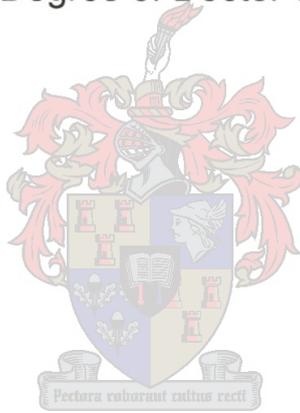


# THE DEFICIENT VERB IN XITSONGA

BY

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of Stellenbosch



Promoter: Prof M W Visser

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## **DECLARATION**

I, the undersigned, hereby declare that the work contained in this dissertation is my own original work and that I have not previously in its entirety or in part submitted it at any University for a degree.

Signature

Date

## ABSTRACT

This study examines the morpho-syntactic and semantic properties, specifically tense and aspectual properties, of deficient verbs in Xitsonga. Various properties of deficient verbs have given rise to a distinction in verbal categories. Among these a range of features are explored in the study with the aim of establishing whether they play a significant role in relevant linguistic questions:

The research on the deficient verb involves questions from three theoretical areas, namely **Syntax**, **Morphology** and **Semantics**.

Deficient verbs in Xitsonga and related African languages are generally subcategorized for a clausal complement as illustrated in the following example:

[a-hi-**hamba** [hi-rima laha]]  
[We-did-usually [plough here]]

In the above sentence the deficient verb is **hamba** and it is followed by a compulsory clause as complement. The main properties of deficient verbs explored in this study relate to the following phenomena:

- The deficient verb determines the selection of the mood in Inflection of the clausal complement.
- The clausal complement of a deficient verb must have compulsory agreement of its subject with the subject of the matrix clause.
- The deficient verbs lack the property which is characteristic of the autonomous verbs i.e. that they may be extended by derivative affixes such as the applicative or causative.
- Deficient verbs have distinctive semantic features which are related to two inflectional categories, i.e. **aspect** and **tense**.

This study concludes that the deficient verbs may express several meanings, including meanings related to duration, habitual, frequentative, progressive, obligative, manner, continuative, concessive and completive.

## OPSOMMING

Hierdie studie ondersoek die sintaktiese en semantiese, in die besonder die tydvorm- en aspek-eienskappe van hulpwerkwoorde in Xitsonga. 'n Verskeidenheid kenmerke van hulpwerkwoorde het daartoe aanleiding gegee dat 'n onderskeid getref word ten opsigte van werkwoordkategorieë. Hieronder word 'n verskeidenheid kenmerke ondersoek ten einde vas te stel of dit 'n beduidende rol speel in relevante linguistiese vrae. Die navorsing van hierdie studie behels vrae vanuit drie teoretiese velde, naamlik die morfologie, sintaksis, en semantiek.

Hulpwerkwoorde in Xitsonga en verwante Afrikatale word gesubkategoriseer vir 'n sinskomplement, soos geïllustreer in die volgende voorbeeld:

[A-hi-**hamba** [hi-rima laha]]

[Ons het gewoonlik [ons ploeg hier]], d.i. ons het gewoonlik hier geploeg

In die bogenoemde sin is **hamba** die hulpwerkwoord en dit word gevolg deur 'n verpligte sinskomplement. Die sentrale kenmerke van hulpwerkwoorde wat in hierdie studie ondersoek word hou verband met die volgende verskynsels:

- Die hulpwerkwoord bepaal die seleksie van modus in die Infleksie van die sinskomplement.
- Die sinskomplement van 'n hulpwerkwoord moet verpligte kongruensie toon van die subjek daarvan met die subjek van die matriksin.
- Die hulpwerkwoord kort die eienskap wat kenmerkend is van outonome werkwoorde, naamlik, dat hulle afleidingsuffikse kan neem, soos die applikatief **-el-** en die kousatief **-is**.
- Hulpwerkwoorde het onderskeidende semantiese kenmerke wat verband hou met twee infleksie kategorieë, nl. **aspek** en **tydvorm**.

Die studie kon tot die gevolgtrekking dat hulpwerkwoorde 'n verskeidenheid betekenis kan uitdruk, insluitende betekenis wat verband hou met tydsduur, habitueel, frekwentatief, progressief, verpligting, wyse, voortdurendheid, toegewing en kompletief.

## DEDICATION

**Dedicated to my family:**

**My dearest wife, *Julia***

**Our three girls: *Kulani Mashudu,*  
*Mahlori Tinyiko, and*  
*Nsuku***

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## CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION

### 1.1 Aim

The deficient or auxiliary verb in the African languages has attracted attention from various descriptive grammarians such as Doke (1947), Louw (1963), Lombard et al (1985) and it has featured in other studies which are not solely devoted to this issue. The auxiliary verb has been treated in quite diverse ways by means of sometimes conflicting criteria. These verbs have even sometimes been regarded as copulative verbs (Ziervogel, 1959). A major issue which has been touched upon by most grammarians revolves around the issue of the development of an independent verb into an auxiliary verb. This will also be the first research question which will have to be addressed with regard to the Xitsonga verb: there are verbs like **tshama** in Xitsonga which may appear as an independent verb and as an auxiliary verb. What are the criteria which will be necessary to distinguish these two quite divergent appearances of verbs like **tshama**? There is even a copulative verb **va** as well as an auxiliary verb **va** in Xitsonga. How is it possible to distinguish between verbs such as these?

The following research questions need then to be explored in this study:

What are the criteria for establishing verbal categories such as independent verbs, copulative verbs and deficient verbs? Is it necessarily the case that such a classification in verbal subcategories can be maintained for the African languages?

Various properties of deficient verbs have i.a. given rise to a distinction in verbal categories as above. Among these the following features need to be explored with the aim of establishing whether they play any significant role in this question:

(a) Deficient verbs are generally subcategorised for clausal complements:

- (1) [a-hi-hamba [hi-rima laha]]  
[We-did-usually [plough here]]

In this sentence the deficient verb is deemed to be **hamba** with a following compulsory clause as complement.

- (b) It is a property of deficient verbs that they determine the selection of the mood in Inflection of the clausal complement.
- (c) The clausal complement of a deficient verb must have compulsory agreement of its subject with the subject of the matrix clause.
- (d) Deficient verbs lack the property which is characteristic of autonomous verbs that they may be extended by derivative affixes such as the applicative or causative.
- (e) Deficient verbs have distinctive semantic features which are related to two inflectional categories, i.e. **aspect** and **tense**.

The study on deficient verbs in Xitsonga will be the first such study in this language. No previous study exists on this issue and until now it is not known how many verbs with the features indicated above may occur in Xitsonga.

Except for the issues mentioned above, the research on the deficient verbs in Xitsonga will involve three theoretical areas:

**Syntax:** the study will be conducted within the framework of the Minimalist program as i.a. developed by Chomsky (1995). Crucial for this study will be the recognition of an Inflectional phrase with various functional categories in syntax. The question to be answered then concerns the role of inflection in such verbs: are there really any difference between autonomous and deficient verbs in this regard? Various other syntactic issues will also need attention such as the obligatory complement clause which has been mentioned above.

**Morphology:** What morphemes are typical of deficient verbs, if any, and in what way does inflectional morphemes and derivational morphemes differ between autonomous and deficient verbs?

**Semantics:** Within the confines of Lexical semantics, an answer should be given whether a clear difference can be substantiated between the meaning of an autonomous verb and a deficient verb where the two verbs do not differ in form. Special attention will also be focussed on meta-entries for verbs in Xitsonga i.a. with regard to argument structure and event structure as well as the meaning of verbs as indicated in their qualia structure, lexical conceptual paradigm and lexical inheritance structure.

The major research question which will need an answer will thus revolve around the sub-categorial status of the deficient verb in the African language.

## 1.2 Method and design

The theoretical framework which has been indicated above, will form the core of this study, i.e. the syntax, morphology and semantics of deficient verbs. These verbs will be analysed within this framework to establish whether they do have an independent status from other verbs. The various deficient verbs which have been recognised will thus be included in this analysis. The dissertation will have the following organisation:

**Chapter 1** will present the aim of the study as well as a review of the theoretical assumptions on which this study will be based. It will also focus on previous studies on deficient verbs in some African languages.

**Chapter 2** will be concerned with the various syntactic categories of Xitsonga with a focus on the functional categories of tense and aspect.

**Chapter 3** will explore the syntactic structures with deficient verbs with specific attention on the clausal complement, the argument structure, the selection of moods as well as the possible syntactic consequences of lexical derivation with deficient verbs.

**Chapter 4** will concentrate on the inflection of the various deficient verbs of Xitsonga with reference specifically to the inflectional categories of mood, tense and negative.

**Chapter 5** will classify the deficient verbs of Xitsonga into various semantic categories with a specific semantic analysis of each deficient verb within the confines of lexical semantics as indicated in chapter 1.

**Chapter 6** will contain the main findings of this dissertation.

### 1.3 THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

#### 1.3.1 Minimalism

According to Ouhalla (1999:405) a minimalist theory of language is a theory which tries to minimise the theoretical machinery need as much as possible and should therefore seek to eliminate DS and SS. The challenge then is to develop an alternative system which relies solely on the necessary interface levels LF and PF and at the same time accounts in a non-costly way for the phenomena that were thought previously to apply at DS and SS.

Ouhalla (1999:404) states that Minimalist Program (henceforth MP) takes language to consist of the lexicon and a computational system (CS). CS selects items from the lexicon and constructs derivations. Each derivation determines a structural description (SD). SD includes a pair of representations, LF and PF, which must satisfy the interface conditions which apply to each one of them. At any point in the derivation, an operation called Spell-Out may be applied which has consequences of creating a new dimension for the derivation which leads to the interface level PF. If the ultimate representation reached at PF satisfies the interface conditions of PF, the derivation is said to converge at PF. If, on the other hand, it does not meet the interface conditions of PF, the derivation is said to crash at PF.

Ouhalla (1999:405) continues to say that each item (selected by derivation from the lexicon up to Spell-Out) is assigned a representation consistent with X-bar theory. The small phrases of selected items are assembled together in the form of a (larger) phrase marker by an operation called Generalised Transformation (GT). The merger applies from bottom to top. GT is said to extend SD.

Chomsky (1993) as quoted by Ouhalla (1999:408) argues that the head complement relation is more 'fundamental' and the spec-head relation is a kind of 'elsewhere' relation. The spec-head relations underlies agreement in  $\phi$ -features and case.

- (2) a. |AgrS|<sup>T</sup> |AgrS|  
 b. |AgrO|<sup>V</sup> |AgrO|

Furthermore, Ouhalla (1999:409) states that T plays a role in determining the nominative case assigned to the subject of finite clauses. T enters into spec-head relation with the subject as a result of head-movement and adjunction to AgrS. This process results in the derivation of the complex head (2a) with AgrS determining agreement in  $\phi$ -features and T agreement in nominative case. The same scenario and pattern is involved with respect to (structural) accusative case. Movement of the verb and its adjunction to AgrO creates the complex head structure in (2b) where AgrO determines agreement in  $\emptyset$ -features and V determines accusative case.

Chomsky (1993) as quoted by Ouhalla (1999:46) suggests replacing the notion “trace” by the notion “copy”. Movement of a category leaves a copy of the moved category behind with properties identical to the antecedent. This is known as the ‘copy theory of movement’. For example:

- (3) a. What did John buy?  
 b. [What] did John buy [t]

According to the copy theory of movement, (3a) will have the LF represented in (4b) and the PF representation shown in (4c).

- (4) a. What did John buy?  
 b. LF [what] did John buy [what]  
 c. PF [what] did John buy.

Ouhalla (1999:418-419) suggests a process called reconstruction. According to Ouhalla reconstruction refers to the process whereby an overtly moved wh-phrase is returned to its original position at LF for reasons having to do with interpretation. Reconstruction is often associated with examples involving anaphors, pronouns and r-expression i.e. binding phenomena. For example:

- (5) a. Which picture of himself did John buy?  
 b. SS [Which picture of himself] did John buy [t]

- c. LF [Q] John bought [which picture of himself]

The reflexive anaphor inside the overtly moved wh-phrase has John as its antecedent. However, John does not c-command the anaphor in (5b). To obtain the right representation at LF, where the anaphor is c-commanded by John, the whole wh-phrase is lowered back to the argument position as shown in (6c). This scenario fits in with the Principles and Parameters framework which assumed SS and LF as separate levels of representation.

- (6) a. Which picture of himself did John buy?  
 b. [Which picture of himself] did John buy [which picture of himself]  
 c. [Which x] [x picture of himself] did John buy [[which x] [x picture of himself]].

Ouhalla (1999:424) states that it has been claimed that there are contexts where anaphors must be concluded to apply at a pre-LF level, presumably SS. Chomsky (1993) as quoted by Ouhalla (1994:424) presents the following example:

- (7) a. John wondered which picture of himself Bill saw ...  
 b. John wondered [CP [which picture of himself] IP John saw [t].  
 (8) a. John wondered who saw which picture of himself.  
 b. John wondered [CP who [IP [t] saw [which picture of himself] ...

(7a) is ambiguous. The reflexive anaphor can have as its antecedent either Bill (the subject of the embedded clause) or John (the subject of the root clause). In contrast, (8) is not ambiguous. The reflexive anaphor cannot have John (the subject of the root clause) as its antecedent.

Chomsky (1993) as quoted by Ouhalla (1999:433) rejects the Principle and Parameters framework which states that verbs were assumed to be inserted from the lexicon in their bare form, uninflected for tense and agreement. They pick up tense and agreement inflection as a result of syntactic movement which joins them with inflectional categories.

In contrast to Principle and Parameters framework, Chomsky (1993) in Ouhalla (1999:433) suggests in the spirit of the Strong Lexicalist Hypothesis and 'Lexicalist phonology', that verbs

are inflected for features in the lexicon and inserted into derivations already inflected rather than in their bare form. The features carried by the verb are then checked against corresponding features encoded in inflectional categories.

Furthermore, Ouhalla (1999:433-434) argues that the idea of checking the verbs has the consequence that main verbs ultimately move to I if not overtly, then covertly. If the verb does not check its features overtly, it must do so covertly. Otherwise the derivation will crash at LF. According to this scenario, the inflectional categories AgrO, AgrS and T have features which correspond to features encoded in the verb in the lexicon. Chomsky (1993) in Ouhalla (1999:434) calls these features V-features:

- (9) a. John often kisses Mary.  
 b. [AgrS<sup>P</sup> [John] [AgrS<sup>1</sup> [<sup>T</sup>] Agr [TP <sup>T</sup> [AgrOP AgrO [VP often [VP kisses Mary ...]]  
 c. [AgrS<sup>P</sup> [John] [AgrS [<sup>kisses</sup>] [T] AgrS [TP <sup>T</sup>]  
 [AgrO<sup>P</sup> [Mary] [AgrO [<sup>V</sup>] AgrO

The subject raises overtly to Spec, AgrSP to check its features. Presumably, T also raises overtly to AgrS. The verb stays inside VP and so does the direct object. After Spell-Out, (9a) has the representation roughly shown in (9c) where the verb raises covertly to AgrS to check its own features and the direct object raises covertly to Spec, AgrOP to check its own NP-features.

With regard to answers why the English auxiliary verb **be** and **have** raise overtly, contrary to main verbs, Ouhalla gives the following illustration:

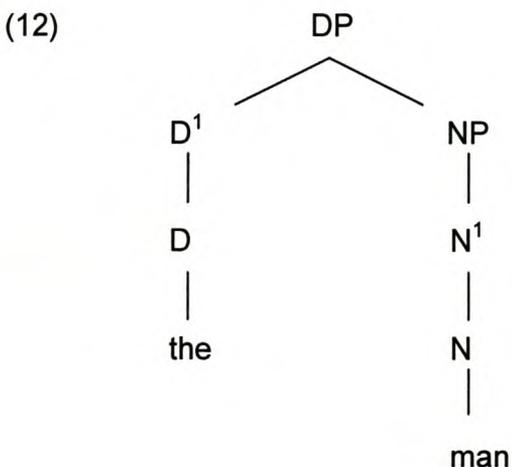
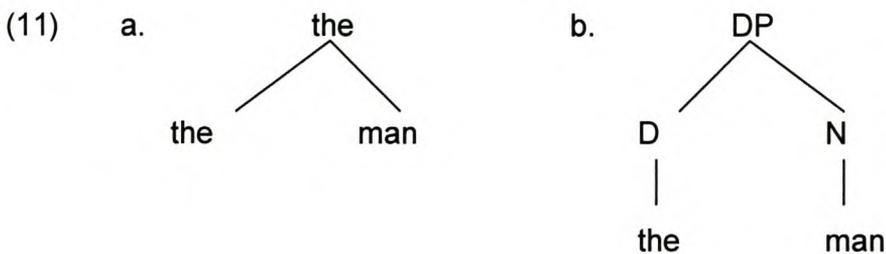
- (10) a. John is often in the garden.  
 b. John has completely lost his mind.

Ouhalla (1999:436) states that according to Pollock (1989), auxiliary verbs such as **is** and **has** in (10) differ from main verbs in that they do not assign t-roles. Chomsky (1993) in Ouhalla reinterprets this idea to mean that auxiliary verbs are semantically vacuous. They are placeholders for certain constructions, at most "very light" verbs. As such, they are claimed to be invisible to LF rules, meaning they are not affected by movement processes which take

place at LF. This combination of ideas has the consequences that if auxiliary verbs do not raise overtly, they will not be able to raise covertly, thereby causing the derivation to crash at LF.

Ouhalla (1999:448) maintains that when two items in the form of feature complexes are merged, it is the features of the item that projects (i.e. the head) which determines the newly formed category. Chomsky (1993) in Ouhalla (1999:448) rejects the idea as unworkable option and he sees the newly formed category as an intersection or a union of the features merged.

Furthermore, Chomsky (1999) in (Ouhalla, 1999:448) follows Muysken (1982) in taking projections of lexical items to be 'relational properties of categories' rather than inherent properties. Their presence is determined by the structure or context in which the lexical item is placed: For example:



To Chomsky (1993) in Ouhalla (1999:448-449), in isolation, **the** and **man** are both minimal

D/N and maximal DP/NP. When they are merged together a new context is created for both items. If **the** projects, it ceases to be maximal and becomes only minimal in relation to the newly created maximal object. The noun **man**, however, continues to be both minimal and maximal by virtue of being a member of the pair that does not project.

Furthermore, Chomsky (1993) in Ouhalla (1999:450) suggests that adjunction structures are different in another (perhaps related) respect. The operation which introduces adjunction structures does not create a new object, unlike the operation which creates head-complement and spec-head structures. Rather, it only adds a new segment to an existing category, either a maximal category (adjunction to a head). Thus Bare Phrase Structures (BPS) maintains a clear distinction between specifiers and adjuncts. They both exist, and with different properties.

Ouhalla (1999:451) identifies two classes of intransitive verbs. One sub-group consists of verbs of which the single argument is an internal argument. These verbs are called unaccusative on the ground that they do not assign accusative case to their internal arguments. The internal argument receives a case as a result of movement to the subject position in syntax. The moves to Spec, IP:

- (13) a. The vase broke.  
 b. DS: [IP [e] [VP [e] V<sup>1</sup> broke [the vase] ...  
 c. SS: [IP [the vase] I [VP [e] [V<sup>1</sup> broke [<sup>t</sup>the vase] ...

The other sub-group as identified by Ouhalla (1999:451) consists of verbs of which the single argument is an external argument. These verbs are said to be unergative. Their single argument is base-generated in Spec, VP and moves Spec, IP in syntax:

- (14) a. Mary laugh.  
 b. DS: [IP [e] I [VP [<sup>Mary</sup> V<sup>1</sup> laughed ...  
 c. SS: [IP [Mary] I [VP [<sup>t</sup> Mary] [V<sup>1</sup> laughed ...

Ouhalla (1999:451) continues to say that in the context of BPS, VPs with unaccusative verb are derived in exactly the same way as VPs with a transitive verb, except that they lack an

external argument in Spec, VP.

Furthermore, Ouhalla (1999:452) argues that BPS technically makes a distinction between unaccusative and unergative verbs. If a DP is paired directly with a verb; it will always come up as an internal argument. It will only come up as external argument if it is merged with a set which consists of a verb and an object.

In response to the above sketched scenario, Chomsky (1995) in Ouhalla (1999:452) states that all verbs, including unergatives, have an internal argument. Chomsky (1995) in Ouhalla (1999:452) quotes Hale and Keyser who said that denominal verbs such as **laugh**, **sneeze**, **neigh**, **dance** are complex forms derived by incorporation of a complement N into an abstract V. The abstract verb is the equivalent of the 'light' verb in expressions such as **make trouble** and **have puppies**, so that laugh is roughly the spell-out of the complex 'make laughter'.

### 1.3.2 Functional categories

#### 1.3.2.1 Thrainsson (1996)

Thrainsson (1996) discusses the important question raised by Chomsky's (1993) paper entitled "*A Minimalist Program for Linguistic Theory*" (henceforth MPLT) which says:

Which aspects of clause structure in general and which functional categories in particular are "forced by ... properties of Universal Grammar (UG)?"

Thrainsson (1996:255) argues that despite growing research on the nature of functional categories, relatively little attention seems to have been devoted to the following basic question:

Do all languages have the same inventory of functional categories  
(and if so, what is it?)

As a response to this question, Thrainsson (1996:255) quotes Iatridou (1990:553) who

suggested that languages might “vary with respect to the functional categories they instantiate and that therefore evidence for an AgrP [...] will have to be found in each language separately.

In addition to this, Thrainsson (1996:255) maintains that it will depend on our ideas about the way UG constrains possible grammars.

Thrainsson (1996:255) presents the Structural Uniformity Hypothesis (SUH) as follows:

**a. Strong Version**

Clausal architecture is completely determined by UG in the sense that all clauses in all languages have the same set of functional categories and their sequence (c-command relations) is uniform.

**b. Weak Version**

Clausal architecture is determined by UG in the sense that UG defines a set of functional categories, {F1, F2 ... Fn}, that languages “select” from. For any functional categories Fi and j, the sequence will be uniform whenever they occur, i.e. if L1 and L2 each instantiate both Fi and Fj c-commands Fj and Li, then Fi c-commands Fj in L2.

According to Thrainsson (1996:256) there are three reasons why the majority of linguists rejects the SUH:

1. First, linguists may not want to claim that all languages “select” the whole set of FC made available by UG. In fact this was Iatridou’s (1990:552) concern: “... are data from one language in favour of a functional projection sufficient for us to postulate that the same functional category exists in all languages?”
2. Second, the question is whether the sequence of FCs is the same in all the languages they occur in. Ouhalla (1994:45) in Thrainsson (1996:256) argues that the sequence of FCs (their c-command relations) must vary from language to language if the order of

the relevant morphemes (say, agreement morphemes and tense morphemes) varies.

3. Third, discussions of the categorial status of different types of complement clauses, such as analyses of various kinds of infinitival complements, obviously presuppose that clauses can vary within a given language with respect to their architecture, in that some clause types contain fewer FCs than others.

Since the majority of linguists rejected the SUH, as an alternative, Thrainsson proposes the Limited Diversity Hypothesis (LDH). According to LDH:

Clausal architecture is determined by UG in the sense that UG defines the set of functional categories, {F1, F2 ... Fn}, that languages “select” from. Cross-linguistic and intra-linguistic variants are limited to the following:

- a. It is not the case that all FCs are instantiated in all languages.
- b. The FCs selected by a given language may not be present in all clause types of that language.
- c. The sequence (c-command relations) of those functional categories (dominance relation between the functional projections) that are directly related to morphological distinctions may vary from language to language, consistent with the Mirror Principle.

The Mirror Principle states that the sequence of any two functional categories that are directly related to morphological distinctions is uniform for all clause types within each language, as long as the order of morphological markers within words does not vary in the language in question (Thrainsson, 1996:257).

Thrainsson (1996:258) supports the Lexicalist approach to morphology as is done in MPLT (i.e. the approach which assumes that words “emerge” fully inflected from the lexicon and

their morphological features are checked off in the course of the syntactic derivation). The morphological feature of tense is associated with the tense morpheme of a verb, and morphological features of person and number (e.g. subject agreement features) of a finite verb are associated with the agreement morpheme of the verb in question. These morphological features are then checked off in a cycle fashion as the verb form is adjoined to the relevant functional head, beginning with the features associated with the morphemes closest to the stem of the verb since features associated with outer morphemes until features associated with morphemes closer to the stem have been checked off. Thrainsson refers to this version of the Mirror Principle as the LEXICALIST MIRROR PRINCIPLE.

Thrainsson (1996:258) continues to say that LDH about FCs is similar to commonly accepted ideas about the universal set of phonological features made available by UG to the languages of the world.

First, some phonological features (or contrast) are not considered relevant in certain languages and thus do not play any role in a description of their phonetic inventory or in phonological rules in these languages.

Second, the dominance relations in the geometry of phonological features are largely predetermined, but there may be room for some minor cross-linguistic variation.

Third, some phonological features may be irrelevant or non-existent for the description of certain speech sounds.

Furthermore, Thrainsson (1996:259) maintains that the task of acquiring the FCs of any given language is at least threefold:

First, a child has to determine what FCs play a role in the language being acquired ( $L_1$ ) and what their nature is, to the extent that this is not completely determined by UG. Thrainsson argues that the functional categories checking case vary cross-linguistically. Hence there is something for the child to learn about FCs checking subject case.

The second task for the child acquiring FCs of L is to determine their sequence (their c-

command relations).

Third, a child acquiring L has to determine whether a given functional category F is “present” in clauses of type A or not.

Furthermore, Thrainsson (1996:261) claims that a child acquiring L is guided by the principle stated below:

### **The Real Minimalist Principle (RMP)**

Assume only those functional categories that you have evidence for.

This tallies with Iatridou’s (1990:553) earlier suggestion that “evidence for an AgrP [...] will have to be found in each language separately”.

Thrainsson’s main proposal is as follows: The Split-IP Parameter

Languages that have a positive value for SIP have AgrSP and TP as separate functional projections. Languages with a negative value of SIP are characterized by an unsplit (pre-Pollockian) IP.

Thrainsson (1996:262) continues to argue that unless a child finds morphological or syntactic evidence for a Split IP in L, he/she will not assume separate FPs for agreement and tense. The relevant features of verbs will just be checked in a “fused” IP projection.

Thrainsson (1996:264) observed that the movement of the finite verb across a sentential (or “medial”) adverb is impossible in “non-bridge verb” complements in Danish but obligatory in Icelandic. Vikner (1991, 1994) as quoted by Thrainsson (1996:264) takes this evidence that Danish does not have “independent V-t-I” as he recalls it, namely movement of the finite verb to I independent of the finite verb movement to C in main clauses (and main clause-like clauses) that Vikner takes as the defining characteristics of verb second ( $V_2$ ) languages.

Furthermore, Thrainsson (1996:265) argues that languages with “sufficiently rich” verbal morphology (such as Icelandic) have independent V-to-I, whereas languages with “poor”

verbal morphology do not.

In order to account for V-movement analysis into the more articulated split IP structure, Thrainsson (1996:266) suggests two possibilities: the finite verb could either move to T or to AgrS. He continues to say that if we assume that I does not raise “independently” to AgrS in Icelandic, it means then that in Icelandic the finite verb raises and adjoins to T to check the V-features in T (tense features) and then eventually the V-AgrO-T complex raises to AgrS to check agreement feature (number and person). If obligatory overt movement is taken as evidence of strong morphological features, as suggested in MPLT, then the relevant features of T or AgrS (or both) must be strong in Icelandic.

According to Thrainsson (1996:267) evidence for positive setting of the Split IP parameter are:

- a. “Rich” agreement and tense morphology
- b. Syntactic evidence for the additional positions provided by a Split IP structure.

Thrainsson (1996:267) argues that the correlation is between rich verb morphology and Split IP rather than rich verb morphology and overt morphology.

Furthermore, Thrainsson (1996:269) observed that there is no verb form in English that carries an overt agreement marker and overt tense marker simultaneously. In this sense morphological agreement is not “independent” of morphological tense in English. The same hold for Mainland Scandinavian languages.

In conclusion, Thrainsson (1996:271) observes that if T always raise to AgrS, independently of any verb, then T and AgrS do not really act as separate functional heads the way they do in languages where this independent T-to-AgrS does not take place and the verb may raise to T and the complex head thus formed will check the case of a subject in Spec-TP. Thrainsson continues to say that rather than saying that AgrS and T do not act as separate functional heads because T always raises to AgrS independent of any verb movement, he suggested instead that the IP is not Split in languages like English and Main Scandinavian languages. There is no AgrS head which is separate at any level from T head but only an unsplit Infl-

head.

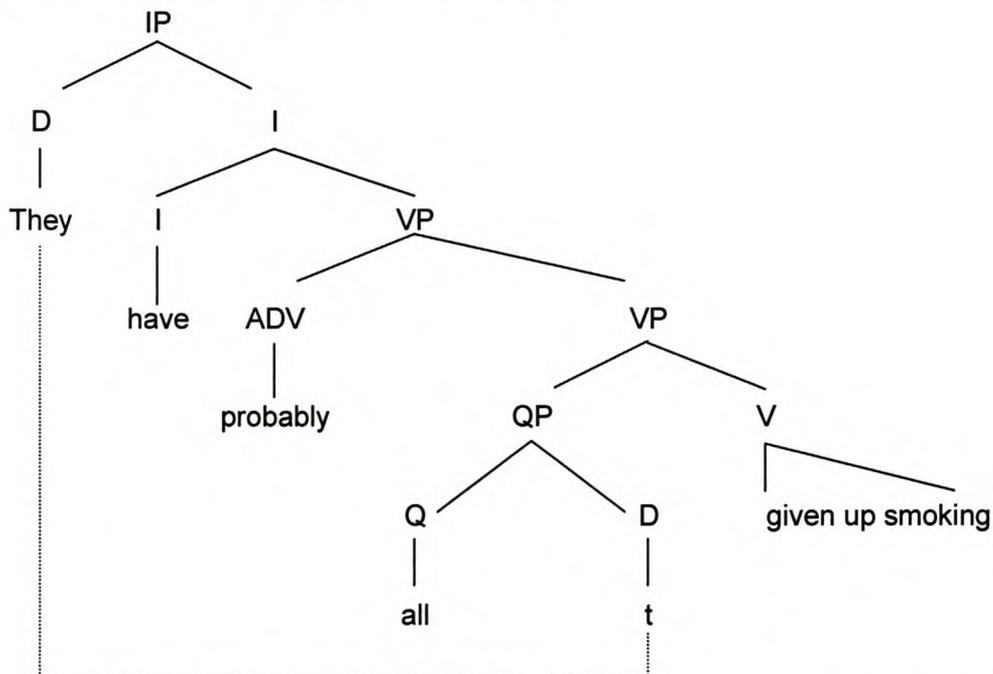
### 1.3.2.2 Radford (1997)

Radford (1997) argues that clauses have a much more richly articulated constituent structure than have hitherto been supported. He is of the opinion that they contain subject and object agreement phrases.

He began this discussion of a clause structure by looking at the syntax of the adverb **probably** and the quantifier **all** in the following sentence.

(15) They have **probably all** given up smoking.

This sentence will have the following structure:



Furthermore, Radford (1997:224) states that we may assume that adverbs like **probably** can serve as a VP adjunct. If this is so, we would expect that **probably** could be positioned before or after another VP adjunct like **completely**, given the traditional assumption that adjuncts of the same kind can be freely ordered with respect to one another. Unfortunately, this is not the case, as we see from sentences such as:

- (16) a. They have **probably** completely given up smoking.  
b. \*They have **completely** probably given up smoking.

Radford (1997:224) argues that the fact that **probably** must be positioned to the left of the VP adverb **completely**, suggests that it is a different kind of adverb altogether. In traditional terms, **probably** is an IP adverb - i.e. an adverb which merges with an IP to form an extended IP. And if this is the case that **probably** is not a VP adverb, then analysis in (16) cannot be correct.

Furthermore, Radford (1997:225) poses a question by saying that if we make the traditional assumption that finite auxiliaries like **have** are stranded in subject QPs, how can **they** and (the QP containing) all both be the subjects of the same auxiliary **have**?

In answering the above question, Radford (1997:225) states that given the conventional assumption that each auxiliary permits only one subject, the answer is that they can't. He argues that an alternative possibility which might be pursued is that there are in fact two different auxiliary positions between CP and VP, with **they** serving as the subject of one of them, and the QP containing the stranded quantifier **all** as the subject of the other. Since auxiliaries like **have/be** typically inflect for tense and agreement, one suggestion which has been made (cf Pollock 1989, Belletti 1990 and Chomsky 1993) is to suppose that (rather than containing a single INFL head) finite clauses contain separate tense and agreement heads, each of which projects into separate phrasal projections, i.e. tense into a tense phrase and agreement into an agreement phrase.

Furthermore, Radford (1997:227) maintains that a different kind of argument in favour of the Split IP hypothesis can be formulated in relation to a phenomenon sometimes referred to as scrambling. In early Modern English the complement of a verb could be scrambled - i.e. moved out of its underlying position as a complement of the verb into some position higher up in the clause (in examples below, the scrambled constituents are italicized).

- (17) a. **Thy Physic** I will try.  
b. She may **more suitors** have.

- c. The king **your mote** did see.  
(These are Shakespearean examples)

Radford (1997:228) discusses Alison Henry's (1995) interesting argument from the syntax of Belfast English which also supports the Split INFL (AgrSP/IP) analysis of clause structure. Henry (1995) in Radford (1997:228) states that there is no morphological marking agreement in Belfast English sentences.

In accounting for the agreementless finite verbs and auxiliaries having objective subjects and yet they don't allow inversion, Henry (1995) in Radford (1997:229) argues that the absence of agreement - marking in finite clauses means that AgrS in such clauses have weak head features and so does not allow movement of an auxiliary from T to AgrS. She conjectures that AgrS also has weak specifier features, and so does not trigger raising of the subject to Spec-AgrSP. Accordingly, agreementless finite auxiliaries remain in T, and their subjects raise to Spec-AgrSP to check nominative case, the subject checks objective case in Spec-TP as a last resort.

### 1.3.2.3 Beard (1995)

According to Beard (1995) Lexeme-morpheme Base morphology is the theory of morphology that distinguishes lexemes from morphemes. According to this morphology morphemes and all morphological operations are not inside the lexicon. Only the following lexemes are found in the lexicon: nouns, verbs and adjectives. These lexemes have a phonological, grammatical and semantic representation.

Bound grammatical morphemes are defined as morphological spelling operations. These morphemes change the phonological form of lexemes, e.g. [-tirh-] is a lexeme which is a verb. A bound grammatical morpheme may be added to this verb e.g. A perfect tense morpheme [-ile]. This morpheme will change the phonological form of the lexeme: it is now [-tirh-ile].

With regard to bound morphology, Beard (1995) identifies two independent processes: derivation and morphological spelling.

Within derivation, Beard makes a distinction between lexical derivation which is found in the lexicon on the one hand, and inflectional derivation which is found in syntax. These are grammatical features. With regard to lexical derivation, a verb may become a noun if there are two features: noun class and human. Inflectional derivation distinguishes itself by various categories such as tense, negative, mood. Morphological spelling modifies the phonological representation of the lexeme. A lexeme such as **-tirh-** which is a verb may now change into a noun in the morphological spelling component: **-tirh-** will change to **mutirhi**.

Furthermore, Beard (1995) indicates that the following things must be carefully distinguished in this theory of morphology.

1. The only minimal grammatical element of language are lexemes.
2. A lexeme is a set of three things:
  - a. P = phonological representation
  - b. g = grammatical representation
  - c. r = semantic representation.
3. A lexeme allows only four types of operations:
  - a. a lexical operation which modify **g** in the lexicon
  - b. an inflectional operation which modify **g** in syntax
  - c. a spelling operation which modify **p** (a phonological representation) of any lexeme
  - d. a semantic operation is a modification of **r**.

A lexical entry for a verb such as **ngghena** may then look as follows:

g = [+ verb]  
           [Theme/Agent \_\_\_\_\_ Location]  
 p = /ngghen/  
       ⇕  
 r = [GO (X) TO (Y) IN (Z)]

Derivational rules operate on grammatical categories(g). They have no access to phonology and thus they cannot effect phonological changes. [G] includes morpholexical categories of

the lexicon such as [+verb] or [+ Noun] and the morphosyntactic inflectional categories of syntax such as [+ present], [+ indicative].

Spelling operations are responsible for bound morphemes such as affixes. All morphological means of marking grammatical categories such as bound spelling operations are handled by an autonomous morphological component. This component spells out the phonological modifications of the stem. Thus all open classes are lexical and the lexicon contains only open classes. All closed classes are grammatical and the grammar contains only closed classes. The derivation and spelling operations are organised in the following way:

Lexeme	Operations on lexemes	Responsible grammatical component
R	Semantic operations	Semantic
↕		
G	Lexical derivation	Lexicon
	Inflectional derivation	Syntax
↕		
P	Spelling operations	Morphology
	Phonological operations	Phonology

The representation of a lexeme is abbreviated as  $[P \leftrightarrow g \leftrightarrow r]$

As already indicated, there are two types of derivation. Lexical derivation ( $G_L$ ) operates on

the grammatical category features (g) which are found in the lexicon. Such grammatical categories are [+noun] or [+ verb]. The rules of lexical derivation may then change a verb into a noun e.g. **tirh** → **mutirhi**. On the other hand the inflectional derivation rules (= G<sub>i</sub>) operates on features which are found in the syntax, such as [tense], [negative] and others.

The operations of the morphological component will be limited to the lexical word and the functional categories of syntax. Inflectional categories are usually found outside lexical categories. In this way we may distinguish L- and I- derivation e.g. the applicative is a L-derivation. When both are present the perfect tense will always be on the outside of the applicative:

(18) Ndzi - tirh-el-e tatana.

Derivation and the spelling of morphological expressions are independent processes, but the lexeme and the morpheme must eventually find each other.

In the example below we find the lexical item (nghen) which has been raised to Inflection. In Inflection we find various inflectional categories for [ndzi nghenile] or [a ndzi nghenanga]. These inflectional categories are [+ indicative], [+ perfect tense], [- plural], [+ 1<sup>st</sup> person], [+ negative]. In addition, we find in this example the features which are necessary to explain the grammatical functions in the expressions [ndzi nghenile] and [a ndzi nghenanga]. These features are the following:

## Inflection

g1 =	$\left[ \begin{array}{l} - \text{ plural} \\ + 1^{\text{st}} \text{ person} \\ + \text{ past} \\ \pm \text{ Negative} \\ + \text{ Indicative} \end{array} \right]$	←	number switch
		←	person switch
		←	tense switch
		←	negation switch
		←	mood switch

g1 =	$\left[ \begin{array}{l} [\text{subj}] \\ + \text{ verb} \end{array} \right]$	Base grammatical representation
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p =	/n ghen/	Phonological representation
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r =	GO(X) TO(Y) in (Z)	Semantic representation.
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Each of the features on the right has a switch which can be switched on. If the switch is switched on, the syntactic values of these features will appear. The number and person switch will give [ndzi-], the tense switch will give [-ile], the mood switch will not be represented by any morpheme. If the negation switch is not switched on it would find no morpheme but the verb will be [ndzi n ghenile].

A crucial question for morphological models that dissociate derivation from morphological spelling is whether the features of a grammatical representation are ordered. The initial assumption will be that the possibility of ordered grammatical features is a universal parameter.

#### 1.3.2.4 Functional categories and the African languages

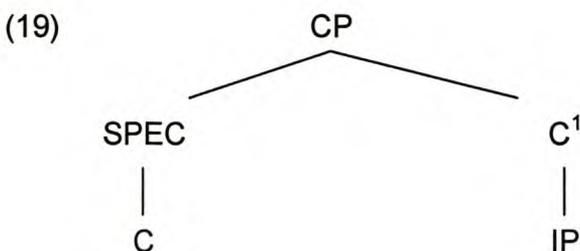
According to Beard (1995) it seems that a verb consists of two parts i.e. an inflectional and a verbal category. The verb **vha-a-lil-a** in Venda represents a phonological word. In syntax this verb can be divided between the verbal category [V], i.e. [-lil-] and various inflectional categories such as mood, tense and agreement. The verb **vha-a-lila** thus has an Indicative mood, a present tense and subjectival agreement **vha**. The category Inflection [I] may appear

as features representing various categories such as tense, mood or the Inflectional category may have some lexical content e.g. the progressive **sa** as an aspect category.

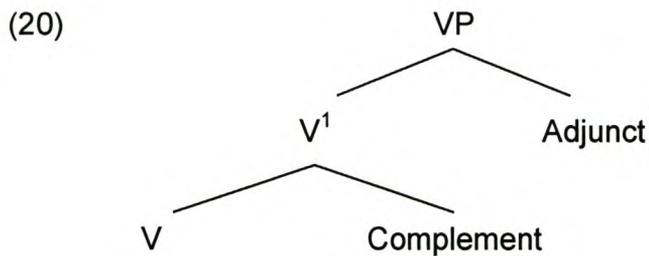
These inflectional categories are also known as functional categories and five of these categories are recognised in the African languages: mood, tense, agreement, negative and aspect. These functional categories play a role in establishing dependencies between parts of a sentence and they are represented as heads projecting X-bar phrases i.e. any morpho-syntactic formative such as a negative morpheme or a tense morpheme which corresponds to a functional category in a language is syntactically the head of a maximal projection. Thus, the five functional categories identified above are heads of a maximal projection: mood [M] is the head of the maximal projection mood phrase [MP], tense [T] of tense phrase [TP] etc.

Much has been written about abstract inflection and Agreement since Chomsky (1981) introduced the functional categories Infl and Agr. Verbal agreement categories are introduced under Infl by the functional category Agr. Each of these features receives its own projection, which is filled with some morpheme during lexical insertion. V is then raised through those positions to Infl, AMALGAMATING with any bound morphemes occupying head positions intermediate between V and Infl. Affixes not accounted for by amalgamation combine with V by affix-hopping or lowering.

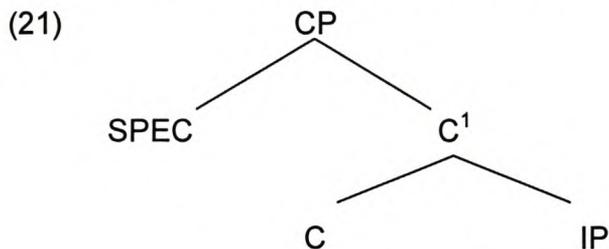
The clausal constituents are IP and CP and these categories are dominated by functional heads. IP (Inflectional phrase) is dominated by I (inflection), Inflection splits into different functional heads: Tense, aspect, agreement, mood, negative. CP (complementizer phrase) is dominated by C (complementizer). C introduces a sentence i.e. an IP. This means that C selects an IP complement. Thus CP and IP are functional projections and C and I are projections of a functional head:



Du Plessis (1997:75) continues to state that phrasal constituents on the other hand have lexical items such as N (noun), V(verb) etc. as head. Such phrasal constituents are: NP, VP, AP, PP where N, V, A and P respectively are the heads or zero level projection:



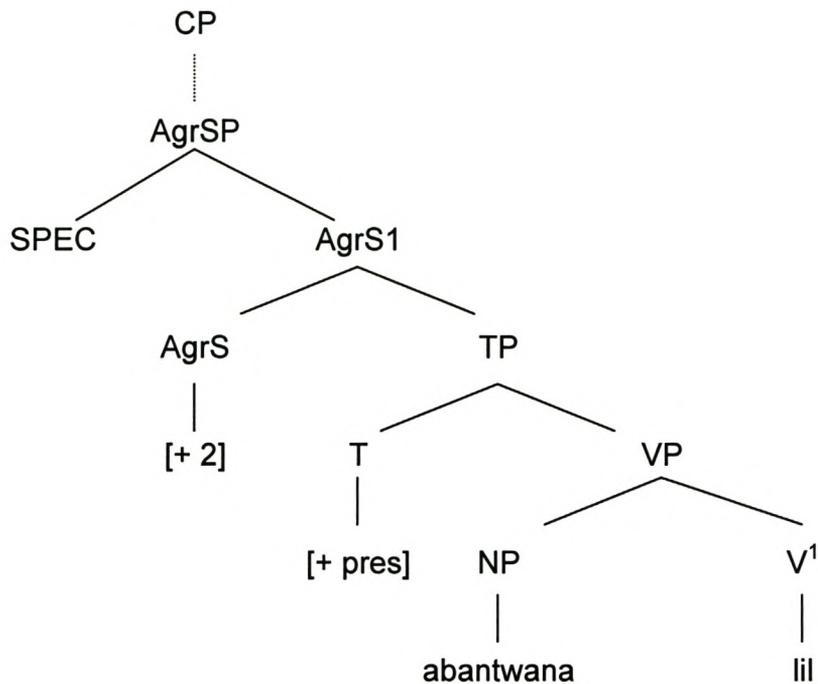
According to Du Plessis (1997:77) the Complementizer Phrase (CP) refers to a sentence or a clause. The head of CP is a complementizer (C). The contents of the Complementizer may be [ $\pm$ Q] (Q = questions) where [ $\pm$ Q] refers to an interrogative sentence and [-Q] to a statement. C may also refer to a complementizer *leswaku/ukuba/ ukuthi/uri/gore/hore*. The sister of C is an Inflectional phrase (IP):



The specifier of C<sup>1</sup> allows for movement of various interrogative elements to this position either in syntax or LF.

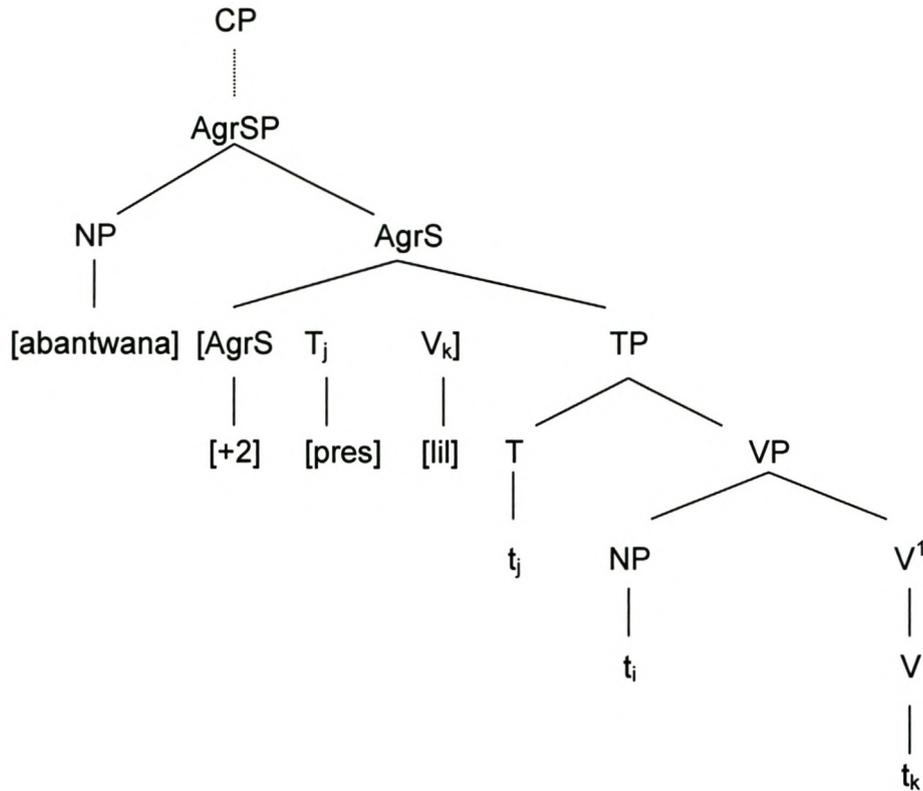
The following sentence will have the d-structure below:

(22) Xhosa: Abantwana ba-ya-lil-a.



In this d-structure the NP argument **abantwana** has been realized internally in the VP. Both lexical categories N and V are inside the maximal projection of V, i.e. VP. There are two functional categories i.e. subjectival agreement and tense. The specifier of agreement is empty to allow raising of **abantwana** to this position. The s-structure would then have the following form after movement of the various categories:

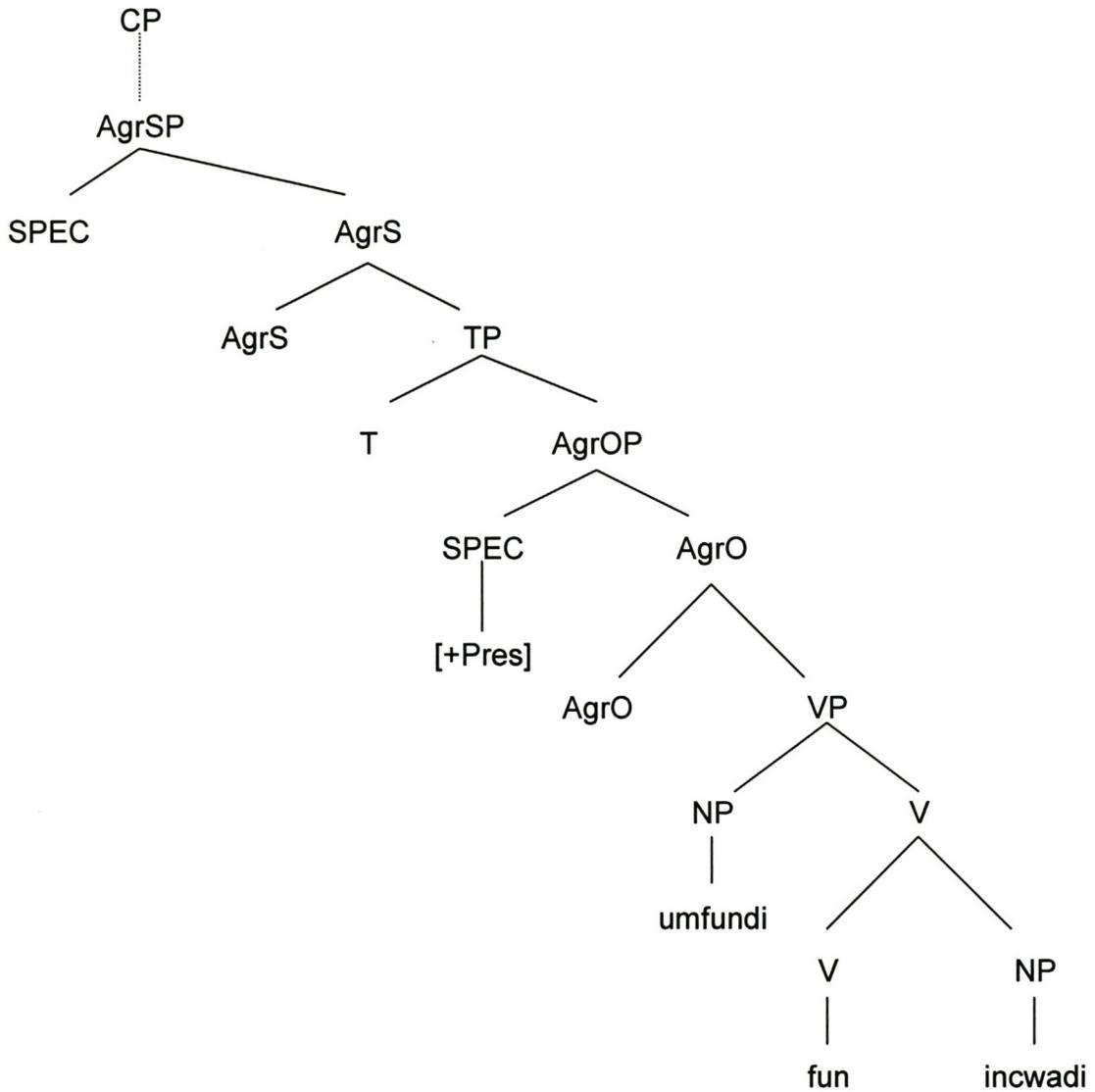
(23)



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

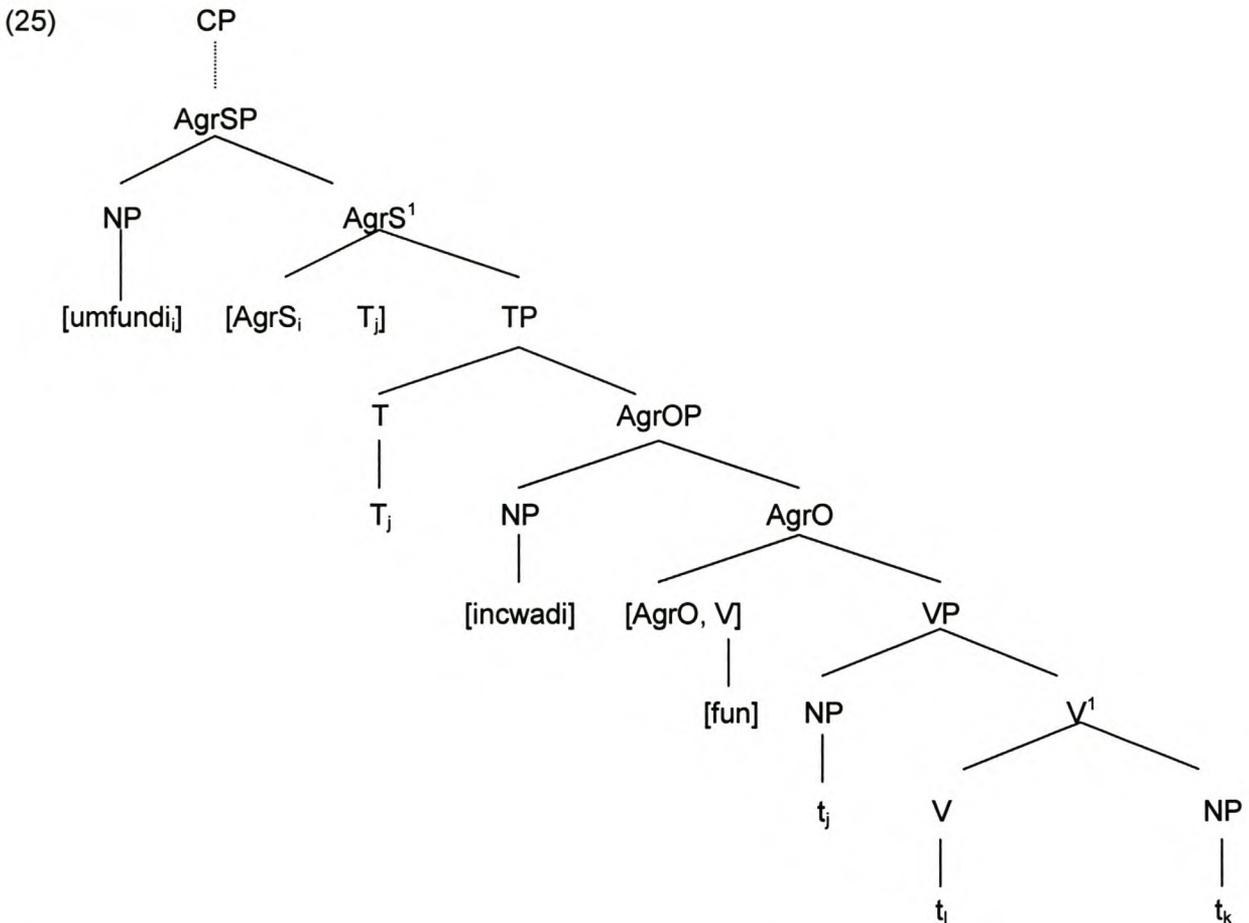
In the following structure an internal NP argument **incwadi** has been added in the subject position:

(24) Xhosa: Umfundi ufuna incwadi.



In this structure an extra functional category has been added, i.e. objectival agreement (AgrO).

After raising of the various categories, the S-structure would look like this:



The subject argument **umfundi** has been raised to the specifier of AgrS. T has raised to adjoin to AgrS to allow the assignment of a nominative case to **umfundi**. The verb **fun** adjoins to AgrO after the object **incwadi** raises covertly to the specifier position of AgrO. The combination of AgrO and V will then allow accusative case assignment to **incwadi**. The verb will then have to move to AgrS to allow a surface structure verb.

The approach of the Minimalist program as indicated above by Ouhalla (1999) will be followed in this dissertation with regard to the issue of the IP. Ouhalla (1999:433) suggests that verbs are inflected for features in the lexicon and inserted into derivations already inflected rather than in their bare form. These features are then checked against corresponding features encoded in inflectional categories.

### 1.3.3. COMPLEMENTATION

#### 1.3.3.1. Dixon (2001)

Dixon (2001:175) states that the grammar exists to code meaning. Every language has a similar set of semantic tasks to fulfil. There is a universal pool of grammatical construction types, and each language draws its own selection from the pool. According to the selection that is made, a similar type of meaning may be expressed by different grammatical means in different languages. But the variation is not random. Each construction type in a language has a semantic effect, and although a given meaning may be expressed in different languages by constructions that are grammatically diverse, they will have similar semantics.

Furthermore, Dixon (2001:175) observes that the words of any language can be grouped into a number of lexical classes called SEMANTIC TYPES, which have a common meaning component and some shared grammatical properties. Each semantic type will, in a given language, be associated with a particular class for example:

- i. DIMENSION includes : big little, long, etc.
- ii. COLOUR : black, white etc.
- iii. AGE : new, old, etc.
- iv. VALUE : good, bad, etc.

Dixon (2001:176) continues to argue that every language has a large open class of Primary verbs, which can make up a complete sentence by choosing appropriate NPs (with noun or pronoun as head) to fill subject, object, etc. slots. In English, and in many other languages, there are two subclasses of primary verbs:

PRIMARY-A: Verbs describe actions or states that relate only to things, their subject and object slots must be filled by NPs. Primary-A covers semantic types such as MOTION, REST (e.g. stand, put), AFFECT, GIVING (lend, pay) and CORPOREAL (eat, laugh, die).

PRIMARY B: Verbs describe actions and states that can relate to things or to other actions or states. One can say, **I watched the storm** or **I watched John building a**

**wall**; and **He described the prize bull** or He described **how John tamed the bull**. Primary-B types include ATTENTION, SPEAKING and, in many languages, THINKING (think, know, believe) and/or LIKING (love, hate).

According to Dixon (2001:176), every language has some grammatical means for linking a PRIMARY-B verb and the verb describing the action or state that the Primary-B verb refers to. In English, as in many other languages, Primary-B verbs may have NPs filling subject and object slots (I heard John, Marry annoys me) or, as an alternative, they may allow a complement clause to fill one of these slots - the object slot in the case of **describe**, **watch** and **hear** (e.g. **I heard that John had died**) and the subject slot in the case of **annoy** (John's drinking gin annoys me).

Each language also has a set of what we can call Secondary concepts which modify meanings of verbs, these typically include all or most of **not**, **can**, **must**, **begin**, **finish**, **try**, **want**, **make** (do) and **seems**. There are varied grammatical means for realizing these ideas but it appears that every language expresses some (although not all) of them through verbs, which can appropriately be called Secondary verbs. Whereas all primary verbs can just relate to objects, and make up complete sentence with NPs filling their argument slots, all Secondary verbs relate to some action or state and demand a grammatical link to another verb.

Dixon (2001:176) indicates that in English, **not**, **can** and **must** are constituents within the verbal auxiliary (effectively, modifiers to a main verb in a verb phrase), while **begin**, **finish**, **try**, **make**, **prevent**, and **seems** are Secondary verbs, which take complement clauses, for example **John finished the wall**, **I want to get a new car**, **John made Marry sell her bicycle**. In these sentences **finish**, **want** and **make** are syntactically the main verbs, with **build**, **get** and **sell** functioning as verbs of embedded clauses, but semantically **build**, **get** and **sell** are the core concept of the sentences, with **finish**, **want** and **make** providing semantic modification.

Furthermore, Dixon (2001:177) argues that the semantic tasks which all languages must face, and which they have different ways of fulfilling are:

- (a) there must be some grammatical or lexical means for expressing the Secondary concepts;
- (b) there must be some grammatical means for linking Primary-B and Secondary verbs with verbs to which they relate, such as **watch** and **build** in **I watched John building the wall** or **force** and **build** in **I forced John to build the wall**.

Dixon (2001:177) identifies four main ways in which languages express Secondary concepts:

1. as Secondary verbs, which have essentially the same array of derivational and inflectional possibilities as Primary verbs;
2. as verbal affixes;
3. as modifiers to a verb (including both adverbs and modal verbs, as in English and other European languages);
4. as non-inflecting particles within a clause.

In addition, Dixon (2001:179) argues that there are number of ways in which a language can grammatically code the link between a Secondary or Primary-B verb and a secondary verb:

1. The second verb can be nominalised, and then function as head of an NP in subject or object function to the Secondary or Primary-B verb.
2. Both verbs can appear, in apposition, in the same verb phrase.
3. The verbs can occur in separate clauses, which are linked together by one of a number of grammatical strategies.

Dixon (2001:180) further identifies three methods of clause linking:

- a. Co-ordinate and non-embedded subordinate constructions. Clauses can be linked without embedding by (i) co-ordinate linkers such as **and**, **but**, **or**; (ii) temporal subordinate linkers such as **after**, **before**, **while**; (iii) logical subordinate links such as **since**, **because**, **if**; (iv) purposive linkers such as **so that**, **in order (that/for ...)** to. For example:

(26) John borrowed my car in order that he might give Marry a driving lesson.

- b. Complement clause construction. English has a number of types of complement clause, each of which has the internal structure of a clause but fills an object, subject or post-object slot in a main clause. For example:  
That Marry would win was expected.
- c. Relative-clause constructions. There are various kinds of modifier within an NP which can help to focus the reference of the head noun: these include, demonstratives, adjectives and relative clauses, for instance: Which man were you calling to? I was calling to [that tall fellow [who lives in the old cottage]].

According to Dixon (2001:183-184) the semantic task of complement-clause constructions is to code the relation between a matrix verb (whether of Primary-B or Secondary type) and the complement-clause.

In his study of English, Fijian and Dyirbal languages, Dixon (2001:192-199) observes that unlike Fijian and English, there are no complement-clause construction in Dyirbal, that is it does not have clauses filling subject or object slots in a main clause.

### 1.3.3.2. Bošković (2001)

According to Bošković (2001:7), the development of the Minimalist Program has led to the abandonment of a number of conditions and mechanisms, either because their effects overlap with those of other conditions or because they are arbitrary in nature.

In this section Bošković examines issues concerning selection and the categorial status of infinitival complements and the distribution of PRO based on traditional Exceptional Case Marking (ECM), raising, and control infinitivals, which are characterized by the complementary distribution of NP-trace and PRO in their subject position. Under the standard analysis, ECM and raising verbs are assumed to select syntactic categories (c-select) IP infinitival complements, and control verbs CP infinitival complements.

Bošković (2001:7) states that language is assumed to consist of a lexicon and a computational system. The computational system is embedded in two performance systems: articulatory-perceptual and conceptual-intentional. Two linguistic levels, Phonological Form

(PF) and Logical Form (LF), are postulated as interfaces with the performance systems. The operations of the computational systems that produce linguistic expressions must be optimal, in the sense that they must satisfy some general considerations of simplicity, referred to as "economy principles".

Bošković (2001:7-8) continues to state that one of these principles, the Last Resort Condition, prohibits superfluous steps in a derivation. It requires that every operation apply for a reason. The second economy principle (as proposed by Chomsky and Lasnik, 1993) and referred to here as the "Minimize Chain Links and Principle"), imposes locality restrictions on the operation **move**, by requiring that each movement be as short as possible. A third economy principle, also relevant to the operation **move**, is Chomsky's (1993) Procrastinate, which favours covert over overt movement, thus delaying the application of Move until LF whenever possible.

Bošković (2001:2) concludes the section on economy principles by saying that in addition to economy conditions on derivations and representations, which require that derivations and representations in some sense be minimal, the very development of the theory has been characterised by natural considerations of simplicity and economy. The general trend in the theory of generative grammar has been to eliminate redundancies that arise when conditions on transformations and representations overlap in their effect.

Bošković (2001:7) observes that under the standard account of the distribution of PRO and infinitival complementation, which rests on the assumption that PRO cannot be governed, government is still crucially needed only to account for the phenomenon in question. Given this and the fact that government is rather heterogeneous and arbitrary notion, it would be desirable to account for the phenomena in question without making recourse to government. This would open up the possibility that government could be completely eliminated from the grammar.

Grimshaw (1979) as quoted by Bošković (2001:8) argues that lexical entries of predicates contain information concerning selection for both syntactic categories (c-selection) and the semantic type of the complement (s-selection). She argues for the autonomy of C-selection and S-selection by noting that there is no one-to-one correspondence between semantic

types of complements and their syntactic categories. Crucial examples are provided by the fact that verbs that take the same semantic type may or may not take an NP object. Thus although both **wonder** and **ask** s-select question (Q), only the latter allow Q to be realised as an NP:

- (27) a. John wondered [CP what the time was]  
 b. \*John wondered [NP the time]  
 c. John asked [cp what the time was]  
 d. John asked [NP the time]

On the other hand, Pesetsky (1982b, 1992) in Bošković (2001:8) argues that c-selection should be eliminated as an independent syntactic mechanism. Whether or not a predicate can take an NP object is determined by whether or not it can assign case. Thus, if **ask** but not **wonder** is marked [+ accusative] C-selection need not be involved to rule out (27b). The construction is ruled out independently by the Case Filter.

Contrary to the standard account which maintains that PRO is not Case-marked, Chomsky and Lasnik (1993) in Bošković, propose that PRO is always Case-marked. They note that PRO must undergo NP-movement from non-case positions and is not allowed to undergo NP-movement from case positions even to escape government as in the example below:

- (28) a. John tried PRO<sub>i</sub> to be arrested t<sub>i</sub>.  
 b. \*John tried PRO<sub>i</sub> to seem to t<sub>i</sub> that the problem is unsolvable.

Bošković (2001:11) states that to account for (27a-b), Chomsky and Lasnik reject the binding-theoretic account of the distribution of PRO and argue that, like all other argument NPs, PRO is always Case-marked. They propose that PRO is marked for null case, which is restricted to PRO and checked via Spec-head agreement with nonfinite J. They show that, given this proposal, (28b) is ruled out by the Last Resort Condition, which forbids NP-movement from Case-checking to Case-checking positions. NP-movement in (28a) on the other hand, is in accordance with the Last Resort Condition; PRO moves from a non-Case position to a position in which case can be checked.

In addition, Martin in Bošković (2001:11) modifies Chomsky and Lasnik's (1993) account by arguing that not every nonfinite I has the ability to check null case. Restricting attention to infinitival complements, only [+ tense] nonfinite I can check null case. Martin adopts Stowell's (1982) proposal that, in contrast to ECM infinitives, control infinitives are specified for Tense. More precisely, they denote a possible future; this is, they specify a time that is unrealized with respect to the Tense of the matrix clause (note, for example, the interpretation of **John remembered to bring the wine**). To account for this, Stowell proposes that infinitival complements of control verbs have an independent Tense value; that is, they are specified a [+ tense]. In contrast to control infinitives, ECM infinitives have no independent Tense value; that is, they are specified as [- tense]. Their time frame is determined by the timeframe of the higher clause. They have no internally organized Tense.

Bošković (2001:12) concludes the issue of nonfinite I by saying that under the Case-theoretic approach to the distribution of PRO, like other NP arguments, PRO is always Case marked. Its Case is checked via Spec-head agreement with [+ tense], [-finite].

With regard to infinitival complements Bošković (2001:16) argues that it need not be specified in the lexicon that control verbs such as **try** take a CP infinitival complement in order to account for the impossibility of ECM and passive raising with such verbs. Under the Case-theoretic approach to the distribution of PRO, control verbs can take either a CP or an IP complement. ECM and passive raising with control verbs are ruled out by the Last Resort Condition.

### 1.3.3.3. Doherty (1997)

In this section Doherty rejects the CP-hypothesis (which states that finite subordinate clauses in English lacking a complementizer appear as a CP with a null head), and argues in favour of IP hypothesis (which states that this is a bare finite IP and no CP-level is projected).

The central analytical claim of the CP-hypothesis is that finite clauses with and without complementizers share a common syntactic structure. This then therefore means that they should share the same general syntactic properties. However, this is not the case. There are

vast differences between the two finite sentences when it come to adjunction possibilities. He then tendered the following considerations:

According to Doherty (1997:200) topicalization in embedded clause is grammatical when the Topic appears to the right of the complementizer, for example:

- (29) a. I hope that this book you will read.  
 b. She claims that Guinness he likes but that whiskey that he hates.  
 c. This proves that Joyce he's read but that Yeats he didn't.

Topics cannot appear to the left of the complementizer:

- (30) a. \*I hope this book that you will read  
 b. \*She claims Guinness he likes but whiskey that he hates  
 c. \*This proves Joyce that he's read but Yeats that he hadn't.

Doherty (1997:201) states that if the failure of adjunction to complement CP as in (30) above, shows that adjunction to the outside of a complement clause is excluded in principle, then adjunction to an IP complement should also be excluded by the same principle.

Furthermore, with regard to sentential adverbs Doherty (1997:202) states that they must appear to the right of the complementizer, presumably adjoined to the IP-level:

- (31) a. She prayed that next Wednesday the cheque would arrive  
 b. We concluded that in the future he should be closely watched  
 c. We maintained that in London a nice flat is hard to find.  
 d. John claims that during the party John threw a punch at Fred.

Adjunction to the CP-level is excluded (on an embedded construal).

- (32) a. \*She prayed next Wednesday that the cheque would arrive  
 b. \*We concluded in the future that he should be closely watched  
 c. \*We maintain in London that a nice flat is hard to find.

d. \*John claims during the party that John threw a punch to Fred.

According to Doherty (1997:202) the CP-hypothesis offers no obvious syntactic explanation for these differences. Under the CP-hypothesis, it would be expected that adverbial adjunction to a **that**-less clause should be grammatical on par with adjunction to a **that**-clause, given that there is no structural difference between the two clause types.

Doherty (1997:204-207) questions the Empty Category Principle with regard to the distribution of **that**-less clauses. According to Empty Category Principle, a non-pronominal empty category must be:

- i. properly head-governed (formal licensing)
- ii. antecedent-governed or Theta-governed (identification).

According to Doherty (1997:206) the classical ECP analysis is shown to be questionable on both conceptual and an empirical level: on a conceptual level because it is unclear why null complementizers should be subjected to a proper government requirement in the first place and on an empirical level because the set of clauses whose complementizers are properly governed is not co-extensive with the set of clauses which permit that to be absent.

With regard to the issue of government, Doherty (1997:214) concludes by saying that there are instances of complementizers which fulfil the requirements for proper government but which cannot be null and there are complementizers which can be null and yet appear in positions which are not governed.

It is against this background that Doherty (1997:218) concludes by saying that complementizer clauses without complementizers are simply bare finite IPs and that the grammar of English permits free variation between finite IP and CP complements.

### 1.3.4. LEXICAL SEMANTICS

#### 1.3.4.1. Levels of representation

According to Pustejovsky (1996) a generative lexicon is a computational system involving at least the following four levels of representations:

1. ARGUMENT STRUCTURE: Specification of number and type of logical arguments, and how they are realized syntactically.
2. EVENT STRUCTURE: Definition of the event type of a lexical item and a phrase. Sorts include STATE, PROCESS, and TRANSITION, and events may have subeventual structure.
3. QUALIA STRUCTURE: Modes of explanation, composed of FORMAL, CONSTITUTIVE, TELIC, and AGENTIVE roles.
4. LEXICAL INHERITANCE STRUCTURES: Identification of how a lexical structure is related to other structures in the type lattice, and its contribution to the global organization of a lexicon.

A set of generative devices connect these four levels, providing for the compositional interpretation of words in context. Included in these generative operations are the following semantic transformation, all involving well-formedness conditions on type combinations:

- TYPE COERCION: Where a lexical item or phrase is coerced to a semantic interpretation by governing item in the phrase, without change of its syntactic type.
- SELECTIVE BINDING: Where a lexical item or phrase operates specifically on the substructure of a phrase, without changing the overall type in the composition.
- CO-COMPOSITION: Where multiple elements within a phrase behave as functors, generating new non-lexicalised senses for the words in composition. This also includes cases of underspecified semantic forms becoming contextually enriched, such as **manner co-composition**, **feature transcription** and **light verb specification**.

### 1.3.4.2. Argument Structure

Four types of argument structure will be discussed hereunder:

#### True arguments

True arguments define those parameters which are necessarily expressed at syntax. This is the domain generally covered by the  $\Theta$ -criterion and other surface conditions on argument structure. They are syntactically realized parameters of the lexical items, e.g. the argument in brackets below:

(33) [Ezinkomo] zityebile

The arguments for a lexical item e.g. ARG1, ARG2, ... ARGn are represented in a list structure where argument type is directly encoded in the argument structure i.e. ARGSTR, where D-ARG is a default argument and S-ARG is a shadow argument.

(34)  $\alpha$

$$\left( \begin{array}{l} \text{ARGSTR} = \left[ \begin{array}{l} \text{ARG1} = \dots \\ \text{ARG2} = \dots \\ \text{D-ARG1} = \dots \\ \text{S-ARG1} = \dots \end{array} \right] \end{array} \right)$$

According to Du Plessis (1999:281) the lexical semantics for the following verbs can now be partially represented with argument structure as below. In each case the contents of the arguments are drawn from the selection restrictions of the lexical items such as verbs. Such arguments may be forced to appear with certain features.

(35)  $\left[ \begin{array}{l} \text{-lal-} \\ \text{ARGSTR} = [\text{ARG1} = \text{animate, individual}] \end{array} \right]$

The verb **-lal-** assigns one argument only and this argument has the above two features

because only animate beings are able to sleep.

Du Plessis (1999:282) states that the argument structure of nouns depends on the number of different senses which a specific noun may have. The noun like **iphephandaba** (newspaper) may refer to three senses: as a source of information, an organisation which owns the paper and as a physical object which one may buy:

- (36) 
$$\left[ \begin{array}{l} \text{AGR1} = \text{organization} \\ \text{AGR2} = \text{physical object} \\ \text{AGR3} = \text{information} \end{array} \right]$$

With regard to verbs, their argument structure will look at the specifiers and complements of the verb to establish what may appear together with it. A verb like **osa** (roast) will need a person to do the roasting, and it will need some food to be roasted.

- (37) 
$$\left[ \begin{array}{l} \text{ARG1} = \text{animate, individual} \\ \text{ARG2} = \text{food} \end{array} \right]$$

### Default arguments

Default arguments are parameters which participate in the logical expressions in the qualia, but which are not necessarily expressed syntactically, e.g.

- (38) a. Ndaqingqa indlovu [ngomthi]  
(I carved an elephant out of wood)  
b. Ndakha indlu [ngamatye]  
(I built a house out of stones)

Since the material (**umthi** and **amatye**) are not obligatory, but optional, their status as arguments are different from created objects (**indlovu** and **indlu**). Such optional arguments in alternations such as the material/product above are called default arguments. They are necessary for the logical well-formedness of the sentence, but may be left unexpressed in the surface syntax.

Furthermore, default arguments as in (38) above can be satisfied by full phrasal expressions as a PP with **nga** or as a phrase incorporated into a true argument ("descriptive possessive").

- (39) a. Ndaqingqa [indlovu yomthi]  
(I carved a wooden elephant)  
b. Ndakha [indlu yamatye]  
(I built a stone house)

The argument structure of verbs with default arguments may be represented as follows with the verb **-akh-** (build) as an example:

- (40) 
$$\left[ \begin{array}{l} -akh \\ ARGSTR = \end{array} \left[ \begin{array}{l} ARG1 \\ ARG2 \\ D-ARG1 \end{array} \begin{array}{l} = \\ = \\ = \end{array} \left[ \begin{array}{l} animate, individual \\ artifact \\ material \end{array} \right] \right] \right]$$

### Shadow argument

Shadow arguments are those parameters which are semantically incorporated into the lexical item. They can be expressed only by operations of subcategorization of discourse specifications.

- (41) a. Ndazikhanda [ngelitye] emweni.  
(I hit myself with a stone on the finger)  
b. Ke-tla-tshela metsi [mo galaseng]  
(I will pour the water into the glass)

Shadow arguments in (41) above appear in brackets. Furthermore, shadow arguments refer to semantic content that is not necessarily expressed in syntax. These arguments are expressible only under specific conditions within the sentence itself, namely when the expressed arguments stands in a subtyping relation to the shadow argument. For instance, in (41a) the hitting could have been done by anything but the specific instrument is a stone and

not a hammer. The same type of argument is applicable to (41b) the water could have been poured in anything but here specifically in the glass.

Shadow arguments may be represented as follows with the verb **-khand-** in (41a) as an example:

$$(42) \quad \left[ \begin{array}{l} \text{-khand-} \\ \\ \text{ARGSTR} = \end{array} \left[ \begin{array}{l} \text{AGR1} = \text{animate, individual} \\ \text{ARG2} = \text{physical object} \\ \text{S-ARG1} = \text{stone} \end{array} \right] \right]$$

### True adjuncts

True adjuncts are those parameters which modify the logical expression but are part of the situational interpretation, and are not tied to any particular lexical item's semantic representation. These include adjunct expressions of temporal or spatial modification:

- (43) a. Umoya uyavuthuza [entabeni]  
(The wind is blowing in the mountain)
- b. Umlilo waqhuma [endlwini]  
(The fire smoked in the house)

The true adjuncts are in brackets in examples in (43). Du Plessis (1999:285) maintains that these arguments are associated with verb classes and not individual verbs. The ability of these verbs to function as locative modifiers is inherited by virtue of the verbs classification as an individual event.

### 1.3.4.3 Events

This section will investigate the Xitsonga situation aspect in terms of an account of semantic features in which each situation type will be explored with regard to Xitsonga evidence. In this regard questions relating to verbal classes in Xitsonga will demonstrate the situation type

difference between semantically related pair of verbs. I will therefore present the theoretical treatment of the relationship between situation aspect and transitivity for the aspectual classes of verbs (Activities, Accomplishments, Achievements and States) in Xitsonga. In addition, the contribution of situation aspect information to temporal interpretation in Xitsonga terms constitute a major issue and will be discussed in this study.

In the second place, the various situation types will then be integrated as one of the four levels of representations in the semantic type system within the theory of the Generative lexicon, i.e. Event structure.

### Situation types

According to Smith (1997), the term situation type refers to classes of events and states. The situation type of a sentence is determined not by the verb alone, but by the verb and its arguments or verb constellation. They are distinguished on the basis of their perceptual and cognitive faculties and thus they convey information about the temporal aspects of situations such as **beginning**, **end**, **change of state** and **duration**. However, the receiver of a sentence knows how much of a situation is presented and to what situation type it belongs as the information conveyed to the receiver in (44) illustrates:

- |         |  |                  |
|---------|--|------------------|
| (44) a. | Vavanuna va tsakile.<br>(Men are happy)                        | [State]          |
| b.      | Vavanuna va hlambela.<br>(Men are swimming)                    | [Activity]       |
| c.      | Tatana u akile yindlu.<br>(Father built a house)               | [Accomplishment] |
| d.      | Mahlori u hlurile mphikizano.<br>(Mahlori won the competition) | [Achievement]    |

Since situation involves point of view which represents a situation as belonging to a certain category of event or state (44a), then presents an observable mental state while (44b) presents a part of the whole event which does not convey whether the goal was reached. Sentence (44c) and (44d) presents a complete event that involve a goal and the information

that the event was terminated.

### **Basic-level and derived situation type**

Basic examples of each situation type are simple, complete situations, whereby simplicity in this context means that a single situation type is involved and completeness means that the situation is considered in its entirety. According to Smith (1997) basic-level situation type presents the situation with the initial and final endpoints (not applicable to states). Situations are neutrally presented as complete, functional wholes, by the basic-level categorization as in (44):

- (45) a. Vavanuna va tirhile  
(Men worked)
- b. Vavanuna va tirhile awara  
(Men worked for an hour)
- c. Vavanuna va tirhile hi awara  
(Men worked within an hour)

In (45a) a basic-level categorization is presented while (45b) and (45c) present a derived-or shifted-level categorization. Derived-level situation types are complex, with an internal structure which consists of instances of another situation type. In the light of (45b) and (45c), the derived-level requires an adverbial or other information from the context. Thus the situation type shifts are triggered by clashes of temporal features such as **for an hour** and **in an hour** respectively. An accomplishment situation type is established, in this way and this is the evidence which comes from different situations and differ only in the complements of the verb or the internal argument of the verb which involve derived-/shifted-level categorization.

### **Verb constellation**

Smith (1997) outlines a verb constellation as that instance where the verb and its argument all contribute to a situation type. The interpretation of the situation type depends on the particular verb, noun phrase, prepositional phrases and sentential complements of the verb constellation. According to Du Plessis and Visser (1992) the predicate argument structure of

a verb indicates the number of arguments it takes. Each argument will have a specific variable corresponding to such an argument, and such as argument will have certain semantic labels such as agent, theme, etc.

The semantic type system within Lexical Semantics, specifically within the theory of the Generative lexicon, makes provision for four levels of representation, i.e. event structures, argument structure, qualia structure and Lexical Inheritance Structure. Within the level of Argument Structure, four types of arguments for lexical items are recognised as indicated above, i.e. true arguments, default arguments, shadow arguments and true adjuncts:

### Temporal features of the situation types

Smith (1997) indicates that the situation type have temporal properties of dynamism, telexity and duration.

#### Dynamic situations

Within the situation types a distinction is drawn between static and dynamic situations. A static situation or state is one that is conceived of as existing, rather than happening and as being homogeneous, continuous and unchanging throughout its duration. A dynamic situation is something that happens: it may be momentarily or enduring and it may or may not be under the control of an agent.

- (46) a. Ntshunxeko **u tsakile**.  
(Ntshunxeko is happy)
- b. Kokwana **u etlele**.  
(Granny is sleeping)
- c. Mashudu **u tiva Xisuthu**  
(Mashudu knows Sesotho)
- d. Vavanuna **va tirha**  
(Men are working)
- e. Ndzheko **wu fayekile**  
(The calabash is broken)

- f. Ntsako wa tsutsuma  
(Ntsako is running)

Sentences (46a-c) present states while (46d-f) present event. The difference between the situations referred to by the above verb is in the relation between different situations at any given point of time in their duration. For instance, the case of **happiness**: all phases of the situation: **Ntshunxeko is happy** are identical because every point we choose to cut in on the situation of Ntshunxeko's happiness, we shall find exactly the same situation. We will find similar case with verbs such as **etlela** (sleep), **tiva** (know). States consist of a single undifferentiated period in which they hold or obtain.

Event and process refer to dynamic situations. With dynamic situations such as in (46d-f), the situation will continue because it is continually subject to a new input of energy: thus dynamic situation involves a change. The dynamic situations consists of successive stages which occur at different moments just like those in (46d-f). However, event refers to a dynamic situation as a complete whole as in **Ndzheko wu fayekile** (The calabash is broken) and process refers to the internal structure of a dynamic situation as in **Ntsako wa tsutsuma** (Ntsako is running).

#### Telic/Atelic

Events may be telic or atelic. Telic events have a change of state which constitute the outcome or goal of an event, and when the goal is reached, a change of state occurs and then the event is complete. According to Du Plessis (1999:46), verbs of change of state refer to actions that bring about a change in the material integrity of some entity. The break verbs are pure verbs of change of state, and their meaning provides no information about how the change of state came about. Consider the following telic sentences:

- (47) a. Wansati u fayile fasitere ra movha  
(The woman broke the car's window)  
b. Manana u swekile nyama  
(Mother cooked meat)

- c. Tatana u tsemile darada  
(Father cut the wire)
- d. Mufana u tsemile rihunyi  
(The boy chopped the wood)

In expressions referring to telic situations, it is important that there should be both a process leading up to the terminal point as well as the completion. Thus the examples quoted above, implies attainment of the terminal point of the situation. On the other hand, Smith (1997) argues that telic events are simply processes. They can **stop at any time** and there is no outcome. Therefore, they have arbitrary final endpoints. Consider the following atelic sentence:

- (48) Nsuku wa yimbelela  
(Nsuku is singing)

In (48) **Nsuku** can stop singing at any point, and it will be true that she sung, even if she did not complete the song she set out to sing. However, situations are not described by verbs alone, but by the verb together with its arguments. Thus, although (47) describes an atelic situation, the sentence in **Nsuku u yimbelerile** (Nsuku has sung) describes a telic situation since the situation has a well defined terminal point - completion.

#### Durative/Instantaneous

Durativity simply refers to the fact that the given situation lasts for a certain period of time (Comrie, 1976:41). The opposite of durativity is punctuality, which thus means the quality of a situation does not last in time, one that takes place momentarily. Punctual situations (Instantaneous situations according to Smith's terminology) do not have any duration, not even a duration of a very short period. Thus it has no internal structure as (49) illustrates:

- (49) a. Nghilazi yi fayekile  
(The glass is broken)
- b. Hanci yi hlurile mphikizano  
(The horse won the race)

The events presented in (49) happen instantaneously because the single act of **breaking** and **racing** occurs instantly and did not last for a very short time, but situation is clearly interpreted as durative because the sequence of coughing or knocking last for a certain period of time:

- (50) a. Tirhani wa khohlola  
(Tirhani is coughing)  
b. Rirhandzu wa gongodza  
(Rirhandzu is knocking)

### Activities

An activity indicates a process in which things are happening or being done. Such activities refer to verbs that describe an action rather than a state, i.e. such verbs refer to dynamic events and not to static events e.g. typical activities are **famba, hleka, dya, tlanga**.

These activities are also **atelic**. Atelic events are processes which can stop at any time: there is no outcome, i.e. atelic events have arbitrary final endpoints. Thus, activities terminate or stop but they do not finish: the notion of completion is irrelevant to a process event e.g.

- (51) Kulani u fambile tolo  
(Kulani walked yesterday)

The activity of walking stopped at a certain final endpoint, i.e. yesterday.

Activities have the part-whole relation of cumulative events, i.e. they go on in a homogenous way: any part of the process is of the same nature as the whole e.g. if Kulani walked as above for a certain time, the subevent of her walking for a few minutes of yesterday is also an instance of walking.

Activities refer to durative situation which have both a beginning and an end at different points in time. Thus, as indicated above they will have, between their beginning and their end, indefinitely many temporal phases, e.g. of walking by Kulani. The duration of time refers to the

time during which something continues: Kulani started walking at a certain time and ended her walking at another time. During these two times the activity of walking continued, i.e. that is the duration of Kulani's walking.

### **Activity situations**

Verbs classes denoting activities:

#### **Motion verbs**

- (52) a. N'wana wa famba  
(The child is walking)  
b. Vafana va tsutsuma  
(The boys are running)

#### **Communication verbs**

- (53) a. Mufana wa hleva  
(The boy is gossiping)  
b. Vanhu va vulavula  
(People are talking)

#### **Weather verbs**

- (54) a. Mpfula ya na  
(The rain is raining)  
b. Tilo ra duma  
(The sky is thundering)

#### **Physical perception**

- (55) a. Ndzi vonile  
(I saw)

- b. Ndza twa  
(I hear)

### **Verbs of existing involving motion**

- (56) a. Xikepe xa papama  
(The boat is floating)
- b. Matluka ya hangalaka  
(The leaves re scattering)

### **Performance verbs**

- (57) a. Vana va tlanga  
(The children are playing)
- b. Vafana va cina  
(The boys are dancing)

### **Verbs of searching**

- (58) a. Vafana va hlota ekhwatini  
(The boys are hunting in the bush)
- b. Tatana u njovela enambyeni  
(Father is fishing in the river)

### **Verbs involving the body**

- (59) a. Mukhalabye wa entshemula  
(The old man is sneezing)
- b. Kokwana wa nghorora  
(Granny is snoring)

**Verbs of bodily care**

- (60) a. Vafana va ambala  
(The boys are dressing)
- b. Manana wa hlamba  
(Mother is washing)

**Accomplishments**

Accomplishments consist of two events: a process and a transition, i.e. outcome or change of state. In this sense accomplishments are telic events. The change is the completion of the process. Accomplishments are finite and intrinsically bounded:

- (61) a. Ndzi akile yindlu  
(I built a house)
- b. Ndzi nwa nghilazi ya wayini  
(I drink a glass of wine)
- c. Ndzi yile exikolweni  
(I walked/went to school)

These accomplishments have successive stages in which the process advances to its natural final endpoint, i.e. a new house, the finishing of the wine and the arrival at school.

When a process with a natural final endpoint reaches its outcome, the event is completed and cannot continue. If you have finished the glass of wine, the event is complete. Thus, the notion of completion is applicable. The process is finished i.e. the process to which reference is being made, is one that proceeds towards a climax, a logical culmination, or natural terminal point e.g. the process of deciding (heta) is an accomplishment which has at its terminal point the event of reaching a decision. Accomplishments are thus durative events which have a beginning and endpoint.

Accomplishments take time and are completed in time. It does not merely go on and come to an end in time as in the case of activities. It makes sense to ask a question such as the

following with regard to accomplishments. "How long did she took to walk to school/to drink wine/ to build the house?".

Accomplishments consist of a process and a change of state. The process component of an accomplishment is essential to the event:

- (62) Gezani u tsarile papila  
(Gezani wrote a letter)

The accomplishment is the letter but the actual writing of the letter which denotes the process cannot be omitted.

The relation between the process and outcome of an accomplishment is known as non-detachability. There is an entailment relation between the process and outcome that is the formal correlate of the notion of non-detachability. If the outcome of an accomplishment is reached, the process occurred.

Accomplishment situations:

### **Verbs of creation**

- (63) a. Tatana u akile yindlu.  
(Father built a house)  
b. Hodovha u vatlile nkombe  
(Hodovha carved a spoon)

### **Verbs of ingesting**

- (64) a. Mufana u dyile lamula  
(The boy ate an orange)  
b. Ndzi nwile tiya ya bikiri  
(I drank a cup of tea)

- c. N'wana u ncakunhile xiwitsi  
(The child chewed a sweet)

### **Derived activities and accomplishments**

#### **Multiple-event activities**

The internal stages of these activities consists of subevents. These activities are processes with independent explicitly stated bound:

- (65) a. Ndzi fambile tiawara timbirhi  
(I walked for two hours)
- b. Ndzi fambile kusukela hi 2 ku fikela hi 3  
(I walked from 2 to 3).

Temporally bounded processes as above are like telic events because they have specific finite endpoints. But they are also unlike telic events because there is no change of state.

These subevents may consist of a series of events:

- (66) - dyisa mbyana awara  
(feed the dog for an hour)

Subevents may be cyclic:

- (67) - rhendzeleka na yindlu awara  
(go around the house for an hour)

Or the subevents may be iterative or repetitive:

- (68) - Khohlola awara  
(Cough for an hour)

**Direction or goal**

In an expression of direction or goal is added onto an activity, such an activity is charged to an accomplishment:

- (69) a. Ndzi fambile exikolweni  
(I walked to school)
- b. Ndzi fambile tikhilomitara timbirhi  
(I walked two kilometres)

When one covers a certain amount of space one arrives at a new location. These events above have result state: the process of walking has been completed with my arrival at the school.

**Countable arguments**

Telic events are specific and countable. This property is partly expressed by the nominal argument of a telic sentence. A typically telic (or complete) event must include a count noun:

- (70) a. U dyile xiwitsi  
(He ate a sweet)
- b. U dyile swiwitsi swimbirhi  
(He ate 2 sweets)

The presence of a bare plural object shifts the interpretation of a typically telic event (an accomplishment) to an unbounded process:

- (71) a. Ndzi akile yindlu  
(I built a house)
- b. Ndzi akile tindlu  
(I built houses)

(a) Denotes an accomplishment while (b) denotes an activity with a bare plural.

When such activities as in (b) above appear with telic adverbials such as **for an hour**, they are again shifted to an interpretation of accomplishments:

(72) Yimbelela tinsimu awara yin'we  
(Sings songs for an hour)

### Locatives

A telic event with a count noun may become atelic when the argument which is a count noun is replaced by a locative:

(73) Accomplishment : hlaya buku  
(read a book)  
Activity : hlaya ebukwini  
(read in a book)

### Aspectual predicates

Achievements are not grammatical as complements of aspectual verbs such as **begin** and **finish**, but the same predicates with plural subjects suggest an aspectual distinction.

(74) a. (i) \*John began finding a flea on his dog  
(ii) John began finding fleas on his dog  
b. (i) \*The guest began to arrive  
(The guests began to arrive)

### Achievements

An achievement is an event that results in a change of state as an accomplishment does, but where the change is thought of as occurring instantaneously i.e. achievements are not durative events. Such a change is not a gradual one but something that has a point like

quality to it. Modification by point adverbials such as at 3 o'clock is suggestive that a sentence denotes an achievement.

- (75) - loville/file hi 3  
(died at 3)
- kumile n'wana hi 3  
(found the child at 3)
- fikile hi 3  
(arrived at 3)

### **Achievements situations**

#### **Verbs of change of state**

- (76) a. Mufana u tshova rihunyi  
(The boy is breaking the wood)
- b. Mudyondzi u handzula phepha  
(The student is tearing the paper)

#### **Verbs of change of possession**

- (77) a. Ndzi kumile mali  
(I found the money)
- b. Khamba ri yivile mpahla  
(The thief stole the clothes)

#### **Appoint verbs**

- (78) a. Mininjhere u thorile matsalani  
(The manager appointed a secretary)
- b. Nhwana u hlawula xikete  
(The girl chooses a skirt)

### Verbs of disappearance

- (79) a. Homu yi file  
(The cow died)
- b. Nyoka yi nyamalarile  
(The snake disappeared)

### Verbs of appearance

- (80) a. Dyambu ri humile  
(The sun sets)
- b. Kokwana u pfukile  
(Granny is awake)

### Motion verbs

- (81) a. Tatana u fikile  
(Father has arrived)
- b. Xitimela xi sukile  
(The train has departed)

### States

States are stable situations which are conceived of as existing rather than happening, and as homogeneous, continuous and unchanging throughout its duration. The property of duration holds for stative, even the most temporary.

States consist of an undifferentiated period without internal structure. The initial and final endpoints of a state are not part of the state: they are distinct situations, constituting changes of state. States do not "take time". When a state holds for a certain period of time, the state is true every moment. In contrast, particular stages of an event hold a particular moment in time, e.g. when one owns a horse for a week, there is no moment throughout the week during which this state do not hold. Thus, when a state holds for an interval, it holds for every sub-

interval of that interval.

Finally, let us examine the behaviour of states: following Carlson (1997) and Kratzer (1989) we can distinguish two kinds of stative predicates: individual-level and stage level. Predicates such as **tall**, **intelligent** and **overweight** might be thought of as properties that an individual retains, more or less, throughout its lifetime, and can be identified with the individual directly. These are individual-level predicates. Properties such as **hungry**, **sick** and **clean** are usually identified with non-permanent states of individuals, and have been called **stage-level** predicates.

### Stative situations

Individual-level predicates may appear in the present tense and may be verbal, adjectival or relative predicates:

#### A. Adjective:

- (82) a. Mbyana leyikulu ya luma  
(A big dog bites)  
b. Movha lowuntshwa wa durha  
(A new car is expensive)

#### B. Descriptive possessive:

- (83) a. Vanhu vo koma va na vurhena  
(Short people are brave)  
b. Hembe yo basa yi khoma thyaka  
(White shirt absorbs dirt)

## C. Verbs

### Conjuncture verbs

- (84) a. Ndzi tiva nhloko ya xikolo xa Muzila  
(I know the principal of Muzila school)
- b. Se ndza ku tsundzuka  
(Now I recognise you)

### Experiencer verbs

- (85) a. Vanhu vambe va hlamarisa  
(Foreign people are amazing)
- b. Butana u rhandza Nkhensani  
(Butana loves Nkhensani)

### Verbs of existence

- (86) a. Malume u tshama elokixini ra Daveyton  
(My uncle stays in Daveyton location)
- b. Ndzi yimele tatana laha patwini  
(I am waiting for my father here in the road)

### Verbs of bodily positions

- (87) a. Xigiya u nyuherile masiku lawa  
(Xigiya is fat nowadays/this days)
- b. Malume wa vabya  
(My uncle is sick)

## D. Generic predicates

- (88) a. Tinghala ti dya nyama  
(Lions eat meat)
- b. Machela ya tshama ematini ni le misaveni  
(Frogs stay in water and on land)

## E. Habitual predicates:

- (89) a. Manana u tala ku ya edorobeni hi Mugqhivela  
(Mother usually goes to town on Saturday)
- b. Vana va tshamela ku rila  
(Children always cry)

Habitual predicate present a pattern of events and denote a state that holds consistently over an interval.

**1.3.4.4. Event structure****Event types**

As indicated above, one of the levels of representation in a generative lexicon is the Event Structure which defines the event type of a lexical item and a phrase. As shown above, it is assumed that the following categorisation of aspectual types of verbs, verb phrases and sentences may be found: activities, accomplishments, achievements and states. Within the Event structure of the generative lexicon, events are assumed to be primitive entities which fall into three broad classes: activities or processes, states and transitions. Transitions are further distinguished into accomplishments and achievements.

States(S): a single event which is evaluated relative to no other event

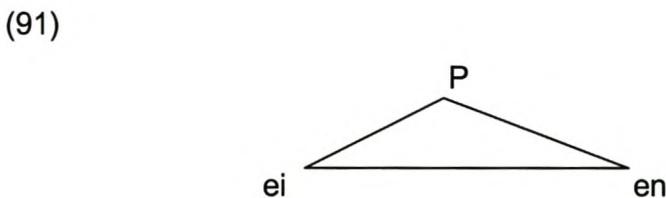
Examples: be sick, love, know  
Structural: representation



Process (P): a sequence of events identifying the same semantic expression.

Examples: run, push, drag

Structural: representation

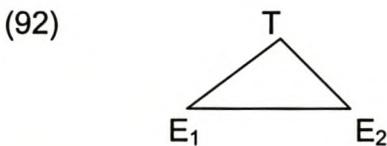


Following Dowty (1979) and other, we will assume that when P is a process verb, then if the semantic expression  $P_1$  identified with P is true at an interval I, then P is true for all subintervals of I larger than a moment.

Transition (T): an event identifying a semantic expression which is evaluated relative to its opposition (Jackendoff, 1972; Lakoff, 1970; Wright, 1963).

Examples: give, open, build, destroy.

Structural: representation (where E is a variable for an event type):



As in the case of argument structure, it is now also possible to give a listing of an event structure represented as listing of even variables:

- (93) [ARGSTR = ARG<sub>1</sub>, ARG<sub>2</sub> ... ARG<sub>n</sub>]  
 [EVENTSTR = EVENT<sub>1</sub>, EVENT<sub>2</sub> ... EVENT<sub>n</sub>]

For example, the verb **aka** (build) is typically analyzed as involving a development **process** and a resulting state (cf Dowty, 1979; Moens and Steedman, 1988; Pustejovsky, 1991b):

$$(94) \quad \left[ \begin{array}{l} \text{-aka- (build)} \\ \text{EVENTSTR} = \left[ \begin{array}{l} \text{E1} = \text{process} \\ \text{E2} = \text{state} \end{array} \right] \end{array} \right]$$

Unlike **aka** however, which constraints the types of its two subevents to PROCESS and STATE, the verb accompany permits either telic event, TRANSITION, or PROCESSES:

$$(95) \quad \left[ \begin{array}{l} \text{-helek- (accompany)} \\ \text{EVENTSTR} = \left[ \begin{array}{l} \text{E1} = \text{T1} \\ \text{E2} = \text{T1} \end{array} \right] \end{array} \right]$$

A verb like **ehleketa** (think) will have one event

$$(96) \quad [\text{E1} = \text{process}]$$

However, verbs such as **hlanganisa** (connect), **oxa** (roast) may have two events:

$$(97) \quad \begin{array}{l} [\text{E1} = \text{process}] \\ [\text{E2} = \text{state}] \end{array}$$

Thus, the process will change something into a state, i.e. two things are now connected or roasted, thus referring to **states**.

### Complex semantic objects

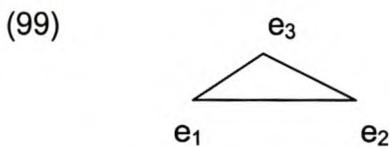
There are aspectual distinctions which need finer-grained descriptions of event i.e. it is clear that events are themselves complex semantic objects. A motivation may be given for events as complex objects because it explains in what way different temporal modifiers make

reference to different components of the event structure e.g. the different interpretations with adverbs such as **quickly**.

- (98) a. John ran quickly  
 b. John died quickly  
 c. John built his house quickly  
 d. \*John lived in Cape Town quickly.

With (d) above: **quickly** may not appear with events denoting the whole activity.

Events are thus composed of subevents and this issue lead to the defining of an extended event structure within the generative lexicon. This extended event structure can be represented with respect to three different types of relations between an event and its subevents. The relations between an event as a complex object and its subevents may be shown by the following diagram:



$[e_3]$  is the complex event with  $[e_1, e_2]$  as subevents. The three relations between these two subevents are the following:

### Temporally ordered subevents

The restriction on the event structure may be indicated as follows: the event  $[e_3]$  is a complex event structure with two subevents  $[e_1, e_2]$  where  $[e_1]$  and  $[e_3]$  is a complex event structure with two subevents  $[e_1, e_2]$  where  $[e_1]$  and  $[e_2]$  are temporally ordered such that the first event  $[e_1]$  precedes the second event  $[e_2]$ , while each is a logical part of  $[e_3]$  and there is no other event that is part of  $[e_3]$ . Examples of temporally ordered subevents are to be found with verbs like **break**, **die** and accusatives: the process of break precedes the state of the broken object.

### Simultaneous subevents

The event [e<sub>3</sub>] may be composed of two completely simultaneous subevents e.g. with the verbs **accompany**, **marry**. Because it makes reference to an implicit event, it is aspectually underspecified and assumes both telic and atelic interpretations, depending on the context:

- (100) a. John will accompany Mary to the store (telic)  
 b. Mary accompanied me while I was walking (atelic)

### Temporal overlap

The event [e<sub>3</sub>] contains two subevents [e<sub>1</sub>, e<sub>2</sub>] where [e<sub>1</sub>] starts before [e<sub>2</sub>], but here is a temporal overlapping relation between the subevents. Verbs such as **walk** and **run** are analyzed as involving this subeventual structure, where two motions processes are structured in an overlapping relation, i.e. efficient motion of the legs bringing about the final motion of the body.

### Ordering restrictions

The specific events and their types need to be specified as in par 1.4.11 above, as well as the ordering restrictions over these events as shown in par 1.4.11.2 above.

$$(101) \left[ \text{EVENTSTR} = \begin{pmatrix} E_1 & = & \dots \\ E_2 & = & \dots \\ \text{Restriction} & = & \end{pmatrix} \right]$$

The verb **build** includes two subevents: a developing process and a resulting state. The ordering restrictions between these two subevents is one of temporally ordered subevents (see par 1.4.11.2.1 above):

$$(102) \left[ \begin{array}{l} \text{build} \\ \text{EVENTSTR} = \left[ \begin{array}{ll} E_1 & = \text{process} \\ E_2 & = \text{state} \\ \text{Restriction} & : \text{Temporally ordered} \end{array} \right] \end{array} \right]$$

The verb **accompany** permits either telic events (transitions) or atelic events (processes). These subevents appear in a coordinate structure because they must be of like types:

$$(103) \left[ \begin{array}{l} \text{accompany} \\ \text{EVENTSTR} = \left[ \begin{array}{ll} E_1 & = \text{process} \\ E_2 & = \text{state} \\ \text{Restriction} & = \text{simultaneous subevents} \end{array} \right] \end{array} \right]$$

The two subevents with verbs like **run** or **walk** may be represented as follows:

$$(104) \left[ \begin{array}{l} \text{walk} \\ \text{EVENTSTR} = \left[ \begin{array}{ll} E_1 & = \text{process} \\ E_2 & = \text{state} \\ \text{Restriction} & = \text{Temporally overlap} \end{array} \right] \end{array} \right]$$

### Headedness

The above structural information for event structure need a further distinction with respect to the relative prominence or importance of the subevents of a larger event i.e. event headedness. The head is defined as the most prominent subevent in the event structure of a predicate which contributes to the focus of the interpretation.

Assuming that events have at most a binary event structure, and that there are three temporal ordering relations realized in languages, there are 6 possible head configurations with 2 events given a simple head; there are 12 possibilities of unheaded and double-headed constructions are included.

### Temporally ordered subevents

- i.  $e_1$  (head)  $e_2$  : accomplishments: creation verbs e.g. **build**.
- ii.  $e_1$   $e_2$  (head) : achievements: change of state e.g. **arrive, die**.
- iii.  $e_1$  (head)  $e_2$  (head) : transitions with 3 arguments: the events involve a relational predicate on each subevent: ditransitive verbs such as **give, take**.
- iv.  $e_1, e_3$  (no head) : unheaded: polysemy: headless event structures admit of 2 possible interpretations: causative/ unaccusative verbs such as **break/sink**: when head is  $e_1$ , = transitive, when head is  $e_2$  = intransitive.

### Simultaneous subevents

- i.  $e_1$  (head)  $e_2$  : one only is focused by the lexical item – item such as **buy**
- ii.  $e_1$   $e_2$  (head) : one only is focused of the 2 subevents by the lexical item such as **sell**.
- iii.  $e_1$  (head)  $e_2$  (head) : **Marry, accompany**.
- iv.  $e_1, e_2$ : headless : argument inversion predicate such as **rent**.

### Temporal overlap

- i.  $e_1$  (head)  $e_2$  : Motion verbs: **walk, run**.
- ii.  $e_1$   $e_2$  (head) : walk home.
- iii.  $e_1$  (head)  $e_2$  (head) : (?) ditransitive verbs such as **give, take**.
- iv.  $e_1, e_2$  (headless) : raising/control predicates such as **begin/stop**.

The head of the event structure may be indicated as follows:

$$(105) \left( \begin{array}{l} \text{build} \\ \\ \text{EVENTSTR} = \left( \begin{array}{l} \text{E} = \text{process} \\ \text{E} = \text{state} \\ \text{Restriction} = \text{Temporally ordered} \\ \text{Head} = \text{e}_1 \end{array} \right) \end{array} \right)$$

#### 1.5.4 Qualia Structure

Qualia structure is the structured representation which gives the relational force of a lexical item. In some sense, a generative lexicon analyses all lexical items as relational to a certain degree, but the manner in which this property is expressed functionally, will of course differ from category to category, as well as between semantic classes. Briefly, Qualia Structures specifies four essential aspects of a world's meaning (or qualia):

**CONSTITUTIVE** : the relation between an object and its constituents parts.

Pustejovsky (1996:85) states that with regard to the constitutive of an object we look at things like:

- i. material
- ii. weight
- iii. parts and component elements.

For example: **ucango** (door) : Its constitutive would be a physical object.

**FORMAL** : that which distinguishes it within a larger domain.

With regard to the formal properties of an object Pustejovsky (1996:85-86) maintains that we look at the following:

- i. Orientation
- ii. Magnitude
- iii. shape

- iv. dimensionality
- v. colour
- vi. position

If we take **utywala** (beer) as an example, we will find that its formal properties would be a liquid.

TELIC : its purpose and function

Pustejovsky (1996:86) states that with regard to the telic properties of an object we look at things like:

- i. Purpose that an agent has in performing an act
- ii. Built-in function or aim which specifies certain activities

If we take **isidudu** (porridge) as an example, we will find that its telic properties are to eat.

AGENTIVE: factors involved in its origin or "bringing it about".

Pustejovsky (1996:86) indicates that with regard to the agentive properties of an object we look at the following:

- i. Creator
- ii. Artifact
- iii. Natural kind
- iv. Clausal chain.

For example: **Utywala** (beer). Its agentive properties would be to be brewed.

There are two general points that should be made concerning qualia roles:

1. Every category expresses a qualia structure
2. Not all lexical items carry a value for each qualia role.

Qualia structure and nouns:

(106) a. **Ucango** (door):

FORMAL	=	property
CONSTITUTIVE	=	phys object
TELIC	=	open/close
AGENTIVE	=	create

b. **Utyalwa** (beer):

FORMAL	=	liquid
CONSTITUTIVE	=	intoxicating
TELIC	=	drink
AGENTIVE	=	brew

Qualia structure and verbs:

Du Plessis (1999:288) states that the formal role of verbs will depend on the semantic class of such a verb. The agentive role denotes the act which is inherent in the verb while the constitutive role will give the state which is denoted by the event structure of the verb.

(107) a. **Xilonga** (examine):

FORMAL	=	perception
AGENTIVE	=	examine-act

b. **Osa** (roast)

FORMAL	=	change
CONSTITUTIVE	=	roasted
AGENTIVE	=	roast-act

It should be noted that not all nouns and verbs have a value for each qualia role.

#### 1.3.4.5. Lexical inheritance structure

Semantic concepts are organised into levels from specific to generic e.g. in nouns and verbs there is a relative small number of generic concepts: for nouns  $\pm 26$  and for verbs  $\pm 15$ . Each of these generic concepts is treated as the unique beginner of a separate hierarchy. These hierarchies are inheritance systems. Because of this, there is no reason to limit the number of levels they might contain, but they seldom go deeper than ten levels.

The lexical inheritance structure for nouns can be shown as follows:

- (108) a. iwayini (wine) : liquid, intoxicating, food  
b. ingwe (leopard) : carnivore, wild animal vertebrate, animal.

The lexical inheritance structure of verbs can be illustrated as follows:

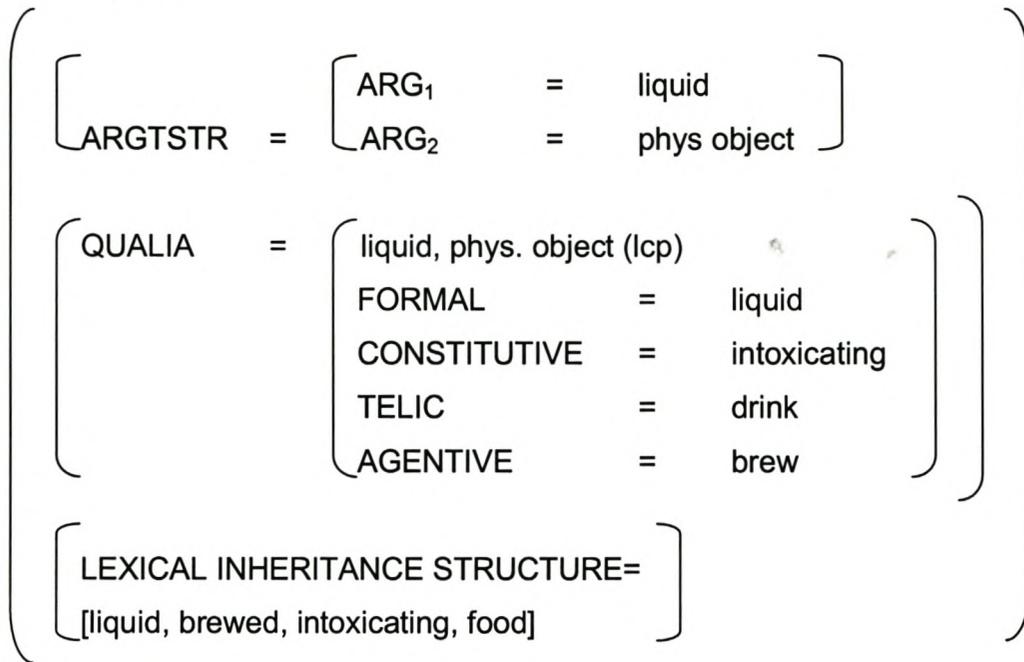
- (109) a. qekeza (crack) : crack, break, change  
b. utswa (steal) : steal, remove, contact.

#### 1.3.4.6. The interaction of semantic levels

According to Du Plessis (1999:291) the four levels of argument, event, qualia and inheritance can be integrated to constitute one system for lexical semantic representation as follows:

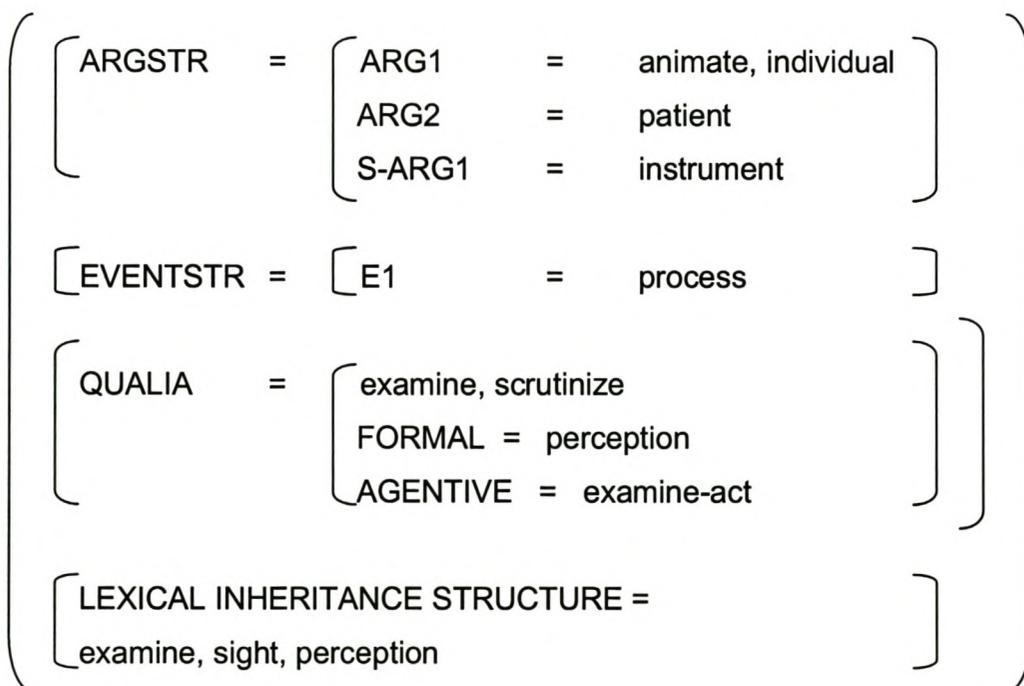
NOUNS:

(110) utywala



VERBS

(111) [Xilonga]



## 1.4. STUDIES ON DEFICIENT VERBS

### 1.4.1. Overview of the deficient verbs in Zulu:

The following is a list of deficient verbs that have been identified by researchers and writers in Zulu language:

#### (a) **Doke (1939)**

##### 1. Features

- 1.1 Compound tenses, that is tenses consisting of more than one word, are found by the employment of a large number of deficient verbs.
- 1.2 The majority of these deficient verbs are followed by the subjunctive, participial or Infinitive mood.
- 1.3 Most of the deficient verbs are irregular in form, in fact the only ones to end in the regular **-a** are to be found among those followed by infinitive mood.

##### 2. List of deficient verbs

###### 2.1 Deficient verbs followed by the subjunctive mood

1. vuye (to do next, again)
2. cishe (nearly)
3. fike (to do before or to do first, to happen to do)
4. hle (just to do, to act merely)
5. ke (occasional; to do something, to have done once)
6. mane (do it)
7. nce (to do by-and-by, to do presently or afterwards)
8. nele (as soon as)
9. phinde (to do again, to repeat)
10. sale (to do after, to happen afterwards)
11. sale (to do preferably or of necessity)
12. Se (to do at a sweep)
13. hle (just to do, to act merely)

14. simze (to do simply, to do merely)
15. shaye (to do a thing completely, with full)
16. ze (never)
17. ze (until, at length)

## 2.2 Deficient verbs followed by the participial mood

1. damene (to act always)
2. dane (to act always)
3. de (to act always)
4. hambe (to do all the time, all the way along)
5. hleze (to do continually, constantly)
6. libele (to act continually)
7. lo (to act on doing)
8. lokhu (to keep on doing)
9. sale (to do of necessity, needs be)
10. suka (to sit first here then there, of constant changing of position)
11. suke (to happen that, it is because)
12. thi (often followed by reduplicated verb)
13. zinge (to do habitually)

## 2.3 Deficient verbs followed by either subjunctive or participial mood

1. bange (never)
2. bonange (never)
3. bonaze (never)
4. vange (never)
5. zange (never)
6. vange (never)

## 2.4 Deficient verbs followed by the infinitive mood

1. anela (to do nothing but, do no more)

2. cishe (being nearly but never quite)
3. funa (to be about to, to be on the point of)
4. kholisa (to be wont to, to do generally, usually, commonly)
5. musa (negative imperative deficient verb)
6. nele (as soon as)
7. phonsa (to be on the point of)
8. sanda (just taken place)
9. vama (to be accustomed, to be wont)
10. zingela (to mean to do)

The following deficient verbs may have infinitive construction following them, provided the subject of each verb is the same:

11. dinga (to need)
12. fanela (to be incumbent, to be fitting)
13. funa (to want, desire)
14. linga (to try)
15. melwa (to be obligatory, necessary)
16. gonda (to mean to)
17. swela (to need)
18. thanda (to like)

**(b) Fourie (1989)**

1. Features

- 1.1 Most auxiliary verbs are related to either main or copulative verbs.
- 1.2 The auxiliary verbs always constitutes the introductory member of the group, and is followed by the main verb as complement.
- 1.3 The auxiliary verb 'determines' the mood of the main verb.
- 1.4 The mood of the sentence is a mere extension of the type of modality expressed in the auxiliary verb.
- 1.5 The auxiliary verb may be followed by the subjunctive.

## 2. List of deficient verbs

### 2.1 Auxiliary verbs followed by subjunctive mood

1. nce (to do by-and-by, to do presently or afterwards)
2. phinde (to do again, to repeat)
3. suke (to happen that)
4. swele (to need)
5. kholisa (to do generally, usually)
6. sale (to do after, to happen afterwards)

In addition to the auxiliary verbs listed above, Fourie (1989) include other auxiliary verbs which are not grouped according to moods:

1. ke (occasional, to have done once)
2. mane (do it)
3. musa (don't)
4. melwe (to be obligatory, necessary)
5. nele (as soon as)
6. hle (just to do, to act merely)
7. se (to do at a sweep, already)
8. bele ( )
9. buye (do again)
10. cishe (nearly)
11. de (to act always)
12. dlule (do nevertheless)
13. fike (to do before or to do first)
14. hleze (to do continually, constantly)
15. bange (never)
16. fane (to do just, merely)
17. phane (to do just, merely)
18. ve (to do very much, very well)
19. ba (will/shall)

- 20. libele (keep on doing what shouldn't be done)
- 21. hamba (keeps on, all the way long)

(c) **Louw (1963)**

1. Features

- 1.1 Deficient verbs may be followed by the infinitive.
- 1.2 Deficient verbs may be followed by the subjunctive.

2. List of deficient verbs

The following deficient verbs are identified and have not been grouped according to moods:

- 2.1 ba (will be, will have, was)
- 2.2 se (do jut, merely, do already, now, soon)
- 2.3 musa (Don't, must not)
- 2.4 ze (do eventually, until)
- 2.5 buye (do again)
- 2.6 fike (do first, on arrival)
- 2.7 hle (do just, merely)
- 2.8 phinde (do again)
- 2.9 qale (do first)
- 2.10 kaze (have, had never (yet) done)
- 2.11 phonse (do almost, do nearly)
- 2.12 cishe (do almost, nearly)
- 2.13 qede (do as soon as)
- 2.14 nele (do as soon as)
- 2.15 damene (do from time to time, be in the habit of doing)
- 2.16 zinge (do from time to time)
- 2.17 mane (do just, do merely)
- 2.18 fane (do just, merely)
- 2.19 simze (do just, merely)

2.20	dlule	(do nevertheless)
2.21	bonange	(did never, had never)
2.22	phike	(do just)
2.23	babala	(do just, merely)
2.24	vele	(do from the outset, do just, merely)
2.25	va	
2.26	suke	(do just, do merely)
2.27	fumane	
2.28	cole	
2.29	sale	(do afterwards)
2.30	melwe	(should do, be obliged to do)
2.31	fanele	(be fitting, should do, ought do, must do)
2.32	swele	(should do, be obliged to do)
2.33	sheshe	(do quickly)
2.34	lumbe	
2.35	lokhu	(dare do)
2.36	kade	(never)
2.37	soloko	
2.38	nce	(by-and-by, afterwards)
2.39	hamba	(do all the way along)
2.40	hlala	(do always)
2.41	de	(do from time to time)
2.42	sanda	(have just done)
2.43	kholisa	(be accustomed to do, be in the habit to do)
2.44	libala	(keep on doing what shouldn't be done)
2.45	thanda	(be inclined to do, be about to do)
2.46	funa	(be about to do, do almost)
2.47	vama	(habit of doing, do usually)
2.48	zingela	(run the risk of doing)
2.49	anela	(do nothing but)
2.50	thi	(do a little, do as soon as, try to do, each time one tries to do, say, mean, think)
2.51	shaya	(do completely)

- 2.52 ethuka (do seldom, unexpectedly)
- 2.53 qabuka (do seldom, unexpectedly)
- 2.54 phetha

(d) **Nkabinde (1975)**

1. Features

- 1.1 The auxiliary verb always precedes a complement.
- 1.2 The complement may be a verb or a nominal.
- 1.3 The mood of the compound predicate is indicated by the complement if the auxiliary precedes a verb.
- 1.4 The complementary verb may be in the Infinitive, Subjunctive or Participial Mood.
- 1.5 The auxiliary verb generally occurs in the same tense as its complementary verb.
- 1.6 When the complement of the auxiliary verb is a nominal, the mood is reflected by the auxiliary verb itself.
- 1.7 Auxiliary verbs which have an **-a** or an **-i** as a terminative are distinguished from other verbs by means of their prefixal formatives.
- 1.8 The use of the auxiliary verb shows that it forms a very close-knit unit together with the complement.
- 1.9 The immediate and remote future tenses are formed by prefixing the subject concord to the auxiliary formatives **-za** and **-ya-** respectively.
- 1.10 Auxiliary verbs resemble other verbs in their use of tense-forming formatives as well as tonal devices that indicate time.
- 1.11 Some auxiliary verbs are almost always used with the Subject Concord.
- 1.12 Some auxiliary verbs are identified by means of their supra-segmental structure.
- 1.13 Most auxiliary verbs have a terminative **-e** which may replace **-a**.

2. List of deficient verbs

Auxiliary verbs have not been grouped according to moods:

1. ba/be (will/shall)
2. ze (never)
3. de (occasionally)
4. buye (and then)
5. vhele (anticipate/know the result)
6. cishe (nearly)
7. fike (do first, do on arrival)
8. ke (please)
9. qale (do first)
10. phinde (do again)
11. nele (as soon as/just when)
12. phonse (almost)
13. mane (just)
14. damane (every now and then)
15. musa (don't)

(e) **Poulos and Msimang (1998)**

1. Features

- 1.1 Auxiliary verbs are verbs that cannot stand on their own in a sentence. They must be followed by some or other complement.
- 1.2 The complement can take on various forms, most notably the participial, the consecutive and the infinitive.

2. List of deficient verbs

2.1 Auxiliary verbs that are followed by the participial mood.

1. be (used to/was)
2. hlale (always, continuously)
3. hambe (keep on, all the way along)
4. libele (do continuously)
5. sale (needs be, of necessity)
6. suke (happen that, it is because)

## 2.2 Auxiliary verbs that are followed by the subjunctive

1. qale (first)
2. qede (thereafter, then)
3. fike (to do before)
4. ze (until)
5. zondelele (intent on, bent on)
6. fanele (supposed to, ought to)
7. mele (ought to, must)

### 2.2.1 Auxiliary verbs not derived from ordinary verb roots

#### 2.2.1.1 Non-derived auxiliary verbs that are followed by the participial mood

1. damane (to act constantly, often; always)
2. lokhu (keep on doing)
3. zinge (do habitually)
4. de (always, repeatedly)
5. hleze (always constantly)

#### 2.2.1.2 Non-derived auxiliary verbs that are followed by the subjunctive mood

1. mane (simply, just)
2. nce (by-and-by, afterwards)
3. bonaze (never)
4. simze (do simply/merely)
5. soze (never, not)
6. kaze (never, not)

#### 2.2.1.3 Non-derived auxiliary verb that is followed by the consecutive mood

1. hlala (always, continuously)
2. lokhu (keep on doing)

3. phinda (again)
4. buya (returned)
5. sa (still)

(f) **Slattery (1981)**

1. Features

- 1.1 Auxiliary verbs are the ones which must be followed by another verb whose meaning they modify.
- 1.2 Auxiliary verbs take only a very limited of verbal suffixes - most of them end in /e/ and seldom take any other suffix.
- 1.3 Many Zulu Auxiliary verbs are translated by English adverbs.
- 1.4 The main verb (the verb following the auxiliary verb) is normally in either the infinitive, the participial or the subjunctive mood.

2. List of auxiliary verbs

2.1 Auxiliary verbs followed by an infinitive

1. sanda (have just done)
2. ephuza (be late/slow in acting)
3. thanda (be about to do, do almost, run the risk of doing)
4. funa (same as thanda)
5. zingela (run the risk of doing)
6. thanda (be inclined to)
7. libala (keep on doing what shouldn't be done)
8. nela (as soon as)
9. thi (often followed by reduplicated verb)
10. kahle (wait)

## 2.2 Auxiliary verb followed by infinitive or subjunctive mood

- |     |           |   |
|-----|-----------|---|
| 1.  | fanele    | (be fitting, should do, ought to, must do)      |
| 2.  | melwe     | (should do, be obliged to do)                   |
| 3.  | swele     | (same as melwe)                                 |
| 4.  | vama }    | (be accustomed to do, be in the habit of doing, |
| 5.  | jwayele } | (do usually)                                    |
| 6.  | kholisa } |   |
| 7.  | nele }    |   |
| 8.  | qede }    | (do as soon as)                                 |
| 9.  | thi }     |   |
| 10. | cishe     | (do almost, do nearly)                          |
| 11. | phonse    | (almost)  |
| 12. | ngathini  | (how can, how could, how come?)                 |

Apart from the above listed auxiliary verbs, Slattery (1981) has indicted other auxiliary verbs which are not grouped according to moods:

- |     |         |  |
|-----|---------|--|
| 1.  | akwabe  | (wish/would that)                                |
| 2.  | angoze  | (and didn't however)                             |
| 3.  | babala  | (do just, merely)                                |
| 4.  | bange   | (did never, had never)                           |
| 5.  | bonange | (did never, had never)                           |
| 6.  | bonaze  | (did never, had never)                           |
| 7.  | bone    | (do just, merely)                                |
| 8.  | buye    | (do again)                                       |
| 9.  | damane  | (do from time to time, be in the habit of doing) |
| 10. | dlule   | (do nevertheless)                                |
| 11. | ethuka  | (do seldom, unexpectedly)                        |
| 12. | fane    | (do just, merely)                                |
| 13. | fake    | (do first, do on arrival)                        |
| 14. | hambe   | (do all the way along)                           |
| 15. | hlale   | (do always)                                      |

16.	hle	(do just, merely)
17.	hleze	(do from time to time, be in the habit of doing)
18.	ive	(do very much, well)
19.	kade	(has been ...ing)
20.	kahle	(didn't do, don't do yet)
21.	kaze	(have, had never (yet) done)
22.	ke	(do a little, do once or sometimes, do occasionally, do for a while, do ever, just dare)
23.	kungathi	(I wish that, would that)
24.	lokhu	(keep on doing)
25.	lokotha	(dare do)
26.	mane	(do just, do merely, do from time to time, be in the habit of doing)
27.	ngahle	(may, might do)
28.	ngake	(just do)
29.	ngamane	(would rather do)
30.	ngase	(may, might do)
31.	ngaze	(and doesn't however, before, lest)
32.	nge-be	(can no longer)
33.	nge-ke	(won't do, can't do, couldn't do)
34.	nge-ze	(can/could never do)
35.	phane	(do just, merely)
36.	phika	(do just, merely)
37.	phinde	(do again)
38.	qabuka	(do seldom, unexpectedly)
39.	qabubela	(do seldom, unexpectedly)
40.	qale	(do first)
41.	qhubeka	(continue)
42.	sale	(do afterwards)
43.	sale + ... se	(do of necessity, rather do)
44.	se	(do just, merely, do already, now soon)
45.	sengathi	(I wish that, would that)
46.	shaya	(do completely)

- |     |                 |   |
|-----|-----------------|---|
| 47. | sheshe          | (do quickly)  |
| 48. | simze           | (do just, merely)   |
| 49. | singe           | (do from time to time, be in the habit of doing)  |
| 50. | soze            | (will never do)   |
| 51. | suke            | (do just, do merely, do because, happen to do)  |
| 52. | thathe          | (do just, merely)   |
| 53. | thi             | (do little, do as soon as, do when feel like doing, do nearly, almost)  |
| 54. | thi + ... be    | (do while, as soon as, try to do, each time one tries to do, say, mean, think, like this, this way, so many act, express, show (+ ideophone) tag question forms, the highest degree, the best that, and that, also that by saying, about the facts, it is the fact of saying, which means, in saying, in certain place. |
| 55. | thuka           | (do seldom, unexpectedly)   |
| 56. | vamile/vamisile | (from <b>vama</b> be accustomed to do, be in the habit of doing, do usually)  |
| 57. | vange           | (did never, had never)  |
| 58. | ve              | (do very much, very well)   |
| 59. | vele            | (do from the outset, do just, merely, do from the beginning, do always, be by nature)   |
| 60. | ye              | (do usually)  |
| 61. | yilokhu         | (keep on doing)   |
| 62. | yuze            | (won't bother to do)  |
| 63. | zama            | (try to do)   |
| 64. | zange           | (did never, had never)  |
| 65. | ze              | (do eventually, until, oh my!)  |
| 66. | zingela         | (run the risk of doing)   |
| 67. | zuze            | (won't bother to do)  |

(g) **Taljaard P C and Bosch S E (1988)**

1. Features

1.1 Auxiliary verb is characterised by the fact that it is seldom used as a word by itself, but it is used with another verb to form a compound predicate.

1.2 The second verb is usually in a specific mood or form which is determined by the meaning, mood or form of the auxiliary verb.

## 2. List of auxiliary verbs

### 2.1 Auxiliary verbs followed by infinitive.

1. funa (want, wish)
2. thanda (like, want, wish)

### 2.2 Auxiliary verbs followed by the situative

1. de (often)
2. hambe (keep on)
3. hleze (keep on)

### 2.3 Auxiliary verbs followed by the subjunctive

1. qale (first)
2. phike (merely)
3. sheshe (quickly)

In addition to the above auxiliary verbs, the following list is given (they are not grouped in any specific manner):

1. vama (habit of doing something)
2. sanda (just arrived)
3. libele (do something, always)
4. cishe (almost but quite)
5. phose (almost, nearly)
6. nele (just when something happened)
7. qede (as soon as)

- |     |        |                |
|-----|--------|----------------|
| 8.  | fanele | (ought to)     |
| 9.  | mele   | (has to do it) |
| 10. | ze     | (at last)      |
| 11. | buye   | (again)        |
| 12. | phinda | (again)        |
| 13. | ke     | (sometimes)    |
| 14. | zange  | (never)        |
| 15. | mane   | (just as well) |

(h) **Van Eeden (1956)**

1. Features

- 1.1 Daar bestaan in Zoeloe 'n betreklike groot aantal verbumstamme asook enkele ander nie-verbale vorms, wat dien om verb of predikatiewe te vorm wat egter in die reël nie op hul eie as selfstandige en volledige verba of predikatiewe kan fungee nie, maar wat aangevul moet word deur 'n ander, volgende verbu (insluitend 'n aantal infinitiewe) of 'n enkele gevalle ook 'n kopulatief.

Summary: A deficient verb is a verb that cannot function on its own. It must be followed by another verb (in most cases an infinitive).

2. List of deficient verbs

2.1 Deficient verbs followed by infinitive

- |    |         |                                       |
|----|---------|---------------------------------------|
| 1. | vama    | (usually, frequently)                 |
| 2. | sanda   | (just now)                            |
| 3. | zingela | (run the risk of doing)               |
| 4. | funa    | (want to)                             |
| 5. | thanda  | (like to)                             |
| 6. | jwayela | (do, do usually)                      |
| 7. | putha   | (in gebreke/nalaat (om iets te doen)) |
| 8. | zama    | (try to)                              |

- |     |                 |                               |
|-----|-----------------|-------------------------------|
| 9.  | linga           | (try to)                      |
| 10. | qala            | (begin/start with/to do)      |
| 11. | qeda            | (do as soon as)               |
| 12. | qonda           | (to mean to)                  |
| 13. | shesha          | (do quickly)                  |
| 14. | dinga           | (suppose to, necessary to)    |
| 15. | phuza           | (laat plaasvind, versuim)     |
| 16. | anela           | (do as soon as)               |
| 17. | musa            | (don't)                       |
| 18. | cishe           | (nearly, almost)              |
| 19. | phonse or phose | (nearly)                      |
| 20. | fanele          | (ought to)                    |
| 21. | melwe           | (to be obligatory, necessary) |
| 22. | swele           | (to need)                     |
| 23. | phinda          | (to do again, to repeat)      |

## 2.2 Deficient verb followed by subjunctive or infinitive mood.

- |     |                 |                                  |
|-----|-----------------|----------------------------------|
| 1.  | funa            | (to want to)                     |
| 2.  | cishe           | (nearly)                         |
| 3.  | phonse or phose | (nearly, almost)                 |
| 4.  | nele            | (as soon as)                     |
| 5.  | qede            | (thereafter, then)               |
| 6.  | fanele          | (ought to)                       |
| 7.  | melwe           | (to be obligatory, necessary)    |
| 8.  | swele           | (to need)                        |
| 9.  | sheshe          | (do quickly)                     |
| 10. | lumbe           | (wonderwerke verrig, toor, goël) |
| 11. | swele           | (to need)                        |
| 12. | ze              | (until; at length)               |
| 13. | zange           | (never)                          |
| 14. | buye            | (do again)                       |
| 15. | phinde          | (to do again, to repeat)         |

16. fike	(to do before or to do first)
17. dlule	(do nevertheless)
18. ye/yaye	(time to time, usually)
19. ke	(sometimes)
20. hle	(just to do, to act merely)
21. se	(sometimes)
22. simze	(to do simply, to do merely)
23. dimde	(to do simply to do merely)
24. qale	(first)
25. phike	(do just, merely)
26. shaye	(to do a thing completely)
27. thathe	(do just, merely)
28. bone	(do just, merely)
29. nce	(by-and-by, afterwards)
30. kaze	(never, not)
31. yinxax}	(now)
32. kunxax}	

### 2.3 Deficient verbs followed by Infinitive or Participial mood.

1. kholisa (be accustomed, do usually)
2. libala, libele (keep on doing what should be done)

#### (i) **Ziervogel, Louw and Taljaard (1976)**

##### 1. Features

- 1.1 The auxiliary predicate is in fact an extension or modification of an action.
- 1.2 Many auxiliary verbs are ordinary verbs which assume a figurative meantime.
- 1.3 The auxiliary predicate (a term preferred to auxiliary verb, since it is not necessarily a verb) is seldom possible to use it as a word by itself like an ordinary predicate.
- 1.4 The auxiliary predicate is therefore used to form a compound predicate which, although it consists of two verbs constitutes a unit.

- 1.5 The auxiliary predicate must always be followed by another predicate or predicate form such as an infinitive.
- 1.6 The auxiliary predicate itself can be used in any mood with few exceptions. The second verb which is the main verb according to contents and meaning is grammatically the dependent verb because it follows in a particular mood after the auxiliary predicate.
- 1.7 The concord of the auxiliary predicate can often be discarded so that only that of the main verb is retained.

## 2. List of auxiliary verbs

### 2.1 Auxiliary verbs followed by the infinitive

1. funa (want, wish)
2. thanda (want, wish)
3. fanela (ought, be fitting)

### 2.2 Auxiliary verbs followed by participial mood

1. de (often, always, occasionally)
2. hambe (keep on)
3. hlala (keep on)

### 2.3 Auxiliary verbs followed by the subjunctive

1. qale (first)
2. phike (merely)
3. sheshe (quickly)

### 2.4 Auxiliary verbs followed by infinitive or subjunctive mood.

1. mane (merely)
2. qede (as soon as)

Apart from the above classified auxiliary verbs, a list of auxiliary verbs not grouped

according to moods is given:

1. vama (often/usually)
2. sanda (to have just)
3. libele (always/continuously)
4. cishe (almost)
5. phose (almost)
6. nele (as soon as/just when)
7. melwe (he must do it/forced to do it)
8. ze (at last/in the end)
9. ze (until)
10. buye (again)
11. phinda (never)
12. ke (sometimes)
13. zange (did not)

#### 1.4.2 Overview of deficient verbs in Xitsonga

##### (a) Baumbach (1987)

###### 1. Features

- 1.1 Auxiliary verb is followed by a complement verb.
- 1.2 Auxiliary verb is syntactically the more important member because it is conjugated in the mood and different tenses of the whole predicate.
- 1.3 Semantically it is incomplete on its own.
- 1.4 Auxiliary verb is followed by the infinitive or dependent mood.

###### 2. List of auxiliary verbs

###### 2.1 Auxiliary verbs followed by the infinitive.

1. phose (nearly)
2. tala (often, always)

3. tshamela (always)
4. phika (always, continually)

## 2.2 Auxiliary verbs followed by a dependent mood.

1. dzumba (always)
2. engeta (do again)
3. hamba (do always/continually)
4. hatla (do quickly, hasten)
5. jinga (nevertheless)
6. ka/kala (until, ultimately)
7. kanga (never)
8. khanga (once)
9. kondza (until, eventually)
10. pfa (in the meantime)
11. tama (always, do continually)
12. tlhela (also)
13. tshama (always)
14. tshuka/tshika (by chance, unexpectedly)
15. vhela (now)
16. za (never)
17. zangi (never before)

### (b) Marhanele (1981)

#### 1. Features

Marhanele (1981:92) defines auxiliary verbs as follows:

Mapfuna-riendli ya Xitsonga i marito lama nga swi kotiki ku yima ma ri woxe, kambe ya fanele ku tirha ni maendli-nkulu loko ma ta va ni nhlamuselo yo hetiseka. Hi marito man'wana ripfuna-riendli ri fanele ku landziwa hi riendli ro landzela (subordinate verb) leri vuriwaka xihetisi

(complement).

From the above cited definition, the following features of an auxiliary verb can be identified:

- 1.1 Auxiliary verb is a verb that cannot function or stand alone in a sentence.
- 1.2 Auxiliary verb is always followed by another verb or complement.

## 2. List of deficient verbs

The following auxiliary verbs which are not grouped according to moods:

1. tshama (always)
2. tshamela (always, continually)
3. tlhela (also)
4. tshuka (by chance, unexpectedly)
5. kondza (ultimately)
6. vuya (later on)
7. phose (nearly)
8. tala (usually)

### (c) **Mushwana and Ndlhovu (1988)**

#### 1. Features

Mushwana and Ndlhovu (1988:154) define auxiliary verbs as follows:

Mapfuna maendli i marito lawa ya nga tirhisiwaka ku hundzuvanyana  
nhlamuselo ya xivulwa handle ko cinca xivumbeko xa riendli tani hi le ka  
marhavi ya maendli.

From the above definition, it can be said that auxiliary verbs are verbs that influence the meaning of the main verb.

## 2. List of deficient verbs

The following list of auxiliary verbs is provided and they are not grouped according to moods:

1. tshama (always, once)
2. tshamela (always)
3. tlhela (also)
4. tshuka (by chance, unexpectedly)
5. kondza (ultimately)
6. vuya (later on)
7. phose (nearly, almost)
8. tala (usually)

### (d) **Marivate et al (1989)**

#### 1. Features

Marivate et al (1989:200) defines an auxiliary verb as follows:

Ripfuna riendli i riendli leri tirhisiwaka ku pfuna rin'wana. Loko riendli ri tirhisiwa ku pfuna rin'wana, ko tala a ra ha vuli swona leswi ri vulaka swona hi masiku hinkwawo.

From the above definition, the following features can be identified:

- 1.1 Auxiliary verb is used to help another verb.
- 1.2 When an auxiliary verb is used in a sentence, it changes its day to day meaning.

## 2. List of deficient verbs

The following auxiliary verbs are identified and are not grouped according to moods.

1. tlhela (also)
2. sala (remain to)
3. kala (ultimately)
4. pfa (nevertheless)

(e) **Nkondo (1986)**

1. Features

Nkondo (1986:101-102) defines deficient verbs as follows:

Eka Xitsonga ku ni ntlawa wa maendli lawa ya nga kotiki ku tirha ya ri woxe. Maendli lawa ya fanele ku tirhisiwa ni maendli lawa ya tirhisekaka ya ri woxe, ku va mhaka leyi yi vuriwaka yi hetiseka. Hikwalaho ka ku va maendli lawa ya lava ku seketeriwa, ya vuriwa maendli yo kayivela.

From the above definition, the following features of deficient verbs can be identified:

- 1.1 Auxiliary verbs are verbs that cannot stand or function alone in a sentence.
  - 1.2 Auxiliary verbs are used with main verbs.
2. List of deficient verbs
- 2.1 Auxiliary verbs that resemble main verbs in structure.
    - 2.1.1 phika (always, continually)
    - 2.1.2 tshama (always)
    - 2.1.3 rhandza (likes)
    - 2.1.4 lava (wishes)
    - 2.1.5 tshuka (by chance, unexpectedly)
    - 2.1.6 vuya (later on)
    - 2.1.7 sungula (start with)
    - 2.1.8 tlhela (also)
    - 2.1.9 kala (until, ultimately)

## 2.2 Auxiliary verbs which differ with main verbs in structure.

- 2.2.1 karhi (busy)
- 2.2.2 kondza (until, eventually)
- 2.2.3 ka (until, eventually)
- 2.2.4 za (never)
- 2.2.5 tama (always, continually)

## 1.5. CONCLUSION

This chapter has briefly outlined the minimalist theory as espoused by Ouhalla and which forms the core of the theoretical framework of this study. Central to Ouhalla's minimalist theory is that words emerge fully inflected from the lexicon and their morphological features are checked off in the course of the syntactic derivation. In addition, an exploration of the various functional categories, as discussed by Thrainsson, Radford and Beard has been examined.

The complementation process as discussed by Dixon, Boškovic and Doherty has also been examined. According to Dixon, every language has some grammatical means for linking a Primary-B verb and the verb describing the action or state that the Primary-B verb refers to. The various levels in lexical semantics as discussed by Pustejovsky (1966) have been discussed. In conclusion, an overview of the study of deficient verbs in Zulu and Xitsonga has been made.

## CHAPTER 2. THE CATEGORIES OF XITSONGA

### 2.1 Aim

This chapter will be concerned with the various syntactic categories of Xitsonga with focus on functional categories of tense and aspect.

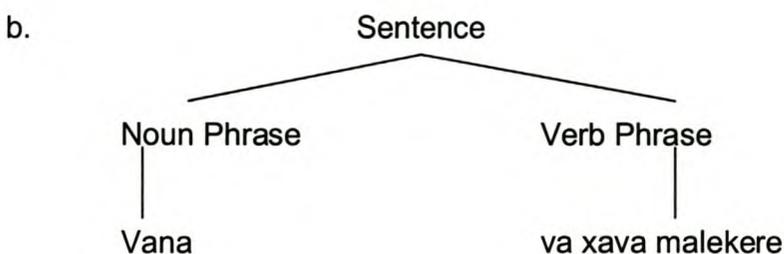
### 2.2. Categories of Xitsonga

According to Du Plessis (1996 : 1) it is necessary to understand some general principles of language which belong to all languages. The first principle which must be understood is the principle of structure dependency. Words in a sentence may appear in a certain order, i.e. in each sentence there is a sequence of words.

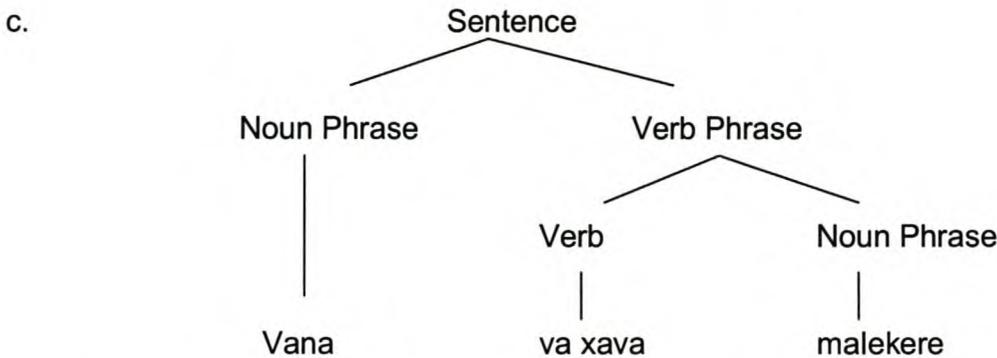
- (112) a. Vana va xava malekere  
(Children buy sweets)

In this sentence there are three words: **vana**, **va xava**, and **malekere** and they appear in the word order which can be seen in sentence (112a) above.

However, it should be pointed out that the study of syntax relies on the structure relations in the sentence and not on the word-order. The words in the sentence above are grouped into phrases, i.e. sentences consist of phrases. The words in a sentence then depends on structural groupings of words. We say then sentences have phrase structure. The sentence above will then break up into two phrases: a noun phrase [**vana**] and a verb phrase [**va xava malekere**].



The verb phrase may again break up into a verb [**va xava**] and a noun [**malekere**]:



In order to understand the syntax of a language, one should then firstly know that the sentences consist of phrases, i.e. that sentences have phrase structure as in structure above. Such a knowledge of phrase structure of sentences will make it easy to understand how phrases may be moved around in sentences and not words. If one looks at a passive sentence, one can see that movement of phrases depends on the structure of the sentence. In passive constructions the object may be moved to the subject:

- d. [Malekere lawa] ya xaviwa  
(These sweets are bought)

In this passive sentence, the noun phrase [**malekere lawa**] was originally the object of the sentence but it is now the subject of the sentence after it has been moved. However this subject position consists of two words: **malekere** and **lawa**. When movement took place from the object to the subject in sentence (112d ) above, both words have been moved because they form part of a single phrase which is a noun phrase.

A second principle which plays a major role in syntax is the head parameter. This head parameter specifies the order of elements in a language. The head parameter depends on the X-bar theory. This theory claims that each phrase has a head. If one takes a noun phrase as in (112d ) above; **malekere lawa**, then the head of this phrase will be **malekere** which is a noun. In the case of the African languages heads are always first in a phrase. This is also known as the head-first principles. Thus in : **hi xihloka**, **hi** is the head, **va xava malekere**, **va**

**xava** is the head etc.

Thus, it is always necessary to indicate for each phrase which element is the head. In the discussion of categories which will follow, we will thus distinguish for each phrase which element is the head of the phrase. For this purpose we will each time specify the maximal projection of a head e.g. a noun phrase (**NP**) together with its head which is a noun.

Three types of categories will be distinguished: lexical categories, empty categories and functional categories.

### (a) LEXICAL CATEGORIES

Du Plessis (1996 : 2) states that traditional grammars distinguished various parts of speech or words classes which play crucial role in the grammar of a language. Such parts of speech can still be recognised as noun, verb, adjective, preposition etc. These parts of speech were never clearly defined and many definitions are often logically defective. But even if it is very easy to show that such definitions are not acceptable, most linguists still operate with the terms noun, verb ect. and interpret them in a fairly traditional way. Thus, certain traditional viewpoints are still adhered to: words belong to different syntactic categories, such as nouns and verbs, and the syntactic category to which a word belongs determines its distribution, that is, in what contexts it can occur (see Haegeman 1994).

Within syntax the term word has become problematic because of this use in syntax, morphology and phonology which will be different. Thus, a verb in the African languages may have the following form:

(113)	Sotho	:	Ba-a-lla
	Xitsonga	:	Va-rila
	Tshivenda	:	Vha-a-lila
	isiXhosa	:	Bayalila

These verbs are examples of phonological or morphological words. Thus, in the Xitsonga verb **va-rila** there are present three different forms:

(114) [va - ril -a]

Within syntax, the term lexical item has come to be used in the place of word. A lexical item may be the same as a word in e.g the case of prepositions like **eka/ na / hi**. But in most cases a lexical item in the African language consists only of a morphological root. Such lexical items will thus have affixes as above.

The verb **va-rila** in Xitsonga will then appear as [-ril-] in the lexicon or dictionary, i.e. a verbal root without any morphemes or bound forms. The lexical item [-ril-] will thus be a verb in Xitsonga. In the same way all words will appear without any morphemes to qualify as lexical items in the African languages. In the case of nouns, the root will appear as lexical item, i.e. without any morphemes to qualify as lexical items in the African languages. Thus, **vanhu** in Xitsonga consists of two elements:

(115) [va + nhu]

Only the root **nhu** will be the lexical item with the category name of noun.

These lexical items occur in a lexicon. The lexicon contains all the information that the speakers of the language have internalised concerning the lexical items of their language. Thus this lexicon must contain information of syntactic categories. The lexicon of a language is learnt by each speaker. The speaker learns the lexical items of the language and what category of a word determines its distribution. In the sentence above, the lexical item which is a noun may not be inserted in the place of the verb e.g. the lexical item **-nhu** in **vanhu** may not appear in the place of **ril** in Xitsonga. Thus the following sentence no. (116)b will be wrong:

(116) a. Va - ril - a  
b \*Va- nhu – a

Thus the noun has clearly a different distribution than the verb and it may not appear in the same context as the verb.

### 2.2.1. Lexical Categories

In the following sections, an overview will be given of the following different lexical categories in Xitsonga.

#### NOUN [N]

The syntactic category noun can be recognised through the three main functional positions it may occupy in a sentence. Thus nouns may appear in certain positions only, i.e. their distribution is limited. They may occur as subject or object of a sentence or as complements of prepositions.

(117) [Vana] va - tsema [nyama] hi [mukwana]  
(Children they cut meat with knife)

In this Xitsonga sentence **vana** is subject, **nyama** is the object and **mukwana** is the complement of the preposition **hi**. Any lexical item which may appear in these positions will be nouns.

Nouns may also be recognised morphologically, i.e. there are certain morphemes which may occur with nouns. All nouns in the African languages are specified for a certain noun class and these noun classes are recognised through prefixes which are also known as noun class prefixes.

#### **NOUN PHRASE [NP]**

The noun is syntactically the head of a maximal projection noun phrase [NP]. An NP may consist of only a noun as head or any noun as head with a nominal modifier.

Only a noun as head

(118) [Munhu]

A noun as head with a nominal modifier

[Munhu loyi]

**LOCATIVE NOUN [N<sub>loc</sub>]**

The locative noun in African languages of South Africa are divided into three classes : the old locative noun class of classes 16, 17 and 18 which do not function with their prefixes any longer, locative nouns with a suffix such as **-ini** and various place names:

(119) Old locative nouns: hansi, kule, mahosi

Locative affixes:     a. e - mu -ti -ini -> emutini  
                           b. le - mu ti - ini - > le - mutini

Place names with affix e-: e - Pitori

**LOCATIVE NOUN PHRASE [N<sub>PLoc</sub>]**

These locative nouns are the heads of a maximal projection locative noun phrase [N<sub>PLoc</sub>].

Only a locative noun as head                      a locative noun as head with nominal modifier

(120)       [edorobeni]                              [edorobeni leri]

**ADJECTIVE [A]**

Adjectives in the African languages form a closed system and are morphologically marked with a noun class prefix in Nguni, Sotho and Tshivenda, but with subjectival agreement in Xitsonga. Three semantic categories of adjectives may be recognised, i.e. descriptive, quantitative and colour adjectives:

(121)-kulu : Tihomu leti i [tikulu]  
               (These cattle are big)

**ADJECTIVAL PHRASE [AP]**

In the sentence above the adjective appears as complement of a copulative verb. In such a case any adjective is the head of an adjectival phrase with an optional adverbial or preposition phrase:

- (122 )      a.    I [tikulu]  
                       (They are big)  
                       b.    I [tikulu ngopfu]  
                               (They are too big)

In Xitsonga a definitizing morpheme may appear with the adjectival phrase as a modifier:

- (123)      [Vana [ la - va kulu]]  
                       (These big children)

**DEMONSTRATIVE**

The demonstrative usually occurs with three deictic positions although some languages have four positions(see Nxumalo, 1994):

- (124)    (i)      [la + ri]                      -> leri  
                       (ii)     [la + ri + o]                 -> lero  
                       (iii)    [la + ri + ya]                -> leriya

One non deitic position:

[le + ri + y a + ni] - leriyani

The demonstrative does not appear in a maximal projection.

## QUANTIFIER [Q]

Quantifiers in the African languages are nominal modifiers, i.e. they may appear with nouns in a phrase where the noun is the head of the phrase. These quantifiers do not appear in phrases of their own where they are the head, i.e. there is no maximal projection for quantifiers. Thus in the noun phrase:

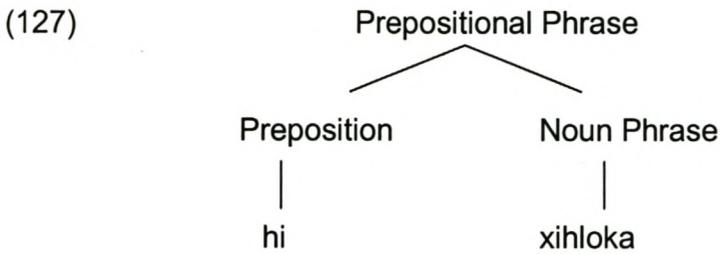
- (125) [vanhu vambe]  
(strange people)

The noun **vanhu** is the head of the noun phrase in the African languages of which the following is a list of such quantifiers. These quantifiers have the typical meaning found with quantifiers in all languages in that they denote how many things are being referred to by a given statement: they may refer to all the members of a set as in the case of **hinkwavo** / **voxe**, or in the case of **vambe** above or the absolute pronoun which refers to some specific set.

- (126) [Vanhu vona]  
(People them)  
[-NA] vona  
[-XE-] voxe  
[MUNI] muni  
[-MBE] vambe  
[-HI] vahi  
[HINKWA-] hinkwavo

## PREPOSITION

There are very few prepositions in the African languages: see the list below for such prepositions. These prepositions may never appear on their own but they must always be followed by a complement which may be a noun phrase. If one looks at the prepositional phrase **hi xihloka** in Xitsonga, one finds a preposition **hi** which has a complement **xihloka**. This is the head of a noun phrase.



In this structure, **hi** is the head of the prepositional phrase.

Semantically, prepositions indicate basic relationship between words, such as place. The prepositions below give such relationships:

Instrumental preposition

[HI] hi nhonga

Locative preposition

[EKA] eka Xigalo

Comparative preposition

[TANI], [ONGE] tani hi hosi  
Onge i hosi

Associative preposition

[NI] ni ndlopfu

Possessive preposition

[-a] Vana va hosi  
(The children of the chief)

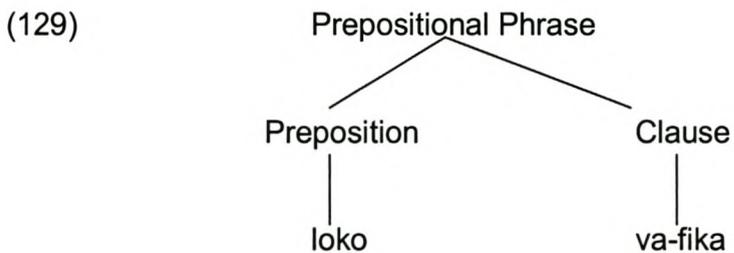
Clausal prepositions

The causal prepositions take a clause or a sentence as a complement. They are also known

in traditional grammars as conjunctive. An example of such a prepositional phrase is as follows:

- (128) Loko va fika  
(When they arrive)

The prepositional phrase has the following structure:



#### PREPOSITIONAL PHRASE [PP]

Any preposition is a head of a PP with a noun phrase or clause as complement:

- [hi xihloka]  
(by an axe)

#### VERB

The verb in the African languages is distinguished from other syntactic categories because inflectional categories appear with verbs. In the verb below, one may find various inflectional categories:

- (130) [A-ndzi-n'wi-lavi]  
(I do not want him)

In this verb one may find the following inflectional categories:

- |       |   |            |
|-------|---|------------|
| Mood  | : | Indicative |
| Tense | : | Present    |

Negative	:	[ a - i]
Subjectival agreement	:	ndzi
Objectival agreement	:	n'wi

If one speaks about a verb, then in the sentence above **lav** is the verb, i.e. the verb in the lexicon is a lexical item which appears without any of these inflectional categories.

Verbs may be classified into three classes as below: deficient verbs and copulative verbs may never appear on their own but they must be followed by a complement.

Verb: tirha

Deficient verb tshama

Copulative verb va

### VERB PHRASE [VP]

In a verb phrase the head may only be a verb as in (a ) below, or the verb may appear with some adjunct like an adverb as in (b) below, or in with an object as in(c) below. In all of these case, the verb will be the head of the verb phrase:

- (131) a. [Va - tirha] (They are working)  
 b. [Va - tirha ngopfu] (They work too much)  
 c. [Va - lava swakudya] (They want food)

### ADVERB [ADV]

If one looks at the category adverb, it will be necessary to carefully distinguish between function and category. When one wants to know what a category is then one needs to answer the question: what is it? In this case the word **IS** is very important. If one wants to know the function one needs to question: this category van be used as what? In this case the word **AS** is very important. Let us look at the following sentences:

- (132) a. Va ta ya [edorobeni]  
(They will go to town)
- b. Va tsema [hi xihloka]  
(They chop with an axe)
- c. U fikile [tolo]  
(S/he arrived yesterday)

In (132a) above, **edorobeni** is not an adverb but it is a locative noun if one wants to find its category. But it may be used as an adverb of place. Thus, **edorobeni** is not an adverb, but a locative noun. In the same way in (132b) above : [hi xihloka] is a PP but is may be used as an instrumental adverb. In (132c) : **tolo** is a noun but it can be used as an adverb of time.

There are very few adverbs in African languages which are only adverbs and not any other category. Adverbs as a category can mostly be recognised by the presence of an adverbial morpheme **ka** in Xitsonga (see below). There are mostly adverbs of manner or adverbs of degree. But if we speak about adverbs we include only these and not those in (a,b,c) above, e.g. **kahle**.

#### ADVERBIAL PHRASE [ADVP]

[kahle], [swinene], kahle ngopfu]

#### COMPLEMENTIZER [COMP]

There are very few complementizer in the African languages which have lexical content. In Xitsonga we find it is **leswaku**. This complementizer always appears with a clause or sentence as complement:

- (133) Mudyondzisi u tiva [leswaku [vana va n'wi pfunile]  
(The teachers knows that the children have helped him)

In the sentence above, the complementizer clause has **leswaku** as head but the clause which is a complement of **leswaku** is an Indicative clause:[Vana va n'wi pfunile] (The children helped him).

#### COMPLEMENTIZER PHRASE [CP]

As indicated above, the complementizer may appear as head of a complementizer clause (CP) where the clause which is a complement of the complementizer may be an indicative or Subjunctive clause or a dependent clause in Xitsonga.

- (134) [Vana va lava [leswaku mudyondzisi a ta]  
(The children want that the teacher must come)

#### CONJUNCT [CONJ]

The category conjunct appears in the coordination clauses where the coordinated members may be NPs, PPs or even clauses:

with NPs:

- (135) a. Ndzi lava [nyama na xinkwa]  
(I want meat and bread)  
b. U lava [nyama kumbe xinkwa]?  
(Do you want meat or bread?)

with sentences / clauses

- (136) [Ndzi ta fika mundzuku] kambe [ a ndzi nge tirhi laha]  
(I will arrive tomorrow but I will not work here)

The following conjuncts are identified in Xitsonga:

- (i) na
- (ii) kumbe
- (iii) kambe

### 2.2.2. Empty categories

(a) [pro]

Subjectival and objectival agreement occur as prefixes of the verb in morphology.

(137) Va n'wi lavile  
(They wanted him/her)

**Va** in Xitsonga represents subjectival agreement and **n'wi** objectival agreement. No overt NP subject or object occur. In such cases the African languages exemplify the null subject or object parameter i.e. the pro-drop parameter. Phonologically empty pronominals indicated as pro may contain the grammatical features of pronouns, i.e. person, number and gender and they may appear as subject or object of sentences.

These empty noun phrase indicated by pro must be coindexed with subjectival or objectival agreement.

(138) [pro<sub>i</sub>] va<sub>i</sub> - n'wi<sub>j</sub> - lava [pro<sub>j</sub>]

These two empty pro's will thus have features of the coindexed element, i.e. the features of person, number and gender which are the only features a pronoun may have. The first pro is coindexed with **va** (agreement of class 2) and the second pro with **n'wi** (agreement of class 1).

(b) [PRO]

(139) Vanhu va- lava [PRO<sub>i</sub>] ku - tirha  
(People want to work)

The phonologically empty pronominal PRO is posited as the subject of infinitival clause. PRO may contain the grammatical features person, number and gender but it contains no phonological features.

## (c) Trace [t]

(140) Vanhu va - voniwa  
(People are seen)

In Xitsonga the object of sentence which is **vanhu** has been moved to the empty subject position:

[e] von -w-a [vanhu]

(d) Thus **vanhu** is now the subject of the sentence after it has been moved:

(141) [Vanhu;] va - voniwa [t;]

On the vacated object position a trace [t] of **vanhu** is left.

### 2.2.3. Inflectional categories

Du Plessis (1996 : 15) observes that if one looks at an example of a verb in an African languages, it seems clear that such verbs consists of two parts, i.e. an inflectional and a verbal category. The verb **va - ril- a** in Xitsonga represent a phonological word.

In syntax this verb can be divided between the verbal category [V], i.e. [-ril-] and various inflectional categories as mood, tense and agreement. The verb **va - ril -a** thus has an Indicative mod, a present tense and subjectival agreement **va**. The category Inflection [I] may appear as features representing various morphemes such as tense, mood or the inflectional category may have some lexical content e.g the progressive **sa** as an aspect category.

These inflectional categories are also known as functional categories and five of these categories are recognized in the African languages: mood, tense, agreement, negative and aspect. These functional categories play a role in establishing dependencies between parts of a sentence and they are represented as heads. Any morpho-syntactic formative such as a

negative morpheme or a tense morpheme which corresponds to a functional category in a language is syntactically the head of a maximal projection. Thus, the five functional categories identified above are heads of a maximal projection: mood [M] is the head of the maximal projection mood phrase [MP], tense [T] of tense [phrase [TP] etc.

#### MOOD [M] WITH MAXIMAL PROJECTION [MP]

Indicative (Factivity):

- (142) Vanhu [va- tirha]  
(People are working)

Dependent mood:

- (143) Ndzi - lava leswaku [a - tirha]  
(I want that s/he works)

Potential (possibility):

- (144) Va - nga - tirha  
(They may work)

#### TENSE [T], [TP]

Present tense

- (145) Va - tirha  
(They are working)

Perfect tense

- (146) Va - tirhile  
(They have worked)

Future tense

- (147) Va - ta - tirha  
(They will work)

A- Past tense

- (148) A va tirha  
(They were working)

ASPECT [ASP], [ASPP]

- (149) a. Progressive  
Va - ha - tirha  
(They are busy working)

- (b) se - va - tirha  
(Now they are working)

AGREEMENT

- (a) SUBJECTIVAL AGREEMENT [AgrS], [AgrSP]

- (150) Va - tirhile  
(They have worked)

- (b) OBJECTIVAL AGREEMENT [AgrO], [AgrOP]

- (151) Va - n'wi - lava  
(They want him/her)

- (c) NEGATIVE [NEG], [NEGP]

a, nga, ngi

**2.2.4. Summary of syntactic categories in the African languages**

- |     |                    |      |
|-----|--------------------|------|
| (a) | Lexical categories |      |
|     | Maximal projection | Head |
|     | NP                 | N    |
|     | NPLoc              | Nloc |
|     | AP                 | A    |

PP	P
VP	V
ADVP	ADV
CP	C
	CONJ

(b) Empty categories  
pro, PRO, t

(c) Inflectional categories

MP	M
TP	T
ASPP	ASP
AgrSP	AgrS
AgrOP	AgrO
NEGP	NEG

### 2.3 The category tense in Xitsonga

This section will briefly outline some of the aspects of Reichenbach's Theory of tenses which will play a crucial role in the analysis of the four basic tense in Xitsonga. These issues are taken from the extension of Reichenbach's theory by Hornstein (1990). In particular, an analysis is proposed for the basic tenses in Xitsonga.

Reichenbach, according to Hornstein (1990) developed a complex theory of three letters or points (for English), which are temporally ordered with respect to one another. These he called the S, R and E points.

The S stands for the moment of speech or point of speech anchored by the utterance time (i.e. the time at which the utterance is made); R for the reference point or point of reference (i.e. time referred - the temporal standpoint from which the speaker invites his audience to

consider the occurrence of the event (or the obtaining of the state), and E for the event time or point of the event (i.e. the time at which the speaker asserts the event (or state) described in the sentence to occur.

The three above-mentioned points are important for the interpretation of time.

The S point : For Reichenbach the context - dependent nature of the interpretation of finite sentence is tracked to the presence of the S - point in the tense representation. That is, all accounts of tense make interpretation to the moment of speech (Hornstein N, 1990). According to Hornstein's abstract viewpoint, the S-point actually plays two different roles, namely:

- (i) a general role, that is of a deictic nature or element - which is interpretively based within the speech situation , and
- (ii) a more specific role which anchors temporal specification of the event point E relative to the moment of speech.

The E-point (i.e. event time) as cited above designates time (i.e. time when the event took place).

The reference point, R which Reichenbach introduced in his representation of tenses was the most distinctive feature of his theory. Reichenbach assumed that the relationship between the S and E was mediated via the reference point R.

For Reichenbach it is the relationship between the S and R that constitute the primary tense. R is then related to E. According to him, the link between the S and E is derivative, depending on the relationship between these other two links (i.e. the S and E).

Reichenbach, however, hypothesized that R is part of every tense representation, not merely the complex perfect tense. Even where R has no apparent reflex, it is still part of the tense representation. Implicitly in Reichenbach's position is distinction between syntax of tense structures and their temporal interpretations. According to him the R-Point is not merely introduced to facilitate interpretation of complex sentences, rather it is one term in a syntactic

relation that obtains even when not semantically visible. In short, implicit in Reichenbach's treatment of tense is the hypothesis that the temporal interpretation of tense underdetermines their syntactic form.

What Reichenbach, according to Hornstein, does not demonstrate adequately is that this distinction between the syntax of tense and its interpretation is empirically motivated.

With the introduction of R, one can thus be in a position to say that a Reichenbach theory of tense is a complex of three points (namely S, R and E) temporally ordered with respect to one another. One of the points, S is a deictic element anchored within the discourse situation, often to the moment of speech. The primary tense relationship is between S and R, a reference point. E, the event point, is through its relationship to R.

Hornstein's development of Reichenbach's theory goes a step further than what is stated above. In the parts that follows he shows that Reichenbach's implicit claim is well-founded and he develops it further.

Hornstein brings in the point of linearity in the interpretation of tenses. Hornstein assumes that tenses are ordered linearly as well as interpretively. What he actually means by this, is that the syntactic representation of a tense has a linear structure above and beyond what is required for the temporal interpretation of the tenses. To make his intention clear on the above, Hornstein gives the following example structure of a simple past - tense represented as follows:

(a) ER——— S                      and                      (b) R,E —— S

Note: R and E are interpreted as contemporaneous. Within Reichenbach's own theory (a) and (b) are variants of the same tense although the linear order of R and E is different in each (Hornstein, 1990).

For Hornstein (a) and (b) are different tenses even though they are interpreted as temporal identical. He is of the opinion that sentences are to be individuated syntactically.

According to Hornstein the principle of individuation takes very seriously the claim that tenses represent time by arranging points on a time line. This, he mentions, presupposes that these elements must be linearly ordered when interpreted as contemporaneous or identical.

Hornstein further states that this linear structure is not a semantic necessity in the case of simple tenses such as (i), anymore than the explicit representation of the R point for the interpretation of these simple tenses.

Assuming that a tense is a linearly ordered complex made up of three points, viz. S, R and E, Hornstein introduces the following arrangement:

“If two points are separated by a line, the leftmost point is interpreted as temporally earlier than the other. Points separated by a comma - associated points - are interpreted as contemporaneous” (1990:15)

With regard to tenses and adverbs Hornstein states that one way in which complex tense structure arise is through modification by temporal adverbs where they combine with basic tense to yield a complex tense structure. That is, time adverbs can be mapped onto R and /or E points of basic tense.

Hornstein, however, also points out a constraint based on the derivation of complex tense structure, whereby these complex structures must preserve certain aspects of the basic tense structure. Defining these constraints on the ordering of basic tense structures to yield complex derived tense structures (DTS), Hornstein gives the following definitions:

“(1) X associates with Y = def X is separated from Y by a comma (i.e. X,Y).

(2) BTS preserved iff

a. No points are associated in DTS that are not associated in BTS.

b. The linear order of points in DTS is the same as that in BTS.

(3) Constraint on DTS (CDTS): DTS must preserve BTS” (Hornstein, 1990 : 115).”

For Hornstein's definition above, it is obvious that there are conditions to a notion of the ordering of the basic tense structures (BTSs) to yield complex derived tense structure (DTS) viz:

- (a) Condition of associating and separating of S, R, E points.
- (b) Condition of certain aspects of the basic tense structures (BTS) by the derived tense structure (DTS) (= CDTS).
- (c) Condition of the linearity order of points in DTS which have to be the same as that in the BTS.

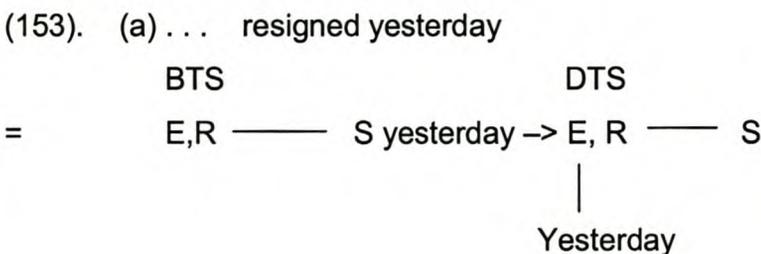
The CDTS, according to Hornstein, help in limiting the manipulation of S,R,E points that can occur. To him, a sentence retains a temporal interpretation only if it honours the constraint.

Certain modifications are permitted, but many others are not.

He also points out that the complex derived tense structure will only have a temporal interpretation if understanding BTS is preserved. Without the preservation of the BTS the sentence becomes meaningless or a deviant non-temporal reading is registered. Consider the following example sentences as illustrated by Hornstein:

- (152) a. Joe resigned yesterday.
- b. \*Joe resigned at this very moment/ right now.
- c. \*Joe resigned tomorrow.

Note : The BTS of (152a) is E, R - S. The adverbial modification yields the derived structures shown below:



Note :

Sentence (152a): — E and R are associated and are interpreted as contemporaneous. Joe's resignation took place in the past relative to the moment of speech (S) and this anterior moment was yesterday. "Yesterday" can modify E and R and does not violate either part of the CDTS. Modification of either point leaves the BTS intact. Hence we get a well-formed DTS.

$$\begin{array}{rcl}
 \text{(b)} & * \dots \text{resigned now} & \\
 & \text{BTS} & \text{DTS} \\
 = & \text{E,R} \text{ — } \text{S now} \longrightarrow & \text{E,R,S} \\
 & & | \\
 & & \text{now}
 \end{array}$$

Note: the DTS to the right of the arrow associates the E and R with S.

- as they are associated with S in BTS, the structure to the left of the arrow, BTS is not preserved in the derivation of the complex tense structure.
- In particular this violates the first part of the CDTS and yields an ill-formed derived structure.

$$\begin{array}{rcl}
 \text{(c)} & * \dots \text{resigned tomorrow} & \\
 & \text{BTS} & \text{DTS} \\
 = & \text{E,R} \text{ — } \text{S tomorrow} \rightarrow & \text{S,E,R} \\
 & & | \\
 & & \text{tomorrow}
 \end{array}$$

Note: the modification by the adverb "tomorrow" shifts the R and E points to the right of S in DTS.

- The linear order of the S, R, E points in the BTS is not preserved in the DTS — thus violating the second part of the CDTS and yields an ill-formed derived structure.

According to Hornstein (153b) and (153c) do not have a temporal interpretation at all, because their DTS's are ill-formed violating the CDTS.

Hornstein has shown in his theory how the CDTs acts in the exclusion of unacceptable adverbs plus tense constructions. It will be within the framework of scope of this theory that an investigation of the four basic tenses viz. Present, Perfect, Future and A - Past in Xitsonga will be conducted.

### **The Basic Tense Structure (BTSs) and the Derived Tense Structures (DTSs) of the Present tense in Xitsonga.**

A more characteristic use of the Present tense is in referring to which occupy a much longer period of time ( - hence the indefiniteness" of the tense) than the present moment, but which nonetheless include the present moment within them. In particular the present tense is used to speak of states and processes which hold at the present moment but which begun before the present moment and may well continue beyond the present moment as in (154) below:

- (154) Mufana u pfala xivala  
(The boy closes the cattle fold; the boy is closing the cattle fold)

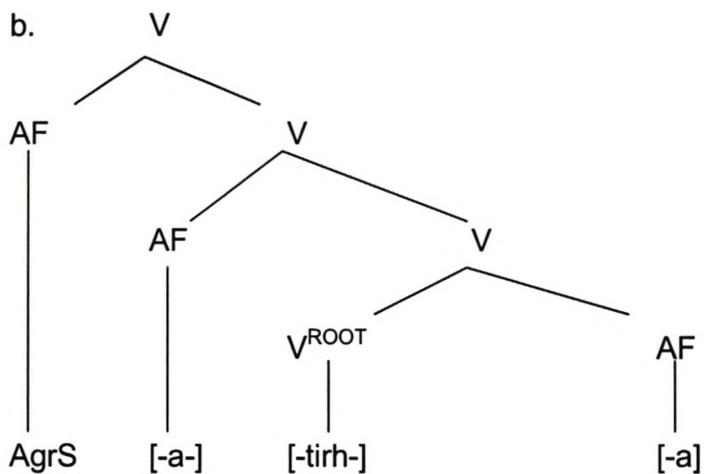
In the above example sentence, it is indeed true that the situation holds at the present moment, that is, at this moment the "boy" does close the cattle fold, but it is not the case that the situation is restricted only to the present moment.

The present tense in Xitsonga has two forms, namely the long present tense with the morpheme **a** and the short tense without **a**. The long form appears with or without an object or adjunct. The short form must always be followed by an object or by some other adjunct of the predicate for instance an adverb.

#### **The long form of the present tense**

The long form of the present tense has the following morphological structure:

- (155) a. [Ndzi - a - [tirha] ---- > ndza - tirha  
(I am working)



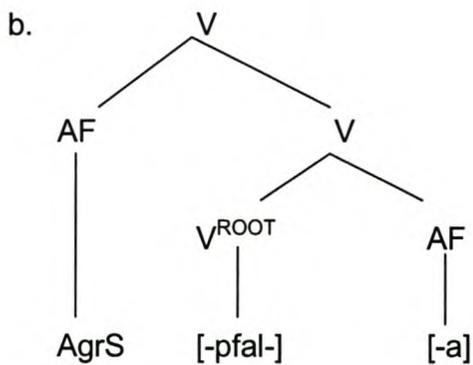
The long form may i.a. appear in the following syntactic environments:

- (156) a. Without an object or adjunct:      b. With an adjunct:  
 Ndza – tirha                                      Ndza tirha [sweswi]  
 (I am working)                                      (I am working now)
- c. With AgrO:  
 Ndza - xi- pfala  
 (I am closing it)

The short form of the present tense

This tense has the same meaning as the tense above but it differs in morphological structures and syntactic environment. The morphological structure of this tense is as follows:

- (157) a [Ndzi - pfala] xivala  
 (I am closing the cattle fold)



This short form of the present tense may appear in the following syntactic environment:

- (158) a. With an object : obligatory:  
 [Ndzi - pfala] xivala  
 (I am closing the cattle fold)
- b. With an adjunct : optional  
 [Ndzi - tirha] sweswi  
 (I am working now)

Though both forms of the present tense above are morphological different in structure they share the same meaning. They both express that an action, process or state takes place, is taking place or exists in the present (i.e. now). Hence according to the Reichenbachian theory of tenses, the BTS for the present tense in Xitsonga will be the structure: S, R, E implying that the action taking place is interpreted as temporally contemporaneous in the case of the present tense.

It should further be noted that these two tenses have the same reading with regard to the time of the action but, there are differences in meaning between these two forms. This difference in meaning does not relate to its temporal reading. The long form **with an adjunct** has an added meaning of **emphasis** on the predicate.

- (159) a. Ndza - baleka sweswi [ = Long form]  
 b. Ndzi - baleka sweswi [ = Short form]

The reading (i.e. the S, R, E) further implies that the moment of speech (S), the reference point (R) and the event time (E) are associated and divided from one another by a comma. Consider the following examples:

- (160) a. (i) Tihanci ta - tsutsuma sweswi = [ Long form]  
(The horses are running now)
- (ii) Tihanci ti - tsutsuma sweswi. = [Short form]
- b. (i) Tihanci ta - tsutsuma mundzuku. = [Long form]  
(The horses are running tomorrow)
- (ii) Tihanci ti - tsutsuma mundzuku = [Short form]
- c. (i) \*Tihanci ta - tsutsuma tolo = [Long form]  
(The horses are running yesterday)
- (ii) \*Tihanci ti- tsutsuma tolo = [Short form]  
(The horses are running yesterday)
- d. (i) \*Tihanci ta - tsutsuma khale. = [Long form]  
(The horses are running long ago)
- (ii) \*Tihanci ti - tsutsuma khale. = [Short form]  
(The horses are running long ago)

The above example sentences are interpreted on the assumption that the present tense in Xitsonga has the BTS S, R, E. These sentences have been modified by **sweswi** (now or right now - which refers to the moment of speech (S), **mundzuku** (tomorrow - which designates a time later than the moment of speech), **tolo** (yesterday) i.e. time past relative to the moment of speech and **khale** (long ago). These adverbial modifiers (viz. sweswi, mundzuku, tolo, khale) will yield the derived structures shown below:

- (161) a. (i) Ndza - tsutsuma sweswi.  
(I am running now)
- |   |         |        |              |
|---|---------|--------|--------------|
|   | BTS     |        | DTS          |
| = | S, R, E | sweswi | → S, R, E    |
|   |         |        |              |
|   |         |        | sweswi (now) |

(ii) Ndza - tsutsuma sweswi  
(I am running now)

BTS		DTS
= S, R, E	sweswi	→ S, R, E
		sweswi (now)

Although these two sentences show different morphological structures, they both indicate actions taking place in the present, and as such they have the same meaning, i.e. both structures share the same meaning. Hence the moment of speech (S), the reference point (R) and the event time (E) are associated.

Both structures give the reading that the event of running takes place in the present (time) relative to the moment of speech and that this moment is **now**.

Sweswi (now) is interpreted as temporally contemporaneous with the three points (viz. S, R and E).

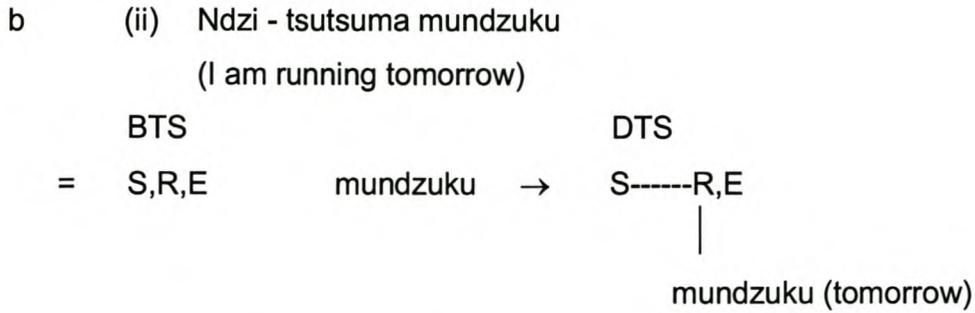
The DTS of both structures does not alter the BTS order of the S,R,E point:

BTS		DTS
= S,R,E	sweswi	→ S,R,E

Hence both structures (162a) (i) and (162b) (ii) have well-formed DTS which leave the BTS intact (i.e. unchanged).

(162) a. (i) Ndza - tsutsuma mundzuku

BTS		DTS
= S,R,E	mundzuku	→ S—R,E
		mundzuku (tomorrow)



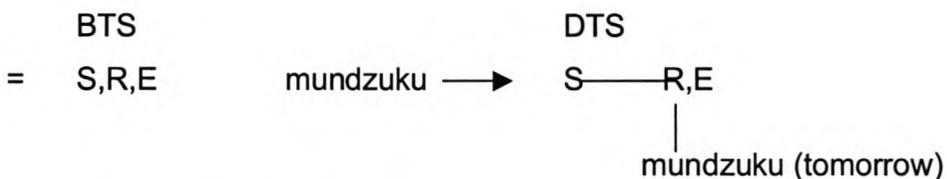
Both the structures of (162a) (i) and 162b) (ii) are similar in the sense that they have the same meaning though their structures are morphologically different. The present tense in both structure denotes the future.

The moment of speech (S) is **now** but the reference point (R) and the event time in the DTS is **tomorrow (mundzuku)** (i.e. the future - a time later than the moment of speech (S)). Hence S-point (which is the leftmost point) is interpreted as temporally earlier than the R and E points (on the right).

The adverbial extension of time “**mundzuku**” (tomorrow) shifts the R,E points to the right of the S-point in the DTS.

According to the CDTS such structures are acceptable. The CDTS permits this because the linear order of points in the DTS are the same as that in BTS.

Secondly, no points are associated in DTS that are not associated in BTS, i.e. R,E are associated in BTS and DTS, and the linear order is the same.:



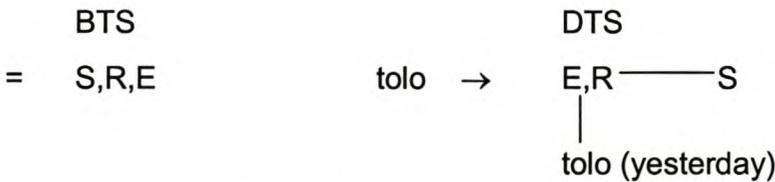
- (163) c (i) \*Ndza - tsutsuma tolo  
(I am running yesterday)
- (ii) \*Ndzi-tsutuma tolo



The DTS of the above sentence structure interprets the event time (E) and the reference point (R) as temporally earlier (i.e. **tolo** (yesterday)) than the moment of speech. The E and R - points are associated and the S - point is dissociated from the E and R points by a time line ( ——— ) In other words the modification by **“tolo”** (yesterday) ——— a time before the moment of speech (S) or the time past relative to the moment of speech has shifted the S - point in the DTS.

The combination of such structures with the adverb **“tolo”** therefore result in ungrammatical sentences. It destroys the BTS order of points and thus violates in particular the second part of CDTS

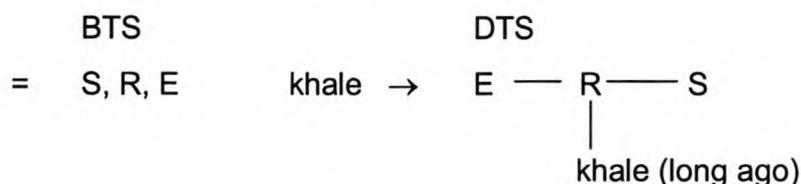
According to CDTS the linear order of points must not be destroyed but in the above structure the linear order of the S,R,E points in BTS is not preserved in DTS. Hence the structure:



- (164) d (i) \*Ndza - tsutsuma khale  
 (I am running long ago)  
 (ii) \*Ndzi - tsutsuma khale  
 ( I am running long ago)



A similar explanation as is illustrated in (163c) extends to the sentence (164d) namely where the modification by “**khale**” (long ago) will destroy BTS by destroying the linear order. “**Khale**” is an adverbial extension of time which combines the remote past. Hence the structure:



Thus, when we talk about the present tense of a process or action taking place simultaneously with the coding time, the S,R,E points are regarded as taking place simultaneously.

We may, thus conclude by saying that the present tense relates to the moment of speech i.e. it relates the time of an action to the present moment in time - hence the structure : S, R, E which implies that the speaker's reference point (R) and the point or moment of speech (S) are to be taken as identical with the point of event (E).

### Perfect tense

The perfect tense indicates that an action has been concluded or that it has been completed - the nearest English equivalent being the perfect tense, although the imperfect could fit it too. It does not refer to any particular time in the past, as long as it does not refer to the present. It could be referred to as a tense form used in describing an action which has taken place quite recently or at some definite time referred to. Hence it is called “Immediate Past”. Consider the following example:

- (165) a. [Ndzi - yi - rimile] nsimu ya ka hina, kambe mbewu a yi milangi.  
(I ploughed our field but the seeds did not germinate)
- b. [Ku - humelele]yini? [Va - ndzi - hlongorile]  
(What happened? They have driven me away)
- c. Ku vuriwa leswaku [u - baleke] tolweni.  
(It is said s/he ran away the day before yesterday)

- d. [Ku - teke] lonkulu ku sungula, ivi endzhaku ku landzela rikotse.  
(The older one married first and thereafter followed the last born)

From the above example sentences it will be noticed that this completed action of the perfect tense is expressed by the form of the verb with the suffix **-ile** (see examples (165a,b) or its variant **-e** (< **ile**) see example sentences (165 c ,d). This means that this tense in Xitsonga also have two forms, viz. the full or long form **-ile** or the contracted form being high tone **-e**. Though both forms are morphologically different, in syntactical usage they share the same meaning. The **-ile** and **-e** as mentioned above, both indicate a completed action:

- (166) a. - hlek**ile**, - hleke (have laughed) , <hleka (laugh)  
 b. - hlev**ile**, - hleve (have gossiped) < hleva (gossip)  
 c. - von**ile**, vone (have seen) , vona (see)  
 d. - vek**ile**, veke (have put down) < veka (put down)  
 e. - **file**, **-fe** (has died) < fa (die)  
 f. -khalaby**ile**/khegur**ile**, khalaby**e**/khegule (has aged) <khalabya/khegula (aged)

The BTS for the perfect tense in Xitsonga reflects the following structure:

- (167) [E, R — S]

In this structure the event time (E) and the reference point (R) are temporally earlier than the moment of speech (S). In this tense the E and the R points are associated by the comma and the S point is dissociated from the E and R points by a time line [—]

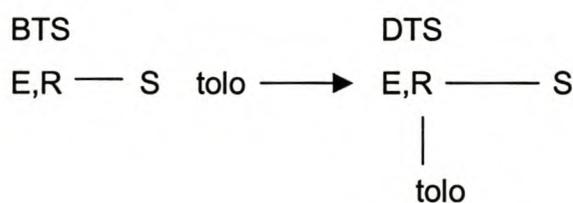
Consider the following example sentences:

- (168) a. (i) Valanguteri va swivochwa va lw**ile** na swivochwa **sweswi**. (Long form)  
 (ii) Valanguteri va swivochwa va l**we** na swivochwa sweswi. (Short form)  
 (The prison warders have fought with the prisoners now).  
 b. (i) \*Valanguteri va swivochwa va lw**ile** na swivochwa **mundzuku**.  
 \*Valanguteri va swivochwa va l**we** na swivochwa **mundzuku**.

- c. (i) Valanguteri va swivochwa va lwile na swivochwa **tolo**.  
 (ii) Valanguteri va swivochwa va lwe na swivochwa **tolo**.
- d. (i) Valanguteri va swivochwa va lwile na swivochwa **namuntlha/ madyambu lawa**.  
 (ii) Valanguteri va swivochwa va lwe na swivochwa **namuntlha / madyambu lawa**.  
 (The prisoners warders have fought with the prisoners today/tonight).
- e. (i) \*Valnguteri va swivochwa va lwile na swivochwa **khale**.  
 (ii) \*Valanguteri va swivochwa va lwe na swivochwa **khale**.  
 (The prison warders have fought with the prisoners long ago).

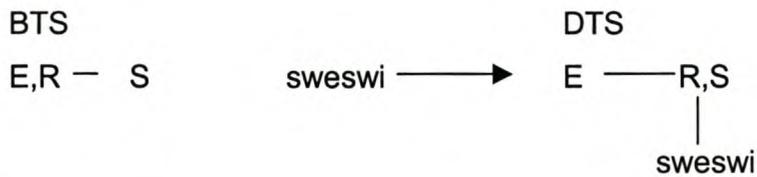
From the above example sentences (i.e. 168a-d) it will be noted that the perfect tense can be used with adverbial extensions such as **sweswi** (now or right now), **tolo** (yesterday), **namuntlha** (today) or **madyambu lawa** (tonight) - but not with **mundzuku** (tomorrow) and **khale** (long ago).

- (169) [Va - lwile] na swivochwa tolo.  
 (They fought with the prisoners yesterday)



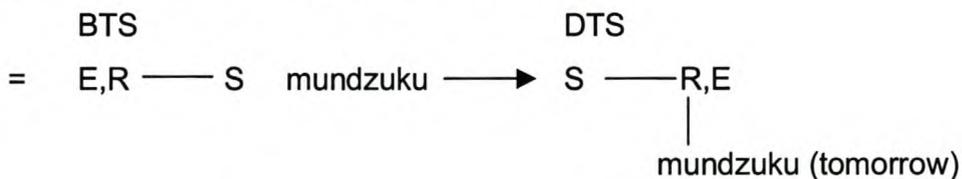
In the structures above, the DTS does not alter the BTS order or the association of the event time and the reference time. The moment of speech (S) is still dissociated because it takes place at a later time than the time of the event or the reference time.

- (170) [Va - lwile] na swivochwa **sweswi**.  
(They have fought with the prisoners now).



In this structure the presence of **sweswi** has changed the BTS : the reference time (R) is now associated with the speech time (S) but it is dissociated from the event time which still takes place at an earlier time. However the order in the BTS of E,R and S has not been changed and thus the DTS is allowed.

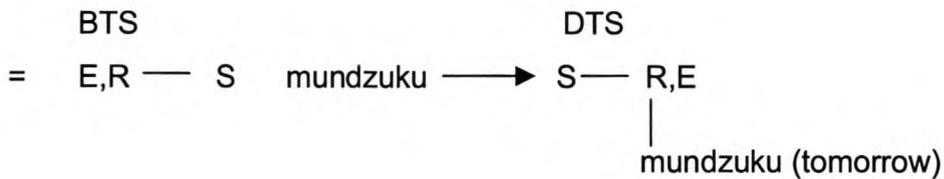
- (171) (i) \* ...va lwile na swivochwa **mundzuku**  
(... have fought with prisoners tomorrow)  
(ii) \*... va lwe na swivochwa **mundzuku**.  
(The have fought with prisoners tomorrow)



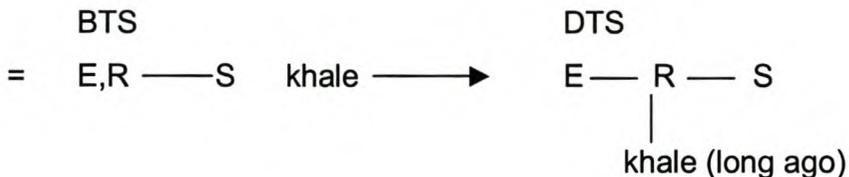
The adverbial extension viz. **mundzuku** (tomorrow) shifts the reference point (R) and the event time (E) to the right of the S-point (i.e. the moment of speech) in the DTS - that is the event (E) which took place in the recent past is shifted to the future position within the same sentence structure. It is associated with the R-point, forming at this end an ungrammatical sentence structure, e.g \*Valanguteri va swivochwa va lwile na swivochwa - which is in the recent past) **mundzuku** (denoting the future).

The latter illustrates that the verb formative denoting past cannot be used with an adverbial extensions denoting future. Hence the DTS is decidedly odd. It violates the second part of CDTS, which states that the linear order of points in the DTS should be the same as that in the BTS.

The modification of **mundzuku** (tomorrow) then, has destroyed the BTS by destroying its linear order. Compare the structure below:



- (172) (i) \*... va lwile na swivochwa khale.  
 (... have fought with prisoners long ago).



The temporal interpretation of the above structure is misleading and unacceptable. **Khale** (long ago) which is an adverbial extension of time denoting the remote past cannot combine with **-ile** or variant **-e** of the immediate past.

The combination of such structures with the adverb **khale** therefore results in ungrammatical sentences. It destroys the BTS order of points and thus violates in particular the second part of the CDTS.

In the case of the perfect tense, the reference time (R) must always be associated with either E or S and it may not appear dissociated from both E and S. the reason is to be found in meaning of the perfect tense which refer to an immediate past in which the time is associated with the event or the speech time.

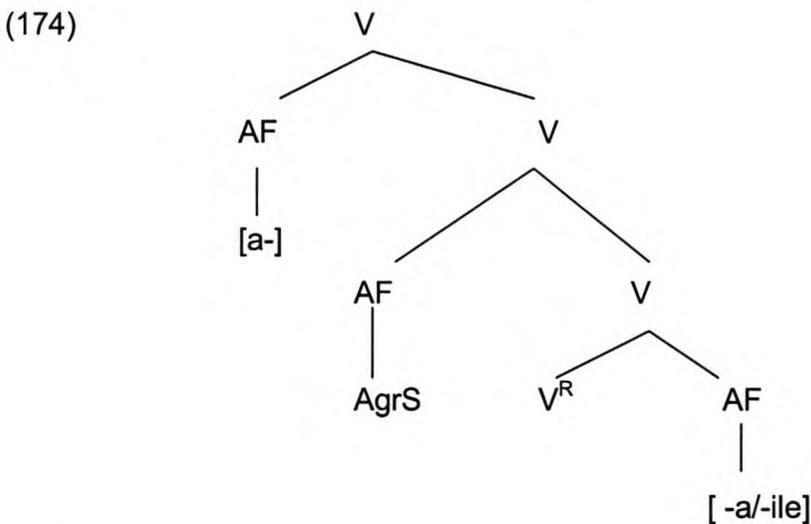
### The interpretation of the A -Past in Xitsonga.

The Xitsonga A- Past tense refers to a situation that held at some time prior to the present

moment. That is, it indicates an action or an occurrence which came to pass sometime in the relatively distant or remote past (often with a specific time mentioned). Hence the morpheme **a** pronounced as [-aa]. The A -Past tense has two forms in Xitsonga : the A - Past tense with the perfect morpheme **-ile** and the A - Past without the perfect **-ile**.

- (173) a. A - ndzi famba  
(I was going)
- b. A- ndzi fambile  
(I had gone)

The two tenses in (173a) and (b) above have the same point of time reference (R) but there are specific differences between them. Firstly, the morphological structure differs with the presence of a suffix [-a] in no (a) and a suffix [-ile] in no (b):



The difference between the two verbal forms can only be explained within the section of aspect : the form with the suffix [-a] represents an imperfective aspect with a past tense (R), thus an imperfect past tense. On the other hand the form with the perfect suffix [-ile] refers to a perfective past tense (see the next section on aspect): here attention will only be given to the meaning of the tense prefix [-a]. With the addition of a temporal adverb the A - Past with the perfect morpheme **-ile** cannot take a time indicating the present:

- (175) a. A ndzi famba **sweswi**.  
(I was going now)  
b. \*A ndzi fambile **sweswi**.  
(I had gone now)

In addition, no A-Past tense can appear with a time adverb indicating the future:

- (176) a. \*A ndzi famba **mundzuku**.  
(I was going tomorrow)  
b. \*A ndzi fambile **mundzuku**.  
(I had gone tomorrow).

According to Reichenbach's theory of tenses this tense will have the following structure:

[E — R — S] i.e. the event time (E) and speech time. There is no association between these three points and they are dissociated by a time line [—]. Consider the following example sentences:

- (177) a. (i) A ndzi tirha eKapa **sweswi**.  
(I was working in Cape Town now)  
(ii) \*A ndzi tirhile eKapa **sweswi**.  
(I had worked in Cape Town now)  
b. (i) \*A ndzi tirha eKapa **mundzuku**.  
(I was working in Cape Town tomorrow)  
(ii) \*A ndzi tirhile Kapa **mundzuku**.  
(I had worked in Cape Town tomorrow).  
c. (i) A ndzi tirha eKapa **tolo**.  
(I was working in Cape Town yesterday)  
(ii) A ndzi tirhile eKapa **tolo**.  
(I had worked in Cape Town yesterday)  
d. (i) A ndzi tirha eKapa **khale**.  
(I was working in Cape Town long ago)





sentences:

- (183) a. Ndzi - ta - ku - vitana.  
(I will/shall call you)
- b. Ndzi - ta - n'wi - vitana.  
(I will/shall call him/her)
- c. Ndzi - ta - va - vitana.  
(I will/shall call them)
- d. Ndzi - ta - xi - vitana.  
(I will/shall call it)

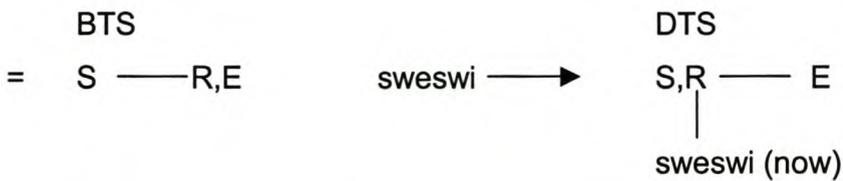
The morpheme **ta** in Xitsonga expresses that an action or state will take place at a future time (i.e. tomorrow or later in the future). Hence according to the Reichenbach schema, the BTS for the future tense will show the structure: S--R,E, implying that the action or event is taking place after the moment of speech (S) but at the same time of reference given by the speaker.

This reading further implies that the two associated R and E points are interpreted as temporally later than the dissociated S - point to the left end. The event has to take place in the future. Consider the following example sentences:

- (184) a. (i) Swichudeni swa Yunivhesiti ya N'walungu swi - ta - rhendzeleka na tiko hinkwaro ra Yuropo **sweswi**.  
(The University of the North students will tour the whole of Europe now).
- (ii) Swichudeni swa Yunivhesiti ya N'walungu swi - ta - rhendzeleka na tiko hinkwaro ra Yuropo **mundzuku**.  
(The University of the North students will tour the whole of Europe tomorrow).
- b. (i) \*Swichudeni swa Yunivhesiti ya N'walungu swi-ta-rhendzeleka na tiko hinkwaro ra Yuropo **tolo**.  
(The University of the North students will tour the whole of Europe yesterday).
- (ii) \*Swichudeni swa Yunivhesiti ya N'walungu swi-ta-rhendzeleka na tiko hinkwaro ra Yuropo **khale**.  
(The University of the North students will tour the whole of Europe long ago).

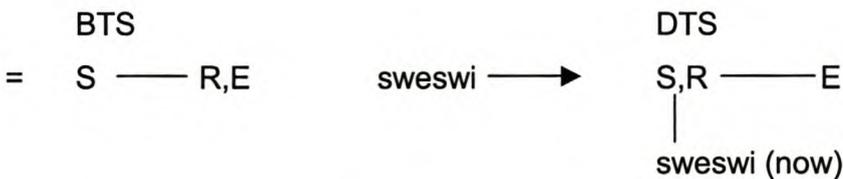
The above example sentences are interpreted on the assumption that the future tense in Xitsonga has the BTS [S — R,E]. These sentences have been modified by **sweswi** (now), **mundzuku** (tomorrow), **tolo** (yesterday) and **khale**(long ago). These adverbial modifications (viz. **sweswi**, **mundzuku**, **tolo**, and **khale**) will yield the following derived structures:

- (185) a. (i) ... va - ta - rhendzeleka ... sweswi.  
 (... are coming to tour now i.e. they will tour now (in the immediate future or soon).



In the derivation of the DTS, the moment of speaking (S) (i.e. the coding time) and the reference point (R) are associated to one another and are interpreted as temporally contemporaneous. The S and R –points are dissociated from the event (E) by a time line (–) : Hence S,R — E. Both the S and the R are interpreted as taking place now (i.e. the moment of speech) prior to the event time (E) - where the latter has still to take place in the future. The student’s tour is interpreted as occurring very soon after the moment of speech.

This sentence shows a well-formed derived tense structure CDTS : BTS is preserved in the DTS (i.e. it remains intact in the DTS : Hence the structure:



The linear order of points is the same as that in the BTS ----- i.e. no change is reflected in the linear order of the S,R,E - points in DTS:



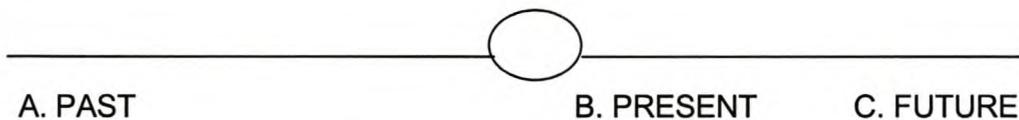
The modification of R by **tolo** maps onto E, which it has shifted to left of the associated S - point (on the rightmost end) in the DTS:

$$[ S \text{ ——— } R, E \text{ ————— } \blacktriangleright E, R \text{ ——— } S ]$$

This forms an odd structure i.e an ill-formed sentence. The linear order of the S, R, E points in the DTS on the right has been altered from the BTS order shown on the left.

The combination of such a structure with the adverb **tolo** or **khale**, therefore results in ungrammatical sentences. In other words, the future formative **ta** cannot combine with the above underlined adverbial extensions denoting the past. They destroy the BTS order of points and thus violate in particular the second part of the CDTS.

The future tense can be defined as locating a situation at a time subsequent to the present moment, i.e. to the right of the present moment on the diagram of the time line. Compare the following figure:



The future tense is meant to indicate any action or event which takes place after the moment of speaking or time of reference given by the speaker.

- (189) Va **ta** famba loko va hetile.  
(They will leave/go when they have finished)

It should be noted that the so-called future tense (in Xitsonga or other languages which have tense) make clear prediction about some future state of affairs, and it is in this way clearly distinct from modal construction that make reference to alternative worlds. Thus, "Yi **ta** na mundzuku" (It will rain tomorrow) is a very definite statement about a state of affairs to hold at a certain time to the present moment and its truth can be tested at that future time by seeing whether it does in fact rain or not.

This can be contrasted with “Yi nga na mundzuku”(It may rain tomorrow) which is simply a claim about a possible world in which there is rain tomorrow; the truth value of this statement cannot be assessed by observing whether or not it rains tomorrow (since both presence and absence of rain are compatible of such a modal statement). It is extremely difficult demonstrating the evaluation or non-existence of a certain possible world which may not coincide with the actual world.

## **2.4 The category aspect in Xitsonga**

### **2.4.1 Viewpoint aspect**

According to Smith (1991 : 61) aspectual viewpoints functions like the lens of a camera, making objects visible to the receiver. Situations are the objects on which viewpoint lenses are trained. And just as the camera lens is necessary to make the object available for a picture, so viewpoints are necessary to make visible the situation talked about in a sentence. Aspectual viewpoints have consistent semantic meanings for the language in which they appear. The viewpoint meanings give positive information, and are complemented by pragmatic meanings. Smith (1991:61-62) continues to say that the pragmatic interpretation makes an essential contribution to the interpretation of the viewpoints. At the pragmatic level, semantic meaning interacts with such factors as contrastive value, context and rhetorical emphasis. Languages differ in the organization of the viewpoint. Semantic meaning is conveyed by linguistic form and cannot be cancelled.

#### **Semantic Information and Aspectual Viewpoints**

Smith (1991:62) maintains that the two-component theory requires that all sentences have a viewpoint, since situation type information is not visible without one. This theoretical requirement has the interesting consequence that sentences with no explicit aspectual morpheme must have an aspectual viewpoint.

Visibility : the aspectual information conveyed by a sentence

Smith (1991:62-63) states that aspectual viewpoints focus all or part of a situation; what is in

focus has a special status which he calls “visibility”. Only what is visible is asserted . Visible information about an event is available to the receiver of a sentence for truth-conditional issues and entailments. The visible information of a sentence is conventional and cannot be changed or cancelled. Receivers make additional inference; these are conversational and can be cancelled.

Smith (1991:63) continues to state that the main difference among aspectual viewpoints is in how much of a situation they make visible. Perfective viewpoints focus a situation in its entirety, including endpoint; Imperfective viewpoints focus an interval that excludes endpoints; Neutral viewpoints include the initial point and at least one stage of a situation. Smith (1991) argues that in analyzing aspectual viewpoints, he relies on evidence from semantic tests for the interpretation of (191a), a progressive, and its composite temporal schema in (191b). An internal stage of the telic-event [Mary walk to school] is visible.

- (190) a. Mary was walking to school  
 b. I .. ///.. .. Fn

According to Smith sentences like (190a) have an open interpretation. (190a) does not entail that a complete event occurred. This becomes clear when Smith uses the technique of indirect proof, conjoining the sentences with a clause that asserts non-completion. If (190a) semantically conveys the completion of the event, such a conjunction should be contradictory. But if not, the conjunction should be reasonable. Consider (191 ):

(191) Mary was walking to school but she didn't actually get there.

(191) is in fact entirely reasonable. This shows that (190a) does not present a complete event: it does not mean that Mary actually completed her walking to school. The final endpoint of the event is not linguistically presented.

Smith continues to say that there is one inference, about endpoints that is licensed by the information of 190(a). By a default inference, one can conclude that the initial point of the event has occurred. The inference follows from the fact that part of the event is visible. One might make other inferences about the event, of course. For instance, one might infer on

pragmatic grounds that the final endpoint occurred. This second inference might be reasonable if no information to the contrary is given, or if one knows Mary's habits well. The two inferences are quite different in basis. The former cannot be over-ridden by other information, whereas the latter can be. Receivers use both types of inferences in interpreting aspectual meaning.

#### Semantic tests for visible information

Smith (1991) uses several semantic tests which allow us to investigate the aspectual meaning of a sentence. No one test completely determines aspectual meaning, but together they are quite informative. Conjunctions and questions show whether a sentence presents an open or closed situation. Temporal clauses function as diagnostic contexts. The tests demonstrate well-known properties of familiar perfective and imperfective viewpoints. They are also useful for studying properties of unfair viewpoints.

According to Smith conjunctions are based on the compatibility of two assertions:

To test whether aspectual viewpoints is **open** or **closed** in a given sentence, we conjoin it with an assertion about the situation in question.

Open situations are compatible with assertions that the situation continues, or was terminated without completion. If a sentence is reasonable in conjunction with such assertions, we can conclude that it presents an open situation. One version of this test was used above in sentence (191), repeated here as (192)(a) and (b) gives another version of the same test:

- (192) a. Mary was walking to school but she didn't actually get there.  
b. Mary was walking to school and she's still walking.

Both conjunctions are reasonable, showing that the imperfective viewpoint does not entail that Mary actually completed her walk to school. The final endpoint of the event is not visible.

In contrast, the perfective viewpoint is not compatible with assertions of continuation and incompleteness as (193) shows:

- (193) a. # Mary walked to school but she didn't actually get there.  
b. # Mary walked to school and she's still walking.

The impossibility of conjunction here shows that the perfective presents a closed situation.

Perfective and imperfective sentences are both compatible with assertions that an event is closed, for different reasons. The perfective asserts closure, while the imperfective is compatible with an inference of closure. (194) illustrates:

- (194) a. Susan built a house and now it is finished.  
b. Susan was building a house and now it's finished.

Both these sentences are reasonable, though (194a) is somehow redundant. Conjunctions are not informative about whether a closed reading is semantic or pragmatically licenced. This limits their usefulness in the determining the information that is semantically conveyed by an imperfective sentence.

Smith continues to state that sentences with temporal clauses give information about the semantic properties of aspectual viewpoints. They do so because they present situations in temporal relation to each other; temporal relations depend on whether the situations are presented with or without endpoints. The minimal requirement for successiveness is that an endpoint of one situation must follow that of the other (Heinamaki, 1974). Before - and after - clauses require a sequential interpretation; they are diagnostic contexts for whether the final endpoint of a situation is semantically visible in a sentence. The main clauses of such sentences must have a closed viewpoint. When clauses are flexible, they allow several interpretations. Both types of temporal clauses are useful in studying viewpoints.

According to Smith **when** imposes no particular temporal relation on situations. The situations presented may be taken as simultaneous, overlapping, or successive, depending on viewpoint and situation type. Consider the examples of (195). The temporal clause presents an instantaneous event; the main clause event differ in duration, and in viewpoint.

- (195) a. Mary was swimming when the bell rang.  
b. Mary swam when the bell rang.
- a' Bill was leaving when the bell rang.  
b' Bill left when the bell rang.

In the (195a) sentences, the main clause events were in progress at the time of the other event (swimming, preliminaries to leaving). This shows that the imperfective viewpoint does not semantically include endpoints. In the (195b) sentences of the main clause events began or took place at the time of the other event. The perfective clause is taken as an inceptive in (195b') because swimming is a durative event. It is not plausible that a swimming event occur in its entirety at the same time as a bell ringing, but entirely plausible that it began at that time.

Furthermore, Smith states that despite the flexibility of **when**, the sequential reading does not arise for sentences with imperfective viewpoint in the main clause. Thus sentences with **when** - clauses function as diagnostic contexts for the interpretation of viewpoints. There is a preferred pattern of interpretation for perfective sentences. If the situations are successive, the event of the **when** - clause is taken as preceding (Steedman, 1982).

Smith continues to state that the test allow us to discriminate between imperfective and neutral viewpoints: the former does not have a sequential interpretation, whereas the latter does.

Sentences with **before** -and **after** - clauses are also useful. They require sequential or overlapping relation between situations. They are odd, even ungrammatical, with a main clause in the imperfective viewpoint. Compare the sentences of (196):

- (196) a. John left after Mary broke the glass.  
b. John was angry after Mary broke the glass.  
c. ?\*John was singing after Mary broke the glass.

The context of a **before** - or **after** - clause indicates whether the viewpoint of a sentence is

imperfective.

Questions can also function as test that delimit the semantic meaning of a sentence. If the sentence presents an open situation, questions about its continuation are reasonable; if the situation is closed, such questions are not reasonable. (197) illustrates:

- (197) a. Martin walked to school.  
b. Martin was walking to school.  
c. Did he get there?

The question is a reasonable one for the imperfective sentences, but strange with the perfective because the latter gives answer.

#### Families of viewpoints

According to Smith, knowing a language includes knowing the semantic and pragmatic values of the viewpoints in the language. Perfective viewpoints are closed informationally, in that they present situations as complete with both endpoints. Imperfective viewpoints are open. Neutral viewpoints allow readings that are either both closed or open, although the information given by a neutral viewpoint is not identical to that of an imperfective. These meanings have an important effect on the information structure of a sentence: imperfectives are open to inference in a way that perfective are not. Further, sentences with the neutral viewpoints are open in a way that imperfective are not.

Smith continues to say that viewpoint aspect is expressed by a grammatical morpheme associated with the main verb of a sentence. The morpheme may simply indicate the viewpoint, or may have lexical content as well. Of the languages studied here, Chinese and Russian have perfective morphemes with clear lexical content. In analysing an aspectual system it is necessary to consider temporal location (indicated by tense, adverbials and modals) as well as viewpoint.

## Perfective viewpoint

According to Smith, sentences with perfective viewpoint present a situation as a whole. The span of the perfective includes the initial and final endpoints of the situation : it is closed informationally. This is the basic property of the perfective; the generally schema is given in (198):

(198) General schema for the perfective: I ..... F ..... // // // //

This general scheme represents the unmarked perfective viewpoint. As such it does not apply to stative situations, because endpoints do not appear in the temporal schema. Nor does the schema include perfectives with a span greater than that of situation schema focused. Perfective viewpoints that have these additional properties are marked in relation to the prototypical perfective. Smith continues to demonstrate some of the semantic properties of perfective sentences. He says that we must distinguish between semantic meaning and the implications that might arise from its presence in a sentence. We ask whether an interpretation is due to semantic meaning alone, or whether it includes pragmatic inference. To answer the question we will put the semantic in contexts where their interpretation might be expected to vary. If an interpretation remains invariant, it is conveyed by the linguistic form and is part of the semantic meaning of the sentence.

According to Smith in English perfective viewpoint is often called simple aspect because it is signalled by the simple form of the main verb; the imperfective is signalled with the auxiliary **be + ing**. The perfective is incompatible with an assertion that the event continued. Consider the interpretation of non-stative sentences with the perfective viewpoint:

- |       |    |                                  |                  |
|-------|----|----------------------------------|------------------|
| (199) | a. | Lily swam in the pond            | [Activity]       |
|       | b. | Mrs Ramsey wrote a letter        | [Accomplishment] |
|       | c. | Mr Ramsey reached the lighthouse | [Achievement]    |

There are two points to notice about the interpretation of these sentences. They present the events as closed, with initial and final endpoints (for durative events); and the events are taken as terminated or completed depending on the situation type of the sentences. (199a)

presents terminated events, while (199b, c) present completed events.

Smith continues to say that the interpretations are due to the semantic meaning of simple aspect and not to pragmatic factors. To substantiate this claim, Smith puts the sentences in contexts that are not compatible with the closed readings just given, by conjoining them with assertion that the events continue. If the close reading are due to inference they will change in this context to open readings. But the readings will not change, and the conjunctions will be contradictory, if the interpretations are conveyed semantically. The examples of (200) demonstrate:

- (200) a. # Lily swam in the pond and she may still be swimming.  
b. # Mrs Ramsey wrote a letter and she may still be writing it.

The conjunctions are contradictory, showing that the closed readings are based on the semantic meaning of simple aspect.

With regard to the type of final end point conveyed by the perfective sentences, Smith maintains that the interpretations vary with situation type. The Activity sentence conveys termination (Lily stopped swimming) whereas the Accomplishment conveys completion. (Mrs Ramsey finished the letter). The difference may be due to the semantic meaning for the sentences, but it may also be due to inference which augments that information. It would be natural to infer that the telic event had been completed, since we are given no information to the contrary. Conjunction is again useful. If the simple viewpoint semantically conveys completion, an Accomplishment sentence should be incompatible with the assertion that the event was terminated rather than completed. This prediction is tested in (201):

- (201) a. #Mrs Ramsey wrote a letter, but she didn't finish writing it.  
b. # James fixed the clock, but he didn't finish fixing it.  
c. # Mary opened the door, but she didn't get it open.

The conjunctions are contradictory, showing that the implicature of completion cannot be cancelled. The conjunction tests show that the implicature is conventional rather than conversational. Conventional implicatures are conveyed by the meaning of linguistic forms:

thus, perfective viewpoint Accomplishment sentences in English semantically convey completion.

Smith continues to say that interpretations vary according to the situation type of a sentence in English simple aspect. If the situation type schema has a natural endpoint, so does the perfective sentence. This interaction between situation type and the perfective viewpoint occurs in French and a number of other languages. It does not occur in all languages, however, Chinese has a different system. The Chinese perfective morphemes (there are two) convey termination for all non-stative events. The notion of completion is expressed by a set of optional, independent morphemes known as Resultative Verb Complements. The examples illustrate with the perfective morpheme **-le** and an Accomplishment sentence. (202a) does not entail that the event was completed, as (202b) shows:

- (202) a. Wo zuotian xie-le yifeng xin.  
 I yest'day write -LE one CL letter  
 I wrote a letter yesterday.
- b. Wo zuotian xie-le yifeng, keshi mei xie-wan.  
 I yest'day write - LE one CL letter, but not write-finish.  
 I wrote a letter yesterday but didn't finish it.

If the conjunction in (202b) were contradictory, we would conclude that the perfective **-le** necessarily indicates completion. In the absence of the information to the contrary, **-le** often suggests completion. But the suggestion is conversational. Completion is indicated unequivocally by another morpheme: the completive morpheme **-wan**, a Resultative Verb Complement, which may appear in addition to **-le**. (203) illustrates the English translation cannot be made with a simple verb:

- (203) a. Wo zuotian xie-wan-le yifeng xin.  
 I yest'day write -WAN-LE one CL letter.  
 Yesterday I wrote (and finished) a letter.
- b. # Wo zoutian xie-wan-le yifeng xin, keshi mei xie-wan.  
 I yest'day write -LE one CL letter, but not write-finish.  
 I wrote a letter - finished a letter yesterday but didn't finish it.

(203a) entails that the event was completed, as (203b) shows. Resultative Verb Complements in Chinese have lexical content. One might relate them to particles such as **up**, which have a perfective force as in **wash up**, **eat up**).

Furthermore, Smith indicates that the Russian also has perfective morphemes with lexical content. They appear in Activity sentences with the perfective viewpoint. The perfective viewpoint is indicated by the prefixes **po-** and **pro-**. These prefixes are perfective in viewpoint, and give an explicit bound for the Activity event. (204) illustrates, with an Activity verb **began** (run).

- (204) Ivan pobegal dva casa.  
Ivan ran perf two hours.  
Ivan ran for two hours.

The prefixes, known as delimitatives, indicate that an Activity is specifically limited. They also contribute an additional nuance of meaning. **Po-** indicates that the duration of the event is short; **pro-** suggests that the interval is unexpected in some way. The claim that these prefixes are part of the viewpoint system is defended in the discussion of Russian, The delimitative prefixes anchor an Activity to a specific interval of time (Flier 1985:49).

### The parameter of statives and the perfective viewpoint

According to Smith, there are three different relations between statives and the perfective viewpoint in the languages studies here:

- i. The perfective includes changes into and out of a state and thus applies to the stative sentences (French);
- ii. The perfective does not include the endpoints of states, departing from the canonical structure by representing open stative situations (English);
- iii. the perfective does not apply to statives at all (Russian, Chinese, Navajo).

This variation is not a problem for the theory, or for learners of these languages. The child

learns the aspectual system of each.

Smith continues to state that in French, the perfective viewpoint is available for all situation types with a consistent closed interpretation. (205a) is a stative sentence in the **Passé Composé**, one of the perfective past tenses of French. The conjunction in (205b) shows that the situation is presented as closed (205b) is contradictory:

- (205) a. Marie a vécu à Paris.  
 Marie lived in Paris.
- b. # Marie a vécu à Paris et elle y vit encore  
 Marie lived in Paris and she still lives there

The stative cannot have the interpretation that Marie continues to live in Paris as part of the same ongoing state.

### **Punctual presentation and perfective viewpoints**

Smith states that perfective viewpoints tend to present situations as punctual. We conceive of a punctual situation as a simple, closed structure which appears at a point of time. Situations that take a moment, a few minutes or years, can all be presented as punctual as many scholars view time as dense rather than discrete; if this view is correct, there is no smallest unit of time and the notion of a temporal point is essentially subjective and Arbitrary. Not all perfectives are punctual in representation. Duration can be explicitly asserted in sentence with the perfective viewpoint:

- (206) a. The King reigned to thirty years.  
 b. I wrote the sonnet in 5 minutes.

According to Smith, the examples above show that the perfective presentation of a situation is entirely compatible with expressions of durativity. This seems odd only if the properties punctual and durative are in contrast. In fact they do not contrast in the perfective viewpoint. Semantically, the perfective presents events as closed, with no information about duration.

## Imperfective viewpoints

Smith states that imperfective viewpoints present part of a situation, with no information about its endpoints. Thus imperfectives are open informationally. The unmarked imperfective spans an interval that is internal to the situation. This conforms to the general principle that the span of a viewpoint coincides with all or part of the temporal schema of the situation. (207) gives the span of the unmarked imperfective.

(207) General imperfective temporal schema: I... // // // ..F

This skeleton schema conveys the information of imperfective viewpoints. Marked viewpoints span the preliminary stages of events or the resultant stages of telic events.

Furthermore, Smith indicates that the two most common imperfectives are the general imperfective and the progressive. The former focuses intervals of all situation types; the latter applies only to non-statives. The French **Imparfait** exemplifies the general imperfective viewpoint, it is a past tense with imperfective aspectual value. The viewpoint appears with sentences of all situation types with internal stages, as (208) illustrates. The superscript indicates viewpoint:

- (208)
- a. La mer était calme  
The sea was Impf calm (Stative)
  - b. L'enfant pleurait  
The child was crying Impf (Activity)
  - c. Ils bâtissaient une cabine  
They were building Impf a cabin (Accomplishment)

(209) conjoins (208b), an Activity sentence in the **Imparfait**, with an assertion in the **Présent** that the event may still be in progress. The result is reasonable, showing that the viewpoint of the first conjunct is open.

- (209) Ce matin l'enfant pleurait; peut-être qu'il pleure encore  
This morning the child cry Impt; perhaps he is still crying Pres.

The information in the first conjunct would also be consistent with an assertion that the child is no longer crying, of course.

Furthermore, Smith indicates that progressives focus on the internal stages of non-stative events. Dahl (1985:92) in Smith notes that progressives tend to appear in all tenses if a language has tense. In contrast, general imperfectives tend to be limited to past tenses. The English examples illustrates for Activities and Accomplishments, which are both events that have internal stages; (210) a Stative, is ungrammatical:

- (210)      a. Kelly was singing                      [Activity]  
               b. Ross was climbing a tree        [Accomplishment]  
               c. \*Bill was knowing the answer [Stative]

The progressive viewpoint has meaning that do not arise for other types of imperfective. Nuances of activity, dynamism, and vividness are often associated with sentences of this viewpoint. The connotations can be traced to the requirement of non-stative events for the progressive. The stereotypes of such events involve activity and change; the connotation invoke the stereotypes. In contrast, the **Imparfait** appears with all situation types, and lacks the connotation of dynamism typical of the progressive.

According to Smith, imperfective viewpoints do not linguistically present closed situations, although they allow inferences about beginnings and endings. The distinction is brought out by linguistic contexts that involve open or closed readings:

- (211)      a. John was singing when Mary knocked at the door  
               b. \*Herbert was hiding the loot after the telephone rang.

In the examples above, the main clauses are progressive. With the **when-** clause only an open reading is available (211a); with the **after-** clause, which semantically requires a closed main clause, the sentence is ungrammatical (211b). These examples contrast with the sentences of (212), in which the main clauses are perfective and have a closed interpretation. In (212a) the events must be successive, in (212b) they may be successive or overlapping:

- (212) a. John sang when Mary knocked at the door.  
 b. John was happy when Mary knocked at the door.

According to Smith, the Activity main clause (210a) has a closed interpretation only. The main clause in (212b) has both an open Stative and a closed event interpretation. On the Stative reading John was already happy before Mary knocked; the open interpretation is typical of English perfective Statives. On the event reading, which is closed, John became happy at the time of her knock. Closed readings are typical of English perfective non-statives. The two readings depend on whether the verb constellation is taken as stative or as shifted inchoative.

### Marked imperfective viewpoints

Smith continues to discuss imperfective viewpoints that focus on the external stages of a situation, focussing the preliminary and/or the resultative stages of a situation. Such viewpoints are marked. Since they have no internal stages, we would predict that imperfective viewpoints do not apply to instantaneous event. In fact the imperfective is often available for Achievement. Imperfectives present the preliminary stages of the event; there is no suggestion in such presentations that the Achievement actually takes place. English, French, Russian and Navajo have imperfectives of Achievements, whereas Chinese does not. The following are English and Chinese examples, **zai** is the morpheme of the Chinese progressive:

- (213) a. The team was reaching the top  
 b. She was winning the race  
 c. \*Lao Wang zai dao dingfeng  
 Old Wang Zai reach summit  
 Old Wang is reaching the top  
 d. \*Ta zai ying sai pao  
 She Zai win race run  
 She is winning the race.

The temporal schema for the Achievement situation type includes preliminary stages, for languages where the imperfective may focus preliminary stages.

Smith indicates that Resultative imperfective viewpoints present a state that follows the final point of a telic event. More precisely, such viewpoints focus on the interval after the change of state. Resultative occur in Chinese and in English, as the examples illustrates; **-zhe** is the temporal morpheme for one of the Chinese imperfective viewpoints:

- (214) a. Ta zai Chuang Shang tang-zhe  
 he at bed on lie ZHE  
 He is lying on the bed
- b. Men shang xie-zhe si ge zi  
 door on write ZHE 4 CL character  
 Four characters are written on the door.
- c. Your socks were lying on the bed
- d. The statue is standing on the corner.

The English sentences (214c-d) are stative syntactically and semantically, although morphologically indistinguishable from progressives. Resultatives present a state via the event that brings it about: the lexical span of the verb constellation includes a change of state.

Furthermore, Smith states that when transitivity and morphological factors allow, a sentence can be ambiguous between eventive and resultative reading. In the former case, the imperfective or progressive viewpoint focuses on internal interval of the situation; in the latter, an external interval. (215) illustrates for English and Chinese:

- (215) a. John was sitting in the chair
- b. Tianli zhong-zhe huar  
 1 and-in plant-ZHE flower

Both sentences are ambiguous in the same way. On the internal reading, an event is in progress: John is in the process of seating himself, the planting process is going on. On the resultative reading the events have already taken place, and the resulting state is focussed. John is already seated and the flowers are already planted. The resultative is an important pattern in Chinese, and other Asian languages; it is one of the major stative patterns in

Japanese.

## 2.4.2 COMRIE, B. (1976): Perfective and imperfective

### Perfective

According to Comrie (1976:18) a very frequent characterisation of perfectivity is that it indicates a completed action. One should note that the word at issue in this definition is 'completed', not 'complete': despite the formal similarity between the two words, there is an important semantic distinction which turns out to be crucial in discussing aspect. The perfective does indeed denote a complete situation, with beginning, middle, and end. The use of 'completed', however, puts too much emphasis on the termination of the situation, whereas the use of the perfective puts no more emphasis necessarily, on the end of a situation than on any other part of the situation, rather all parts of the situation are presented as a single whole.

Furthermore, Comrie continues to say that indicating the end of a situation is at best only one of the possible meanings of a perfective form, certainly not its defining feature. A perfective form often indicates the completion of a situation when it is explicitly contrasted with an imperfective form: since the imperfective indicates a situation in progress, and since the perfective indicates a situation which has an end, the only new semantic element introduced by the perfective is that of the termination of the situation, as in Russian **on dolgo ugovarival** (lpfv) **menja, no ne ugovoril** (Pfv.) 'He persuaded (lpfv.) Me for a long time, but didn't persuade (Pfv.) me', i.e. 'He spent a long time trying to persuade me, but didn't actually persuade me'.

Comrie states that in many languages that have a distinction between perfective and imperfective forms, the perfective forms of some verbs, in particular of some stative verbs, can in fact be used to indicate the beginning of a situation (ingressive meaning). In Ancient Greek, for instance, the Aorist (perfective past) of the verb **basileuō** 'I reign' can refer to a complete reign, as in **ebasileusa déka et** (I reigned for ten years, had a reign of ten years', but it can also refer to the start of the reign, i.e. **ebasileusa** 'I became king, ascended the throne' versus Imperfect (imperfect past) **ebasileuon** 'I was king'.

Comrie continues to say that in Mandarin Chinese, too, a number of predicates, both adjectives and verbs, that normally refer to a state can have ingressive meaning in the Perfective e.g. to go 'he is tall', ta g o-le (Pfv.) 'He became tall, has become tall'. Clearly, one cannot say that such perfective forms indicate the completion of a situation, when in fact they refer to its inception.

Furthermore, Comrie states that similar to the definition of the perfective in terms of a completed action is its definition as being a resultative, i.e. indicating the successful completion of a situation. It is true that perfective forms of certain individual verbs do effectively indicate the successful completion of a situation, as with Russian **ja ugovoril** (Pfv.) **Ego** versus **ja ugovarival** (Ipfv.) **ego**, which could be rendered into English as 'I succeeded in persuading him' and 'I tried to persuade him'. But resultativity is only one possible type of perfectivity, and the term 'resultative', like the term, 'completed', puts unnecessary emphasis on the final stage of the situation rather than on its totality.

Comrie indicates that we may consider the view that the perfective represents the action pure and simple, without any additional overtones. In effect, this claims that perfectives are the unmarked members of any aspectual opposition based on perfectivity. It should be noted, however, that there are both languages where a perfective is marked (e.g. the Perfective in Slavonic languages), and languages where a perfective is unmarked (e.g. the Past Definite in French, the Aorist in Ancient Greek, Bulgarian, and Georgian). Thus this attempted definition does not give a language - independent definition of perfectivity, even in those languages where it does identify the perfective, but rather because of the functioning of the perfective as the unmarked member of the binary opposition perfective/imperfective.

### **Perfectivity and other aspectual values**

Comrie observes that from the definition of perfectivity given above, it follows that perfectivity involves lack of explicit reference to the internal temporal constituency of a situation, rather than explicitly implying the lack of such internal temporal constituency. Thus it is quite possible for perfective forms to be used for situations that are internally complex, such as those that last for a considerable period of time, or include a number of distinct internal

phases, provided only that the whole of the situation is subsumed as a single whole. Clearly the internal structure of such situations cannot be referred to directly by the choice of a perfective form, since this is precisely what perfective forms cannot indicate, but such reference can be made explicitly by other means such as the following:

1. Lexical meaning of the verb involved,
2. or other aspectual oppositions,
3. or other facets of the context.

### **Imperfective**

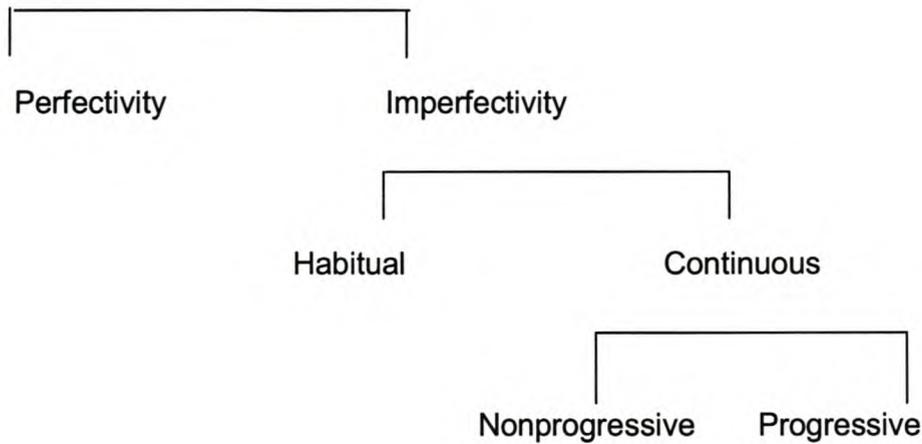
Comrie identifies the following general characterisation of imperfectivity.

- (1) explicit reference to the internal temporal structure of a situation,
- (2) viewing a situation from within; as
- (3) Imperfectivity is not incompatible with perfectivity, and that both can be expressed if the language in question possesses the formal means to do so.

Furthermore, Comrie states that while many languages do have a single category to express imperfectivity, there are other languages where imperfectivity is subdivided into a number of distinct categories, and yet others where there is some category that corresponds to part only of the meaning of imperfectivity. The most typical subdivisions of imperfectivity may be represented as follows:

**Table: Classification of aspectual oppositions**

(216)

**Habitual**

Comrie observes that in some discussions of habituality, it is assumed that habituality is essentially the same as iterativity, i.e. the repetition of a situation, the successive occurrence of several instances of the given situation. This terminology is misleading in two senses. Firstly, the mere repetition of a situation is not sufficient for that situation to be referred to by a specifically habitual (or, indeed, imperfective) form. If a situation is repeated a limited number of times, then all of these instances of the situation can be viewed as a single situation, albeit with internal structure, and referred to by a perfective form. Imagine, for instance, a scene where a lecturer stands up, coughs five times, and then goes on to deliver his lectures. In English, this could be described as follows: **the lecturer stood up, coughed five times, and said ....** It would not be possible to use the specifically habitual form with **used to**, i.e. not **\*the lecturer stood up, used to cough five times, and said.**

Secondly, a situation can be referred to by a habitual form without there being any iterativity at all. In a sentence like **the Temple of Diana used to stand at Ephesus**, there is no necessary implication that there were several occasions on each of which this temple stood at Ephesus, with intervening periods when it did not; with this particular sentence, the natural interpretation is precisely that the temple stood at Ephesus throughout a certain single period, without intermission.

According to Comrie, the feature that is common to all habituais, whether or not they are also iterative, is that they describe a situation which is characteristic of an extended period of time, so extended in fact that the situation referred to is viewed not as an incidental property of the moment but, precisely, as a characteristic feature of a whole period. If the individual situation is none that can be protracted indefinitely in time, then there is no need for iterativity to be involved (as in **the Temple of Diana used to stand at Ephesus**), though equally it is not excluded (as in **the policeman used to stand at the corner for two hours each day**). If the situation is one that cannot be protracted, then the only reasonable interpretation will involve iterativity (as in the old **professor used always to arrive late**).

Furthermore, Comrie states that the problem of just what constitutes a characteristic feature of an extended period of time, rather than an accidental situation, conceptual, rather than linguistic, as can be illustrated using the example **Sally used to throw stones at my window in the morning**; clearly if she threw stones two or three times only, the sentence is inappropriate, while it is appropriate if over a period of several years she threw stones at my window every morning; but between these two extremes, it is more difficult to determine precisely how often, and with what degree of regularity (for surely a few mornings could pass without the stones), Sally would have to throw stones to make this an appropriate utterance. In other words, once we have decided that something constitutes a characteristic situation, we are free to use an explicitly habitual form to describe it, but the decision that a situation is characteristic is not in itself linguistic.

### **Habitual and other aspectual values**

Comrie observes that since any situation that can be protracted sufficiently in time or that can be iterated a sufficient number of times over a long enough period - and this means, in effect, almost any situation - can be expressed as a habitual, it follows that habituality is in principle combinable with various other semantic aspectual values, namely those appropriate to the kind of situation that is prolonged or iterated. If the formal structure of the language permits combination of the overt markers of these various semantic aspectual values, then we can have forms that give overt expression both to habituality and to some other aspectual value. In English, for instance, the habitual Aspect (**used to** construction) can combine freely with Progressive Aspect, to give such form as **used to be playing**.

Comrie makes a distinction between Progressive and non-Progressive in the following sentences:

- (217) a. When I visit John, he'll recite his latest poems  
b. When I visit John, he'll be reciting his latest poems.

In the (217a) sentence, with the non-Progressive verb **will recite** in the main clause, the implication is that John's recital will occur after my arrival at his house, whereas in the (217b) sentence the implication is that his recital will have started before my arrival, and will continue for at least part of the time that I am there. In this case Progressive indicates a situation (John's reciting his latest poems) that frames another situation (my arrival), while the non-Progressive excludes this interpretation. If we now put these same sentences into the Habitual Aspect, then precisely the same difference between Progressive and non-Progressive remains: (a) when I **visited John, he used to recite his latest poems**, indicating that on each occasion I went to John's, and only then did the poetry recital start, versus (b) **when I visited John, he used to be reciting his latest poems**, which implies that on each occasion I visited John and he was already engaged in reciting his poetry.

### Progressive

Comrie explains the difference between progressiveness and imperfectivity. Firstly, imperfectivity includes as a special case habituality, and a situation can be viewed as habitual without its being viewed as progressive, as with the English non-Progressive habitual in **John used to write poems** (contrasting with the Progressive **John used to be writing poems**). In this respect, progressiveness is similar to continuousness, which is definable as imperfectivity that is not occasioned by habituality. As examples like **John used to be writing poems** show, progressiveness is not incompatible with habituality: a given situation can be viewed both as habitual, and as progressive, i.e. each individual occurrence of the situation is presented as being progressive, and the sum total of all these occurrences is presented as being habitual (the habitual of a progressive). However, habituality on its own is not sufficient to require or allow the use of specifically progressive forms. In a language where progressive and non-progressive forms are not distinguished, or are not distinguished obligatorily, such as

French, then the non-progressive imperfective forms will clearly have wider range than does the English non-Progressive.

Just as habituality does not determine progressiveness, so equally progressiveness does not determine habituality, i.e. a situation can be viewed as progressive without being viewed as habitual, as in **John was writing a poem at five o'clock on the fifth of June 1975 A.D.** (not **\*John used to write/used to be writing a poem at five o'clock on the fifth of June 1975 A.D.**, since the specification of the one occasion on which the situation took place excludes the possibility of habitual meaning).

One might still conclude, however that progressiveness is the same as continuousness, since continuousness is itself imperfectivity not determined by habituality.

In conclusion, Comrie states that thus we can give the general definition of progressiveness as the combination of progressive meaning and nonstative meaning. Naturally, then, stative verbs do not have progressive forms, since this would involve an internal contradiction between the stativity of the verb and the nonstativity essential to the progressive. Given this characterisation of the progressive, one might expect different languages with progressive forms to agree on when these progressive forms can be used. Unfortunately, this is not the situation that we actually observe, since different languages in fact have different rules for determining when explicitly progressive forms can be used.

### **2.4.3 ASPECT IN XITSONGA**

Aspect may be expressed in various ways in Xitsonga. Firstly, attention will focus on the category aspect within an aspect phrase in the inflectional phrase. Such reference to aspect include the perfective and imperfective viewpoints. Secondly, some aspectual morphemes will be considered which mostly indicate duration, and lastly, the issue of the resultative will be considered.

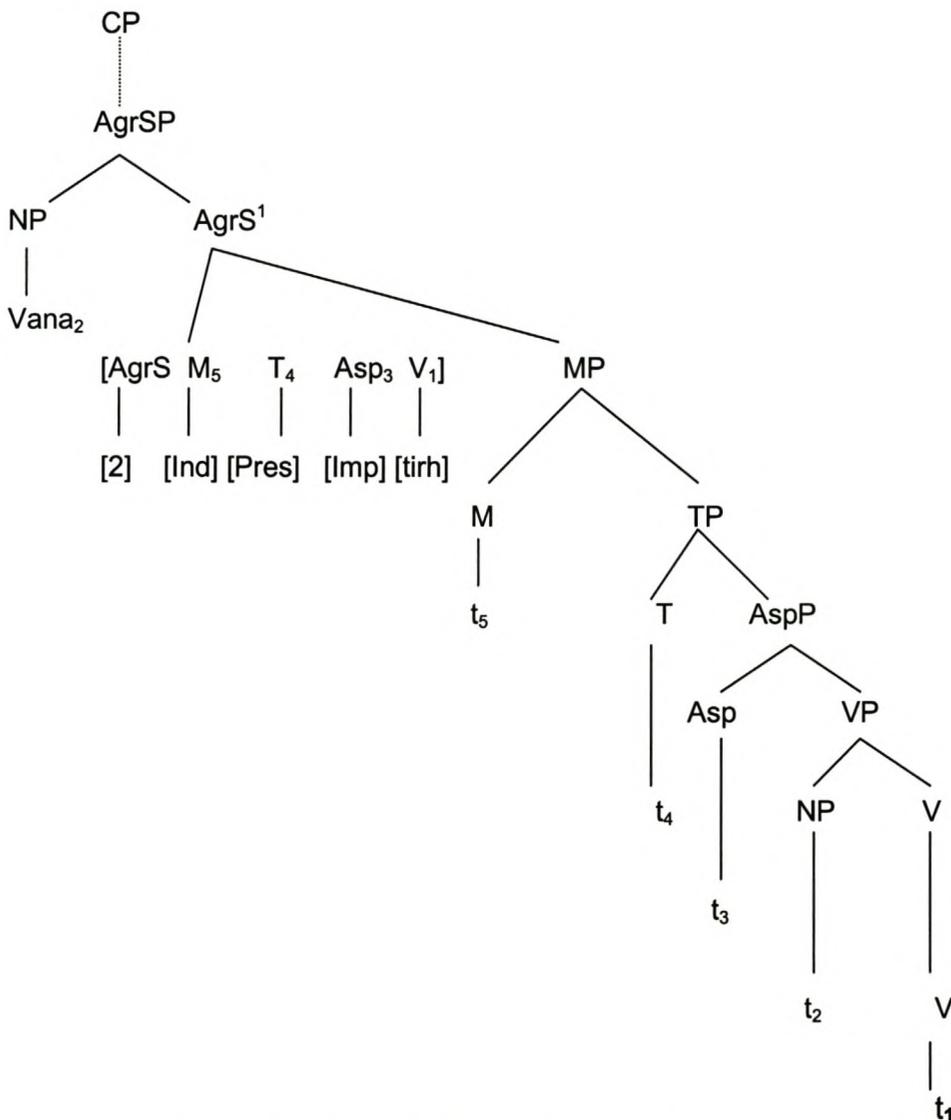
#### **2.4.3.1 Perfective and imperfective**

Aspectual connotations may be inflectional in Xitsonga. Such aspectual meanings may

appear in three verbal forms i.e. Indicative, Relative and Dependent mood. These verbal forms are inflectional in nature and they are dependant on syntax. The perfective and imperfective aspect appear within an Inflectional phrase as an inflectional category, i.e. aspect. This functional category appears as the head of an Aspect Phrase (ASP) together with other functional categories such as agreement, tense and mood. A clause such as the following may then appear in the structure below:

(218) a. Vana va-tirha

a. **Structure**



The clause above has a complementizer phrase (CP) which is a clausal constituent. The second clausal constituent is an IP (Inflectional phrase) which split into different functional

heads: agreement, mood, tense and aspect. The VP above is a phrasal constituent. This structure has the following categories:

- AgrS** : subjectival agreement of class 2  
**Ind** : Indicative mood with trace [t<sub>5</sub>]  
**T** : Present Tense with trace [t<sub>4</sub>]  
**Asp** : Imperfective aspect with trace [t<sub>3</sub>]

Lexical categories:

- N** : noun **vana** with trace [t<sub>2</sub>]  
**V** : verb **tirha** with trace [t<sub>1</sub>]

The tense may be changed to a Perfect tense: Vana va-tirhile.

In such a case the category T (tense) above will be Perfect Tense and the category Asp will be perfect.

### **Imperfective with an Indicative and Relative clause**

#### (i) **Present tense**

##### **Indicative**

(219) [Vana va-rila]

(The children are crying)

##### **Relative**

(220) [Vana lava rilaka] va feyirile

(The children who are crying have failed)

The two sentences in (219) and (220) above, are in the Indicative and Relative mood respectively. They are in the Present tense. The aspect is Imperfective that shows incomplete action which has no endpoint and which is open. It thus includes reference to the terms continuous or progressive, i.e. the action of crying is happening. In other words, the action of crying is still continuing and it is not complete. Hence we say that the aspect of the two sentences in (219) and (220) is imperfective and incomplete.

**(ii) Future tense****Indicative**

(221) [Vana va ta rila]

(The children will cry)

**Relative**

(222) [Vana lava nga ta rila] va ta biwa

(The children who will cry will be beaten)

Sentences (221) and (222) above are in the Indicative and relative mood respectively. They are in the future tense. The same could be said about these sentences. There is no indication as to whether the “children” will finish crying. The aspect of these two sentences in (221) and (222) above is imperfective and have no endpoint.

**(iii) A-past tense with verb ending on [-a]****Indicative**

(223) [Vana a-va-rila]

(The were crying)

**Relative**

(224) [Vana lava a va rila] va feyirile

(The children who were crying have failed)

Sentences (223) and (224) are in the Indicative and Relative mood respectively. They are in the A-past tense. There is no indication in the two sentences as to whether the “children” did finish crying. The aspect of these two sentences in (223) and (224) above is imperfective and have no endpoint. The A-past in this case has a morpheme [a] which refers to a past time. The verb stem ends on [-a] which indicates an imperfective aspect, i.e. such a tense may also be referred to as an imperfective past.

**Imperfective with a dependent clause**

Two types of dependent clauses will be investigated below i.e. simultaneous clauses and compound tenses.

**Simultaneity with a present tense**

- (225) Ndzi-famba [ndzi-dya]  
(I walk whilst I eat)

The verb in brackets above in (225) has a present form of the dependent mood. This verb does not indicate time but only aspect. The first verb **ndzi famba** has a Present tense of the Indicative mood and as such it indicates time and aspect i.e. a present time and an imperfective aspect. The second verb **ndzi-dya** does not indicate time but it inherits the present time from the first verb because these two actions of walking and eating take place at the same time, i.e. simultaneously. This second verb only indicates aspect on its own and this is the imperfect aspect which refers to an action or event which has not been completed i.e. one with no endpoint.

- (226) Ndzi-gongondza [ndzi-nghena]  
(I knock and enter)

The actions of knocking and entering occur at the same time but no indication of the completion of the actions is shown. The aspect of both sentences are imperfective and incomplete.

**Complement of va**

- (227) a. U-va [a-tirha]  
(He is working)  
e. \* U-ve [a-tirha]  
(He has working)  
f. A-a-va [a-tirha]  
(He was working)

The complement of the deficient verb **va** in (227) above is also in the present of the dependent mood as in (224) and (225) above. This deficient verb **va** may appear in the so-called compound tenses. In the case of (227) above the interpretation of the two clauses **u-**

**va** and **a-tirha** is exactly the same which has been offered in (224) above i.e. the clause **u-va** gives a present time and an imperfective aspect while the clause **a-tirha** will only allow an imperfective aspect but it will inherit the present time from the first clause.

The sentence (227b) is ungrammatical. In the case of sentence (227c): the first clause has an interpretation of past time with an imperfective aspect, i.e. [a-a-va]. This reference to a past time is inherited by the second clause [a-tirha] because these two clauses appear simultaneously in time. The second clause [a-tirha] will not refer to past time by itself, but it will only have an imperfect aspect.

## Perfective

The terms perfective or completion refer to events which have initial and final endpoints. They refer to terminated, closed or completed events. The perfective aspect appears in the following instances in Xitsonga: the perfect tense of the Indicative and Relative clause, the A-Past tense with a verbal suffix [-ile] as well as perfective with dependent clauses.

### Perfective with an Indicative and Relative clause

#### (i) Perfect tense

##### Indicative

(228) [Vana va-ririle]

(Children have cried)

##### Relative

(229) [Vana lava rileke] va feyirile.

(Children who cried have failed)

Sentences (228) and (229) are in the Indicative and the Relative mood. They are also in the perfect tense. These sentences present a situation in its entirety, that is the initial as well as the endpoint. The presence of suffix **-ile** on the verb makes the process of crying complete. The aspect of the two sentences in (228) and 229) above is perfective and complete. The same can be said of sentences (230) and (231) below:

(ii) **A-Past tense****Indicative**

- (230) [Vana a-va-ririle]  
 (Children cried)

**Relative**

- (231) [Vana lava a-va-ririle] va feyirile.  
 (Children who cried have failed)

The above sentences in (230) and (231) presents a completed event and their aspect is perfective.

The a-past tense in this case has reference to past time because of the presence of the morpheme [a-] as well as a perfective aspect because of the presence of the perfective suffix [-ile] on the verb.

**Perfective with dependent clause****Simultaneous clauses**

- (232) Ndzi-fambile [ndzi-dyile]  
 (I left having eaten)

The verb in brackets in (232) has a perfect form of the dependent mood. The first verb **ndzi-fambile** has a perfect tense of the Indicative mood and it indicates time and aspect i.e. a past time and a perfect aspect. The second verb **ndzi-dyile** inherits the perfect time from the first verb because these two actions of walking and eating take place at the same time i.e. simultaneously. This second verb only indicates aspect on its own and this is the perfect aspect which refers to an action or event which has been completed i.e. one with an endpoint.

- (233) Ndzi-dyile [ndzi tirhile]  
 (I ate while having finished to work).

The above processes, that of eating and walking take place at the same time and the

presence of the perfect tense suffix **-ile** makes the sentence to have a perfective aspect and to be completed, i.e. both the eating and the working have final endpoints.

### Compound tense with **va**

- (234) a. U- va [a-tirhile]  
(He has worked)  
b. U-ve [a-tirhile]  
(He had worked)

- (235) A-a-va [a-tirhile]  
(He did work)

The verb in brackets above in (234) has a perfect form of the dependent mood. The presence of a perfect tense suffix **-ile** makes the sentence to have a perfective aspect and these sentences inherit their time from **va**.

### 2.4.3.2 Aspectual morphemes

These aspectual morphemes below indicate duration, i.e. the time during which something exists, lasts or continues.

The morpheme **se**:

- (a) Indicative: Positive

- (i) Present tense

- (236) a. [Se-ndza tlang-a]  
(Now I am playing)                      b. [Se-va-dy-a timanga]  
(Now they eat nuts)

(ii) Past tense

(237) [A-se-ndzi-dy-a]  
[Se-a-ndzi-dy-a]  
(I was eating then)

(238) [A-se-ndzi-het-ile]  
[Se-a-ndzi-het-ile]  
(I had finished)

(iii) Future tense

(239) [Se-ndzi-ta-von-a]  
(Now I will see)

(iv) Perfect tense

(240) [Se-ndzi-von-ile]  
(Now I have seen)

(b) Indicative: Negative

(i) Present tense

(241)	a.	[A-ndzi-se-famb-a] [A-ndzi-si]-famb-a] (I am not yet gone)	b.	[A-va-se-dy-a timanga] [A-va-si-dy-a timanga] (They have not yet eaten nuts)
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(ii) Past tense

(242) a [A-ndzi-nga-se-dy-a]  
[A-a-se-ndzi-nga-dy-i]  
(I had not yet eaten)

- b. [A-a-se-ndzi-nga-het-anga]  
 Se-a-ndzi-nga-het-anga  
 (I had not yet finished)

(iii) Future tense

- (243) [Se-ndzi-nge-von-i]  
 [Se-a-ndzi-nga-von-i]  
 [Se-a-ndzi-nga-ta-von-a]  
 (Now I shall not see)

(iv) Perfect tense

- (244) [Se-a-ndzi-vonanga/-angi]  
 (Now I have not seen)

c. Relative: Positive

(i) Present tense

- (245) I vanhu [lava [se-va-tirh-a-ka]  
 (It is the people who are working now)

(ii) Past tense

- (246) a. I vanhu [lava [se-a-va-ril-a]]  
 (It is the people who were crying)  
 b. I vanhu [lava [a-a-se-va-dy-a]]  
 (It is the people who then ate)  
 c. I vanhu [lava [a-se-va-dy-ile]]  
 (It is the people who had eaten)  
 d. I vanhu [lava [a--se-va-dy-ile]]  
 (It is the people who had then eaten)

(iii) Future tense

- (247) I mufana [loyi [se-a-nga-ta-tsham-a]  
I mufana [la [se-a-nga-ta-tshama]]  
(I is the boy who will now stay)

(iv) Perfect tense

- (248) I vanhu [lava [se-va-dy-e-ke]]  
(It is the people who have eaten now)

(d) Relative: Negative

(i) Present tense

- (249) a. I vanhu [lava [se-va-nga-tirh-i-ki]]  
(It is the people who do not work)  
b. (I vafana [lava [va-nga-se-tirh-a-ka]]  
(It is the boys who do not work yet)

(ii) Past tense

- (250) a. I vanhu [lava [se-a-va-nga-ril-i]]  
I vanhu [lava [a-va-nga-se-dy-a]]  
(It is the people who were not crying)  
b. I vanhu [lava [se a va nga dy-angi]]  
(It is the people who did not eat)

(iii) Future tense

- (251) I mufana [loyi [a-nga-ta-ka] [a-nga-se-tsham-a]]  
I mufana [loyi [se-a-nga-ta-ka] [a-nga-tsham-i]]

I mufana [loyi [se-a-nge-tsham-i]]

(It is the boy who will not stay)

(iv) Perfect tense

(252) I vanhu [lava [se-va-nga-dy-i-ki]]

(It is the people who have not eaten yet)

### The position of [se] within a verb

The inceptive **se** can occupy three positions before the verb according to the different tenses, i.e. first, third and sixth position. It occupies the first position, if it occurs in the present, future and perfect tenses in both positive and negative constructions:

(a) **Positive**

(i) Present tense

(253) [Se-ndz-a-dy-a]

(Now I eat)

(ii) Future tense

(254) [Se-ndzi-ta-dy-a]

(Now I shall eat)

(iii) Perfect tense

(255) [Se-ndzi-dy-ile]

(Now I have eaten)

(b) **Negative**

(i) Present tense

(256) [Se-a-ndzi-dy-i]

(Now I don't eat)

(ii) Future tense

(257) [Se-a-ndzi-nga-dy-i]

(Now I shall not eat)

(iii) Perfect tense

(258) [Se-a-ndzi-dy-anga]

(Now I haven't eaten)

In the past tense, the inceptive **se** can occupy both first and third positions. In the first position it appears before the **A-past** tense morpheme and in the third position it appears after the **A-past** tense morpheme in the positive.

- (259) a. [Se-a-ndzi-dy-a]  
(I was eating then)
- b. [A-se-ndzi-dy-a]  
(I was eating then)

The inceptive **se** changes its positions in the negative construction of the past tense from the first position to the third position.

- (260) a. [**Se**-a-ndzi-nga-dy-i]  
(I was not eating then)
- b. [A-**se**-ndzi-nga-dy-i]  
(I was not eating then)

If the inceptive **se** occupies the third position, it must appear with negative **nga** in the construction with the **A-past** tense morpheme before inceptive **se**. In the positive of the past tense, the inceptive **se** occupies the third position i.e. after **A-past** tense morpheme.

- (261) [A-**se**-ndzi-dy-a]  
(I was eating then)

The inceptive **se** occupies the sixth position only in the negative of the past tense, as in the following example:

- (262) [A-ndzi-nga-**se**-famb-a]  
(I was not yet gone)

### The meaning of [se]:

In general, the morpheme **se** expresses duration, as indicated above, i.e. a duration of time which refers to an action or event which takes place by or before now or a particular time.

**[Se]** with a present tense:

- (263)        Se-ndz-a-tlang-a  
              (Now I am playing)

The duration of time in (263) above refers to an action of playing which takes place by now or a particular time, i.e. it has not taken place up till now.

Future tense:

- (264)        Se-ndzi-ta-von-a  
              (Now I will see)

In (264) above [se] with a Future tense refers to an action of seeing which will take by now or a particular time.

Perfect tense:

- (265)        Se-ndzi-von-ile  
              (Now I have seen)

As above, the duration of time refers to an action of seeing which has already taken place by now or a particular time.

**[se]** with the **A-past** tense:

- (266)        A-se-ndzi-dy-a  
              (I was eating then)

In this case, [se] with the A-past tense refers to an action of eating which took place before now or a particular time.

**Morpheme [-aha-]**

## Distribution

The morpheme **aha** can occur in the following instances:

(a) Indicative : Positive

(i) Present tense

The morpheme **aha** coalesces with the subjectival agreement morpheme.

[ndzi-aha] → [ndza-ha-]

(267) a. [Ndza-ha-famba]

(I am still going)

b. [N'wana wa-ha-famba]

(The child is still going)

In the present tense the progressive [-aha-] appears after the subjectival agreement before the verb.

(ii) Future tense

(268) a. [Ndzi-ta-ha-famba]

[Ndza-ha-ta-famba]

(I will still be going)

b. [N'wana u-ta-ha-famba]

[N'wana wa-ha-ta-famba]

(The child will still be going)

The morpheme **aha** can either appear as [-ha] as in sentence (268a) or as [-aha-] in sentence (268b) above.

(iii) Perfect tense

The morpheme [-aha-] can only appear with the perfect tense morpheme [-ile] if the reference

is to resultative i.e. with stative verbs as in sentences below:

- (269) a. [Nyama yi borile]  
(The meat is rotten)
- b. [Homu yi nonile]  
(The cow is lean)

(iv) The A-past tense

with [-a]:

- (270) a. [Vana a-va-ha-dya]  
(The children were still eating)
- b. [A ndza-ha-tsala]  
(I was still writing)

with [ile]:

- (271) a. [Tihomu a ta ha nonile]  
(The cattle were still fat)
- b. [Huku a ya-ha-ondzile]  
(The chicken was still lean)

Indicative : Negative

(i) Present tense

- (272) a. [A ndza ha fambi]  
(I am not longer going)
- b. [N'wana-a-nga-ha-fambi]  
(The child is no longer going)

The negative form is formed by affixing the suffix -i on the verb as in sentences (272a) and (272b) above.

(ii) Future tense

- (273) a. [A ndzi nge he fambi]
- b. [A ndzi nga ha fambi]  
(I will no longer go)

It should be noted in (273a) above that when the negative future tense morpheme **nge** is used, the morpheme **he** is used as in (273b) whilst the negative future tense **nga** precedes morpheme **ha**.



(iii) Perfect tense

(278) [A-ndz-a-ha-dy-ile]

(I had eaten)

Negative

(i) Present tense

(279) [A-ndz-a-ha-dy-i]

(I no more eat)

(ii) Past tense

(280) [A-a-nga-ha-dy-i]

(He was no more eating)

(iii) Perfect tense

(281) [A ndz-a-ha-von-anga]

(I have not seen any more)

The progressive **ha** occupies the eighth position if it is used in the future tense in both positive and negative formation.

Positive

(282) [Ndzi-ta-**ha**-dy-a]

(I shall still eat)

Negative

(283) [A-ndzi-nga-ta-**ha**-dy-a]

(I shall no more eat)

### The meaning of [-aha-]

The morpheme [-aha-] refers to an action which takes place up to the present and at this moment. Thus, it refers to an ongoing process.

### The morpheme o/lo

The exclusive **O** is suffixed to the subject concord in the present and past tense in both positive and negative constructions:

#### Present tense

(284) [Ndzo-rima]  
'I just plough'

#### Past tense

(285) [A-ndzo-rima]  
'I ploughed'

In both the present and past tense the subject concord can take the ending **-O**. In future tense the exclusive **-o** is suffixed to **ta**, i.e., **ta +o > to**, e.g.:

(286) [Ndzi-to rima]  
'I shall just plough'

In other instances, the exclusive **lo** can occur in the present tense and past tense only. It appears after the subject concord and always next to the verb.

### Meaning

The exclusive formative **-o** is used to indicate that the subject of the predicate performs the action indicated by the verb to the exclusion of any other action, e.g.:

(287) 1st person: [Ndzo-rhunga]  
          'I just sew'

2<sup>nd</sup> person: [Wo-rhunga]

Class 1: [O-rhunga]

Class 2: [Vo-rhunga]

Class 3: [Wo-rhunga]

Class 4: [Yo-rhunga]

Note that **lo** is a formative, used with the present tense but yielding the meaning of the perfect tense, e.g.:

(288) [U-lo-wa]  
          'He fell'

The exclusive **–o** is suffixed to the subject concord in the present and past tense in the positive construction:

Present tense

(289) a. [Ndzo-cina]  
          (I just dance)

Past tense

b. [A-ndzo-rila]  
      (I cried)

The exclusive **lo** can appear in the present and past tense only. It appears after the subject concord, immediately next to the verb.

## Distribution

The exclusive **o/lo** appears in the following instances:

**(a) Positive indicative****(i) Present tense**

There are two forms of the present tense, i.e. the long form and the short form:

**Long form**

- |          |              |    |               |
|----------|--------------|----|---------------|
| (290) a. | [Ndzo-dya]   | b. | [Ndzi-lo-dya] |
|          | (I just eat) |    | (I just eat)  |

**Short form**

- |          |                         |    |                           |
|----------|-------------------------|----|---------------------------|
| (291) a. | [Ndzo-rima] nsimu       | b. | [Ndzi-lo-byala] miroho    |
|          | (I just plough a field) |    | (I just plant vegetables) |

In the present tense of both long and short forms, **o** is suffixed to the subject concord, i.e. **Ndzi + o > ndzo** as in (291a). In (291b) exclusive **lo** can appear after the subject concord, immediately before the verb.

**(ii) Past tense**

- |          |                        |    |                    |
|----------|------------------------|----|--------------------|
| (292) a. | [A-ndzo-rima]          | b. | [A-ndzi-lo-rivala] |
|          | (I just only ploughed) |    | (I just forgot)    |
| c.       | Malume [a-a lo-tshama] |    |                    |
|          | (Uncle just sat)       |    |                    |

Just as in the present tense, the exclusive **o** is suffixed to the subject concord as **ndzo**, as in (291). The past tense can also be formed by the appearance of the exclusive **lo** between the

subject concord, i.e. **ndzi** and the verb **rivala**.

Note that the verb does not change its form if it occurs with the exclusive **o/lo**.

**(iii) Future tense**

(293) [Ndzi-to-dya]  
(I shall just eat)

In the future tense, the exclusive **o** is suffixed to **ta**, i.e. **ta + o > to**. This element **to** always occurs immediately after the subject concord next to the verb. Note that the verb does not change its form when the exclusive formative is used in the predicate.

**(b) Negative: indicative**

**(i) Present tense**

The present tense of the negative indicative with the exclusive **o/lo** has the negative morpheme **a** in both the long and short forms. In some cases it takes the negative **nga** which appears before the exclusive **o**. The exclusive **o/lo** always appears next to the verb, as in (294).

(294) a.	[A-ndzi-lo-dya] (I have not eaten)	b.	[A-nga-lo-muka] (He has not gone home)
----------	---------------------------------------	----	---

**(ii) Past tense**

(295) [A-a-ndzi-nga-lo-famba]  
(I was not gone)

Here the **A**-past tense morpheme is employed which appears at the beginning of the construction as well as the negative **nga** morpheme which occurs after the subject concord and next exclusive **lo**. The exclusive **lo** always appears next to the verb, which does not

change its formation.

**(iii) Future tense**

- (296) a. [A-ndzi-nga-to-dya]  
(I shall not eat)
- b. [A-ndzi-to-hlakula]  
(I shall not hoe)

Note that the future tense formative **ta** is retained and that the verb does not end in **-i**. This **to** can either be used with the potential **nga** or it can appear in the negative indicative construction.

- (c) Exclusive **o/lo**: Relative: Positive

**(i) Present tense**

- (297) I vanhu [lava [vo-dya]]  
(It is the people who eat)

The exclusive **o/lo** appears in the positive. It cannot appear on its own in the construction but has to appear with **va**, i.e. **va + o > vo**. It occurs always directly next to the verb.

**(ii) Past tense**

- (298) I malume [loyi [a-a-lo-tshama]]  
(It is uncle who sat)

The exclusive **o/lo** can appear with a relative in the past tense, after the **A-** past tense morpheme.

**(iii) Future tense**

- (299) a. I Munhu [loyi [a-nga-to-fa]]
- b. I munhu [la[nga-to-fa]]  
(It is the person who will die)





**nga.** The latter must appear next to the future tense morpheme **ta** which is suffixed by the exclusive **o** to form **to**. The morpheme **to** always appears next to the verb. The negative is formed by the negative **a** which occurs after the inceptive **se** and before the subject concord.

**(f) With objectival agreement**

- (306) a. [Ndzo-n'wi-ba]  
(I hit him)
- b. [Ndzi-lo-n'wi-ba]  
(I just hit him)

The exclusive morpheme **o/lo** can appear with the objectival agreement morpheme **n'wi**, as in (305). This objectival agreement appears after the exclusive **o/lo**, immediately before the verb. In this case the verb does not change its form.

**(g) With Reflexive**

The exclusive morpheme **o/lo** can appear with the reflexive **ti-** where it appears before the reflexive morpheme **ti-** and is prefixed to the verb, as in (307).

- (307) a. [Ndzo-ti-ba]  
(I hit myself)
- b. [Ndzi-lo-ti-luma]  
(I just bite myself)

The exclusive morpheme **o/lo** always appears next to the reflexive morpheme **ti-**.

**(h) With Progressive ha**

The exclusive **o/lo** and the progressive **ha** can only appear in the positive indicative. These elements can only appear in the present and past tense.

**(i) Present tense**

- (308) [Ndzi-ha-lo-tshama]  
(I am still sitting)

The exclusive **lo** occurs after the progressive **ha** and before the verb. The progressive **ha** appears after the subject concord.

(ii) **Past tense**

(309) [A-ndza-ha-lo-tshama]  
(I was still sitting)

The exclusive **lo** occurs with the progressive **ha** in forming the past tense. The past tense is formed by the **A-** past tense morpheme which appears at the beginning of the construction. It is immediately followed by the subject concord. The progressive **ha** occurs before the exclusive **lo** which appears before the verb.

**2.4.3.3. Aspect and the deficient verb**

See chapter 5 for the role of the deficient verb in the expression of aspect in Xitsonga.

## CHAPTER 3: SYNTACTIC STRUCTURE AND THE DEFICIENT VERB

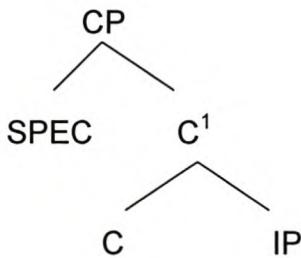
### 3.1 Aim

This section will explore the syntactic structures with the deficient verbs with specific attention on the clausal complement, the argument structure, the selection of moods as well as the possible syntactic consequence of lexical derivation with deficient verbs.

### 3.2 Phrase structure of Xitsonga

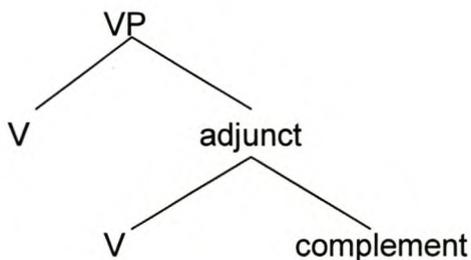
When discussing the structure of functional phrases, Du Plessis (1996 : 29 ) states that the clausal constituents are IP and CP. These are categories dominated by the functional heads: IP (Inflection phrase) is dominated by C (complementizer). C introduces a sentence i.e. an IP. Thus C select an IP compliment. Thus CP and IP are functional projections and C and I projections of a functional head.

(310)



Phrasal constituents on the other hand have lexical items such as N (noun), V (verb) etc as heads. Such phrasal constituents are: NP, VP, AP, PP where N, V, A, P respectively are the heads or zero level projection.

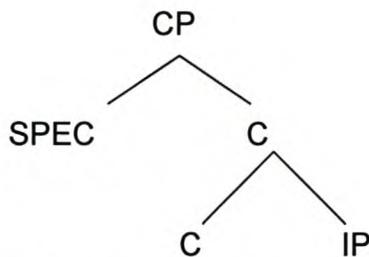
(311)



## COMPLEMENTIZER PHRASE (CP)

According to Du Plessis (1996 : 30) the complementizer phrase (CP) refers to a sentence or clause. The head of CP is a complementizer (C). The contents of the complementizer may be [+Q] (Q=question where [+Q] refers to an interrogative sentence and [-Q] to a statement. C may also refer to complementizer **leswaku**. The sister of C is an Inflectional phrase (IP) which may consist of the following functional categories: subject agreement (AgrS), object agreement (AgrO), tense phrase (TP), aspect phrase (AspP) and a negative phrase (NegP).

(312)



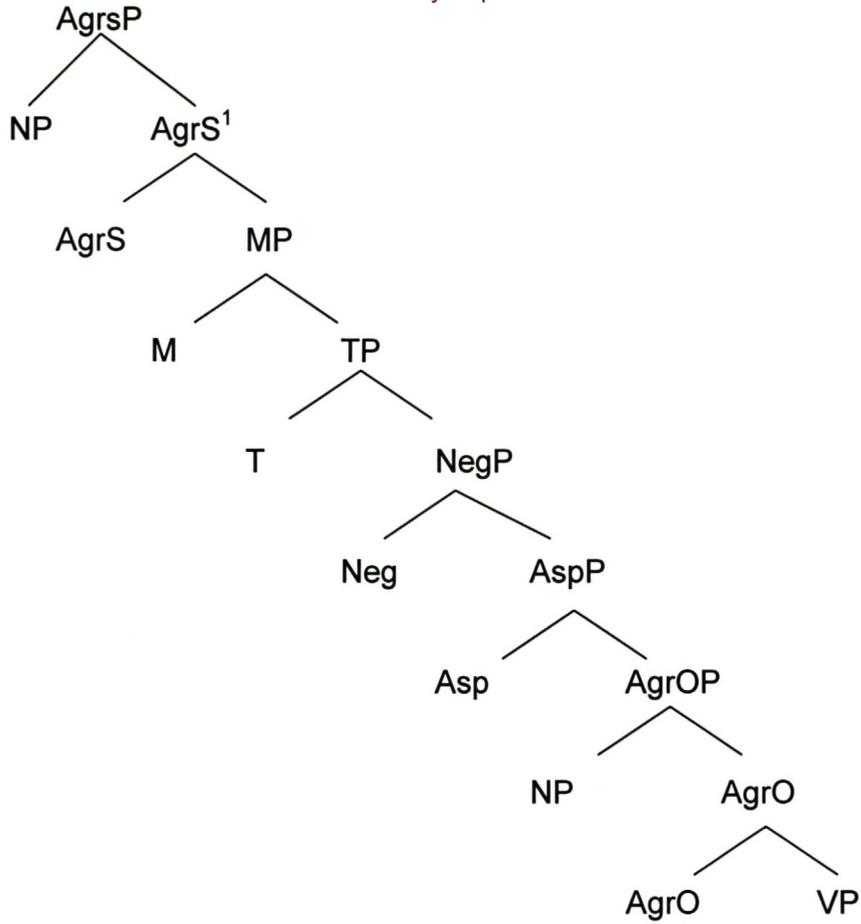
The specifier of C allows for movement of various interrogative elements to this position, either in syntax or LF.

## INFLECTION PHRASE (IP)

Du Plessis (1996:30) states that the inflectional phrase may consist of the following categories: mood, subjectival agreement, tense, negative, and aspect. Each of these categories may have a maximal projection indicated as e.g TP for tense phrase. These inflectional categories have to move towards each other with the lexical categories under VP to attain coherence of the surface structure verb.

These functional categories may appear in the structure such as the following:

(313)



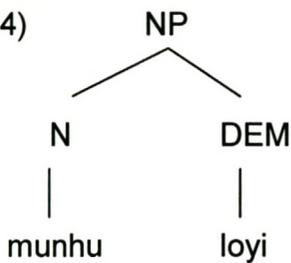
**THE STRUCTURE OF LEXICAL PHRASES**

**NOUN PHRASE [NP]**

All the noun phrases below appear with a noun as head. These nouns may appear with various nominal modifiers as complements:

**DEMONSTRATIVE [DEM]**

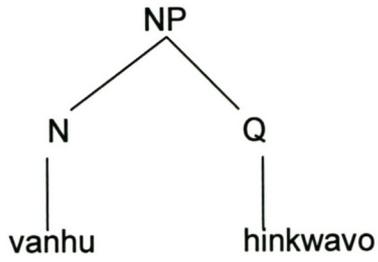
(314)



munhu loyi  
(this person)

**QUANTIFIER**

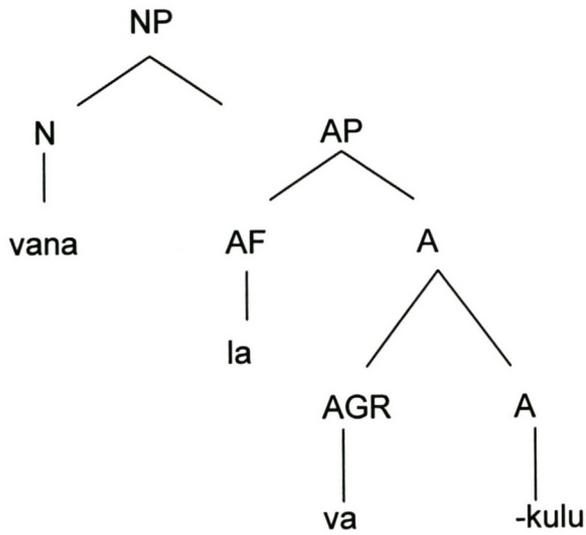
(315)



vanhu hinkwavo  
(all people)

**ADJECTIVAL PHRASE [AP]**

(316)

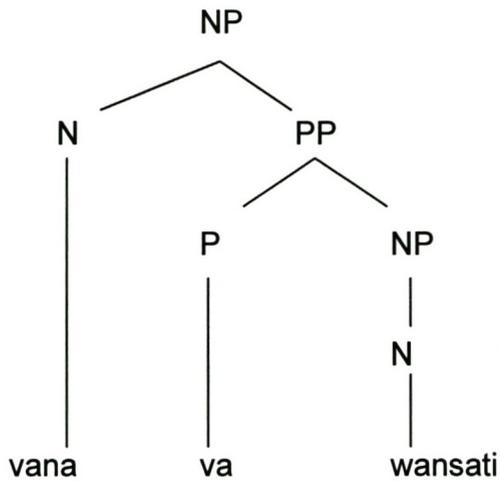


vana lavakulu  
(the big children)

**PREPOSITIONAL PHRASE [PP]**

(i) Possessive

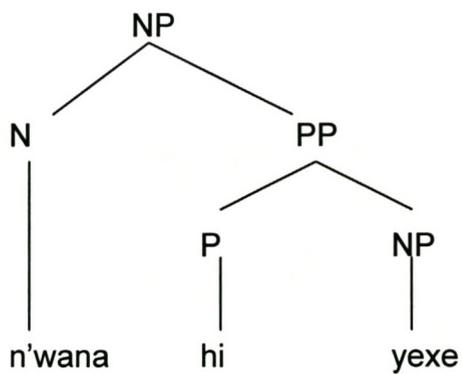
(317)



vana va wansati  
(children of a woman)

(j) Reflexive emphasiser

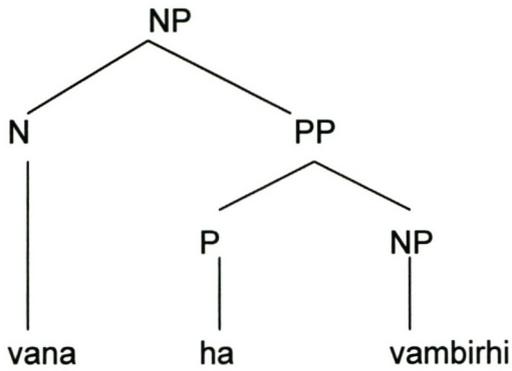
(318)



n'wana hi yexe  
(the child by himself/herself)

(k) **Inclusive quantifier**

(319)

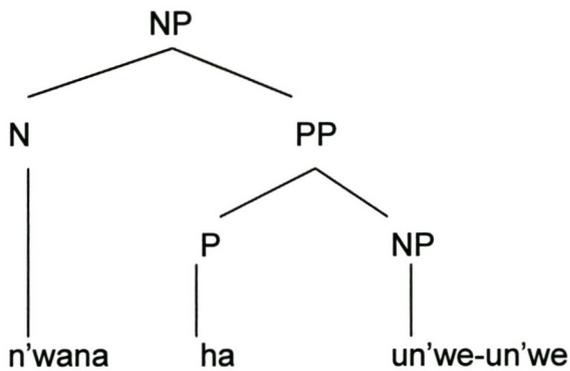


vana havambirhi

(both children)

l. **Emphasiser**

(320)

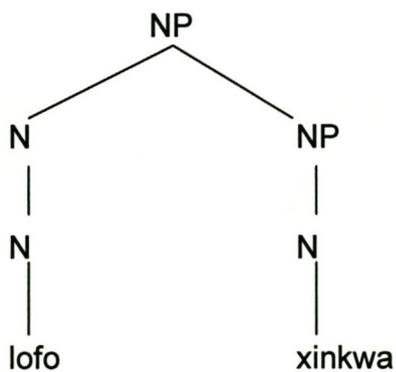


n'wana ha un'we-un'we

(a child one by one)

**NOUN PHRASE [NP]**

(321)

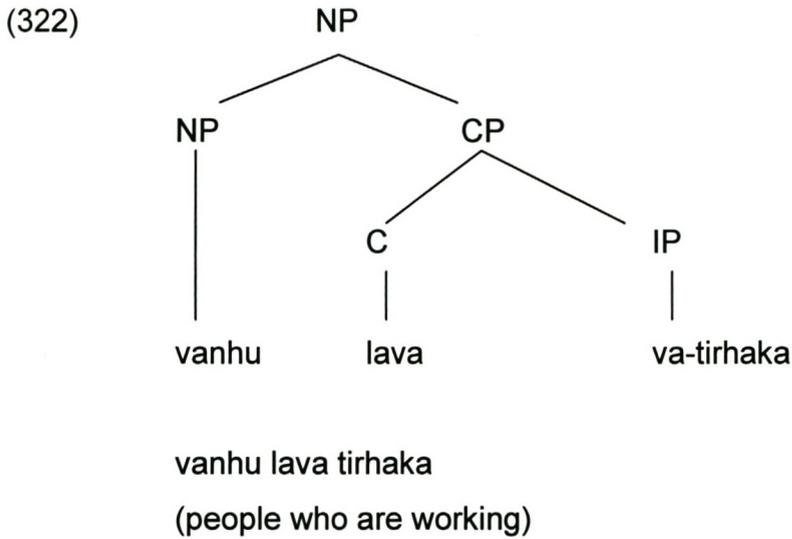


lofo ra xinkwa

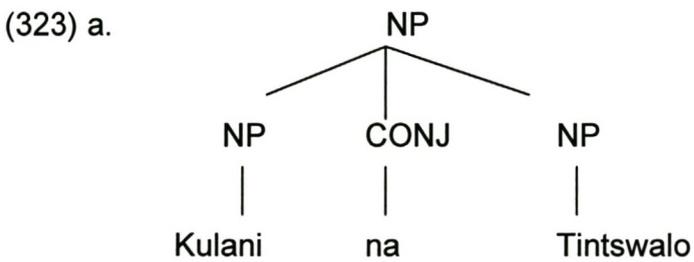
(a loaf of bread)

**COMPLEMENTIZER PHRASE [CP]**

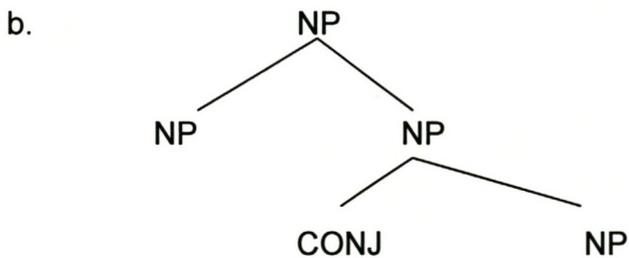
Relative clause

**COORDINATED NPs**

Such NPs may appear in coordinated NPs:



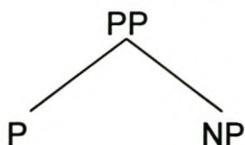
Kulani na Tintswalo  
(Kulani and Tintswalo)



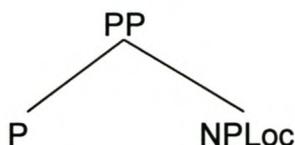
Either structure **a** or **b** represents a coordinated NPs.

**PREPOSITIONAL PHRASE [PP]**

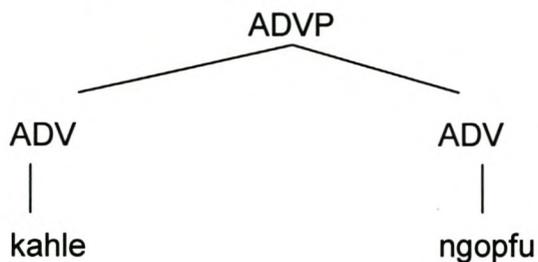
(324) a.



b.

**ADVERBIAL PHRASE [ADVP]**

(325)



kahle ngopfu  
(very good)

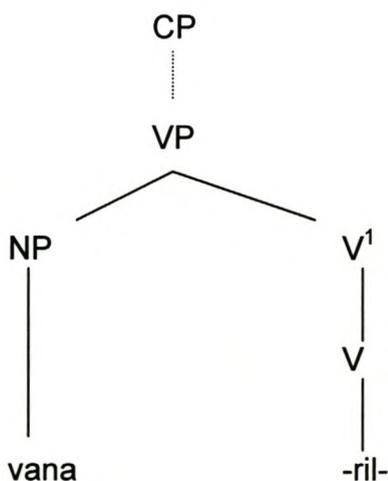
**VERB PHRASE**

Du Plessis (1996:38) states that all verb phrases appear with a verb as head. These verbs on their own with object. All verbs may appear with certain arguments. In structure below you will recognize that the inflectional categories have not been included, i.e. you will see that nothing appears between CP and VP: this is the place for the functional categories:

The structure of a VP with intransitive verbs:

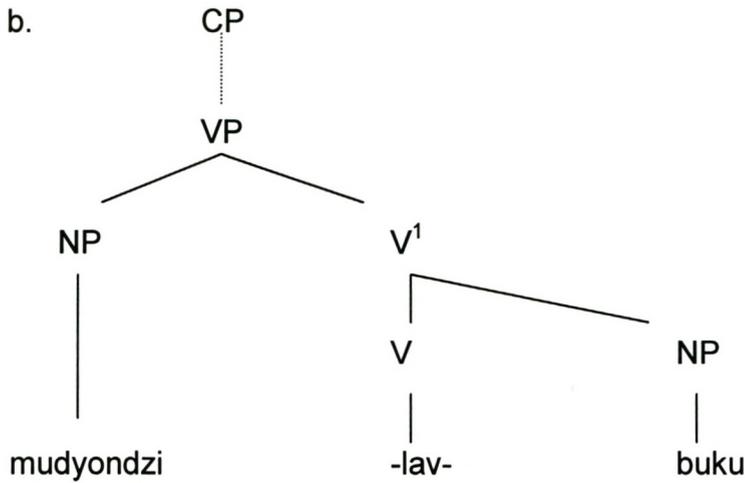
(326)

a.



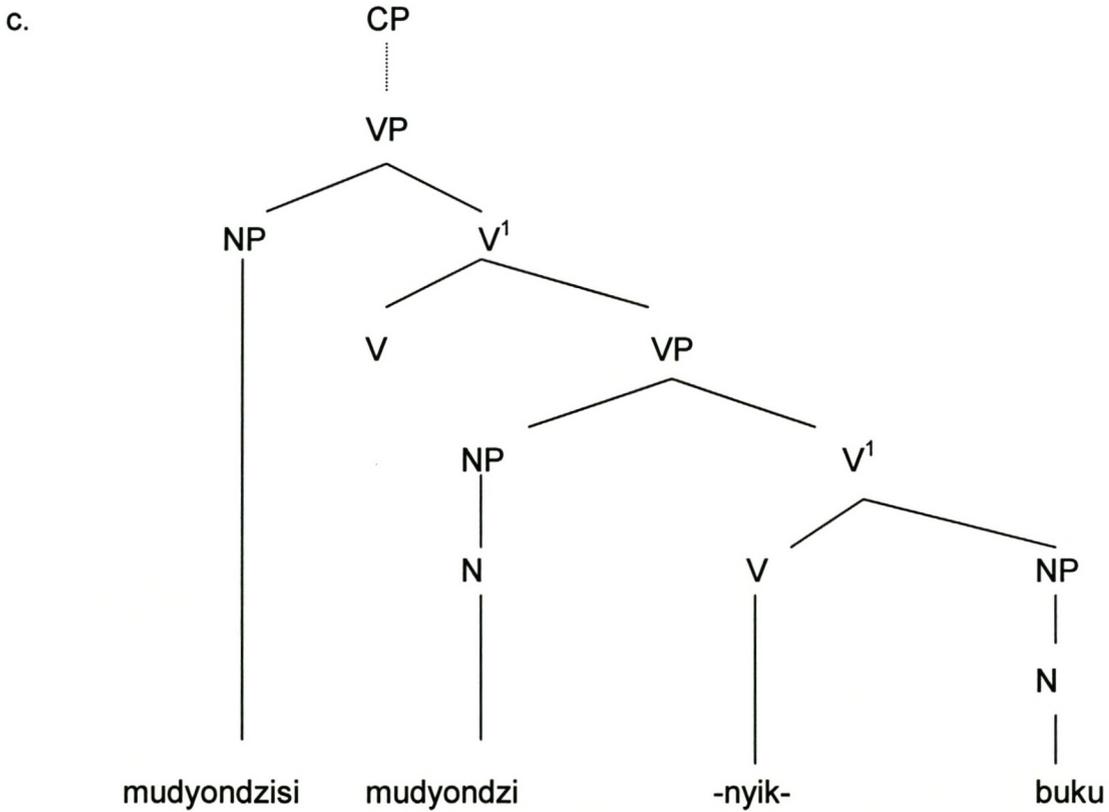
[vana va rila]  
(children are crying)

The structure of a VP with monotransitive verbs:



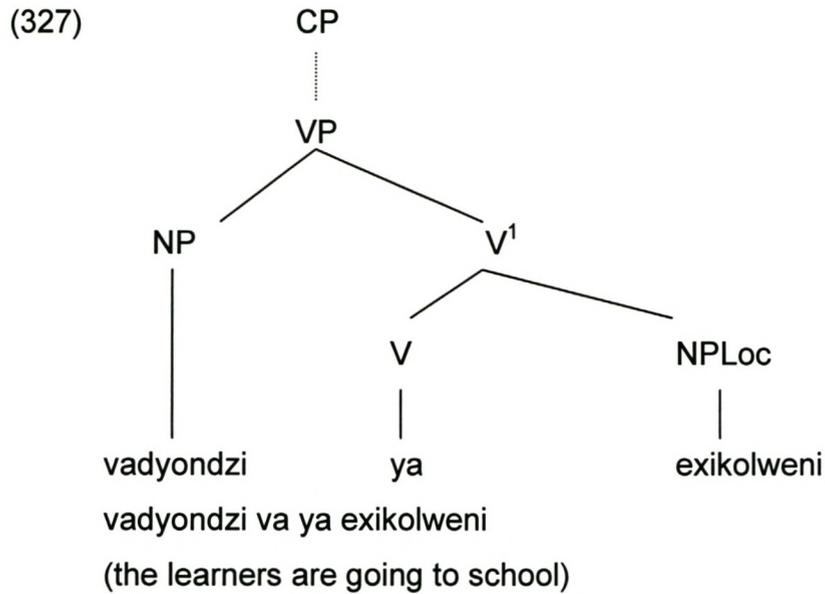
mudyondzi u lava buku  
 (the student wants a book)

The structure of a VP with ditransitive verbs:



mudyondzisi u nyika mudyondzi buku  
 (the educator gives the learner a book)

The structure of a VP with a locative argument:



Locative may appear as complements of verbs in the following cases:

a. with motion verbs such as **ya** or location verbs such as **tshama**:

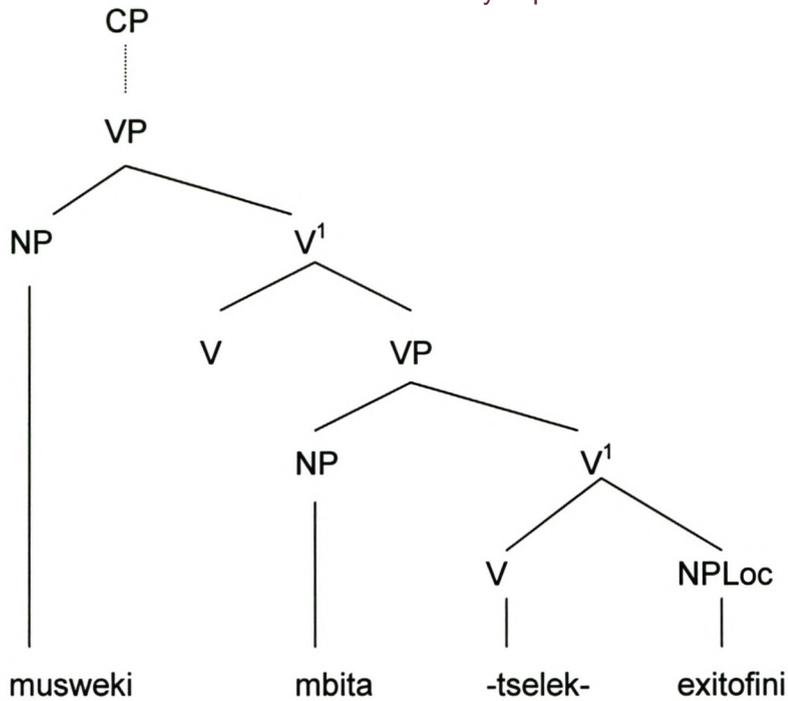
(328) i. Vadyondzi va ya exikolweni  
(The learners are going to school)

b. with copulatives:

ii. Vadyondzi va le-xikolweni  
(The learners are in the school)

The structure of a VP with an object and locative argument:

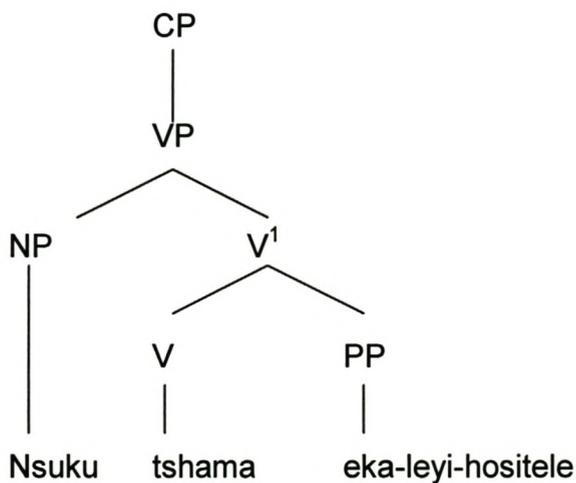
(329)



musweki u tseleka mbita exitofini  
 (the cook puts the pot on the stove)

The structure of a VP with a prepositional argument:

(330)



PP may appear as complement of a verb in the following cases:

- (331) (i) The PP has a locative P as head and this PP appears as complement of motion and location verbs:  
 [Nyiko [u tshama [eka[leyi [hositele]]]]  
 (Nyiko stays in this hostel)

- (ii) The PP has a locative as head and this PP appears as complement of copulative verbs:  
 [Nyiko [ u [le[ka[leyi[ hositele]]]]]  
 (Nyiko is in this hostel)
- (iii) The PP has a P **na** as head and this PP appears as complement of copulative verbs:  
 [Nyiko [u [na movha]]]  
 (Nyiko has a car)
- (iv) The PP has a P **hi** as head and this PP appears as complement of copulative verbs:  
 [Mbulavulo [wu [hi [loyi mudyondzi]]]  
 (The speech is about this learner)
- (v) The PP has a P **na** as head and this PP appears as complement of reciprocal verbs:  
 [Nyiko [u-rhandzana [na [ Khensani]]]  
 (Nyiko and Khensani love each other)

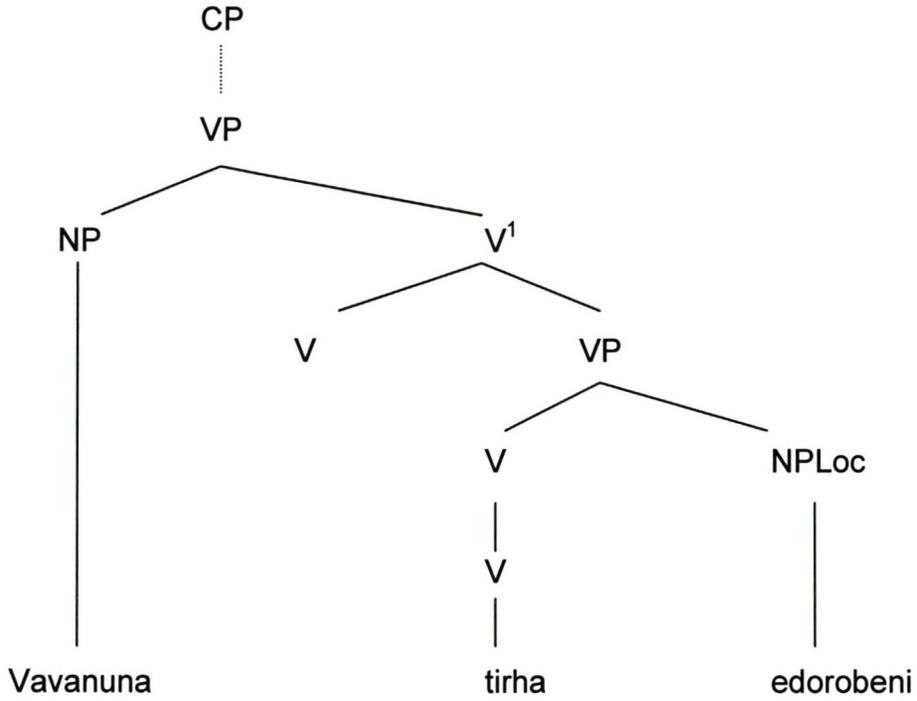
The structure of a VP with adjuncts:

In the examples (iii,iv,v) above on NP Loc and a PP appeared as complement of a verb. In (332) below various categories occur as adjuncts, i.e. sister of V. Only those structures in (iii,iv,v) allow complements, all the others as in (331) are adjuncts. The possible adjuncts are : NPloc, PP, NP, ADVP:

with intransitive verbs:

- (332) a. Vavanuna va-tirha [NPloc edorobeni] PP hi swihloka/NP tiawara  
 timbirhi/ADVP kahle/ PP na vavasati]  
 (Men work in town with axes two hours well with women)

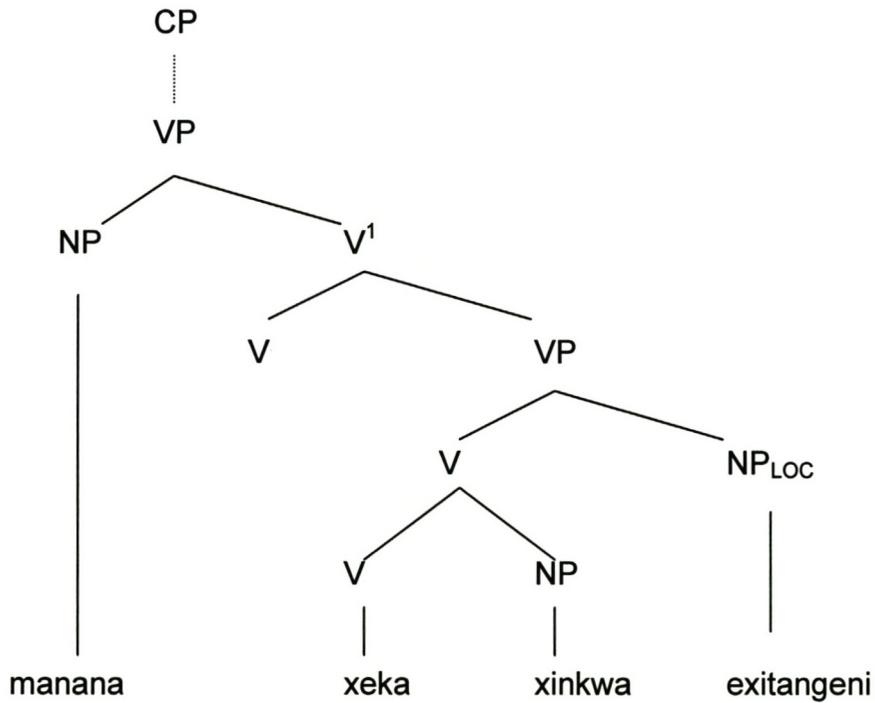
b.



with transitive verbs:

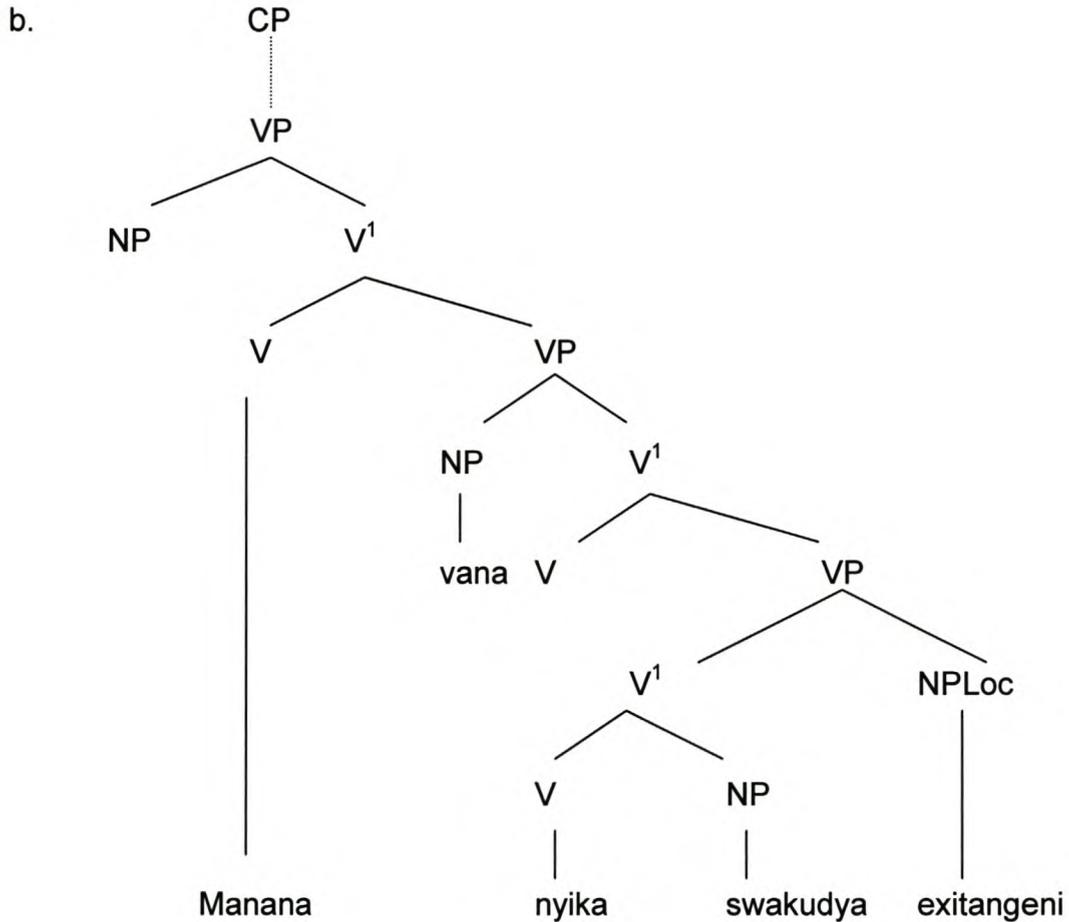
(333) a. Wansati u xeka xinkwa [NP<sub>loc</sub> exitangeni/ PP hi mukwana/ NP<sub>masiku</sub> hinkwawo/ ADVP kahle/ PP na nhwana]

b.



with ditransitive verbs

- (334) a. Manana u - nyika vana swakudya [NP<sub>loc</sub> exitangeni/ PP hi boroto/ NP siku rin'wana na rin'wana/ ADVP kahle]



## COMPLEX CLAUSE

Du Plessis (1996:44) states that most of the sentences discussed so far have been in the sense, simple. A simple sentence is one which is based on only one CP.

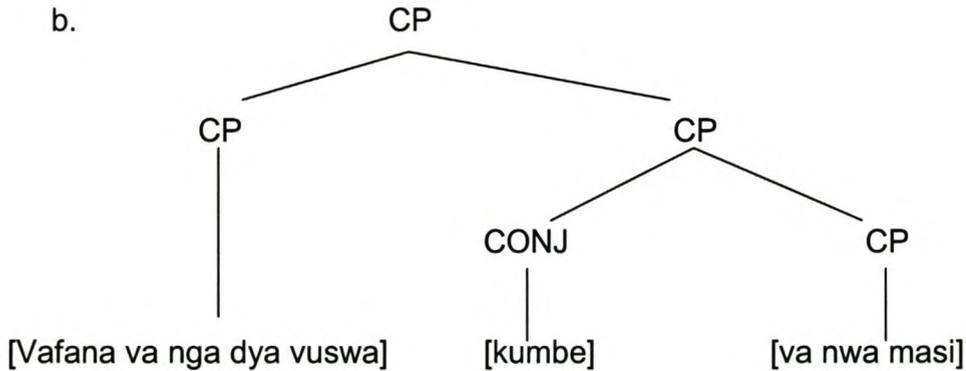
To account for the range and creativity of the set of sentences of any natural language, we need to supplement the notion of simple sentences with a definition of complex sentences: these are sentences which are based on more than one underlying CP, sentences whose derivations begin with two or more separate CPs.

Du Plessis (1994:44) identifies two type of clauses which play a significant role in recursiveness, i.e. coordinated and subordinated clauses. In the case of coordination, two or more clauses are linked together where these clauses are equivalent in syntactic status. The first clause is the main or matrix clause and the second clause is dependent upon this

matrix clause where it is a constituent of this clause.

In sentence such as the following, one finds an example of coordination where two coordinated clauses are equal in status:

- (335) a. [CP Vafana va nga dya vuswa] [CONJ kumbe] [ CP va nwa masi] (The boys may eat food or they may drink milk)



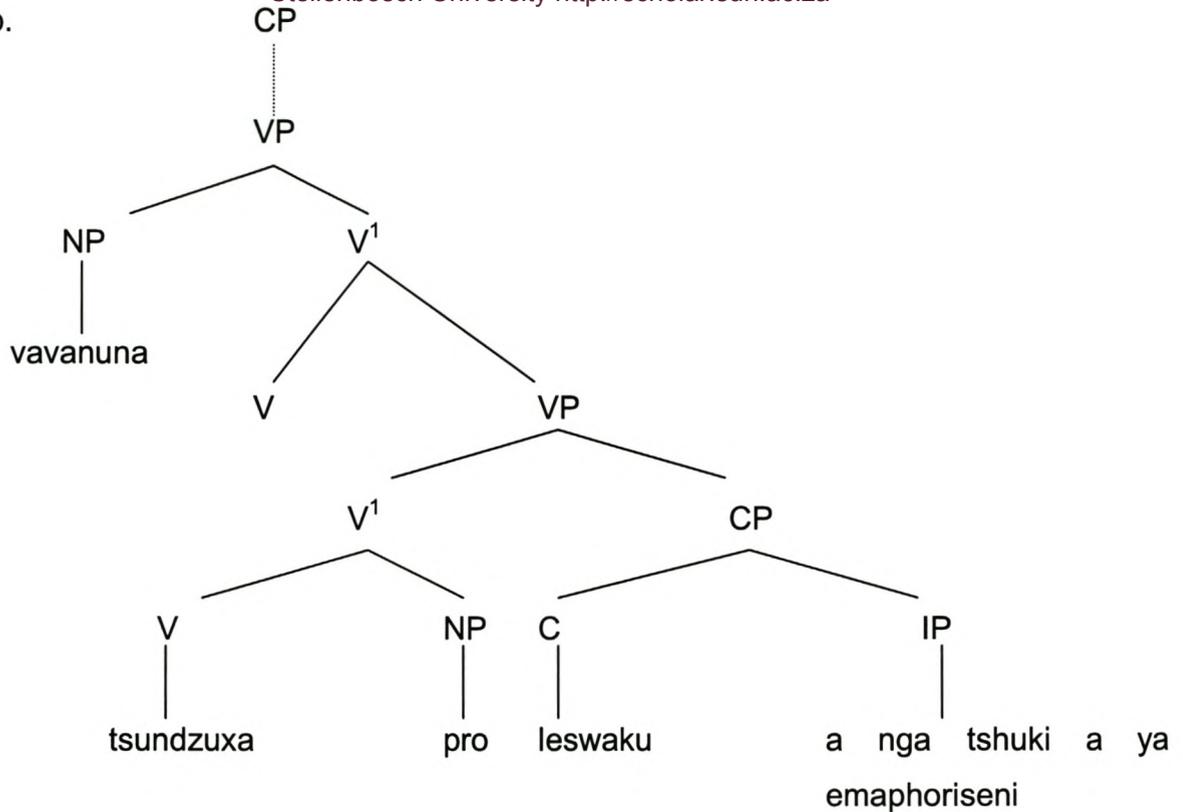
Each of these CPs will then be analysed in the same way as the simple clause with one CP which we already considered.

Subordination may be illustrated by the following sentence:

- (336) a. [CP Vavanuna va n'wi tsundzuxa [COMP leswaku[CP a nga tshuki a ya emaphoriseni]]  
(The men advise him that he must never go to the police)

The sentence may then appear in a structure as the following:

b.

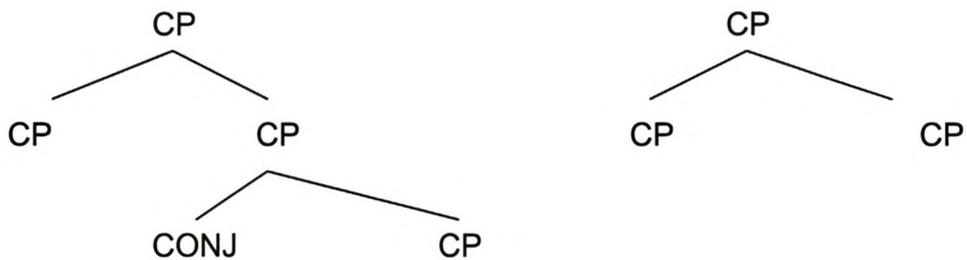


In this structure the second CP is embedded within the first CP and it appears as an adjunct clause next to V which is its sister.

## COORDINATED CLAUSES

(337) a. with conjunct

b. without conjunct



a. Conjunct : kambe, kumbe

b. Types of coordination

(338) (i) Two Indicative clauses:

[Vana va tshivela ndzilo] kambe [vavasati va sweka swakudya]

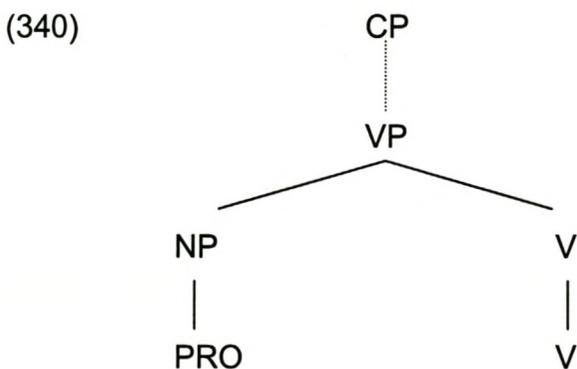
(The children are making fire but the women are cooking food)

- (ii) Two commands:  
 [Nghenani] [mi-tshama]  
 (Come in and sit down)
- (iii) The second clause is a consecutive clause (with the dependent mood):  
 [Mufana wa baleka] [a ya exikolweni]  
 (The boy runs away, he goes to school)

## SUBORDINATED CLAUSES

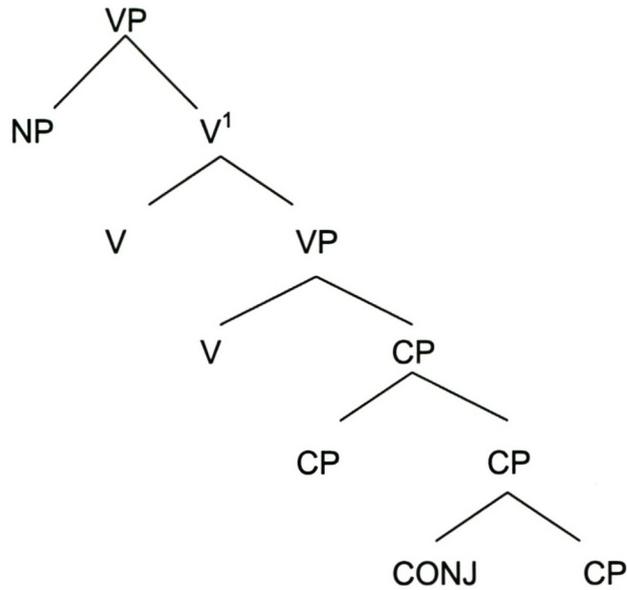
- (339) a. Infinitive :  
 Ndzi lava [ku-vhaka]  
 (I want to visit)
- b. Dependent mood :  
 with [+ complete] aspect:  
 Ndzi fika a dya  
 (I arrived whilst he was eating)
- c. with deficient verbs:  
 Ndzi ta tlhela [ndzi famba]  
 (I will leave again)

Note the structure of an infinitival clause with PRO as subject:



**COORDINATED CLAUSES WITHIN A SUBORDINATED CLAUSE**

(341) a.



Two infinitives

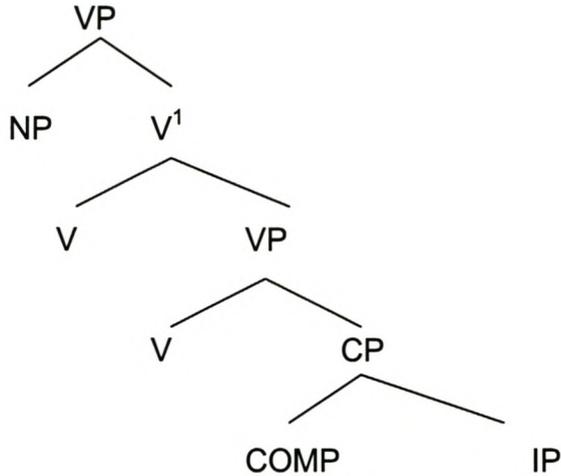
- b. Ndzi lava [ku-tshivela] ni [ku-sweka]  
(I want to make fire and to cook)

with dependent mood

- c. with [+complete] aspect  
Ndzi fika [[a dya [a nwa]]  
(I arrive whilst eating, drinking)
- d. with deficient verbs  
Ndzi ta tlhela [[ndzi tshama] ndzi yimbelela]]  
(I will remain again and sing)

**COMPLEMENTIZER CLAUSE**

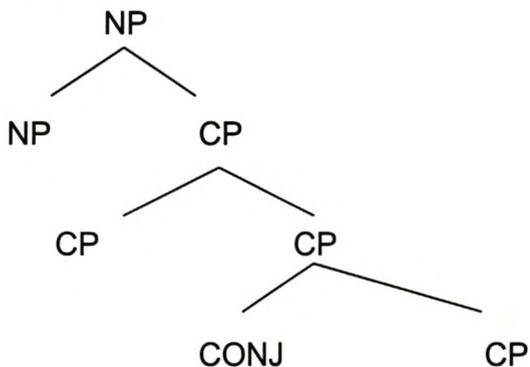
(342)

Complementizer clause with **leswaku**:

- (343) a. with the dependent mood:
- (i) Ndzi va byerile [leswaku [va nga fambi]]  
(I told them that they must not go)
  - (ii) Ndzi lava [[leswaku [va famba]]  
(I want that they must go)
- b. with the Indicative mood  
Ndzi tiva [[leswaku[n'wana wa dya]]  
(I know that the child eats)

**COORDINATED RELATIVE CLAUSES**

(344)



[Vana [lava [va-cinak-a] ni [lava[ va-yimbelela-ka]]  
(The children who are dancing and those who are singing)

### 3.3. The deficient verb construction

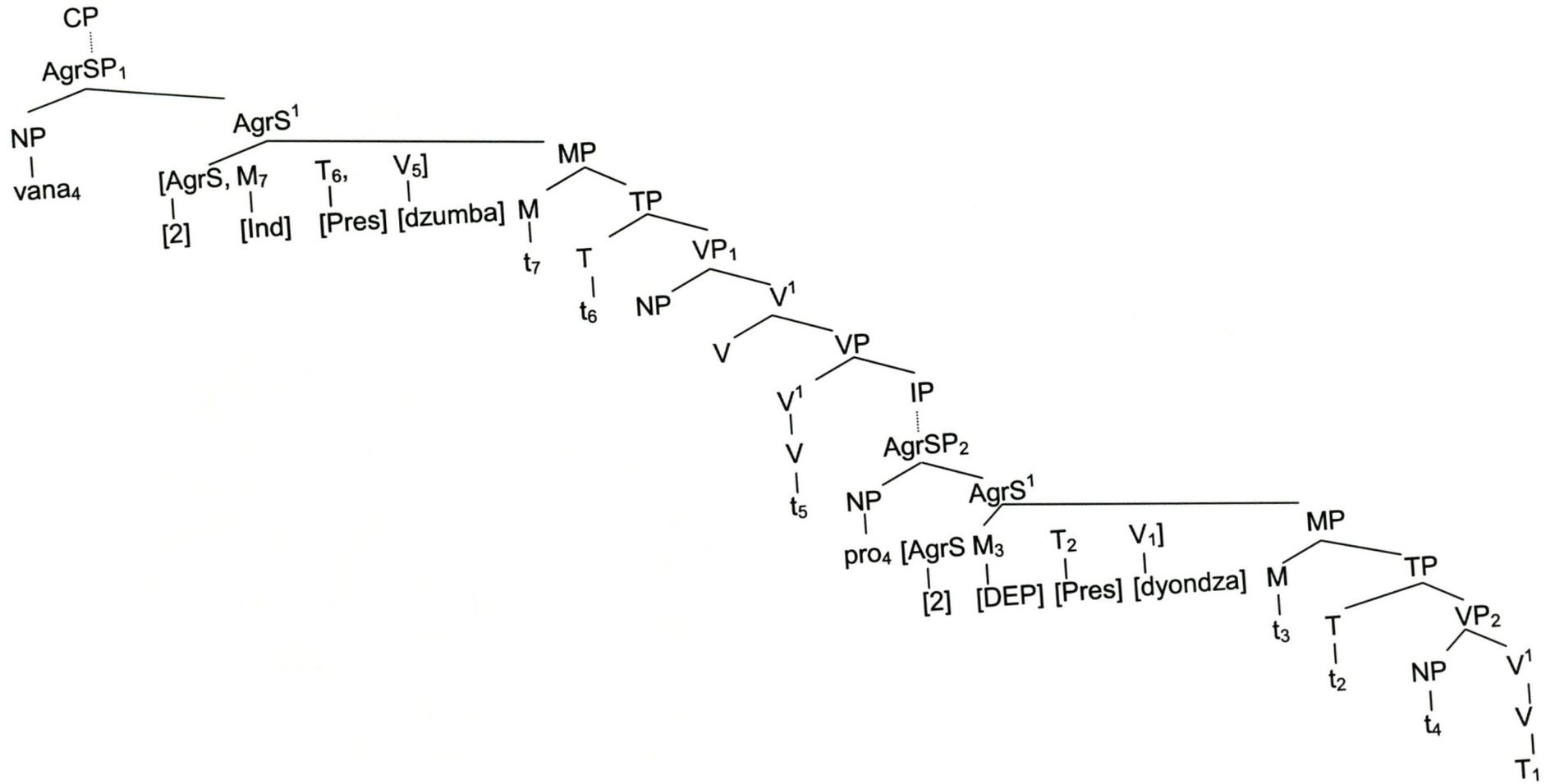
#### 3.3.1 The structure of the deficient verb construction

Two different structure will be discussed below. Both these structures have a deficient verb within the verb phrase of the matrix clause but they differ with regard to the complement clause, i.e. one has the dependent mood within inflection and the other has an infinitival verb as a complement.

#### With the dependent mood in the complement clause:

The deficient verb **dzumba** will be taken as an example because its complement clause must be in the dependent mood:

- (345) a. [Vana va -dzumba [va-dyondza]  
(The children are always studying)



Within the structure above, the sentence in (345a) represented by complementizer phrase (CP) is a clausal constituent. This CP has two inflectional phrases which are headed by subjectival agreement phrases, i.e. the inflectional phrase (IP) splits into a subjectival agreement phrase of which the first one is represented by [AgrSP1] and the second by [AgrSP2]. AgrS in both inflectional phrases is represented by the subjectival agreement of class 2, i.e. [va]. The mood in the first IP is the Indicative Mood and is coindexed with the dependent mood [DEP], coindexed with trace [t3]. The tense in both IPs is the Present tense, coindexed with [t6] in the first clause, and [t2] in the second clause. Thus, the IP splits into three functional categories in both cases, i.e. subjectival agreement (AgrS), Mood (M) and tense (T). In all three cases they are the heads of the maximal projection [AgrSP], [MP] and [TP].

The phrasal constituents in both clauses above are represented by [VP1] and [VP2]. With regard to [VP1]: the noun phrase has the head noun [**vana**] which appears next to [AgrS], but it is coindexed with the trace [t4] which recognizes its position within the VP. [VP1] branches then into a second [VP] to make provision for the IP which appears next to the deficient verb **dzumba** as its complement clause. The deficient verb now appears together with [AgrS, M, T] above to make provision for the surface structure verb [va-dzumba] which has all these categories. This verb is coindexed with the trace [t5] to indicate its position within [VP1].

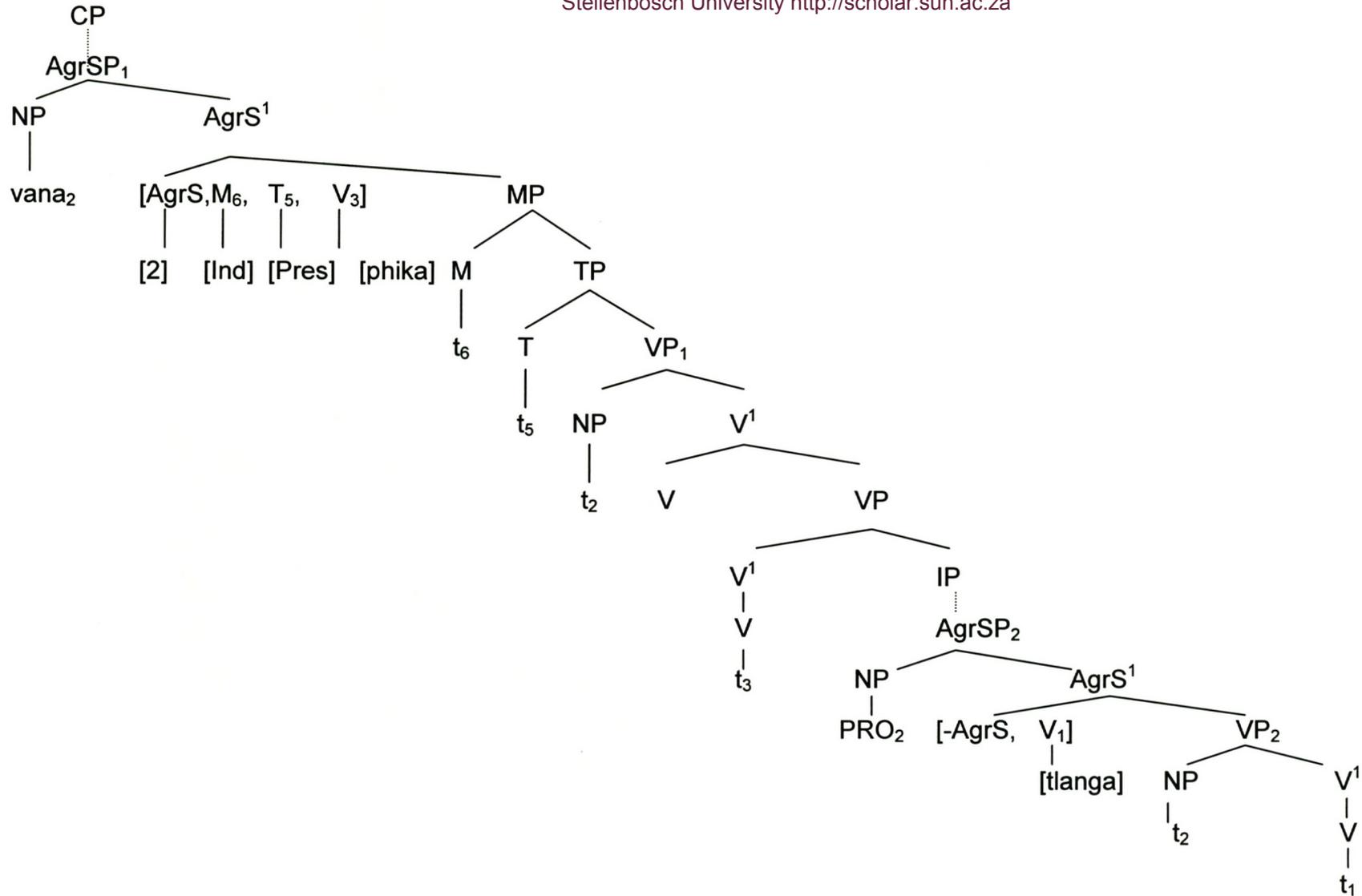
With regard to the second verb phrase above, i.e. [VP2]: the noun has an empty pro which appears next to AgrS but it is coindexed with the trace [t4] to indicate its position within VP. The verb **dyondza** which is the head of VP appears together with [AgrS, M, T] to form the surface structure verb [va-dyondza]. It is coindexed with the trace [t1] to indicate its position within [VP2].

The NPs in both [VP1] and [VP2] are coindexed with the number [4] to show their relationship to each other, i.e. they all represent **vana** while the pro in [VP2] is to be regarded as an anaphor.

**With an Infinitival clause as complement:**

The deficient verb [**phika**] has a compulsory Infinitival clause as complement:

- (346) a [Vana va-phika [ ku-tlanga]  
(Children always play)



In the structure above, the first inflectional phrase has three functional categories, i.e. AgrS which is represented by the subjectival agreement of class 2 [va], Mood which is the indicative mood and Tense which is the present tense. These functional categories are present in the verb [va-phika]. The category mood is coindexed with its trace [t6], while tense is coindexed with the trace [t5]. The second Inflectional phrase within which the Infinitive clause is present, has no functional categories, i.e. no subjectival agreement (see [-AgrS]) and no mood or tense.

As in the case of the deficient verb **dzumba** above, the structure needs two verb phrases, i.e. [VP1] and [VP2]. [VP1] is represented by [vana va-phika] and [VP2] by [ku-tlanga]. [VP1] has a noun phrase within the VP which has the noun **vana** as its head. This NP now appears next to AgrS but it is coindexed with its trace [t2] to show its position within the VP. The deficient verb **phika** appears next to [AgrS, M, T] to make provision for the surface structure verb [va-phika]. This deficient verb appears with its trace [t3] in a VP, and it has an IP as its complement clause.

The second VP, i.e. [VP2] above, represents the Infinitival clause. Such Infinitives are characterised by the presence of [PRO] in the subject position. This PRO is controlled by the NP within [VP1] which has **vana** as its head. The trace of this PRO shows its position within the [VP2] as [t2]. The coindexing with [t2] reflects then the reference to **vana** in all the NPs in the structure above. The verb **tlanga** is coindexed with its trace [t1] within [VP2] but it now appears next to [PRO] to make provision for the surface structure verb [ku-tlanga]

### 3.3.2 Properties of deficient verbs

#### Clausal complement

All deficient verbs are subcategorised for clausal complement. This is an inflectional phrase (IP) which appears as **va-dyondza** in (345) and **ku-tlanga** in (346).

#### Selection of moods

The deficient verb determines the selection of mood in inflection of the verb in the clausal complement, i.e. the dependent mood as in (345).

## Argument structure

Deficient verbs have no thematic role assignment properties:

- a. As a deficient verb it is not able to assign an internal NP argument to the object position
- b. The theta role assignment between the VP and the subject is phrasal theta-role assignment. The VP assigns a theta role to the subject argument because the VP is a predicate. The assignment of the external argument thus take place via the theory of predication.

The NP argument **vana** in (345) and (346) which appears in the surface subject position of the deficient verb **dzumba**, in (345) and **phika** in (346) is assigned an external argument compositionally by the verb projection which includes the IP complement clause of the deficient verb. This external argument **vana** in (345) appears in its surface position next to AgrS but it has a trace (t4) in the position in which it has received its theta-role. This verb projection which assigns the external argument (in the position now occupied by (t) include [VP1] as well as [VP2] within the IP in (345).

In (345) a compulsory subjectival agreement has to appear with pro. 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 (Du Plessis and Visser, 1992,p.246). In (345b) above the pro with the index [4] is an anaphor. This anaphor is coindexed with its trace [t4] in [VP2]. The same reference appears within [VP1] as [t4] and with the subject position next to AgrS in [AgrS1]. Thus the antecedent of [pro] in [AgrSP2] is [vana]. The two verbs in (345b) above exhibit inter-clausal subject-verb agreement. This agreement is dependent on the subject of the first verb which is a deficient verb. The anaphor [pro] in (345b) above is the result of this NP referring back to some previously expressed NP. Anaphoric reference marks the identity between what is being expressed and what has already been expressed.

In (346) the surface structure of NP is PRO which is the subject of the infinitive. This PRO also must have the same features as **vana** because the deficient verb has no theta-role assignment properties.

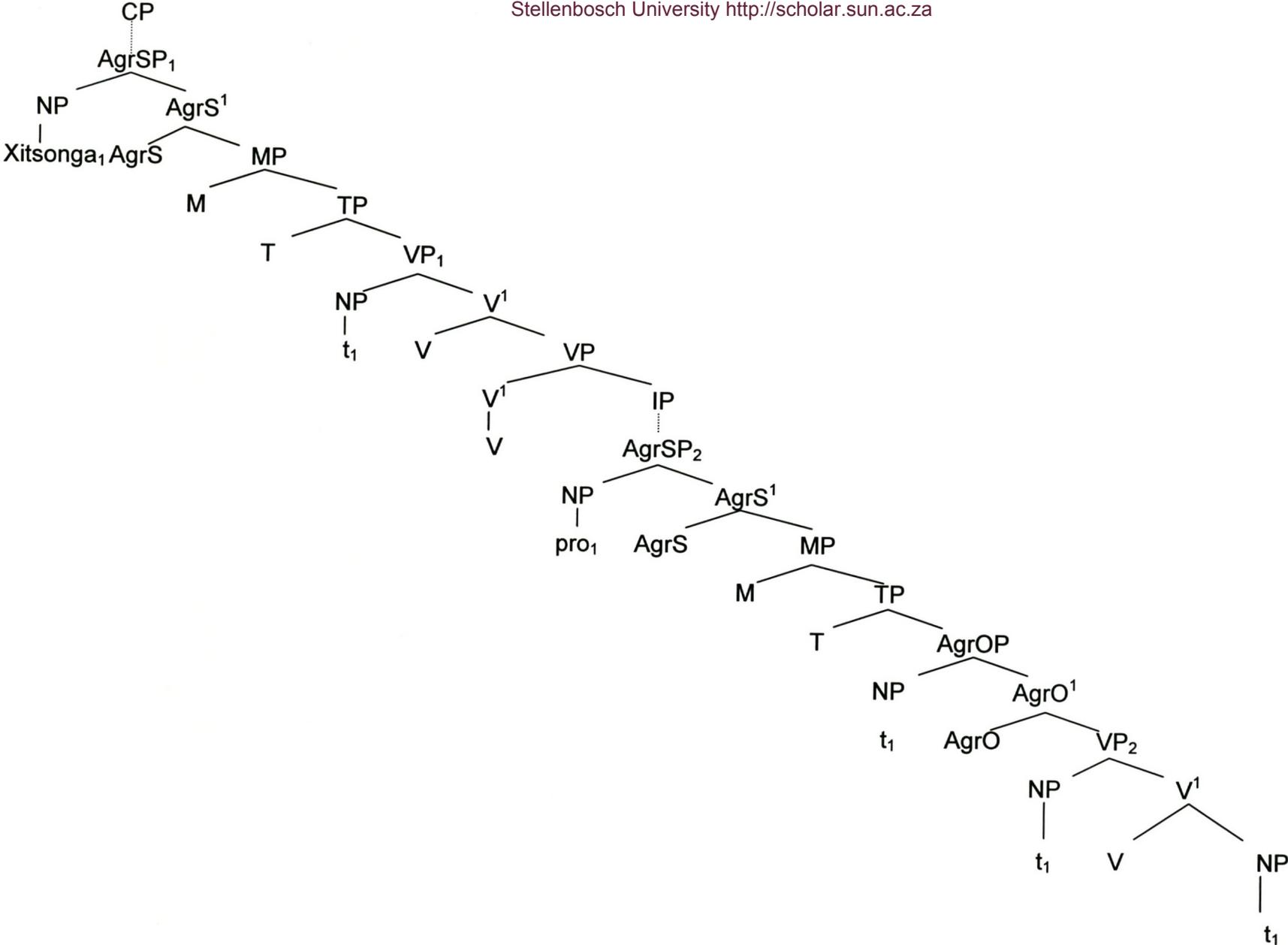
## Case assignment

In both (345) and (346) **vana** is assigned nominative case through AgrS and which appear next to it.

### 3.3.3 Passive morphology and the deficient verb

Passive morphology is realized by the presence of the passive morpheme [w] on the verb. This passive morpheme usually appears on the verb of the complement clause of the deficient verb as in (347a) below, or in many cases it may appear on both the deficient verb and the verb in its complement clause, as in (347b):

- (347) a. [Xitsonga xi-dzumba [xi-vulavuriwa]  
b. [Xitsonga xi-dzumbiwa [xi-vulavuriwa]  
(Xitsonga is always spoken)



In the structure above, the CP has two inflectional phrases. In the first IP there are three functional categories AgrS, M and T to make provision for the deficient verb [xi-dzumba] with AgrS of class 7, the indicative mood and the Present tense. In the second IP there are four functional categories, i.e. AgrS, M, T, and AgrO. However, AgrO will not be realized in the surface structure of the verb because the passive morphology on the verb **vulavuriwa** has taken away the case of the object of this verb. The category AgrO appears in the structure because the verb is a transitive verb.

In [VP1] above, the NP has as head the noun **Xitsonga** which appears next to AgrS with its trace [t1]. The verb within VP1 is the deficient verb **dzumba** which appears with its complement clause within a VP which has branched form [VP1].

In [VP2] the subject and object NP has a trace [t1] because the passive morphology has allowed this NP to fill the empty subject position. This NP is represented by the empty pro in VP2 above which appears next to AgrS within [AgrSP2]. Its derivation can be traced through the presence of the trace [t1] within [VP2].

The NP **Xitsonga** in [VP1] has the same index as pro in [VP2] because of the property of deficient verbs as explained above, i.e. the deficient verb itself cannot assign a theta-role to **Xitsonga** but it is assigned its role compositionally by the verb projection which includes the IP complement clause of the deficient verb. Thus, **Xitsonga** above will have the theta-role assigned to the object NP by the verb **vulavula** in [VP2]. The [pro] in AgrSP2] is an anaphor as has been explained above.

### 3.3.4 Lexical derivation

Deficient verbs may not appear with derived suffixes such as the applicative [-el-] or the causative [-is-].

## CHAPTER 4 : INFLECTION AND THE DEFICIENT VERB

### 4.1 Aim

The aim of this chapter is to establish whether the deficient verb as well as the verb in the complement clause of the deficient verb may be inflected for mood, tense, aspect and negative. For this purpose the inflectional phrase will be discussed with various functional categories of Xitsonga. An overview of the properties of the infinitive clause in Xitsonga will be given because in Xitsonga there are deficient verbs which have a compulsory infinitive clause as a complement.

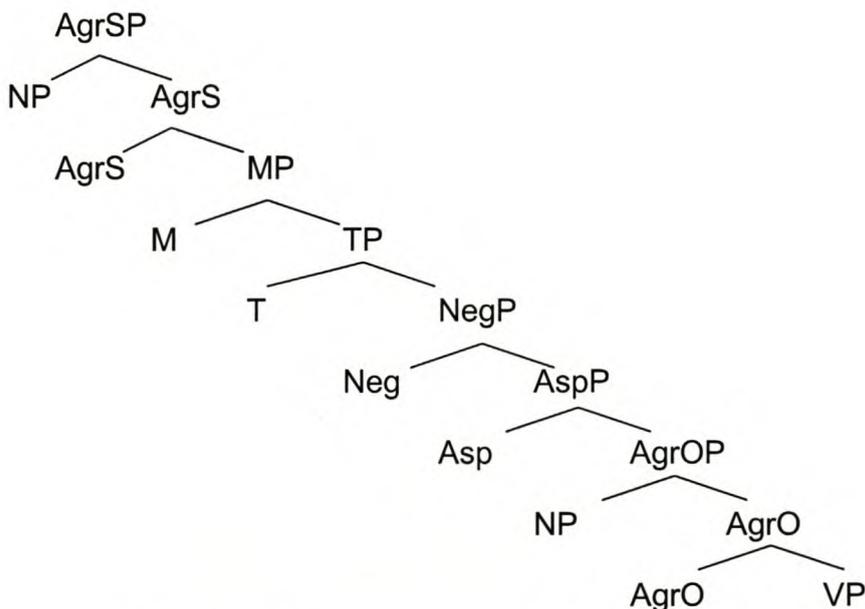
### 4.2. Inflection Phrase [IP]

The inflectional phrase may consist of the following functional categories: mood, subjectival agreement, objectival agreement, tense, negative and aspect. Each of these categories has a maximal projection indicated as e.g. TP for tense phrase. These inflectional categories fall within the ambit of X-bar theory with their specifiers and complements. Ultimately these categories have to move toward each other with their categories under VP to attain coherence of the surface structure verb.

These functional categories may appear in structures such as the following:

#### 4.2.1 Structure

(348)



In both the agreement phrase, i.e. AgrSP and AgrOP, there is an intermediate category i.e. AgrS and AgrO. This intermediate category is necessary for the movement of the subject

NP and the object NP respectively to these positions.

#### 4.2.2. The functional category mood

As in the case of other functional categories, the category mood has a maximal projection mood phrase **[MP]**. The category mood may be distinguished as follows: according to Lyons (1977) the grammatical category mood has to be distinguished from illocutionary acts and modality. The three illocutionary acts which are usually recognized are the following: making statements, asking questions and issuing commands or requests. Then two types of modality may be recognized i.e. epistemic and deontic modality. In both cases the attention is on the expression of necessity and possibility. Mood is a grammatical category which cannot be identified with either illocutionary force or modality. It represents inflected forms of verbs that are distinguished one from another by means of terms such as Indicative, Imperative etc. The difference in moods may be distinguished in the inflectional features and inflectional morphemes of the various moods.

In Xitsonga the following moods will receive attention in discussing inflection and the deficient verb:

- Indicative: Vafana va dzumba va tlanga bolo  
(Boys are always playing soccer)
- Dependent: Vafana va dzumba va ta laha loko ku ri na nyama  
(Boys always come here when there is meat)
- Potential: Vafana va nga dzumba va ta laha  
(Boys may always come here)
- Imperative: Vafana, dzumbani mi tlanga bolo!  
(Boys, play soccer always!)
- Hortative: A hi dzumbeni hi tlanga bolo  
(Let us always play soccer)

### 4.2.3. Tense

See chapter 3 for a discussion of the category tense. In this chapter the following tenses of the Indicative and Dependent moods will be considered with their negative forms:

	<b>Indicative</b>
Pres. Pos.	ndz-a-dy-a
Press. Neg.	a-ndzi-dyi
Fut. Pos.	ndzi-ta-dya
Fut. Neg.	a-ndzi-nge
Perf. Pos.	ndzi-dy-ile
Perf. Neg.	a-ndzi-dy-angi
A-past- a Pos.	a-ndzi-dya
A-past- a Neg.	a-ndzi-nga-dy-i
A-past-ile Pos.	a-ndzi-dy-ile
A past-Neg.	a-ndzi-dyangi

### 4.2.4 Aspect

See chapter 3 for a treatment of the category aspect. In this chapter the aspectual morphemes [**se**], [**aha**] and [**o/lo**] will be considered with regard to the deficient verb as well as the verb of the complement clause.

### 4.3 Infinitive

The infinitive can be identified as belonging to one of the following category types:

- (349) (i) S : clausal complement of the verb  
 (ii) NP (dominating S) : nominal infinitive  
 (iii) N : infinitival noun (class 15)

The infinitive has been frequently noticed in the linguistic literature for the fact that it exemplifies both nominal and verbal properties. The precise syntactic nature of the infinitive in the various constructions that it may occur has, however, not been established

in a systematic way. The infinitive is commonly viewed by linguists as a class 15 noun on the one hand, characterised by the class prefix **-ku-**, and as verb on the other hand because of the verbal properties it exemplifies. The infinitival form of a verb is homophonous with the corresponding 'class 15' which in this view, is assumed to be derived from the particular verb. Class 15 is, in fact commonly referred to as the "infinitive class" (Louw, 1963; Cole, 1955; Doke, 1965).

The morpheme **-ku-** which characterises the infinitive form of the verb in Xitsonga is considered as the nominal prefix of class 15 in the literature of Bantu linguistics. Hence the corollary view that an infinitive verb functions as a class 15 noun in the different structural positions it may occur. For expository purposes, an infinitive of which the meaning constitutes a nominalisation of its (verbal) stem will henceforth be referred to as **nominal infinitive**, rather than a class 15 noun. As the discussion proceeds it will in fact become evident that the term 'class 15' is largely untenable for designating the occurrence of the infinitive as an NP in the range of grammatical functions it may have. Since a discussion of the function of the Xitsonga infinitive crucially relies on the properties it exemplifies, a brief review of the argument advanced in support of the view that the infinitive is both nominal and verbal in nature, is in order. The term **infinitive** will henceforth be used with the systematic ambiguity to refer to the infinitive that has the grammatical function of NP on the one hand, and of a clausal S complement on the other (Du Plessis, 1982; Visser, 1987).

### Nominal properties

Firstly, the nominal properties exhibited by the infinitive relate to the phenomena in (350):

#### Nominal properties of the infinitive

- (350) (i) The infinitive exhibits grammatical gender, identified by the class prefix of noun class 15;
- (ii) The infinitive may appear in NP positions such as subject and object;
- (iii) The infinitive is associated with concordial agreement elements, such as a subjectival, objectival, and adjectival concord;
- (iv) The infinitive may be qualified by a nominal modifiers.

In accordance with (350i) above, the infinitive is viewed as a class 15 noun because it has

the class prefix **-ku-** of noun gender class. Thus, it is on a par with other nouns in that its gender class is identified by its class prefix. In (351i) for example, the noun **vanhu** ‘people’ exhibits the class prefix **-va-** characteristic of class 2. The noun **yindlu** ‘house’ is identified as belonging to class 9 since it has the characteristic prefix **yi(n)** of this class. Likewise, it is claimed, the infinitive **ku famba** ‘travelling’ in (351iii), which bears the class prefix **-ku-**, displays grammatical gender.

- (351) (i) va : va-nhu ‘people’  
 (ii) yi(n) : yi-ndlu ‘house’  
 (iii) ku : ku-famba ‘travelling’

The occurrence of the infinitive in various NP positions can be illustrated by the sentence in (352). In (352a), the infinitive **ku tsutsuma** ‘running’ is the subject. The infinitive **ku yimbelela** ‘singing’ is the object in (b), and in the passive sentence (c), **ku hleva** ‘gossip’ is the complement of the copula elements in passives.

- (352) a. Ku tsutsuma swa hanyisa  
 (Running is healthy)  
 b. Vanhu va yingisela ku yimbelela  
 (The people are listening to the singing)  
 c. Wansati u rilisiwa hi ku hleva  
 (The woman is being made to cry by the gossiping)

The infinitive is similar to nominals in a further respect in that it may be moved by application of the transformational rule Move a. Assuming a movement analysis for the passives in Xitsonga, an infinitive may be moved from its D-structure position as object, to the subject position. Consider, for instance, the passive sentence (353a), with the D-structure in (b) and the S-structure in (c), respectively. The S-structure is derived by movement of the infinitive **ku yimbelela** ‘singing’ to the subject position, where the trace of **t ku yimbelela** is “left behind” by the moved NP.

- (353) a. Ku yimbelela ku rhandziwa hi vanhu  
 (Singing is liked by the people)  
 b. [] AGR [VP -rhandz-w- ku yimbelela Cop vanhu]  
 like - pass singing people

c. [NP ku yimbelela] AGR [vp -rhandz -w- t Cop vanhu]

singing

like - Pass

people

The property in (350iii) states that the infinitive may enter into the various agreement relations possible for nouns in Bantu. The sentences in (354) illustrate a number of these agreement relations. In (a), the subject **ku tirha** 'working' is in agreement with the predicate as indicated by the subjectival concord **ku-**. In (b), **ku tirha** appears as object of the sentence and its objectival concord or clitic **-ku-** is present in the verbal morphology. The adjective **kahle** 'good' in (c) qualifies the NP object **ku tirha**. The relevant agreement concords are indicated in bold.

- (354) a. Ku tirha **ku** lulamile  
(the) working is good)
- b. Mutholi wa ku langutisisa **ku** tirha  
(The employer watches the working)
- c. Mutholi u langutisisa **ku** tirha ka kahle  
(The employer watches the good working)

According to (350iv), it is possible for the Xitsonga infinitive to occur with nominal modifiers. This property is also illustrated in (c) above, where the infinitive is qualified by the adjective **kahle** 'good'. Consider, further, the examples in (355a,c), where the infinitive is qualified by the demonstrative, the relative **-nandziha** 'nice', and the quantifier **-oxe** 'only' respectively.

- (355) a. **Loku** ku yimbelela ku lulamile  
(This singing is good)
- b. N'wini wa yindlu u rhandza ku sweka **ko nandziha**  
(The house owner likes nice cooking)

- c. I ku vulavula **koxe** loku ku nga enelangiki

(It is talking only that is not sufficient)

It is evident that the properties in (350), that are characteristic of nouns, may all be associated with the infinitives as well, thereby indicating that the infinitive is a class 15 noun, there is one crucial respect in which it differs from other nouns: infinitives have no plurals.

### Verbal properties

The verbal nature of the infinitive, on the other hand, is generally defined in the linguistic literature in terms of the properties in (356).

- (356) Verbal properties of the infinitive
- (i) the infinitive may be inflected for the negative
  - (ii) the infinitive may be inflected for tense
  - (iii) the infinitive may be inflected for aspect
  - (iv) the infinitive may be extended by means of verbal suffixes
  - (v) the infinitive may have an object which may co-occur with an objectival concord (clitic);
  - (vi) The infinitive may be modified by adverbs and locatives.

The properties in (356i-vi) above are illustrated in the examples (357a-f), respectively, where in (i) of (a-f) the infinitive occurs as a clausal S complement of the verb, and in (ii) as an NP complement, that is, nominal infinitive. The empty category PRO occurs as subject of the clausal S complement in (i) of (a-f). Nominal modifiers may occur with the nominal infinitives in (ii) but not with the clausal complements in (i) of (a-f).

- (357) a. *Negative inflection*
- (i) Mutholi u hlawula ku nga tirhi  
(The employer prefers not to work)
  - (ii) Mutholi u hlawula ku nga tirhi hi yexe  
(The employer prefers he is not working)

- b. *Tense inflection*
- (i) Mudyondzi u lava ku ta dyondza mundzuku  
(The student wants to study tomorrow)
  - (ii) Mudyondzisi u lava ku va va dyondza hi voxé mundzuku  
(The teacher wants them to studying by themselves tomorrow)
- c. *Inflection for aspect*
- No aspect morphemes may occur in the Xitsonga clausal infinitive. The following sentence, for instance, is unacceptable.
- (i) \*Mudyondzisi u hlawula ku nga ka hayi exikolweni  
(The teacher prefers to come to school no more)
  - (ii) \*Mudyondzisi u ku nga ka hayi hi voxé exikolweni  
(The teacher prefers their coming to school no more)
- d. *Verbal suffixes*
- (i) Vavasati va rhandza ku yimbelelana  
(Women like to sing to each other)
  - (ii) Vavasati va rhandza loku ku yimbelelana  
(Women like this singing at each other)
- e. *Object and/or clitic*
- (i) Mudyondzisi u sungula ku va bumabumela vadyondzi  
(The teacher starts to praise the students)
  - (ii) Mudyondzisi u sungula ku va bumabumela hi yexe vadyondzi  
(The teacher starts his praising of the students)
- f. *Adverbs and locatives*
- (i) Nhwana u rhandza ku ambala kahle hi ximumu  
(The girl likes to dress nicely in summer)
  - (ii) Nhwana u rhandza ku ambala ka vona ka kahle hi ximumu  
(The girl likes their dressing nicely in summer)

It appears from (357) that the meaning of the nominal infinitive is sometimes similar to that of the gerund in English. In (358), examples are given in infinitive verbs with their respective English translations as clausal complement and nominal infinitive.

(358)	<b>Infinitive</b>	<b>Clausal complement</b>	<b>Nominal infinitive</b>
	ku rhandza	'to love'	'(the) loving'
	ku tsutsuma	'to run'	'(the) running'
	ku rima	'to plough'	'(the) ploughing'
	ku tlanga	'to play'	'(the) playing'
	ku dyondza	'to learn'	'(the) learning'
	ku hlamba	'to wash'	'(the) washing'

The question may be posed as to what systematic ground there exist for drawing the above distinction between the function of the infinitive as clausal complement on the one hand, and as nominal infinitive (i.e. as some grammatical function (GF) for NP) on the other. In what follows, a brief review is given of the arguments in support of this distinction. Subsequently it will be argued that a clausal analysis rather than a VP analysis, is correct for the non-nominal infinitival complement in Xitsonga.

### **The distinction between the clausal infinitives and nominal infinitives**

#### *Clausal infinitives*

As shown in the examples of (358), the infinitive which functions as a clausal S complement is homophonous with corresponding nominal infinitive, which may function as NP complement. The distinction is necessitated on empirical grounds. The properties in (359) can be invoked as evidence for the view that the infinitive functions as an S complement rather than an NP complement in certain construction (Koster, 1987; Badecker, 1987; Jaeggli, 1980):

- (359) (i) the use of long form of the matrix verb  
 (ii) the infinitive as complement of the intransitive verbs  
 (iii) the infinitive as complement of the so-called deficient verbs  
 (iv) the occurrence of an adverb between the matrix verb and the infinitive complement

The long form of the verb in Xitsonga is indicated by the presence of the morpheme **-a** in the verbal morphology. In the absence of an objectival concord or clitic in the verbal morphology, the long form must occur if the verb is not followed by an object. Consider, for example, the sentences in (360)

- (360) a. Wansati u sweka nyama  
(The woman is cooking meat)
- b. Wansati wa sweka  
(The woman is cooking)

In (360b), the long form **-a** occurs, since the verb is not followed by an object. On the assumption that the infinitive is a class 15 noun, it would similarly be predicted that the long form of the verb would be disallowed if the verb is followed by an infinitive. This prediction, however, not borne out, since the infinitive may follow a verb in the long form, as shown in (361).

- (361) Vavasati va swi lava ku tirha  
(The women want to work)

Thus, we are led to the conclusion that the infinitive in (361) cannot be a class 15 noun. It is rather a clausal S complement of the matrix verb **-lav-** 'want'. Verbs like **-fun-** 'want', **-rhandz-** 'like', **-hlawul-** 'choose' and **-navel-/tsakel-** 'wish', that may take infinitival S complement, will be subcategorised for S in their lexical entries. If, on the other hand, the infinitive functions as an NP complement of a verb, the occurrence of the long form of this verb is disallowed, as it is in the case of any other NP object following the verb (see the discussion of (358) above). This means that, unless the clitic of the infinitival object occurs in the verbal morphology, the long form of the verb is impermissible.

#### **4.4 The complement clause has a dependent mood**

In this section the various deficient verbs which appear with a complement clause which has a dependent mood in Xitsonga will be considered.

##### **4.4.1. Deficient verbs with all the moods and tenses**

In this section those deficient verbs will be isolated which may appear in all the moods and tenses discussed above.

**4.4.1.1. dzumba**

Within an appropriate context, this deficient verb may appear as follows:

- (362) Eku heleni ka lembe ra 2003, ku pfuriwile feme yo endla switulu elokixini ra Mkhuhlu. Vanhu lava tshamaka emigangeni ya le kusuhi **va dzumba va ya** eMkhuhlu hi xikongomelo xo lava mintirho.  
(Towards the end of the year 2003, a factory for manufacturing chairs has been opened in the Mkhuhlu location. People staying in the neighbouring villages always go to Mkhuhlu with aim of looking for jobs).

The deficient verb **dzumba** may appear in the following moods and tenses:

**(a) Indicative****(i) Present tense**

- (363) [Va dzumba [va ta laha]]  
(They always come here)

**(ii) Perfect tense**

- (364) [Va dzumbe [va ta laha]]  
(The have always come here)

**(iii) Future tense**

- (365) [[Va ta dzumba [va ta laha]]  
(They will always come here)

**(iv) A-Past tense**

- (366) [A va dzumba [va ta laha]]  
(They did always come here)  
(367) [A va dzumbile [va ta laha]]  
(They were always coming here)

**Indicative : Negative****(i) Present tense**

- (368) A va dzumbi [va ta laha]]  
(They do not always come here)

**(ii) Perfect tense**

- (369) [A va dzumbangi [va ta laha]]  
(They have not always come here)

**(iii) Future tense**

- (370) [A va nge dzumbi [va ta laha]]  
(They will not always come here)

**(iv) A - Past tense**

- (371) [A va nga dzumbi [va ta laha]]  
(They were not always coming here)
- (372) [A va nga dzumbanga [ va ta laha]]  
(They had not always come here)

**b. The Potential mood****(i) Positive**

- (373) [Va nga dzumba [va ta laha]]  
(They may always come here)

**(ii) Negative**

- (374) [A va nge dzumbi [va ta laha]]  
(They may not always come here)

**(c) The dependwnt mood****Positive****(i) Present tense**

- (375) Ndza vilela loko [va dzumba [va ta laha]]  
( I am worried when they always come here)

**(ii) Perfect tense**

- (376) Ndza vilela loko [va dzumbile [va ta laha]]  
(I am worried when they have always come here)

**(iii) Future tense**

- (377) Ndza vilela loko [va ta dzumba [va ta laha]]  
(I am worried when they will always come here)

**(iv) A - Past tense**

- (378) Ndza vilela loko [a va dzumba [va ta laha]]  
(I am worried when they were always coming here)
- (379) Ndza vilela loko [a va dzumbile [va ta laha]]  
(I am worried when they had always come here)

**(v) The Potential mood**

- (380) Ndza vilela loko [va nga dzumba [va ta laha]]  
(I am worried when they may always come here)

**Dependent mood: Negative****(i) Present tense**

- (381) Ndza vilela loko [va nga dzumbi [va ta laha]]  
(I am worried when they do not always come here)

**(ii) Perfect tense**

- (382) Ndza vilela loko [va nga dzumbangi [va ta laha]]  
(I am worried when they have not always come here)

**(iii) Future tense**

- (383) Ndza vilela loko [va nge dzumbi [va ta laha]]  
(I am worried when they will not always come here)

**(iv) A - Past tense**

- (384) Ndza vilela loko a [va nga dzumbi [va ta laha]]  
(I am worried when they were not always coming here)
- (385) Ndza vilela loko [a va nga dzumbanga [va ta laha]]  
(I am worried when they had not always come here)

**(v) Potential mood**

- (386) Ndza vilela loko [va nge dzumbi [va ta laha]]  
 (I am worried when they may not always come here)

**(vi) Infinitive : Positive**

- (387) Va lava [ku dzumba [va dyondza Xitsonga]]  
 (They want to always learn Xitsonga)

**(vii) Imperative**

- (388) [Dzumba [u dyondza Xitsonga!]]  
 (Learn Xitsonga always)

**(viii) Hortative**

- (389) [A hi dzumbeni [hi dyondza Xitsonga]]  
 (Let us always learn Xitsonga)

**Infinitive : Negative**

- (390) Va lava [ku nga dzumbi [va dyondza Xitsonga]]  
 (They want not to always learn Xitsonga)

**Imperative : Negative**

- (391) [U nga dzumbi [u dyondza Xitsonga]]  
 (Do not always learn Xitsonga)

**Hortative : Negative**

- (392) [Hi nga dzumbeni [hi dyondza Xitsonga]]  
 (We must not always learn Xitsonga)

**4.4.1.2 hamba**

Within an appropriate context, this deficient verb may appear as follows:

- (393) Eka Ngoveni, khisimusi rin'wana na rin'wana va hamba va dlaya homu va vitana maxaka va dya swin'we.  
 (In the Ngoveni family, every Christmas they usually slaughter a cow and invite their relatives and eat together)

The deficient verb **hamba** may appear in the following moods and tenses:

**(a) Indicative : Positive**

**(i) Present tense**

(394) [Hi hamba [hi rima]]

(We usually plough)

**(ii) Perfect tense**

(395) [Hi hambile [hi rima]]

(We have usually ploughed)

**(iii) Future tense**

(396) [Hi ta hamba [hi rima]]

(We will usually plough)

**(iv) A - Past tense**

(397) [A hi hamba [hi rima]]

(We were usually ploughing)

(398) [A hi hambile [hi rima]]

(We had usually ploughed)

**Indicative : Negative**

**(i) Present tense**

(399) [A hi hambu [hi rima]]

(We do not usually plough)

**(ii) Perfect tense**

(400) [A hi hambangi [hi rima]]

(We have not usually ploughed)

**(iii) Future tense**

(401) [A hi nge hambu [hi rima]]

(We will not usually plough)

**(iv) A- Past tense**

(402) [A hi nga hambu [hi rima]]  
 (We were not usually ploughing)

(403) [A hi hambangi [hi rima]]  
 (We had not usually plough)

**(b) The potential mood****Positive:**

(404) [Hi nga hamba [hi rima]]  
 (We may usually plough)

**Negative:**

(405) [A hi nge hambu [hi rima]]  
 (We may not usually plough)

**(c) Dependent mood****Positive**

(406) Tatana u ba mufana leswaku [a hamba [a yingisa]]  
 (Father beats the boy so that he usually listens)

**Perfect tense**

(407) Tatana u ba mufana leswaku [a hambe [a tirha]]  
 (Father beats the boy so that he usually works)

**Future tense**

(408) Tatana u ba mufana leswaku [a ta hamba [a tirha]]  
 (Father beats the boys so that he will usually works)

**A - Past tense**

(409) Tatana u ba mufana leswaku [a a hamba [a tirha]]  
 (Father beats the boy so that he usually worked)

(410) Tatana u ba mufana leswaku [a a hambile a tirha]]  
 (Father beats the boy so that he had usually worked)

**Potential mood**

- (411) Tatana u ba mufana leswaku [a nga hamba [a tirha]]  
 (Father beats the boys so that he may usually work)

**Dependent mood: Negative****Present tense**

- (412) Tatana u ba mufana leswaku [a nga hambani [a tirha]]  
 (Tatana beats the boys so that he does not usually work)

**Perfect tense**

- (413) Tatana u ba mufana leswaku [a nga hambangi [a tirha]]  
 (Father beats the boys so that he has not usually worked)

**Future tense**

- (414) Tatana u ba mufana leswaku [a nge hambani [a yingisa]]  
 (Father beats the boys so that he will not usually listen)

**A - Past tense**

- (415) Tatana u ba mufana leswaku [a a nga hambani [a yingisa]]  
 (Father beats the boys so that he was not usually listening)  
 (416) Tatana u ba mufana leswaku [a a nga hambangi [a yingisa]]  
 (Father beats the boy so that he had not usually listened)

**Potential mood**

- (417) Tatana u ba mufana leswaku [a nge hambani [a yingisa]]  
 (Father beats the boy so that he may not usually listen)

**Infinitive mood : positive**

- (418) Va lava [ku hamba va dyondza Xitsonga]  
 (They want to always learn Xitsonga)

**Imperative mood**

- (419) Hamba [u dyondza Xitsonga!]  
 (Learn Xitsonga always)

**(f) Hortative mood**

- (420) [A hi hambeni [hi dyondza Xitsonga]]  
 (Let us always learn Xitsonga)

**Infinitive : Negative**

- (421) Va lava [ku nga hambeni [va dyondza Xitsonga]]  
 (They want not to usually learn Xitsonga)

**Imperative: Negative**

- (422) [U nga hambeni [u dyondza Xitsonga]]  
 (Do not always learn Xitsonga)

**Hortative: Negative**

- (423) [Hi nga hambeni [hi dyondza Xitsonga]]  
 (We must not usually learn Xitsonga)

**4.4.1.3. tama**

Within an appropriate context, this deficient verb may appear as follows:

- (424) Tolo tatana wa Nkhensani u bile Butana, jaha ra Nkhensani. U lerisile Butana leswaku a nga ha lavi ku n'wi vona ekaya ka yena. Hambileswi xiyimo xi nga hi ndlela leyi, Butana **u tama a ha ya** ku ya vona nhwana wa yena Nkhensani.  
 (Yesterday, Nkhensani's father has beaten Butana, Nkhensani's boyfriend. He instructed Butana that he does not want to see him in his home. Even though the situation is like this, Butana continuously go there to see his girlfriend, Nkhensani)

The deficient verb **tama** may appear in the following moods and tenses:

**(a) Indicative mood : Positive****Present tense**

- (425) [Va tama [va ta laha]]  
 (They continuously come here)

**Perfect tense**

- (426) [Va tamile [va ta laha]]  
 (They have continuously come here)

**Future tense**

- (427) [Va ta tama [va ta laha]]  
 (They will continuously come here)

**A - Past tense**

- (428) [A va tama [va ta laha]]  
 (They were continuously coming here)
- (429) [A va tamile [ va ta laha]]  
 (They had continuously come here)

**Indicative : Negative****Present tense**

- (430) [A va tami [va ta laha]]  
 (They do not continuously come here)

**Perfect tense**

- (431) [A va tamangi [va ta laha]]  
 (They have not continuously come here)

**Future tense**

- (432) [A va nge tami [va ta laha]]  
 (They will not continuously come here)

**A - Past tense**

- (433) [A va nga tami [va ta laha]]  
 (They were not continuously coming here)
- (434) [A va nga tamangangi [va ta laha]]  
 (They had not continuously come here)

**Potential mood: Positive**

- (435) [Va nga tama [va ta laha]]  
 (They may continuously come here)

**Potential mood: Negative**

(436) [A va nge tami [va ta laha]]

(They may not continuously come here)

**(c) Dependent mood****Positive****Present tense**

(437) Ndza tsaka loko [va tama [va ta laha]]

(I am happy when they continuously come here)

**Perfect tense**

(438) Ndza tsaka loko [va tamile [va ta laha]]

(I am happy when they have continuously come here)

**Future tense**

(439) Ndza tsaka loko [va ta tama [va ta laha]]

(I am happy when they will continuously come here)

**A - Past tense**

(440) Ndza tsaka loko [a va tama [va ta laha]]

(I am happy when they were continuously coming here)

(441) Ndza tsaka loko [a va tamile [va ta laha]]

(I am happy when they had continuously come here)

**Potential mood**

(442) [Ndza tsaka loko [va nga tama [va ta laha]]

(I am happy when they may continuously come here)

**Dependent mood : Negative****Present tense**

(443) Ndza tsaka loko [va nga tami [va ta laha]]

(I am happy when they do not continuously come here)

**Perfect tense**

- (444) Ndza tsaka loko [va nga tamangi [va ta laha]]  
 (I am happy when they have not continuously come here)

**Future tense**

- (445) Ndza tsaka loko [va nge tami [va ta laha]]  
 (I am happy when they will not continuously come here)

**A - Past tense**

- (446) Ndza tsaka loko [a va nga tami [va ta laha]]  
 (I am happy when they were not continuously coming here)
- (447) Ndza tsaka loko [a va nga tamangi [va ta laha]]  
 (I am happy when had not continuously come here]

**Potential mood**

- (448) Ndza tsaka loko [va nge tami [va ta laha]]  
 (I am happy when they may not continuously come here)

**(d) Infinitive mood: Positive**

- (449) Ndzi lava [ku tama [ndzi ta laha]]  
 (I want to continuously come here)

**(e) Imperative mood**

- (450) [Tama [u ta laha]]  
 (Come here continuously)

**(f) Hortative mood**

- (451) [A hi tameni [hi ta laha]]  
 (Let us continuously come here)

**Infinitive : Negative**

- (452) Ndzi lava [ku nga tami [ndzi ta laha]]  
 (I do not want to continuously come here)

**Imperative: Negative**

- (453) [U nga tami [u ta laha]]  
 (Do not continuously come here)

**Hortative: Negative**

- (454) [Hi nga tameni [hi ta laha]]  
 (We must not continuously come here)

**4.4.1.4. hetelela**

Within an appropriate context, this deficient verb may appear as follows:

- (455) Vatlangi va bolo va holovela, bolo leyi howeke. Hikokwalaho ka ku kala va nga twisisani va **hetelela va lwile**.  
 (The players are arguing over the goal that went inside the net. Because of lack of understanding among them, they finally fought)

The deficient verb **hetelela** may appear in the following moods and tenses:

**Indicative mood : Positive****Present tense**

- (456) [Vanhu va hetelela [va ndzi hlanganisa nhloko]]  
 (People finally confuse me)

**Perfect tense**

- (457) [Va hetelerile [va ndzi hlanganisa nhloko]]  
 (People have finally confused me)

**Future tense**

- (458) [Vanhu [va ta hetelela [va ndzi hlanganisa nhloko]]  
 (People will finally confuse me)

**A - Past tense**

- (459) [Vanhu [a va ta hetelela [va ndzi hlanganisa nhloko]]  
 (People were finally going to confuse me)  
 (460) [Vanhu [a va hetelerile [va ndzi hlanganisa nhloko]]  
 (People had finally confused me)

**Indicative : Negative****Present tense**

(461) [Vanhu [a va heteleli [va ndzi hlanganisa nhloko]]

(People do not finally confuse me)

**Perfect tense**

(462) [Vanhu [a va hetelelangi [va ndzi hlanganisa nhloko]]

(People have not finally confused me)

**Future tense**

(463) [Vanhu [a va nge heteleli [va ndzi hlanganisa nhloko]]

(People will not finally confuse me)

**A - Past tense**

(464) [Vanhu [a va nga heteleli [va ndzi hlanganisa nhloko]]

(People were not finally confusing me)

(465) [Vanhu [a va ngahetelelangi [va ndzi hlanganisa nhloko]]

(People had not finally confused me)

**(b) Potential mood: Positive**

(466) [Vanhu [va nga hetelela [va ndzi hlanganisa nhloko]]

(People may finally confuse me)

**Potential mood**

(467) [Vanhu [a va nge heteleli [ va ndzi hlanganisa nhloko]]

(People may not finally confuse me)

**(c) Dependent mood****Positive****Present tense**

(468) Ndza tsaka loko [va hetelela [va dyondza Xitsonga]]

(I am happy when they finally learn Xitsonga)

**Perfect tense**

- (469) Ndza tsaka loko [va hetelerile [va dyondza Xitsonga]]  
 (I am happy when they have finally learn Xitsonga)

**Future tense**

- (470) [Ndza tsaka loko [va ta hetelela [va dyondza Xitsonga]]  
 (I am happy when they will finally learn Xitsonga)

**A - Past tense**

- (471) [Ndza tsaka loko [a va hetelela [va dyondza Xitsonga]]  
 (I am happy when they were finally learning Xitsonga)  
 (472) [Ndza tsaka loko [a va hetelerile [va dyondza Xitsonga]]  
 (I am happy when they had finally learnt Xitsonga)

**Potential mood**

- (473) [Ndza tsaka loko [va nga heletela [va dyondza Xitsonga]]  
 (I am happy when the may finally learn Xitsonga)

**Dependent mood****Negative****Present tense**

- (474) [Ndza tsaka loko [va nga heteleli [va dyondza Xitsonga]]  
 (I am happy when they do not finally learn Xitsonga)

**Perfect tense**

- (475) Ndza tsaka loko [va nga hetelelangi [va dyondza Xitsonga]]  
 (I am happy when they have not finally learn Xitsonga)

**Future tense**

- (476) [Ndza tsaka loko [va nga ta hetelela [va dyondza Xitsonga]]  
 (I am happy will not finally learn Xitsonga)

**A - Past tense**

- (477) [Ndza tsaka loko [a va nga heteleli [va dyondza Xitsonga]]  
 (I am happy when they were not finally learning Xitsonga)

(478) [Ndza tsaka loko [a va nga hetelelangi [va dyondza Xitsonga]]

(I am happy when they had not finally learnt Xitsonga)

**Potential mood**

(479) [Ndza tsaka loko [va nge heteleli [va dyondza Xitsonga]]

(I am happy that they may not finally learn Xitsonga)

**(d) Infinitive mood : Positive**

(480) [Va lava [ku hetelela [va yiva]]

(They want to finally steal)

**(e) Imperative mood**

(481) [Hetelela [u yiva]]

(Finally steal)

**(f) Hortative mood**

(482) [A hi heteleleni [hi yiva]]

(Let us finally steal)

**Infinitive : Negative**

(483) [Va lava [ku nga heteleli [va yiva]]

(They want to finally not steal)

**Imperative: Negative**

(484) [U nga heteleli [u yiva]]

(Do not finally steal)

**Hortative: Negative**

(485) [Hi nga heteleli [hi yiva]]

[We must not finally steal)

**4.4.1.5. ka/kala**

Within an appropriate context, this deficient verb may appear as follows:

(486) Xivochwa xi balekile ekhotsweni xi ya tumbela ePitori. Van'wana va ri se xi le Marabastad. Maphorisa ya ri **ya ta kala ya xi khoma**.

(The prisoner has escaped from prison to go and hide in Pretoria. Some say the prisoner is now in Marabastad. Police say that they will eventually arrest him).

The deficient verb **kala** may appear in the following moods and tenses:

**Indicative mood : Positive****Present tense**

(487) [Va kala [va n'wi ba]]  
(They ultimately beat him)

**Perfect tense**

(488) [Va karile [va n'wi ba]]  
(They have ultimately beat him)

**Future tense**

(489) [Va ta kala [va n'wi ba]]  
(They will ultimately beat him)

**A - Past tense**

(490) [A va kala [va n'wi ba]]  
(They were ultimately beating him)  
(491) [A va karile [va n'wi ba]]  
(They had ultimately beat him)

**Indicative : Negative****Present tense**

(492) [A va nga kali [va n'wi ba]]  
(They do not ultimately beat him)

**Perfect tense**

- (493) [A va kalangi [va nga n'wi ba]]  
 (They have not ultimately beat him)

**Future tense**

- (494) [A va nge kali [va n'wi ba]]  
 (They will not ultimately beat him)

**A - Past tense**

- (495) [A va nga kali [va n'wi ba]]  
 (They were not ultimately beating him)
- (496) [A va nga kalangi [va n'wi ba]]  
 (They had not ultimately beat him)

**(b) Potential mood: Positive**

- (497) [Va nga kala [va n'wi ba]]  
 (They may ultimately beat him)

**Potential mood: Negative**

- (498) [A va nge kali [va n'wi ba]]  
 (They may not ultimately beat him)

**(c) Dependent mood****Positive****Present tense**

- (499) [Ndza tsaka loko [va kala [va dyondza Xitsonga]]  
 (I am happy when they ultimately learn Xitsonga)

**Perfect tense**

- (500) [Ndza tsaka loko [va karile [va dyondza Xitsonga]]  
 (I am happy when they ultimately learn Xitsonga)

**Future tense**

- (501) [Ndza tsaka loko [va ta kala [va dyondza Xitsonga]]  
 (I am happy when they will ultimately learn Xitsonga)

**A - Past tense**

- (502) [Ndza tsaka loko [a va kala [va dyondza Xitsonga]]  
(I am happy when they were ultimately learning Xitsonga)
- (503) [Ndza tsaka loko [a va karile [va dyondza Xitsonga]]  
(I am happy when they had ultimately learn Xitsonga)

**Potential mood**

- (504) [Ndza tsaka loko [va nga kala [va dyondza Xitsonga]]  
(I am happy when they may ultimately learn Xitsonga)

**Dependent mood : Negative****Present tense**

- (505) [Ndza tsaka loko [va nga kali [va dyondza Xitsonga]]  
(I am happy when they do not ultimately learn Xitsonga)

**Future tense**

- (506) [Ndza tsaka loko [a va nge kali [va dyondza Xitsonga]]  
(I am happy when they will not ultimately learn Xitsonga)

**A - Past tense**

- (507) [Ndza tsaka loko [a va nga kali [va dyondza Xitsonga]]  
(I am happy when they were not ultimately learning Xitsonga)
- (508) [Ndza tsaka loko [va nga kalangi [va dyondza Xitsonga]]  
(I am happy when they had not ultimately learn Xitsonga)

**Potential mood**

- (509) [Ndza tsaka loko [a va nge kali [va dyondza Xitsonga]]  
(I am happy when they may not ultimately learn Xitsonga)

**(d) Infinitive : Positive**

- (510) [Va lava [ku kala va dyondza Xitsonga]]  
(They want to ultimately learn Xitsonga)

**(e) Imperative mood**

- (511) [Kala [u yiva]  
(Ultimately steal)

**(f) Hortative mood**

- (512) [A hi kaleni [hi yiva]]  
(Let us ultimately steal)

**Infinitive : Negative**

- (513) [Va lava [ku nga kali [va yiva]]  
(They want not to ultimately steal)

**Imperative: Negative**

- (514) [U nga kali [u yiva]]  
(Do not ultimately steal)

**Hortative: Negative**

- (515) [Hi nga kaleni [hi yiva]]  
(We must not ultimately steal)

**4.4.1.6. kondza**

Within an appropriate context, this deficient verb may appear as follows:

- (516) Vana va lavile bolo leyi a yi lahlekile **ku kondza va yi kuma**.  
(The boys searched for the soccer ball which was lost until they find it)

The deficient verb **kondza** may appear in the following moods and tenses:

**(a) Indicative: Positive****Present tense**

- (517) [Va kondza [va hleka namuntlha]]  
(They eventually laugh today)

**Perfect tense**

- (518) [Va kondzile [va hleka namuntlha]]  
(They have eventually laughed today)

**Future tense**

- (519) [Va ta kondza [va hleka namuntlha]]  
(They will eventually laugh today)

**A - Past tense**

- (520) [A va kondza [va hleka namuntlha]]  
(They were eventually laughing today)
- (521) [A va kondzile [va hleka namuntlha]]  
(They had eventually laughed today)

**Indicative : Negative****Present tense**

- (522) [A va kondzi [va hleka namuntlha]]  
(They do not eventually laugh today)

**Perfect tense**

- (523) [A va kondzangi [va hleka namuntlha]]  
(The have not eventually laughed today)

**Future tense**

- (524) [A va nge kondzi [va hleka namuntlha]]  
(They will not eventually laugh today)

**A - Past tense**

- (525) [A va nga kondzi [va hleka namuntlha]]  
(They were not eventually laughing today)
- (526) [A va nga kondzangi [va hleka namuntlha]]  
(They had not eventually laughed today)

**(b) Potential mood**

- (527) [Va nga kondza [va hleka namuntlha]]  
 (They may eventually laugh today)

**Potential mood: Negative**

- (528) [A va nge kondzi [va hleka namuntlha]]  
 (They may not eventually laugh today)

**(c) Dependent mood****Positive****Present tense**

- (529) [Ndza tsaka loko [va kondza [va hleka namuntlha]]  
 (I am happy when they eventually laugh today)

**Perfect tense**

- (530) [Ndza tsaka loko [va kondzile [va hleka namuntlha]]  
 (I am happy that when they have eventually laughed today)

**Future tense**

- (531) [Ndza tsaka loko [va ta kondza [va hleka namuntlha]]  
 (I am happy when they will eventually laugh today)

**A - Past tense**

- (532) [Ndza tsaka loko [a va kondza [va hleka namuntlha]]  
 (I am happy when they were eventually laughing today)
- (533) [Ndza tsaka loko [a va kondzile [va hleka namuntlha]]  
 I am happy when they had eventually laughed today)

**Potential mood**

- (534) [Ndza tsaka loko [va nga kondza [va hleka namuntlha]]  
 (I am happy when they may eventually laugh today)

**Dependent mood****Negative****Present tense**

- (535) [Ndza tsaka loko [va nga kondzi [va hleka namuntlha]]  
 (I am happy when they do not eventually laugh today)

**Perfect tense**

- (536) Ndza tsaka loko [va nga kondzangi [va hleka namuntlha]]  
 (I am happy when they have not eventually laughed today)

**Future tense**

- (537) [Ndza tsaka loko [va nge kondzi [va hleka namuntlha]]  
 (I am happy when they will not eventually laugh today)

**A - Past tense**

- (538) [Ndza tsaka loko [a va nga kondzi [va hleka tolo]]  
 (I am happy when they were not eventually laughing today)
- (539) [Ndza tsaka loko [a va nga kondzangi [va hleka namuntlha]]  
 (I am happy when they had not eventually laughed today)

**Potential mood**

- (540) [Ndza tsaka loko [va nge kondzi [va hleka namuntlha]]  
 (I am happy when they may not eventually laugh today)

**(d) Infinitive: Positive**

- (541) [Va lava [ku kondza [va nghena]]  
 (They want to eventually enter)

**(e) Imperative mood**

- (542) [Kondza [u nghena]]  
 (Eventually enter)

**(f) Hortative mood**

- (543) [A hi kondzeni [hi nghena]]  
 (Let us eventually enter)

**Infinitive: Negative**

- (544) [Va lava [ku nga kondzi [va nghena]]  
 (They want not to eventually enter)

**Imperative: Negative**

- (545) [U nga kondzi [u nghena]]  
 (Do not eventually enter)

**Hortative: Negative**

- (546) [Hi nga kondzeni [hi nghena]]  
 (We must not eventually enter)

**4.4.1.7. namba**

Within an appropriate context, this deficient verb may appear as follows:

- (547) A ndzi yile evhengeleni ku ya xava baji. Ndzi kumile buruku ri chipisiwile ivi **ndzi namba ndzi xava** na rona.  
 (I went to the shop to buy a jacket. I found that the trouser was on sale and then bought it at once also)

The deficient verb **namba** may appear in the following moods and tenses:

**(a) Indicative mood : Positive****Present tense**

- (548) [Ndzi namba [ndzi dya]]  
 (I eat at once)

**Perfect tense**

- (549) [Ndzi nambile [ndzi dya]]  
 (I have eaten at once)]

**Future tense**

- (550) [Ndzi ta namba [ndzi dya]]  
 (I will eat at once)

**A - Past tense**

(551) [A ndzi namba [ndzi dya]  
(I was eating at once)

(552) [A ndzi nambile [ndzi dya]]  
(I had eaten at once)

**Indicative : Negative****Present tense**

(553) [A ndzi nambi [ndzi dya]]  
(I do not eat at once)

**Perfect tense**

(554) [A ndzi nambangi [ndzi dya]]  
(I have not eaten at once)

**Future tense**

(555) [A ndzi nge nambi [ndzi dya]]  
(I will not eat at once)

**A - Past tense**

(556) [A ndzi nga nambi [ndzi dya]]  
(I was not eating at once)

(557) [A ndzi nga nambangi [ndzi dya]]  
(I had not eaten at once)

**(b) Potential mood**

(558) [Ndzi nga namba [ndzi dya]]  
(I may eat at once)

**Potential: Negative**

(559) [A ndzi nge nambi [ndzi dya]]  
(I may not eat at once)

**(c) Dependent mood****Positive****Present tense**

(560) [Ndza tsaka loko [va namba [va dyondza Xitsonga]]

(I am happy when they learn Xitsonga at once)

**Perfect tense**

(561) [Ndza tsaka loko [va nambile [va dyondza Xitsonga]]

(I am happy when they have learn Xitsonga at once)

**Future tense**

(562) [Ndza tsaka loko [va ta namba [va dyondza Xitsonga]]

(I am happy when they will learn Xitsonga at once)

**A - Past tense**

(563) [Ndza tsaka loko [a va namba [va dyondza Xitsonga]]

(I am happy when they were learning Xitsonga at once)

(564) [Ndza tsaka loko [a va nambile [va dyondza Xitsonga]]

(I am happy when they had learn Xitsonga at once)

**Potential mood**

(565) [Ndza tsaka loko [va nga namba [va dyondza Xitsonga]]

(I am happy when they may learn Xitsonga at once)

**Dependent mood****Negative****Present tense**

(566) [Ndza tsaka loko [va nga nambi [va dyondza Xitsonga]]

(I am happy when they do not learn Xitsonga at once)

**Perfect tense**

(567) [Ndza tsaka loko [va nga nambangi [va dyondza Xitsonga]]

(I am happy when they have not learnt Xitsonga at once)

**Future tense**

- (568) [Ndza tsaka loko [va nge nambi [va dyondza Xitsonga]]  
 (I am happy when they will not learn Xitsonga at once)

**A - Past tense**

- (569) [Ndza tsaka loko [a va nga nambi [va dyondza Xitsonga]]  
 (I am happy when they were not learning Xitsonga at once)
- (570) [Ndza tsaka loko [a va nga nambangi [va dyondza Xitsonga]]  
 (I am happy when they had not learnt Xitsonga at once)

**Potential mood**

- (571) [Ndza tsaka loko [va nge nambi [va dyondza Xitsonga]]  
 (I am happy when they may not learn Xitsonga at once)

**(d) Infinitive : Positive**

- (572) [Va lava [ku namba [va dyondza Xitsonga]]  
 (They want to learn Xitsonga at once)

**(e) Imperative mood**

- (573) [Namba [u dyondza Xitsonga]]  
 (Learn Xitsonga at once)

**(f) Hortative mood**

- (574) [A hi nambeni [hi dyondza Xitsonga]]  
 (Let us learn Xitsonga at once)

**Infinitive: Negative**

- (575) [Va lava [ku nga nambi va dyondza Xitsonga]]  
 (They want not to learn Xitsonga at once)

**Imperative mood**

- (576) [U nga nambi [u dyondza Xitsonga]]  
 (Do not learn Xitsonga at once)

**Hortative mood**

- (577) [Hi nga nambeni [hi dyondza Xitsonga]]  
 (We must not learn Xitsonga at once)

**4.4.1.8. pfa**

Within an appropriate context, this deficient verb may appear as follows:

- (578) Eka va-Giyani va dlayile homu. Muti hinkwawo wu dya nyama ya homu handle ka Giyani. Tatana wa Giyani u ri u ta n'wi xavela nyama ya huku vhiki leri taka loko a horile. Giyani **u pfa a dya** vuswa na matandza.  
 (In Giyani's family they have slaughtered a cow. The whole family eats beef with the exception of Giyani. Giyani's father has promised to buy him a chicken next week when he receives his salary. In the mean time Giyani eats porridge with eggs)

The deficient verb **pfa** may appear in the following moods and tenses:

**(a) Indicative mood : Positive****Present tense**

- (579) [Va pfa [va nwa tiya]]  
 (In the meantime they drink tea)

**Perfect tense**

- (580) [Va pfile [va nwa tiya]]  
 (They have in the meantime drank tea)

**Future tense**

- (581) [Va ta pfa [va nwa tiya]]  
 (They will in the meantime drink tea)

**A - Past tense**

- (582) [A va pfa [va nwa tiya]]  
 (They were in the meantime drinking tea)  
 (583) [A va pfile [va nwa tiya]]  
 (They had in the meantime drank tea)

**Indicative : Negative****Present tense**

(584) [A va pfi [va nwa tiya]]

(They do not in the meantime drink tea)]

**Perfect tense**

(585) [A va pfangi [va nwa tiya]]

(They have not in the meantime drank tea)

**Future tense**

(586) [A va nge pfi [va nwa tiya]]

(They will not in the meantime drink tea)

**A - Past tense**

(587) [A va nga pfi [va nwa tiya]]

(They were not in the mean time drinking tea)

(588) [A va nga pfangi [va nwa tiya]]

(They had not in the meantime drank tea)

**(b) Potential mood**

(589) [Va nga pfa [va nwa tiya]]

(They may in the meantime drink tea)

**Potential mood: Negative**

(590) [A va nge pfi [va nwa tiya]]

(They may not in the meantime drink tea)

**(c) Dependent mood****Present tense : Positive**

(591) [Ndza tsaka loko [va pfa [va nwa tiya]]

(I am happy when they in the mean time drink tea)

**Perfect tense**

(592) [Ndza tsaka loko [va pfile [va nwa tiya]]

(I am happy when they have in the meantime drank tea)

**Future tense**

- (593) [Ndza tsaka loko [va ta pfa [va nwa tiya]]  
 (I am happy when they will in the meantime drink tea)

**A - Past tense**

- (594) [Ndza tsaka loko [a va pfa [va nwa tiya]]  
 (I am happy when they were in the meantime drinking tea)]
- (595) [Ndza tsaka loko [a va pfile [va nwa tiya]]  
 (I am happy when in the mean time had drank tea)

**Potential mood**

- (596) [Ndza tsaka loko [va nga pfa [va nwa tiya]]  
 (I am happy when they may in the mean time drink tea)

**Dependent mood****Negative****Present tense**

- (597) [Ndza tsaka loko [va nga pfi [va nwa tiya]]  
 (I am happy when they in the meantime they do not drink tea)

**Perfect tense**

- (598) [Ndza tsaka loko [va nga pfangi [va nwa tiya]]  
 (I am happy when they have not in the meantime drank tea)

**Future tense**

- (599) [Ndza tsaka loko [a va nge pfi [a nwa tiya]]  
 (I am happy when they will not in the meantime drink tea)

**A - Past tense**

- (600) [Ndza tsaka loko [a va nga pfi [va nwa tiya]]  
 (I am happy when they were not in the meantime drinking tea)
- (601) [Ndza tsaka loko [a va nga pfangi [va nwa tiya]]  
 (I am happy when they had not in the meantime drank tea)

**Potential mood**

(602) [Ndza tsaka loko [a va nge pfi [va nwa tiya]]

I am happy when they may not in the meantime drink tea)

**(d) Infinitive: Positive**

(603) [Va lava [ku pfa [va hlamba]]

(They want to in the meantime wash)

**(e) Imperative mood**

(604) [Pfana [u hlamba]]

(Wash in the meantime)

**(f) Hortative mood**

(605) [A hi pfeni [hi hlamba]]

(Let us in the meantime wash)

**Infinitive: Negative**

(606) [Va lava [ku nga pfi [va hlamba]]

(They want not in the meantime to wash)

**Imperative mood: Negative**

(607) [U nga pfi [u hlamba]]

(Do not in the meantime wash)

**Hortative mood: Negative**

(608) [Hi nga pfeni [hi hlamba]]

(We must not in the meantime wash)

**4.4.1.9 sala**

Within an appropriate context, this deficient verb may appear as follows:

(609) Nkarhi lowu tatana na manana a va yile egaraji ku ya lulamisa movha, vaendzi vo huma eGiyani **va sale va fika** ekaya.

(The time when father and mother had gone to fix the car at the garage, the visitors from Giyani ultimately arrive at home)

The deficient verb **sala** may appear in the following moods and tenses:

**(a) Indicative mood : Positive**

**Perfect tense**

- (610) [Va sarile [va fika]]  
(They have ultimately arrived)

**Future tense**

- (611) [Va ta sala [va fika]]  
(They will ultimately arrive)

**A - Past tense**

- (612) [A va sale/sarile [va fika]]  
(They were ultimately arriving)

**Indicative mood : Negative**

**Perfect tense**

- (613) [A va salangi [va fika]]  
(They have not ultimately arrived)

**Future tense**

- (614) [A va nge sali [va fika]]  
(They will not ultimately arrive)

**A- Past tense**

- (615) [A va nga sali [va fika]]  
(They were not ultimately arriving)
- (616) [A va nga salangi [va fika]]  
(They had not ultimately arrived)

**(b) Potential mood**

- (617) [Va nga sala [va fika]]  
(They may ultimately arrive)

**Potential mood: Negative**

- (618) [A va nge sali [va fika]  
(They may not ultimately arrive)

**(c) Dependent mood : Positive****Perfect tense**

- (619) [Ndza tsaka loko [va sarile [va fika]]  
(I am happy when they have ultimately arrived)

**Future tense**

- (620) [Ndza tsaka loko [va ta sala [va fika]]  
(I am happy when they will ultimately arrive)

**A - Past tense**

- (621) [Ndza tsaka loko [a va sale/ sarile [va fika]]  
(I am happy when they were ultimately arriving)

**Potential mood**

- (622) [Ndza tsaka loko [va nga sala [va fika]]  
(I am happy when they may ultimately arrive)

**Dependent mood : Negative****Perfect tense**

- (623) [Ndza tsaka loko [va nga salangi [va fika]]  
(I am happy when they have not ultimately arrived)

**Future tense**

- (624) [Ndza tsaka loko [a va nge sali [va fika]]  
(I am happy when they will not ultimately arrive)

**A - Past tense**

- (625) [Ndza tsaka loko [a va nga sali [va fika]]  
(I am happy when they were not ultimately arriving)
- (626) [Ndza tsaka loko [a va nga salangi [va fika]]  
(I am happy when they have not ultimately arrived)

**Potential mood**

(627) [Ndza tsaka loko [va nge sali [va fika]]

(I am happy when they may not ultimately arrive)

**Infinitive: Positive**

(628) Ndza tsaka [ku sala [ku horile]

(I am happy when it ultimately remains quiet)

**Infinitive mood : Negative**

(629) Ndza tsaka [ku nga sali [ku horile]

(I am not happy when it does not ultimately remains quiet)

**4.4.1. 10 vhele**

Within an appropriate context, this deficient verb may appear as follows:

(630) Loko Ntiyiso a fika evhengeleni u kumile leswaku swilo swo tala a swi chipisiwile. **U vhele a xava** saka ra mugayo leri na rona a ri chipisiwile.

(When Ntiyiso arrived at the shop, he found that most of the items were on sale. He bought a bag of mealie-mealie at once which was also on sale)

The deficient verb **vhele** may appear in the following moods and items:

**(a) Indicative mood : Positive****Present tense**

(631) [Va vhele [va famba]]

(They leave at once)

**Perfect tense**

(632) [Va vherile [va famba]]

(They have left at once)

**Future tense**

- (633) [Va ta vhela [va famba]  
(They will leave at once)

**A - Past tense**

- (634) [A va vhela [va famba]]  
(They were leaving at once)
- (635) [A va vherile [va famba]]  
(They had left at once)

**(b) Potential mood**

- (636) [Va nga vhela [va famba]]  
(They may leave at once)

**(c) Dependent mood : Positive****Present tense**

- (637) [Ndza tsaka loko [va vhela [va famba]]  
(I am happy when they leave at once)

**Perfect tense**

- (638) [Ndza tsaka loko [va vherile [va famba]]  
(I am happy when they have left at once)

**Future tense**

- (639) [Ndza tsaka loko [va ta vhela [va famba ]]  
(I am happy when they will leave at once)

**A - Past tense**

- (640) [Ndza tsaka loko [a va vhela [va famba]]  
(I am happy when they were leaving at once)
- (641) [Ndza tsaka loko [a va vherile [va famba]]  
(I am happy when they had left at once)

**Potential mood**

- (642) [Ndza tsaka loko [va nga vhela [va famba]]  
 (I am happy when they may leave at once)

**Dependent mood : Negative****Present tense**

- (643) [Ndza tsaka loko [va nga vheli [va famba]]  
 (I am happy when they do not leave at once)]

**Perfect tense**

- (644) [Ndza tsaka loko [va nga vhelangi [va famba]]  
 (I am happy when they have not left at once)

**Future tense**

- (645) [Ndza tsaka loko [va nge vheli [va famba]]  
 (I am happy when they will not leave at once)

**A - Past tense**

- (646) [Ndza tsaka loko [a va nga vheli [va famba]]  
 (I am happy when they were not leaving at once)  
 (647) [Ndza tsaka loko [a va nga vhelangi [va famba]]  
 (I am happy when they had not left at once)

**Potential mood**

- (648) [Ndza tsaka loko [va nge vheli [va famba]]  
 (I am happy when they may not leave at once)

**(d) Infinitive: Positive**

- (649) [Va lava [ku vhela [va dyondza Xitsonga]]  
 (They want to learn Xitsonga at once)

**(e) Imperative mood**

- (650) [Vhela [u dyondza Xitsonga]]  
 (Learn Xitsonga at once)

**(f) Hortative mood**

- (651) [A hi vheleni [hi dyondza Xitsonga]  
(Let us learn Xitsonga at once)

**Infinitive: Negative**

- (652) [Va lava [ku nga vheli [va dyondza Xitsonga]]  
(They want not to learn Xitsonga at once)

**Imperative mood: Negative**

- (653) [U nga vheli [u dyondza Xitsonga]]  
(Do not learn Xitsonga at once)

**Hortative mood: Negative**

- (654) [Hi nga vheleni [hi dyondza Xitsonga]]  
(We must not learn Xitsonga at once)

**4.4.1.11. tshuka**

Within an appropriate context, this deficient verb may appear as follows:

- (655) Vana va xikolo lexi va na mikhuva leyinene. **Vo tshuka va xwerile** kambe minkarhi yo tala va fika hi nkarhi.  
(The learners of this school have good manners. Sometimes they arrive late but most of the time they arrive in time).

The deficient verb **tshuka** may appear in the following moods and tenses:

**(a) Indicative mood : Positive****Present tense**

- (656) [Va tshuka [va fika]]  
(They arrive sometimes)

**Perfect tense**

- (657) [Va tshukile [va fika]]  
(They have arrived sometimes)

**Future tense**

- (658) [Va ta tshuka [va fika]]  
 (They will arrive sometimes)

**A - Past tense**

- (659) [A va tshuka [va fika]]  
 They were arriving sometimes)
- (660) [Va tshukile [va fika]]  
 (They had arrived sometimes)

**Indicative : Negative****Present tense**

- (661) [A va tshuki [va fika]]  
 (They do not arrive sometimes)

**Perfect tense**

- (662) [A va tshukangi [va fika]]  
 (They have not arrived sometimes)

**Future tense**

- (663) [A va nge tshuki [va fika]]  
 (They will not arrive sometimes)

**A - Past tense**

- (664) [A va nga tshuki [va fika]]  
 (They were not arriving sometimes)
- (665) [A va nga tshukangi [va fika]]  
 (They had not arrived sometimes)

**(b) Potential mood**

- (666) [Va nga tshuka [va fika]]  
 (They may arrive sometimes)

**Potential mood: Negative**

- (667) [A va nge tshuki [va fika]]  
 (They may not arrive sometimes)

**(c) Dependent mood****Present tense**

(668) [Ndza tsaka loko [va tshuka [va fika]]

(I am happy when they arrive sometimes)

**Perfect tense**

(669) [Ndza tsaka loko [va tshukile [va fika]]

(I am happy when they have arrived sometimes)

**Future tense**

(670) [Ndza tsaka loko [va ta tshuka [va fika]]

(I am happy when they will arrive sometimes)

**A - Past tense**

(671) [Ndza tsaka loko [a va tshuka [va fika]]

(I am happy when they were arriving sometimes)

(672) [Ndza tsaka loko [a va tshukile [va fika]]

(I am happy when they had arrived sometimes)

**Potential mood**

(673) [Ndza tsaka loko [va nga tshuka [va fika]]

(I am happy when they may arrive sometimes)

**Dependent mood****Present tense : Negative**

(674) [Ndza tsaka loko [va nga tshuki [va fika]]

(I am happy when they do not arrive sometimes)

**Perfect tense**

(675) [Ndza tsaka loko [va nga tshukangi [va fika]]

(I am happy when they have not arrived sometimes)

**Future tense**

(676) [Ndza tsaka loko [va nge tshuki [va fika]]

(I am happy when they will not arrive sometimes)

**A - Past tense**

- (677) [Ndza tsaka loko [a va nga tshuki [va fika]]  
(I am happy when they were not arriving sometimes)
- (678) (Ndza tsaka loko [a va nga tshukangi [va fika]]  
(I am happy when they had not arrived sometimes)

**Potential mood**

- (679) [Ndza tsaka loko [va nge tshuki [va fika]]  
(I am happy when they may not arrive sometimes)

**(d) Infinitive mood : Positive**

- (680) [Va lava [ku tshuka [va fika]]  
(They want to arrive sometimes)

**(e) Imperative mood**

- (681) [Tshuka [u yiva]]  
(Steal sometimes)

**(f) Hortative mood**

- (682) [A hi tshukeni [hi yiva]]  
(Let us steal sometimes)

**Infinitive: Negative**

- (683) [Va lava [ku nga tshuki [va yiva]]  
(They want not to steal sometimes)

**Imperative mood: Negative**

- (684) [U nga [tshuki u yiva]]  
(Do not steal sometimes)

**Hortative mood: Negative**

- (685) [Hi nga tshukeni [hi yiva]]  
(We must not steal sometimes)

**4.4.1.12. engeta**

Within an appropriate context, this deficient verb may appear as follows:

(686) Tomasi u humile ekhotsweni n'hwetl ya ku hela. A khomeriwile ku yiva nyama ebucarini. Ndzi twa leswaku **u engete a yiva** vusiku bya tolo. Onge u tsakisa hi ku tshama ekhotsweni.

(Thomas was released from prison last month. He was arrested for stealing meat from the butchery. I learn that he stole again last night. It appears he enjoys staying in the prison).

The deficient verb **engeta** may appear in the following tenses and moods:

**(a) Indicative mood : Positive****Present tense**

(687) [Ndzi engeta [ndzi nwa mati]]

(I drink water again)

**Perfect tense**

(688) [Ndzi engetile [ndzi nwa mati]]

(I have drunk water again)

**Future tense**

(689) [Ndzi ta engeta [ndzi nwa mati]]

(I will drink water again)

**A - Past tense**

(690) [A ndzi engeta [ndzi nwa mati]]

(I was drinking water again)

(691) [A ndzi engetile [ndzi nwa mati]]

(I had drunk water again)

**Indicative mood : Negative****Present tense**

(692) [A ndzi engeti ndzi nwa mati]]  
 (I do not drink water again)

**Perfect tense**

(693) [A ndzi engetangi ndzi nwa mati]]  
 (I have not drunk water again)

**Future tense**

(694) [A ndzi nge engeti ndzi nwa mati]]  
 (I will not drink water again)

**A - Past tense**

(695) [A ndzi nga engeti ndzi nwa mati]]  
 (A was not drinking water again)  
 (696) [A ndzi nga engetangi ndzi nwa mati]]  
 (I had not drunk water again)

**Potential mood**

(697) [Ndzi nga engeta [ndzi nwa mati]]  
 (I may drink water again)

**Potential mood: Negative**

(698) [A ndzi nge engeti [ndzi nwa mati]]  
 (I may not drink water again)

**(c) Dependent mood : Positive****Present tense**

(699) [Ndza tsaka loko [ndzi engeta [ndzi dyondza Xitsonga]]  
 (I am happy when I learn Xitsonga again)

**Perfect tense**

- (700) [Ndza tsaka loko [ndzi engetile [ndzi dyondza Xitsonga]]  
(I am happy when I have learned Xitsonga again)

**Future tense**

- (701) [Ndza tsaka loko [ndzi ta engeta [ndzi dyondza Xitsonga]]  
(I am happy when I will learn Xitsonga again)

**A - Past tense**

- (702) [Ndza tsaka loko a [ndzi engeta [ndzi dyondza Xitsonga]]  
(I am happy when I was learning Xitsonga again)
- (703) [Ndza tsaka loko a [ndzi engetile [ndzi dyondza Xitsonga ]]  
(I am happy when I had learnt Xitsonga again)

**Potential mood**

- (704) [Ndza tsaka loko [ndzi nga engeta [ndzi dyondza Xitsonga]]  
(I am happy when I may learn Xitsonga again)

**Dependent mood : Negative****Present tense**

- (705) [Ndza tsaka loko [ndzi nga engeti [ndzi dyondza Xitsonga]]  
(I am happy when I do not learn Xitsonga again)

**Perfect tense**

- (706) [Ndza tsaka loko [ndzi nga engetangi [ndzi dyondza Xitsonga]]  
(I am happy when I have not learn Xitsonga again)

**Future tense**

- (707) [Ndza tsaka loko [ndzi nge engeti [ndzi dyondza Xitsonga]]  
(I am happy when I will not learn Xitsonga again)

**A - Past tense**

(708) [Ndza tsaka loko [a ndzi nga engeti [ndzi dyondza Xitsonga]]

(I am happy when I was not learning Xitsonga again)

(709) [Ndza tsaka loko [a ndzi nga engetangi [ndzi dyondza Xitsonga]]

(I am happy when I had not learnt Xitsonga again)

**Potential mood**

(710) [Ndza tsaka loko [ndzi nge engeti [ndzi dyondza Xitsonga]]

(I am happy when I may not learn Xitsonga again)

**(d) Infinitive: Positive**

(711) [Va lava [ku engeta [va yiva]]

(They want to steal again)

**(e) Imperative mood**

(712) [Engeta [u yiva]]

(Steal again)

**(f) Hortative mood**

(713) [A hi engeteni [hi yiva]]

(Let us steal again)

**Infinitive: Negative**

(714) [Va lava [ku nga engeti [va yiva]]

(They want not to steal again)

**Imperative mood: Negative**

(715) [U nga engeti [u yiva]]

(Do not steal again)

**Hortative mood: Negative**

(716) [Hi nga engeti [hi yiva]]

(We must not steal again)

**4.4.1.13 tlhela**

Within an appropriate context, this deficient verb may appear as follows:

- (717) Vanhu lava u nge va twisisi. Va byeriwile leswaku va nga nveli byalwa exitarateni. Kambe va tlhela **va nwela kwala** xitarateni. Maphorisa ya ta va khoma.  
(You can't understand these people. They have been told that they must not drink liquor in the street. But they drink liquor again in the street. The police will arrest them).

The deficient verb **tlhela** may appear in the following moods and tenses:

**(a) Indicative : Positive****Present tense**

- (718) [Va tlhela [va tirha]]  
(They work again)

**Perfect tense**

- (719) [Va tlherile [va tirha]]  
(They have worked again)

**Future tense**

- (720) [Va ta tlhela [va tirha]]  
(They will work again)

**A - Past tense**

- (721) [A va tlhela [va tirha]]  
(They were working again)
- (722) [A va tlherile [va tirha]]  
(They had worked again)

**Indicative mood : Negative****Present tense**

(723) [A va tlheli va tirha]]  
 (They may not work again)

**Perfect tense**

(724) [A va tlhelangi va tirha]]  
 (They have not worked again)

**Future tense**

(725) [A va nge tlheli va tirha]]  
 (They will not work again)

**A - Past tense**

(726) [A va nga tlheli va tirha]]  
 (They were not working)

(727) [A va nga tlhelangi va tirha]]  
 (They had not worked again)

**Potential mood**

(728) [Va nga tlhela [va tirha]]  
 (They may work again)

**Potential mood: Negative**

(729) [A va nge tlheli [va tirha]]  
 (They may not work again)

**(c) Dependent mood : Positive****Present tense**

(730) [Ndza tsaka loko [va tlhela [va tirha]]  
 (I am happy when they work again)

**Perfect tense**

- (731) [Ndza tsaka loko [va ttherile [va tirha]]  
 (I am happy when they have worked again)

**Future tense**

- (732) [Ndza tsaka loko [va ta tlhela [va tirha]]  
 (I am happy when they will work again)

**A - Past tense**

- (733) [Ndza tsaka loko [a va tlhela [va tirha]]  
 (I am happy when they were working again)
- (734) [Ndza tsaka loko [a va ttherile [va tirha]]  
 (I am happy when they had worked again)

**Potential mood**

- (735) [Ndza tsaka loko [va nga tlhela [va tirha]]  
 (I am happy when they may work again)

**Dependent mood : Negative****Present tense**

- (736) [Ndza tsaka loko [va nga tlheli [va tirha]]  
 (I am happy when they do not work)

**Perfect tense**

- (737) [Ndza tsaka loko [va nga tlhelangi [va tirha]]  
 (I am happy when they have not worked)

**Future tense**

- (738) [Ndza tsaka loko [va nge tlheli [va tirha]]  
 (I am happy when they will not work again)

**A - Past tense**

(739) [Ndza tsaka loko [a va nga tlheli [va tirha]]  
 (I am happy when they were not working again)

(740) [Ndza tsaka loko [a va nga tlhelangi [va tirha]]  
 (I am happy when they had not worked again)

**Potential mood**

(741) [Ndza tsaka loko [va nge tlheli [va tirha]]  
 (I am happy when they may not work again)

**(d) Infinitive: Positive**

(742) [Va lava [ku tlhela [va dyondza Xitsonga]]  
 (They want to learn Xitsonga again)

**(e) Imperative mood**

(743) [Tlhela [u dyondza Xitsonga]]  
 (Learn Xitsonga again)

**(f) Hortative mood**

(744) [A hi tlheleni hi [dyondza Xitsonga]]  
 (Let us learn Xitsonga again)

**Infinitive mood : Negative**

(745) [Va lava [ku nga tlheli [va dyondza Xitsonga]]  
 (They want not to learn Xitsonga again)

**Imperative mood: Negative**

(746) [U nga tlheli [u dyondza Xitsonga]]  
 (Do not learn Xitsonga again)

**Hortative mood: Negative**

- (747) [Hi nga tlheleni [hi dyondza Xitsonga]]  
 (We must not learn Xitsonga again)

**4.4.1.14. jinga**

Within an appropriate context, this deficient verb may appear as follows:

- (748) Hambileswi ku heleke tin'hweti timbirhi vatirhi va nga si kuma miholo ya vona, loko ndzi hundza hi le femeni ya vona ndzi kumile vatirhi **va jinga va tirha**.  
 (Although two months have passed and the workers have not received their wages/salaries, when I passed by their factory, I found them nevertheless working).

The deficient verb **jinga** may appear in the following moods and tenses:

**(a) Indicative mood : Positive****Present tense**

- (749) [Va jinga [va tirha]]  
 (They nevertheless work)

**Perfect tense**

- (750) [Va jingile [va tirha]]  
 (They have nevertheless worked)

**Future tense**

- (751) [Va ta jinga [va tirha]]  
 (They will nevertheless work)

**A - Past tense**

- (752) [A va jinga [va tirha]]  
 (They were nevertheless working)
- (753) [A va jingile [va tirha]]  
 (They had nevertheless worked)

**Negative****Present tense**

(754) [A va jingi [va tirha]]

(They do not nevertheless work)

**Perfect tense**

(755) [A va jingangi [va tirha]]

(They have not nevertheless worked)

**Future tense**

(756) [A va nge jingi [va tirha]]

(They will not nevertheless work)

**A - Past tense**

(757) [A va nga jingi [va tirha]]

(They were not nevertheless working)

(758) [A va jingangi [va tirha]]

(They had not nevertheless worked)

**(b) Potential mood**

(759) [Va nga jinga [va tirha]]

(They may nevertheless work)

**Potential mood: Negative**

(760) [A va nge jingi [va tirha]]

(They may not nevertheless work)

**(c) Dependent mood : Positive****Present tense**

(761) [Ndza tsaka loko [va jinga [va tirha]]

(I am happy when they nevertheless work)

**Perfect tense**

(762) [Ndza tsaka loko [va jingile [va tirha]]

(I am happy when they have nevertheless worked)

**Future tense**

(763) [Ndza tsaka loko [va ta jinga [va tirha]]

(I am happy when they will nevertheless work)

**A - Past tense**

(764) [Ndza tsaka loko [a va jinga [va tirha]]

(I am happy when they were nevertheless working)

(765) [Ndza tsaka loko [a va jingile [va tirha]]

(I am happy when they had nevertheless worked)

**Potential mood**

(766) [Ndza tsaka loko [va nga [va jinga tirha]]

(I am happy when they may nevertheless work)

**Dependent mood : Negative****Present tense**

(767) [Ndza tsaka loko [va nga jingi [va tirha]]

(I am happy when they do not nevertheless work)

**Perfect tense**

(768) [Ndza tsaka loko [va nga jingangi [va tirha]]

(I am happy when they may not nevertheless work)

**Future tense**

(769) [Ndza tsaka loko [va nge jingi [va tirha]]

(I am happy when they will not nevertheless work)

**A -Past tense**

(770) [Ndza tsaka loko [a va nga jingi [va tirha]]

(I am happy when they were not nevertheless working)

- (771) [Ndza tsaka loko [a va nga jingangi [va tirha]]  
 (I am happy when they had not nevertheless worked)

### **Potential mood**

- (772) [Ndza tsaka loko [va nge jingi [va tirha]]  
 (I am happy when they may not nevertheless work )

### **(d) Infinitive mood : Positive**

- (773) [Va lava [ku jinga [va dyondza Xitsonga]]  
 (They want to nevertheless learn Xitsonga)

### **(e) Imperative mood**

- (774) [Jinga [u dyondza Xitsonga]]  
 (Learn Xitsonga nevertheless)

### **(f) Hortative mood**

- (775) [A hi jingeni [hi dyondza Xitsonga]]  
 (Let us nevertheless learn Xitsonga)

### **Infinitive: Negative**

- (776) [Va lava [ku nga jingi [va dyondza Xitsonga]]  
 (They want not to nevertheless learn Xitsonga)

### **Imperative mood: Negative**

- (777) [U nga jingi [u dyondza Xitsonga]]  
 (Do not nevertheless learn Xitsonga)

### **Hortative mood: Negative**

- (778) [Hi nga jingeni [hi dyondza Xitsonga]]  
 (We must not nevertheless learn Xitsonga)

**4.4.1.15 hatla/hatlisa**

Within an appropriate context, this deficient verb may appear as follows:

(779) Vanhu va tiko leri va tele xichavo. Loko ndhuna yi va vitana **va hatla va ta**.

(The people of this village are full of respect. When the *induna* calls them they come quickly or immediately).

The deficient verb **hatla** may appear in the following moods and tenses:

**(a) Indicative mood : Positive****Present tense**

(780) [U hatla [a dya]]

(He eats quickly)

**Perfect tense**

(781) [U hatlile [a dya]]

(He has quickly eaten)

**Future tense**

(782) [U ta hatla [a dya]]

(He will quickly eat)

**A - Past tense**

(783) [A hatla [a dya]]

(He was eating quickly)

(784) [A hatlile [a dya]]

(He had quickly eaten)

**Indicative mood : Negative****Present tense**

(785) [A nga hatli [a dya]]

(He does not quickly eat)

**Perfect tense**

- (786) [A nga hatlangi a dya]]  
(He has not eaten quickly)

**Future tense**

- (787) [A nge hatli a dya]]  
(He will not quickly eat)

**A - Past tense**

- (788) [A nga hatli a dya]]  
(He was not eating quickly)
- (789) [A nga hatlangi a dya]]  
(He had not eaten quickly)

**(b) Potential mood**

- (790) [U nga hatla [u dya]]  
(You may quickly eat)

**Potential mood: Negative**

- (791) [U nga hatli [u dya]]  
(You may not eat quickly)

**(c) Infinitive: Positive**

- (792) [Va tsakela [ku hatla [va dya]]  
(They like /wish to eat quickly)

**(d) Imperative mood**

- (793) [Hatla [u dya]]  
(Eat quickly)

**(e) Hortative mood**

- (794) [A hi hatleni [hi dya]]  
(Let us eat quickly)

**Infinitive: Negative**

- (795) [Va tsakela [ku nga hatli [va dya]]  
(They wish not to eat quickly)

**Imperative mood: Negative**

- (796) [U nga hatli u dya]]  
(Do not quickly eat)

**Hortative mood: Negative**

- (797) [Hi nga hatleni [hi dya]]  
(We must not eat quickly)

**4.4.1.16 rhanga**

Within an appropriate context, this deficient verb may appear as follows:

- (798) Dokodela u hlamusela muvabyi manwelo ya murhi.U n'wi byela leswaku u fanela a **rhanga a dya** swakudya a nga si nwa murhi.  
(The doctor explains to the patient how to drink the medicine. He tells the patient that he is supposed to eat first before he can drink the medicine).

The deficient verb **rhanga** may appear in the following moods and tenses:

**(a) Indicative mood : Positive****Present tense**

- (799) [U rhanga [a dya]]  
(He eats first)

**Perfect tense**

- (800) [U rhangile [a dya]]  
(He has eaten first)

**Future tense**

- (801) [U ta rhanga [a dya]]  
(He will eat first)

**A - Past tense**

- (802) [A rhanga [a dya]]  
(He was eating first)
- (803) [A rhangile [a dya]]  
(He had eaten first)

**Indicative mood : Negative****Present tense**

- (804) [A nga rhangi [a dya]]  
(He does not eat first)

**Perfect tense**

- (805) [A nga rhangangi [a dya]]  
(He has not eaten first)

**Future tense**

- (806) [A nge rhangi [a dya]]  
(He will not eat first)

**A - Past tense**

- (807) [A nga rhangi [a dya]]  
(He was not eating first)
- (808) [A nga rhangangi [a dya]]  
(He had not eaten first)

**(b) Potential mood**

- (809) [U nga rhanga [u dya]]  
(You may eat first)

**Potential mood: Negative**

- (810) [A nge rhangi [a dya]]  
(He may not eat first)

**(c) Dependent mood : Positive****Present tense**

- (811) [Ndza tsaka loko [va rhanga [va dyondza Xitsonga]]  
(I am happy when they learn Xitsonga first)

**Perfect tense**

- (812) [Ndza tsaka loko [va rhangile [va dyondza Xitsonga]]  
(I am happy when they have learnt Xitsonga first)

**Future tense**

- (813) [Ndza tsaka loko [va ta rhanga [va dyondza Xitsonga]]  
(I am happy when they will learn Xitsonga first)

**A - Past tense**

- (814) [Ndza tsaka loko [a va rhanga [va dyondza Xitsonga]]  
(I am happy when they were learning Xitsonga first)
- (815) [Ndza tsaka loko [a va rhangile [va dyondza Xitsonga]]  
(I am happy when they had learnt Xitsonga first)

**Potential mood**

- (816) [Ndza tsaka loko [va nga rhanga [va dyondza Xitsonga]]  
(I am happy when they may learn Xitsonga first)

**Dependent mood : Negative****Present tense**

- (817) [Ndza tsaka loko [va nga rhangi [va dyondza Xitsonga]]  
(I am happy when they do not learn Xitsonga first)

**Perfect tense**

- (818) [Ndza tsaka loko [va nga rhangangi [va dyondza Xitsonga]]  
 (I am happy when they have not learned Xitsonga first)

**Future tense**

- (819) [Ndza tsaka loko [va nge rhangangi [va dyondza Xitsonga]]  
 (I am happy when they will not learn Xitsonga first)

**A - Past tense**

- (820) [Ndza tsaka loko [a va nga rhangangi [va dyondza Xitsonga]]  
 (I am happy when they were not learning Xitsonga first)
- (821) [Ndza tsaka loko [a va nga rhangangi [va dyondza Xitsonga]]  
 (I am happy when they had not learnt Xitsonga first)

**Potential mood**

- (822) [Ndza tsaka loko [va nge rhangangi [va dyondza Xitsonga]]  
 (I am happy when they may not learn Xitsonga first)

**(d) Infinitive: Positive**

- (823) [Va lava [ku rhangangi [va dya]]  
 (They want to eat first)

**(e) Imperative mood**

- (824) [Rhanga [u dya]]  
 (Eat first)

**(f) Hortative mood**

- (825) [A hi rhangeni [hi dya]]  
 (We must eat first)

**Infinitive: Negative**

- (826) [Va lava [ku nga rhangangi [va dya]]  
 (They want not to eat first)

**Imperative mood: Negative**

- (827) [U nga rhangi [u dya]]  
(Do not eat first)

**Hortative mood: Negative**

- (828) [Hi nga rhangeni [hi dya]]  
(We must not eat first)

**4.4.2. Deficient verbs with irregular moods and tenses****4.4.2.1 khanga**

Within an appropriate context, this deficient verb may appear as follows:

- (829) Maphorisa ya le Thulamahashe va ri a va se xi kuma xivochwa lexi balekeke ekhotsweni lembe leri nga hela. Nyanisa u ri **u khanga a xi vona** eHluvukani lembe leri.

(The Thulamahashe police say that they have not found the prisoner who escaped from the prison last year. Nyanisi says that she has once saw the prisoner at Hluvukani)

The deficient verb **khanga** may appear in the following moods and tenses:

**Indicative mood : Positive****Perfect tense**

- (830) [Va khange [va ndzi pfuna]]  
(They have once helped me)

**A - Past tense**

- (831) [A va khanga [va ndzi pfuna]]  
(They were once helping me)
- (832) [A va khangile [va ndzi pfuna]]  
(They had once helped me)

**Indicative mood : Negative****Perfect tense**

- (833) [A va khangangi [va ndzi pfuna]]  
 (They have not once helped me)

**A - Past tense**

- (834) [A va nga khangile [va ndzi pfuna]]  
 (They were not once helping me)
- (835) [A va nga khangangi [va ndzi pfuna]]  
 (They had not once helped me)

**(b) Dependent mood : Positive****Perfect tense**

- (836) [Ndza tsaka loko [va khangile [va ndzi pfuna]]]  
 (I am happy when they have once helped me)

**A - Past tense**

- (837) [Ndza tsaka loko [a va khangile [va ndzi pfuna]]]  
 (I am happy when they were once helping me)
- (838) [Ndza tsaka loko [a va khangangi [va ndzi pfuna]]]  
 (I am happy when they had once helped me)

**Dependent mood : Negative****Perfect tense**

- (839) [Ndza tsaka loko [a va nga khangangi [va ndzi pfuna]]]  
 (I am happy when they have not once helped me)

**A - Past tense**

- (840) [Ndza tsaka loko [va nga khangile [va ndzi pfuna]]]  
 (I am happy when they were not once helping me)
- (841) [Ndza tsaka loko [a va nga khangangi [va ndzi pfuna]]]  
 (I am happy when they had not once helped me)

**4.4.2.2 vuya**

Within an appropriate context, this deficient verb may appear as follows:

- (842) Endzhaku ko lahleka nkarhi wo leha vana **va vuye va fika**.  
(After they got lost for a long time the children later arrived).

The deficient verb **vuya** may appear in the following moods and tenses:

**(a) Indicative mood : Positive****Future tense**

- (843) [Va ta vuya [va famba]]  
(They will later on leave)

**Indicative mood : Negative****Future tense**

- (844) [A va nge vuyi [va famba]]  
(They will not later on leave)

**(b) Potential mood**

- (845) [Va nga vuya [va famba]]  
(They may later on leave)

**Potential mood: Negative**

- (846) [A va nge [vuyi va famba]]  
(They may not later on leave)

**(c) Dependent mood : Positive****Future tense**

- (847) [Ndza tsaka loko [va ta vuya [va famba]]  
(I am happy when they will later on leave)

**Potential mood**

- (848) [Ndza tsaka loko [va nga vuya [va famba]]  
(I am happy when they may later on leave)

**Dependent mood : Negative****Future tense**

- (849) [Ndza tsaka loko [va nge vuyi [va famba]]  
 (I am happy when they will not later on leave)

**Potential mood**

- (850) [Ndza tsaka loko [va nge vuyi [va famba]]  
 (I am happy when they may not later on leave)

**(d) Infinitive : Positive**

- (851) [Va lava [ku vuya [va famba]]  
 (They want to later on leave)

**Infinitive : Negative**

- (852) [Va lava [ku nga vuyi [va famba]]  
 (They want not to later on leave)

**4.4.2.3. karhi**

Within an appropriate context, this deficient verb may appear as follows:

- (853) Loko ndzi fika exikolweni ndzi kumile leswaku vadyondzi **va karhi va tsala** xikambelwana.  
 (When I arrived at school I found that the learners were busy writing the test).

The deficient verb **karhi** may appear in the following tenses and moods:

**(a) Indicative mood : Positive****Present tense**

- (854) [Va karhi [va tsutsuma]]  
 (They are busy running)

**Future tense**

(855) [Va ta [va va ri karhi [va tsutsuma]]  
 (They will be busy running)

**(b) Dependent mood : Positive****Present tense**

(856) [Ndza tsaka loko [va karhi [va dya]]  
 (I am happy when they are busy eating)

**Future tense**

(857) [Ndza tsaka loko [va ta va [va ri karhi [va dya]]  
 (I am happy when they will be busy eating)

**A - Past tense**

(858) [Ndza tsaka loko [a va ri karhi [va dya]]  
 (I am happy when they were busy eating)

**Dependent mood : Negative****A - Past tense**

(859) [A va ri karhi [va tsutsuma]]  
 (They were busy running)

**Indicative mood : Negative****Future tense**

(860) [A va nge vi [va ri karhi [va tsutsuma]]  
 (They will not be busy running)

**A - Past tense**

(861) [A va nga ri karhi [va tsutsuma]]  
 (They were not busy running)

### 4.4.3 The deficient verb **za**

Within an appropriate context, this deficient verb may appear as follows:

(862) Vafana lava a va yingisi. Va lava leswaku [ndzi za [ndzi va ba hikona] va nga ta miyela.

(These boys do not listen. They want that I ultimately beat them it is then that they will keep quiet).

The deficient verb **za** may appear in the following moods and tenses:

#### (a) **Indicative mood : Positive**

##### **Present tense**

(863) [Va za [va etlela hi ndlala]]

(They ultimately sleep because of hunger)

##### **Perfect tense**

(864) [Va zile [va etlela hi ndlala]]

(They have ultimately slept because of hunger)

##### **Future tense**

(865) [Va ta za [va etlela hi ndlala]]

(They will ultimately sleep because of hunger)

#### **A - Past tense**

(866) [A va za [va dya]]

(They were ultimately eating)

(867) [A va zile [va dya]]

(They had ultimately eaten)

#### (b) **Potential mood**

(868) [Va nga za [va dya]]

(They may ultimately eat)

**Indicative mood : Negative****Present tense**

- (869) [A va zi [va etlela hi ndlala]]  
(They do not ultimately sleep because of hunger)

**Perfect tense**

- (870) [A va zangi [va etlela hi ndlala]]  
(They have not ultimately slept because of hunger)

**Future tense**

- (871) [A va nge zi [va etlela hi ndlala]]  
(They will not ultimately sleep because of hunger)

**A - Past tense**

- (872) [A va nga zi [va dya]]  
(They were not ultimately eating)
- (873) [A va nga zangi [va dya]]  
(They had not ultimately eaten)

**Potential mood**

- (874) [A va nge zi [va dya]]  
(They may not ultimately eat)

**(c) Dependent mood****Present tense**

- (875) [Ndza tsaka loko [va za [va dya]]  
(I am happy when they ultimately eat)

**Perfect tense**

- (876) [Ndza tsaka loko [va zile [va dya]]  
(I am happy when they have ultimately eaten)

**Future tense**

- (877) [Ndza tsaka loko [va ta za [va dya]]  
(I am happy when they will ultimately eat)

**A - Past tense**

- (878) [Ndza tsaka loko [a va za [va dya]]  
(I am happy when they were ultimately eating)
- (879) [Ndza tsaka loko [a va zile [va dya]]  
(I am happy when they had ultimately eaten)

**Potential mood**

- (880) [Ndza tsaka loko [va nga za [va dya]]  
(I am happy when they may ultimately eat)

**Dependent mood : Negative****Present tense**

- (881) [Ndza tsaka loko [va nga zi [va dya]]  
(I am happy when they do not ultimately eat)

**Perfect tense**

- (882) [Ndza tsaka loko [va nga zangi [va dya]]  
(I am happy when they have not ultimately eaten)

**Future tense**

- (883) [Ndza tsaka loko [a va nge zi [va dya]]  
(I am happy when they will not ultimately eat)

**A - Past tense**

- (884) [Ndza tsaka loko [a va nga zi [va dya]]  
(I am happy when they were not ultimately eating)
- (885) [Ndza tsaka loko [a va nga zangi [va dya]]  
(I am happy when they had not ultimately eaten)

**Potential mood**

- (886) [Ndza tsaka loko [a va nge zi [va dya]]  
(I am happy when they may not ultimately eat)

**(d) Infinitive mood : Positive**

- (887) [Va lava [ku za [va dyondza Xitsonga]]  
 (They want to ultimately learn Xitsonga)

**Infinitive: Negative**

- (888) [Va lava ku nga zi [va dyondza Xitsonga]  
 They want not to ultimately learn Xitsonga)

**4.4.4 The deficient verb va**

Within an appropriate context, this deficient verb may appear as follows:

- (889) A ndzi swi rhandzi ku etlela nivusiku ngopfu hikuva nimixo **ndzi va ndzi tirha**.  
 (I don't like sleeping late at night because in the morning I am busy working)

The deficient verb **va** may appear with the following moods and tenses:

**(a) Indicative mood : Positive****Present tense**

- (890) [Hi va [hi tirha]]  
 (We are busy working)

**Perfect tense**

- (891) [Hi ve [hi tirha]]  
 (We have been busy working)

**Future tense**

- (892) [Hi ta va [hi tirha]]  
 (We will be busy working)

**A - Past tense**

- (893) [A hi va [hi tirha]]  
 (We were busy working)
- (894) [A hi va [hi tirhile]]  
 (We had been busy working)

**(b) Potential mood**

(895) [Hi nga va [hi tirha]]

(We may be busy working)

**Indicative mood : Negative**

**Present tense**

(896) [A hi vi [hi tirha]]

[We are not busy working)

**Perfect tense**

(897) [A hi vangi [hi tirha]]

(We have not been busy working)

**Future tense**

(898) [A hi nge vi [hi tirha]]

(We will not be busy working)

**A - Past tense**

(899) [A hi va [hi nga tirhi]]

(We were not busy working)

(900) [A hi va [hi nga tirhangi]]

(We had not been busy working)

**Potential mood**

(901) [Hi nge vi [hi tirha]]

(We may not been busy working)

**(c) Dependent mood : Positive**

**Present tense**

(902) [Ndza tsaka loko [va va [va dyondza Xitsonga]]

(I am happy when they are busy learning Xitsonga)

**Perfect tense**

- (903) [Ndza tsaka loko [va vile [va dyondza Xitsonga]]  
 (I am happy when they have been busy learning Xitsonga)

**Future tense**

- (904) [Ndza tsaka loko [va ta va [va dyondza Xitsonga]]  
 (I am happy when they will be busy learning Xitsonga)

**A - Past tense**

- (905) [Ndza tsaka loko [a va va [va dyondza Xitsonga]]  
 (I am happy when they were busy learning Xitsonga)
- (906) [Ndza tsaka loko [a va vile [va dyondza Xitsonga]]  
 (I am happy when they had been busy learning Xitsonga)

**Potential mood**

- (907) [Ndza tsaka loko [va nga va [va dyondza Xitsonga]]  
 (I am happy when they may be busy learning Xitsonga)

**Dependent mood : Negative****Present tense**

- (908) [Ndza tsaka loko [va nga vi [va dyondza Xitsonga]]  
 (I am happy when they are not busy learning Xitsonga)

**Perfect tense**

- (909) [Ndza tsaka loko [va nga vangi [va dyondza Xitsonga]]  
 (I am happy when they have not been busy learning Xitsonga)

**Future tense**

- (910) [Ndza tsaka loko [a va nge vi [va dyondza Xitsonga]]  
 (I am happy when they will not be busy learning Xitsonga)

**A - Past tense**

- (911) [Ndza tsaka loko [a va nga vi [va dyondza Xitsonga]]  
 (I am happy when they were not busy learning Xitsonga)

- (912) [Ndza tsaka loko [a va nga vang] [va dyondza Xitsonga]]  
 (I am happy when they had not been busy learning Xitsonga)

**(d) Infinitive mood : Positive**

- (913) [Va lava [ku va [va dyondza Xitsonga]]  
 (They want to be busy learning Xitsonga)

**Infinitive mood : Negative**

- (914) [Va lava [ku nga vi [va dyondza Xitsonga]]  
 (They want not to be busy learning Xitsonga)

**4.4.5. Constructions with ingaku/ong**

Within an appropriate context, this deficient verb may appear as follows:

- (915) Vanhu va le ka Malamule a va ndzi tshembi. **Onge ndzho va muyivi.**  
 (People from Malamule do not trust me. It is as though I am a thief)

The deficient verb **ingaku/ong** may appear in the following moods and tenses:

**(a) Indicative mood : Positive**

**Present tense**

- (916) [Ingaku/ong [wa famba]]  
 (It is as though he is leaving)

**A - Past tense**

- (917) [A onge [wa dya]]  
 (It was as though he was eating)
- (918) [A onge [u dyile]]  
 (It was as though he has eaten)]

**Indicative mood : Negative**

**Present tense**

- (919) [Ingaku/ong [a nga fambi]]  
 (It is as though he is not leaving)

**A - Past tense**

- (920) [A onge [a nga dyi]]  
(It is as though he was not eating)
- (921) [A onge [a nga dyangi]]  
(It is as though he has not eaten)

**(b) Dependent mood : Positive****Present tense**

- (922) [Ndza tsaka loko [ongce [va dya]]  
(I am happy when it is as though they are eating)

**A - Past tense**

- (923) [Ndza tsaka loko [a onge [va dya]]  
(I am happy when as though they were eating)
- (924) [Ndza tsaka loko [a onge [va dyile]]  
(I am happy when as though they had eaten)

**4.5. The complement clause is in the Infinitive****4.5.1. The deficient verb with all the moods and tenses****4.5.1.1 phika**

Within an appropriate context, this deficient verb may appear as follows:

- (925) Nsimu leyi a ya hari na swakudya swa swimilana. A yi fanele yi cheriwa quva.  
Malume a nga na mhaka na swona. Lembe na lembe yena wo phika ku rima hambiloko ntshovelo wa kona wu nga nyawuli.  
(This field does no longer have enough nutrients for the plants. It was supposed to be fertilized. Uncle does not care. Every year he always plough even though the harvest is too little).

The deficient verb **phika** may appear with the following moods and tenses:

**(a) Indicative mood : Positive****Present tense**

(926) [Va phika [ku rima]]  
 (They always plough)

**Perfect tense**

(927) [Va phikile [ku rima]]  
 (They have always ploughed)

**Future tense**

(928) [Va ta phika [ku rima]]  
 (They will always plough)

**A - Past tense**

(929) [A va phika [ku rima]]  
 (They were always ploughing)

(930) [A va phikile [ku rima]]  
 (They had always ploughed)

**(b) Potential mood**

(931) [Va nga phika [ku rima]]  
 (They may always plough)

**Indicative mood : Negative****Present tense**

(932) [A va phiki [ku rima]]  
 (They do not always plough)

**Perfect tense**

(933) [A va phikangi [ku rima]]  
 (The have not always ploughed)

**Future tense**

(934) [A va nge [phiki ku rima]]  
 (They will not always plough)

**A - Past tense**

- (935) [A va nga phiki [ku rima]]  
(They were not always ploughing)
- (936) [A va nga phikangi [ku rima]]  
(They had not always ploughed)

**Potential mood**

- (937) [A va nge phiki [ku rima]]  
(They may not always plough)

**(c) Dependent mood : Positive****Present tense**

- (938) [Ndza tsaka loko [va phika [ku rima]]  
(I am happy when they always plough)

**Perfect tense**

- (939) [Ndza tsaka loko [va phikile [ku rima]]  
(I am happy when they have always ploughed)

**Future tense**

- (940) [Ndza tsaka loko [va ta phika [ku rima]]  
(I am happy when they will always plough)

**A - Past tense**

- (941) Ndza tsaka loko [a va phika [ku rima]]  
(I am happy when they were always ploughing)
- (942) [Ndza tsaka loko [a va phikile [ku rima]]  
(I am happy when they had always ploughed)

**Potential mood**

- (943) [Ndza tsaka loko [va nga phika [ku rima]]  
(I am happy when they may always plough)

**Dependent mood : Negative****Present tense**

- (944) [Ndza tsaka loko [va nga phiki [ku rima]]  
 (I am happy when they do not always plough)

**Perfect tense**

- (945) [Ndza tsaka loko [a va nga phikangi [ku rima]]  
 (I am happy when they have not always ploughed)

**Future tense**

- (946) [Ndza tsaka loko [a va nge phiki [ku rima]]  
 (I am happy when they will not always plough)

**A - Past tense**

- (947) [Ndza tsaka loko [a va nga phiki [ku rima]]  
 (I am happy when they were not always ploughing)
- (948) [Ndza tsaka loko [a va nga phikangi [ku rima]]  
 (I am happy when they had not always ploughed)

**Potential mood**

- (949) [Ndza tsaka loko [a va nge phiki [ku rima]]  
 (I am happy when they may not always plough)

**(d) Infinitive mood : Positive**

- (950) [Va lava [ku phika [ku rima]]  
 (They want to always plough)

**(e) Imperative mood**

- (951) [Phika [ku dyondza]]  
 (Learn always)

**(f) Hortative mood**

- (952) [A hi phikeni [ku dyondza]]  
 (Let us always learn)

**Infinitive: Negative**

- (953) [Va lava [ku nga phiki [ku rima]]  
 (They want not to always plough)

**Imperative mood: Negative**

- (954) [U nga phiki [ku dyondza]]  
 (Do not always learn)

**Hortative mood: Negative**

- (955) [Hi nga phikeni [ku dyondza]]  
 (We must not always learn)

**4.5.1.2 tolovele**

Within an appropriate context, this deficient verb may appear as follows:

- (956) Vana lava nga ngeniki kereke va karhata. **Va tolovele ku onha** swilo swa vanhu.  
 (The children who do not go to church are troublesome. They are used to destroy peoples' properties).

The deficient verb **tolovele** may appear in the following moods and tenses:

**(a) Indicative mood : Positive****Present tense**

- (957) [Va tolovele [ku yiva]]  
 (They are used to stealing)

**Future tense**

- (958) [Va ta tolovela [ku yiva]]  
 (They will be used to steal)

**A - Past tense**

- (959) [A va tolovele [ku yiva]]  
 (They were used to stealing)

**(b) Potential mood**

- (960) [Va nga tolovela [ku yiva]]  
 (They may be used to stealing)

**Indicative mood : Negative****Present tense**

- (961) [A va tolovelangi [ku yiva]]  
 (They are not used to steal)

**Future tense**

- (962) [A va nge toloveli [ku yiva]]  
 (They will not be used to stealing)

**A - Past tense**

- (963) [A va nga toloveli [ku yiva]]  
 (They were not used to stealing)

**Potential mood**

- (964) [A va nge toloveli [ku yiva]]  
 (They may not be used to stealing)

**(c) Dependent mood : Positive****Present tense**

- (965) [Ndza tsaka loko [va tolovele [ku tirha]]  
 (I am happy when they are used to working)

**Future tense**

- (966) [Ndza tsaka loko [va ta tolovela [ku tirha]]  
 (I am happy when they will be used to working)

**A - Past tense**

- (967) [Ndza tsaka loko [a va tolovele [ku tirha]]  
 (I am happy when they were used to working)

**Potential mood**

- (968) [Ndza tsaka loko [va nga tolovela [ku tirha]]  
 (I am happy when they may be used to working)

**Dependent mood : Negative****Present tense**

- (969) [Ndza tsaka loko [va nga toloveli [ku tirha]]  
 (I am happy when they are not used to working)

**Future tense**

- (970) [Ndza tsaka loko [a va nge toloveli [ku tirha]]  
 (I am happy when they will not be used to working)

**A - Past tense**

- (971) [Ndza tsaka loko [va nga toloveli [ku tirha]]  
 (I am happy when they were no used to working)

**Potential mood**

- (972) [Ndza tsaka loko [a va nge toloveli [ku tirha]]  
 (I am happy when they may not be used to working)

**(d) Infinitive mood : Positive**

- (973) [Va lava [ku tolovela [ku hlaya]]  
 (They want to be used to reading)

**(e) Imperative mood**

- (974) [Tolovela [ku hlaya]]  
 (Be used to reading)

**(f) Hortative mood**

- (975) [A hi toloveleni [ku hlaya]]  
 (Let us get used to reading)

**Infinitive mood : Negative**

- (976) [Va lava [ku nga toloveli [ku hlaya]]  
 (They want not to be used to reading)

**Imperative mood: Negative**

- (977) [U nga toloveli [ku hlaya]]  
(Do not be used to reading)

**Hortative mood: Negative**

- (978) [Hi nga toloveni [ku hlaya]]  
(We must not be used to reading)

**4.5.1.3 tala****(a) Indicative mood: Positive****Present tense**

- (979) [Va tala [ku dya laha]]  
(They usually eat here)

**Perfect tense**

- (980) [Va tarile [ku dya laha]]  
(They have been used to eat here)

**Future tense**

- (981) [Va ta tala [ku ta laha]]  
(They will usually come here)

**A - Past tense**

- (982) [A va tala [ku ta laha]]  
(They were usually coming here)
- (983) [A va tarile [ku ta laha]]  
(They had usually come here)

**(b) Potential mood**

- (984) [Va nga tala [ku ta laha]]  
(They may usually come here)

**Indicative mood : Negative****Present tense**

- (985) [A va tali [ku dya laha]]  
 (They do not usually eat here)

**Perfect tense**

- (986) [A va talangi [ku dya laha]]  
 (They have not usually eat here)

**Future tense**

- (987) [A va nge tali [ku ta laha]]  
 (They will not usually come here)

**A - Past tense**

- (988) [A va nga tali [ku dya laha]]  
 (They were not usually eating here)
- (989) [A va nga talangi [ku dya laha]]  
 (They had not usually came here)

**Potential mood**

- (990) [A va nge tali [ku ta laha]]  
 (They may not usually come here)

**(c) Dependent mood : Positive****Present tense**

- (991) [Ndza tsaka loko [va tala [ku dya laha]]  
 (I am happy when they usually eat here)

**Perfect tense**

- (992) [Ndza tsaka loko [va tarile [ku dya laha]]  
 (I am happy when they have usually came here)

**Future tense**

- (993) [Ndza tsaka loko [va ta tala [ku dya laha]]  
 (I am happy when they will usually eat here)

**A - Past tense**

(994) [Ndza tsaka loko [a va tala [ku dya laha]]  
 (I am happy when they were usually eating here)

(995) [Ndza tsaka loko [a va tarile [ku dya laha]]  
 (I am happy when they had usually eaten here)

**Potential mood**

(996) [Ndza tsaka loko [va nga tala [ku dya laha]]  
 (I am happy when they may usually eat here)

**Dependent mood : Negative****Present tense**

(997) [Ndza tsaka loko [va nga tali [ku dya laha]]  
 (I am happy when they do not usually eat here)

**Perfect tense**

(998) [Ndza tsaka loko [va nga talangi [ku dya laha]]  
 (I am happy when they have not usually come here)

**Future tense**

(999) [Ndza tsaka loko [a va nge tali [ku ta laha]]  
 (I am happy when they will not usually come here)

**A - Past tense**

(1000) [Ndza tsaka loko [a va nga tali [ku ta laha]]  
 (I am happy when they were not usually coming here)

(1001) [Ndza tsaka loko [a va nga talangi [ku ta laha]]  
 (I am happy when they had not usually come here)

**Potential mood**

(1002) [Ndza tsaka loko [a va nge tali [ku ta laha]]  
 (I am happy when they may not usually come here)

**(d) Infinitive mood : Positive**

(1003)[Va rhandza [ku tala [ku fika va yima laha]]

(They like to usually come and stand here )

**(e) Imperative mood**

(1004)[Tala [ku nwa mati]]

(Usually drink water)

**(f) Hortative mood**

(1005)[A hi taleni [ku nwa mati]]

(Let us usually drink water)

**Infinitive mood : Negative**

(1006)[Va rhandza [ku nga tali [ku fika va yima laha]]

(They like not to usually come and stand here)

**Imperative mood: Negative**

(1007)[U nga tali [ku nwa mati]]

(Do not usually drink water)

**Hortative mood: Negative**

(1008)[Hi nga taleni [ku nwa mati]]

(We must not usually drink water)

**4.5.1.4 tshamela**

Within an appropriate context, this deficient verb may appear as follows:

(1009)Nhlangoana wa SADTU a wu nge wu twisisi. Loko mfumo wu ngenisa nawu wuntshwa eka dyondzo, vona **vo tshamela ku gungula**.

(You cannot understand SADTU. When governments introduces a new law in education, they always complain)

The deficient verb **tshamela** may appear in the following moods and tenses:

**(a) Indicative mood : Positive****Present tense**

(1010)[Va tshamela [ku gungula]]

(They always complain)

**Perfect tense**

(1011)[Va tshamerile [ku gungula]]

(They have always complained)

**Future tense**

(1012)[Va ta tshamela [ku gungula]]

(They will always complain)

**A - Past tense**

(1013)[A va tshamela [ku gungula]]

(They were always complaining)

(1014)[A va tshamerile [ku gungula]]

(They had always complained)

**(b) Potential mood**

(1015)[Va nga tshamela [ku gungula]]

(They may always complain)

**Indicative mood : Negative****Present tense**

(1016)[A va tshameli [ku gungula]]

(They do not always complain)

**Perfect tense**

(1017)[A va tshamelangi [ku gungula]]

(They have not always complained)

**Future tense**

(1018)[Va nge tshameli [ku gungula]]

(They will not always complain)

**A - Past tense**

(1019)[A va nga tshameli [ku gungula]]

(They were not always complaining)

(1020)[A va nga tshamelangi [ku gungula]]

(They had not always complained)

**Potential mood**

(1021)[A va nge tshameli [ku gungula]]

(They may not always complain)

**(c) Dependent mood : Positive****Present tense**

(1022)[Ndza tsaka loko [va tshamela [ku hleka]]

(I am happy when they always laugh)

**Perfect tense**

(1023)[Ndza tsaka loko [va tshamerile [ku hleka]]

(I am happy when they have always laughed)

**Future tense**

(1024)[Ndza tsaka loko [va ta tshamela [ku hleka]]

(I am happy when they will always laugh)

**A - Past tense**

(1025)[Ndza tsaka loko [a va tshamela [ku hleka]]

(I am happy when they were always laughing)

(1026)[Ndza tsaka loko [a va tshamerile [ku hleka]]

(I am happy when they had always laughed)

**Potential mood**

(1027)[Ndza tsaka loko [va nga tshamela [ku hleka]]

(I am happy when they may always laugh)

**Dependent mood : Negative****Present tense**

(1028)[Ndza tsaka loko [va nga tshameli [ku hleka]]  
 (I am happy when they do not always laugh)

**Perfect tense**

(1029)[Ndza tsaka loko [va nga tshamelangi [ku hleka]]  
 (I am happy when they have not always laughed)

**Future tense**

(1030)[Ndza tsaka loko [a va nge tshameli [ku hleka]]  
 (I am happy when they will not always laugh)

**A - Past tense**

(1031)[Ndza tsaka loko [a va nga tshameli [ku hleka]]  
 (I am happy when they were not always laughing)

(1032)[Ndza tsaka loko [a va nga tshamelangi [ku hleka]]  
 (I am happy when they had not always laughed)

**Potential mood**

(1033)[Ndza tsaka loko [a va nge tshameli [ku hleka]]  
 (I am happy when they may no always laugh)

**(d) Infinitive mood : positive**

(1034)[Va lava [ku tshamela [ku dya]]  
 (They want to always eat)

**(e) Imperative mood**

(1035)[Tshamela [ku hlaya]]  
 (Always read)

**(f) Hortative mood**

(1036)[A hi tshameleni [ku hlaya]]  
 (Let us always read)

**Infinitive mood : Negative**

(1037)[Va lava [ku nga tshameli [ku hlaya]]

(They want no to always read)

**Imperative mood: Negative**

(1038)[U nga tshameli [ku hlaya]]

(Do not always read)

**Hortative mood: Negative**

(1039)[Hi nga tshameleni [ku hlaya]]

(We must not always read)

**4.5.2 The deficient verb with irregular moods and tense****4.5.2.1. phose**

Within an appropriate context, this deficient verb may appear as follows:

(1040)N'wana loyi wa huhwa swinene. Hikwalaho ka mihupana ya yena **u phose ku dlawa** hi movha namuntlha nimixo.

(This child is too much naughty. Because of his naughtiness he was nearly killed by a car today in the morning)

The deficient verb **phose** may appear in the following moods and tenses:

**(a) Indicative mood: Positive****Perfect tense**

(1041)[U phosile [ku fa]]

(He has nearly died)

**A - Past tense**

(1042)[A phose [ku fa]]

(He had nearly died)

**Indicative mood : Negative****Perfect tense**

(1043)[A nga phosangi [ku fa]]  
 He has not nearly died)

**A - Past tense**

(1044)[ A nga phosangi [ku fa]]  
 (He had not nearly died)

**(b) Dependent mood : Positive****Perfect tense**

(1045)[Ndza tsaka loko [a phosile [ku fa]]  
 (I am happy when he has nearly died)

**A - Past tense**

(1046)[Ndza tsaka loko [a phosile [ku fa]]  
 (I am happy when he had nearly died)

**Dependent mood : Negative****Perfect tense**

(1047)[Ndza tsaka loko [a nga phosangi [ku fa]]  
 (I am happy when he has not nearly died)

**A - Past tense**

(1048)[Ndza tsaka loko [a nga phosangi [ku fa]]  
 [I am happy when he had not nearly died)

**4.5.2.2. heta**

Within an appropriate context, this deficient verb may appear as follows:

(1049) Tatana **wa ha ku heta ku byela** manana tolo leswaku loko vana va nga ri na vuxiyaya loko va famba epatweni va ta chayiswa hi mimovha. Namuntlha eka rhadiyo ku vikiwile leswaku movha yi tlumbile n'wana kwala patwini.

(Father has just told mother yesterday that if the children are not careful when they walk in the road they will be killed by the cars. Today in the radio it was announced that a car has killed a child just here in the road)

The deficient verb **heta** may appear in the following moods and tenses:

**(a) Indicative mood : Positive**

**Perfect tense**

(1050) [Va heta [ku fika sweswi]]

(They have just arrived now)

**A - Past tense**

(1051) [A va heta [ku fika]]

(They were just arriving)

**Indicative mood : Negative**

**Present tense**

(1052) [A va heti [ku fika]]

(They have not just arrived)

**A - Past tense**

(1053) [A va nga heti [ku fika]]

(They were not just arriving)

**(b) Dependent mood : Positive**

**Perfect tense**

(1054) [Ndza tsaka loko [va heta [ku fika]]

(I am happy when they have just arrived)

**A - Past tense**

(1055) [Ndza tsaka loko [a va heta [ku fika]]

(I am happy when they were just arriving)

**Dependent mood : Negative****Perfect tense**

(1056)[Ndza tsaka loko [va nga hetu [ku fika]]

(I am happy when they have not just arrived)

**A - Past tense**

(1057)[Ndza tsaka loko [a va nga hetu [ku fika]]

(I am happy when they were not just arriving)

**4.6. The complement clause is in the dependent mood or the infinitive****Only the deficient verb fanele**

Within an appropriate context, this deficient verb may appear as follows:

(1058)I ntiyiso leswaku ku hlaya tibuku a swi nandzihi, kambe leswaku xichudeni xi ta pasa eku heleni ka lembe, **xi fanele ku hlaya**

(It is true that to read books is not nice, but in order that the student can pass at the end of the year, s/he must read)

The deficient verb **fanele** may appear in the following moods and tenses:

**(a) Indicative mood : Positive****Present tense**

(1059)[Va fanele [va yiva]]

(They are suppose to steal)

(1060)[Va fanele [ku yiva]]

(They must steal)

**Perfect tense**

(1061)[Va fanerile [va yiva]]

(They have to steal)

**Future tense**

(1062)[Va ta fanela [ku yiva]]  
 (They will have to steal)

**A - Past tense**

(1063)[A va fanele [ku yiva]]  
 (They were suppose to steal)

(1064)[A va fanerile [ku yiva]]  
 (They were supposed to have stolen)

**(b) Potential mood**

(1065)[Va nga fanela [ku yiva]]  
 (They may have to steal)

**Indicative mood : Negative****Present tense**

(1066)[A va faneli [va yiva]]  
 (They are not supposed to steal)

(1067)[A va faneli [ku yiva]]  
 (They must not steal)

**Present tense**

(1068)[A va fanelangi [ku hlaya]]  
 (They are not suppose to have read)

**Perfect tense**

(1069)[A va fanelangi [ku yiva]]  
 (They are supposed to have stolen)

**Future tense**

(1070)[A va nge faneli [ku yiva]]  
 (They will not suppose to steal)

**A - Past tense**

(1071)[A va nga faneli [ku yiva]]  
 (They were not supposed to steal)

(1072)[A va nga fanelangi [ku yiva ]]

(They were not supposed to have stolen)

### **Potential mood**

(1073)[A va nge faneli [ku yiva]]

(They may not suppose to steal)

### **(c) Dependent mood : Positive**

#### **Present tense**

(1074)[Ndza tsaka loko [va fanele [ku yiva]]

(I am happy when they are suppose to steal)

#### **Perfect tense**

(1075)[Ndza tsaka loko [va fanerile [ku yiva]]

(I am happy when they have to steal)

#### **Future tense**

(1076)[Ndza tsaka loko [va ta fanela [ku yiva]]

(I am happy when they will have to steal)

#### **A - Past tense**

(1077)[Ndza tsaka loko [a va fanela [ku yiva]]

(I am happy when they were suppose to steal)

(1078)[Ndza tsaka loko [a va fanerile [ku yiva]]

(I am happy when they were to supposed have stolen)

### **Potential mood**

(1079)[Ndza tsaka loko [va nga fanela [ku yiva]]

(I am happy when they may have to steal)

### **Dependent mood : Negative**

#### **Present tense**

(1080)[Ndza tsaka loko [va nga faneli [ku yiva]]

(I am happy when they are not suppose to steal)

**Perfect tense**

(1081)[Ndza tsaka loko [va nga fanelangi [ku yiva]]

(I am happy when they are not suppose to have stolen)

**Future tense**

(1082)[Ndza tsaka loko [a va nge faneli [ku yiva]]

(I am happy when they will not suppose to steal)

**A - Past tense**

(1083)[Ndza tsaka loko [a va nga faneli [ku yiva]]

(I am happy when they were not suppose to steal)

(1084)[Ndza tsaka loko [a va nga fanelangi [ku yiva]]

(I am happy when they were not supposed to have stolen)

**Potential mood**

(1085)[Ndza tsaka loko [a va nge faneli [ku yiva]]

(I am happy when they may not have to steal)

**(d) Infinitive mood : Positive**

(1086)[Va fanele [ku tsutsuma]]

(They are suppose to run)

**(e) Imperative mood**

(1087)[U fanele [ku dya]]

(You must eat)

**Infinitive mood : Negative**

(1088)[A va fanelangi [ku tsutsuma]]

(They are not supposed to run)

**Imperative mood: Negative**

(1089)[A wu faneli [ku dya]]

(You must not eat)

#### 4.7. Aspectual morphemes and the deficient verbs

The aspect morphemes may appear either with the deficient verb or with the verb of the complement clause or both.

##### (1090)(i) **dzumba**

**se:** [se va dzumba [va ta laha]

[va dzumba [se va ta laha]

**o:** [vo dzumba [va ta laha]

[va dzumba [vo ta laha]

**aha** [va ha dzumba [va ta laha]

[va dzumba [va ha ta laha]

##### (1091) (ii) **hamba**

**se:** [se va hamba [va ta laha]

[va hamba [se va ta laha]

**o:** [vo hamba [va ta laha]

[va hamba [vo ta laha]

**aha:** [va ha hamba [va ta laha]

[va hamba [va ha ta laha]

##### (1092)(iii) **sala**

**se:** [se va sala [va dya]

[va sala [se va dya]

**o:** [vo sala [va dya]

[va sala [vo dya]

**aha:** [va ha sala [va dya]

[va sa [ va ha dya]

##### (1093)(iv) **engeta**

**se:** [se va engeta [va yiva]

[va engeta [se va yiva]

o: [vo engeta [va yiva]  
[va engeta [vo yiva]  
**aha:** [va ha engeta [va yiva]  
[va engeta [va ha yiva]

(1094)(v) **pfa**

**se:** [se va pfa [va dya]  
[va pfa [se va dya]  
o: [vo pfa [va dya]  
[va pfa [vo dya]  
**aha:** [va ha pfa [va dya]  
[va pfa [va ha dya]

#### 4.8. The complement clause and inflection

The deficient verb or the verb of the complement clause may be inflected:

(1095) (i) **rhanga**

**Present tense : Negative**

**Deficient verb:**

[a va dzumbi [va dya laha]

**Verb of complement clause:**

[Va dzumba [va nga dyi laha]

**Future tense**

**Deficient verb:**

[Va ta dzumba [va dya laha]

**Verb complement:**

[Va dzumba [va ta dya laha]

(1096)(ii) **vhela**

**Present tense : Negative**

**Deficient verb:**

[a va vheli [va ta etlela]

**Verbs of complement clause:**

[Va vhela [va nga etleli]

**Future tense**

**Deficient verb**

[Va ta vhela [va etlela]

**Verb of complement clause:**

[Va vhela [va ta etlela]

(1097)(iii) **kala**

**Present tense : Negative**

**Deficient verb:**

[a va kali [va hlamba]

**Verb of complement clause:**

[Va kala [va nga hlambi]

**Future tense**

**Deficient verb:**

[Va ta kala [va hlamba]

**Verb of complement clause:**

[Va kala [va ta hlamba]

(1098)(iv) **hatla**

**Present tense : Negative**

**Deficient verb**

[a va hatli [va famba]

**Verb of complement clause:**

[Va hatla [va nga fambi]

**Future tense**

**Deficient verb**

[Va ta hatla [va famba]

**Verb of complement clause**

[Va hatla [va ta famba]

(1099)(v)      **tlhela**

**Present tense : negative**

**Deficient verb**

[a va tlheli [va yimbelela]

**Verb of complement clause:**

[Va tlhela [va nga yimbeleli]

**Future tense**

**Deficient verb:**

[Va ta tlhela [va yimbelela]

**Verb of complement clause:**

[Va tlhela [va ta yimbelela]

## CHAPTER 5 THE SEMANTICS OF THE DEFICIENT VERBS

### 5.1 Aim

This chapter will attempt to classify the deficient verbs of Xitsonga into various semantic categories with specific semantic analysis of each deficient verb within the confines of lexical semantics as indicated in chapter 1. The different deficient verbs will be used in various sentence constructions in order to show their actual meaning in context.

### 5.2 Duration

The term duration refers to an event which happens during a certain length of time. Our study of the deficient verbs of Xitsonga has revealed that the following deficient verbs indicate duration:

#### 5.2.1 Only a short while ago

(1100) **heta** [Loko tatana a fika exikolweni ku landza vana, vana a va ha ku heta ku tsala xikambelo]  
(When father arrived at school to fetch the kids, the kids have just finished writing the examinations).

The above deficient verb **heta** in (1100) shows that something did not happen long ago but just short while ago.

#### 5.2.2 After a long time

(1101) **hetelele** [Vayeni vo huma eMhala a va lahlekile ndlela nhlikanhi hinkwawo loko va ta haleno Giyani kambe va hetelele va fikile nimadyambu]  
(Visitors from Mhala got lost the whole day when they were coming to Giyani but they finally arrived in the evening)

The fact that in (1101), the visitors from Mhala got lost the whole day before reaching Giyani shows clearly that it took them a very long period.

### 5.2.3 After an unspecified time

- (1102) (i) **kala** Xivochwa xi balekile ekhotsweni ra le Modabe xi ya tumbela eswidakanini swa Gugulethu. Van'wana va ri se xi le Khayamandi. Maphorisa va ri va ta xi lava ku kala va xi khoma.  
(The prisoner has escaped from the Modabe prison to go and hide in the shacks of Gugulethu. Some people say that the prisoner is now in Khayamandi. The police say that they will search for the prisoner until they find him)
- (ii) **kondza** Vana va lavile bolo leyi a yi lahlekile ku kondza va yi kuma.  
(The boys searched for the soccer ball which was lost and eventually find it)
- (iii) **sala** Nkarhi lowu tatana na manana a va yile egaraji ku ya chela phetiroli, vaendzi vo huma eka N'wamitwa va sale va fika ekaya.  
(The time when father and mother had gone to the garage to fill the tank with petrol, the visitors from N'wamitwa ultimately arrived).
- (iv) **engeta** Bayizani u humile ekhotsweni vhiki leri nga hela. A khomeriwe ku yiva nyama ebucharini. Ndzi twa leswaku u engete a yiva xinkwa tolo nivusiku. Onge u tsakisa hi ku tshama ekhotsweni.  
(Bayizana has been released from the prison last week. He was arrested for stealing the meat from the butchery. I learn he stole bread again yester night. It seems he enjoys staying in prison)
- (v) **vuya** Tatana u ri u jafele enhlengeletanweni. U byerile manana leswaku a veka swakudya swa yena eka *microwave* u ta vuya a dya.  
(Father says that he is hurrying for a meeting. He told mother that she should put his food in the *microwave* he will eat it later)
- (vi) **za** Vana va khomiwile hi ndlala swinene. Kokwana u sweka hi ku nonoka swinene. Vana va ta za va etlela va nga dyangi.

(The children are very hungry. Grandmother is cooking very slowly.  
The children will ultimately sleep without eating)

The deficient verbs **kala**, **kondza**, **sala**, **vuya**, **za** and **engeta** in (1102) do not indicate the exact time when something did take place. They indicate that something happened after unspecified time.

#### 5.2.4 In the time between two events

(1103) **pfa**            Tatana u khomiwile hi ndlala swinene hikwalaho loko manana a ri karhi a sweka vuswa yena u pfa a nwa tiya.  
(Father is very hungry that's why when mother is busy cooking the porridge he (father) drinks tea in the meantime)

In (1103) there are two events. The first event is that the father is hungry and the second one is that mother is cooking. In between the two events the father drinks tea.

#### 5.2.5 Without an interval of time between events

(1104) (i) **namba**    A ndzi yile evhengeleni ku ya xava baji. Ndzi kumile leswaku buruku ri chipisiwile ndzo namba ndzi xava na rona.  
(I went to the shop to buy a jacket. I found that the trouser was on sale and then bought it also at once)

(ii) **vhela**        Loko Ntiyiso a fika evhengeleni, u kumile leswaku swilo swo tala a swi chipisiwile. U vhele a xava saka ra mugayo leri na rona a ri chipisiwile.  
(When Ntiyiso arrived at the shop he found that most of the items were on sale. He bought a bag of mealie-mealie at once which was also on sale)

The deficient verbs **namba** and **chela** in (1104) show that the doer does not give himself time to think or plan to do the second thing, instead he does it at once.

### 5.2.6 Before now or a particular time

- (1105) **se** Loko maphorisa va ya fika eAgincourt ku ya khoma muehleketeriwa, va kumile leswaku vaaka-tiko se a va n'wi dlele muehleketeriwa.  
(When the police arrived at Agincourt to go and arrest the suspect, they found that the community has already killed the suspect)

The time at which the community of Agincourt killed the suspect in (1105) is not known. It might be before now or after a particular time when the police were informed.

### 5.2.7 Up to a certain time

- (1106) **kondza** Vana va lavile bolo leyi a yi lahlekile ku kondza va yi kuma.  
(The children searched for the soccer ball which was lost until they find it)

In (1106) the process of searching the soccer ball started at a certain time and only ended when the ball was found.

### 5.2.8. At one moment of time only

- (1107) **khanga** Maphorisa ya le Thulamahashe va ri a va se xi kuma xivochwa lexi balekeke ekhotsweni lembe ra ku hela. Masana u ri u khanga a xi vona eHluvukani lembe leri.  
(The Police from Thulamahashe say that they have not found the prisoner who escaped from prison last year. Masana indicates that she once saw the prisoner at Hluvukani this year)

The deficient verb **khanga** in (1107) does indicate that something happened in the past and it happened once.

### 5.2.9. At certain times

- (1108) **tshuka** Vana va xikolo lexi va na mikhuva leyinene. Vo tshuka va xwerile kambe minkarhi yo tala va fika hi nkarhi exikolweni.  
(The children from this school have good manners. They sometimes/unexpectedly come late but most of the time they arrive at school in time)

The deficient verb **tshuka** in (1108) indicates that something does not happen always but sometimes or unexpectedly.

### 5.3 Habitual

The term habitual refers to events which happen regularly and repeatedly over a long time:

- (1109) (i) **dzumba** eMkhuhlu ku pfuriwile feme yo endla matafula lembe leri. Vanhu va miganga leyi nga kusuhi na Mkhuhlu va dzumba va ri kwale eMkhuhlu hi xikongomelo xo lava mintirho..  
(At Mkhuhlu a factory for manufacturing tables has been opened. People in the neighbouring villages always go to Mkhuhlu with the aim of getting jobs)
- (ii) **hamba** Eka Khosa Khisimusi rin'wana na rin'wana va hamba va dlaya homu va rhamba maxaka ya vona ku ta dya swin'we.  
(In the Khosa's family every Christmas they usually slaughter a cow and invite their relatives to eat together)
- (iii) **phika** Nsimu leyi a ya ha ri na swakudya swa swimilana. A yi fanele yi cheriwa quva. Malume a nga na mhaka na swona. Lembe na lembe yena wo phika ku rima hambiloko ntshovelo wa kona wu nga nyawuli.  
(This field does not longer have nutrients for plants. It was supposed to be fertilized. My uncle does not care. Every year he always plough even though the harvest is too little)

- (iv) **tala** Xihoya u catile lembe leri nga hela. Masiku lawa u tala ku tshama a ambarile sudi a tlhandlekela hi ku boha thayi.  
(Xihoya got married last year. Nowadays he usually wear a suit and on top he wears a tie on)
- (v) **tama** Tolo tatana wa Nkhensani u bile Butana, jaha ra Nkhensani. U n'wi lerisile leswaku a nga ha lavi ku n'wi vona emutini wa yena. Hambileswi xiyimo xi nga hi ndlela leyi, Butana u tama a ha ya eka va Nkhensani ku ya vona nhwana wa yena Nkhensani.  
(Yesterday Nkhensani's father has beatet Butana, Nkhensani's boyfriend. He instructed him (Butana) that he does no longer want to see him in his home. Even though the situation is like this, Butana continuously go to Nkhensani's family to see his girlfriend, Nkhensani)
- (vi) **tolovele** Vana va sesi a va rhandzi ku ya eka buti. Va tolovele ku tshama laha ka mina.  
(My sister's children do not like to go to my brother's place. They are used to stay here at my place)
- (vii) **tshamele** Vadyondzi va gireyidi 12 va tshamela ku gungula. Va ri mudyondzisi lontshwa a nga twali.  
(The grade 12 learners are always complaining. They say that the new teacher is inaudible when he speaks)

The above deficient verbs **dzumba, hamba, phika, tala, tama tolovele** and **tshamele** in (1109) indicate that something happens habitually or constantly. In other words something does not happen for short period but usually or always.

#### 5.4. Frequentative

The term frequentative refers to the happening of an event for a large number of times:

- (1110) (i) **engeta** Themba u humile ekhotsweni n'hweti ya ku hela. A khomeriwile ku yiva nyama ebucharini. Ndzi twa leswaku u engete a yiva mpahla tolo exitolo. Onge u tsakisiwa hi ku tshama ekhotsweni.  
(Themba was released from prison last month. He was arrested for stealing meat from the butchery. I learnt that he stole clothes again from the shop yesterday. It seems he enjoys staying in prison)
- (ii) **tlhela** Vanhu lava u nge va twisisi. Va byeriwile leswaku va nga nveli byalwa laha xitarateni kambe va tlhela va nwela kwala exitarateni Maphorisa ya ta va khoma ya va pfalela.  
(You can't understand these people. They have been told not to drink liquor in the street, but they drink liquor again in the street. The police will arrest them and put them in prison)

Unlike the habitual deficient verbs where something tend to happen always, the frequentative deficient verbs show that although something does not happen always it does happen more than once.

### 5.5. Progressive

This term refers to events which are moving forward or are developing continuously:

- (1111) **karhi** Loko ndzi fika exikolweni ndzi kumile leswaku vana va karhi va tsala xikambelwana.  
(When I arrived at school I found that the learners were busy writing the test)

The deficient verb **karhi** in (1111) indicate that something happens alongside another process.

### 5.6 Obligative

This term indicates a condition that makes it necessary for someone to do something:

- (1112) **fanele** Intiyiso leswaku ku hlaya tibuku a swi nandzihi. Ku va xichudeni xi ta humelela eku heleni ka lembe , xi fanele ku hlaya tibuku ta xona.  
(It is true that to read books is not nice. But in order for the student to pass at the end of the year s/he must read his/her books)

The deficient verb **fanele** in (1112) shows that it is a must or compulsory that something should happen.

## 5.7 Manner

This term refers to the way or method on which an event happens:

- (1113) (i) **hatla** Wena Magezi, u fanela ku hatla u ta enkhubyeni hikuva hi wena mufambisi wa ntirho.  
You Magezi, you must come immediately to the function because you are the Programme Director)
- (ii) **hatlisa** Byela vadyondzi leswaku va hatlisa va ta teka maphepha ya vona ya xikambelo hikuva ndzi ya enhlengetanweni.  
(Tell the learners that the they must come quickly to come and fetch their examination scripts because I am going to attend the meeting)
- (iii) **rhanga** Dokodela u hlamusela muvabyi manwelo ya murhi na tiphilisi. U byela muvabyi leswaku u fanela a rhanga a dya swakudya a nga si nwa murhi na tiphilisi.  
(The Doctor explains to the patient how to drink the medicine and the pills. He tells the patient that she should first eat before drinking the medicine and the pills).
- (iv) **phose** Vafana lava a va swikoti ku hlambela. Tolo loko va tsemakanya nambu wa Levhubu va phose ku dyiwa hi mati.  
(These boys cannot swim. Yesterday when they were crossing the Levhubu river they nearly drowned)

(v) **ngaku/onge** Vafana va ndhawu leyi a va na xichavo. Loko va vulavula na munhu lonkulu a va susi xihuku, va endla onge va vulavula na tintangha ta vona.

(The boys from this village do not have any respect. When they talk to the elders they do not remove the hat, they do it as though they are talking to the boys of their same age)

The above deficient verbs **hatla**, **hatlisa**, **rhanga**, **ngaku/onge** and **phose** show how a particular action took place. In other words they indicate the manner of the action.

## 5.8 Continuative

This term refers to an event which continues without interruption:

(1114) **va** Loko wo ndzi vona laha nimadyambu, ndzi ta va ndzi tirha.  
(If you can see me here in the evening, I will be busy working)

The deficient verb **va** may show that the action is happening but it is not complete as in (1114). In other words the action is continuing taking place.

## 5.9 Concessive

This term refers to an event which shows willingness to concede a point that goes against the main argument of a sentence:

(1115) **jinga** Hambileswi ku heleke tin'hwetitimbirhi vatirhi va nga si kuma miholo ya vona, loko ndzi hundza hi le femeni ya vona namuntlha ndzi kumile vatirhi va jinga va tirha.  
(Although two months have passed and the workers have not yet received their salaries, when I passed by their factory today, I found the workers nevertheless working)

The fact that two months have elapsed and the workers have not received their salaries but still continue to work, means that the workers have made concession to work despite having not received their salaries.

## 5.10 Completive

This term refers to an event which is finished, indicated by the perfect tense of **va**:

(1116) **ve** Malembe ya ntlhanu lama hundzeke ndzi ve ndzi nga tirha efemeni yo endla switina ePolokwane.

(The past five years I once worked in the factory of making bricks in Polokwane)

The deficient verb **ve** may indicate that a particular action or process has happened in the past and was completed as in (1116).

## CHAPTER 6: CONCLUSIONS

The study on the deficient verbs in Xitsonga has concentrated on certain specific issues in order to come to an understanding of this type of predicate. These deficient verbs have to appear with a complementizer phrase (CP) because they may never occur either on their own or with an object NP or with any other adjuncts. Specific attention has been focused on the following features of these deficient verbs: in what kind of syntactic-structure may they appear, what is the role of Inflection in the matrix clause with the deficient verb as well as the clause which is dependent on the deficient verb, in what way does the deficient verb select the mood of the clause which follows on the deficient verb, and lastly what semantic features may be discerned in these deficient verbs?

### 6.1. The syntactic structure with the deficient verbs

#### 6.1.1 The structure of the deficient verb construction

The deficient verb construction may appear with two structures depending on whether the deficient verb selects the dependent mood or the infinitive in the clause following the deficient verb. Two different structures will be discussed below. Both these structures have a deficient verb within the verb phrase of the matrix clause but they differ with regard to the complement clause, i.e. one has the dependent mood within inflection and the other has an infinitival verb as a complement.

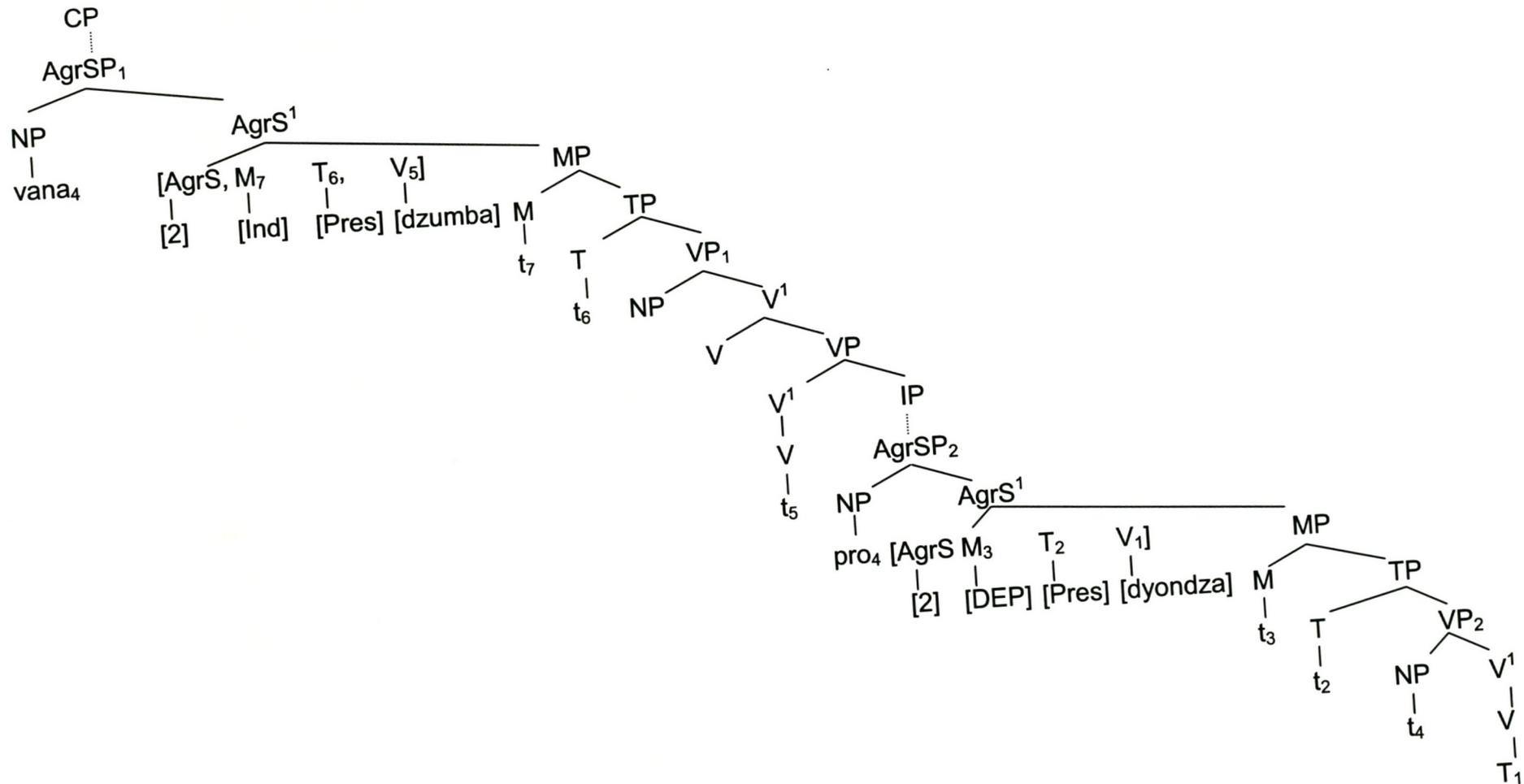
#### **With the dependent mood in the complement clause:**

The deficient verb **dzumba** will be taken as an example because its complement clause must be in the dependent mood:

(1117) a. [Vana va -dzumba [va-dyondza]

(The children are always studying)

## b. Structure



Within the structure above, the sentence in (1117)a represented by a complementizer phrase (CP) is a clausal constituent. This CP has two inflectional phrases which are headed by subjectival agreement phrases, i.e. the inflectional phrase (IP) splits into a subjectival agreement phrase of which the first one is represented by [AgrSP<sub>1</sub>] and the second by [AgrSP<sub>2</sub>]. AgrS in both inflectional phrases is represented by the subjectival agreement of class 2, i.e.[va]. The mood in the first IP is the Indicative Mood (coindexed with [t<sub>1</sub>]), and the mood in the second IP is the dependent mood [DEP], coindexed with trace [t<sub>3</sub>]. The tense in both IPs is the Present tense, coindexed with [t<sub>6</sub>] in the first clause, and [t<sub>2</sub>] in the second clause. Thus, the IP splits into three functional categories in both cases, i.e. subjectival agreement (AgrS), Mood (M)) and Tense (T). In all three cases they are the heads of the maximal projection [AgrSP], [MP] and [TP].

The phrasal constituents in both clauses above are represented by [VP<sub>1</sub>] and [VP<sub>2</sub>]. With regard to [VP<sub>1</sub>]: the noun phrase has the head noun [**vana**] which appears next to [AgrS], but it is coindexed with the trace [t<sub>4</sub>] which recognizes its position within the VP. [VP<sub>1</sub>] branches then into a second [VP] to make provision for the IP which appears next to the deficient verb **dzumba** as its complement clause. The deficient verb now appears together with [AgrS, M, T] above to make provision for the surface structure verb [va-dzumba] which has all these categories. This verb is coindexed with the trace [t<sub>5</sub>] to indicate its position within [VP<sub>1</sub>].

With regard to the second verb phrase above, i.e. [VP<sub>2</sub>]: the noun has an empty pro which appears next to AgrS but it is coindexed with the trace [t<sub>4</sub>] to indicate its position within VP. The verb **dyondza** which is the head of VP appears together with [AgrS, M, T] to form the surface structure verb [va-dyondza]. It is coindexed with the trace [t<sub>1</sub>] to indicate its position within [VP<sub>2</sub>].

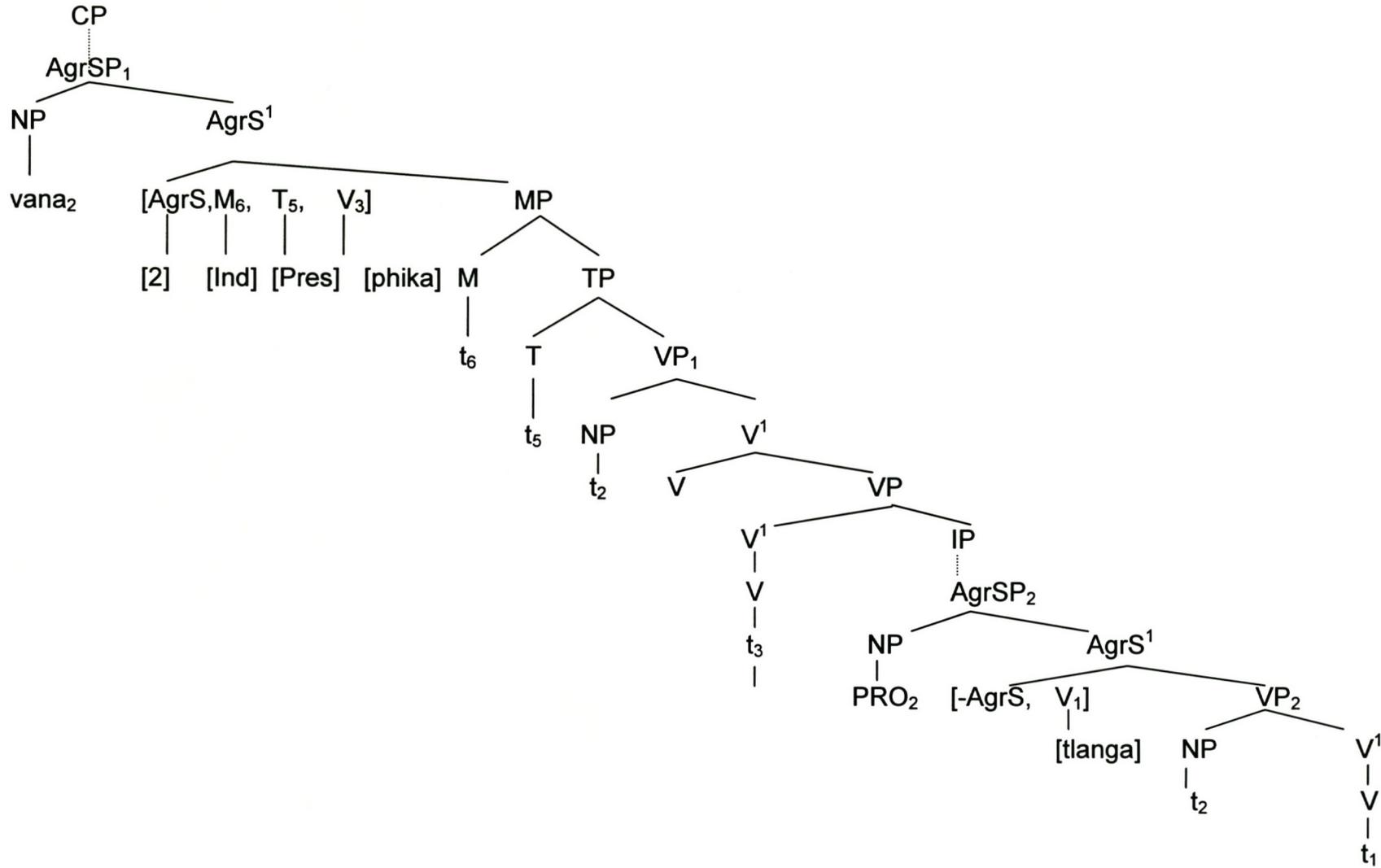
The NPs in both [VP<sub>1</sub>] and [VP<sub>2</sub>] are coindexed with the number [4] to show their relationship to each other, i.e. they all represent **vana** while the pro in [VP<sub>2</sub>] is to be regarded as an anaphor.

**With an Infinitival clause as complement:**

The deficient verb [**phika**] has a compulsory Infinitival clause as complement:

- (1118) a [Vana va-phika [ ku-tlanga]  
(Children always play)

b. Structure



In the structure above, the first inflectional phrase has three functional categories, i.e. AgrS which is represented by the subjectival agreement of class 2 [va], Mood which is the indicative mood and Tense which is the present tense. These functional categories are present in the verb [va-phika]. The category mood is coindexed with its trace [t6], while tense is coindexed with the trace [t5]. The second Inflectional phrase within which the Infinitive clause is present, has no functional categories, i.e. no subjectival agreement (see [-AgrS]) and no mood or tense.

As in the case of the deficient verb **dzumba** above, the structure needs two verb phrases, i.e. [VP<sub>1</sub>] and [VP<sub>2</sub>]. [VP<sub>1</sub>] is represented by [vana va-phika] and [VP<sub>2</sub>] by [ku-tlanga]. [VP<sub>1</sub>] has a noun phrase within the VP which has the noun **vana** as its head. This NP now appears next to AgrS but it is coindexed with its trace [t<sub>2</sub>] to show its position within the VP. The deficient verb **phika** appears next to [AgrS, M T] to make provision for the surface structure verb [va-phika]. This deficient verb appears with its trace [t<sub>3</sub>] and it has an IP as its complement clause.

The second VP, i.e. [VP<sub>2</sub>] above, represents the Infinitival clause. Such Infinitives are characterised by the presence of [PRO] in the subject position. This PRO is controlled by the NP within [VP<sub>1</sub>] which has **vana** as its head. The trace of this PRO shows its position within the [VP<sub>2</sub>] as [t<sub>2</sub>]. The coindexing with [t<sub>2</sub>] reflects then the reference to **vana** in all the NPs in the structure above. The verb **tlanga** is coindexed with its trace [t<sub>1</sub>] within [VP<sub>2</sub>] but it now appears next to [PRO] to make provision for the surface structure verb [ku-tlanga]

### 6.1.2 Argument structure

Deficient verbs have no thematic role assignment properties:

- a. As a deficient verb it is not able to assign an internal NP argument to the object position
- b. The theta role assignment between the VP and the subject is phrasal theta-role assignment. The VP assigns a theta role to the subject argument because the VP is a predicate. The assignment of the external argument thus takes place via the theory of predication.

The NP argument **vana** in (1117) and (1118) which appears in the surface subject position of the deficient verb **dzumba**, in (1117) and **phika** in (1118) is assigned an external argument compositionally by the verb projection which includes the IP complement clause of the deficient verb. This external argument **vana** in (1117) appears in its surface position next to AgrS but it has a trace (t<sub>4</sub>) in the position in which it has received its theta-role. This verb projection which assigns the external argument (in the position now occupied by (t) include [VP<sub>1</sub>] as well as [VP<sub>2</sub>] within the IP in (1117).

In (1117) a compulsory subjectival agreement has to appear with pro. 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 (Du Plessis and Visser, 1992, p.246). In (1117b) above the pro with the index [4] is an anaphor. This anaphor is coindexed with its trace [t<sub>4</sub>] in [VP<sub>2</sub>]. The same reference appears within [VP<sub>1</sub>] as [t<sub>4</sub>] and with the subject position next to AgrS in [AgrS<sup>1</sup>]. Thus the antecedent of [pro] in [AgrSP<sub>2</sub>] is [vana]. The two verbs in (1117b) above exhibit inter-clausal subject-verb agreement. This agreement is dependent on the subject of the first verb which is a deficient verb. The anaphor [pro] in (1117b) above is the result of this NP referring back to some preciously expressed NP. Anaphoric reference marks the identity between what is being expressed and what has already been expressed.

In (1118) the surface structure NP is PRO which is the subject of the infinitive. This PRO also must have the same features as **vana** because the deficient verb has no theta-role assignment properties.

### 6.1.3 Case assignment

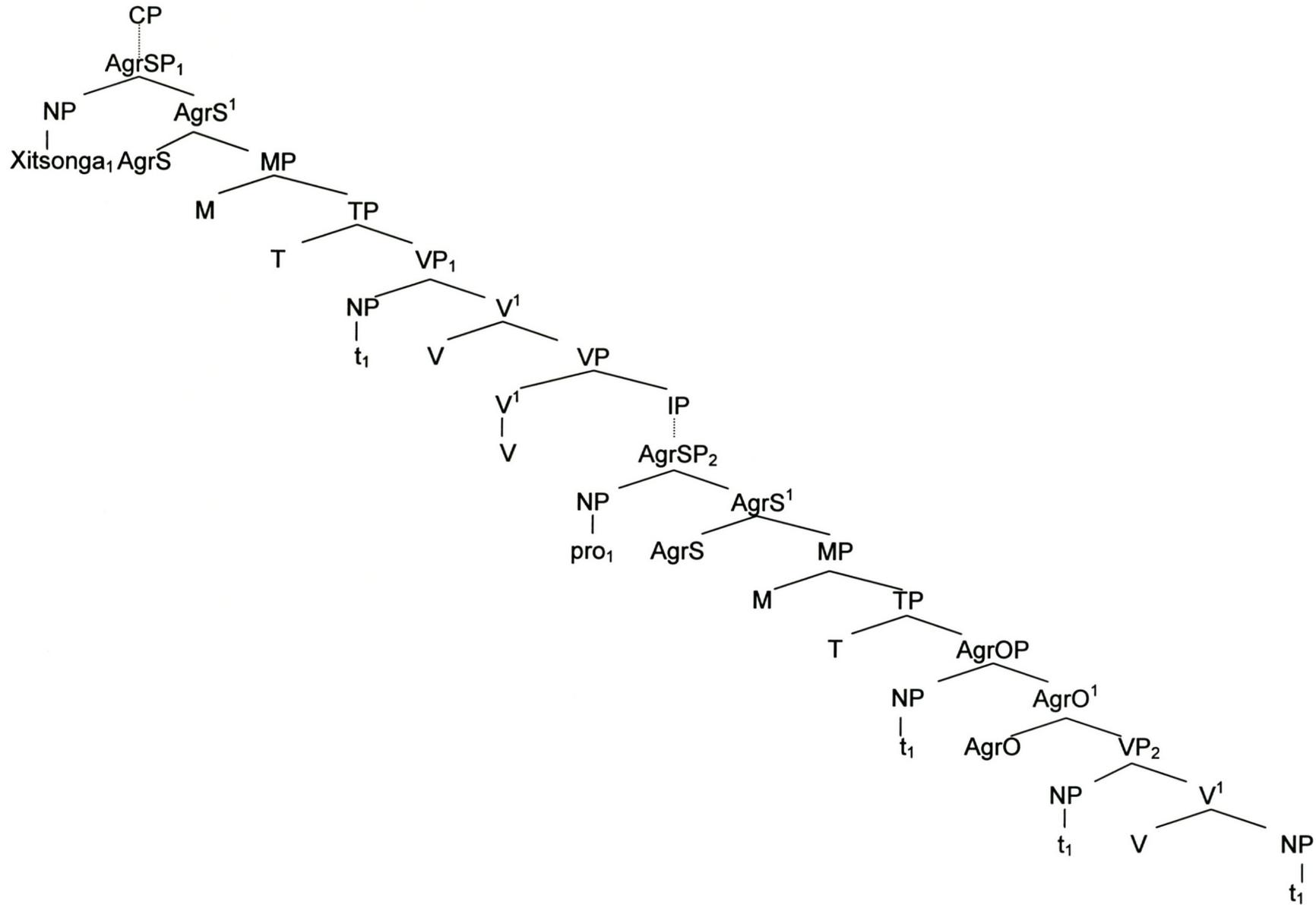
In both (1117) and (1118) **vana** is assigned nominative case through AgrS and tense which appear next to it

### 6.1.4 The structure of the deficient verb construction with passive morphology

Passive morphology is realized by the presence of the passive morpheme [w] on the verb. This passive morpheme usually appears on the verb of the complement clause of the deficient verb as in (1119a) below, or in many cases it may appear on both the deficient verb and the verb in its complement clause, as in (1119b):

- (1119) a. [Xitsonga xi-dzumba [xi-vulavuriwa]  
b. [Xitsonga xi-dzumbiwa [xi-vulavuriwa]  
(Xitsonga is always spoken)

## c. Structure

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In the structure above, the CP has two inflectional phrases. In the first IP there are three functional categories AgrS, M and T to make provision for the deficient verb [xi-dzumba] with AgrS of class 7, the indicative mood and the Present tense. In the second IP there are four functional categories, i.e. AgrS, M, T, and AgrO. However, AgrO will not be realized in the surface structure of the verb because the passive morphology on the verb **vulavuriwa** has taken away the case of the object of this verb. The category AgrO appears in the structure because the verb is a transitive verb.

In [VP<sub>1</sub>] above, the NP has as head the noun **Xitsonga** which appears next to AgrS with its trace [t<sub>1</sub>]. The verb within VP<sub>1</sub> is the deficient verb **dzumba** which appears with its complement clause within a VP which has branched form [VP<sub>1</sub>].

In [VP<sub>2</sub>] the subject and object NP has a trace [t<sub>1</sub>] because the passive morphology has allowed this NP to fill the empty subject position. This NP is represented by the empty pro in VP<sub>2</sub> above which appears next to AgrS within [AgrSP<sub>2</sub>]. Its derivation can be traced through the presence of the trace [t<sub>1</sub>] within [VP<sub>2</sub>].

The NP **Xitsonga** in [VP<sub>1</sub>] has the same index as pro in [VP<sub>2</sub>] because of the property of deficient verbs as explained above, i.e. the deficient verb itself cannot assign a theta-role to **Xitsonga** but it is assigned its role compositionally by the verb projection which includes the IP complement clause of the deficient verb. Thus, **Xitsonga** above will have the theta-role assigned to the object NP by the verb **vulavula** in [VP<sub>2</sub>]. The [pro] in [AgrSP<sub>2</sub>] is an anaphor as has been explained above.

## 6.2 The deficient verb and inflection

### 6.2.1 The Inflection Phrase (IP)

Du Plessis (1996 : 15) observes that if one looks at an example of a verb in an African language, it seems clear that such verbs consist of two parts, i.e. an inflectional and a verbal category. The verb **va - ril- a** in Xitsonga represents a phonological word.

In syntax this verb can be divided between the verbal category [V], i.e. [-ril-] and various inflectional categories such as mood, tense and agreement. The verb [va - ril -a] thus has an Indicative mood, a present tense and subjectival agreement **va**. The category Inflection [I] may appear as features representing various morphemes such as tense, mood or the inflectional category may have some lexical content e.g the progressive **se** as an aspect category.

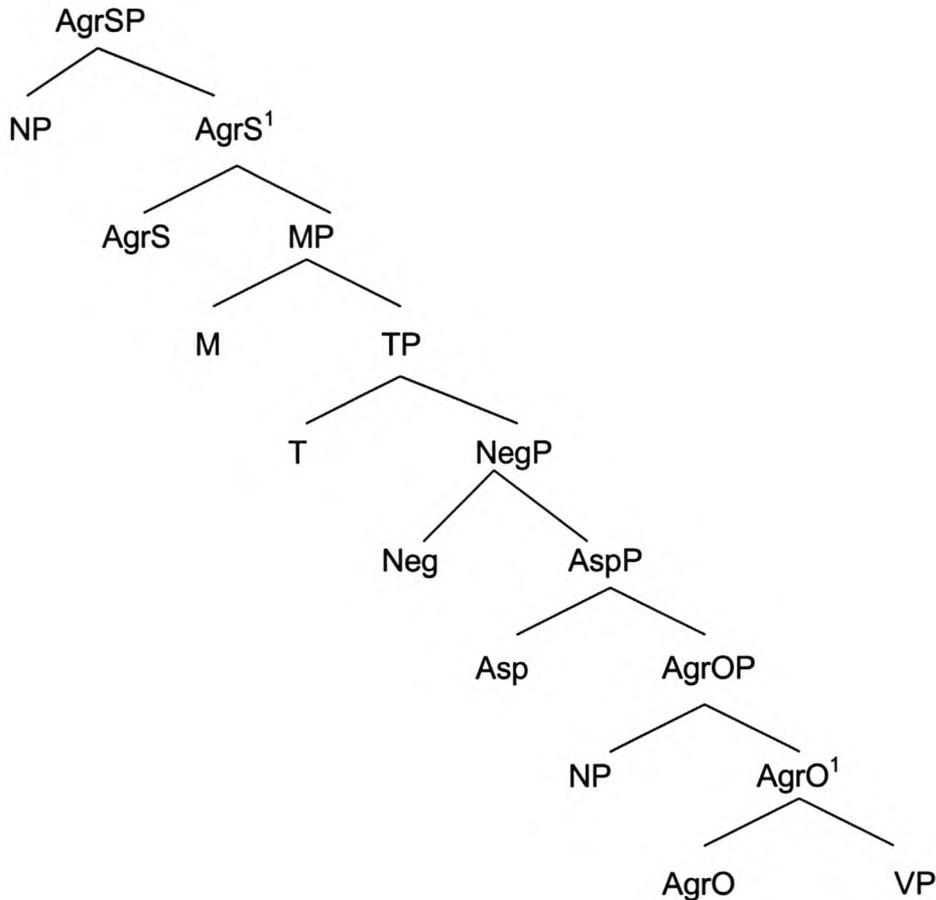
These inflectional categories are also known as functional categories and five of these categories are recognized in the African languages: mood, tense, agreement, negative and aspect. These functional categories play a role in establishing dependencies between parts of a sentence and they are represented in the heads projection of X-bar phrases ,i.e. any morpho-syntactic formative such as a negative morpheme or a tense morpheme which corresponds to a functional category in a language is syntactically the head of a maximal projection. Thus, the five functional categories identified above are heads of a maximal projection: mood [M] is the head of the maximal projection mood phrase [MP], tense [T] of tense phrase [TP] etc.

**Inflectional categories:**

MP	M
TP	T
ASPP	ASP
AgrSP	AgrS
AgrOP	AgrO
NegP	Neg

These functional categories may appear in structures such as the following:

(1120)



In both the agreement phrases, i.e. AgrSP and AgrOP, there is an intermediate category i.e. AgrS<sup>1</sup> and AgrO<sup>1</sup>. This intermediate category is necessary for the position of the subject NP and the object NP respectively in these positions.

### 6.2.2 The category mood in Xitsonga

As in the case of other functional categories, the category mood has a maximal projection mood phrase **[MP]**. The category mood may be distinguished as follows: according to Lyons (1977) the grammatical category mood has to be distinguished from illocutionary acts and modality. The three illocutionary acts which are usually recognized are the following: making statements, asking questions and issuing commands or requests. Then two types of modality may be recognized i.e. epistemic and deontic modality. In both cases the attention is on the expression of necessity and possibility. Mood is a grammatical category which cannot be identified with either illocutionary force or modality. It represents inflected forms of verbs that

are distinguished one from another by means of terms such as Indicative, Imperative etc. The difference in moods may be distinguished in the inflectional features and inflectional morphemes of the various moods.

In Xitsonga the following moods have received attention in discussing inflection and the deficient verb:

Indicative:	Vafana va dzumba va tlanga bolo (Boys are always playing soccer)
Dependent:	Vafana va dzumba va ta laha loko ku ri na nyama (Boys always come here when there is meat)
Potential:	Vafana va nga dzumba va ta laha (Boys may always come here)
Imperative:	Vafana, dzumbani mi tlanga bolo! (Boys, play soccer always!)
Hortative:	A hi dzumbeni hi tlanga bolo (Let us always play soccer)

### 6.2.3 The category tense in Xitsonga

Reichenbach's Theory of tenses played a crucial role in the analysis of the four basic tenses in Xitsonga. Reichenbach's theory was extended by Hornstein (1990).

Reichenbach, according to Hornstein (1990) developed a complex theory of three letters or points (for English), which are temporally ordered with respect to one another. These he called the S, R and E points.

The S stands for the moment of speech or point of speech anchored by the utterance time (i.e. the time at which the utterance is made); R for the reference point or point of reference (i.e. time referred - the temporal standpoint from which the speaker invites his audience to consider the occurrence of the event (or the obtaining of the state), and E for the event time or point of the event (i.e. the time at which the speaker asserts the event (or state) described

in the sentence to occur.

Hornstein brings in the point of linearity in the interpretation of tenses. Hornstein assumes that tenses are ordered linearly as well as interpretively. What he actually means by this, is that the syntactic representation of a tense has a linear structure above and beyond what is required for the temporal interpretation of the tenses, To make his intention clear on the above, Hornstein gives the following example structure of a simple past tense represented as follows:

(a) E,R ----- S      and      (b) R,E ----- S

Note: R and E interpreted as contemporaneous. Within Reichenbach's own theory (a) and (b) are variants of the same tense although the linear order of R and E is different in each (Hornstein, 1990).

For Hornstein (a) and (b) are different tenses even though they are interpreted as temporal identical. He is of the opinion that sentences are to be individuated syntactically.

Assuming that a tense is a linearly ordered complex made up of three points, viz. S, R and E, Hornstein introduces the following arrangement:

"If two points are separated by a line, the leftmost point is interpreted as temporally earlier than the other. Points separated by a comma - associated points - are interpreted as contemporaneous" (1990:15)

Within the framework of scope of this theory an investigation of the four basic tenses viz. Present, Perfect, Future and A - Past in Xitsonga have been conducted.

### **The Basic Tense Structure (BTS) of the present tense.**

The present tense is used to speak of states and processes which hold at the present moment but which began before the present moment and may well continue beyond the present moment as in (1121) below:

(1121) Mufana u pfala xivala

(The boy closes the cattle fold; the boy is closing the cattle fold)

In the above example sentence, it is indeed true that the situation holds at the present moment, that is, at this moment the “boy” does close the cattle fold, but it is not the case that the situation is restricted only to the present moment.

The BTS for the Present Tense in Xitsonga has the following structure: BTS = S,R,E.

In this structure, the moment of speech (S), the reference point (R) and the event time (E) are associated. Thus, the closing in (1121) above takes place in the present time relative to the moment of speech.

### Perfect tense

The perfect tense indicates that an action has been concluded or that it has been completed - the nearest English equivalent being the perfect tense, although the imperfect could fit it too. It does not refer to any particular time in the past, as long as it does not refer to the present. It could be referred to as a tense form used in describing an action which has taken place quite recently or at some definite time referred to. Hence it is called “Immediate Past”. Consider the following example:

(1122) [Ndzi - yi - rimile] nsimu ya ka hina, kambe mbewu a yi milangi.

(I ploughed our field but the seeds did not germinate)

The BTS for the perfect tense in Xitsonga reflects the following structure:

(1123) [E, R ----- S]

In this structure the event time (E) and the reference point (R) are temporally earlier than the moment of speech (S). In this tense the E and the R points are associated by the comma and the S point is dissociated from the E and R points by a time line [--]

In the case of the perfect tense, the reference time (R) must always be associated with either E or S and it may not appear dissociated from both E and S. The reason is to be found in the meaning of the perfect tense which refers to an immediate past in which the time is associated with the event or the speech time.

### The BTS of the A -Past in Xitsonga.

The Xitsonga A- Past tense refers to a situation that held at some time prior to the present moment. That is, it indicates an action or an occurrence which came to pass sometime in the relatively distant or remote past (often with a specific time mentioned). The A -Past tense has two forms in Xitsonga : the A - Past tense with the perfect morpheme **-ile** and the A - Past without the perfect **-ile**.

(1124) a. A - ndzi famba  
(I was going)

b. A- ndzi fambile  
(I had gone)

The two tenses in (1124a) and (b) above have the same point of time reference (R) but there are specific differences between them.

The difference between the two verbal forms can only be explained within the section of aspect : the form with the suffix **[-a]** represents an imperfective aspect with a past tense (R), thus an imperfect past tense. On the other hand the form with the perfect suffix **[-ile]** refers to a perfective past tense

According to Reichenbach's theory of tenses this tense will have the following structure:

BTS = [E — R — S]. There is no association between these three points and they are dissociated by a time line [—].

### The Basic Tense Structure (BTS) of the Future tense.

In Xitsonga the future tense appears with the morpheme /ta/. Consider the following example sentences:

- (1125) a. Ndzi - ta - ku - vitana.  
(I will/shall call you)
- b. Ndzi - ta - n'wi - vitana.  
(I will/shall call him/her)

The morpheme **ta** in Xitsonga expresses that an action or state will take place at a future time (i.e. tomorrow or later in the future). Hence according to the Reichenbach schema, the BTS for the future tense will show the structure: [S—R,E] implying that the action or event is taking place after the moment of speech (S) but at the same time of reference given by the speaker.

This reading further implies that the two associated R and E points are interpreted as temporally later than the dissociated S - point to the left end. The event has to take place in the future.

#### 6.2.4 Mood and Tense with Deficient verbs

All deficient verbs are subcategorized for clausal complements. This clause appears as an Inflectional Phrase (IP). The deficient verb determines the selection of mood in the inflection of the verb in the clausal complement. This mood may be either the dependent mood or the Infinitive. There are three possibilities with this selection: the deficient verb may select the dependent mood, the Infinitive or either the dependent mood or the Infinitive. The deficient verbs have also been classified with regard to the number of moods and tenses with which they may appear. The moods which will be given are the Indicative Dependent, Potential, Imperative, Hortative as well as the Infinitive. The tenses are the following: Present, Perfect, Future and the two A-past tenses: with **-a** and **-ile** on the deficient verb. A table of the forms of these moods and tenses with the deficient verb **kondza** follows below:

**TABLE OF MOODS AND TENSES WITH DEFICIENT VERBS****Mood: Indicative**

<b>Tense</b>	<b>Positive</b>	<b>Negative</b>
Present	[va-kondza [va-hleka]	[a-va-kondzi [va-hleka]
Perfect	[va-kondzile [va-hleka]	[a-va-kondzangi [va-hleka]
Future	[va-ta-kondza [va-hleka]	[a-va-nge-kondzi [va-hleka]
A-past-a	[a-va-kondza [va-hleka]	[a-va-nga-kondzi [va-hleka]
A-past-ile	[a-va-kondzile [va-hleka]	[a-va-nga-kondzangi [va-hleka]

**Mood: Dependent (after loko/leswaku)**

<b>Tense</b>	<b>Positive</b>	<b>Negative</b>
Present	[va-kondza [va-hleka]	[va-nga-kondzi [va-hleka]
Perfect	[va-kondzile [va-hleka]	[va-nga-kondzangi [va-hleka]
Future	[va-ta-kondza [va-hleka]	va-nge-kondzi [va-hleka]
A-past-a	[a-va-kondza [va-hleka]	[a-va-nga-kondzi [va-hleka]
A-past-ile	[a-va-kondzile [va-hleka]	[a-va-nga-kondzangi [va-hleka]

**Mood: Potential**

<b>Positive</b>	<b>Negative</b>
[va-nga-kondza [va-hleka]	[a-va-nge-kondzi [va-hleka]

**Mood: Imperative**

Positive	Negative
[kondza [u-nghena]	[u-nga-kondzi [u-nghena]

**Mood: Hortative**

Positive	Negative
[a-hi-kondzeni [hi-nghena]	[hi-nga-kondzeni [hi-nghena]

**Infinitive**

Positive	Negative
...[ku-kondza [va-nghena]	... [ku-nga-kondzi [va-nghena]

**6.2.4.1 The deficient verb selects the dependent mood**

The deficient itself may appear in all the moods and tenses as above, or it may occur with certain specific moods and tenses. In all these cases the deficient verb will select the dependent mood in the verb of its complement clause. The following groups of deficient verbs may appear with these moods and tenses below:

**a. The deficient verb accepts all the moods and tenses**

See the table above for an example. Other such deficient verbs are the following: dzumba, hamba, tama, hetelela, kala, kondza, namba, pfa, sala, vhela, tshuka, engeta, thela, jinga, hatla, hatlisa and rhanga.

**a. Some deficient verbs appear with irregular moods and tenses**

**khanga:** The perfect and A-past tenses of the Indicative and Dependent moods.

- vuya:** The Future tense of the Indicative and Dependent mood, as well as the Potential and Infinitive.
- karhi:** The Present, Future and A-past of the Indicative and Dependent mood.
- ingaku/onge:** The Present and A-past of the Indicative and Dependent mood.
- za:** All moods and tenses except the Imperative and Hortative.
- va:** This deficient verb is regularly used in compound tenses and it may also accept all moods and tenses except the Imperative and Hortative.

#### **6.2.4.2 The deficient verb selects the Infinitive**

##### **a. The deficient verb accepts all moods and tenses**

Tolovele, tala, tshamela, phose, heta, phika.

##### **b. The deficient verbs accept only certain moods and tenses**

**phose:** Perfect and A-past tense of the Indicative and Dependent mood.

**heta:** as above, only the Perfect and A-past tense of the Indicative and Dependent mood.

#### **6.2.4.3 The deficient verb selects the Dependent mood or the Infinitive**

(1126) [Va fanele [va yiva]] [Dependent Mood]

(They are supposed to steal)

(1127) [Va fanele [ku yiva]] [Infinitive Mood]

(They must steal)

#### **6.2.5 Inflection in the complement clause of the Deficient verb**

When the deficient verb selects the Dependent mood in the verb of the complement clause, the various tenses with their positive and negative forms may appear in either the deficient verb or the verb of the complement clause:

**Present tense negative:****Deficient verb:** [a-va-dzumbi [va-dya laha]**Verb in complement clause:** [va-dzumba [va-nga-dyi laha]**Future tense:****Deficient verb:** [va-ta-kala [va-hlamba]**Verb in complement clause:** [va-kala [va-ta-hlamba]**6.2.6 Aspect and the deficient verb****6.2.6.1 Perfective, Imperfective**

Aspectual connotations may be inflectional in Xitsonga. Such aspectual meanings may appear in three verbal forms i.e. Indicative, Relative and Dependent mood. These verbal forms are inflectional in nature and they are dependent on syntax. The perfective and imperfective aspect appear within an Inflectional phrase as an inflectional category, i.e. aspect. This functional category appears as the head of an Aspect Phrase (ASP) together with other functional categories such as agreement, tense and mood.

The following sentence has the Inflectional categories below:

(1128) Vana va-tirha

**AgrS** : subjectival agreement of class 2  
**Ind** : Indicative mood  
**T** : Present Tense  
**Asp** : Imperfective aspect

The Imperfective aspect appears in the following cases in Xitsonga: The Present Tense in the Indicative and Relative clauses, as well as the Future tense and the A-past tense with the

ending [-d]. The Imperfective also appears in various dependent clauses in the tenses above in simultaneous clauses and as complements of deficient verbs such as [va].

The terms perfective or completion refer to events which have initial and final endpoints. They refer to terminated, closed or completed events. The perfective aspect appears in the following instances in Xitsonga: the perfect tense of the Indicative and Relative clause, the A-Past tense with a verbal suffix [-ile] as well as perfective with dependent clauses. On the other hand, imperfective or incomplete events refer to events which do not show the initial and the final point. They refer to a continuous, open-ended or uncompleted events

### 6.2.6.2 The Perfective/Imperfective with Deficient verbs

- Perfective** (1129) a. [hi-ta-va [hi-tirhile]  
 b. [a-hi-va [hi-tirhile]

Sentences (1129a) and (b) are in the Indicative. They are also in the future and past tense respectively. These sentences present a situation in its entirety, that is the initial as well as the endpoint. The presence of suffix **-ile** on the verb makes the process of working complete. The aspect of the two sentences in (1129a) and (1129b) above is perfective and complete.

- Imperfective:** (1130) a [hi-va [hi-tirha]  
 b. [hi-ve [hi-tirha]  
 c. [hi-ta-va [hi-tirha]

The three sentences in (1130a,b.&c)above, are in the Indicative. They are in the Present, perfect and future tense. The aspect is Imperfective that shows incomplete action which has no endpoint and which is open. It thus includes reference to the terms continuous or progressive, i.e. the action of working is happening. In other words, the action of working is still continuing and it is not complete. Hence we say that the aspect of the three sentences in

(1131a,b&c) is imperfective and incomplete.

### 6.2.6.3 Aspect morphemes

These aspectual morphemes below indicate duration, i.e. the time during which something exists, lasts or continues.

The morpheme **se**:

- (1132) a. [Se-ndza tlang-a]  
(Now I am playing)
- b. [Se-va-dy-a timanga]  
(Now they eat nuts)
- c. [A-se-ndzi-dy-a]  
[Se-a-ndzi-dy-a]  
(I was eating then)
- d. A-se-ndzi-het-ile]  
[Se-a-ndzi-het-ile]  
(I had finished)

In general, the morpheme **se** expresses duration, as indicated above, i.e. a duration of time which refers to an action or event which takes place by or before now or a particular time.

The morpheme **o/lo**

Past tense

(1133)[A-ndzi-rima] "I ploughed"

## Present tense

(1134)[Ndzo-rima]

'I just plough'

The exclusive formative **–o** is used to indicate that the subject of the predicate performs the action indicated by the verb to the exclusion of any other action.

## The morpheme **aha**

The morpheme **aha** coalesces with the subjectival agreement morpheme.

(1135)a. Ndza-ha-famba]

(I am still going)

b. [N'wana wa-ha-famba]

(The child is still going)

The morpheme **[-aha-]** refers to an action which takes place up to the present and at this moment. Thus, it refers to an ongoing process.

### 6.2.6.4 Aspect morphemes and the deficient verb

The aspect morphemes may appear either with the deficient verb or with the verb of the complement clause or both.

**se:** [se va dzumba [va ta laha]

[va dzumba [se va ta laha]

**o:** [vo dzumba [va ta laha]

[va dzumba [vo ta laha]

**aha** [va ha dzumba [va ta laha]

[va dzumba [va ha ta laha]

#### **6.2.6.5 The complement clause and inflection**

The deficient verb or the verb of the complement clause may be inflected:

##### **Present tense : Negative**

###### **Deficient verb:**

[a va dzumbi [va dya laha]

###### **Verb of complement clause:**

[Va dzumba [va nga dyi laha]

##### **Future tense**

###### **Deficient verb:**

[Va ta dzumba [va nga dyi laha]

###### **Verb complement:**

[Va dzumba [va ta dya laha]

### **6.3 The semantics of the deficient verbs**

The section has shown that the deficient verbs have several meanings. These meanings are, duration, habitual, frequentative, progressive, obligative, manner, continuative, concessive and completive

#### **Duration**

The term duration refers to an event which happens during a certain length of time. Our study of the deficient verbs of Xitsonga has revealed that the following deficient verbs indicate duration:

**Only a short while ago**

- (1136) **heta** [Loko tatana a fika exikolweni ku landza vana, vana a va ha ku heta ku tsala xikambelo]  
(When father arrived at school to fetch the kids, the kids have just finished writing the examinations).

**After a long time**

- (1137) **hetelele** [Vayeni vo huma eMhala a va lahlekile ndlela nhlikanhi hinkwawo loko va ta haleno Giyani kambe va hetelele va fikile nimadyambu]  
(Visitors from Mhala got lost the whole day when they were coming to Giyani but they finally arrived in the evening)

**After an unspecified time**

- (1138) (i) **kala** Xivochwa xi balekile ekhotsweni ra le Modabe xi ya tumbela eswidakanini swa Gugulethu. Van'wana va ri se xi le Khayamandi. Maphorisa va ri va ta xi lava ku kala va xi khoma.  
(The prisoner has escaped from the Modabe prison to go and hide in the shacks of Gugulethu. Some people say that the prisoner is now in Khayamandi. The police say that they will search for the prisoner until they find him)

Other verbs: kondza, sala, engeta, vuya and za.

**In the time between two events**

- (1139) **pfa** Tatana u khomiwile hi ndlala swinene hikwalaho loko manana a ri karhi a sweka vuswa yena u pfa a nwa tiya.  
(Father is very hungry that's why when mother is busy cooking the porridge he (father) drinks tea in the meantime)

### **Without an interval of time between events**

- (1140) (i) **namba** A ndzi yile evhengeleni ku ya xava baji. Ndzi kumile leswaku buruku ri chipisiwile ndzo namba ndzi xava na rona.  
(I went to the shop to buy a jacket. I found that the trouser was on sale and then bought it also at once)

The deficient verb *vhela* also falls in this category.

### **Before now or a particular time**

- (1141) **se** Loko maphorisa va ya fika eAgincourt ku ya khoma muehleketeriwa, va kumile leswaku vaaka-tiko se a va n'wi dlele muehleketeriwa.  
(When the police arrived at Agincourt to go and arrest the suspect, they found that the community has already killed the suspect)

### **Up to a certain time**

- (1142) **kondza** Vana va lavile bolo leyi a yi lahlekele ku kondza va yi kuma.  
(The children searched for the soccer ball which was lost until they find it)

### **At one moment of time only**

- (1143) **khanga** Maphorisa ya le Thulamahashe va ri a va se xi kuma xivochwa lexi balekeke ekhotsweni lembe ra ku hela. Masana u ri u khanga a xi vona eHluvukani lembe leri.  
(The Police from Thulamahashe say that they have not found the prisoner who escaped from prison last year. Masana indicates that she once saw the prisoner at Hluvukani this year)

### At certain times

- (1144) **tshuka** Vana va xikolo lexi va na mikhuva leyinene. Vo tshuka va xwerile kambe minkarhi yo tala va fika hi nkarhi exikolweni.  
(The children from this school have good manners. They sometimes/unexpectedly come late but most of the time they arrive at school in time)

### Habitual

The term habitual refers to events which happen regularly and repeatedly over a long time:

- (1145) (i) **dzumba** eMkhuhlu ku pfuriwile feme yo endla matafula lembe leri. Vanhu va miganga leyi nga kusuhi na Mkhuhlu va dzumba va ri kwale eMkhuhlu hi xikongomelo xo lava mintirho.  
(At Mkhuhlu a factory for manufacturing tables has been opened. People in the neighbouring villages always go to Mkhuhlu with the aim of getting jobs)

Other verbs are: hamba, phika, tala, tama, tolovele, tshamele.

### Frequentative

The term frequentative refers to the happening of an event for a large number of times:

- (1146) (i) **engeta** Themba u humile ekhotsweni n'hweti ya ku hela. A khomeriwile ku yiva nyama ebucharini. Ndzi twa leswaku u engete a yiva mpahla tolo exitolo. Onge u tsakisiwa hi ku tshama ekhotsweni.  
(Themba was released from prison last month. He was arrested for stealing meat from the butchery. I learnt that he stole clothes again from the shop yesterday. It seems he enjoys staying in prison)

Other verb is: tlhela.

## Progressive

This term refers to events which are moving forward or are developing continuously:

- (1147) **karhi** Loko ndzi fika exikolweni ndzi kumile leswaku vana va karhi va tsala xikambelwana.  
(When I arrived at school I found that the learners were busy writing the test)

## Obligative

This term indicates a condition that makes it necessary for someone to do something:

- (1148) **fanele** Intiyiso leswaku ku hlaya tibuku a swi nandzihi. Ku va xichudeni xi ta humelela eku heleni ka lembe , xi fanele ku hlaya tibuku ta xona.  
(It is true that to read books is not nice. But in order for the student to pass at the end of the year s/he must read his/her books)

## Manner

This term refers to the way or method on which an event happens:

- (1149) (i) **hatla** Wena Magezi, u fanela ku hatla u ta enkhubyeni hikuva hi wena mufambisi wa ntirho.  
You Magezi, you must come immediately to the function because you are the Programme Director)

Other verbs are: hatlisa, rhanga , phose, ngaku/onge.

## Continuative

This term refers to an event which continues without interruption:

- (1150) **va** Loko wo ndzi vona laha nimadyambu, ndzi ta va ndzi tirha.  
(If you can see me here in the evening, I will be busy working)

### **Concessive**

This term refers to an event which shows willingness to concede a point that goes against the main argument of a sentence:

- (1151) **jinga** Hambileswi ku heleke tin'hweti timbirhi vatirhi va nga si kuma miholo ya vona, loko ndzi hundza hi le femeni ya vona namuntlha ndzi kumile vatirhi va jinga va tirha.  
(Although two months have passed and the workers have not yet received their salaries, when I passed by their factory today, I found the workers nevertheless working)

### **Completive**

This term refers to an event which is finished, indicated by the perfect tense of **va**:

- (1152) **ve** Malembe ya ntlhanu lama hundzeke ndzi ve ndzi nga tirha efemeni yo endla switina ePolokwane.  
(The past five years I once worked in the factory of making bricks in Polokwane)

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