copula be followed by a relative clause.

- {134} {a} Kukho abantu ahamba nabo ecaweni
(There are people whom he attends the church with).
{b} Kukho into aba-na-yo edolopluni
(There is something they have in town).

The sentences in {134} may be written in the negative.

- {135} {a} Akukho bantu ahamba na-bo eCaweni
(There are no persons that he goes to church with).
{b} Akukho nto aba-na-yo edolophini
(There is nothing they have in town).

3.3.4.3 The Copula with the NP

Within the scope of the negative verb the NP may appear as complement of the copula.

- {136} {a} Intloko [**ayityiwa bantwana**]
(The head is not eaten by children).
{b} Isizwe [**asimelwa makhwenke**]
(The country cannot be represented by boys).

The pre-prefix and the copula of the noun in {136} have fallen away.

The nouns **abantwana** and **amakhwenkwe** may appear with **na** and **phi** with a copula after a negative verb as in the following:

- {137} {a} Intloko [**ayityiwa nangabantwana**]
(The head is not eaten even by children).
{b} Isizwe [**asimelwa nangakhwenkwe**]
(The country cannot be represented even by children).
{c} Akazange [**abethwe nangubani na**]
(He was never beaten by even anyone).

3.3.4.4 The NPLoc

The NPLoc may fall within the scope of the negative and lose its vowel e-:

- {138} {a} uThamsanqa akayi [**mngcwabeni**]
(Thamsanqa is not going to any funeral).
{b} Bona abaThembu abathethi [**Caweni**]
(The Thembu's do not speak at the church).

Emphasis for negation can be done in the above sentences by adding **na-** before the NPLoc.

- {139} {a} Andizange ndiye [**na**-kuwuphi umngcwabo]
(I never went to any funeral).

The NPLoc may be also clefted and may appear with a relative clause and a copula attached to the NPLoc.

- {140} {a} KuseMtata apho ndifikela khona
(It is in Umtata where I usually arrive at).
{b} Kusesesikolweni apho sonwaba khona
(It is at school where we become happy).

The negative of {140}:

- {141} {a} KuseMtata apho ndingafikeli khona
(It is not Umtata where it usually arrive at)
{b} Kusesikolweni apho singonwabi khona
(It is at school where we not usually happy)

3.3.4.5 The interrogative **nini**

The interrogative **nini** may appear in the scope of the negative.

The sentences that follow are examples with the interrogative **nini** that appear with the negative.

- {142} {a} Andisokuze [**nanini**] ndibe ndiyikhwele inqanawa
(I will never ever again ride on the ship).
{b} Abantwana abanakuze baqeshwe [**nanini**]
(Children can never ever be employed).

When the interrogative **nini** appears with conjunct **na-** it brings about the meaning of **never** as is the case with {142} above.

In the positive, this **nini** has a semantic meaning of **ever** e.g.

- {143} Nokuba ufika **nini** ndasoloko ndikhona
(No matter whatever time you come I will always be there).

3.3.4.6 The NP indicating time

The NP indicating time may appear in the scope of the negative.

The negative of {143}

- {144} Nokuba ufika **nini** ndakusoloko ndigekho
(No matter whatever time you come I will always not be there)

3.3.4.7 Njalo

The copulative may appear in the negative of the participle. The adverb **njalo** may be put in the negative by clefting it.

- {145} {a}** uThemba wayeya ahambe ngololiwe xa esiya edolophini
[kungenjalo] ngenyawo xa engenamali
(Themba used to travel by train when going to town, if not travel
on foot when he did not have money).
- {b}** Masithandaze sinyanisile [kungenjalo] asiyi kuphumelela
(Let us be sincere we pray, if not we shall fail).

3.3.4.8 The infinitive clause

The infinitive clause may fall within the scope of negative. Consider the following sentences:

- {146} {a}** Umqeshi ukhetha [ukusebenza]
(The employer prefers to work).
- {b}** Abafana bathanda [ukusebenza]
(Young men like to work).
- {c}** uTitshala uthanda [ukubancoma] abantwana
(The teacher likes to praise the children).

The sentences in **{146}** can be written in the negative as follows:

- {147} {a}** Umqeshi akakhethi [ukusebenza]
(The employer prefers not to work)
- {b}** Umqeshi akathethi [kusebenza]
(The employer prefers not to work)
- {c}** uTitshala akathandi [ukuncoma] abantwana
(The teacher does not like to praise children)
- {d}** uTitshala akathandi [kuncoma] bantwana
(The teacher does not like to praise children)

The sentences in {146} can be written in the negative as follows:

CP with ukuba:

- {148} {a} Andifuni [**ukuba bandincede**]
(I do not want them to help me)
{b}* Andifuni [**kuba bandincede**]

CHAPTER FOUR

CONCLUSION

This chapter aims at summarising the findings contained in the previous chapters.

In Chapter one I have stated the aim of the study. It also gives a brief overview of negation in syntax with special emphasis on negation as an inflectional category, the structure of functional phrases and the theory of modal structure.

Chapter two deals with negative morphemes. The first part of chapter two deals with negative morphemes occurring with non-copulative verbs and the second part deals with copulative verbs. In both cases the verbs are looked at as they occur in the various moods and tenses and the general conclusion is that all negative morphemes occurring with the above-mentioned verbs like to appear with the subject agreement.

The following conclusions with regard to the non-copulative verbs were reached:

In the indicative mood the present must have a negative prefix **a-** and negative suffix **-i**. Unlike all other negative prefixes which appear after the subject agreement, **a-** appears before the subject agreement. These morphemes do not allow for anything to appear before them. It was also noted that suffix **-i** does not occur with verbs not ending in **-a**.

The future tense must have negative prefix **a-** followed by an infinitive clause. The negative indicative verbs in this tense may be used in a variety of shortened forms without affecting the semantic interpretation.

The perfect tense must have negative prefix **a-** and negative suffix **-anga** for non-stative verbs and only negative prefix **a-** for stative verbs.

The **A-** past tense has no negative of its own. Instead, it relies on deficient verbs for expressing it in the negative.

In the participle the present tense must have negative affix **–anga** after the subject agreement, together with negative suffix **–i**.

The future tense must have negative morpheme **nga-** after the subject agreement followed by an infinitive clause. The motion verb **–za** which is one of two, the other being **–ya**, has a latent **i-** which coalesces with the **–a-** of negative **nga-**, resulting in an alternative negative morpheme **–nge-** for the immediate future tense.

The perfect tense must have negative affix **nga-** after the subject agreement for stative verbs, and negative affixes **nga-** and **–anga** for non-stative verbs.

The A-past tense has no examples of the participle in the positive or negative.

In the relative the present tense must have negative morpheme **–nga-** and negative suffix **–i**. Some relative verbs take the relative marker **–yo** at the end of the verb. The occurrence of this **–yo** is however not compulsory in isiXhosa.

The future tense must have negative affix **–nga-** after the subject agreement.

The perfect must have **–nga-** after the subject agreement for stative verbs and affixes **–nga-** and **–anga** for non-stative verbs.

The infinitive verb is not marked for tense. In order to appear in the negative it must have negative morpheme **–nga-**.

In the subjunctive the verb is also not marked for tense. In order for it to appear in the negative it must have negative morpheme **–nga-** and suffix **–i**.

In the potential the verb must have negative morpheme **-nge-** and a negative suffix **-e** which occurs only with the potential negative.

In the imperative the verb must have negative morpheme **-nga-** after **AgrS** and negative suffix **i** in the negative.

In the hortative the verb must have negative affix **-nga-** and negative suffix **i** in the negative.

In the case of the consecutive clause which may consist of a subjunctive clause, where the matrix verb is in the imperative, present or future tense, a subjunctive clause follows, the negative must have negative morpheme **-nga-** and negative morpheme **-i**. However, where the matrix verb is in the perfect tense or in the A past, the negative must have negative morpheme **-nga-** only.

The following conclusions were reached with regard to the copulative verbs.

The negative of the **NP** copulative with no subject agreement, which appears with no prepositional agreement in the indicative, must have negative prefix **a-**, a negative affix **-si-** and the copula of the head noun. Alternatively the **NP** may occur without any copula, which makes it indefinite, and the negation emphatic.

When the **NP** copulative occurs with the prepositional agreement in the indicative mood, the **NP** copulative with no agreement subject must have negative prefix **a-** preceding negative affix **si-**.

The negative of the **NP** copulative with subject agreement occurring with or without prepositional agreement in the indicative must have negative prefix **a-** and **AgrS** followed by a copulative **NP** or by prepositional agreement preceding a copulative **NP** with or without a copula. The affect of the presence or absence of the copula is the same as

expressed above under indicative. Negative morpheme **–si-** may be added after the subject agreement. It has an effect of an added emphasis on the negative.

The negative of the **NP** copulative with subject agreement occurring with or without prepositional agreement in the participle and relative must have negative morpheme **nga-** or **nge-** and negative affix **–si-**. In instances where **–si-** is used **–nga-** appears, and where **–si-** is not used, **nge-** appears.

The exception for the fact that subject agreement is not used with the relative, the **NP** copulative, when put in the negative in the participle and relative behaves in the same manner as in the indicative above.

The negative of the **AP** copulative in the indicative must have negative morpheme **a-**, and a negative **AgrS** of the adjective occurring with the adjective. With disyllabic adjective stems, the first part of the adjective prefix may be left out.

The negative of the **AP** copulative in the participle and relative must have the **AgrS** of the adjective and relative respectively, negative morpheme **–nge-**, which is derived from [**ngati**], and the negative **AgrS** occurring with the adjective. Disyllabic adjective stems behave in the same way as in the indicative above.

The negative of the **Nprel** copulative in the indicative behaves in the same way as that of the **AP** copulative above. The same applies to that of the participle and relative. Their negatives are the same as for the **AP** copulative.

Any locative may occur as the complement of a copulative. However, for the purpose of this study the following locative complements were considered.

- The locative noun phrase
- Locative nominal modifiers

- The locative with preposition **ku** and **nga-**

The negative of the **NPLoc** copulative consisting of the old locative noun class in the indicative must have negative morpheme **a-**, **AgrS** and **kho**. In the participle and relative it must have the **AgrS** of participle or relative, negative morpheme **nge-**, and **kho**. With regard to the **NPLoc** with [e-] and or [-ini], negative **-nge-** appears with the absolute pronoun **khona**.

The negative of the locative nominal modifiers is the same as that of the locative noun phrase above.

The negative of the locative with preposition **ku-** must have the following in the indicative morpheme **a**, **AgrS** and **PP** with **ku-**. In the participle and the relative it must consist of **AgrS** of the participle or relative and negative morpheme **-nge-** before the **PP** with **ku-**.

In all three moods above, negative **-nge-** may appear with the absolute pronoun **khona** before the **PP** with **ku-**.

The negative of the locative **PP** with **nga** copulative must have the following:

In the indicative it must have negative morpheme **a** before **AgrS**. In the participle and relative it must have **AgrS**, negative **-nge-** followed by the **PP** with **nga-**. Alternatively, **AgrS**, negative **nga-** and negative **si-** followed by **PP** with **nga-**.

In all the three moods negative **-nge-** may appear with the absolute pronoun **khona-** before the **PP** with **nga-**.

The negative of the **PP** with **na-** copulative in the indicative must have negative morpheme **a-** before **AgrS**. In the participle and relative it must have the **AgrS**, negative **-nge-** followed by **PP** with **na-**.

All deficient verbs may appear in the negative. However, there are a number of deficient verbs which have a negative interpretation whether expressed in the negative or not.

Progressive aspect expressed by **-sa-** occurring with non-copulative verbs in the indicative present, future and perfect tense must consist of negative morpheme **a-** and **AgrS** followed by **-sa-** of the progressive aspect. In the participle and relative present future and perfect tenses it must have **AgrS**, and negative morpheme **-nga-** followed by **-sa-** occurring with copulative verbs: In the indicative it must have negative prefix **a-** with **AgrS** which may be definite or indefinite followed **-sa-** of the progressive aspect. This addition of **-si-** makes the negation to be emphatic. In the participle or relative indefinite **Agrs [ku]** may appear in the participle with negative morpheme **-nga-** followed by progressing **sa-**.

The old absolute pronoun **khona** without the morpheme **na-** may appear with the **NPLoc** as in the indicative above.

Exclusive aspect expressed by **ka** occurring with a non-copulative verb in the indicative must have negative prefix **a-**, **AgrS** followed by the exclusive **-ka**. In the participle and relative it must have **AgrS**, and negative morpheme **-nga-** followed by exclusive **-ka-**.

Where exclusive **-ka-** occurs with copulative verbs it also occurs with the copulative verb **ba**. In the indicative it must have negative morpheme **a-** and negative suffix **-i** after the copulative verb **-ba**. In the indicative it has negative morpheme **a-** and negative suffix **-i** after the copulative verb **ba-**. In the participle and relative it must consist of the negative morpheme **-nga-** and negative suffix **-i** after the copulative verb **-ba**.

Chapter three deals with the possibilities of putting different constituents of a sentence occurring with transitive and intransitive verbs in the negative. The following constituents have been investigated.

Subject NP:

- The subject as a specified noun occurring as a noun only
- Noun and modifier
- The subject as an unspecified noun
- The scope of the negative of the subject

Object

- The object as a specified noun occurring as a noun only
- Noun and modifier
- The object as an unspecified noun
- The scope of the negative of the object

The general observation that was made in the attempts to express the constituents of a sentence in the negative is that in isiXhosa there is a problem in trying to negate **NP** constituents, because there are no negative words available. The solution therefore was to be found in devising other means for expressing these negatives.

First, the constituent to be negated has to be elevated to a focus position so that when negation is done it has to be of the relevant constituent.

There are various possibilities available for elevating constituents to a focus position.

The subject:

The following were the possible processes investigated for elevating the specified subject to a focus position.

Subject inversion, the constituent to be negated is moved from the subject position to a post verbal adjunct position. When the verb is negated the **NP** constituent is then placed in the environment of the negative verb and is affected by it.

Clefting:

The noun phrase **NP** to be negated is forced to appear with a relative clause. The new **NP** with relative clause may appear with a copula which may then be negated.

Forcing the **NP** to appear with a relative clause as its subject and adding locative absolute pronoun **khona** to the relative clause, and applying subject inversion in order to place the new copulative verb with **kukhona** in focus position.

For noun with modifier there were two more possibilities that may be applied. The first one is where the **NP** is forced to appear with a relative clause. The **AP** or **NPreI** becomes a complement of the relative, appearing with a copula. The new copula is then negated. However, the negation that results from this process is not a negative of the subject, but of the **AP** or **NPreI**.

The second possibility is for the **AP**, **NPreI** or Possessive to appear in a relative clause which is in the negative.

The presence of the negative copulative outlined above is common in all the possibilities of expressing the unspecified subject in the negative. This copulative may have a variety of unspecified **NP**'s occurring within the environment of its negative.

The processes explained above whereby the subject is elevated to a focal position makes it possible for the subject to be placed within the scope of the negative. For example, after subject inversion has been applied.

The scope of the negative may also be extended to the modifiers, in which case both the **NP** and its modifier are within the scope of the negative verb, viz adjectives, relatives, possessive, **NP** object and adjunct.

The object **NP** may be put in the negative by applying all the possibilities outlined under the subject **NP** above. The object **NP** may further be negated by putting it in the scope of the negative verb.

The unspecified object may be put in the scope of the negative verb by negating the verb with which it occurs. Otherwise, the unspecified object may be negated in the same way as the unspecified subject.

With regard to the scope of the negative in relation to the object, the object occurs in a post verbal position, so that when the verb is negated, the object is within the scope of the negative.

The scope of the negative here does not seem to extend to modifiers of the object. It is only the modifiers, viz possessive and the adjunct **NP** to which the scope of the negative seems to extend.

The **PP** with **nga**, **na** copula **NPLoc**, interrogative **nini** and all **NP**'s indicating time may be put in the scope of the negative. They can also be clefted.

To conclude, it is clear from this study that negation in isiXhosa is brought about by negative morphemes. Regarding constituents of sentences there are no morphemes available to effect negativity.

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