

## THE DEFICIENT VERB [BA] IN ISIXHOSA

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**Keywords:** Deficient verbs, certainty, consecutive, subjunctive, indicative, participle, hortative, tense.

### Aim

The aim of this article is to establish how factivity clauses such as [ba-lamb-ile] (they are hungry) may appear in clauses which express certainty or consecutive in isiXhosa. For this purpose the influence of the deficient verb [ba] will be examined.

The deficient verb [-ba] has to appear with a complement clause as all other deficient verbs. It may appear in constructions which may be interpreted in two ways, i.e. referring to constructions denoting certainty which refers to something that is certain to be true or certain to happen. Secondly, it frequently appears in consecutive clauses.

## 1. With the interpretation of certainty

1.1 The complement clause of **-ba** appears in the Participial mood:

a. The matrix clause has a Present Tense Indicative clause:

(1) Present Tense Indicative clause with Participial Present Tense:

[Uku-phuma kwe-langa [lo mntwana [u-ba [e-funda iincwadi za-khe]  
(to-rise of-sum 1this 1child 1he-ba 1he-read books of him: when the sun comes out, this child is certain to be reading his books)

The matrix clause **u-ba** indicates the Present Tense of the Indicative while the complement clause with **e-funda** refers to the Participial Present Tense which in this case is interpreted as the imperfective aspect. Sentences such as (1) above need some temporal clause such as **ukuphuma kwelanga** above as a necessary condition: it gives the expected time before which something is certain to happen. The verb **-ba** refers to certainty.

(2) Present Tense Indicative clause with Participial Perfect Tense:

[Lo mntu] [u-ba [e-lamb-ile [xa [e-goduk-a]  
(1this 1person 1he-ba 1he-hungry-perf when he-go-home: this person is certainly being hungry when he goes home)

As in (1) the Present Tense Indicative clause is **u-ba** but now with a Participial Perfect Tense. These participial verbs in the complement clause denote aspect and specifically the perfective aspect. The participial verb also frequently needs to be a stative verb as **e-lambile** above. A temporal clause with **xa** above is also necessary before it gives the expected time before which he is certain to arrive at home being hungry. See also the following stative verb:

(3) [U-ba [e-diniwe [xa [e-fika]

(1he-ba 1he-tired when 1he-arrive: he is certain to be tired when he arrives)

The stative verb **e-diniwe** is a Perfect Participle with a perfective aspect, and the sentence needs the temporal clause **e-fika**.

b. The matrix clause has a Perfect Tense Indicative

(1) Indicative Perfect Tense clause with a Participial Present Tense:

[Inyanga] [i-be [i-nga-phel-i [e-nga-thum-el-i]  
 (9month 9it-be 9it-neg-end-neg 1he-neg-send-appl-neg:  
 the month was certainly not ending with him not sending money)

The Perfect Tense Indicative clause is **i-be** with its complement in the negative of the Present Participle: **i-nga-phel-i** referring to the imperfective aspect.

(2) Indicative Perfect Tense clause with a Participial Perfect Tense:

[W-a-khuph-a ilokhwe [e-yi-bek-a phezu kwe-[sicangca [a-be [e-hleli  
 ku-so]  
 (1she-past-take-out-fv 9dress 1she-9-it-place-fv top of-7mat 1rel she-  
 be 1she-  
 sit-perf on-7 it: she took out the dress while putting it on top of a mat  
 on which  
 she was sitting)

The clause [a-be] has a Perfect Tense within a relative clause but with Indicative Perfect tense reference. The complement of **a-be** above has a perfect tense participle verb **e-hleli** which is a stative verb with a perfective aspect and a reference to a past tense because of the preceding perfect tense clause with [a-be].

c. The matrix clause has a Temporal mood:

(1) Temporal mood clause with a Participial Present tense clause:

[Sel-e-xol-ile uyise [pro aku-ba [e-m-bona umntwana]  
 (already-1he-please-perf his-father 1pro 1when 1he-1him-see child:  
 his father was already pleased when he was certain to see his child)

The morpheme [-aku-] represents the Temporal mood and in (1) it appears without its agreement **a-** of **uyise**, the agreement being coalesced with **aku**. The complement clause has the participial present tense verb **embona** which has the imperfective aspect. The verb **-ba** above refers to certainty.

(2) Temporal mood clause with a Participial Perfect tense clause:

[B-aku-ba [be-fik-ile emlanjeni], ba-zi-nika ithuba elaneleyo  
 lokuhlamba  
 (2they-when-ba 2they-arrive-perf loc-river, 2they-refl-give time  
 enough of-  
 to-wash: when they have arrived for sure at the river, they gave  
 themselves enough time to wash)

The complement clause has a perfect tense **be-fik-ile** which refers to the perfective aspect.

d. The matrix clause has a Subjunctive mood:

## (1) Subjunctive mood with Present Tense participle:

[U-funa [ukuba [uyise [a-be [e-thetha imfungumfungu?]  
 (1he-want that his.father 1he-certain 1he-talk nonsense: does he  
 want that his  
 father must certainly talk a lot of nonsense?)

The clause **a-be** above has the Subjunctive mood after the complementiser **ukuba**. The subjunctive has been used above to allow **e-thetha**, a present tense participle with imperfective reference which is not allowed after **ukuba** with the verb **funa** in the matrix clause.

## (2) Subjunctive mood clause with Perfect Tense Participle:

[Yi-nto [a-be [e-yi-khathal-el-e ngantoni uku-z-enza uyise w-aba bantwana?]  
 (it-is-thing 1he-certain 1he-9it-anxious-appl-perf with-what to-refl-make father  
 of-these children?: why is he certain to be so very anxious to make himself a  
 father (guardian) of these children?)

The clause with **eyikhathalele** has the Perfect Tense Participle with the perfective aspect. The subjunctive **abe** is necessary because the participle may not appear in this interrogative which necessitates a subjunctive.

## e. Matrix has a Hortative mood

(1) With **Participle** Present Tense

Makabe ehamba  
 (hore-he-be ke-go: he must certainly be going)

(2) With **Participle** Perfect Tense

Kwacaca ukuba sikho isigqibo emakube e-s-enz-ile  
 (it-clear-that it-there decision rel-hort-uit-be he-it-do-perf: it is clear that there is a decision which he must certainly has made)

1.2 The complement clause of **ba** appears in the Indicative mood:

## a. The matrix clause has a Future tense Indicative clause

## (1) Future tense Indicative clause with Present tense Indicative:

[U-bon-e kakuhle [ukuba [w-o-ba [u-zi-nqik-el-a ilitye elineembovane]  
 (1he-see-perf well that 1he-fut-certain 1he-refl-turn-over-appl-fv stone which-has-ants: he saw clearly that he will certainly land himself in trouble)

The clause **u-zi-nqikela** retains the reference to the present time while the matrix clause **woba** has a Future tense of the Indicative. Thus, in

some future time he will certainly be in a position where he is in some trouble.

(2) Future tense Indicative clause with perfect tense Indicative:

[Ngokwenjenjalo u-ya-ku-ba [u-ndi-nced-ile] (Pahl 1971:153)  
 (By doing so 1he-fut-certain 1he-me-help-perf: by doing so he will certainly  
 have helped me)

In comparison with (1) above, the Perfect Tense Indicative **u-ndi-ncedile** refers to an event in the past where he will be certain to have helped me.

b. The matrix clause has a Subjunctive mood clause:

(1) Subjunctive with Present tense Indicative:

[Abantwana [ba-mel-w-e [ukuba [ba-be [ba-ya-vuya [njengoko [be-za  
 ku-ba no-hambo]  
 (2children 2they-must-pass-perf that 2they-certain 2they-pres-  
 be.glad as 2they-will-be with-journey: the children must certainly be  
 glad as they are going on a journey)

The subjunctive clause is **ba-be** above after the complementizer **ukuba** with the matrix verb **melwe**. The Present tense clause **ba-ya-vuya** may not appear after **ukuba** as above but the subjunctive clause **babe** made it possible for it to appear.

(2) Subjunctive with Future tense Indicative:

[Ku-bon-akal-a [ukuba [ba-mangal-is-iw-e [k-ukuba [a-be [u-za-ku-  
 tyelela kweso sikolo]  
 (it-appear that 2they-surprise-caus-pass-perf that 1he-certain 1he-  
 will-visit at-that-school: it appears that they were surprised that he is  
 certain that he will visit that school)

The Future tense clause with **uza kutyelela** needs a subjunctive **abe** because it may not appear after the complementizer with **ukuba**.

(3) Subjunctive with Perfect tense Indicative:

[Abantwana [ba-fanele [ukuba [ba-be [ba-lamb-ile [ukuze [ba-ty-e  
 umngqusho]  
 (2children 2they-must that they-certain 2they-hungry-perf that 2they-  
 eat-subj samp: the children must certainly be hungry to eat samp)

As above, the Perfect Indicative **ba-lambile** needs a subjunctive clause **babe** to appear after the complementizer **ukuba** with the matrix verb **fanele**. The Perfect tense verbs in these cases are usually stative verbs as **lamba** above.

- c. The matrix clause has a Hortative mood clause:

Ndiyacinga ukuba [ma-ba-b-e [ba-lamb-ile]  
(I think that they must certainly be hungry)

## 2. Consecutive

- 2.1 The matrix clause has the Subjunctive mood.

- a. The complement clause has a Present tense Indicative verb:

[Umntwana u-zo-ngen-a ehlathini elikhulu] [a-be ke [u-ya-lahlek-a]  
(Child he-will-enter in-forest big he-be he-lost)

The subjunctive in **a-be** is dependent on the first clause which must have either a present tense or future tense verb. The verb in the first coordinated clause is **u-zo-ngena** which has the future tense of the Indicative. The consecutive clause with **a-be** will then be in the Subjunctive mood. The complement clause of this subjunctive mood clause is **u-ya-lehleka** which has the present tense of the Indicative mood.

- b. The complement clause has the Present Tense of the Participle:

The first clause in the coordinated consecutive clause has the verb **-thi** with a temporal reference with a present participle in [-e-si-thi] from the compound tense [w-a [y-[e-si-thi]. This present tense forces a subjunctive on the second coordinated clause in [a-be]:

[Umntu [w-a- [y- [e-si-thi [e-phum-a phandle] [a-be [e-diban-a ne-polisa]  
(person when he-goes outside, he-then he-meets with-policeman)

The complement of **a-be** has [e-dibana] which is the present tense of the participle.

The first clause in the coordinated consecutive clause has a present tense of the Indicative u-ya-z-azi]

[U-ya-z-azi zonke izimvu za-khe] [zi-be nazo [zi-m-azi yena] (McLaren 1952:152)  
(he knows all his sheep and they also they know him)

- c. The complement clause has the Perfect tense of the participle:

The subjunctive clause with zi-be is dependent on the present tense of the preceding temporal verb [zi-thi]:

**-thi:** ezi zithi se-zi-buy-ile esikolweni, [zi-be [zi-phind-el-e]  
(When they already returned from school, they then go back)

- d. Complement clause has Subjunctive mood:

(i) **-ze**: emva koko [a-ka-z-ange [a-be [a-buy-e [a-phind-e [a-kw-enz-e oko]

(Thereafter he never again did that)

(ii) **coord**: ethubeni lavakala ilizwi lakho lisithi: hamba, Langeni, utsho i-bhabh-e i-

de i-ze kuwe [i-be [i-nyuk-e]

(Sometimes your voice is heard, go, Langeni, tell it to fly and come to you and

go up to you)

In (i) the subjunctive **a-be** is dependent on the deficient verb with **ze** in [a-ka-z-ange]. The complement of a-be is also in the subjunctive because it is also dependent on the deficient verb **ze**.

In (ii) the subjunctive [i-be] appears with other subjunctive verbs in a consecutive clause (i-bhabhe [i-de [i-ze] and the complement of **i-be** is also subjunctive i-nyuke being dependent on these subjunctive clauses.

## 2.2 The matrix clause has a consecutive clause

### a. **Consecutive** with Indicative Present Tense

Coord: Wakhupha inaliti, wayitofa le ndoda [w-a-ba ke [u-ya-bu-sindisa ubomi bayo]

(he took out the injection and injected the man and he saved his life)

### b. **Consecutive** with Indicative Perfect Tense

-khe: Wemka apho enga-kh-ange [wa-ba [u-xelele mntu ngento aya ku-y-enza (Pahl 1971:153)

(He went away from there without ever telling anybody about what he will be doing)

### c. **Consecutive** with Participle Present Tense

**Uthe** evuma, waba naye esuka elandela umfazi  
(When he agreed, he simply followed the woman)

### d. **Consecutive** with Participle Perfect Tense

**Wathi** efika, waba etyile  
(When he arrived, then he ate)

Ifikile laa ndoda, yaba ke imgxothile uNozenza  
(That man arrived, and then he drove Nozenza away)

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