

AUXILIARY VERBS AS A SUBCATEGORY OF THE VERB IN TSWANA

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PREFACE

The term verb includes a compound of meanings as the word class verb has three sub categories, namely: independent verbs, copulative verbs and auxiliary verbs. During the research for the study a problem regarding the appropriate term to be used for specific words in verbal groups arose. The intention is to clarify the position on terms used for these words here, before the study commences. To complicate the problem it has been found that different terms are used by different linguists to refer to the same concept - verbs. Thus Ziervogel (1976:116), Louwrens (1994(c):17), Lombard *et al.* (1985:186) and several others refer to verbs in auxiliary verbal groups as *main verbs*. Likewise, several studies in Afrikaans refer to these verbs as '*hoofwerkwoorde*'. However, there are also other terms used to refer to these verbs, namely: *principle verbs*, *proper verbs*, *proper main verbs*, *ordinary verbs*, *ordinary predicates*, etc.

The term that has been opted for to refer to verbs is *independent verb*. This term was chosen because it indicates the syntactical independence of such verbs which are clearly to be separated from auxiliary verbs. The term copulative verbs is clear, and will be retained. In the case of the auxiliary verbs there are also several terms used, however, these terms are explained in chapter three, as the classification of the auxiliary verbs is treated there.

ABSTRACT

The auxiliary verb in Tswana is the focus of this study. An overview of the research that has been done on the auxiliary verb in Zulu, Sotho and Tswana up to now indicates that there are still a number of issues regarding auxiliary verbs in Tswana that need further investigation. From the assembled bibliography it is clear that the auxiliary verb in Tswana has only been touched upon.

Only the studies of Swanepoel (1975) and Krüger (1983) on the auxiliary verbs in Tswana which are exclusively based on linguistic criteria seem to be noteworthy.

Before a classification of the auxiliary verb may be attempted, a classification of the verb as word class would be necessary.

Insights on concepts like aspect, time and tense and metaphorical mapping, prompted by the development in the study of Bantu languages, have to be utilized in a study on auxiliary verbs.

After a discussion of the classificatory principles and criteria of word classes as proposed by Van Wyk (1966), the word classes for Tswana are set out accordingly. It is then shown that the independent verbs, the copulative verbs and the auxiliary verbs are sub categories of the word class verb. Based on this the auxiliary verb is analysed to indicate its sub categories and features.

Regarding the origin, meaning and function of auxiliary verbs in Tswana, it is found that they have a metaphorical basis. The semantic values of many auxiliaries in Tswana are derived from verbal counterparts through a process of metaphorical mapping. Certain auxiliaries still show semantic affinity with their verbal counterparts. It is also indicated that this affinity is morphologically and syntactically related to the sub-classes/categories identified in the classification of the auxiliaries.

The grammatical categories of the verb are then discussed, and the mutual relationship between auxiliary verbs and mood, tense and aspect is pointed out. It is apparent from the classification of the auxiliary verbs in Tswana that a significant number of them have a

semantic significance to logical time and tense. The aspectual values of the complementary verb (in certain instances) in auxiliary verbal groups, in the relative tenses, where the future and past tenses are indicated by the auxiliary verb, are pointed out.

To conclude the study, the auxiliary verbal groups are described with respect to their syntactic and valential features. All auxiliary verbs are then discussed individually regarding the semantic values they display in discourse.

OPSOMMING

Die hulpwerkwoord in Tswana is die fokus van hierdie studie. Uit 'n oorsig oor afgehandelde navorsing i.v.m. die hulpwerkwoord in Zoeloe, Sotho en Tswana kom aan die lig dat daar steeds vraagstukke rondom hierdie tema bestaan wat verdere studie verg. Vanuit die saamgestelde bibliografie is dit duidelik dat die hulpwerkwoord in Tswana nog net oppervlakkig bestudeer is.

Slegs die studies van Swanepoel (1975) en Krüger (1983) oor die hulpwerkwoord in Tswana is noemenswaardig, en was op suiwer linguistiese kriteria gebaseer.

Alvorens daar voorgegaan word met die klassifikasie van die hulpwerkwoord is noodsaaklik dat die klassifikasie van die werkwoord eers bevredigend hanteer word.

Nuwe insigte wat in die ontwikkeling van die Bantoetale na vore gebring is m.b.t. die studietereine van aspek, tempus, tyd en die sogenaamde 'metaphorical mapping' is belangrik by 'n studie van die hulpwerkwoord aangesien dit talle raakvlakke met hierdie studieveld het.

Na 'n bespreking van die klassifikasieprinsipes en kriteria vir woord identifikasie en -klassifikasie soos voorgestel deur Van Wyk (1966) word die woordklasse vir Tswana daarvolgens weergegee. Daar word dan aangetoon dat die selfstandige werkwoord, kopulatiewe werkwoord en die hulpwerkwoord, sub-kategorieë van die werkwoord is. Gebaseer hierop en m.b.v. die klassifikasie kriteria van Van Wyk word die hulpwerkwoord verder ontleed en sy sub-kategorieë aangetoon.

Rakende die oorsprong, betekenis en funksie van hulpwerkwoorde word die metaforiese basis as oorsprong van 'n groep hulpwerkwoorde vanaf werkwoorde aangetoon. Dit is duidelik dat die semantiese waardes van 'n groot aantal hulpwerkwoorde in Tswana, van werkwoorde afgelei is. Hierdie ooreenkoms word duidelik weerspieël in die sub-kategorieë waarin die hulpwerkwoord verdeel/geklassifiseer is.

Die grammatikale kategorieë van die werkwoord word dan bespreek en die rol van die hulpwerkwoord by die aanduiding van modus, tempus en tyd word aangedui. Uit die klassifikasie van die hulpwerkwoorde in Tswana is dit opvallend dat 'n groot aantal van hulle semanties met logiese tyd en tempus verband hou. Die aspektuele waarde van sekere komplementêre werkwoorde in hulpwerkwoordgroepe waar die toekomstige en verlede tyd deur die hulpwerkwoord aangedui word, word uitgewys.

Ten slotte word die hulpwerkwoordgroepe in terme van hulle sintaktiese en valensionele kenmerke bespreek.. Daarna word elke hulpwerkwoord individueel bespreek t.o.v. sy semantiese waarde in die diskoers.

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CHAPTER 1

CONTEXTUALIZATION

1.1 CONTEXTUALIZATION AND STATEMENT OF PROBLEM

The auxiliary verb as a subcategory of the verb has been investigated by a number of linguists in the African languages, among others Doke (1947), Louw (1949 and 1963), Endemann (1966), Ziervogel (1959 and 1962), Van Wyk (1962), Ungerer (1978), Slattery (1981), Lombard *et al.* (1985) and Fourie (1990). In Tswana the auxiliary verb has been the focus of studies by Sandilands (1953), Cole (1955), Krüger (1967 and 1983) and Swanepoel (1975) among others.

An overview of these contributions reveals that classifications of the auxiliary verb have been done in different ways and by means of different criteria. Both Doke (generally accepted as a very prominent Zulu linguist) and Cole (generally accepted as a very prominent Tswana linguist) classify the auxiliary verbs according to the moods of their complements. Krüger (1983), on the other hand, uses inherent morphological, semantic and syntactic features exhibited by the auxiliary verb itself as classificatory criteria. Fourie (1990) uses semantic features such as modality, and notional features such as the attitude of the speaker, maintaining that morphological and syntactical features are inappropriate criteria to classify auxiliaries. He (1990:122) states that:

Die morfologiese en sintaktiese kriteria is nie beduidend genoeg om as klassifikasiekriteria gebruik te word nie.

He asserts that it is therefore necessary to consider semantic values for the classification of auxiliary verbs. This is a challenging task, since the meanings of some auxiliary verbs are complex, while those of others are not easily determinable.

Fourie (1990:122) states that the auxiliary verb in Zulu is a base category and has an essentially modal semantic basis. Approaching the problem from a TGG point of view, he

classifies the auxiliary verbs into the modal categories, deontic and epistemic (refer to 3.8.), which is a classification based on the attitude of the speaker.

Since the notional features used by Fourie are based on extralinguistic considerations, his classification will not be followed. In this study a holistic approach will be followed. However, in this approach the structural approach (which is widely used by linguists in the African languages) will also be employed because it is deemed necessary to take a fresh look at the criteria employed for the classification of auxiliary verbs in Tswana.

Regarding the function of auxiliary verbs in Zulu, Hendrikse and Mkhatswa (1993:114) argue:

Concepts such as time, state, change, cause, purpose, means, and modality are typically expressed by auxiliary verbs in many languages, including Zulu.

They examine the metaphorical basis of the historical development and the derivation of a selected set of temporal and aspectual Zulu auxiliaries from their original verbal counterparts. They argue that the meaning of many auxiliaries in Zulu is derived from verbal counterparts through a process of metaphorical mapping, and that certain auxiliaries show semantic continuity with their verbal counterparts. These linguists base their views on the work of Johnson (1987), Lakoff (1981), Lakoff and Johnson (1980a), and Lakoff and Johnson (1980b).

Hendrikse and Mkhatswa (1993:114) address the close affinity of some Zulu auxiliaries with their independent verbal counterparts which indicate motion or spatial significance by stating that:

The answer to this question, we believe, lies in metaphorical mapping of concrete spatial notions onto abstract auxiliary notions.

They also point out (1993: 115) that “There is a significant difference in the spatial notions mapped onto tense auxiliaries and the spatial notions mapped onto aspectual auxiliaries”, and indicate that in many cases, one finds metaphorical mapping of a one-to-many relation between source and target domain, and *vice versa*. They then focus on the spatial domain

as a source domain as far as auxiliaries are concerned, pointing out how it can be mapped onto the temporal domain through metaphorical images.

The work done by these linguists will serve as a point of departure in the investigation of the possibility of metaphorical mapping in the auxiliaries of Tswana.

It is apparent from Swanepoel's (1975:240) classification of the auxiliary verbs in Tswana that a significant number of them are semantically related to time. It is also evident from Endemann (1966) and Louwrens (1994) that some auxiliary verbs in Northern Sotho express the future and past tense whereas the complementary verb (in certain instances) then gives an aspectual value to the action.

Against this background, this study will deal with the following problems relating to the auxiliary verb in Tswana:

- i. Which are the most appropriate principles to be used for the classification of the auxiliary verb in Tswana, and why? The principles for the classification of the auxiliary verbs have been discussed and motivated by numerous linguists in the African languages and hence also in Tswana. As can be deduced from the view held by Fourie (1990), these principles are negotiable. Because of the work done by Hendrikse and Mkhatswa and others in other African languages there is a need for these principles to be readdressed, particularly as far as their applicability to Tswana is concerned.
- ii. In the movement/shift/development/change from verbs to auxiliary verbs, rankshifting has occurred. A question arises as to the causes and effects of this shift or movement. Can metaphorical mapping be used fruitfully to explain this development? Traditional Bantu linguists are of the opinion that there is a close affinity between certain auxiliary verbs and independent verbs (compare Louw (1949:15)).
- iii. It seems as if at least some of the sub categories relating to main/independent verbs are also applicable to auxiliary verbs. The problem is to determine where the

auxiliary verb fits into the predicative system and how it should be described in terms of the sub categories pertaining to it.

iv. To what extent does the auxiliary verb in Tswana indicate/mark/grammaticalize the time of the execution of the process expressed in the complementary verb?

v. What is the function of the auxiliary verbs in verbal groups comprising three or more verbs?

vi. To what extent does the auxiliary verb function as locus to mark aspectual value in the independent verb?

1.2 AIMS

The aims of this study are to:

i. select/establish a motivated set of principles for the classification of the auxiliary verbs in Tswana;

ii. determine the affinity/relationship between auxiliary verbs and independent verbs by studying the probability of metaphorical mapping in the development/shift from independent verb to auxiliary verb;

iii. present a detailed classification of auxiliary verbs as a subcategory of the verb in Tswana, and to determine the position of the auxiliary verb in the predicative system of Tswana;

iv. determine the impact of the auxiliary verb on the relationship between coding/speech time and the time of execution of the event/process of the independent verb. This relationship between coding/speech time and event time will presumably serve as one of the criteria used to classify the auxiliaries;

v. determine the function of the auxiliary verbs in verbal groups comprising three or more verbs in Tswana.

- vi. determine the importance of the auxiliary verb in denoting possible aspectual meaning in Tswana.

1.3 THESIS STATEMENT

This study will argue that:

- i. The criteria for the classification of the auxiliary verbs in Tswana need to be reconsidered in view of studies in other African languages.
- ii. There is a decided semantic relation between certain verbs and related auxiliary verbs in Tswana. This relation is evident in that the meanings of the auxiliary verbs were derived from their verbal counterparts through the process of metaphorical mapping. The meaning of verbs with the semantic value of physical movement in space, is in some cases metaphorically mapped onto auxiliary verbs indicating temporality.
- iii. Certain auxiliary verbs in auxiliary verbal groups in Tswana have a direct influence on the time of execution of the event/process expressed in the independent verb.
- iv. Because of the time-indicating role of certain auxiliary verbs in Tswana they play an important role in denoting the aspectual value of the complementary verb in that auxiliary verbal group.

1.4 METHOD OF RESEARCH

A comprehensive investigation of the existing literature on the auxiliary verb will be undertaken. A synthesis of the different views and principles will be used to produce a model which can serve as a theoretical basis for the classification and description of the auxiliary verb in Tswana. A holistic approach will be utilized with emphasis on the structural-functional approach. In the chapter on the metaphorical basis of the auxiliaries, insights drawn from cognitive linguistics will be employed to analyse the semantic value of

selected auxiliary verbs in Tswana. This will be done by presenting the temporal significances of the auxiliaries on the basis of movement in space.

Examples of auxiliary verbs used in the Tswana literature (especially older literary sources) have been documented and will be analyzed.

CHAPTER 2

HISTORICAL OVERVIEW

2.1 INTRODUCTION

In order to contextualize the auxiliary verb in Tswana a brief review of research of linguists in the African languages in general, and in Tswana in particular will be given. Subsequently, the explanations these linguists have been offering as to the function of the auxiliary verb will be analysed and an appropriate definition for this linguistic phenomenon will be proposed. The *modus operandi* will be to arrange the work of linguists in Zulu, Sotho and Tswana chronologically. This will enable the researcher to determine the chronological progress made in the research on the auxiliary verb up to date.

2.2 THE VIEWS OF DIFFERENT SCHOLARS ON THE AUXILIARY VERB IN ZULU

2.2.1 Ziervogel

Ziervogel (1959) uses the term “deficient predicative” (hulp-predikatief) to refer to auxiliary verbs in Zulu. He uses this term in his grammar of Ndebele because according to him auxiliary verbs in Ndebele do not necessarily need a verbal stem. Ziervogel (1959:75), like Van Eeden, points out that copulatives can also act as auxiliary verbs.

Ziervogel (1959:146) proposes the following definition: “A deficient predicative (deficient verb) cannot be used alone, but must have a second predicative as its complement thereby resulting in a compound of moods and tenses.”

Ziervogel (1959:149-156) deals with the auxiliary verbs in the groups/categories as presented below.

i. Semi-deficient predicative i.e. auxiliary verbs which may be used as independent verbs as well (compare 1a, 1b, 2a and 2b). This group is divided further according to the mood that is determined by the auxiliary verb, viz. the infinitive, the subjunctive and the

participial moods. Ziervogel classifies deficient verbs followed by the infinitive into this category (compare 2c).

(1a) *Re tla nna re ba thusa.* (auxiliary verb)

'We will keep on helping them (in the meantime).'

(1b) *Re tla nna fa go fitlha o boa.* (independent verb)

'We will stay here until you return'.

(2a) *Ba tla lala ba ithuta ka ba kwala ditlhatlhobô ka mosô.* (auxiliary verb)

'They will study (through the night) as they write exams tomorrow'.

(2b) *Bana ba tla lala mo tlung.* (independent verb)

'The children will stay in the house'.

(2c) *Ke batla go mmona.*

'I want to see him/her'.

ii. True deficient predicatives which have become stylized and usually end in -e.

iii. Tense-forming deficient verbs or auxiliary verbs.

iv. Contracted deficient verbs which have partly become verb prefixes.

v. Deficient verbs which signify negation exclusively.

vi. Deficient verbs which signify the copulative.

In his classification, Ziervogel considers the features of the complement as well as the morphological features of the auxiliary verb itself. According to Swanepoel (1975:16) Ziervogel uses morphological, semantic, as well as valential features of auxiliary verbs in his classification. However, he applies these features inconsistently.

Ziervogel gebruik morfologiese, semantiese en gebruikskenmerke, maar pas dit lukraak toe.

However, Ziervogel, unlike Doke who classifies the auxiliary verbs purely according to the mood of the complementary verb which is governed by the auxiliary verb, bases his classification on structural as well as valential features.

2.2.2 Van Eeden

Van Eeden (1956:536), like Cole, identifies verbal and non-verbal stems which can form predicatives, but which cannot function independently. He holds the opinion that these predicates have to be completed by a verb following them which may include infinitives as well as copulatives.

Van Eeden (1956:536) defines the auxiliary verbs as follows: “Sulke funksioneel, semanties en sintakties onvolledige verba (predikatiewe) word defisiënte verba genoem”. The reason why he names auxiliary verbs as deficient verbs is their semantic and syntactical insufficiency and not their status as words. E.g.

(3) Morutabana o ne a thusa bana.

‘The teacher was helping the children’.

Regarding the origin of the auxiliary verbs Van Eeden distinguishes between two groups viz:

i. A group which is clearly derived from verbal stems.

In the first example *ke tsoga-* is used as an independent verb, whereas in the second example *ke tsoga* is used as an auxiliary verb.

(4) Ke tsoga phakêla. (independent verb)

‘I get up early’.

(5) Ke tsoga ke ya torôpông ka mosô. (auxiliary verb)

‘I will go to town tomorrow’.

ii. A group that has no relation to verbal stems and which is clearly deficient, or in other words functions deficiently, e.g.

(6) *Ke sa kwala leina la me mô bukêng.*

'I am still writing my name in the book'.

2.2.3 Doke

On the employment of verbal auxiliaries to express tense Doke (1957:35) indicates the following:

"Verbal auxiliaries, usually infixal, are employed in the inflexion of verbs to form tenses, implications, etc."

The following may serve as illustrative examples of the auxiliary verbs *-tlabô* and *-ne* where they have a tense indicating function:

(7) *Re tlabô re ba thusa ka tirô ya bônê.*

'We shall (then) be helping them with their work'.

(8) *Ba nê ba re bôna mô tôrôpông.*

'They (then) saw us in town'.

Doke (1961) distinguishes between the traditional terms 'auxiliary verb' and 'deficient verb'. The latter term is to him the more appropriate term to use for the auxiliary verb. According to Swanepoel (1975:5) Doke is the grammarian who introduced the term "deficient" into the grammar of Zulu. He says:

Doke het die term "deficient" geformuleer om 'n plaasvervanger te wees vir "auxiliary verbs". Hy is van mening dat laasgenoemde term nie in die Bantoetale gebruik kan word nie omdat die predikatiewe komplement wat hierdie werkwoorde het in 'n ondergeskikte of afhanklike modus verskyn. Die "deficient verb" is dan die hoofwerkwoord wat nie selfstandig gebruik kan word nie, en daarom "deficiënt" dit wil sê gebrekkig is. (Compare (9) below.)

(9) Baithuti *ba tlhola* ba tla kwano.

'The students always come here'.

This term is thought to have been coined by Doke (1961:84) for the following reason:

“Deficient verbs are those requiring a subordinated predication to complete them. This is a more correct term to use in Bantu for what have hitherto been called auxiliary verbs.”

He furthermore explains that:

“An examination of the occurrence in Zulu will explain the use of this term. In *balokhu belima* (They keep on ploughing), *belima* is in the participial subordinate mood, and *balokhu* is the main predicate but deficient in that it cannot be used as a verb standing alone.” Doke (1961:84)

Doke regards the auxiliary particles (the progressive and potential morphemes) as formative elements which distinguish time.

The complementary verb in the auxiliary verbal group was traditionally seen as the verb that is used to indicate tense in the compound tenses, and it was named the “principal verb”. The verb that is used with this “principal verb” (which is the auxiliary verb) is always in the particular mood. It is thus more appropriate to refer to the auxiliary verb as the deficient verb and to the independent verb that accompanies it in the auxiliary verbal group, as the complementary verb.

The following can be deduced from the work of Doke:

- i. His distinction between the terms 'auxiliary' and 'deficient' is the first distinction between morphemes and words with auxiliary verbal function.
- ii. The term 'deficient' as used by Doke, classifies the deficient verbs as a subcategory of the verb. Doke's term 'deficient' and its definition do not accommodate the whole spectrum of the auxiliary verbs, specifically not the proper and improper auxiliaries as well

as those with conjunctive function. (Refer to chapter three, and more specifically 3.8.1). Compare examples - (10, 11 and 12) below:

(10) *Moruti wa rona o kilé a tla kwano.*

'Our preacher once came here'.

As indicated above a proper auxiliary verb can only be used as an auxiliary verb. On the other hand, al improper auxiliary verbs may be used as auxiliary verb (11a), and independent verb (11b).

(11a) *Morutabana o tlhola a re boléléla ka botlhokwa ba dithutó.*

'The teacher always tells us about the importance of studies'.

(11b) *Ke tla tlhola dinótlóló mó kólóing.*

'I shall look for the keys in the vehicle'.

(12) *E re lo ba bôna, lo ba bolélélê gore ke a ba batla.*

'When you see them, tell them that I am looking for them'.

The example above (12) presents an auxiliary verb with conjunctive function. Auxiliary verbs such as *-e re-* have undergone a process of rankshifting from being verbs to being auxiliary verbs with a conjunctive function. (refer to 3.8. and 7.7.6.)

iii. Doke classifies the auxiliary verbs according to the mood of the complementary member (which is the complementary verb of the auxiliary verbal group, as it is seen in this study).

2.2.4 Fortune

Fortune (1955:77) describes the Shona auxiliary verb and its complementary verb as a syntactic unit and names it the combined predicate, which he defines as follows:

The compound predicate, in its simplest form, is a sequence of two predicates united in one predicative whole. Of these two predicates the first is the deficient

verb, the second a complement which, in Shona, is usually verbal but which may be copulative.

2.2.5 Louw

Louw (1949:8) uses the terms “auxiliare” and “defisiënte verba”. He classifies *-ya-*, *-za-*, *-be-*, and *-se-* as “auxiliare”, because they differ from other auxiliary verbs in as far as their stems can diminish or they can shorten in such a way that they become unrecognizable.

Louw (1949:85) gives the following definition for the deficient verb:

'n Defisiënte verbum is 'n verbum wat in die meeste gevalle tot 'n selfstandige verbum herlei kan word, en waarvan die stam se beduidenis, wat gewoonlik van die ooreenkomstige selfstandige een afgelei is 'n addisionele implikasie verleen aan die handeling van die komplementêre predikaat wat op die defisiënte verbum moet volg, aangesien so 'n defisiënte verbum funksioneel onvolmaak is, dit wil sê 'n ander predikaat moet daarop volg, en die predikaat is sintakties ondergeskik aan die defisiënte verbum.

In his doctoral thesis, Louw (1963) consults all of the sources written on this topic in Zulu since the first book in the orthography of the Nguni languages was published in 1924 until the work of Doke in 1927. He (1963:56) concludes that:

In die geheel geneem, kan gesê word dat daar nie juis 'n diepgaande studie van die defisiënte verba deur die eerste ondersoekers van Zulu en Xhosa gemaak is nie. Doke was die eerste een wat geprobeer het om 'n gesistematiseerde beeld van die betrokke groep verba te gee, en tot nog toe het sy opvattinge die toneel gedomineer.

Louw (1963) analyses the auxiliary verb under the following headings:

- i. The use of the auxiliary verbs
- ii. The semantics of the auxiliary verbs

iii. The features of the auxiliary verbs in the Nguni languages, and

iv. Classification of the auxiliary verb

The aim of his research was to undertake a comparative study of the auxiliary verbs in the Nguni languages. He agrees with the views of Ziervogel (1959).

In his doctoral thesis Louw (1963) uses the term “hulp predikatief”. He indicates that the “verbale auxiliare” forms a sub-section of the deficient verbs or predicatives. He (1963:4) asserts that:

In hierdie studie egter sal daarop gewys word dat die “verbale auxiliare” slegs 'n onderafdeling van die groot groep defisiënte verba, of predikatiewe vorm.

Louw (1963:249) concludes as follows on the “hulp predikatief”:

Die hulp predikatief kan slegs binne die meerledige onmiddellike komponent, 'n sintaktiese samestelling, tot sy reg kom. Sy gebruik binne so 'n sintaktiese samestelling het die hulp predikatief egter so gekondisioneer dat hy ontwikkel het tot 'n bepaalde tipe predikatief.

Like Doke, he classifies the auxiliary verbs according to the mood of the complementary verb.

Louw et. al. (1967:118) hold the opinion that:

The auxiliary predicate is in fact an extension or modification of an action. On the one hand it reminds one of the English auxiliary verbs such as “will”, on the other hand it expresses English adverbs. Many auxiliary verbs are independent verbs which assume a figurative meaning. The feature of the auxiliary predicate (a term preferred to auxiliary verb, since it is not necessarily a verb) is that it is seldom possible to use it as a word by itself like an ordinary predicate. The auxiliary predicate is therefore used to form a compound predicate which, although it consists of two verbs constitutes a unit. The auxiliary predicate must always be followed by

another predicate or predicative form such as an infinitive. Formalism plays an important role in the compound predicate because each auxiliary predicate is followed by a predicative which is in a certain mood. In such compound predicates often a variety of contractions occur, especially if the auxiliary predicate is a monosyllabic stem.

Louw et. al. (1967:118) also maintain that:

The auxiliary predicate itself can be used in any mood with few exceptions. The second verb which is the independent verb according to contents and meaning is grammatically the dependent verb because it follows in a particular mood after the auxiliary predicate. The compound predicate, i.e. the auxiliary predicate and the independent verb are a semantic unit, however. Remember that the independent verb may take different tenses according to the mood in which it occurs.

2.2.6 Fourie

Fourie (1988:13) holds the opinion that the term 'deficient' as used by Doke, classifies it as a subcategory of the verb. He also indicates that the term 'deficient', and its definition do not accommodate the whole spectrum of the auxiliary verbs, especially not the independent (improper) auxiliaries (those that have valence to act as independent verbs).

Fourie (1988) postulates that features of the underlying semantic structure of the auxiliary verb determines the category of mood of the complementary verb. He continues:

The existing classifications of the auxiliary verb in Zulu are incorrectly based on the mood of the complementing verb. This should be done according to the inherent features of the auxiliary verbs themselves (1988:iv).

He commits himself to make a classification of the auxiliary verbs in Zulu based on their inherent semantic features. He claims to be employing a TGG model and describes the auxiliary verbs in Zulu using the following sub-sections:

- ⇒Introduction
- ⇒Etymology of the auxiliary
- ⇒Mood following the auxiliary
- ⇒Action indicated by the auxiliary
- ⇒Examples of use
- ⇒Syntactic and semantic analyses

He states that:

Ultimately, the phenomenon of auxiliaries determining certain moods serves to enlighten the complex and abstract process of the rhetic act, i.e. showing how every part of the speech act combines to constitute meaningful language and communication (1988:viii).

Initially, Fourie does not select an appropriate definition for the auxiliary verb, however, in his concluding chapter he states that:

Aux kwalifiseer die aard van die handeling wat in die daaropvolgende V vervat is, en vervul dus die funksie van semantiese beklemtoningsmodifikasie wat die handelingsverloop nuanseer. Die kategorie van aspek en aspektuele karakter (aksionsart) is gevolglik van sentrale belang (1988:232).

This study also stresses the importance of the aspectual character of auxiliaries in Tswana (Refer to 6.6.).

2.2.7 Mkhathshwa

In his dissertation titled *Metaphorical extensions as a basis for grammaticalization with special reference to Zulu auxiliaries* Mkhathshwa (1991:75) explores the views of the “Traditional Bantu grammarians” on the categorial status of the auxiliaries in Bantu languages. He attends to the views of Jacottet (1927), Cole (1955), Ziervogel (1969) and Doke (1947) and concludes by giving the following informative table to explicate the similarities and differences that these linguists point out:

TABLE OF SIMILARITIES AND DIFFERENCES - Mkhathshwa (1991:75)

	JACOTTET (1927)	COLE (1955)	ZIERVOGEL (1969)	DOKE (1981)	SLATTERY (1981)
1. <u>Syntax</u> Dependency Position	dependent _____	dependent before certain predicates	dependent before certain predicates	dependent before verbs in various moods	dependent before verbs
2. <u>Morphology</u> Reduction	reduced	deduced	reduced	reduced	reduced
3. <u>Semantics</u> Specialized significance	impart special meaning to verbs	_____	modifies an action (figurative meaning)	_____	_____
4. <u>Categorial</u> Status	auxiliary verb	auxiliary verb	auxiliary predicate	deficient verb	auxiliary verb

With reference to this table Mkhathshwa makes the following observations:

All of the traditional grammarians recognise some or other connection between auxiliaries and verbs in Bantu languages.

They all find it necessary to distinguish the category auxiliaries as being distinct from verbs.

Some of them also note some properties in auxiliaries that are typically associated with grammaticalization, namely reduction in form and meaning even though they do not specifically mention grammaticalization as a process.

The traditionalists seem to regard auxiliaries in Bantu languages as a unitary category, not differentiating any sub categories of auxiliaries.

Apart from this, he refrains from giving an explicit definition for the category auxiliary.

2.2.8 Griesel

Griesel (1991) analyses the historiography of Zulu from 1849 to 1991. Concerning the auxiliary verb, he indicates that in Zulu it has already been studied by several linguists (1991:231). He points out that the areas that have been attended to are:

- i. the identification of the auxiliary verbal stems. Griesel discusses the different identifications and concludes that:

Alhoewel daar dus variasies voorkom in die identifikasie van hulpwerkwoorde, lyk dit nie of enige van die benaderings aanspraak kan maak op 'n nuwe model nie, en daar kan dus volstaan word deur te sê dat navorsing op die gebied van die identifikasie van hulpwerkwoorde kumulatief is. (1991:239)

- ii. the discussion of the meanings of the different auxiliary verbal stems, and the classification of the auxiliary verbs. (Refer to the table of Griesel (1991:240) on the next page). The following is a summation of how Griesel (1991:239-240) explains the table:

⇒researchers from the so-called 'notional school' (Suter, Wanger) identified auxiliary verbs, but they did not attempt to classify them.

⇒Doke and other members of the 'structuralist school' (Louw, Van Eeden) classify auxiliary verbs according to the mood of the complementary verb.

⇒After that and following in the footsteps of Ziervogel (who researched Northern Transvaal Ndebele), Louw (1963) classifies auxiliary verbs according to their (morphology) form and the mood of the complementary verb.

⇒Fourie (1988) classifies auxiliary verbs on semantic grounds.

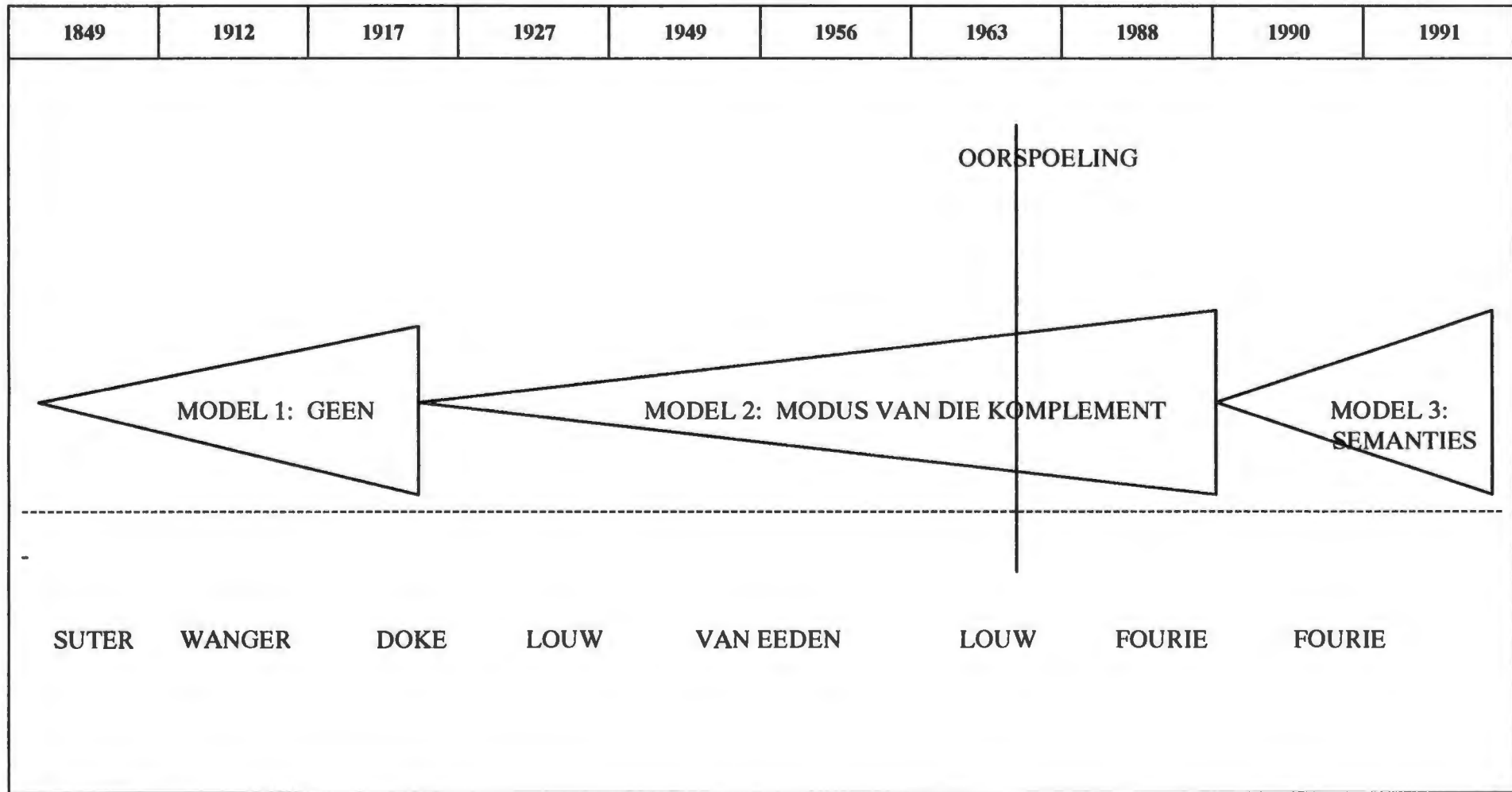
Griesel (1991:239) concludes by stating that:

daar kan met 'n mate van voorbehoud dus historiografies drie modelle ten opsigte van die klassifikasie van hulpwerkwoorde gepostuleer word.

In his classification which he names "die klassifikasie van hulpwerkwoordstamme" he then indicates the following three models:

- a. No efforts towards classification.
- b. Classification based mainly on the mood of the complementary verb.
- c. Classification based on semantic criteria.

CLASSIFICATION OF AUXILIARY VERBAL STEMS IN ZULU - Griessel (1991:240)



iii. Taxonomy of the auxiliary verb.

Turning to the semantics of the auxiliary verbal stem, Griesel (1991:241) points out that:

⇒Louw (1949:15) indicates that the majority of auxiliary verbs deducted their meaning from verbal counterparts, and that the auxiliary verb is frequently used adverbially. They are not adverbs, but they give modal and temporal nuances to the verb.

⇒Fourie (1988:232) holds the opinion that the auxiliary verb is used to bring about nuances to the execution (handelingsverloop) of the action of the independent verb. He (1988:232) states:

Aux kwalifiseer die aard van die handeling wat in die daaropvolgende V vervat is en vervul dus 'n funksie van semantiese beklemtoningsmodifikasie wat die handelingsverloop nuanseer.

He indicates that the auxiliary verb in Zulu can indicate that the action never took place, will still take place, is almost taking place, started and is in process, is repeated, is almost completed, is already completed.

Griesel (1991:243) concludes the section on the verb in Zulu by indicating that:

⇒the study of the verb has been cumulative to an extent, and in this regard he refers to work done on the classification of the moods, the semantics of -ya- and the stative.

⇒There are complex historiographical patterns present in Zulu and there has been an overlap (oorspoeling) to a certain extent. He proves this by giving the example of the study of Wilkes on the verbal suffixes and that of Louw (1963) on the auxiliary verb.

Griesel (1991) thus attends only to the historiography of the auxiliary verb in the section in which he attends to the research done on the verb in Zulu.

2.2.9 Hendrikse and Mkhathshwa

In their article on the metaphorical basis of Zulu auxiliaries Hendrikse and Mkhathshwa (1993) indicate that there is a close derivational relationship between certain verbs and tense and aspectual auxiliaries in Zulu.

They further indicate that:

- i. the motivation for this relationship is based on a metaphorical mapping of notions from the spatial domain onto the temporal domain, and
- ii. the reason why a selection of motion indicating verbs (in particular), as well as certain other verbs have the ability to function as auxiliaries is their capability to be understood metaphorically.

2.3 THE VIEWS OF DIFFERENT SCHOLARS ON THE AUXILIARY VERB IN SOTHO

2.3.1 Doke and Mofokeng

In their treatment of the conjugation of the deficient verb in Sotho, Doke & Mofokeng (1957:245) state the following:

Deficient verbs in Bantu are verbs which require a subordinate or complementary verb to complete their predication. They thus help to form a multiverbal conjugation, each tense of which is composed of more than one word. In Southern Sotho the deficient verbs form a striking feature of the conjugation of the verb, and have been developed in a more specialized way than either in Nguni or in Shona, both types of Bantu freely using such verbs.

While tenses of the multi-verbal conjugation may be found representing various moods, the question of mood classification is not so important in dealing with them. What is important is the type of tense and mood in the complementary verb following. We therefore classify the various deficient verbs according to the type of complement they govern.

They then continue to discuss all the auxiliary verbs according to the tense and mood of the complementary verb.

2.3.2 Guma

From the preface of this work it is evident that Guma was a student and admirer of Doke. In his discussion of the 'deficient' verb, Guma (1971:187) states that:

Deficient verb stems are those verb stems that cannot be used by themselves to constitute a complete verbal predicate. They cannot stand alone, but must always be followed by another verbal predicate which is called the **COMPLEMENT**.

Because of this they only occur in multi-verbal predicates in which every verb stem is ordinarily preceded by its own SC.

Based on semantic rankshifting Guma distinguishes between two kinds of deficient verbs viz.:

⇒ Permanently deficient verb stems which he defines as “. . . those verb stems which are truly deficient in usage and which always require a complement to complete their predication”, and

⇒ Non-deficient verb stems used deficiently which he defines as “Ordinary verb stems that are capable of being used on their own without a complement, may also be used deficiently - -” (1971:187-188).

Guma (1971:189) classifies the auxiliary verbs on the basis of the mood of the complementary ‘predicate’. In this regard he says:

Some are choosey and are always followed by a complement in a particular mood.

On this basis he classifies the auxiliary verbs into the categories of *influencing* and *non-influencing* deficient verbs.

On the semantic value of the deficient verbs he (1971:190) states that:

A number of deficient verb stems have temporal shades of meaning and express what is normally expressed by adverbs in English. . . . Others express subtle shades of meaning, not necessarily temporal, but which are very difficult to translate adequately into a foreign language.

2.3.3 Louwrens

In his discussion of the relationship between the auxiliary verbs and independent verbs in Northern Sotho, Louwrens (1991:50) states the following:

Main verbs are more autonomous than auxiliary verbs. This implies that when an independent verb develops into an auxiliary verb, the independent verb loses its status as an independent word and becomes an auxiliary verb which always depends on another independent verb in the sentence. Consequently, an auxiliary word group can be defined as a word group which consists of at least two words, namely the auxiliary verb as first member, followed by a independent verb which is called the complement. The auxiliary verb and its complement are interdependent inasmuch as they together form a single semantic unit which functions as the verbal element in sentences.

Based on their degree of dependency as a norm, Louwrens (1991:50) divides auxiliary verbs into the following three sub categories:

⇒ Those which can function both as auxiliary and proper independent verbs.

⇒ Those which have lost their autonomy to such an extent that they can only function as auxiliary verbs.

⇒ Those which have lost their word status completely and which have become grammaticalized to the extent that they function as grammatical formatives within verbs. These are referred to as *deficient verb forms*.

Louwrens (1994(c):17) defines the auxiliary verb as follows:

A verb that cannot be used without another independent verb (i.e. a complement). The complement (also called the complementary verb) expresses the main action or process, whereas the auxiliary verb supplements the meaning of the independent verb by adding semantic information such as 'already', 'once upon a time', 'never before', 'continually', etc. to it. The auxiliary verb and the complement each take their own subject concords and are therefore two separate words. Consequently, the auxiliary verb together with its complement are generally referred to as a word group, i.e. an auxiliary word group.

Compare the following Tswana examples:

(15) *Ba sêitse ba itse.*

'They already know'.

(16) *O kilê a bolaya tau.*

'He once killed a lion'.

(17) *Ga re ise re kwale.*

'We are not writing yet'.

(18) *Lekau le sa nwa bojalwa.*

'The young man is still drinking beer'.

(19) *Ba tlhola ba itapolosa fa.*

'They always rest here'.

Regarding the *deficient* auxiliary verbs Louwrens (1991:53) states the following:

The development of these auxiliaries from independent verbs caused the relationship between the auxiliary and the original independent verb to become almost completely obscured. In fact, the independent verb from which these auxiliaries developed can rarely be traced in present day Northern Sotho.

Louwrens (1994(c):45) defines the term "deficient verb forms" as follows:

A term used to refer to certain prefixal elements which occur in verbs, and which have historically developed from independent verbs through a process of rank lowering. Since they have completely lost their original status as verbs, they are called deficient verb forms to distinguish them from ordinary verbal prefixes of which the historical development is not transparent.

(For a more elaborate discussion of rank shifting refer to 4.1.) He then lists the following examples of deficient verb forms which are most commonly distinguished in grammars:

THE PROGRESSIVE, e.g. *-sa-* in: *Ba sa ja*, (They are still eating) This is the same for Tswana. A further example for Tswana would be: *'Re sa ithuta'*. (We are still learning).

THE POTENTIAL, e.g. *-ka-* in: *Re ka sepela*, (We may go). Will be “*Re ka tsamaya*” in Tswana. A further example for Tswana would be: ‘*Ba ka re bôna*’. (They may see us).

THE FUTURE, e.g. *-tla* in: *Re tlo gana*, (We will refuse) - “*Re tla gana*” in Tswana.

THE CASUAL deficient verb forms: *-fo-*, *-no* and *-dio-*, e.g:

Ba fo/no/dio bolela ba sa tsebe selô. (They are merely talking without knowing anything).

This casual deficient verb is absent in Tswana.

Louwrens (1994(c):45) concludes by stating that in some grammars these prefixal elements are called **aspectual prefixes**. (For a more elaborate discussion of these prefixes in Tswana refer to 3.5.2.1.)

Louwrens (1994(a):118 footnote 2) refers to defective verb stems, and he states the following:

Verb roots are usually associated with the ending *-a*. It should be noted, however, that the root *-r-* of the stem *-re* ‘say’ occurs with the base ending *-e* and not with the more usual *-a*. Such stems which have ‘irregular’ base suffixes are termed defective stems.

In his *Dictionary of Northern Sotho grammatical terms* Louwrens (1994(c):44) uses the term defective verb stem which he defines as follows:

“Verbs which have a zero or irregular ending are said to be defective.”

A zero morpheme is a morpheme which is not physically realized in the word. Crystal (1991:386) as quoted by Louwrens (1994(c):215) gives the following definition:

“A term used in some areas of linguistics to refer to an abstract unit postulated by an analysis, but which has no physical realization in the stream of speech.”

The term *zero morpheme* seems to be contradictory in that form cannot be distinguished in the absence of form. However, Louwrens gives the following Northern Sotho example of the defective verb *-re* (say):

(13) *A re a ka se tle.*

'She says she will not come'.

Apart from its more regular past tense form *-rilê*, *-re* also has an irregular form *-itse* in Northern Sotho. Other defective stems are the copulative stems *-le*, *-se* and *-ne*.

-re (say) also occurs in Tswana, and the same example can be given for Tswana:

(14) *A re a ka se tle.*

'He/She says he/she will not come'.

The past tense form of *-re* is also *-rilê*.

Louwrens thus makes an interesting distinction between defective verbs and auxiliary verbs. The so-called defective verbs are in this study also classified as auxiliary verbs. (Refer to chapter three, and the classification in 3.7.1)

2.4 THE VIEWS OF DIFFERENT SCHOLARS ON THE AUXILIARY VERB IN TSWANA

2.4.1 Crisp

Crisp uses the term *auxiliary* in his work *Notes towards a Secoana grammar*. "Auxiliaries" according to him are used to indicate mood and time. He gives the following examples:

(20) *Ke nê ke rêka.*

'I was buying'.

(21) *Ke santse ke rêka.*

'I am still buying'.

Crisp also treats the auxiliaries under the following headings: “prepositions, adverbs, conjunctives, etc.” because they have the indicated meanings:

(22) Nna fa, go tsamaea ke tla.

‘Sit here until I arrive’.

(23) Ke tla nama ke go betsa.

‘I shall hit you just now’.

2.4.2 Torrend

Torrend’s (1891) work *South African languages* devotes a whole chapter to a discussion of the so called ‘auxiliaries’. He (1891:231) holds the following opinion on the auxiliary verb:

I consider as auxiliary all the verbal particles which have come to be used before principal verbs in order to determine, mode of thought, and other such notions.

He states the following regarding the development of the auxiliary verbs:

The auxiliaries which are in frequent use seem to be all borrowed from the verbs which express the visible and best defined acts such as to go, to sit, to go off, etc. (1891:231).

He analyzes several “auxiliaries” (1891:213-263) in terms of their semantic differences, and explains that they have the same meanings as adverbs and conjunctives. Compare the following examples:

(24) Ke tla nna ke bôna.

‘I will see later (I will make up my mind later)’.

(25) Ke nê nka bôna.

‘I would have seen. (I would have made up my mind)’.

2.4.3 Wookey

Wookey (1905:137) also uses the term “auxiliary”. Although he proposes no classification of the “auxiliaries”, he names several of them and gives their meanings. Compare the following regarding the “auxiliary” *-nama*:

i. If not used with *-sa-* or *-sa ntse-* it has the following meanings: just now, after a while, in the meantime, for the time being, etc.

(26) **Ke tla nama ke botsa.**

‘I will ask just now’.

ii. With *-sa-* or *-sa ntse-* it indicates continuity.

(27) **Ke tla nama ke sa tlhôtse môno.**

‘I will still remain here for a short while’.

iii. In the perfect it indicates a process that has just taken place:

(28) **O namilê a tsamaea.**

‘He left just now’.

2.4.4 Sandilands

Sandilands declares that his work *Introduction to Tswana* is “verbo centric”. He (1953:viii) explains:

The Tswana verb has been taken as the framework of the whole structure, and all the other component parts, members and pieces have been gradually added and built into that framework. The importance of the verb has been regarded as supreme.

His aim was to give a practical description of Tswana and not a scientific one.

He (1953:134) describes the auxiliary verbs indicating the similarity in the meanings of certain verbs and auxiliary verbs:

Several disyllabic verbs are used in auxiliary capacity as well as in their own right as independent verbs.

He continues to discuss the semantic value of most of the auxiliary verbs and their uses in the different moods and tenses.

2.4.5 Cole

Cole is regarded by many as the most prominent theorist of Tswana grammar up to the present. In his work *Introduction to Tswana Grammar* he attends to the auxiliary verbs under the heading “Special verb tenses and implications”. He also uses the term “deficient”. He (1955:286) states:

Deficient verbs are so termed because they do not themselves constitute complete predicates. They cannot stand alone, but must be followed by a subordinate verb or copulative formation, termed the complement, in order to produce a complete predication.

He (1955:286) indicates that the meanings of some auxiliary verbs are difficult to determine, while others are difficult to translate and some even have conjunctive function and semantic value.

He stresses the relation of the progressive formative *-sa-* and the “deficient” verbs in relation to the different compound tense forms of Tswana.

Cole classifies the auxiliary verbs according to the type of complement with which they occur most commonly. For example:

i. Auxiliary verbs that occur commonly with the infinitive mood:

(29) **Ke tshwanêitse go ya gae jaanong.**

‘I have to go home now’.

ii. Auxiliary verbs that occur commonly with the participial/situative mood:

(30) **Ke tlabô ke ba thusitsê.**

'I will have helped them'.

iii. Auxiliary verbs that occur commonly with the present tense of the subjunctive:

(31) **O ême fa go fitlha ke boa.**

'You must wait here until I return'.

iv. Auxiliary verbs that occur commonly with the habitual form of the subjunctive:

(32) **Tau eatle etsome bosigo erôbale motshegare.**

'A lion usually hunts at night and sleeps during the day'.

v. Auxiliary verbs that occur commonly with the past tense of the subjunctive:

(33) **Ba kilê ba tlisa molwêtsi mo sepetlelêng se.**

'They have once brought a sick person to this hospital'

Cole (1955:292) indicates that some verbs can be used as auxiliary verbs: "These three regular verbs are used deficiently - -" For example:

(34) **O ratilê go thuba pitsa ya me.**

'He almost broke my pot'. and

(35) **O ratilê mosadi yô.**

'He loved this woman'.

In the first sentence *-ratilê* is used deficiently, but in the second one it is an independent verb.

In classifying the auxiliary verbs according to the mood of the complement, the morphological, semantic, and valentional features of the auxiliary verbs themselves are ignored.

2.4.6 Setshedi

Setshedi (1974:27) uses the term 'non-finite verbs' to refer to auxiliary verbs and the term 'secondary non-finite verbs' to refer to deficient verbs (1974:68). He (1974:17) explains:

In contrast to the finite predicative, the non-finite predicative contains a verbal form which does not denote a true verbal referent. It merely adds certain implications of time, modality and other modifications to the finite predicative. These modifiers are always dependantly used in a compounded predicate, and as such they require a complementary finite predicative.

He presents the morphological, semiological, syntactical and phonological features of the two categories, and concludes by giving a comparison of their features, and a classification of their members.

2.4.7 Swanepoel

In his discussion of the auxiliary verb in Tswana, Swanepoel (1975:1-7) divides his historical overview into three periods:

- i. the period before Doke.
- ii. the period of the influence of Doke.
- iii. the period after Doke.

He discusses the sub categories of the verb and those of the auxiliary verb using the classification criteria and techniques put into practice by Van Wyk for Northern Sotho. After discussing mood determination he gives a classification of the auxiliary verbs in Tswana.

Swanepoel holds the opinion that the reason for the choice of mood of the complementary verb in auxiliary verbal groups, lies in its earlier combinatory abilities, and is not

determined by the meaning of the auxiliary verb. Only specific verbs had the semantic ability to be used as auxiliary verbs.

Swanepoel (1975:235) defines the auxiliary verb as:

'n Hulpwerkwoord is 'n werkwoord wat op grond van sy besondere oorspronklike betekenis gebruik is in, en daarna ontwikkel het uit normale onderskikkende en neweskikkende modale kombinasies.

2.4.8 Kgware

Kgware (sn:75) uses the term 'deficient verb' and he describes it in the following way:

Deficient verbs are verbs which cannot stand by themselves, but need a subordinate predicate to complete them.

He continues by indicating that he sees the deficient verb as the independent verb of a sentence.

In truth deficient verbs are the independent verb of a sentence in which they occur and the verb that follows upon them is auxiliary in function.

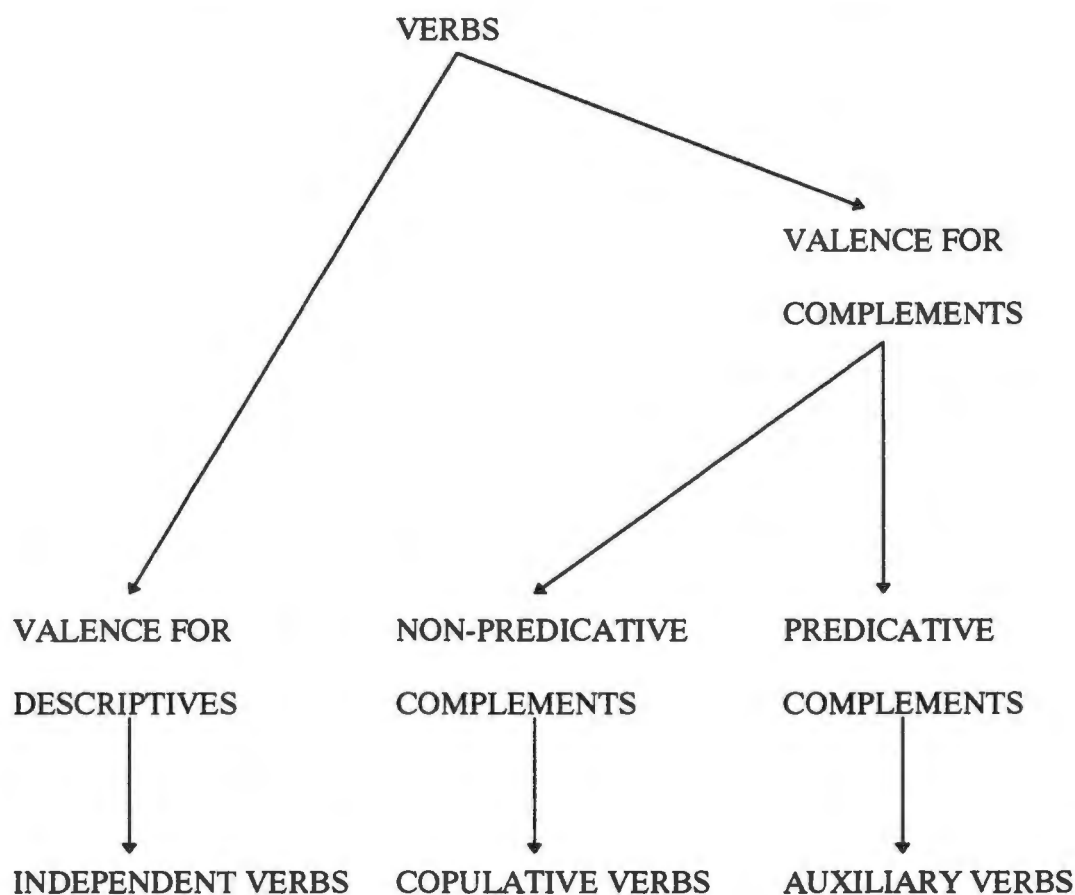
2.4.9 Krüger

Krüger (1983:46) indicates that he utilizes Van Wyk's principles for classification of the auxiliary verb, and he describes his method as follows:

Om die hulpwerkwoord op enige wyse te beskryf, is dit nodig om dit vooraf binne die raamwerk van die werkwoordkategorie te plaas, wat natuurlik neerkom op 'n klassifikasie van die werkwoord in subkategorieë, waarna die hulpwerkwoord verder bekyk sal word. Die klassifikasiebeginsels wat gebruik word is die van Van Wyk wat, kort gesê neerkom op morfologiese, sintaktiese (valensionele) en semantiese ooreenkomste en verskille wat volgens bepaalde klassifikasietegnieke toegepas word.

He then presents the following classification of the verb in Tswana:

CLASSIFICATION OF THE VERB IN TSWANA - Krüger (1983:46)



Krüger holds the opinion that the valential criteria have been exhausted and that pure semantic features of the auxiliary verb need to be employed to identify them exhaustively. He (1983:47) states:

Op hierdie stadium is die valensionele indelingskriteria (wat die morfologiese en semantiese kriteria insluit) grootliks uitgeput. Gevolglik moet (suiwer) semantiese kenmerke gebruik word om ooreenkomste en verkillte te kry.

With regard to moods Krüger holds the opinion that the theories on time, aspect and mood need to be developed further in the African languages to enable researchers to give a better classification of the auxiliary verb in Tswana. In this regard he (1983:44) asserts the following:

'n Aanvaarbare beskrywing van hulpwerkwoorde in die opsig, is myns insiens alleen moontlik indien die teorie van verskysels soos onder andere tyd, aspek en modus (en ook aksionsart) in die Bantoetale verder ontwikkel kan word.

2.5 SUMMATION

2.5.1 General

Several grammarians have studied the auxiliary verbs in Tswana; however, only the studies of Swanepoel (1975) and Krüger (1983) were based solely on linguistic criteria.

Being a category of the verb it is imperative, that the classification of the verb be attended to first, before a classification of the auxiliary verb is attempted. In both instances, the criteria for classification should be clear, and applied consistently.

Since there has been development in the study of African languages on concepts such as aspect, time and tense and metaphorical mapping, this study will address the auxiliary verb in Tswana, utilizing new insights generated by those studies.

2.5.2 Definition

Two terms which are crucial to this study need to be defined: They are: 'deficient verb' and 'auxiliary verb'.

i. Deficient verb: Louwrens's definition of a deficient verb is accepted for the purposes of this research. He (1994(c):45) states the following concerning the deficient verb:

A term used to refer to certain prefixal elements which occur in verbs, and which have historically developed from independent verbs through a process of rank lowering. Since they have completely lost their original status as verbs, they are called deficient verb forms to distinguish them from ordinary verbal prefixes of which the historical development is not transparent.

ii. **Auxiliary verb:** An auxiliary verb is a verb that is dependent on another verb (independent or copulative as complement) to form an independent word group. The complementary verb expresses the main action or process, while the auxiliary verb adds semantic modification regarding the progression or completion. Aspect and especially the 'aktionsart' of the event is important.

2.5.3 Classification

Except for Setshedi's (1974) classification, the classifications of auxiliary verbs done until 1975 was done according to the method proposed by Doke. In accordance with this method auxiliaries were classified according to their determination of the mood of the complementary verb. Ziervogel did use morphological, semantic and valential features, but applied them inconsistently. Apart from the classifications done by Swanepoel (1975) and Krüger (1983) the descriptions of the auxiliary verb in Tswana remains unsatisfactorily. The techniques and principles for determining word classes used by both scholars are based on the principles proposed by Van Wyk for Northern Sotho.

In attempting to classify the auxiliary verb, the status of the auxiliary verb as a sub category of the verb has to be kept in mind. Apart from this, independent verbs and auxiliary verbs also feature in grammatical categories which are closely related and interwoven. Therefore, when one category is investigated it is essential to note the changes that may occur in the other categories. Posthumus (1992:98) puts forward a hierarchical order for essential verbal categories: mood, tense, time and actuality. This will have to be attended to when classifying the auxiliary verbs.

CHAPTER 3

CLASSIFICATION OF THE WORD CLASS 'VERB' IN TSWANA

3.1 INTRODUCTION

The aim of this chapter is to present a classification of the verb in order to clarify the position of the auxiliary verb as a category of the verb in Tswana. In order to assess the position of the auxiliary verb, it is necessary to review the classification of the verb in Tswana afresh. Before doing that it is important that the classification of all the word classes be reviewed to confirm the status of the verb as a word class. Van Wyk's views on the *identification* and *classification* of words into word categories are widely accepted in the Bantu languages. Louwrens (1991:10) states the following in this regard:

From a linguistic point of view, Van Wyk's classification was indisputably superior to those of Doke, Ziervogel and Cope - not only because it rested on much more scientific principles, but also it rendered fewer word classes each with a greater content. Van Wyk's principles of word classification and his method of word division on which this classification was based, were soon accepted by most of the Afrikaans medium universities where it largely replaced Doke's functional approach.

Van Wyk (1966:230-261) used four criteria which he developed into specific techniques for the classification of words into word classes. He (1967:230) believes that:

The effects of word identification (or word division) on the classification of words are profound.

The reasons for this is that different methods and criteria of classification lead to different results.

Van Wyk (1966:230) indicates that the prominent systems of word division employed in the Bantu languages are disjunctivism, conjunctivism and semi-conjunctivism.

The same Tswana sentence has been rewritten below as 1(a), 1(b) and 1(c) in the disjunctive, semi-conjunctive and conjunctive ways respectively to illustrate the differences between these three methods of word division. (Note that hyphens used in the semi-conjunctive method were only employed by Van Wyk to make things easier for students who have problems with the identification of words in this way of writing)

(1a) **Re tla bo ja ka leiswana.**

'We shall eat it with a spoon'.

(1b) **Re-tlabo-ja ka leiswana.**

(1c) **Retlaboja kaleiswana.**

The problem of word division in the Bantu languages has not been solved satisfactorily as yet. Lombard *et al.* (1985:9-15) use the word 'tests' proposed by Van Wyk for the identification of words. He indicates that linguistic words are inherently stable on the grounds of *inseparability*, *untransposability*, *irreplaceability* and *inomisibility*. He proves that a unit such as *go* in *go šoma* (to work) in Northern Sotho does not react positively to any of these tests and he therefore opts to write it using a hyphen: *go-soma* (semi-conjunctivism).

Lombard *et al.* (1985:15) conclude:

The whole problem of **word identification** is actually very complicated A final warning: Do not be misled by the practical orthography of Northern Sotho. Many parts of words are written separately in Northern Sotho as though they had word status. This is called a disjunctive way of writing. (Emphasis RSP.)

The official orthography for Tswana (like that for Northern Sotho) is the disjunctive way of writing. Apart from the criteria for the identification (division) of words, Van Wyk also proposed criteria for the classification of words. This aspect will be focused on. It must be noted, however, that word identification/division has a profound influence on the classification of words into classes.

The criteria and techniques proposed by Van Wyk for the classification of individual words into word classes, will be utilized in this study with specific reference to verbs and auxiliary verbs in Tswana. In short, Van Wyk's classification boils down to an investigation of the coincidence of morphological features with valential, phonological and semantic features.

Van Wyk (1966:250-251) describes the relationship and application of these criteria as follows:

Since the purpose of a classification of words is to provide a scheme which will be applicable to linguistic analysis of all levels, morphological and syntactical criteria which coincide must take precedence over those which do not. Or in other words, words which can be shown to have coincident morphological and syntactical features, are systematized on more than one linguistic level, and therefore rank higher as potential word classes than those which belong together on morphological or syntactical grounds.

He continues:

Morphology is a more 'expendable' level of language than syntax in the sense that words may lack a morphological structure whereas all words always have syntactical values. - - - In practice it means that in such cases word classes will have to be established on the grounds of coincident syntactical and semantic features.

As for the treatment of this problem by linguists in the Bantu languages the work of Doke and Cole has to be mentioned. There are problems, however, in their treatment of the issue. Van Wyk (1966:232-233) indicates three problems in the work of Doke. In the first place, as a result an inconsistent application of principles, his parts of speech are contradictory. The main part of speech, 'substantive', which is supposed to be identified on 'functional' (syntactical) grounds, is defined on purely semantic grounds. In the second place, many methodological problems are left unsolved. For example, as a result of not defining or explaining his use of the terms 'form' and 'function' he leaves his reader in the dark as to the interpretation of these terms. In this regard Van Wyk (1966:233) indicates that

'function' may be interpreted syntactically or semantically. Doke primarily uses it syntactically, but in some cases also semantically.

Thirdly Doke gives no indication as to which 'functional' and 'formal' features should be selected as relevant to the classification. In the fourth place Van Wyk (1966:233) questions the validity of principles of 'form' and 'function' as the only principles of classification, as applied by Doke. He also questions the dominance of 'function' over 'form' in a classification. (See 3.4. for problems with Cole's classification.)

Before attempting to classify words into word classes it is important to have clarity about the purpose of such a classification. The purpose of this classification is to determine the position of the auxiliary verb as a word or subcategory of a word.

Van Wyk (1966:234) states the purpose of his classification as follows:

- ⇒ To find a scheme applicable to the classification of the words of Northern Sotho, which may also be applicable to the other Bantu languages.
- ⇒ To classify the words in such a way that a coherent description of the relevant language can result from, or be materially assisted by, the eventual classification.
- ⇒ To distinguish between restricted and comprehensive classifications. If a comprehensive classification is possible it is always the better of the two as it covers exhaustive considerations on the different levels of description.
- ⇒ To discuss the different criteria in their general aspect only as "the nature and number of criteria which are applicable to any one language, will be determined by the structural characteristics of that language.

This study sets similar aims for the classification of words in Tswana.

As this study follows (among others) the structural-functional approach, the criteria for the classification of words into classes or parts of speech as proposed by Van Wyk (1966) fit in with the approach. These criteria were well known, and widely used, by a number of linguists in scientific studies of the South African Bantu languages.

3.2 WORD CLASS CLASSIFICATORY PRINCIPLES

The principles identified by Van Wyk (1966:236) for word classification in Northern Sotho are based on morphological, syntactical, semantic and phonological features. He holds the opinion that the number of criteria which are applicable to any single language will be determined by the structural characteristics of that language. As it seems that this classification is not well-known particularly by grammarians at the traditionally English medium universities. A full summary is presented below.

3.2.1 Morphological features as a word class classificatory principle

The criteria set up under the morphological principle derive from the analysis of words as complex linguistic units exhibiting morphological features. Van Wyk (1966:236) identifies the following criteria to be applied under the morphological principle:

i. Morphological complexity as a criterion

This criterion can be used to classify words into two classes: viz. simple or complex. Compare the following examples:

Simple: *fa* (if), *ja* (eat), *ya* (go), *tla* (come), *nwa* (drink)

Complex: *mo-nna-mo-golo* (an old man), *mo-sadi-sadi* (a good woman), *mo-dir-i-mmogo* (a colleague). The polymorphemic class can be further sub divided according to the number of roots that are in the word. A word like *mo-sadi* has only one root while *mo-nna-mo-golo* has two.

ii. Individual morphemes as a criterion

Words may be classified according to the individual morphemes they consist of. A word such as *re-a-utlw-a* may be classified in terms of the morphemes *re-*, *-a-*, *-utlw-*, and *-a*. Because of the complexity of morphemes it is inevitable that there will be a lot of overlapping when applying this principle.

iii. Classes of morphemes as a criterion

This criterion is based on the different classes of morphemes that may occur in a word, such as subject morphemes, prefixes, etc. This means that word classes will have to be set up to correspond to all the morpheme classes in the language. In Tswana a word such as *ba di bône* will therefore have to appear in a class based on the occurrence of a subjectival morpheme *-ba-*, but it will also appear in a class based on the appearance of an objectival morpheme *-di-*. Van Wyk (1966:237) holds the opinion that the application of this principle alone will not reduce overlapping and contradictions to manageable proportions.

iv. Types of morphemes as a criterion

Structural morphemes such as prefixal and/or suffixal morphemes may also be used as criterion. In Tswana, as in Northern Sotho, all polymorphemic words contain prefixal and/or suffixal morphemes. Van Wyk (1966:237) indicates that some of these morphemes, in addition, have tonemic patterns which accompany their morphological functions. Replacive morphemes are found in a few cases. He advises that this be used only as a basis for potential word classes.

v. Morphological structure as a criterion

A classification based on this criterion, uses the morphological structures occurring in a language as a basis for classification. Morphological structures such as morpheme combinations within words are used as the basis for classification. For Tswana, a class could now be identified consisting of:

subjectival morpheme + *-a-* + radical (root) + *-a* (with or without one or more suffixal morphemes). Compare the following:

(2) Re a taboga

We are running.

(3) Ba a tsêna

'They are entering'.

(4) O a ngala

'He/she is getting cross'.

According to Van Wyk (1966:237) this results in an inordinately high number of word classes in Northern Sotho. The same applies to Tswana.

vi. Features of morphological structure as a criterion

When using this criterion, features of morphological structure, such as combinations of morphemes within words, or substructures in the complete structures of words are used as the basis for classification. According to this criterion a word class could be identified for Tswana consisting of :

a class prefix + stem (radical/root) with one or more suffixal morphemes) Compare:

mo + nna + nyana (a little man),

mo + nn + êng (at the man),

go + fif + al + a (to become dark).

The problem with such a class, according to Van Wyk (1966:238), is that it is difficult to decide which structural features of morphological composition are to be used as the basis for potential classes.

In principle every substructure and every possible combination of morphemes is equally valid. The use of this criterion would result in a big number of classes with a lot of overlaps.

vii. Morphological valences of radicals (roots) as criterion

Words may be classified according to structural patterns in which their roots may appear. The Tswana root *rek-* (buy) may be used in combination with:

⇒terminative morphemes such as *-a* in *go rêka* (to buy),

⇒with subjectival morphemes such as *re* in *Re a rêka* (we are buying),

⇒with the deverbative morpheme *mo-* as in *morêki* (buyer).

Van Wyk (1966:238) states that this criterion could result in a great number of classes with considerable overlapping. He indicates that an extension of the criterion concerns the possibility of reduplication which is more likely in the case of words which are morphologically simple. In Tswana, the word *tôtatôta* (definitely, really) as well as the word *tôta* (really) may occur. On this basis the classes of reduplicable and non-reduplicable words can be distinguished, and there would be no overlapping.

Van Wyk (1966:238) concludes his discussion of the morphological criteria by saying that:

- - - it soon becomes apparent that this procedure cannot lead to an orderly classification.

A purely morphological classification, according to him, is not feasible. This study agrees with Van Wyk and would add that this will also be the case with Tswana. A classification in terms of syntactical features can now be considered.

3.2.2 Syntactical features as a word class classificatory principle.

By means of this principle, words are classified in terms of their ability to enter into word groups and sentence structures. Van Wyk (1966:239-243) identifies and discusses the following syntactical criteria.

3.2.2.1 Sentence valence

According to this criterion words which may be used as complete sentences are contrasted with words which always appear with other words in sentences. In Tswana a word such as *Ba tsamailê* (They have gone/left) can function as a complete sentence whereas words such as *fa* (if) and *mme* (but/and) cannot. On this basis two classes are established with no overlap - the former with sentence valence, the latter without.

Van Wyk (1966:241) indicates that words with sentence valence may again be subdivided on the basis of different sentence valences. He names the following:

- ⇒ dependance of the resultant sentence on extra linguistic situations or frames of reference. In this category a Tswana word such as *A taboga* (He running) may be used as a complete sentence if it is preceded by another sentence which contextualizes it. For instance *O mmone a dirang?* (You saw him doing what?) Such words may be classified as having restricted sentence valence.
- ⇒ according to the type of sentence intonation they may take in sentences of which they form the complete phatic content. In this instance the word which acts as a sentence needs no extra linguistic situations other than those to which the semantic content of the relevant word is appropriate. The Tswana word *Ba tsamailê* (They have left/gone) can be given as an example here. It can therefore be classified as having unrestricted sentence valence.

3.2.2.2 Intonational schemes

On the basis of different intonational schemes Van Wyk (1966:241) indicates that another six classes with considerable overlap may be identified of words with restricted and unrestricted sentence valence.

3.2.2.3 Combinatory valence

Using this criterion Van Wyk distinguishes between words which have the ability to enter into direct syntactical relations with other words (they have combinatory valence), and words which cannot (they do not have combinatory valence). The latter group is a small group and comprises of words such as the interjectives (for example *nyaa* (no) in Tswana). Thus two classes are identified.

3.2.2.4 Nuclear versus attributive valence

Some words with combinatory valence may only be used as nuclei of subordinate word groups whereas others may only be used as attributes in such combinations. Others may be used as both nuclei and attributes. In Tswana an imperative verb such as *Taboga!*

(Run!) cannot be combined with a syntactically dominating nucleus. On the other hand, an ideophone such as *kômê* (representing the sound of something being swallowed) cannot be used as the nucleus of a subordinate word group. A noun such as *mosimane* (boy) can be used as both.

When employing the criterion of different nuclear valences words may be classified according to their ability to be used as nuclei in different groups. In Tswana the following examples where words may function as nuclei can be given:

⇒ qualificative attributes: *monna* (man) in *Monna yô mogolo* (The big man).

⇒ descriptive (adverbial) attributes: *go taboga* (to run) in *go taboga ka lebelô* (to run fast)

⇒ objectival attributes: *re jwala* (we plant) in *re jwala mmidi* (we plant mealies)

Van Wyk (1966:242) states that this will yield a small number of classes with extensive overlap.

When using different attributive valences as criterion, classes may be established according to the type of attributes words are used for. In Tswana the following examples can be given: - Words as qualificative attributes. *leo* (that one) in *lebônê lêo* (that light) - Words as descriptive attributes. *ka lebelô* (quickly) in *go taboga ka lebelô* (to run fast). Van Wyk (1966:242) concludes that this criterion will yield only a small number of classes, but that there will be considerable overlapping.

3.2.2.5 Subjectness to syntactical conditions

Words may have various combinatory valences, but may be subject to certain syntactical conditions before those valences can be used. In Tswana the verb *ba tsamailê* ((they) (have left)) may be used as the predicate of a subject. It must, however, be concordially related to that subject, e.g. *Baithuti ba tsamailê* (the students have left). The conjunctive *fa* (if) has the valence of introducing verbal groups, but only when it precedes those groups, *fa mmê a boa* (If mother returns). Potential word classes may be set up according to the syntactical conditions to which words are subject.

3.2.2.6 Other valential criteria

Valences other than those given above may be put forth as criteria for classification. For example classes may be established in accordance with whether words may be used as introductory members, or complementary members. In Tswana the word *ga re ise* (we have not yet) can be used as introductory member for the word *re je* ((we) eaten) in the group *ga re ise re je* (We have not yet eaten). On the other hand, the word *re je* is used as complementary member in the group *ga re ise re je*. Various types of introductory and complementary members may be distinguished.

It is clear that due to the number and nature of these criteria, the formation of an extensive number of potential classes is possible, and considerable overlaps will occur. Van Wyk (1966:243) comes to the following conclusion as regards this principle:

A consistent and exhaustive syntactical classification will yield almost as many potential classes as a morphological classification, and the overlapping between these classes will be as extensive and confusing.

Semantic features as a classificatory principle will now be considered as a basis for word classification.

3.2.3 Semantic features as a word class classificatory principle.

Regarding semantic criteria, Van Wyk (1966:244) maintains that:

Semantic criteria derive from an analysis of the semantic functions of words. It is an inordinately difficult problem to handle semantic criteria satisfactorily, partly because this linguistic level has not yet been subjected to such a thorough and systematic analysis as for example the phonological and morphological levels, and partly because the semantic features of words are so infinitely complex and varied that the possible number of criteria cannot be foreseen.

The semantic features of words remain complex and there is still no clear way in which to systematically analyse these features.

Van Wyk, however, suggests the following semantic criteria:

3.2.3.1 Semantic functions of words as a criterion

With semantic functions of words Van Wyk (1966:244) refers to the relation between the semantic aspects of words and that which they communicate. He distinguishes between words with:

- ⇒ independent meaning - e.g. *mosimane* (boy)
- ⇒ deictic meaning - e.g. *lona* (you), *tsêo* (these)
- ⇒ dependent meaning - e.g. *tša* in *tša rona*, *le* in *le bônê*
- ⇒ idiomatic meaning - e.g. *tlhōkō* in *go êla tlhōkō*

3.2.3.2 Features of meaning as a criterion

Using this criterion one could classify words indicating a common feature of meaning into a group. Classes indicating semantic aspects such as negation, completeness, states, movements, etc. could be recognized. As Van Wyk indicated, new aspects of meaning will continually be found on which new classes of words can be identified. This criterion could thus yield an unforeseeable number of classes with extensive overlaps among them.

3.2.3.3 The complexity of meanings as a criterion

Using this criterion, words can be grouped together on the basis of the complexity of their meaning. A Tswana word such as *go utlwa* can be regarded as having a complex meaning because it can refer to the following meanings: to hear, to taste, to feel, to understand, thus referring to perception in general. In its perfective form, it can also refer to having had enough of a beating, for instance. A word such as *pitse*, on the other hand, is only used to refer to a horse (apart from metaphorical uses). It therefore has a simple semantic value.

3.2.3.4 Possibility of metaphoric use as a criterion

By applying this criterion, words can be divided into groups which have a semantic value, and which therefore allow them to be used metaphorically, and others which do not. Van Wyk (1966:245) uses the example of the word *pôô* (bull) which may refer to a fully grown masculine animal. It may also refer to manliness, masculinity, impressive strength and size. A sentence such as *Monna yôo ke pôô* would thus mean 'That man is a bull', referring to size or strength, etc. On the other hand, words such as *rona* (we), *ene* (he/she), or *seo* (that one), cannot be used in this way.

Van Wyk (1966:245) makes the following remark as regards this principle:

a consistent application of purely semantic criteria will lead to still more confusion than consistent morphological and syntactical classifications, because of the complexity and variety of semantic phenomena.

Finally, phonological features as a principle for the classification of words into classes will be considered.

3.2.4 Phonological features as a word class classificatory principle

The feasibility of this principle in helping to solve the problem of word class identification is doubted by Van Wyk. He does, however, suggest the following criteria:

⇒Number of syllables,

⇒Normal and paranormal phonological structure,

⇒Toneme patterns.

These criteria are relatively uncomplicated, but according to Van Wyk it is doubtful whether they will serve the purposes of a comprehensive classification in any respect. He (1966:247) says:

Phonological features very rarely coincide with morphological, syntactical or semantic categories.

Since the principles indicated above, when applied individually, do not solve the problem of the classification of words into classes, the only way is to find a hierarchy of criteria by integrating the various features. Therefore, a workable method for the utilization of the features of words to serve as criteria for classification, has to be sought.

3.3 METHOD OF CLASSIFICATION

The method proposed by Van Wyk (1966:251) is commendable. He bases his method on the following principles:

i. Morphological and syntactical criteria have to take precedence over semantic and phonological criteria. This is because morphological and syntactical criteria derive from an analysis of words as complete linguistic signs, whereas semantic and phonological criteria are based on an analysis of only one of the two essential aspects constituting linguistic signs. The essential aspects of linguistic units are sound and meaning.

Regarding the morphological and syntactical features of words in Northern Sotho, Lombard *et al.* (1985:27) remark:

The morphological and syntactical similarities (or differences) are the most important because all the word categories of Northern Sotho can be determined on the grounds of morphological and syntactical characteristics. The *morphological and syntactical* characteristics of a word category are thus **ESSENTIAL** characteristics. The *semantic and phonological* characteristics of a word category, on the other hand, are **ADDITIONAL** characteristics.

ii. Morphological and syntactical criteria are equal in importance. There are no reasons why the morphological features of linguistic signs should be more important than their syntactical valences, or *vice versa*.

iii. Morphological features which coincide with syntactical features must take precedence over features which have no correlates in the other dominating classificatory principle. This principle should be applied to include the largest number of items so that as few categories as possible are distinguished.

iv. Semantic and phonological criteria are subsidiary and apply only after word classes have been established on morphological and syntactical grounds.

v. Semantic criteria may, however, be called upon when insufficient morphological criteria are found to allow a classification on the basis of the preceding principles.

After postulating the principles as indicated above, and putting them into practice, Van Wyk (1966:251-254) sets up a technique consisting of five procedures which have to be applied. These procedures are described below. Note that they need to be applied in the order specified below.

i. Procedure 1

Complete morphological and syntactical classifications are made, irrespective of the number of possible classes, or the amount of overlap. The validity of classes can be checked later when the final scheme of word classes has been developed and extensively used in linguistic description.

ii. Procedure 2

The results of procedure 1 are analyzed with a view to finding morphological classes which coincide with syntactical classes and *vice versa*. Van Wyk states that this comprises the following two operations:

⇒ The comparison of classes with a view to finding exclusive correspondences. This implies that morphological classes are looked for which coincide with syntactical classes in such a manner that both contain the same items, and nothing but those items. Thus, for example in Tswana all words which contain the subjectival morpheme *re-* may be used as

predicates for the pronoun *rona*, and all words which may be used as predicates of *rona* contain the subjectival morpheme *re-*, hence these words will form a word class.

⇒The comparison of classes with a view to finding inclusive correspondences. This implies that morphological classes are sought which coincide with syntactical classes in such a manner that all their members also belong to these syntactical classes. These syntactical classes may, however, contain other members which are not in the relevant morphological classes, and *vice versa*. Van Wyk (1966:252) gives the following example for Northern Sotho:

All Northern Sotho words which contain subjectival morphemes also have predicative valence, but the class of words with predicative valence contains some words which do not feature subjectival morphemes.

This is true for Tswana as well.

In both cases the aim of the procedure is to determine the smallest number of possible classes. Van Wyk (1966:253) states that:

When the classes with coincident morphological and syntactical features have been reduced to the lowest possible number, some, or all, of the final word classes will have been found.

He indicates that the application of procedures 1 and 2 yields four final classes for Northern Sotho, namely nouns, pronouns, verbs and interjective demonstratives respectively. For the small residue of words which do not respond to this procedure Van Wyk proposes the following procedure.

iii. Procedure 3

The residue of words are morphologically heterogeneous. They are reclassified syntactically with a view to establishing fairly comprehensive syntactical classes. These provisional classes are then each examined in search of *negative morphological features*, which may have been overlooked in the preceding procedures. Van Wyk (1966:253) names the following examples of negative morphological features: indeclineability, non-reduplicability, heterogeneity, etc., or any combination of two or more of these.

The following four classes are then identified for Northern Sotho: adverbs, ideophones, interjections, and particles. These classes, each have their own syntactical features, but in addition to that they can each be described morphologically with reference to the different negative features.

The residue would be syntactically heterogeneous, and for them the reverse procedure would have to be applied. That implies that they would have to be reclassified morphologically, and the resultant classes be examined syntactically with a view to finding negative syntactical features.

iv. Procedure 4

All the word classes of Northern Sotho and Tswana are accounted for by the application of procedures 1, 2 and 3. If it is found that a language still has a residue of words which do not respond to the first three procedures, these words may then be reclassified either morphologically or syntactically, depending on which of these two classifications yields the smallest number of potential classes. These classes are then analyzed semantically, with a view to establishing coincident syntactical (or morphological) and semantic features in terms of which they may be defined.

v. Procedure 5

All the possible word classes of a language are yielded by the application of the first four procedures. A semantic analysis is now used to discover which semantic features coincide with the essential morphological and syntactical features. A similar phonological analysis is then done. The additional features of the established classes are thus determined.

Van Wyk (1966:254-257) applies his proposed technique of classification and identifies the following word classes for Northern Sotho:

- ⇒ Nouns
- ⇒ Pronouns
- ⇒ Verbs
- ⇒ Interjective demonstratives
- ⇒ Adverbs
- ⇒ Particles
- ⇒ Ideophones
- ⇒ Interjections

After a discussion of the characteristics of word classes, Van Wyk (1966:259-260) presents the following scheme of parts of speech for Northern Sotho:

i. Normal words	
A. Substantives	1. nouns
	2. pronouns
B. Predicatives	3. verbs
	4. interjective demonstratives
C. Heterogeneous words	5. adverbs
	6. particles
ii. Paranormal words	7. ideophones
	8. interjections

Lombard *et al.* (1985:28) agree with the criteria set up by Van Wyk and identify the following word categories for Northern Sotho:

i. (Phonologically) Normal words	
A. Substantives (Nominal)	1. Nouns
	2. Pronouns
B. Predicatives (Verbal)	3. Verbs
	4. Copulative demonstratives
C. (Morphologically) Heterogeneous words	5. Adverbs
	6. Particles
	7. Conjunctions
ii. (Phonologically) Paranormal words	8. Ideophones
	9. Interjections

Lombard *et al.* add the category of conjunctions to the word classes expounded by Van Wyk. They (1985:28) state:

... in our opinion this group of words forms a separate category, particularly on the grounds of their special usage (syntax).

This view can be brought in line with the method proposed by Van Wyk, and this study therefore also recognises conjunctions as a word class on the basis of its unique valential features.

3.4 WORD CLASSES IN TSWANA

3.4.1 Proposed word class categories for Tswana

In accordance with Van Wyk's criteria and classification, as well as the classification presented by Lombard *et al.*, the following word classes are identified for Tswana:

i. (Phonologically) Normal words	
A. Substantives (Nominal)	1. Nouns
	2. Pronouns
B. Predicatives (Verbal)	3. Verbs
	4. Copulatives
C. (Morphologically) Heterogeneous words	5. Adverbs
	6. Particles
	7. Conjunctions
ii. (Phonologically) Paranormal words	8. Ideophones
	9. Conjunctions

3.4.2 Comparison with other views.

It is worthwhile comparing the abovementioned exposition of word classes with the one proposed by Cole for Tswana, and the one proposed by Lombard *et al.* for Northern Sotho.

Cole (1955:59) identifies six word categories and their sub-divisions which constitute the parts of speech for Tswana. They are:

A. Substantive	1. Noun
	2. Pronoun
B. Qualificative	3. Adjective
	4. Enumerative
	5. Quantitative
	6. Possessive
	7. Relative
C. Predicative	8. Verb
	9. Copulative
D. Descriptive	10. Adverb
	11. Ideophone
E. Conjunctive	
F. Interjective	

Cole, Van Wyk and Lombard *et al.* classify the verb as a subdivision of the part of speech they refer to as predicative. The problem with Cole's classification is that he uses different types of criteria to identify different word classes. On the one hand he uses generic criteria to classify the classes of the substantive and the predicate. On the other hand he uses valential criteria to classify the qualificative, descriptive, conjunctive and interjective categories by classifying them according to their syntactical functions.

Lombard *et al.* (1985:163) indicate that some Northern Sotho linguists regard the demonstrative copulative as a pronoun in Northern Sotho. Lombard *et al.*, however, disagree, and indicate that it differs morphologically, semantically and syntactically from the pronoun in Northern Sotho. Van Wyk refers to this category as the interjective

demonstrative which he classifies as a subcategory of the part of speech which he refers to as predicative.

In Tswana, however, this category does not occur at all. In this regard Cole (1955:335) states that:

Though one Tswana speaker supplied a full series of locative demonstrative copulatives - - - -, others were doubtful about some of the forms and even denied their existence.

3.4.3 The position of auxiliary verbs in the proposed scheme

It should be noted that the auxiliary verb does not feature anywhere in these classifications. It is assumed that the abovementioned grammarians regard it as a verb on the grounds of its morphological and syntactical features. This is strange, however, as will become clear (in the section on the classification of the auxiliary verbs) that there are auxiliary verbs the morphological structure and the syntactical value of which differ from that of the independent verb. In this regard the following Tswana examples can be given. The deficient auxiliary verb stem *-sa* in Tswana does not display the same morphological features as the verb stem *-rêka*. Morphologically the deficient stem *-sa* cannot take the past tense suffix like the verb *-rêka*. It therefore does not exhibit the same morphological features as the verb. Compare the following:

(5a) *Ke sa rêka diaparô.*

'I am still buying clothes'

as opposed to

(5b) *Ke rêkilê diaparô.*

'I bought clothes'.

Syntactically the auxiliary verb with conjunctive function has a conjunctive function in the sentence, while an independent verb cannot have conjunctive valence. Compare example (6) where *go fitlha* is the conjunctive auxiliary as it combines the clauses *Re ba bone*, and *ba timela ka sekgwa*.

(6) *Re ba bône go fûlha ba timêla ka sekgwa.*

'We saw them until they disappeared into the bush'.

Lombard *et al.*, in trying to substantiate the existence of auxiliaries, introduce a section on word groups in which they treat the "auxiliary word groups" and the "particle groups".

On the auxiliary word group they (1985:186) state that:

An auxiliary word group consists of at least two verbs. This means that the two verbs should at all times be two *autonomous* words.

This study refers to this word group as the auxiliary *verbal* group because of the function of the group syntactically. Secondly, depending on their definition of an autonomous words, their statement is not always true for Tswana, since no auxiliary verbs in Tswana can feature as autonomous words syntactically. (Refer to 3.8.1). This explains the subcategory in the classification of the auxiliary verbs presented in this study, which includes "deficient" verbs. Like Lombard *et al.* (1985:189), this study uses this term because the auxiliary verbs that are included here have lost their word status and now act as morphemes. They are therefore deficient as verbs.

Lombard *et al.* (1985:189-190) include the following members in the "deficient" category for Northern Sotho: the *ad hoc* deficient forms, the future deficient form *-tla*, the casual deficient verb forms, the potential deficient verb *-ka* and the persistive deficient verb stem *-sa*. In Tswana, however, this category includes only the progressive deficient verb stem *-sa*, the future deficient form *-tla*, the *-a-* indicating continuation, and the potential deficient verb stem *-ka*, as the others do not exist in Tswana.

For the purpose of a better contextualization leading to the classification of the verb in Tswana, its features will now be discussed with respect to the four linguistic disciplines identified above. However, these features will not be discussed in detail as that is not the aim of this study.

3.5 THE VERB IN TSWANA

3.5.1 Introduction

Before the features of the verb are briefly outlined, it is important to take note of the views of grammarians on the verb as a word class category, since it is of cardinal importance to this study.

Cole (1955:63) describes the “predicate” as follows:

The predicate is a word which signifies the occurrence of an action connected with a substantive, or the state in which a substantive is. There are two types of predicates, verbs and copulatives, the distinction between them being mainly one of form. Verbs are formed from word-bases which are intrinsically predicative in force, and are conjugated by means of both prefixal and suffixal inflections, e.g. *Keareka* (I am buying), *Gakereke* (I am not buying), *Kerekile* (I have bought) all formed from the root *-rek-*. Copulatives on the other hand, are formed by some type of prefixal inflexion or modification from parts of speech which are intrinsically non-predicative, i.e. substantives, qualificatives, adverbs, and occasionally conjunctives, e.g. *monna* (man) > *Kemonna* (He is a man ; It is a man); *Monna yomogolo* (a big man) > *Monna o mogolo* (The man is big); *Kwanokeng* (at the river) > *Bakwanokeng* (They are at the river), etc. There are no suffixal inflexions in the formation of copulatives, while conjugation thereof requires the employment of deficient (auxiliary) verbs. A further point of difference is that the substantival subject must always be represented in the verb by a subjectival morpheme, whereas certain types of copulative formations do not require the use of a subjectival morpheme at all, though the subject is always implied if not expressed. Finally, verbs, but not copulatives, may have objects and may incorporate objectival morphemes representing those objects.

Cole defines the verb and the copulative as follows:

A **verb** is a word which signifies the occurrence of an action connected with a substantive or the state in which a substantive is, and is formed by prefixal and

suffixal inflexion from a base which is intrinsically predicative in force, and is brought into concordial agreement with its substantival subject by means of a subjectival morpheme.

A copulative is a word which signifies the state in which a substantive is, and is formed from some intrinsically non-predicative part of speech by modification of its prefix or morpheme by some other prefixal inflexion.

Cole thus identifies two types of verbs viz. verbs and copulative verbs. It is evident from the above definitions that there are significant similarities between the “predicate” and the verb/copulative. He does not treat the auxiliary verb as one of his so-called “parts of speech”, but like Doke refers to it as a deficient verb which indicates that he regards it as a subcategory of the verb.

Louwrens (1994(c):208) mentions the use of the term “verbal element” which he defines as follows:

A term which has been introduced into the grammatical description of Northern Sotho to serve as a common denominator for the verbs, auxiliary verbs and copulas which may all occur as the verbal element in sentences, The term verbal element deliberately excludes sentence constituents such as objects, adverbs etc., and refers only to verbs or “verb-like” elements in sentences.

The term “verbal element” is regarded as problematic for this study, as terms such as “nominal elements”, “pronominal elements”, and “adverbial elements” could be formulated in the same fashion. Such terms are vague as they refer to groups of “elements” with common features. They are therefore regarded as “catch all” terms which are not specific as to the type of “element” they refer to.

Louwrens (1991:17) in describing the predicate of a sentence states the following:

The predicate may consist either of a verbal element, or a verbal element together with certain adjuncts thereof.

He then indicates that the verbal element may either be an independent verb or an auxiliary verbal group. In his description of what he identifies as main verbs, Louwrens (1991:17) states that:

Two types of independent verbs can be distinguished in Northern Sotho, namely proper main verbs and copulative verbs.

Louwrens thus, like Cole and Doke, identifies copulative verbs and proper main verbs as main verbs, while the auxiliary verbs are then regarded as elements of a “lower status”, since they have to be part of the auxiliary verbal group in order to be syntactically independent. It can thus be deduced that he sees the auxiliary verb as a subcategory of the independent verb.

Louwrens (1994(c):208) explains the verb in Northern Sotho as follows:

The verb in Northern Sotho can be defined as a word which contains a verbal root and which denotes a process, action or state.

He then gives Northern Sotho examples which will be rendered here in Tswana.

Process: *-non-* grow fat. Dinku di a nôna. ‘The sheep are growing fat’.

Action: *-fiel-* sweep. Mosadi o fiêla lelapa. ‘The woman is sweeping the courtyard’.

State: *-lwal-* be ill. Ntatê o a lwala. ‘Father is ill’.

Louwrens indicates that apart from a classification which is based on the meaning of verbal roots (like the one above), verbs are also classified into a variety of grammatical categories of which mood, tense and actuality are the three most important ones. (The hierarchy of these categories as well as the categories themselves are attended to in chapter 5).

The term “predicate” as opposed to the term verb used by Cole, and the “verbal elements” of Louwrens seem to be overlapping extensively. It is therefore important that clarity be found in the use of these terms.

3.5.2 Morphological features of the verb

The morphological features of verbs can be used to categorize them. First of all it is necessary to indicate the essential morphological, syntactical and semantic characteristics of the verb.

The morphology of the verb in Tswana discloses the feature of a large variety of grammatical morphemes which have different semantic values, for example:

(7) **Ba tla mo tlisêtsa bogôbê.**

‘They will bring him porridge’.

Morphologically the verb is known to have the following essential morphological structure: class prefix/subject morpheme + root + ending.

Go + bal + a ‘To read’

This structure, however, excludes verbs which consist of the structure *root* only as is the case with the imperative verbs. It can also be added here that verbs with the structure *class prefix + root + ending* (the infinitive verbs) and verbs with the structure *root* only (the imperative verbs) are not predicative, while the other verbs are predicative. Apart from these essential characteristics, there are a variety of morphemes that can be affixed to the verb. They are:

3.5.2.1 Prefixal morphemes

i. The subject morphemes

These morphemes are in agreement with the class prefix of the noun acting as subject. In the following sentence the subject is *basimane* and the subject morpheme is *ba-*.

Basimane *ba* a taboga. ‘The boys are running’.

A distinction is made here between the following types of prefical morphemes:

⇒ non-locative,

⇒ locative, *go-*

⇒ infinitive, *go-*

⇒ classless morpheme *e-*

This distinction is based on the groupings into which the noun classes are categorized, the classless morpheme being used in cases where no reference is made of a subject.

ii. The object morphemes

Like the subject morpheme this morpheme is also a concordial morpheme representing the noun acting as the object (semantically) of the sentence. In a sentence such as: *Re ba utlwilê*. ‘We heard them’, derived from, - *Re utlwilê baithuti*. ‘We heard the students’ - *ba-* is the object morpheme referring to the object *baithuti*.

Distinction is made between the:

⇒ non-locative object morpheme,

⇒ locative object morpheme, *go-*

⇒ infinitive object morpheme, *go-*, and

⇒ the reflexive object morpheme, *-i-*

iii. The reflexive morpheme

This is formally a non changing object morpheme which, although hypothetically it has the form *-i(n)-*, does not change with the object. Just like the object morpheme the reflexive morpheme also causes sound strengthening in the verb, and it is therefore believed to have originally included a nasal. This morpheme is used when the subject and object are identical. In a sentence such as:

(8) Banna ba ipatlêla mannô.

'The men are looking for seats for themselves'.

the *i-* represents the reflexive morpheme.

iv. The negative morphemes

In Afrikaans these morphemes are also referred to as "aktualiteitsmorfeme" which can be translated as 'morphemes of actuality'. The negative morphemes used in Tswana are mood bound.

(a) The negative morpheme *ga-*

This morpheme always occurs at the beginning of the negative verb in the indicative mood. e.g.:

(9) Basadi *ga* ba apêe gompîeno.

'The women are not cooking today'.

(10) *Ga* ba a apaya maabane.

'They did not cook yesterday'.

(11) Rona *ga* re rate dimonamona ka di bôdisa mênô a motho.

'We do not like sweets as they rot a person's teeth'.

(b) The negative morpheme *-sa-*

This morpheme occurs directly in front of the verbal stem except in cases where there is an object morpheme, or a reflexive morpheme in which case they occur directly before that morpheme. Compare the following examples:

Situative

(12) Le fa ba *sa* re duêle re ntse re tla ba thusa.

'Even if they don't pay us we will still help them'.

Relative

(13) **Ngwana yô o *sz* ithuteng o tla sala fa ba bangwe ba feta.**

'A child that does not learn will fail when the others pass'.

(c) The negative morpheme *-se-*

This morpheme occurs directly in front of the verbal stem except in cases where there is an object morpheme, or a reflexive morpheme in which case they occur directly before that morpheme. It is restricted to the following moods:

Subjunctive

(14) **Tsênya madi a mô kgêtsing ya gago gore a *se* latlhege.**

'Put this money in your pocket so that it does not get lost'.

Consecutive

(15) **Ra bôna ba le mô mathatêng, mme ra *se* ba thuse.**

'We then saw that they were in trouble, but we did not help them'.

Habitual

(16) **Mmaagwê a mo apêla, mme a *se* je morôgô.**

'His mother cooked for him, but he did not usually eat vegetables'.

Infinitive

(17) **Go *se* rêetse mô sekôlông go ka tsênya ngwana mô mathatêng.**

'Not to listen in school could land a child in trouble'.

Imperative

(18) ***Se* tlohodie fa, ke a ithuta!**

'Do not make noise here, I am studying'.

v. The aspectual morphemes

The following aspectual morphemes occur directly in front of the verbal stem except in cases where there is an object morpheme, or a reflexive morpheme in which case they occur directly before that morpheme. Compare the examples below:

(a) The progressive morpheme *-sa-*

According to the traditional view this morpheme indicates that the action in the verb is still going on, in other words, it indicates progressivity. Louwrens (1996:123-127), however, points out that a termination of state can be conceived when *-sa-* is used in verbs of state in Northern Sotho. This approach to the value of the morpheme *-sa-* in Tswana is new, and needs further investigation. For the moment, though, the progressive morpheme is still viewed in the same traditional way (as indicating progressivity) in this study. Compare the following:

(19) **Baithuti ba sa kwala ditlhatlhobô.**

'The students are still writing exams'.

(20) **Ntatêmogolo o sa dula kwa dipolaseng**

'My grandfather is still living on the farm'.

(21) **Tsala ya me e sa ipatlêla kôlôî ê ntšhwa.**

'My friend is still looking for a new vehicle'.

(b) The 'imperfect tense'/continuous *-a-*

The name of this morpheme remains a problem for grammarians in the Bantu languages, and there are various views on it. One of the latest studies on this morpheme is that of Kosch. In an article Kosch (1987:1) indicates that:

- - - - the basic function of *-a-* only comes to the fore if the wider context of discourse is taken into consideration. - - - - It appears that *-a-* functions as a marker of the end of communicative units immediately after the indicative verb.

It is in fact an aspectual morpheme as the semantic value of imperfectivity is aspectual (refer to 6.6.). However, according to the traditional view on tense (refer to 6.4.) an example of it indicating imperfect *tense* in Tswana would be:

(22) Mosimane o a tsamaya

'The boy is walking'.

The *-a-* can also be referred to as an emphatic morpheme. It thus indicates that the action/process indicated in the verb is definite or decided. Compare the following examples:

(23a) Mosimane o dirang?

'What is the boy doing?'

(23b) O a tsamaya.

'He is walking'.

(c) The future-tense morpheme *-tla-*

This morpheme indicates that the action that is expressed in the verb will take place in the future. Compare the following:

(24) Morutabana o tla ruta bana dipalô.

'The teacher will teach the children maths'.

(25) Ntatê o tla tla gae ka mosô.

'Father will come home tomorrow'.

(26) Dintšwa tsêo di tla go loma fa o ka tsêna fôo.

'Those dogs will bite you if you should enter there'.

vi. The modal morpheme

(a) The potential morpheme *-ka*

-ka- is a verbal prefix in some structures and an auxiliary verb in other structures. Verbal structures with this morpheme denote that the subject has the ability to

participate in, or execute the action that is described in the verb. Compare the following examples:

(27) Tau e ka bôlaya nkwê.

'A lion can kill a leopard'.

(28) Mmê a ka mpetsa fa nka ja nama ê jaanong.

'Mother will/can/would beat me if I eat this meat now'.

The action/process indicated by the verb may be influenced by instances not controlled by the subject. It is therefore also used to denote permission and condition. Compare the following examples:

(29) A re ka ya kwa tôrôpông?

'May we go to town?'

(30) Magôdu a ka utswa diaparô tsa gago fa o ka lebala go di nôtlêla.

'Thieves will steal your clothes should you forget to lock them (your clothes) up'.

-ka as an auxiliary verb is also extensively used in negative structures to make them more emphatic in significance. This happens especially in the imperative, subjunctive, consecutive and habitual. Compare the following examples:

(31) Dintšwa tsê di se keng di loma.....

'The dogs that never bite....'.

(32) Ga re ka ke ra tshameka.

'We will (definitely) not play'.

(33) Tsa se ka tsa go loma.

'They (then) did not bite you (after all)'.

The morpheme *-ka-* can occur in all positive forms of all moods except the imperative and consecutive. It is evident that *-ka-* and its auxiliary form *-kilé* were diachronically followed by the complementary verb in the consecutive mood.

3.5.2.2 Root morphemes

Louwrens (1994:170) states that:

The term root is most commonly applied to refer to that portion or core element in a word's structure which remains after all prefixes and suffixes have been removed.

In Tswana an example would be *-rêk-* in *rêkisa* or *-seg-* in *segêla*. There are different types of roots and different views on the term, but these will not be attended to here.

3.5.2.3 The suffixal morphemes

The suffixal morphemes include the verbal endings as well as all the verbal extensions. The verbal endings express the categories of mood, tense and actuality. They are not related to the lexical features of the verb and are therefore not usable in the determination of the sub categories of the verb as a word class. (It is important to note that verbal endings are used when verbs are classified according to mood, however, that is not what is at stake here.) The verbal extensions may extend the semantic contents of the verbal root and/or the valentional features thereof. These extensions are classified into two types on the grounds of their frequency of use, namely active and semi-active. These categories are:

- i. The active verbal extensions (productive suffixes).

These extensions can be used with almost all verbal roots. They will not be discussed in detail here.

(a) The iterative *-ak-* as in

rag+ak+a = ragaka (to kick repeatedly)

(b) The causative *-is-* as in:

rêk+is+a = rêkisa (to sell, to let buy)

(c) The applicative *-êl-* as in:

rêk+êl+a = rêkêla (to buy for)

(d) The reciprocal *-an-* as in:

thus+an+a = thusana (to help each other)

(e) The perfectum *-il-* as in:

rêk+il+ê = rêkilê (bought)

(f) The passive *-iw-* as in:

rêk+iw+a = rêkiwa (is bought . . .)

ii. The semi-active verbal extensions (semi-productive suffixes).

These extensions are still active, but can only be used with a selected group of verbal roots as compared to the active extensions, e.g.:

(a) The neuter active *-al-* as in:

phatl+al+a = phatlala (to spread out, scatter)

(b) The neuter passive *-eg-* as in:

rôb+êg+a = rôbêga (to get broken)

(c) The transitive reversive *-ol-*; *-olol-* as in:

ap+ol+a = apola (undress, take off - referring to clothes)

(d) The intransitive reversive *-og-*; *-olog-* as in:

ap+og+a = apoga (clear up - weather)

bôf+olog+a = bôfologa (get untied - rope)

(e) The denominative verbalising *-f-* ; *-fal-* as in: motho+fal+a = mothofala (to become human).

The morphological features of the verb set out above can be presented as follows:

3.5.3 Diagrammatical presentation of the morphology of the verb

A=Linear arrangement. B= Hierarchical arrangement

PREFIXES								ROOT	SEMI-PRODUCTIVE SUFFIXES				PRODUCTIVE SUFFIXES						ENDING
A	Inf.	Neg.	Subj. Cons	Neg. morf	Asp. morf	Temp . morf	obj. conc	Root	Rev. Intr.	Rev. Tr.	Denom.	Neuter.	Iter.	Caus.	Appl.	Recipr.	Perf.	Pass.	Neg/Mod.
	go	ga	a. non-loc	-se-	-a-	-tla	a. non-loc	a. orig	-og-	-ol-	-f-	-êg-	-ak-	-is-	-el-	-an-	-il-	-w-	-a
			b. loc. Go	-sa-	-sa-		b. loc. go	b. denom	-olog-	-olol-	-fal-	-al-		-y-	-ets-			-iw-	-e
			c. inf. Go	-a-	-ka-		c. inf. go	c. ideof				-agal-							-ê
			d. classl E				d. refl. -i-					-êsêg-							-ng
												-agan-							-ng
B	6a	1	6>6a	1	2	3	4		15	14	13	12	11	10	9	8	5	7	6 (mod)
																			1 (neg)
			di-			tla-		tl-						-is-				-iw-	-a
	ga-	ba-					-mo-	tl-	-og-					-y-	-ets-				-e
		di-						rem-					-ak-				-il-	-w-	-e

3.5.4 Semantic features of the verb

Semantically the verb denotes the value of a process, action. (The verb is treated as a word class here, and mood is of no relevance.) This distinctive feature is characteristic of the verb only, and this makes it easy to identify.

3.5.5 Syntactical features of the verb

Syntactically the verb has valence for subjects, objects, descriptives and complements.

3.6 POSSIBLE CRITERIA FOR CLASSIFICATION

The criteria for classification must be based on coincidental morphological, syntactical and semantic features as proposed by Van Wyk (1966:148-152). The problem that remains is to find the correct order in which to search for these coincidental features. The precondition, as Van Wyk puts it, is to find the largest number of elements belonging to a specific category. The criterion or set of criteria, therefore has to be positive for the one group (the verb in this case), and negative for the rest.

Linguistic items that have these common features can be identified as proper verbs, whereas items which lack one of these features should be regarded as not being proper verbs. The criteria put forward by Van Wyk (1966:148-152) are accepted for use in Tswana. They are:

- i. Valence for objects as opposed to no valence for objects.

Verbs which take objects are transitive whereas those that do not take objects are intransitive.

- ii. Valence for complements alone as opposed to valence for descriptives.

Copulative and auxiliary verbs take complements only, while other verbs can take descriptives as well.

- iii. Valence for subject clauses as opposed to no valence for subject clauses.

Certain verbs have valence for subjects while others do not have valence for subjects. The first group is labelled predicative verbs (also called the finite verbs) while the latter group is referred to as the non-predicative verbs (or the infinitive verbs).

iv. Conjunctive valence as opposed to no conjunctive valence.

Certain verbs can be used conjunctively, in other words to introduce subordinate clauses, while others do not have this valence.

v. Stative and inchoative verbs

Verbs can furthermore be categorized as action verbs on the one hand and process verbs on the other hand.

vi. Verbs containing categorially/class-bound morphemes as opposed to verbs with classless subject categorial morphemes - e.g.: *ba a tsêna*; *e re*; *e bilê*;

From the small number of possibilities for categorization mentioned above, it is clear that a hierarchical method of classification has to be found. Thus, the categories, like for instance, the ones mentioned above have to be ordered hierarchically.

3.7 SUB CATEGORIES OF THE VERB

Verbs with the essential morphological structure of prefix - root - categorial ending, can valentionally and morphologically be sub-divided into two categories, viz.:

- a. a category with valence for descriptives, and
- b. a category with valence for complements.

Due to the fact that valence for descriptives is an essential feature of the verb, members of group a. can be named proper verbs, whereas those with valence for complements can be labelled improper verbs.

The category of verbs with a valence for descriptives (group a.) can in turn be divided into two groups, viz.:

- i. a category with a valence for objects the members of which are referred to as transitive verbs, and
- ii. a category which lacks a valence for objects the members of which are also referred to as intransitive verbs.

The intransitive verbs can in turn be divided into two groups on semantic grounds, viz.:

- i. a category referred to as inchoative verbs, in which case the semantic value of the members indicates that the relevant subject is in a process/state of change. e.g.:

-gola 'grow'; *-ôta* 'become thin'; *-nôna* 'become fat'; *-leswêfala* 'become dirty'; *-phatloga* 'break through the middle'; *-bôfologa* 'become untied', etc.

- ii. a further category the members of which indicate a stative semantic value. These verbs indicate that the subject is in a certain state or condition. e.g.:

-lwala 'be sick'; *-rôbêtse* 'be asleep'; *-sulê* 'be dead'; *-gakêtse* 'be furious'

The transitive verbs can in turn be divided into two categories on the grounds of the differences in the types of complements that they can take, viz.:

- i. a group that has a valence for non-infinitive objects, and
- ii. a group that has valence for non-infinitive as well as infinitive complements. e.g.: *-rata*; *-batla*; *-leka*; *-kgôna*; *-belaêla*; *-rapêla*; *-itse*. e.g.

(34a) Mosadi o rata *diaparô* tsê dintlê.

'The woman likes smart clothes'. (non-infinitive complement)

(34b) Bana ba rata *go ja dimonamona*.

'Children like to eat sweets'. (infinitive complement)

Used with infinitive complements these verbs have the semantic value of certainty, conviction, desire, request, need. In such cases they are therefore referred to as modal verbs ('modale werkwoorde' in Afrikaans), and not as auxiliary verbs. (Refer to 7.11.)

The second category of the verb (as mentioned above) is the category of which the verbs have a valence for complements. They are thus introductory members which must have complementary members to complete the group. This group can be divided into two categories, viz.:

i. a category with a valence for non-predicative complements. This category includes all the copulative verbs. e.g.:

(35) Mètsi a bolló.

'The water is hot'.

(36) Monna o na le thipa

'The man has a knife'.

(37) Ntaté ke morutabana.

'Father is a teacher'.

ii. a category with a valence for predicative complements only. This category includes all the auxiliary verbs. e.g.

(38) Mosimane o né a thusa mosadimogolo.

'The boy was busy helping the old lady'.

(39) Ntaté o tlabô a rôbêtsê.

'Father will (then) be asleep'.

All three of these categories of verbs can be finite or non-finite except in situations where the specific circumstances have different requirements. Certain auxiliary verbs are only finite. In conclusion on this matter it can be stated that the categorisation of the verb according to the principle of finite and non-infinite is not a relevant principle because it is a modal categorisation which cannot be used as such in the generic (sub)categorisation of the verb.

The copulative verbs can in turn be categorized into the categories of identifying, descriptive and associative copulative verbs respectively.

The classification of the auxiliary verbs, as such, presents a number of problems which are brought about by a change in status of some of the members of the category. When the members of the category of the auxiliary verb are analyzed as to similarities and differences on syntactical, valentional and semantic level it becomes clear that this category can be divided into two clear sub categories. These categories are:

- i. a transposable category, and
- ii. a non-transposable category.

The members of the transposable category have no valence for subjects and have the morphological feature of taking the classless subjectival morpheme or the infinitive class prefix. Semantically and valentionally this category has conjunctive valence, i.e. it can be used as conjunctive. Compare the following examples:

(40) **Ke nê ka mmôna e re a batla go utswa kôlô.**

'I saw him when he wanted to steal the vehicle'.

(41) **E re a batla go utswa kôlô ke nê ka mmôna.**

'When he wanted to steal the vehicle I saw him'.

(42) **Ke tla ba thusa gore ba fêtsê ka pela.**

'I shall help them so that they can finish quickly'.

(43) **Gore ba fêtsê ka pela ke tla ba thusa.**

'For them to finish quickly I shall help them'.

(44) **Ngwana ga a ise a lwale go tloga beke ê e fetilêng.**

'The child hasn't been ill since last week'.

(45) **Go tloga beke ê e fetilêng ngwana ga a ise a lwale.**

'Since last week the child hasn't been ill'.

This (transposable) category of auxiliary verbs displays clear signs of a change in status from verbs, to a conjunctive function in the abovementioned instances. In some cases this change in status has become permanent: e.g.: *gonne, mme, ntswa/etswa, ekete*, etc.

The non-transposable category, on the other hand, cannot be transposed syntactically with a subject or descriptive. It therefore has a valence for subjects, and morphologically it can take the variable subject morpheme, e.g.:

(46) *Tau e tlhola e nwa mêtsi fa.*

'The lion always drinks water here'.

(47) *Ka go nê go apogilê ke lêtse ke bône dinalêdi sentlê.*

'As it was cloudless last night I could see the stars clearly'.

(48) *Bana ga ba bôlo ba fêtsa go ja.*

'The children have finished eating long ago'.

The members of the non-transposable category have the typical/essential morphological structure of proper verbs, and auxiliary verbs. The only exception is that they can no longer take the verbal suffixes. This is due to the fact that a semantic shift/change took place during the change from verb to auxiliary verb. This category of auxiliary verbs can be divided into two groups on semantic grounds, viz.:

- i. a category where the members can function as auxiliary verbs only and are referred to as **proper auxiliary verbs**, and
- ii. a category where the members can function as verbs as well as auxiliary verbs; such verbs are termed **improper auxiliary verbs**.

The proper non-transposable auxiliary verbs in turn display differences among their members in the sense that some of them take on various degrees of morpheme status in specific structures e.g.:

⇒ the potential *-ka-*,

⇒ the progressive *-sa-*, and

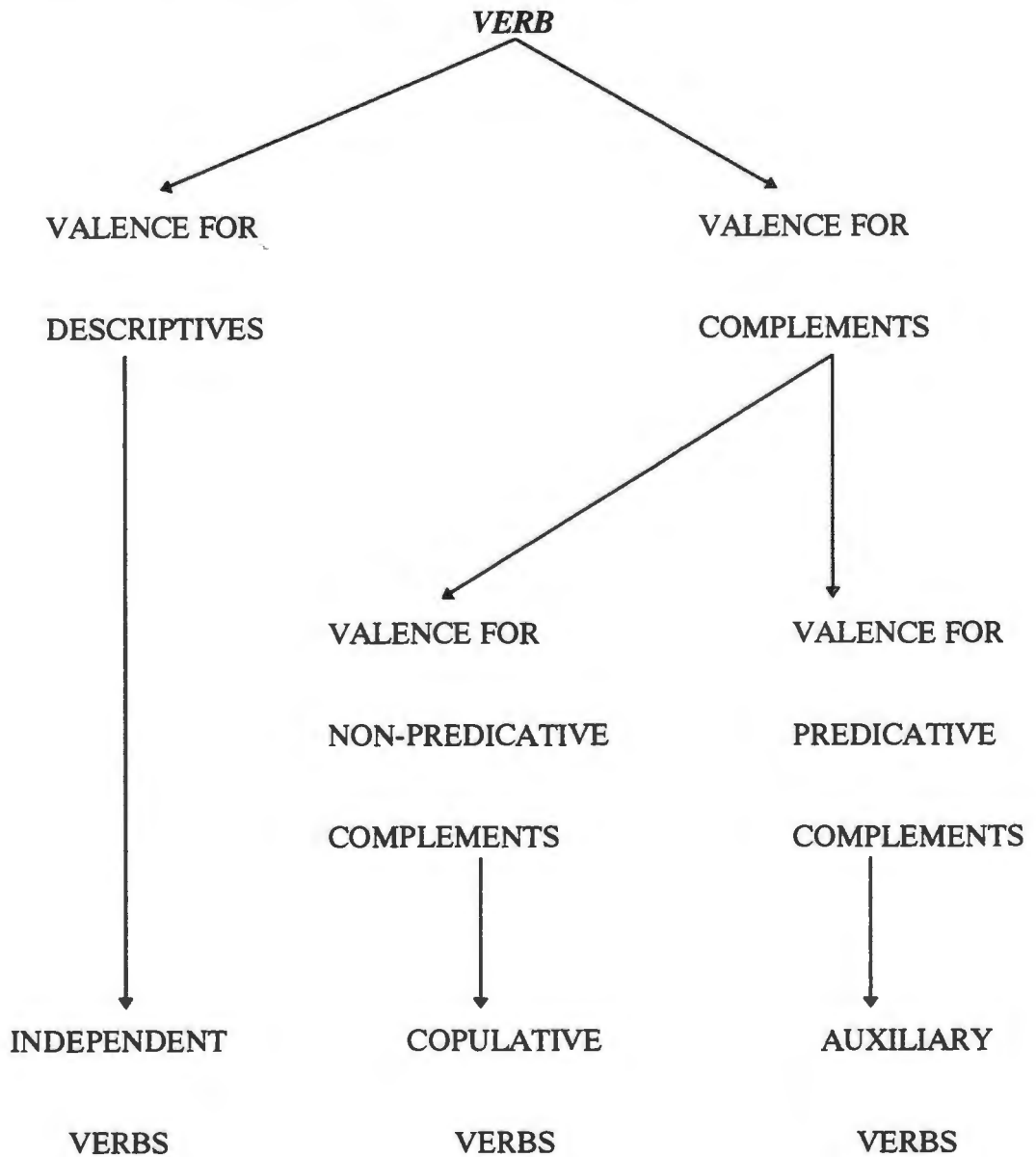
⇒ the futuritive *-tla-*.

Such changes in status can cause several demands on the taxonomy of these terms as a process of change has taken place or is still taking place. The origin and path of change is therefore important.

The rest of the verbs belonging to this category have remained proper auxiliary verbs which are not deficient.

The above discussion of the sub categorization of the verbs in Tswana can be presented schematically as follows according to Krüger (1983:45):

3.7.1 Diagrammatical presentation of the verb in Tswana



It is evident that the auxiliary verb is a sub category of the verb.

In the next section the auxiliary verb will be investigated further, the intention being to establish a more detailed classification into sub categories.

3.8 CLASSIFICATION OF THE AUXILIARY VERBS IN TSWANA

Although the problem of the classification of the auxiliary verb in the Bantu languages in general has been addressed by a large number of linguists the problem of the classification of the auxiliary verb in Tswana has still not been solved satisfactorily.

The aim of this section is to classify the auxiliary verbs in Tswana on the basis of their respective morphological, syntactical as well as semantic features. The chapter will be concluded with a diagrammatical presentation of the auxiliary verbs in Tswana. This presentation will reflect the application of the abovementioned features in the classification.

The classification of the auxiliary verbs on morphological and syntactical grounds has been utilized optimally by this stage. Classifications that have been presented in grammars up to the present moment rely primarily on the modal determination of the auxiliary verb. Auxiliary verbs are therefore not described according to their own inherent features but according to modal determination.

Krüger (1983:43), who approaches the auxiliary verb from a structural functional framework, holds the opinion that it is essential to place the auxiliary verb within the framework of the verbal word category. He says:

Om die *hulpwerkwoord* op enige wyse te beskryf, is dit nodig om dit vooraf binne die raamwerk van die *werkwoordkategorie* te plaas. (Italics RSP.)

This would imply that the verb would have to be sub categorized and that the auxiliary verb could only be discussed after that.

Fourie (1988), on the other hand, approaches the auxiliary verb from a TGG framework, indicating that the auxiliary verb is a lexical base-category. He opts for the proliferationistic tradition rather than the reductionistic. The reductionistic tradition is in favour of an analysis of the auxiliary verb in the surface structure as a product of certain transformational procedures from the deep structure. Fourie indicates that this is an attractive option in the

light of the fact that the auxiliary verb in Zulu is seen as having developed from independent verbs or copulative verbs (in most cases at least).

The proliferationistic tradition in turn supports the view of the auxiliary as a lexical base category which is present in the deep structure. Fourie (1988:119) states that the main difference between the two is that the reductionists are in favour of a reduction of the number of base categories as proposed by Chomsky (1965), while the proliferationists are in favour of keeping all the base categories or even developing them further.

Fourie (1988:118) also claims that morphological and syntactical features are not sufficient criteria for the classification of the auxiliary verbs:

Die morfologiese en sintaktiese kriteria is nie beduidend genoeg om as klassifikasie kriteria gebruik te word nie.

Concerning the morphological features he (1988:118) states the following reasons:

Die algemene morfologiese gesteldheid van Zulu hulpwerkwoorde kan nie werklik as kriterium vir 'n sinvolle klassifikasie aangewend word nie, aangesien dit normaalweg almal meersillabiese (met uitsonderings soos -ze, -ke) woorde is, en 'n terminale -a of -e vertoon. Verder neem dit die normale onderwerpskakel en kan soos 'n normale werkwoord verbuig word (alhoewel in 'n meer beperkte aantal verbuigings).

The view presented above is commendable, although morphological differences which will aid the classification of the auxiliary verbs will be applied along with the other features of the auxiliary verbs to reach a classification in this study.

Fourie (1988:119) mentions the following reasons why syntactical features are also not favourable as criteria for the classification of the auxiliary verbs:

- (a) Alle hulpwerkwoorde in Zulu vorm die inleidende lid (gevolg deur die komplementêre hoofwerkwoord) van die hulpwerkwoordgroep, en daar is gevolglik geen diskriminerende sintaktiese gedrag wat die basis van 'n klassifikasie kan vorm nie.

(b) Die sintaktiese binding is bloot 'n manifestering van die onderliggende semantiese gesteldheid van die uiting. Dit is gevolglik nodig om hierdie semantiese gesteldheid in detail te ontleed.

In response to (a) above, the following comments can be made:

With reference to *all* auxiliary verbs Fourie does not indicate whether he sees the “deficient” and the transposable (conjunctive) categories as indicated by Krüger (1983) as part of the category of auxiliary verbs. If he does not see them as auxiliaries then all auxiliary verbs do not have the same syntactical features.

The deficient auxiliary verbs have undergone a lowering in rank and now feature as morphemes of the verb. The conjunctive category in its turn is transposable and it is therefore not always the introductory member of the auxiliary verbal group as it has a conjunctive function. Syntactical criteria can thus be used as a criterion for the classification of auxiliary verbs.

To substantiate his view, Fourie quotes Krüger (1983:44) stating that the valential criteria have been exhausted in the classification of the auxiliary verbs in Tswana, adding that semantic features should now be employed in the classification of these verbs. Fourie mistakenly treats morphological and semantic features as valential criteria.

Krüger (1983), however, does employ syntactical criteria to get to the part of his classification where he has the deficient and transposable categories.

Regarding (b) above, the argument that the syntactical features of the group are a mere manifestation of the semantic value of the utterance, is difficult to interpret from a structural-functional approach.

To explain the semantic value of the auxiliary verbs (which lies in the deep structure) Fourie explains the category of modality using the concepts of reference and sense. “Reference” is described by Fourie (1988:119) as the direct relation that exists between the linguistic symbol and its extralinguistic correlate.

“Sense”, on the other hand, is the value that the speaker (user of the language) conceives/develops of this reference in the context that it is used.

Fourie (1988:119) sums up the above, stating that:

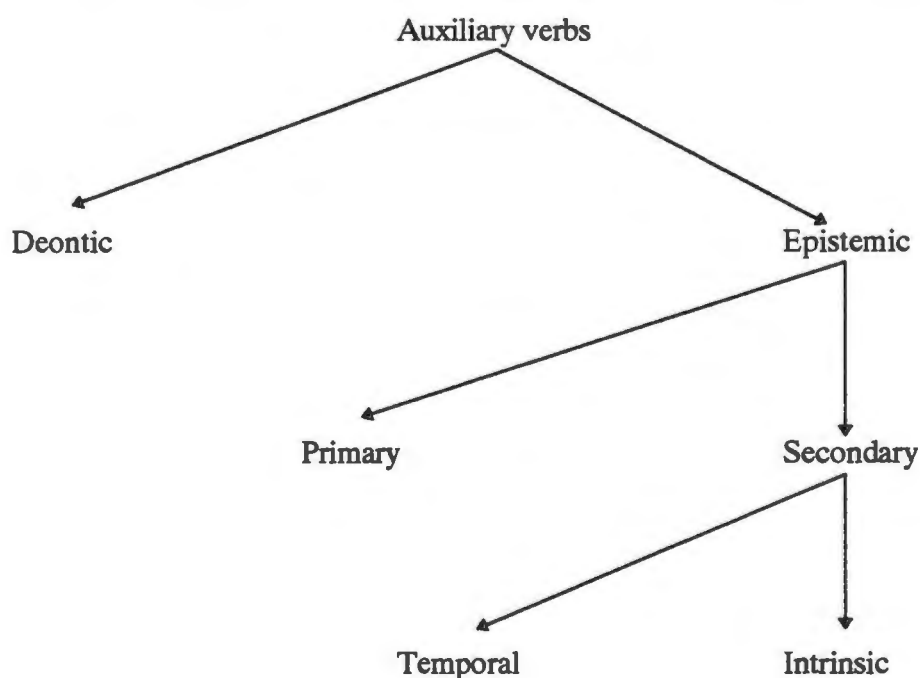
Modaliteit is, meer spesifiek, die realisering van die taalgebruiker se subjektiewe waarde-oordeel oor die waarheidswaarde van die proposisie, byvoorbeeld die proposisie word gesien as noodsaaklik waar/vals, moontlik waar/vals, waarskynlik waar/vals, ensovoorts. Dit is dus die kwalifisering van die basiese proposisie, en meer spesifiek die kwalifisering van die proposisie in terme van semantiese konsepte soos moontlik, noodsaaklik, waarskynlik, ensovoorts.

To explain this, Fourie employs the modal categories epistemic and deontic. He (1988:120) indicates that epistemology has its roots in the philosophy, and is described as the search for valid knowledge. In this, he perceives the language user’s subjective opinion or interpretation of the validity of the utterance.

The deontic category, on the other hand, includes an aspect of will, namely that of the language user. The epistemic category does not provide for this.

All these factors relate to mood. (They are examined further in chapters 5 and 7.)

Fourie (1988:123) presents his classification of the auxiliary verbs in Zulu as follows:



The problem the researcher has with this view is that an extra-linguistic criterion (the validation of the speaker) is sometimes employed in the linguistic study of the topic presently under consideration.

This study will rely strongly on Krüger's views which in turn originated largely from Van Wyk's classificatory criteria for the word classes. These criteria are based on purely intrinsic linguistic features and not on extra-linguistic phenomena such as the attitude of the speaker as used by some grammarians thus far, including Fourie. This study will use purely linguistic features, and therefore rely on morphological, syntactical and semantic correspondences and differences of auxiliary verbs. In the light of new studies and developments (metaphorical mapping in the development of the auxiliary verbs, etc.) the semantic values of the auxiliary verbs will be investigated afresh.

This study also supports Krüger's opinion that any linguistic description should be preceded firstly by a taxonomic classification after which the relevant categories can be described on the appropriate levels such as the functional and semantic levels. A knowledge of linguistic elements is a prerequisite for a description of the structure and system (Van Wyk (1965)).

In support of this view, Krüger classifies the verb in Tswana into three main sub categories, namely:

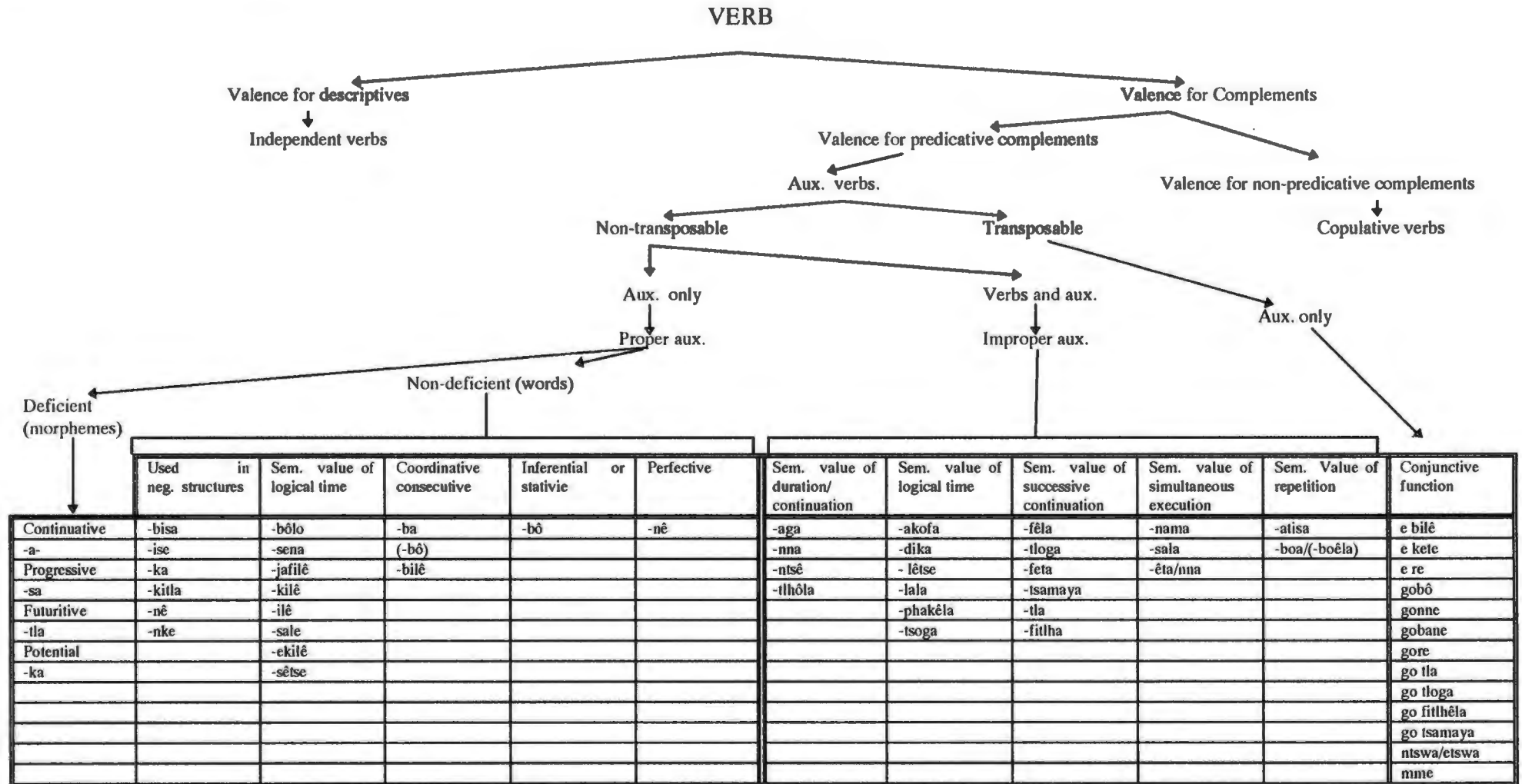
- i. independent verbs or basic(ordinary) verbs e.g. *go ja - Go ja nama*.
- ii. auxiliary verbs e.g. *-feta - O tla feta a go bolêlêla*.
- iii. copulative verbs *-nna, -le, -ne. - Ba tla nna têng*

A comparison of the morphological and syntactical features of the above mentioned sub categories can be presented in the following table:

A MORPHOLOGICAL STRUCTURE	(1) VERBS	(2) AUXILIARY VERBS	(3) COPULATIVE VERBS
(a)Prefixes	Yes	Yes (Conditional)	Yes (Conditional)
(b)Suffixes	Yes	- (Except -ilê)	- (Except -ilê)
B Syntactic combinability			
(a)With subject	Yes	Yes	-
(b)With object	Yes	-	-
(c)With descriptives	Yes	-	-
(d)With complements	-	Yes (only verbal)	Yes (only nominal)
	Constitutes a predicate	Auxiliary verb + complement constitute a predicate	Copulative verb + complement constitute a predicate

The classification of the auxiliary verbs as revealed in this study will now be presented diagrammatically. This classification has been arrived at, after the proposed principles of Van Wyk had been applied. The diagram will be followed by a motivated commentary regarding these results.

3.8.1 Diagrammatical classification of the auxiliary verbs in Tswana



Explanation of the diagram above:

The result arrived at after the evaluation of the diagram (refer to 3.7.1.) is indicated at the top of the diagram. It can now be exploited further by applying the classification principles afresh.

A distinction was made on syntactic grounds, between a category of verbs which can take predicative complements and a category that takes non-predicative complements. The category with a valence for predicative complements, constitutes the category of the auxiliary verbs. These forms can take verbs, verbal groups, copulative verbs and other auxiliary verbal groups as complements, i.e. predicative groups only.

According to the classification principles, it follows that at this stage it is inevitable that one will arrive at a further sub categorization to accommodate the valential features that are concomitant.

Based on syntactical features, auxiliary verbs can be divided into two classes. The differentiation is caused by the complexity of the complements which is influenced by the transposability of the auxiliary. The morphological features that agree with this syntactical discrepancy are also given.

Transposable auxiliary verbs

Transposable auxiliary verbs can take predicative complements, and are inseparable from the complement. They are divided into two groups on the basis of their morphological features:

⇒ Those with a fixed subjectival morpheme.

⇒ Those with an infinitive prefix.

Non-transposable auxiliary verbs

Non-transposable auxiliary verbs can take the same predicative complements as the transposable group, but in addition the complements of the non-transposable category can

also take subjects and secondary and tertiary descriptives. Morphologically their complements can include the following morphemes:

⇒ A changeable subject morpheme

⇒ The unchangeable or neutral subject morpheme

⇒ No subject morpheme at all

The transposable category contains the auxiliary verbs with a conjunctive function.

Transposable auxiliaries can take a position in front of the subject or after it, e.g.:

(49a) *E kete monna yôo a ka tla kwano gore re buê le ênê.*

'If that man should come here so that we could talk to him'.

or

(49b) *Monna yôo, e kete a ka tla kwano gore re buê le ênê.*

'If that man should come here so that we could talk to him'.

(50a) *Fa batho ba kabô ba mo thusitsê.*

'If people could have helped him'.

or

(50b) *Fa e kabô batho ba mo thusitse.*

'If people could have helped him'.

The non-transposable auxiliary verbs can furthermore, be classified into the categories proper and improper auxiliary verbs on the grounds of the syntactical features they exhibit.

Proper auxiliary verbs

The proper auxiliary verbs can function syntactically only as auxiliaries. In this category a distinction is made between deficient auxiliary verbs and non-deficient auxiliary verbs on grounds of their word status. The members of the deficient category have lost their status

as words and can only be used as morphemes in words. In the non-deficient category the verbs have retained their status as auxiliary verbs (words). On the basis of their semantic value, this category can be divided further into the five sub categories set out in the diagram. The semantic values of individual auxiliary verbs when used in auxiliary verbal groups are discussed in chapter 7. (Refer to 7.6.)

Improper auxiliary verbs

The improper auxiliary verbs can syntactically function as auxiliary verbs and as independent verbs. They can thus be part of auxiliary verbal groups or they can feature as independent verbs in a sentence. On the basis of semantic oppositions, this category can moreover be divided into the four sub categories set out in the diagram.

3.9 FEATURES OF AUXILIARY VERBS

3.9.1 Morphological features

3.9.1.1 Basic morphological structure

Auxiliary verbs have the following basic morphological components:

AGREEMENT + ROOT + ENDING

MORPHEME/PREFIX

di- + *-fet-* + *-a*

o- + *-b-* + *-ô*

The prefix can either be a subject morpheme or an infinitive prefix. The customary ending is *-a*, but in selected cases it can be *-ê (-nê)*, *-e (-ise)* and *ô (-bô)*

Auxiliary verbs (proper as well as improper) as well as independent verbs, therefore, do not differ with respect to their basic morphological structure.

3.9.1.2 Extended structures of the auxiliary verbs

a. Extension by prefixes

i. Object morphemes as prefixes

Proper as well as improper auxiliary verbs cannot be extended by object morphemes because they cannot take objects.

ii. The progressive *-sa-* as prefix

Proper auxiliary verbs cannot be extended by *-sa-*. Extension of the improper auxiliary verbs by *-sa-* is rare and is restricted to only a few cases, e.g.:

sa ntse e.g.:

(51) *Ke sa ntse ke ja.*

'I am still eating'.

ga-sc-sa-tlhôle e.g.:

(52) *Ga ke sa tlhôle ke itse tsela ê e yang kwa Botswana.*

'I do not know the road that goes to Botswana anymore'.

iii. The potential *-ka-* as prefix.

As for the proper auxiliary verbs the potential can only be used with *-bô/ba*. e.g.:

(53) *Di kabô di nolê mêtsi.*

'They (the cattle) could have drunk water'.

The potential may be used with almost every improper auxiliary verb. Compare the following:

(54) *O ka nna wa kwala fa.*

'You may write here'.

(55) *Ngwana a ka tloga a wa mô setulông sêo.*

'The child could just now/any moment fall from that chair'.

iv. The futurity *-tla-* as prefix

-tla- combines with the proper auxiliary verb *-bô* only. e.g.:

(56) *Re tlabô re fêditse go ja fa a gôrôga.*

'We'll have finished eating when he arrives'.

tla- is used with all the improper auxiliary verbs in the formation of future tense forms.

e.g.:

(57) *O tla tlhola a disa dikgomo fa lekgabanêng.*

'He will be looking after the cattle near the mountain in the meantime'.

(58) *Bana ba tla tloga ba gatiwa ke dikôloi fa ba sa tswe mô tselêng.*

'The children will be hit by vehicles just now/shortly/any moment if they don't get out of the street'.

v. The so-called present tense morpheme or continuous morpheme *-a-* as prefix.

As has been indicated earlier (3.5.2.1.(v)) there are different views on the value and function of this morpheme. For the moment this study will stick to the view of Cole (1975:291-304), who regards this morpheme as the continuous morpheme of the present tense.

This prefix cannot be used with any type of auxiliary verb. An *-a-* may, however, be used with *-nê-*, *-nne*, *-tle* and *-bô-*. It cannot be proved though, that this is the continuous *-a-*..:

(59) *Ba a nê ba tsamaye ka tsela ê.*

'They used this road occasionally'.

(60) *Ba a nne ba ye kwa nokêng.*

'They usually went to the river'.

(61) *Di a tle di tshware mebutla.*

'They (the dogs) usually caught hare'.

(62) *O a bô o ya kae?*

'Where are you going? (now again)'.

In conclusion it is thus clear that a classification based on morphological features only, is not satisfactory. The only sub categories identified by the application of these criteria are those of predicative and non-predicative like in the classification of the verb, (refer to 3.7. and more specifically 3.7.1).

According to the classification principles, valentional features that are concomitant, have to be sub categorized further. This sub categorization on syntactical level will now be attended to.

3.9.2 Syntactical features

Auxiliary verbs have been classified into groups on the basis of, inter alia, similarities and differences in syntactical features. The groups arrived at were the deficient, proper, improper, and the auxiliary verbs with conjunctive function. (Refer to 3.8.1).

The syntactical features of auxiliary verbs, generally referred to in most grammars are those that are valid for the proper and improper auxiliary verbs only. These features will be attended to first. Afterwards the syntactic features for the deficient and conjunctive categories will be discussed.

3.9.2.1 Features of proper and improper auxiliary verbs

(a) Valentionally these auxiliary verbs feature as introductory members, and

(b) these auxiliary verbs must syntactically be followed by a predicative complement, which can be any of the following:

i. verb or verbal group

(63) Ke nê ke tsamaya.

'I was walking'.

ii. a copulative group

(64) Ke nê ke na le madi.

'I had money'.

iii. an auxiliary verb group

(65) Ke nê ke sa ntse ke kwala.

'I was still writing'.

Krüger (1967:159) gives a good description of these complements. Compare:

i. An independent verb as complement (66), and verbal group as complement (67)

(66) Tau e tlhôla e rôbala.

'The lion always sleeps'.

(67) Balemi ba sêitse ba rôba mmidi.

'The farmers are already harvesting mealies'.

ii. Copulative verbs as complements

(68) Mosimane wa me e sêitse e le morutabana.

'My son is already a teacher'.

iv. Auxiliary verbal group as complement

(69) Re nê re tlhôla re ya kwa lewatlêng ka selemô.

'We always went to the seaside in summer'.

v. All the complements mentioned above may take tertiary and free descriptives

(70) *(gonne) re tla ya gae fa ba ka tlisa dilô tsa rona.*

'(because) we shall go home if they bring our belongings'.

In this example the verb *re tla ya* takes *fa ba ka tlisa dilô tsa rona* as secondary descriptive first, and only then is it used as the complement of *gonne*.

vi. Verbal groups which include a subject as complement

(71) *Re tla êma (go fitlha) bana ba gôrôga.*

'We shall wait (until) the children arrive'.

The deficient auxiliary verbs feature as morphemes, because they have lost their status as words due to rank shifting. They now act as prefixal morphemes of the verb, and therefore they are part of the verb. Compare the following examples:

(72) *Re ka fêtsa tirô e ka pela fa o ka re thusa.*

'We can finish this job quickly if you (can) help us'.

3.9.2.2 The auxiliary verbs with conjunctive function

They are syntactically transposable. Compare the following examples:

(73a) *Ke ba utlwilê fêla e re ba batla go tsêna ka kgôrô.*

'I heard them just when they wanted to enter through the door'.

(73b) *Fêla e re ba batla go tsêna ka kgôrô ke ba utlwilê.*

'Just when they wanted to enter through the door I heard them'.

(74a) *Ga ke ise ke ba bône go tloga maabane bosigo.*

'I haven't seen them since last night'.

(74b) *Go tloga maabane bosigo ga ke ise ke ba bône.*

'Since last night I haven't seen them'.

3.9.3 Semantic features

Semantically, auxiliary verbs generally express a certain type of duration of the process of the independent verb, or the logical time at which the process expressed in the independent verb is executed, e.g.

(75) **Baithuti *ba tlabô* ba kwala.**

'The students will be writing'. (future)

(76) **Batsadi *ba tlabô* ba thusa barutabana.**

'The parents will then be helping the teachers'.

(77) **Dikôlô *di nê* di feta.**

'The vehicles were passing'. (past)

(78) **Batsadi *ba nê* ba thusa barutabana.**

'The parents were helping the teachers (then)'.

(79) **Baithuti *ba boa* ba kwala ditlhatlhobô.**

'The students write examinations again'. (repetition)

(80) **Baithuti *ba aga* ba kwala ditlhatlhobô.**

'The students keep on writing exams'. (duration)

(81) **Batsadi *ba aga* ba thusa barutabana.**

'The parents keep on helping the teachers'.

(82) **Batsadi *ba tlhola* ba thusa barutabana.**

'The parents always help the teachers'. (continuation)

It is evident that a certain group of auxiliary verbs have a copulative origin. This group, with copulative origin, can be further divided into two sub groups:

⇒ In the first group the auxiliaries are syntactically insufficient and have lost their status as words and became morphemes: (continuous/'imperfective') *-a-*, (progressive) *-sa-*, (potential) and *-ka-*. These auxiliaries are also called the devaluated or deficient auxiliary verbs by some grammarians.

⇒In the second group, which is the proper auxiliary verbal group, auxiliaries are syntactically sufficient. (*-ka-*, and *-tla-* belong to both groups. The origin of *-tla-* is verbal and not copulative.)

Another group has deduced its auxiliary meaning from an original verbal meaning, in other words, from a verbal root. This group therefore originates from independent verbs.

3.10 CONCLUSION

The classification under discussion is based on the principles set out by Van Wyk, and thus relies on the intrinsic morphological, syntactical and semantic features of auxiliary verbs. In consideration of the diverse syntactic, morphological and semantic features of auxiliary verbs, and the overlap in modal determination, the modal determination of auxiliary verbs was not the basis for categorization. Certain auxiliary verbs can determine different moods depending on the context in which they are used, e.g.:

(83) *Fa o sa tlhōkomêle o tloga o itshêga ka thipa êo.*

'If you are not careful you will cut yourself with that knife'. (indicative mood)

(84) *O tlogê o nthusê go kgoromêtsa kôlôi ya me.*

'You must help me to push my vehicle'. (subjunctive)

There is often more than one auxiliary verb involved, e.g.:

(85) *Ba nê ba sala ba kwala makwalo.*

'They (then) went on writing letters

(86) *Ba nê ba tlhōla ba re thusa ka dipalô.*

'They (then) always helped us with maths'.

(87) *Re sa ntse re tlhōla re ba bōna mô tōrōpōng*

'We still always see them in town'.

This classification is not final or all-inclusive as there are still auxiliary verbal stems which are difficult to categorize because it is difficult to determine their specific semantic value, e.g.: *-bô, -kabô, -bê, -nô, -na, -ya tle, -(e a tle), -re, -e tla re, -e sa le*

CHAPTER 4

GRAMMATICALIZATION AS A THEORETICAL BASE FOR DETERMINING THE ORIGIN AND DEVELOPMENT OF AUXILIARY VERBS IN TSWANA

4.1 INTRODUCTION

Structural features of languages change constantly. The fact that these changes may be perceived only after a prolonged period of time sometimes allows this process to take place undetected.

During this process linguistic units tend to undergo a change in status. This change in status of linguistic units has been named *rank shifting* by a number of grammarians in the African languages. Louwrens (1994(C):21) refers to this process in Northern Sotho as *category shifting* and he defines it as follows:

A process which is sometimes also referred to as *rank shifting*, and which, in the historical development of a language, results in the lowering in rank of, for example, *main verbs* to *auxiliary verbs* and finally to *deficient verb forms* or *prefixes*. It is maintained that, for example *deficient verb forms* (also called *prefixes* by some) such as the potential **-ka-**, the progressive **-sa-**, the future **-tlo-**, etc originally occurred as *main verbs* in Northern Sotho. In a later developmental stage these *main verbs* underwent a *category* or *rank* shift as a result of which they ceased to act as *independent verbs* and became *auxiliary verbs* which were dependant on *complementary verbs*. At still a later stage, they lost their status as *auxiliary verbs*, and shifted in rank to the status of *prefixal morphemes*, also called *deficient auxiliary verb forms* in some grammars.

The example of the rank shifting from verbs to auxiliary verbs is accepted and fits into the scope of this study. However, it has to be pointed out that there is a difference between rank shifting on the one hand and category shifting on the other. In this regard Du Toit (1994:9) asserts that:

Rangverskuiwing behels dus vertikale ontwikkeling (d.w.s. ontwikkeling tussen die range van morfeem woord en woordgroep).

Rank shifting is thus the process that is related to the shifting in rank, for instance, of a word group to a word, or of a word to a morpheme. Category shifting on the other hand investigates the shifting over the boundaries of word categories, for instance the changing of a noun to a verb. In this regard Du Toit (1994:12) states that:

Kategorieverskuiwing dui op 'n verskuiwing van taaleenhede vanaf een woordklas na 'n ander, met behoud van rang en gaan gewoonlik met morfologiese verandering gepaard.

Thus a word can change/shift in category but retain its rank as word. For a more elaborate discussion of rank and category shifting in the Bantu Languages refer to Du Toit (1994:9-16) and Van Staden (1988).

On the basis of rank shifting a large group of auxiliary verbs, in several Bantu languages, has been identified as having developed from independent verbs. In this regard the work of grammarians such as Doke (1947), Cole (1955), Ziervogel (1969), Lombard *et al.* (1985:189-191), Mkhathshwa (1991), Louwrens (1991:53-59), and Poulos and Louwrens (1994:278-288) is prominent. However, Mkhathshwa is the only one to have approached the derivational relationship of the auxiliary verb from the point of view of grammaticalization.

The origin and development of the auxiliary verbs of Tswana have until now not been the focus of a study, nor has the theoretical hypothesis of the metaphorical mapping of features been applied to determine the mentioned derivational relationship.

4.1.1 Aim

The aim of this chapter is to

⇒investigate whether the hypothesis that auxiliary verbs derive from verbs is valid, and to determine whether grammaticalization can be identified as the process which took place in this derivation/shifting.

⇒determine the factors underlying the development of auxiliary verbs from independent verbs in Tswana.

⇒determine the extent to which the morphological and semantic characteristics of such verbs change in the process of rank shifting.

4.2 GRAMMATICALIZATION

Grammaticalization is a term used to describe internal processes of change in linguistic structures and categories. Grammaticalization is an umbrella term which covers the views of different linguists in the discussion of the development of auxiliaries. Metaphorical interpretation of concepts as a cognitive process is one such a view. Heine (1993:27) indicates that auxiliary verbs are developed among others via the cognitive process which he refers to as the process of basic event schemas. Apart from these views there are also others like semantic bleaching, semantic clustering, prototypicality, etc. which are taken as the motivating forces underlying grammaticalization.

The views held by different linguists on the characteristics of grammaticalization will now be discussed briefly.

4.2.1 Characteristics of grammaticalization

Heine et al. (1993:149) indicate that a number of alternative terms have been used for grammaticalization. They name the following: reanalysis, syntacticization, semantic bleaching, semantic weakening, condensation, reduction, and subduction. In this study, however, the term grammaticalization will be retained. Prominent linguists' definitions of

grammaticalization will be quoted as an introduction to this section, with the objective of deducing the central features of the process from them:

The following definitions all stress the unidirectionality (from lexical to grammatical) in grammaticalization as a process.

Heine et al. (1993:149) state that the definition given by Kurylowics (1965:52) is by now a classical definition for grammaticalization. This definition reads:

Grammaticalization consists in the increase of the range of a morpheme advancing from a lexical to a grammatical or less grammatical to a more grammatical status, e.g. from a derivative format to an inflectional one.

This definition is however very narrow as it is only focussed on the morphological level/range of a *morpheme*.

Traugott (1988: 406) stresses the unidirectionality and the accompanying lowering of morphosyntactic status of grammaticalization when she defines it as:

Grammaticalization, refers to the dynamic, unidirectional historical process whereby lexical items in the course of time acquire a new status as grammatical, morphosyntactic forms. The study of grammaticalization takes as central the concept of continuum of bondedness from independent units occurring in syntactically relatively free constructions at one end of the continuum to less independent units such as clitics, particles, or auxiliaries, to fused agglutinative constructions, inflections and lexical fusion (for example the lexicalization of inchoative in realize as against know), and finally to zero.

Louwrens (1994(c):72) stresses the shift in rank (lowering of morphosyntactic status as mentioned by Traugott above) that units in Northern Sotho undergo during the process of grammaticalization:

A term denoting the process whereby linguistic elements of a higher rank such as words develop into linguistic elements of a lower rank such as grammatical

formatives, and therefore start to function as morphological constituents of words. - - It is observed in some grammatical descriptions of Northern Sotho that, for example the potential **-ka-**, the progressive **-sa-**, and the future tense **-tla/-tlo-** have undergone a process of *grammaticalization* since they have shifted in rank from what originally were auxiliary verb stems to what they are today, namely verbal prefixes. - - .

Heine et al. (1991:2) state that:

Where a lexical unit or structure assumes a grammatical function, or where a grammatical unit assumes a more grammatical function, we are dealing with grammaticalization, a process that can be found in all languages known to us and may involve any kind of grammatical function.

The unidirectionality of the process, and the accompanying lowering of morphosyntactic status of units taking part in grammaticalization also can be noted from this definition.

Heine and Reh (1984: 15) define grammaticalization as an evolutionary process whereby linguistic units lose on semantic, syntactic and phonetic level:

An evolution whereby linguistic units lose in semantic complexity, pragmatic significance, syntactic freedom, and phonetic substance respectively. This is the case for instance when a lexical item develops into a grammatical marker. - - - - Grammaticalization is an evolutionary continuum.

The evolution theory has been referred to as a chaos theory, however, in linguistic terms the loss that a unit undergoes as well as the continuum effect that the definition refers to is important to this study.

Heine et al. (1993:149) identify the following common elements/features of grammaticalization. These elements of grammaticalization are also relevant for this study:

⇒Grammaticalization is a process.

⇒Grammaticalization is most obvious as a morphological process.

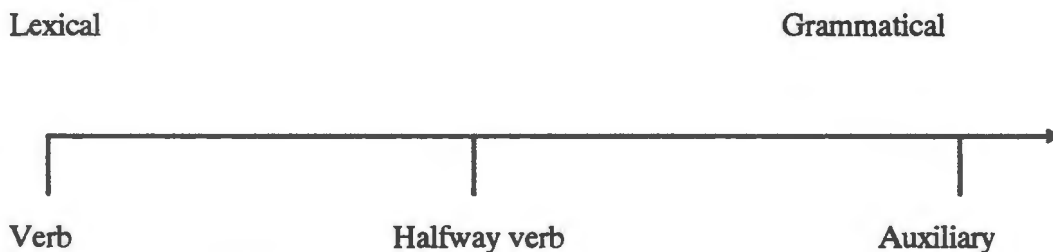
⇒Unidirectionality is an intrinsic property/feature of grammaticalization , i.e. it leads from a “less” to a “more grammatical” unit but not *vice versa*.

4.2.2 Grammaticalization and the origin and development of auxiliaries

Myhill (1988:353), in his study of the grammaticalization of auxiliaries in Spanish, observes that:

The change from verb to auxiliary has been shown to be one stage in a diachronic grammaticalization process; in this process, the auxiliary eventually develops into a marker of tense, aspect, or modality. Diachronic changes of this type are well documented in a variety of languages (Heine & Reh 1984, Traugott 1972).

Matthews (1978) hypothesizes that the English auxiliaries like *will, can, shall, have,* and others have all developed diachronically from independent verbs. He further points out that most verbs tend to become what he calls “halfway” verbs and some, through the process of evolution, become fully fledged grammatical morphemes. The process of grammaticalization of auxiliaries can be represented as a continuum:



Mkhatshwa (1991:10) postulates that:

. . . all the lexical items involved in the process of grammaticalization move from the lexical point of the continuum to the grammatical point of the continuum. It may, at this point, be worth stating that the now “halfway” verbs may become fully grammatical morphemes as time goes on.

He assumes that the Zulu auxiliaries were once autonomous lexical items, but became delexicalized through the process of grammaticalization. These lexical items gradually lost their basic semantic, syntactic and morphological features and became auxiliaries, that is, grammatical items. For Tswana it can be assumed at this stage that a certain group of auxiliaries became delexicalized to a position where they can now only act as morphemes (deficient auxiliary verbs). Another group developed to a position where they can only act as auxiliary verbs (proper auxiliary verbs), a third group to a position where they can act as verbs as well as auxiliary verbs (improper auxiliary verbs), and yet another group to have a conjunctive function syntactically (auxiliary verbs with conjunctive function). (Refer to 3.8.1.)

4.2.3 Sources of grammaticalization: Orphaning and budding

Mkhatshwa (1991:15) refers to the two sources of grammaticalization viz. orphaning and budding as proposed by Matthews (1978). Mkhatshwa explains these sources as follows:

The term 'budding' in linguistics is applied to lexical extensions which become distanced from their lexical origins, but which retain their association with the semantic value of the parent lexical items. The fully grammaticalized morphemes are the buds, and the existing lexical items from which these morphemes developed, are the parents. - - if the parent lexical item still exists at the end of the process, insights into the origin and pathway of the development of the grammaticalized item are readily traceable as is the case with the diminutive suffix -ana in Bantu, - -

Matthews (1978:3) explains orphaning as:

Although budding is an important and frequently recurring pathway of grammaticalization throughout natural languages, it is clearly not the case that all examples or even all of the most important examples of grammaticalization involve only budding. There are many definite cases of grammaticalization involving the complete loss of the source lexical item and the persistence of only the grammaticalized syntactic function.

It seems as if it is difficult to keep these two sources completely separated. The distinction between budding and orphaning relies on the correctness of the reconstruction of the grammatical items involved. As far as the auxiliary verbs in Tswana are concerned this will in some cases be easy and in some almost impossible as orphans can at times be buds and at other times not. An item may only be referred to as an orphan when it cannot be directly related to its parents, but once the parent has been identified the item becomes a bud.

Mkhatshwa (1991:15) states that the perfective suffix *-ile* is an example of orphaning in Zulu:

A most notable example of orphaning in the Zulu auxiliary system is the suffix *-ilê*.

However, in Tswana the ‘suffix’ *-ilê*, is used to indicate perfectivity. It is viewed as a ‘compound suffix’ i.e. consisting of the suffix *-il-* and ending *-ê*. The reason for distinguishing these morphemes as separate morphemes is that they can be separated by the passive suffix *-w-*. Compare: Nama *e rekilwe*. ‘the meat has been bought.’ The ‘parent’ of *-ilê* in Tswana is the verbal stem *-ya*, it is therefore a bud and not an orphan in Tswana.

The term ‘source’ as used above, is a strange term, however, as it seems as if it attempts to clarify the result of grammaticalization, rather than the source or origin. This study intends to look for another “reason” for grammaticalization. Heine et. al. (1991:150) indicate that grammaticalization may be influenced by various factors. They refer to contact between languages, inference between the written and the spoken form of a given language, the sociocultural context or even typological developments.

They then claim that there is a specific cognitive process underlying grammaticalization. This process is what this study would like to focus on as an “explanation” for grammaticalization. Heine et al. (1991:151) see the input or source of grammaticalization as a limited number of cognitive structures. The so-called ‘cognitive setting’ to which they refer will now be introduced briefly.

4.2.4 Cognitive linguistics

Cognitive linguistics emerged in the late seventies and early eighties, and is therefore a contemporary approach in the field of linguistics. Prominent grammarians in this field include the likes of Heine, Lakoff, Johnson, Turner and Langacker to name but a few. Geeraerts (1984:112) indicates that there were mainly two impelling forces behind the development of cognitive linguistics:

On the one hand cognitive linguistics carries further the interest in meaning phenomena that was typical of the Generative Semantics movement within generative linguistics, however, cognitive linguistics is situated entirely outside the generative tradition. . . . On the other hand, cognitive linguistics was inspired by the psycholinguistic research on prototype based forms of categorization . . .

In an attempt to give a general characterization of cognitive linguistics Geeraerts (1984:111) states the following:

Cognitive linguistics is an approach to the analysis of natural language that focuses on language as an instrument for organizing, processing and conveying information. Methodologically speaking, the analysis of the conceptual and experiential basis of linguistic categories is of primary importance within the cognitive linguistics: it primarily considers language as a system of categories. The formal structures of language are studied, not as if they were autonomous, but as reflections of general conceptual organization, categorization principles, processing mechanisms, experiential and environmental influences.

Cognitive linguistics sees language as embedded in the overall cognitive capacities of man. Topics of special interest for cognitive linguistics therefore include:

⇒ the structural characteristics of natural language categorisation (such as prototypicality, systematic polysemi, cognitive models, mental imagery and metaphor).

- ⇒ the functional principles of linguistic organization (such as iconicity and naturalness); the conceptual interface between syntax and semantics (as explored by cognitive grammar and construction grammar).
- ⇒ the experiential and pragmatic background of language in use, and
- ⇒ the relationship between language and thought, including questions about relativism and conceptual universals.

In an attempt to elaborate on the above, a few basic concepts of cognitive linguistics as presented by Langacker in an overview, at the Linguistic Society of Americas' summer institute in July 1995 (Albuquerque, New Mexico, USA) will be quoted here. He asserts:

(1) Language serves the **semiological function** of allowing conceptualizations to be symbolized (primarily by means of sounds), as well as a multifaceted **interactive function** (involving communication, manipulation, expressiveness, and social communion).

(2) Language is shaped and constrained by the functions it serves. The pivotal issue in distinguishing **functional** and **formal** approaches to linguistic investigation is whether functional considerations are taken as *being foundational* or merely *subsidiary* to the problem of describing language form.

(3) While belonging to the functional tradition, and fully acknowledging the grounding of language in social interaction, **cognitive linguistics** emphasizes its semiological function and its grounding **in** cognition. **Cognitive grammar** is a particular cognitive linguistic theory.

Langacker gives the following reasons for the role of the term cognitive and its relation to linguistics:

(4)(i) Even the interactive function of language has a conceptual basis.

(ii) Insofar as possible, language is seen as drawing on other, more basic cognitive systems and abilities (e.g. perception, memory, categorization) from which it cannot be separated as a distinct, self-contained entity.

(iii) Reliance only on well-established or easily demonstrated mental abilities, not exclusive to language.

(iv) If innate specifications peculiar to language are necessary, these would be interpreted as specialized adaptations of more basic cognitive phenomena, not as separate and *sui generis*.

Regarding mental abilities in the sensible use of language and the relation to cognitive linguistics, Langacker states that:

(5) The sensible use of language implies some evident mental abilities which are the focus in cognitive linguistics:

(i) to form structured conceptualizations

(ii) to use one structure as a basis for categorizing another

(iii) to establish correspondences between facets of different structures

(iv) to conceive of a situation at varying levels of abstraction (schematization)

(v) to combine simpler structures into more complex ones

(vi) to impose figure/ground organization on a scene

From the above the following deductions can be made:

⇒ In this chapter an explanation will be sought for the rank shifting that has taken place in the development of a particular group of auxiliary verbs. As the nature and function of auxiliary verbs are to indicate the grammatical categories of tense, mood and aspect it is

noticeable that the lexical expressions for these concepts are derived from concrete entities through the cognitive processes referred to by Langacker in 4 and 5 above.

⇒ It has been mentioned that some auxiliary verbs have a verbal origin. (Refer to 4.1.).

The mental abilities mentioned in 5, and specifically in 5b therefore seem applicable for use in the categorisation of auxiliary verbs.

⇒ The cognitive process that is held responsible for the development of auxiliaries - event schemas is referred to in 5d and -e. This process will have to be investigated in an attempt to explicate it for use in Tswana (refer to 4.3.4.).

Lakoff (1990:40) views the primary commitments of cognitive linguistics as follows:

For me, cognitive linguistics is defined by two primary commitments, what I will call the Generalization commitment and the Cognitive commitment. The generalization commitment is a commitment to characterizing the general principles governing all aspects of human language. I see this as the commitment to undertake linguistics as a scientific endeavour. The cognitive commitment is a commitment to make one's account of human language accord with what is generally known about the mind and the brain, from other principles as well as our own.

The generalization commitment comes with a phenomenological characterization of subfields in terms of the kinds of generalizations required:

In syntax: Generalizations about the distribution of grammatical morphemes, categories and constructions.

In semantics: Generalizations about inferences, polysemi, semantic fields, various kinds of semantic relationships, conceptual structure, knowledge structure, and the fitting of language to what we perceive and understand.

In pragmatics: Generalizations about speech acts, discourse, implicatures, deixis, and the use of language in context.

The categories of morphology, phonology, etc. can still be added to the list. Lakoff treats these categories without preference. He indicates that he refrains from giving the one a higher ranking than the other. Langacker on the other hand only makes a distinction between a phonological and a semantical 'pool'. Such views oppose the views adopted in chapter three when purely structural functional features were used (in a specific order) as a theoretical base for the classification of the word classes and the classification of the subcategories of the verb. However, the purpose of this chapter is the determination of the origin of the auxiliary verbs and the views of cognitive linguistics are therefore relevant here.

Regarding the cognitive commitment, Lakoff (1990:40) states that:

As the cognitive commitment requires the cognitive linguist to take research in cognitive psychology seriously, it also motivates a theory of conceptual metaphor. Lakoff (1990:42) indicates that experimental confirmation has been found for their conclusions on the existence of conceptual metaphor, and conventional mental images. The theory of metaphor arises from the application of the generalization and cognitive commitments to a wide range of data.

The concept of metaphor is thus an important one in the theory of cognitive linguistics. In this regard Lakoff & Johnson (1980:287) state the following:

We have found on the contrary, that metaphor is pervasive in everyday language, not just in language, but in thought and action. Our ordinary conceptual system, in terms of which we both think and act is fundamentally metaphorical in nature.

Even the conventionalised system of grammar is permeated by metaphor. In this regard Lakoff (1990:51) observes that:

. . . many of the most basic concepts in semantics are understood metaphorically . . . concepts like time, quantity, state, change, action, cause, purpose, means, modality, and even the concept of category. These are the concepts that enter normally into the grammars of languages, and if they are indeed metaphorical in nature, then metaphor becomes central to grammar.

The concepts of time, state, change, and action can all be related to the function or semantic value of the auxiliary verbs in Tswana. According to Lakoff it would then seem that the auxiliary verbs, or at least their semantic values, have a metaphorical nature. To explain the basic properties of metaphor Lakoff (1990:47) uses the example of the conceptualization of love as a journey, that is often found in English. He states:

. . . English is full of expressions that reflect the conceptualization of love as a journey. Some are necessarily about love; others can be understood that way:

Look how far we've come.

Its been a long bumpy road.

We can't turn back now.

We're at a crossroads.

We may have to go our separate ways.

We're spinning our wheels.

The relationship isn't going anywhere.

The marriage is on the rocks.

These are ordinary everyday English expressions. They are not poetic, nor are they necessarily used for special rhetorical effect.

Lakoff (1990:51) uses this metaphor to indicate the role of metaphor in the conceptualization of aspects that feature in grammar. He states:

What I would like to suggest is that the same kinds of considerations that lead to our acceptance of the love-as-journey metaphor lead inevitably to the conclusion that such basic concepts are often, and perhaps always, understood via metaphor.

Metaphor and the metaphorical interpretation of aspects in language can be studied from a cognitive linguistic approach. To conclude this short introduction it is deemed suitable to refer briefly to the so-called cognitive setting.

4.2.5 The cognitive setting

The cognitive principle of the exploitation of old means for novel functions originated from Werner Kaplan in 1963. Heine (1993:150) explains this principle in the following manner:

By means of this principle, concrete concepts are employed to understand, explain or describe less concrete phenomena. In this way, clearly delineated and/or clearly structured entities, non-physical experiences are understood in terms of physical experience, time in terms of space, cause in terms of time, abstract relations in terms of kinematic processes or spatial relations, etc. According to this view grammaticalization can be interpreted as the result of a process which has problem solving as its main goal, its primary function being conceptualization by expressing one thing in terms of another.

The function of this principle is not confined to grammaticalization only as it is the main characteristic of metaphor as presented by the cognitive linguistics (eg. Lakoff and Johnson 1980 and Lakoff 1987). The input or source of grammaticalization is seen as a limited number of cognitive structures. The terms 'source concept' and 'target' are important to the understanding of grammaticalization. With regard to auxiliaries as target, the source is verbs. Heine (1993:151) see the relation of the input to the output of grammaticalization as metaphorical in nature. In the most cases, concepts which form the input of grammaticalization processes refer to concrete objects, processes or locations.

On the other hand, concepts which form the output of grammaticalization are not concrete, but through the process of grammaticalization their origin can in many instances be traced back to the input, which is in most cases concrete as indicated above. In this regard Heine (1993:28) states the following:

Research on the genesis of grammatical expressions suggests that such expressions do not emerge *ex nihilo*; rather they are almost invariably derived from the domain of concrete concepts; grammatical morphology tends to develop out of lexical structures, especially out of such categories as nouns and verbs.

If it is kept in mind that auxiliary verbs are on the grammatical end of the continuum, and that the hypothesis is that their origin is independent verbs where concrete concepts are actional or stative, then one can hypothesize more specifically on their origin.

As auxiliaries express grammatical concepts which typically relate to the tense, aspect, and themodality of propositional contents, linguistic expressions of these concepts are almost invariably derived from concrete entities describing such general notions. The following examples can be named: Location (where one is), motion (where one moves to, from, through, etc), activity (what one does), desire (what one wants), posture (the way one's body is situated), relation (what one is like, is associated with, or belongs to), and possession (what one owns).

Linguistically these notions are normally expressed by verbs in Tswana. Heine (1993:28) presents the following verbs to express these notions in English (a Tswana equivalent is given in italics):

- i. Location: "be at," "stay at," "live at," "remain (at)," *-nna, -dula, -sala*
- ii. Motion: "go," "come," "move," "pass," - *-ya, -tla, -tsamaya, -feta*
- iii. Activity: "do," "take," "continue," "begin," "finish," "seize," "put," "keep" *-dira, -tsaya, -tswélêla, -simolola, -fêtsa, -baya*
- iv. Desire: "want," "wish" *-batla, -rata, -eletsa.*
- v. Posture: "sit," "stand," "lie" *-nna, -êma, -rapama*
- vi. Relation: "be (like)," "be (part of)," "be accompanied by," "be with" *-nna jaaka, -tsaya karolo, -nna le*

vii. Possession: “get,” “own,” “have” *-latêla, -nna le*

These verbs are, according to Heine, part of more complex *event schemas* and the behaviour of auxiliaries can only be accounted for with reference to these schemas.

The conclusion is that the verbs indicating motion, like the English verbs walk, stroll, saunter, swim, roll, and slide each contain considerable detail about the nature of the movement, and thus are appropriate only with certain types of subjects.

In an attempt to explain what verbs appear in constructions that enter into grammaticalization Kuteva (1991) in Heine (1993:29) argues that:

. . . verbs entering into grammaticalization are direct encodings of a limited number of kinesthetic image schemas.

These schemas according to Kuteva belong to four conceptual domains, viz.:

⇒the physical domain “be at/on,” “go/come,” “have”

⇒the temporal domain “do,” “begin/become,” “finish,” “remain”

⇒the intra subjective domain “want”

⇒the inter subjective domain “must,” “permit”

These domains will be used to investigate the original verbs in the case of the auxiliary verbs in Tswana.

In relation to these domains, Heine (1993:31) presents the main event schemas as source for grammatical categories of tense and aspect in the following table:

CONCEPTUAL FORM	PROPOSED LABEL
"X is at Y"	Location
"X moves to/from Y"	Motion
"X does Y"	Action
"X wants Y"	Volition
"X becomes Y"	Change of state
"X is (like) a Y"	Equation
"X is with Y"	Accompaniment
"X has Y"	Possession
"X stays in a Y manner"	Manner

In different languages these schemas may take on different forms. The following examples are proposed for Tswana:

⇒Location.

(1a) O kwa sekôlong.

'He is at school'.

(1b) Re mô tôrôpông.

'We are in town'.

⇒Motion.

(2a) Ntatê o tla gae.

'Father is coming home'.

(2b) Batho ba ya kerekeng.

'The people are going to church'.

⇒Action.

(3a) O a kwala

'He/she is writing'.

(3b) Se rage katse.

'Don't kick the cat'.

⇒Volition.

(4) Thabô o tla rêka dikgômo

'Thabo will buy cattle'.

⇒Change of state.

(5) Thabô a tla nna ngaka.

'Thabo will become a doctor'.

⇒Equation.

In this case the "Y" is encoded as as adjectival.

(6) O sêitse a tlile.

'He/she has arrived'.

⇒Manner.

In the case of manner, as with equation, "Y" is also encoded as an adjectival or adverbial concept. Motion verbs are sometimes employed as auxiliary verbs in this schema.

(7) O tsamaya a batla buka ya gagwê.

'He/she is looking for his/her book'.

⇒Accompaniment.

(8) Re a bala.

'We are reading'.

⇒Possession.

The following deductions can be made on event schemas:

⇒Event schemas are an effort to categorize all types of events that can be verbalized into one of the proposed schemas.

⇒An attempt is made to provide for all events in all languages of the world.

- ⇒ However limited the number of event schemas are, the linguistic diversity they give rise to, is huge.
- ⇒ Not all languages can use all of the schemas.
- ⇒ The schemas (simple and complex) are an attempt to give structure to (to categorize) the semantic values of verbs.
- ⇒ Each schema profiles a different conceptual characteristic of the event, which is reflected in the morphosyntax of the resulting categories.
- ⇒ Through the choice of an event schema the source of a grammaticalized unit is searched for.

Heine (1993:53) proposes a kind of grammaticalization referred to as the verb to TAM chain, which is made up of a verbal/lexical structure at one end and a grammatical marker of tense, aspect, modality etc. at the other end. If this proposed chain (the verb to TAM chain) is used, the auxiliary verbs in Tswana (as identified in 3.8.1) can be analyzed in search of their verbal sources. This study, however, chooses to investigate the source of auxiliaries through the process of grammaticalization from the angle of metaphor.

4.3 METAPHOR

The process of grammaticalization has taken the characteristic of metaphor, and therefore metaphor has to be explicated. Lakoff (1990:51), observes that abstract categories in language are understood metaphorically, and that results in metaphor being central to grammar. Hendrikse and Mkhathshwa (1993:114) agree with Lakoff and indicate that grammar which is the most conventionalized system of language, is permeated by metaphor.

On the basis of these observations, and because of the fact that auxiliaries are seen as the output of the process of grammaticalization of which metaphor is the most important factor, it can be stated that concepts such as time, state, change, cause, purpose, means, and modality are indicated by auxiliary verbs in Tswana. If this is true, then metaphor has to be explicated.

4.3.1 What is metaphor?

The definition given to metaphor by Lakoff and Johnson (1981: 287) characterizes the notion metaphor as the foundation of our ordinary conceptual system. (Refer also to 4.2.1.) Most speakers of a particular language don't realize that they use metaphors in their daily speech, and that metaphors dominate their daily talk in many instances. Lakoff and Johnson (1980) point out that metaphor was traditionally seen as a figure of speech, yet in the framework they propose metaphor is an inherent part of everyday language. They see metaphor as an active mechanism of cognitive classification. Thus, metaphor is a cognitive mechanism by which an abstract unknown domain (the target domain) is described or understood in terms of a more concrete/known domain (the source domain).

Different terms have been used to explain the process of metaphor. The terms 'tenor' and 'vehicle' have often been used to characterize it, but these terms are lately replaced by the terms, target domain, and source domain. The example of love as a journey, as used by Lakoff (1990:47) the principal subject "*love*" would be called the target domain (because it is what we are "holding on to" or talking about - the feature that is being explained) and the secondary subject "*journey*" would be called the source domain (because it carries the weight of the comparison, is the more known domain).

Claudi and Heine (1985:19) distinguish between three types of metaphors:

- i. those which enrich the expressiveness of an utterance,
- ii. those which conceal and obscure reality,
- iii. those which describe conceptually complex phenomena in terms of less complex ones.

On the basis of this distinction Claudi and Heine (1985: 20-21) indicate that:

Metaphors of types i and ii are not likely to affect the rise of grammatical morphology. Type iii metaphors, on the other hand, are grammatical notions like tense/aspect, case, or subordination, are non-physical and conceptually complex, and it would therefore seem plausible that type iii metaphors may be used for them.

The role of metaphor in the grammaticalization of Tswana auxiliaries will therefore be investigated only for type iii.

Before embarking on the investigation, the following important points regarding the theory of grammaticalization and metaphor have to be stressed:

⇒Grammaticalization can take on the form of metaphor.

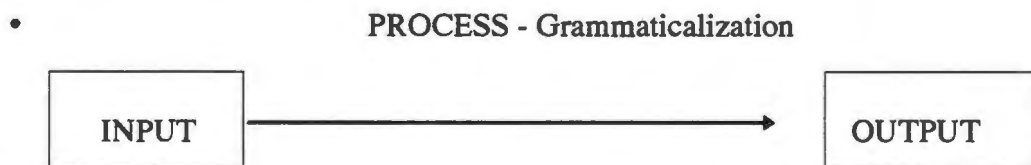
⇒Lexically, the source domain for auxiliaries is the verb.

⇒It is hypothesised at this stage that semantically, the source domain for auxiliaries is movement, and more specifically movement in space, which is mapped onto the temporal domain, as indicated by Mkhathshwa (1991:190), Hendrikse and Mkhathshwa (1993:115), and Heine (1993:28).

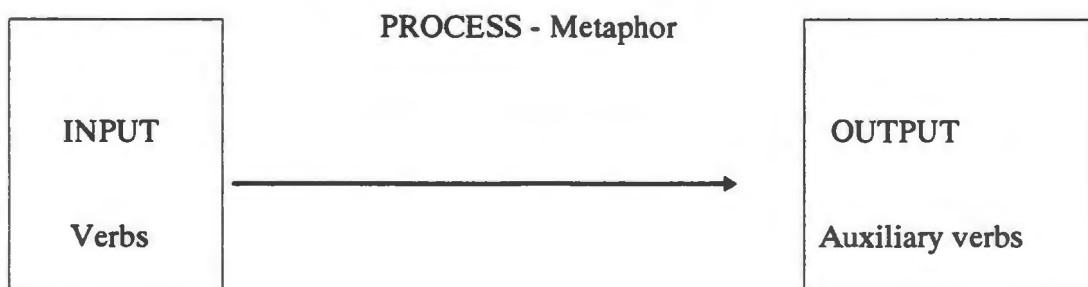
⇒There should be a process in which the features of the verbs mentioned above are transferred to the auxiliary verb. This process is referred to in different ways by grammarians. (refer to 4.3.) The term which this study elects to use for the process of grammaticalization is metaphorical mapping as indicated by Hendrikse and Mkhathshwa (1993).

This process can be schematically presented in the following diagrams:

Grammaticalization in general:



Metaphor as the process of grammaticalization for auxiliary verbs:



4.3.2 Verbs as the source for auxiliary verbs

The relation between verbs and auxiliary verbs has been noted by several grammarians in the African languages. (Refer to 4.1.). Verbs and auxiliaries show lexical affinity. This is clear from the diagrammatical classification of the auxiliaries presented in chapter 3. Members of the class referred to as the ‘improper auxiliaries’ in the diagram can feature both as verbs and as auxiliaries. Compare the following examples:

VERB	AUXILIARY VERB
-nama (stretch)	keep on doing / do then
-sala (stay behind)	do in the mean time
-eta (travel)	do later / at that time
-atisa (become more)	keep on doing / usually
-boa (come back)	do again
-fêla (stop - become finished)	merely / without reason
-tloga (go away - move away)	just now / in a while
-feta (pass - go past)	just now / in a while
-tsamaya (walk)	keep on doing
-tla (come)	perhaps / a bit/little
-akofa (hasten/hurry)	immediately
-dika (encircle and attack)	last/this/next year
-lala (stay overnight)	keep on through the night
-phakêla (come/do early)	early / in the morning
-tsoga (get up)	do tomorrow
-aga (build)	keep on doing / do always
-nna (sit - stay)	keep on doing / do always
-nntse (be in a seated position)	have been doing / is still doing
-tlhôla (inspect - stay around)	always / continuously

Apart from this lexical affinity/correspondence verbs and auxiliary verbs also correspond in their morphological structure. Compare:

Basic morphological structure of the verb: (also refer to 3.5.2.)

AGREEMENT MORPHEME + ROOT + CATEGORIAL MORPHEME

o- + -tabog- + -a

ba- + -tshamek- + -a

re- + -rêk- + -a

Basic morphological structure of the auxiliary verb: (Also refer to 3.9.1.)

AGREEMENT MORPHEME + ROOT + CATEGORIAL MORPHEME

di- + -fet- + -a

o- + -b- + -o

ba + -tlhol- + -a

re + -sal- + -a

Apart from these similarities there are also differences between verbs and auxiliary verbs. In this regard the following differences can be mentioned:

⇒ Some verbs have the feature of being transitive; however, because of the syntactic structure in which the auxiliary verbs feature, they cannot be transitive. Compare the following:

Verb - transitive

(9) **Tlhôla mmaagwe kwa kokelong.**

'Visit your mother in the hospital'.

Auxiliary verb.

***(10) O tlhóla mmaagwe kwa kokelong**

***‘He/she always his/her mother at the hospital’.**

⇒Lexically the roots of verbs can be extended by suffixes; however, auxiliary verbs cannot be lexically extended by derivation. Compare the following:

Verb	Extended verb
-tloga (go away)	-tlosa (take off/ remove)
-tsamaya (walk)	-tsamaisa (let/cause to walk)
-feta (pass)	-fetisa (allow to pass)
Auxiliary verb	Extended auxiliary verb
-tloga (just now - in a while)	*-tlisa
-tsamaya (keep on doing)	*-tsamaisa
-feta (just now, in a while)	*-fetisa

Apart from these differences, auxiliaries display strong similarities to verbs on the morphological level. As far as semantic correspondences are concerned, auxiliaries exhibit a fair amount of internal heterogeneity with verbs. These correspondences can be detected clearly in the diagrammatical classification of the auxiliaries presented in chapter 3. (Refer to 3.8.1.). From this diagram, it can be deduced that the process of derivation of the auxiliary verbs in Tswana can be described on three levels, viz.:

⇒A first level where the formal as well as the semantic correspondences are still very clear. This category is referred to as the improper auxiliary verbs because of their heterogeneous nature/abilities.

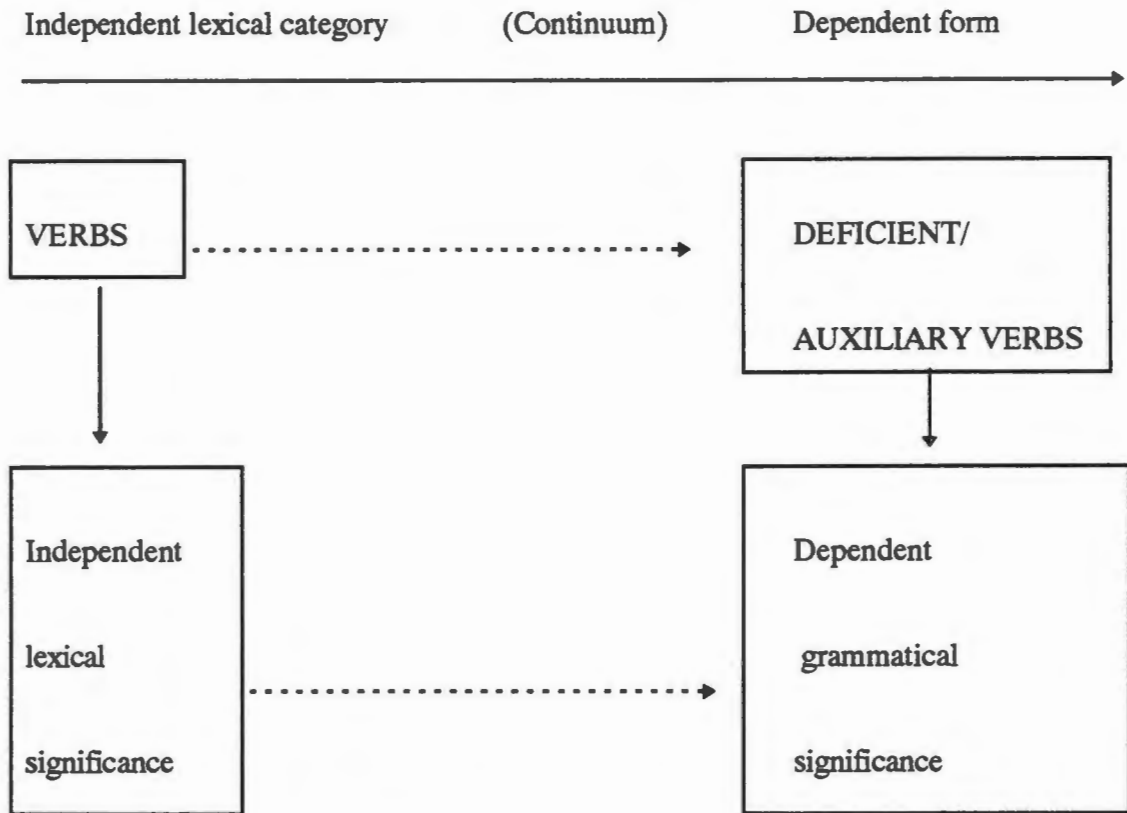
⇒A second level where the formal as well as the semantic correspondences are less easy to identify. This category is referred to as the proper auxiliary verbs because its members can syntactically only feature as auxiliaries.

⇒A third level where formal and semantic correspondences are almost impossible to find. This category is referred to as the deficient verb as its members have lost their status as words, and can now only act as morphemes. They are thus syntactically different from the other two types of auxiliary verbs.

⇒Another category, referred to as the auxiliary verbs with conjunctive function, would be placed close to the first level. The reason for this is that most of its members exhibit formal as well as semantic correspondences with verbal counterparts. However, this category also includes members which could be placed on the second level.

Mkhatshwa (1991:100-101) traces the distribution of a selected set of auxiliaries on two continuums, one representing the formal characteristics, and the other the semantic characteristics. This study will present the auxiliary verbs on a continuum which will have the following two poles: At one pole will be the verbs from which the auxiliary verbs have developed, and at the other pole the deficient auxiliary verbs which still show faint traces of connectedness with verbs. Syntactically these auxiliaries have only morpheme status.

This continuum is presented in the following diagram:



Units (independent verbs and auxiliary verbs) that are positioned on this continuum exhibit degrees of formal and lexical independence - thus from independent verb, to deficient verb with morphological status only. The auxiliaries of Tswana will now be discussed according to these two poles.

Compare the following diagram.

INDEPENDENT VERBS	AUXILIARY VERBS	CONTRACTED AUXILIARIES	AUXILIARY FORMS
-ya ???	-ilê-		-a-
???	historic deletion of S/C led to status as def aux	-sale	-sa-
???	-kilê-; -ekilê	-ka- used in neg. structures	-ka-
-tla		-tle; -go tla	-tla
	-ise-		
	-kitla-		
-nna	-nna-	-nê; -no; -na; -ntse; -gonne-	
(-ba in NSO + SSO, but not in TSW.	-bô	-ba-; -bô; -be-; -bilê-; -ebilê-; -gobô-; -gobane-	
	-sena		
	-jafilê		
-aga	-aga	-agilê	
-tlhôla	-tlhôla	-tlhotse	
-akofa	-akofa		
-dika	-lala	-lêtse	
-phakêla	-phakêla	-phakêtse	
-tsoga	-tsoga	-tsogilê	
-fêla	-fêla		
-tloga	-tloga	-go tloga	
-feta	-feta		
-tsamaya	-tsamaya	-go tsamaya	
-nama	-nama	-namilê	
-sala	-sala	-sêtse	
-eta	-eta		
-ata		-atisa	
-boa		-boêla	
-fitlha	-fitlha	-go fitlhêla	
???	ntswa/etswa		
-re	-e re	-ya re; -gore	

From this table it is evident that the majority of auxiliary verbs, contracted auxiliaries, and auxiliary forms are related to an independent verb. The derivation of auxiliary verbs in Tswana is thus in line with the situation that exists in Zulu as well as in other languages as indicated by Hendrikse and Mkhathshwa (1993:115). Another fact that has to be

highlighted here is that in almost all the cases where the verb which acts as source for the auxiliary can be identified, this source (verb) indicates some kind of motion. In the cases where the source cannot be traced synchronically, there is also a significance of motion or spatial dimension traceable on historical grounds. (Refer to Hendrikse & Mkhathswa (1993:115) for a more elaborate discussion.)

It is apparent that there is some affinity between the auxiliary verbs in Tswana and the class of motion and spatially significant verbs. It is hypothesized at this stage that the concrete (verbal) notions of space and motion were metaphorically mapped onto the abstract notions of time presented by auxiliary verbs during the process of grammaticalization.

A large number of auxiliaries involve mapping of the spatial domain (of which motion is conceptually a sub-domain) onto the abstract temporal domain. However, not all auxiliaries follow the same pattern of mapping. The relation between the source and target domain differs from a one-to-one, to a one-to-many relation. This means that one source domain can refer to more than one target in different settings/fields. In this regard Hendrikse and Mkhathswa (1993:115) give the example of colour as a source domain that maps onto several target domains. Compare the following:

Human character traits

green - jealousy

yellow - cowardice

Politics

red - communism

yellow - eastern politics

green - environmentally concerned

Emotions

blue - lonely

yellow - ill

black -revengeful

red - anger

Spiritual

white - pure

black - evil

The colour domain is fairly simplistic to map; nonetheless it involves a rich potential. The potential of a domain such as that of motion and space can thus also be expected to be rich, - involving different values in the different target domains to which it can refer.

4.4 METAPHORICAL MAPPING

Metaphorical mapping in the case of this study is interested in the mapping of features of the verb (which is the source domain) onto features of the auxiliary verb (target domain) which has a more abstract semantic value in order to understand it better. This metaphorical mapping can be used in the understanding of auxiliary verbs indicating tense. Such auxiliary verbs are discussed in chapter 6. (Refer to 6.7.1.) Auxiliary verbs involved in tense formation in Tswana are instrumental in bringing about relative tenses (therefore shifting the reference point to a point which is not coding time). (Refer to chapter 6 for an elaborate discussion on tense forms in Tswana.) There are only two auxiliary verbs involved in the indication of relative tense, they are *-nê-* and *-tlabô*.

Compare the following examples:

(11) **Bana ba nê ba tshameka mô tselêng.**

'The children were playing in the street'.

(12) **Bana ba ne be taboga mô pulêng.**

'The children were running in the rain'.

(13) **Bana ba tlabô ba tshameka mô tselêng.**

'The children will be playing in the street'.

The discussion of tense by Mkhathshwa (1991) is based on the traditional views on tense in the African languages. The modern view of absolute and relative tenses, and the introduction of aspect as an important factor indicated by the complementary verb in auxiliary verbal groups is ignored. (Refer to 6.5.3., 6.6. and 6.8.1.) This study implements the modern views on tense and the role of the auxiliary verbs in the relative tenses in Tswana.

Lakoff (1990:56) indicates that the metaphorical understanding of time can be approached from two sides. These two forms can be described as follows:

⇒the first form takes time as moving, and the observer as standing still as first argument, while

⇒the second form takes the observer as moving through time as first argument in the metaphorical understanding of time.

He reaches the conclusion that:

These differences in the details of the mappings show that one cannot just say blithely that spatial expressions can be used to speak of time, without specifying details, as though there were only one correspondence between time and space.

Lakoff (1990:56) indicates that human understanding of time is metaphorical in terms of motion, entities, and locations in accordance with our biological knowledge, because we have detectors for motion and detectors for objects/locations in our visual system. We have no detectors for time. It thus makes good biological sense that time should be understood in terms of things and motion.

In the light of this provision, and with regards to the mapping of spatial expressions onto the temporal domain, Lakoff gives a detailed illustration of the mapping of spatial notions onto temporal notions in English. His whole illustration is quoted as it is relevant here. He (1990:55) states:

It has often been noted that time in English is conceptualized in terms of space.

The details are rather interesting.

Ontology: Time is understood in terms of things (i.e. entities and locations) and motion.

Background condition: The present time is at the same point as a canonical observer.

Mapping:

Times are things.

The passing of time is motion.

Future times are in front of the observer, past times are behind the observer.

One thing is moving, the other is stationary; the stationary entity is the diectic centre.

Entailment:

Since motion is continuous and one-dimensional, the passage of time is continuous and one-dimensional.

Special case 1:

The observer is fixed; times are entities moving with respect to the observer.

Times are orientated with their fronts in the direction of motion.

Entailments:

If time 1 follows time 2 then time 1 is in the future relative to time 2.

The time passing the observer is the present time.

Time has a velocity relative to the observer.

Special case 2:

Times are fixed locations; the observer is moving with respect to time.

Entailment:

Time has extension, and can be measured.

An extended time like a spatial area, may be conceived as a bound region

From this quotation the following deductions can be made:

⇒ There are two definite views (as has been indicated above) on time: the one is that the observer is standing still and time is passing him from the front, while the other sees the observer as moving forward through time, - i.e. time is standing still.

⇒ There are several spatial notions relative to a given reference point.

⇒ The temporal notion of motion, location, dimension, orientation as to front and back, extension (measurement of extension) etc. are understood in relation to these notions.

As certain auxiliary verbs are instrumental in the formation of relative tenses, it is sensible to investigate the origin of the auxiliary verbs indicating tense in Tswana.

4.5 METAPHORICAL MAPPING AND AUXILIARY VERBS

4.5.1 Spatial domain mapped onto the temporal domain

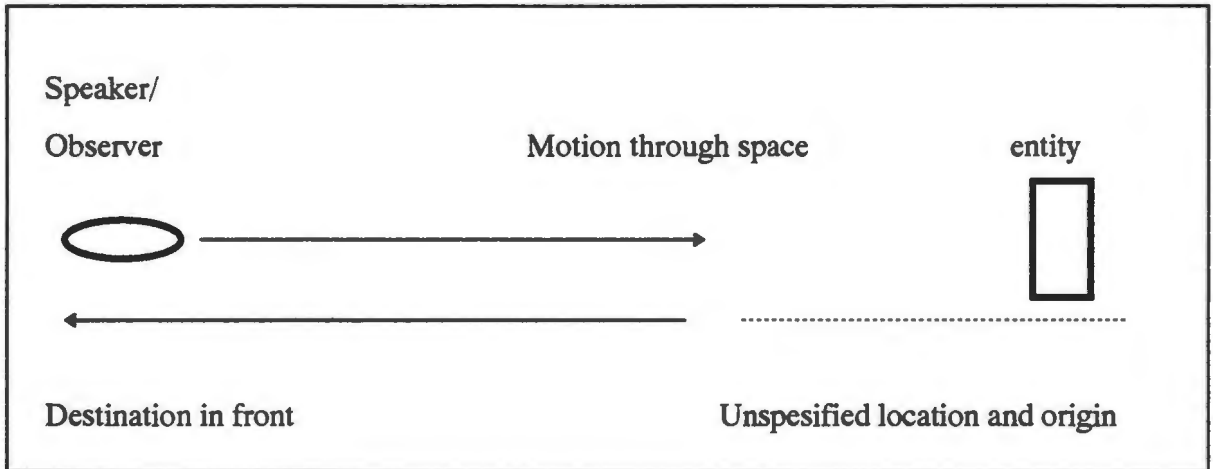
The theoretical background given thusfar can now be used to discuss the auxiliary verbs indicating tense in Tswana. They are *-nê*, *-tla*, and *-tlabô*. As these are auxiliary verbs indicating tense, a clear understanding of the researcher's view on tense is imperative. The deficient verb *-tla* is involved in the indication of the absolute future tense, whereas *-nê* is used in the relative tenses to indicate the shift of the reference point to a point before coding time, while *-tlabô* is used to indicate the shift of the reference point to a point after

coding time. (Refer to chapter 6 for a more exhaustive discussion of absolute and relative tense and the role of these auxiliary verbs in that context).

Motion verbs and their influence on auxiliary verbs indicating tense are the focus of this section. The value of these auxiliary verbs in their relation to motion verbs is pertinent at this stage. One of these auxiliary verbs is a motion verb (*-tla*), one is clearly closely related to motion (*-tlabô*), and the other (*-nê-*) is related to the existential verb *-nna*.

4.5.1.1 The auxiliary verb stem *-tla*

The motion verb *-tla* is a typical generic/non-specific verb. The agent of motion, means of motion, or area through which the motion takes place is not specified. These are typical features of motion verbs. This verb is however very clear on the direction of motion. Thus, what is mapped onto the auxiliary is the significance of motion as well as the direction of motion. Diagrammatically the verbal significance of *-tla* can be presented in the following diagram:

Verb -tla.

In the diagram above an entity is moving through space from a location which is not specified to the speaker, who is at a specific destination. (The movement of the speaker, in time, is explicated by the arrow at the top which points from left to right.) The entity is thus approaching the speaker from the front. This is explicated in examples 14 and 15.

(14) Bana ba a tla.

'The children are coming'.

(15) Tlaa!

'Come!'

In instances where the third person is used, reference is made to an observer. Refer to example 16 below:

(16) Tla mo toropong ka ura ya boraro, ke tla go fitlhêla kwa dibeseng.

'Come to town at three o'clock, I shall meet you at the bus-stop.'

There are, however, special cases where the meaning of *-tla* is not that simple. In (18) the simple interpretation is given, whereas in (17) the projected image is given:

(17) Ke a tla.

'I am coming'.

(18) Ba a tla.

'They are coming'.

In (17) the speaker projects himself onto the locality into which he intends to move. He makes the statement from that perspective, whereas in (18) the subject *ba-* is approaching the speaker.

If *-tla* is considered an auxiliary verb where the motional features of the independent verb stem *-tla* are metaphorically mapped onto the temporal notions indicated by the auxiliary verb, then the following mappings, as indicated by Lakoff, can be pointed out in this instance:

- ⇒ The passing of time is motion.
- ⇒ Future times are in front of the observer.
- ⇒ The observer is moving, the point in time when the action will be carried out is stationary. The point from which temporal interpretations is made is the deictic centre, and it is also stationary.
- ⇒ The observer is fixed; times are entities moving in relation to the observer.

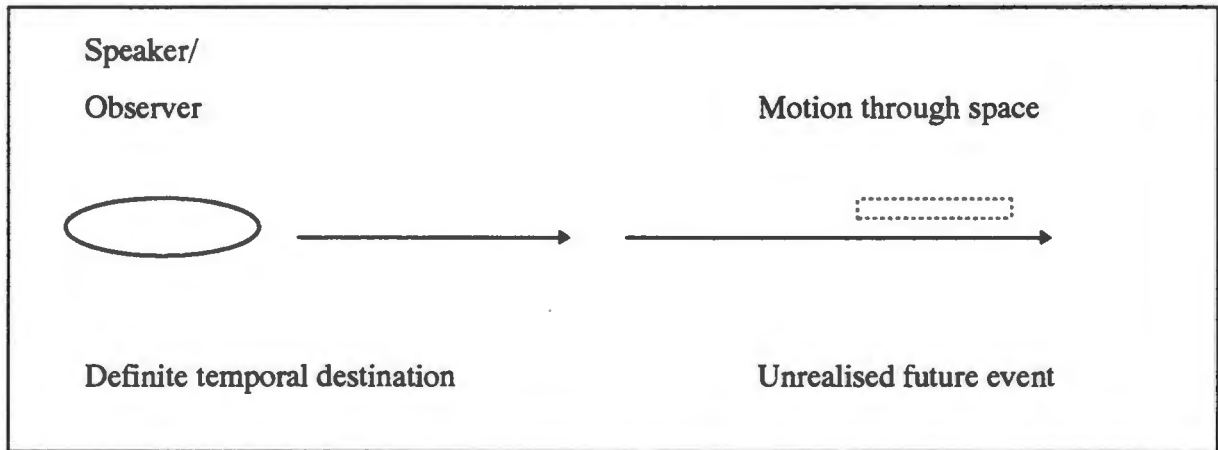
In the special case mentioned above the following mapping indicated by Lakoff (1990:55) is present:

- ⇒ Times are fixed locations; the observer is moving with respect to time.

The significance of the motion verb *-tla* i.e. the passing of an entity through space towards a definite destination (the speaker/observer). This movement through space is metaphorically mapped onto a motion through time towards a definite temporal destination. At this time the event will take place at the location of the speaker/observer, or the subject will perform the action expressed by the independent verb.

In the case of the auxiliary verb *-tla* the speaker is moving through time in the direction of the (future) event, - approaching it. This motion towards the event, which is expressed by the verb stem *-tla* is mapped onto the specific temporal destination that is indicated by the auxiliary verb *-tla*. The following diagram depicts this:

Auxiliary verb *-tla*



4.5.1.2 The auxiliary verb stem *-tlabô*

In the case of the auxiliary verb stem *-tlabô* the same mapping as mentioned in the case of *-tla* takes place. However, the semantic value of *-bô*, which is diachronically derived from the copulative verb stem *-ba*, indicates a process which is underway. It is the contention of the researcher that *-bô*, when used with *-tla-*, indicates a specific time in the future. The following reasons can be given for this contention:

⇒ The auxiliary verbal stem *-tlabô* cannot be used in a sentence without the sentence being in the vicinity of other sentences which supply the contextual information that is needed.

Compare the following examples:

(19a) *Fa lo boa kwa tôrôpông dijô di tlabô di budule.*

‘When you return from town the food will be ready’.

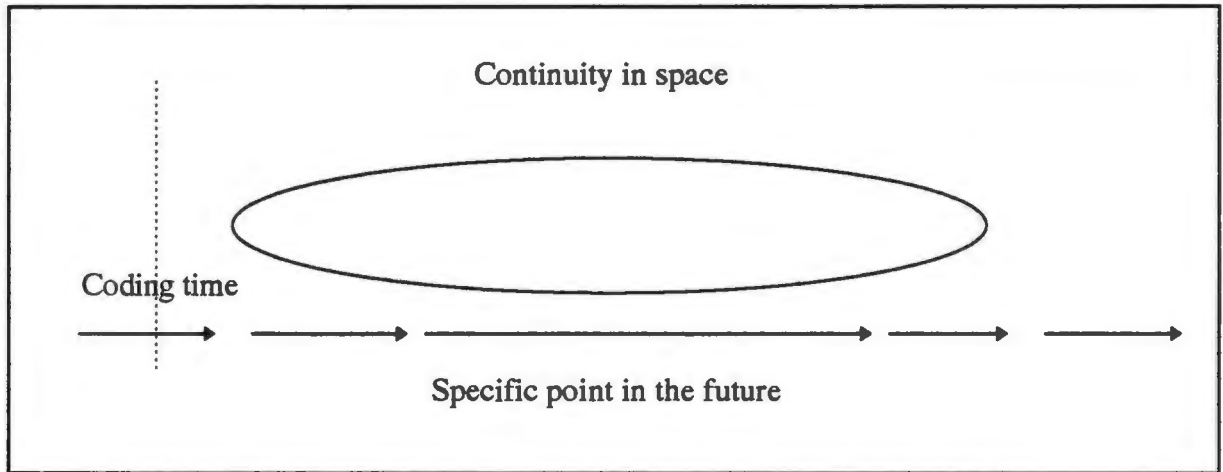
(20) *Fa bana ba tswa kwa sekôlông mmaabô o tlabô a tlhatswitse diaparô tsa bônê.*

‘When the children return from school their mother will have washed their clothes’.

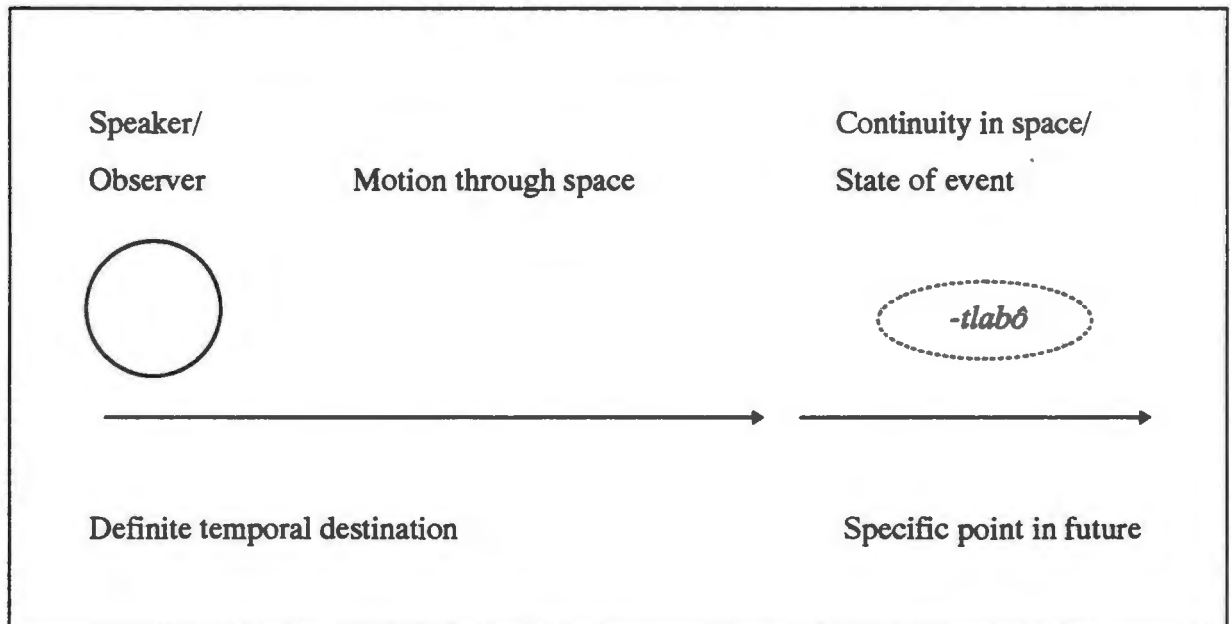
Both the semantic nuances indicated (that of indicating a state, and that of indicating a specific point in time) are added to the future temporal destination, thus indicating that the event/action will be in the state of happening or in the state of having happened at

that specific time in the future specified by the co-structure. In cases where the independent verb in the auxiliary verbal group indicates **imperfectivity**, the situation can be presented in the following diagrams:

Auxiliary verb *-tlabô*



Auxiliary verb *-tlabô*



The event is thus situated at that specific time in the future, and at that time it is in the process of taking place. In this regard Hendrikse & Mkhathwa (1991:118) are mixing up the terms tense and aspect. The duration (perfectivity or imperfectivity) of the process is not a tense-related issue, it is a purely aspectual distinction. (refer to 6.5.)

The term 'continuous tense' (Hendrikse & Mkhathshwa (1991:118)) is thus a term dating back to the traditional approach to tense in the African languages.

Compare the following examples:

(21) *Bana ba tlabô ba tshameka mô tselêng.*

'The children will be playing in the road'.

(22) *Baagi ba tlabô ba aga kerêke.*

'The builders will be building a church'.

It is apparent in these instances that the action will be in a state of going on at a specific time in the future. The significance of *-bô* when used with *-tla* is thus to indicate a specific point in future time. Regarding the mapping of motional features, it can be stated that *-bô* in contrast to *-tla* does not indicate motion through space but rather the occupation of a certain space. This might be attributed to the fact that the auxiliary verb stem *-bô* originated from the copulative verb stem *-ba*, but it does not feature as a copulative verb any longer. In combination with *-tla* it indicates the occupation of a certain space in time in the future.

Apart from the examples given above the independent verb in the auxiliary verbal group can also indicate that the event/action was completed at that point in time in the future. Thereby indicating perfective aspect. Note examples 23 and 24 below:

(23) *Bana ba tlabô ba tshamekilê mô tselêng.*

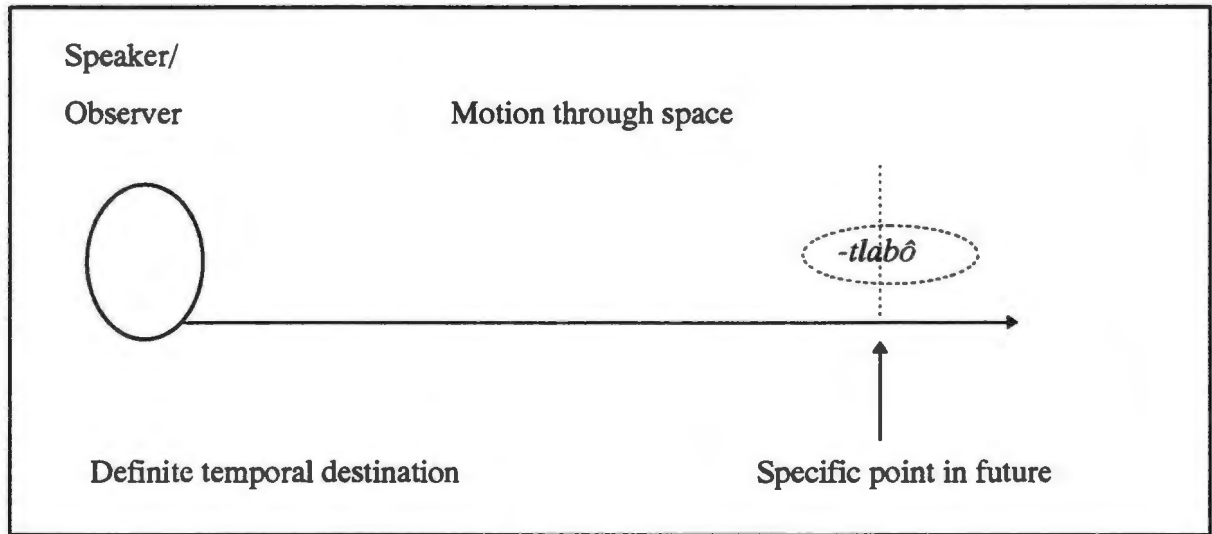
'The children will have played in the road'.

(24) *Baagi ba tlabô ba agilê kerêke.*

'The builders will have built a church'.

It is evident from the above examples that the event/action will be completed at the time in the future marked by *-tlabô*. Diagrammatically this can be presented as follows:

Auxiliary verb *-tlabô*



4.5.1.3 The auxiliary verb stem *-nê*

The auxiliary verb stem *-nê* correlates with *-tlabô* in the sense that it also indicates that the action/event indicated in the verb happened at some point in time. While *-tlabô* indicates a point in the future *-nê* indicates a point in the past. The following examples of *-nê*- illustrate the semantic value that it includes into the auxiliary verbal group:

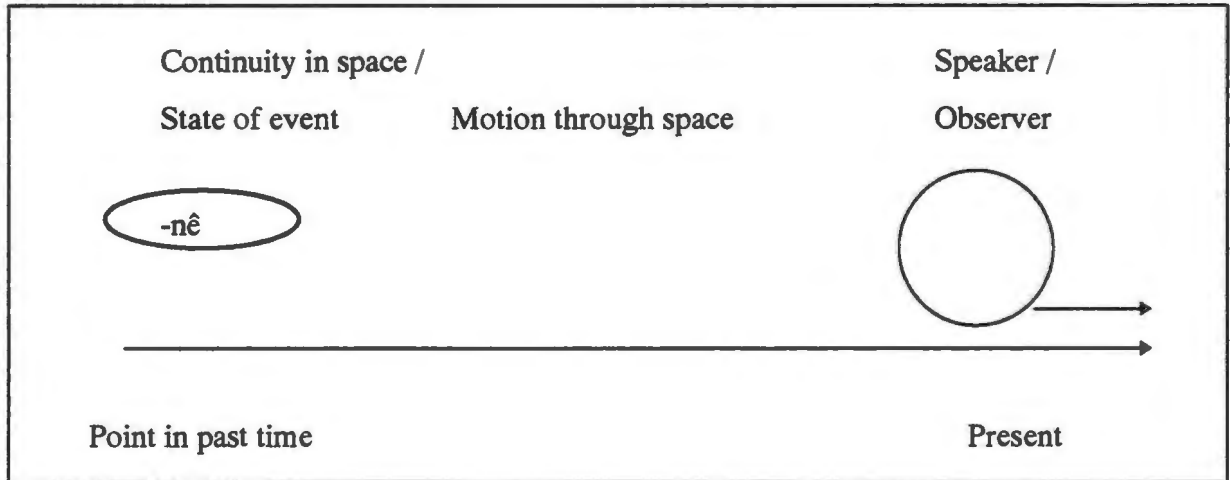
(25) **Bana ba nê ba tshameka mô tselêng.**

'The children were playing in the road'.

(26) **Basadi ba nê ba apaya nama.**

'The women were cooking meat'.

In spatial terms this position would be behind the speaker/observer as it is in past time. Should the independent verb indicate imperfectivity, then the event/action will be in a state of continuing. Diagrammatically this can be presented as follows:

Auxiliary verb -nê

As in the case of *-tlabô* there are also instances where the verb can be used with perfective aspect, thus indicating that the action or event was completed at a specific time in the past. This is proof of the fact that tense is indicated by the auxiliary verb; however, perfectiveness and imperfectiveness is presented by the independent verb. (Also refer to 6.5.) Note examples 27 and 28 below:

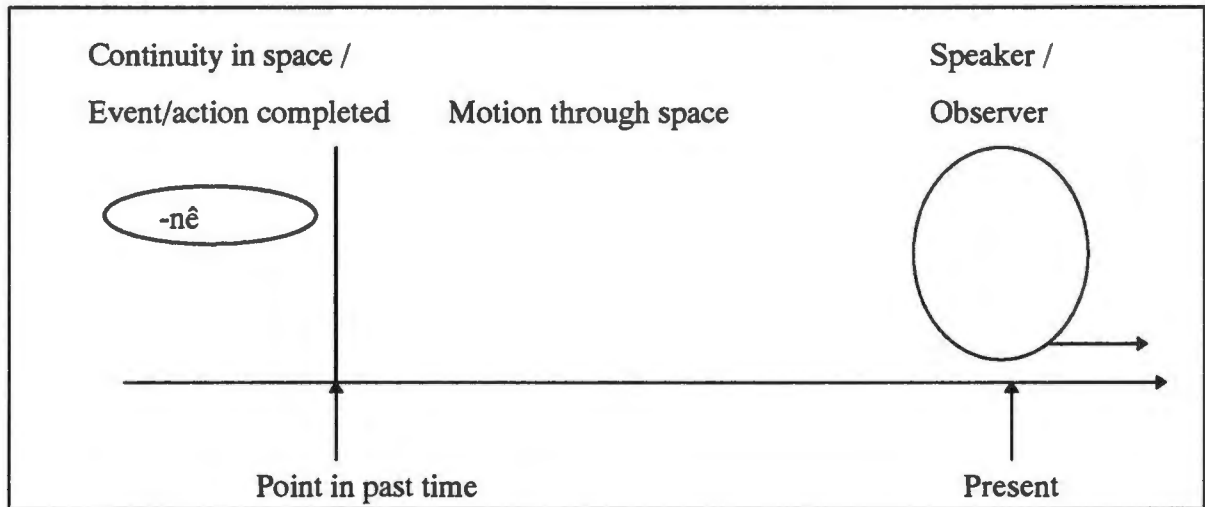
(27) Bana ba nê ba tshamekilê mô tselêng.

'The children had played in the road'.

(28) Basadi ba nê ba apeilê nama.

'The women had cooked meat'.

Diagrammatically this can be presented as follows:



In conclusion the following can be said of the spatial domain mapped onto the temporal domain:

- ⇒ Metaphorical mapping of movement in space from the verbal domain onto the auxiliary verbal domain of time in Tswana is very clear in the case of the deficient auxiliary verb *-tla*. However, in the case of *-tlabô*, and *-nê* it is less explicit. The reason for this may be found in the fact that the process of grammaticalization has semantically progressed further in the cases of *-tlabô* and *-nê*.
- ⇒ It is important to distinguish clearly between tense and aspect because a wrong interpretation in this regard can lead to the misinterpretation of aspect-related features as tense-related features.

4.5.2 Spatial domain mapped onto the aspectual domain

In the case of tense-related auxiliaries as discussed above, the line indicating time is presented as a one-dimensional line. This is done because dimensionality plays a minor role in tense auxiliaries. In the case of aspectual auxiliaries this situation changes as the focus in this instance is on the multi-dimensionality of events in time the presentation of this multi-dimensionality will therefore have to be addressed differently.

In this regard Hendrikse & Mkhathwa (1991:118) state the following:

Where the emphasis in spatial mapping underlying tense auxiliaries is on

SPACE → MOTION or SPACE → CONTINUOUS EXISTENCE, the spatial mapping involved in aspectual auxiliaries is based on a construal of SPACE as having SHAPE and DIMENSION which are then mapped onto event structures.

Regarding the metaphorical understanding of event structure Lakoff (1990:57) states the following:

. . . various aspects of event structure, including notions like states, changes, processes, actions, causes, purposes, and means, are understood metaphorically in terms of space, motion and force.

He then indicates the most common mapping that he found:

The general mapping we have found goes as follows:

States are bounded regions in space.

Changes are movements into or out of bounded regions.

Processes are movements.

Actions are self-propelled movements.

Causes are forces.

Purposes are destinations.

Means are paths to destinations.

Maintenance of state is maintenance of direction

Causing a change of state is forcing a change of direction

If it is kept in mind that aspect is seen as the internal temporal constituency of an action/event (manner of duration) then these event structures are relevant to the discussion of aspectual auxiliaries in Tswana.

In this regard Hendrikse & Mkhathshwa (1991:118-119) indicate that there are many more auxiliaries indicating aspect than there are indicating tense in Zulu. They, however, do not state what an auxiliary verb indicating tense or aspect is, neither do they indicate/name the whole group of aspectual auxiliary verbs. It is therefore difficult to conceptualize the relation referred to, or the relation between these two categories and the category of auxiliary verbs as a whole.

In this study aspect is viewed as the manner of duration of the process. (For a further elaboration on aspect refer also to 5.2.4., and 6.5.). In accordance with this definition, there are only two auxiliary verbs in Tswana which are truly aspectual in meaning. They are the deficient auxiliary verb *-sa* which is also referred to as the progressive aspect, and the improper auxiliary verb *-ntse* (the perfect form of *-nna-*).

In the following discussion, the difference in the mapping of spatial notions in the case of temporal auxiliaries as opposed to that of aspectual auxiliaries will be pointed out. As there are only two aspectual auxiliaries identified for Tswana they will both be presented.

4.5.2.1 The auxiliary verbal stem *-sa-*

It is probable that the auxiliary verbal stem *-sa* derives from the verbal stem *-sala* which means to stay behind or to remain. The staying behind implies a place where the subject is/was. This staying behind at a location is then mapped onto the aspectual domain and it implies the persistence/maintenance of a course of action. Regarding the relation between the action and the location Hendrikse and Mkhathshwa (1991:119) state that:

Thus, though X may be expected to have done something else, or to allow somebody else to do something, he persists with his current action. The current action could be viewed as a locality at which the performer of the action is remaining.

Compare the following examples:

(29) **Ke sa kwala.**

'I am still writing'.

(30) **Ba sa rêka nama.**

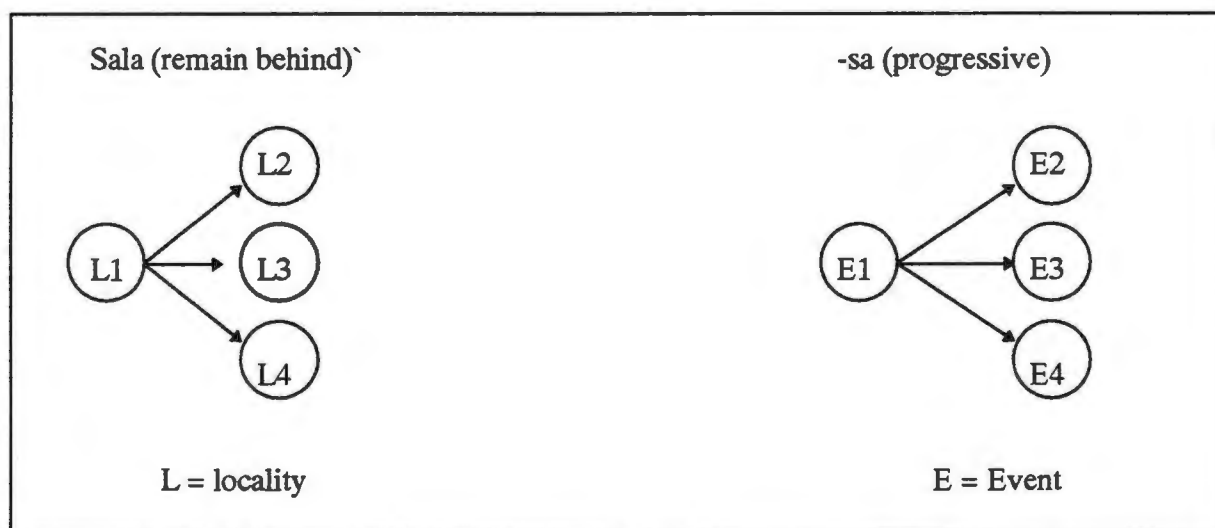
'They are still buying meat'.

(31) **Re sa rua dikgômo.**

'We are still farming with cattle'.

This mapping is explicated in the following diagram.

Deficient auxiliary verb *-sa-*



L2, 3 and 4 refer to possible alternative locations, while E2, E3, and E4 refer to possible alternative events.

4.5.2.2 The auxiliary verbal stem *-nna*

The verbal stem *-nna* is normally used with the locative, and then it has the semantic value of sit/remain/live at. It expresses the cessation of movement away or towards a certain locality, and the remaining at a certain point in a certain position (seated). The

action of being seated implies a permanent bodily position. Compare the following examples:

(32) *Nna mô setulong o je dijô tsa gago.*

'Sit on the chair and eat your food'.

(33) *Nna fa, ke ya go rêka nama fêla ka pela.*

'Stay here, I am just going to buy meat quickly'.

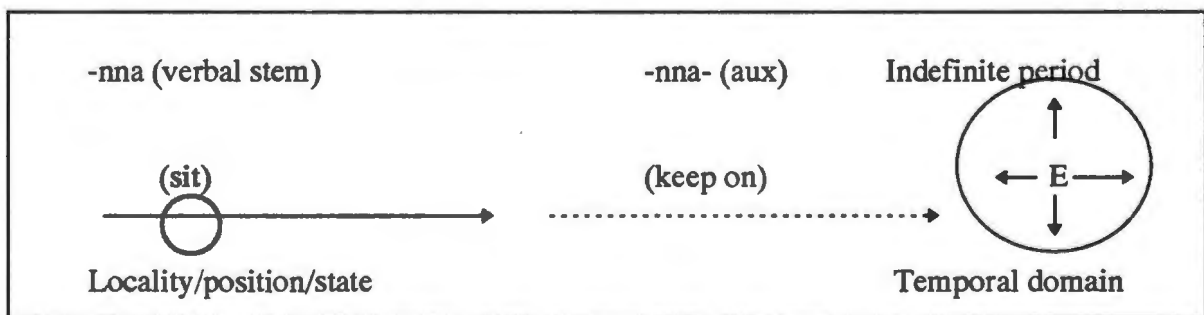
-nna has valence as verb and as auxiliary verb (note that it is classified as an improper auxiliary verb). As auxiliary verb it has the semantic value of 'keep on doing.' It is also often used in its perfective form *-ntse* in which case it has the semantic value of 'been doing for/all the time'. In the mapping the significance of staying in one position/locality (spatially) is mapped onto the aspectual domain by means of the auxiliary verb. The auxiliary verbal stem *-nna* (*-ntse*) expresses a stative meaning with the perfective form of *-nna-* which continues over a period of time. Thus, 'no change in physical space' (locality) is mapped as 'no change in the temporal continuity of the event/action.' Note the following example:

(34) *Re tla nna re thusa batho.*

'We shall keep on helping people'.

Diagrammatically the difference in the mapping between the verbal stem *-nna*, and the auxiliary verbal stem *-nna* can be presented as follows:

Auxiliary verbal stem *-nna*



In the case of the verbal stem *-nna* the spatial locality is definite and easy to understand, whereas in the case of the auxiliary verb the action or event is continuing over a

prolonged period, presented by the dotted line. The E refers to the event and the arrows indicate the temporal 'space' that the event covers.

4.5.3 Selected examples of metaphorical mapping in other auxiliaries

The following are examples where the mapping of spatial features from the verb have led to the auxiliary. This discussion will not include all auxiliaries, but only those where the mapping is the most prominent.

4.5.3.1 The auxiliary verb stem *-feta*

This auxiliary verbal stem is improper, and like *-nna* above, has the ability to feature as verb and as auxiliary verb. As verb it has the semantic value of 'pass, go past, surpass'. It expresses the passing/overtaking of something that is ahead, or the surpassing of a certain attribute, be it a value, measure, quantity or whatever the case may be. As auxiliary verbal stem *-feta* has the semantic value of 'further, further on, just now, in the meanwhile, in a while, then, etc. depending on the sentence (mood) in which it is used. A certain state is viewed as a temporal position which has to be passed. This implies that time is used to pass this position and the action that is referred to in the verb can either take place during the process of passing, or after it. Compare the following examples:

(35) *Morutabana a feta a mmetsa, ka a sa fêtsa tirô ya gagwê.*

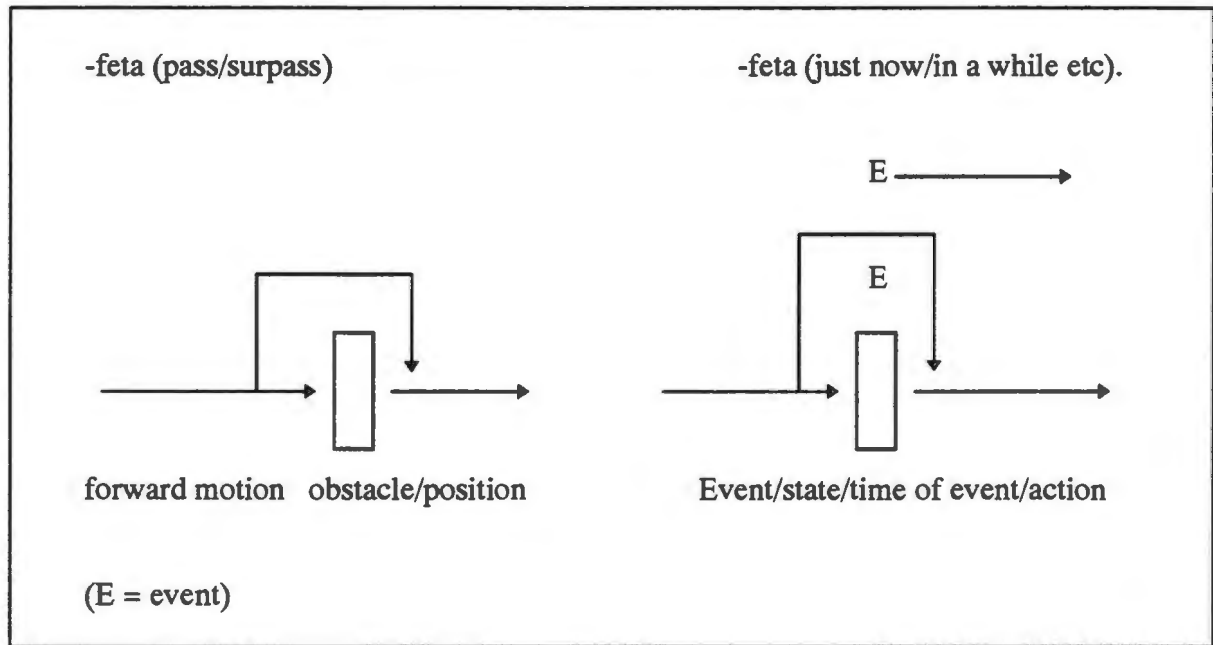
'The teacher then hit him, as his work was not finished'.

(36) *Mokgeetsi a feta a bula heke gore a tle a fete.*

'The driver then opened the gate so that he could pass'.

Diagrammatically the mapping of the spatial notions in the verbal stem onto the temporal notions in the auxiliary verbal stem can be presented in the following diagram:

The auxiliary verb *-feta*



Thus the event referred to in the independent verb (*mmetsa*; *bula*) of the auxiliary verbal group takes place in the process of going past the position in time represented by the rectangle or just after that.

4.5.3.2 The auxiliary verb stem *-tsamaya*

The verbal stem *-tsamaya* has the semantic value of “continuous movement of a body”. In this movement the body moves away from some position, place or person (the speaker). There is no specific location involved in this movement. The semantic value of *-tsamaya* can be seen as the opposite of *-nna* which denotes to ‘stay in a certain position at a certain location’. Compare the following examples of *-tsamaya* used as independent verb:

(37) *Bana ba tsamaya mô tselêng.*

‘The children are walking in the road’.

(38) *Tsamaya o ye go tsaya diaparô tsa gago.*

‘Go and fetch your clothes’.

The auxiliary verbal stem *-tsamaya* has the semantic value of ‘keeping on, continuing, or until’ (in the infinitive mood). Thus the continuous movement in space is mapped onto the temporal domain of the auxiliary verb, giving it the semantic value of going on in time without being hindered. Compare the following examples:

(39) *Mosimane o tsamaya a lwa le bana ba bangwe.*

‘The boy keeps on fighting with the other children’.

(40) *Monna o tsamaya a rumola batho mô motseng.*

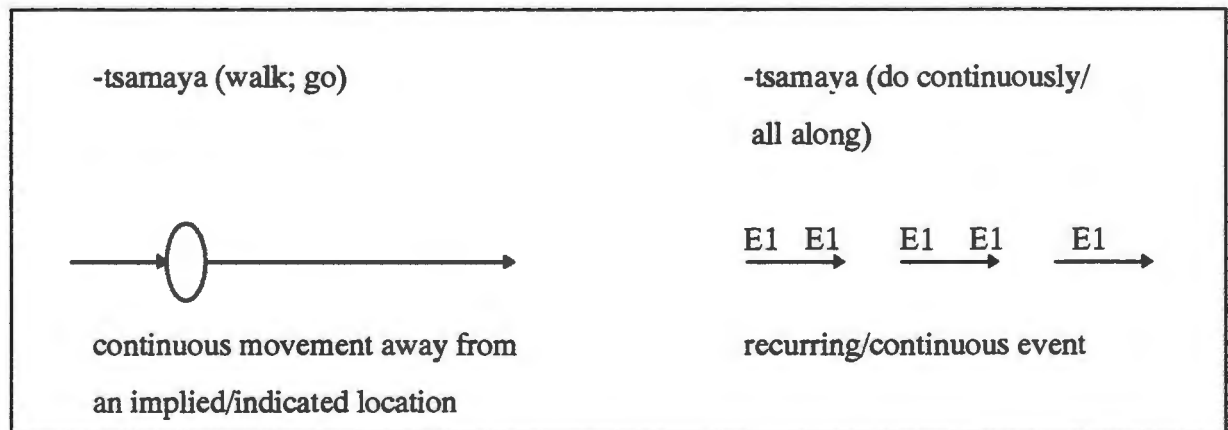
‘The man always/keeps on quarrelling with the people in the village’.

(41) *O tsamaye o itshwarelêtse ka lefoko la Modimo.*

‘You must continue to hold on to the word of the Lord’.

Diagrammatically this mapping can be presented as follows:

Auxiliary verb *-tsamaya*



4.5.3.4 The auxiliary verb stem *-boa*

The verb stem *-boa* has the semantic value of ‘return’ or ‘come back’. The movement that took place in the first place is thus now repeated in the opposite direction - back to its origin. There was thus a movement away, and now there is a movement back. This movement back to its origin is now mapped onto the temporal domain of the auxiliary

verb, and it therefore has the semantic value of ‘repetition’, ‘or do again’. Note the following examples:

Used as verb:

(42) *Bana ba boa kwa sekôlong.*

‘The children are returning from school!’

(43) *Mosadi o ne a ya kwa toropong, mme jaanong o a boa.*

‘The lady went to town, but now she is returning.’

Used as auxiliary verb:

(44) *Gompieno morutabana o nê a boa a omana bana gapê.*

‘Today the teacher scolded the children again’.

(45) *Morutabana a boa a re thusa gapê.*

‘The teacher then helped us again’.

(46) *Ke tla boa ke go bôna gapê ka mosô.*

‘I will see you again tomorrow’.

Diagrammatically this mapping can be presented as follows:

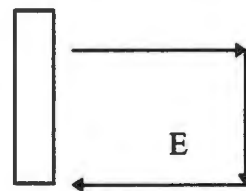
Auxiliary verb stem *-boa*

-boa (return)



Motion retraced though space

-boa- (repeat/do again)



Motion retraced
through time

4.5.3.5 The auxiliary verbal stem *-tloga*

The verbal stem *-tloga* has the semantic value of ‘go away/move away’. The same mapping as in the case of *-tla* is present here, however, the reversive intransitive suffix *-og-* turns the movement around so that it is now in a direction away from the speaker. It therefore indicates that the subject occupied a specific location and it now has to move away from that position. In other words it was in a static position and now has to move from that position. This spatial movement away from the position which is taken as being close to the speaker or observer is mapped onto the temporal domain of the auxiliary verb. Therefore it will be just to the front of the speaker, expressing the semantic value of ‘in a short while/just now’.

In examples 47 and 48 below *-tloga* is used as a verb, while in 49 and 50 it is used as an auxiliary verb:

(47) **Tloga, o nntse mô setulong sa me.**

‘Move away, you are sitting on my chair’.

(48) **Re tla tloga mô ka mosô.**

‘We will leave here tomorrow’.

(49) **Tlhokomêla, ntšwa eo e tloga e go loma.**

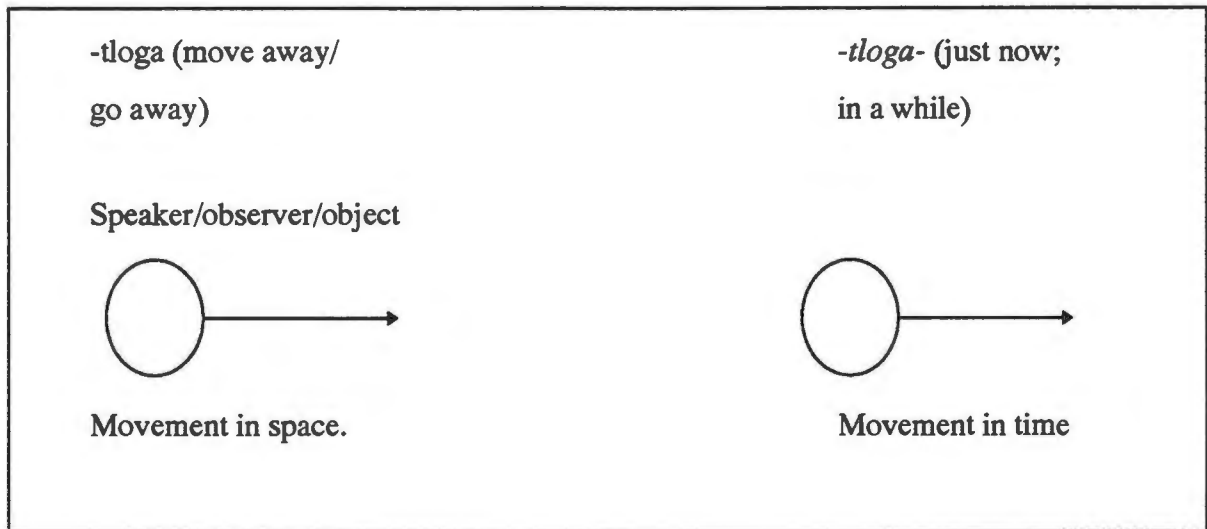
‘Be carefull, that dog might just now bite you’.

(50) **Tlogêla go tshameka ka mollo, o tloga o fisa ntlo ya rona.**

‘Stop playing with the matches/fire you might just now burn down our house’.

Diagrammatically, the movement in time which is mapped onto the movement in space, from the verbal stem to the auxiliary verbal stem can be presented as follows:

Auxiliary verbal stem *-tloga*



4.6 CONCLUSION

Four aims were stated at the start of this chapter (refer to 4.1.1.). These aims will now be referred to, without, however, simply restating them the researcher will now attempt to allude to each of these aims.

⇒ Grammaticalization is seen as a framework process within which the development from verb to auxiliary verb takes place. All auxiliary verbs of which the origin could be traced have a verbal or copulative origin. In general the following observations can be made with specific reference to the development of auxiliary verbs in Tswana:

- Grammaticalization is unidirectional - Independent verbs develop into auxiliary verbs and deficient verbs. (i.e. lexical items become morphosyntactic items). The opposite direction, that is towards lexicalization where bound forms are turned into lexical items, is not applicable in the formation of auxiliary verbs. (Givon (1971) and Bybee (1985), among others, have mapped out the directions of semantic shifts in grammaticalization).
- Grammaticalization is a diachronic process. - Verbs lose some of their features in the process of becoming auxiliaries.

- Grammaticalization leads to greater morphological dependence. Auxiliaries exhibit more dependence morphologically and syntactically than do independent verbs.
- Grammaticalization is a kind of impoverishment on the one hand, and a kind of enrichment on the other hand.

⇒ This study uses metaphorical mapping as a method to understand/interpret the semantic values that are typically expressed by auxiliary verbs. Auxiliary verbs are therefore understood metaphorically. The origin of the majority of auxiliary verbs is proved to be verbal. It is therefore indicated that the physical features expressed by independent verbs are mapped onto the 'abstract' values of auxiliary verbs. Metaphorical mapping is one way of describing the process of grammaticalization. However, the change occurs on all four linguistic levels of which the semantic level is the most complicated. There may therefore be other ways of explaining this phenomena.

⇒ Regarding the choice of verbs from which auxiliary verbs are derived, it is clear that only verbs which are very basic in the motional features that they indicate are involved. As a reason for this Hendrikse and Mkhathshwa (1993:120) state the following:

. . . only the most generic verbs form the derivational base of auxiliaries, . . . Motion verbs which involve in their semantic content all sorts of semantic details and specifics about the nature of motion, the implied agent of motion, the medium through which motion takes place, etc., will simply not be suitable for the mapping, since it would be difficult to single out the significances relevant to the mapping.

This is also the case with the verbs involved as source for auxiliaries in Tswana.

⇒ With regard to the extent to which the metaphorical and semantic values of such verbs change in the process of rank shifting or grammaticalization, a single answer cannot be given. In the auxiliary verbs (of which the source verb can be identified) these features are to be put on a continuum. In the process of plotting out the table for this continuum it became clear that the classification done in chapter 3 exhibits the outline of this continuum. The categories of improper auxiliary verbs, proper auxiliary verbs, deficient auxiliary verbs and auxiliary verbs with conjunctive function display signs of the continuum from source to auxiliary verb. The classification at this point in the table

(3.8.1) is based on the differences on the syntactic level. This table also aids in the plotting of auxiliary verbs on a continuum as auxiliary verbs are already categorized according to their morphological, syntactical and semantic features here. Auxiliaries are thus discussed here in the four groups indicated in the tabel in 3.8.1. To discuss the position of each individual auxiliary on this continuum is a task that exceeds the scope of this study. The validity of such an investigation is also questionable as these positions are in a constant process of change due to the grammaticalization of the units involved.

Since the origin and grammatical status of the Tswana auxiliary verbs have now been determined to a certain extent, the specific valentional and semantic features of individual auxiliary verbs can be attended to.

CHAPTER 5

THE ESSENTIAL GRAMMATICAL CATEGORIES OF THE VERB IN TSWANA, AND THEIR HIERARCHY

5.1 INTRODUCTION

In chapter three the *lexical* categories of the verb in Tswana were determined. It was established that the auxiliary verb, which is the focus of this study, is one of two subcategories of the verb. Turning to the *grammatical* categories of the verb, it is the contention of the researcher that the auxiliary verb plays an equally important role in this regard.

5.1.1 Aims

The aims of this chapter are to:

- ⇒ establish the essential grammatical categories of the verb in Tswana, and then determine their hierarchical arrangement.
- ⇒ investigate the mutual dependency of the verbal categories.
- ⇒ indicate the subcategories of the major categories.
- ⇒ determine the realisation of these categories in the auxiliary verb, and
- ⇒ determine the role of the auxiliary verb in the realisation of these categories.

For a sensible discussion of the mutual dependency of the categories and subcategories mentioned above, a brief overview of the individual categories is imperative. In this review the researcher will be able to give his views of the different categories. This will be done in order to establish a base to work from. More comprehensive discussions of the individual categories mood, tense (time), actuality and aspect are to be found in Posthumus (1988:139 et seq.), (1990:22 et seq.), (1991:91 et seq.), and Louwrens1994(b):116-127). Before this topic is introduced it has to be mentioned here

that the grammatical categories of the verb are intertwined. (Posthumus (1996) refers to them as the *Cobweb of verbal categories*) in the sense that if alterations are made to one of these categories it has an influence on the others. The first step would be to identify the so-called essential verbal categories.

5.2 THE ESSENTIAL VERBAL CATEGORIES

In an attempt to define the essential categories of the verb, Posthumus (1993:95) states the following:

The essential verb categories are those characteristics of the verb which are necessarily inherently present in every verb regardless of the simplicity or complexity of the morphological structure of such a verb. These characteristics which govern the semantic-syntactic usage of the verb are morphologically and phonologically marked within the verb form.

This definition is accepted as a worthy definition of the essential verbal categories in Tswana. It will be employed as a working definition and alterations may be made as the discussion progresses. On the basis of this definition Posthumus (1993:95) identifies mood, tense, time and actuality as the essential categories of the verb in Zulu, as they comply with the criteria laid down. There is, however, one category which shows a discrepancy. Time is not necessarily marked within the verb form as it is superimposed on tense.

For this reason and because of the fact that time is also indicated by descriptives which are not part of the verb, this study will refrain from referring to time as an *essential* category of the verb. It is acknowledged, however, that the intertwinedness of tense and time may pose a problem. For Tswana, the categories of mood, tense, aspect and actuality are identified as the essential categories of the verb. Aspect is included as one of the essential verbal categories, while time is left out. (Aspect, like time, does not comply with the criteria in the definition, but the reasons for its inclusion will be attended to below (refer to 5.2.4.).

All of these categories are marked in the verb as indicated in the definition. The morphological marking of the different categories in the verb is as follows:

⇒Mood and tense are marked by the subject agreement morpheme and the categorial verbal ending.

⇒Aspect is marked by the progressive morpheme *-sa-*, the imperfective *-a-*, as well as the perfective 'suffix' *-ilê*.

⇒Actuality is marked by the presence or absence of negative morphemes.

There is a relation between the marking of these categories and the categories themselves. Posthumus (1993:95) states the following on the relation between these morphemes and the categories that they mark in Zulu:

There is no one-to-one relation between these categories and the morphemes which mark them. The relation between the categories and the morphemes marking them in Tswana is also not a one-to-one relation.

Before the identification of these categories for Tswana is motivated and the categories themselves are arranged hierarchically, a short description of each of these categories of the verb will be given.

5.2.1 MOOD

There are a variety of opinions on this category of the verb. Even the authoritative sources dealing with moods do not agree on the number of moods to be distinguished or their names, let alone the contents of the individual moods. A definition which is generally quoted, is that of Doke (1935:147), which defines mood as: A special form assumed by the verb in order to mark some manner (*modus*) in which that connection between subject and predicate which every verb implies is viewed by the speaker.

Posthumus (1993:95) asserts that this definition is vague and that it has led to the divergence in the number and types of moods distinguished. He also indicates that it cannot serve as an appropriate definition of mood in the African languages. He proposes the following definition of mood which will be used as a working definition for this study:

Mood is the most comprehensive verb category. Mood is that characteristic morphologically and phonologically marked form of the verb which portrays the semantic-syntactic usage of such a verb. The semantic-syntactic usage, is the usage of the verb in a particular type of independent or dependent word group or sentence. The moods which are distinguished for Tswana are the indicative, consecutive, imperative, habitual, participial, subjunctive, infinitive and the relative. These moods are mutually exclusive. Posthumus draws a distinction between dependent and independent moods, and this distinction relies on the syntactic and discourse features of the verb. The distinction proposed here relies on syntactic features only, in other words, whether the verb in the specific mood can feature independently or not. In the example:

(1) *Maabane re nê re ilê kwa morakêng, ra tlhaba dikgômo ka setlhare sa dikgofa.*

'Yesterday we went to the cattlepost and vaccinated the cattle against ticks'.

ra tlhaba is in the consecutive mood in this case and it is seen as independent as it can feature on its own as a verb syntactically. It is dependent contextually, however. There are different views on the status of the consecutive mood in the Bantu Languages (Refer to Louwrens (1994(b); (1995), Posthumus (1991), Van Wyk (1986) for a different view on the consecutive.) This study, however (on the basis of the definition given above), refers to the consecutive as an independent mood which can describe events in the past and future. (Refer to 6.8.1.4. for a more elaborate discussion of the consecutive mood, and tense.) Another mood that has recently been the topic of much discussions is the habitual mood. Louwrens (1995:168) states the following:

. . . whereas the consecutive is a perfective aspect of the indicative which denotes completed sequences of events, the habitual constitutes an imperfective aspect of the indicative which expresses sequential actions which are carried out as a habit.

(Refer to Louwrens (1994(b); (1995) and Mampuru (1991) for a more elaborate discussion of the habitual in the Sotho languages.)

As regard the role of the auxiliary verbs in the indication of mood, it has been stated by various grammarians that certain auxiliary verbs determine the mood of the

complementary verb in an auxiliary verbal group. (Compare for instance Fourie (1988:236 *et.seq.*), and Swanepoel (1975:53-71)).

The moods of Tswana are presented schematically in the following diagram:

5.2.1.1 Diagrammatical presentation of the moods of Tswana

		INDEPENDANT				DEPENDANT					
S Y N T A X			Consti- tutes an independ- ant sentence used as a state- mentor question as comple- ment of conjunc- tives	Consti- tutes an independ- ent sentence used as a com- mand	Consti- tutes an independ- ent sentence . Used to indicate chronolo- gical actoins. Comple- ment of auxiliary verbs	Consti- tutes independ- ent sequen- tial actions and proces- ses per- formed as a habit. Comple- ment of auxiliary verbs	Consti- tutes qualifi- cative clauses.	Descrip- tive: Base form of verb; also as comple- ment of auxiliary verbs.	Descrip- tive: Expres- ses a causal relation, a wish or a simul- tative posterior or atem- poral action; Comple- ment of: (i)horta- tive A- Ako- Anke, (ii)con- junc- tion gore; (iii)aux- iliary verbs eg. -tle, -ke	Descrip- tive: Expres- ses a simul- taneous condi- tion, or coordi- nating action. As comple- ment of conjunc- tiones and auxiliary verbs	
	&	SUB- JECT	TENSE	INDI- CA- TIVE		CON- SECU- TIVE		RELA- TIVE		SITU- ATIVE	
	S E M A N T	AGREE MENT	NON TENSE				HABIT UAL			SUBJU NCTIV E	
	I N C S	NON- SUBJE CT	TENSE								
		AGREE MENT	NON- TENSE		IMPER ATIVE				INFINI TIVE		

5.2.2 TENSE

Lyons (1968:305) asserts the following on the category of tense:

The essential characteristic of the category of tense is that it relates the time of the action, event or state of affairs referred to in the sentence to the time of utterance (the time of utterance being “now”). Tense is therefore a deictic category.

There is a difference in the traditional manner of tense analysis by grammarians in the African languages and the more modern approach to tense analysis as proposed by Posthumus and Louwrens. Traditionally tenses were categorized in a set of simple (monoverbal) tenses, and a set of compound (multi-verbal) tenses on the grounds of the composition of the verb or verbal group.

Today a more scientific approach to the analyses of tense has been adopted. This is clear from the definition of Posthumus (1989:22) in his description of tense:

Tense is morphologically marked in the verb form. The tense oppositions reveal the relation between event time, coding time and reference time.

In contrast to the traditional grouping of tenses into the categories of simple tenses and compound tenses, the new approach views tense as being absolute (expressing the relation between coding time and event time) or relative (expressing the relation between coding time, reference time and event time). (A more detailed description of these categories and the terminology involved appears in chapter six.)

5.2.2.1 Absolute tenses

In the absolute tenses, the time of the process or event which is referred to in the verb is defined in its relation to the moment of speech, which is called coding time by Posthumus (1989). Coding time is the point which is taken as the point from which the temporal interpretation is made. Coding time is the deictic centre, the centre from which the interpretation of time is generally made (in the absolute tenses).

Posthumus (1993:96) uses Lyons's definition of tense and indicates that it accounts for the absolute tense forms of Zulu namely the present, past and remote past tense. He excludes the future tense from his paradigm of tense because of the following reasons:

⇒ Diachronically the -yo- and -zo- forms have developed differently from the other tense forms.

Semantically they indicate a possibility rather than a relation between coding time and event time. This study agrees with Comrie (1976:1-2), Lombard *et al.* (1985:142), and Cole (1975:253) among others and it recognises the future as a tense. The absolute tenses proposed for Tswana are thus:

- i. the present,
- ii. past,
- iii. future, and
- iv. the sequential (past), or narrative (past) tense.

Examples 2, 3, 4 and 5 below are illustrative of the absolute tenses distinguished above.

(2) *Re romêla batsadi ba bana makwalô a tswêlôpele.*

'We are sending progress reports to the childrens parents'.

(3) *Re romêtse batsadi ba bana makwalô a tswêlôpele.*

'We sent progress reports to the childrens parents'.

(4) *Re tla romêla batsadi ba bana makwalô a tswêlôpele.*

'We shall send progress reports to the childrens parents'.

(5) *Malôba re nê ra ya tôrôpông ra rêka dijô, ra boêla gae.*

'The other day we went to town, bought food, and returned home'.

In (2) the event time coincides with coding time, in (3) it occurs shortly before coding time, in (4) it occurs after coding time, and in (5) it occurs before coding time, and there

is a sequence noticeable in the events. These four examples are thus examples of the present, past, future, and sequential or narrative (past) tenses respectively. An important factor that can be seen in the examples above is the morphological markedness of tense in the verb.

Subsequently the relative tenses as a subcategory of tense will be investigated.

5.2.2.2 Relative tenses

In the relative tenses the time of the process or event is not linked to coding time, but to another point. This point is also referred to as reference time. In other words the time from which the temporal semantic interpretation of the utterance is made is not coding time (speech time), but another point. The time at which the action or process referred to in the verb takes place (reference time) is relative to the time that the utterance is made, which is also referred to as coding time. Consider example (6) below:

(6) *Re nê re kwala makwalô fa re utlwa dibese di tsêna.*

'We were writing the letters when we heard the busses entering'.

These two events coincided at a time which is not coding time. Thus, the (semantic) interpretation of the event time portrayed by the verb *re nê re kwala* is done in terms of another reference point (which is not coding time) namely the arriving of the busses.

Relative tenses in Tswana are indicated by using the auxiliary verbal stems *-nê* or *(tla)bô-* (*-be*). In such cases the position of the newly established reference point from where the event has to be interpreted is indicated by these auxiliary verbs. When using the relative tense forms the speaker/writer/sender and hearer/reader/receiver make their temporal semantic interpretations in relation to the newly established reference point, and not from the deictic centre.

This reference point can be shifted from the normal position (which is coding time/the deictic centre) to one of three possible positions, viz.:

⇒ long before coding time,

(7) Dintšwa tsa bô di lapilê fa re gôrôga fa morakêng.

'The dogs were (then) tired when we arrived at the cattlepost'.

⇒ shortly before coding time,

(8) Dintšwa di nê di lapilê fa re gôrôga fa morakêng.

'The dogs were tired when we arrived at the cattlepost'.

⇒ long after coding time

(9) Dintšwa di tlabô di lapilê fa re gôrôga fa morakêng ka mosô.

'The dogs will be tired when we arrive at the cattlepost tomorrow'.

In (7) the reference point was shifted to long before coding time, in (8) to shortly before coding time, and in (9) to long after or simply 'after' coding time.

The role of the auxiliary verb in the indication of tense is thus pertinent in the relative tenses. The Tswana auxiliary verbs *-nê*, and *-bô* indicate the relation between coding time and reference time, while the complement indicates the relation between reference time and event time in the relative tenses.

5.2.3 TIME

Since the auxiliary verb is not (closely) involved with the indication of time, this study will only make brief statements regarding the relation of time to tense.

Tense contributes to the substantiating of time, and therefore the verbal markedness of time and tense is often identical. The major device in the establishing of time is the interrelation between tense forms and time adverbials, which indicates that time interpretation is primarily constituted by factors outside the verb. The role of the tense-related auxiliary verbs lies in the indication of the relation between coding time and reference time. The auxiliary verb is thus only remotely related to the indication of time. On the position of time and its relation to tense Posthumus (1993:97) asserts that:

While tense is the interpretation of the relation between event time, coding time and reference time as reflected by the tense paradigms, time is the logic interpretation of event time in relation to coding time, regardless of the verb form.

As time is superimposed on tense and not marked in the verb this study will not go into any depth on the topic. See Posthumus (1990:22 *et seq.*) for a detailed discussion of time.

5.2.4 ASPECT

The term aspect, like many other grammatical terms, has been introduced into the descriptive framework of the African languages from non-African languages. In this regard Louwrens (1994(b):117) indicates that:

. . . this was done without a clear understanding of what the concept aspect really entails, or with a fair amount of ignorance towards the conceptual content this term is intended to have in those linguistic traditions in which it originated.

As a result of this situation the term aspect has been rarely mentioned, and applied loosely in the African languages in general and in Tswana specifically. Posthumus (1993:189) excludes the category of aspect from his essential subcategories of the verb in Zulu. Louwrens (1994(b)), on the other hand, regards aspect as an essential subcategory of the verb in his article '*Aspect as an essential subcategory of the verb in Northern Sotho*'.

Louwrens (1994(b)), however, does not indicate what an essential subcategory of the verb in his view implies. If the definition that Posthumus gave for an essential subcategory of the verb (refer to 5.2.) is taken as rule, then only the aspectual feature of perfectivity as opposed to non-perfectivity would qualify as essential, since it appears in the verb regardless of the simplicity or complexity of its morphological structure. The other aspectual distinctions viz. the progressive (-*sa*) and the persistive (-*nna*; -*ntse*) would then be excluded as they do not adhere to the criteria in the definition. (Note that both these aspectual distinctions are indicated by auxiliary verbs).

Louwrens (1994(b):120) indicates that the morphological markedness of aspect differs in the languages of the world. There are languages where aspect is clearly marked in the verb

like the Slavonic languages of which Russian is mentioned, and there are also other languages like English (Refer to Comrie (1976:1)) where it is not marked overtly.

On the question of the markedness of aspect in Northern Sotho, Louwrens (1994(b):120) asserts that:

. . . Northern Sotho does not appear to have a rich system of formally marked aspects, the clearest instance being that of the progressive *-sa-*.

Aspect is also not marked overtly in all verbs in Tswana, but it does remain a very important category of the verb. Endemann (1966:57) stresses this fact for Northern Sotho when he states that:

Aspek-onderskeidings is dus van primêre belang vir die taalsisteem van Noord Sotho.

It is therefore the researcher's contention that even though aspect is not marked overtly in **all** verbs it can be identified as an essential category of the verb in Tswana. This would imply that the criterion of formal/morphological markedness is exceeded and the next criterion to use to identify it is that of semantic distinction. This would be in line with the criteria for the identification of word classes proposed by Van Wyk (1966). What the researcher thus indicates is that the category of aspect can also be identified in the verb according to Van Wyk's criteria of morphological similarities and differences, and that of semantic distinction. (Refer to 3.2. for a detailed discussion of Van Wyk's criteria.)

This view can be brought in line with the criterion set for the identification of essential verbal categories (that it is always present in the verb, however, simple it may be, as prescribed by Posthumus in his definition). The reason for this, however, is that aspect is not always marked formally/morphologically in the verb, but it is always marked when aspectual distinctions are indicated. The dichotomy perfective-imperfective is always present in the verb, and the other two aspectual forms - the progressive (*-sa*), and the persistive (*-nna* ; *-ntse*) - are used by choice to indicate the aspects they mark. It can also be mentioned here that aspect is a category that is inherently related to the actions and processes of the verb. This can be deduced from the view that aspect is the "manner of

duration” of the action or process indicated in the verb. Duration is a feature indicated by verbs only.

5.2.5 ACTUALITY

The term actuality indicates the binary opposition positive and negative. This category can be approached from different angles. Compare the following:

⇒Negative meaning could be studied as opposed to verb structures containing the negative morphemes, or

⇒The penetration of negativeness into a co-structure could be the focus.

This study will not go into further detail on actuality as an essential verbal category. To conclude the discussion of the individual essential verbal categories, Posthumus (1993:98) states the following regarding the markedness of the grammatical categories mentioned above:

. . . the categories mood, tense and actuality are marked morphologically by the negative morpheme, the type of subjectival agreement morpheme and the categorial verb ending. The relation between these categories (and their subcategories) and the morphemes which reflect them is not a one-to-one relation.

The hierarchical order of the essential verbal categories will now be attended to. The role of the auxiliary verb in each of these categories will be attended to in more detail in chapters six and seven.

5.2.6 HIERARCHICAL ARRANGEMENT OF THE ESSENTIAL VERB CATEGORIES

The most comprehensive verbal category is mood, and for that reason it occupies the highest position within the hierarchy. Moods in Tswana can be divided into two subcategories, viz.:

⇒tense-distinguishing moods, and

⇒non-tense-distinguishing moods.

Tenses are distinguished within moods and the category of tense therefore has a lower ranking than mood in the hierarchy.

One of the determining factors in establishing time distinctions is tense. Time therefore has a lower ranking than tense.

Aspect follows on tense, as aspectual distinctions are features of the tense forms of the verb. This implies that only verbs which appear in the tense-distinguishing moods can include aspectual distinctions. As for the hierarchical order of time and aspect, it appears that aspectual distinctions are closer to the verb as they feature in the verb whereas time distinctions are indicated by adverbs which are not in the verb. Note example (10) below:

(10) Batshameki ba nê ba lapilê thata maabane.

‘The players were very tired yesterday’.

The stative perfective aspect indicated by the perfective extension in the verb has a higher order than the temporal distinction which is indicated by the adverb (maabane).

As time is indicated by descriptives, the question can be raised as to the role and relation between time and the other verbal categories. If temporal descriptives are seen as an essential verbal category, what about the other descriptives? There are several factors which have an influence on determination of tense which have to be kept in mind. Posthumus (1983: 121-141) discusses the following tense-determining factors for Zulu: the semantic nature of the verb, time, the influence of aspectual distinctions, text and context, and the role of tense forms and temporal adverbials. These factors also influence the determination of tense in Tswana.

Thus, time has an influence on tense. The question of it being an essential verbal category, however, is something different. This study includes time with tense as an essential verbal category for the sake of completeness only. As for its place in the hierarchical order it will be allocated a lower ranking in relation to tense.

Following on aspect is actuality. Posthumus (1993:98) asserts the following on actuality:

The particular structure to be used in negating the verb is dependant on the mood and tense. The particular type of negative morpheme to be used, depends on the mood of the verb while the categorial verb ending depends on the tense of the verb.

In examples (11) and (12) below, the rules put forth by Posthumus appear to be valid as the negative morpheme *-sa-* would be determined by the participial mood, and the categorial ending *-e* by the present tense.

(11) Bana ba nê ba ja.

'The children were eating'.

(12) Bana ba nê ba sa je.

'The children were not eating'.

However, if it is taken into account that the verb *-ja* in this example also indicates the imperfective aspect, then the situation changes. It would then seem as if the negative morpheme *-sa-* also negates the state that the children were in at the stage when the negative statement (12) was made. If the same example is given in the perfective aspect then this becomes more prominent. Compare the following:

(13) Bana ba nê ba jelê.

'The children had eaten'.

The morphologically correct negative for this statement would be:

(14) Bana ba nê ba sa ja.

'The children had not yet eaten'.

However, the discourse negative that will be encountered is:

(15) Bana ba nê ba ise ba je.

'The children had not eaten yet/had not yet eaten'.

This negative (15) will be given more readily if the question is posed as in(16) below:

(16) A bana ba nê ba jelê?

'Had the children eaten?'

In the answer to this question it now appears as if the auxiliary verb *-ise-*, which indicates the negative of the perfective aspect, is determined by the perfective aspect, and the categorial ending by the tense of the verb.

This might sound vague; however, if a verb which morphologically includes an aspectual distinction is used, this state of affairs is not that vague anymore. Compare examples (17), (18), (19) and (20) below:

(17) Bana ba nê ba sa ja.

'The children were still eating'.

(18) Bana ba nê ba sa tlhôle ba ja.

'The children were no longer eating/were not eating any more'.

(19) Basimane ba nê ba sa rêtsa rraabô.

'The boys were still listening to their father'.

(20) Basimane ba nê ba sa tlhôle ba rêtsa rraabô.

'The boys were not listening to their father anymore'.

It now seems as though the auxiliary verb *-tlhôla-* is used to negate the aspectual distinction of progressivity. In his article on the negatives of the future and potential forms of the verb, Krüger (1989:139) remarks that:

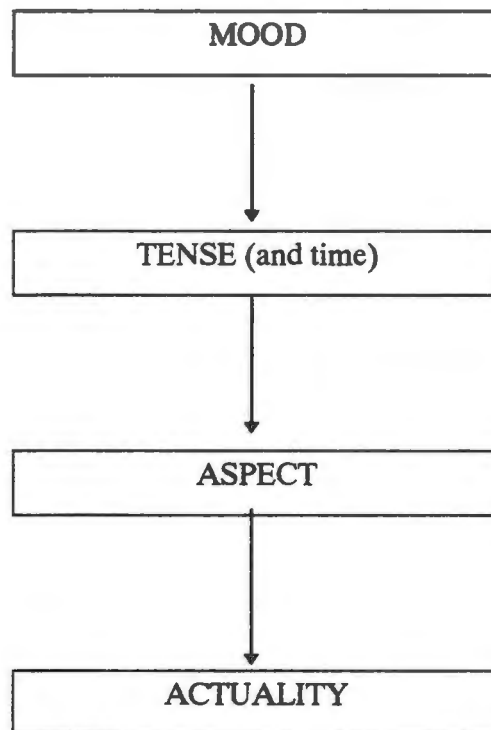
Dit blyk duidelik dat die negatiewe vorme nie direk afleibaar is uit die positiewe vorme soos dit wel die geval met ander negatiewe is nie . . . Daar moes dus tussenstrukture of oorspronklike strukture voorgekom het wat deur reduksie en toevoegings van items tot die huidige strukture ontwikkel het.

The possibility that other morphemes were historically part of the positive form of the verb therefore has to be taken into account when looking for answers as to the origin of negative morphemes.

In addition to this observation by Krüger the deduction can also be made that negative features in the language as it appears today are not deduced from the mood and the tense of the verb only, although that aspect also plays a role.

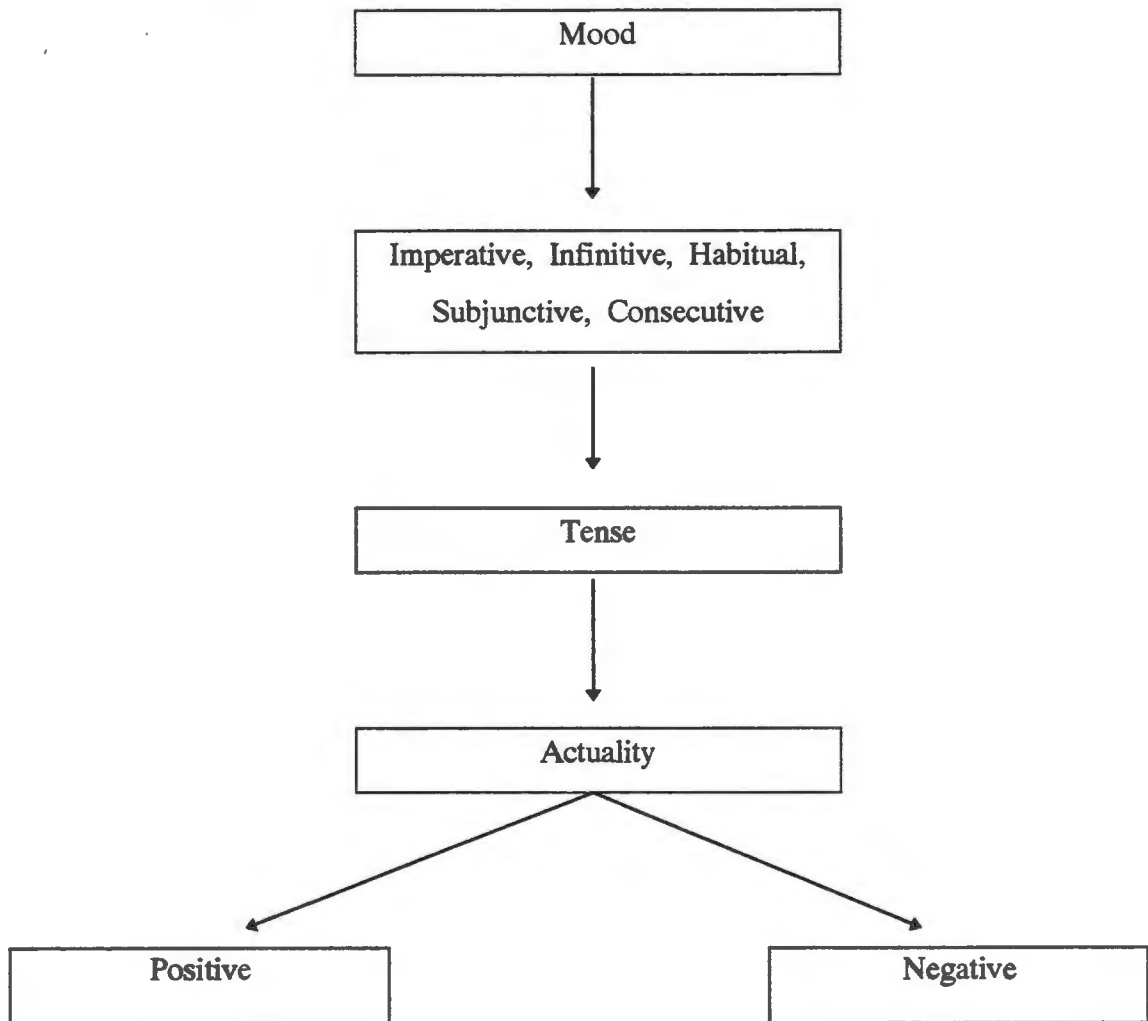
Actuality occupies a position below aspect in the hierarchy. This hierarchy is presented in the following diagram.

5.2.6.1 Schematic representation of the hierarchy of the four essential verbal categories

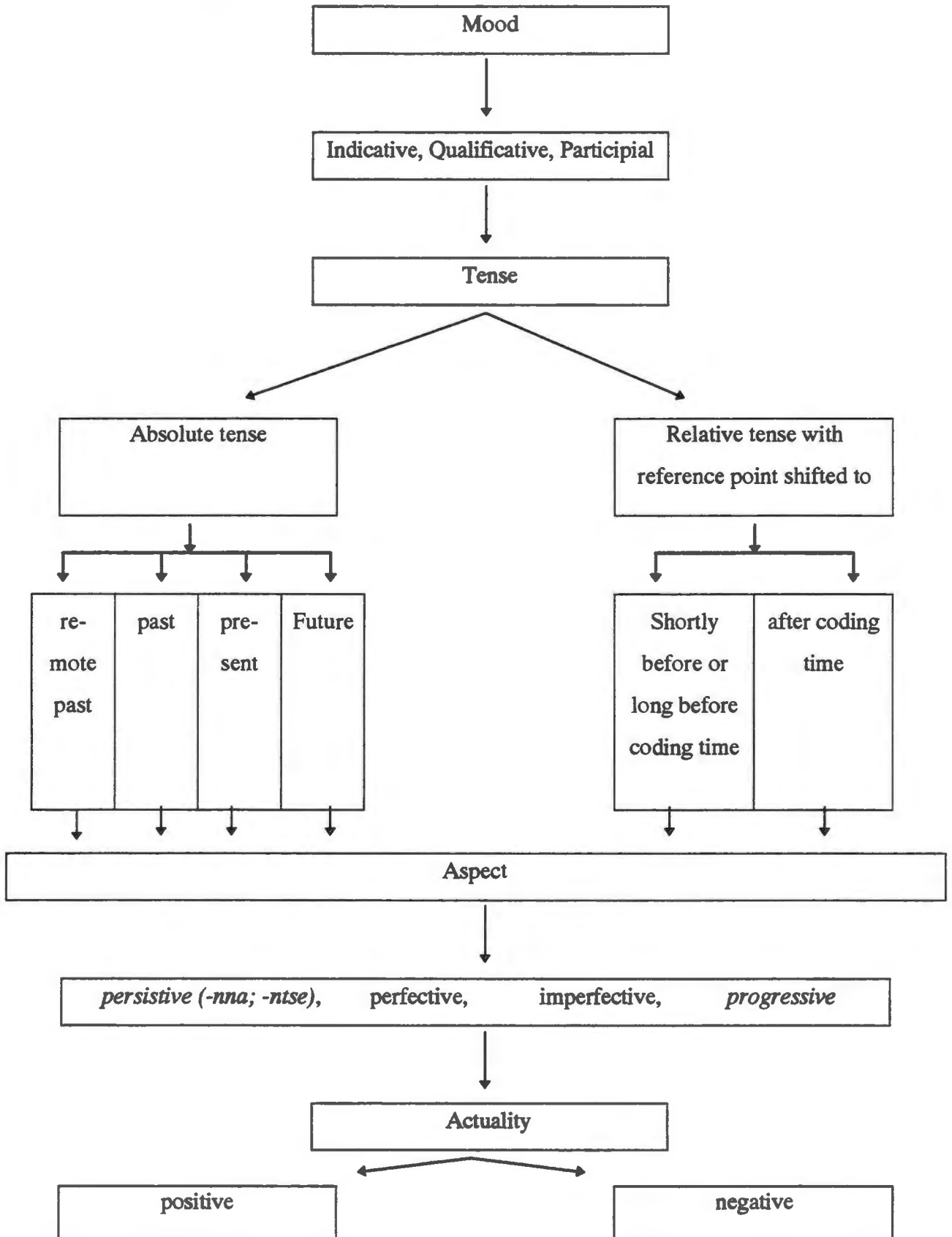


Schematical representations of options of essential verbal categories and subcategories of the non-tense distinguishing and tense-distinguishing moods will now be presented: (Similar schemes were presented by Posthumus (1993). Those appearing here are adapted from him.)

5.2.6.2 The options of the essential verb categories and subcategories of the non-tense-distinguishing moods



5.2.6.3 The options of the essential verb categories and subcategories of the tense-distinguishing moods



5.2.7 CONCLUSION

In conclusion, the following comments can be made:

The essential grammatical categories of the verb in Tswana are mood, tense (time), aspect and actuality, in that order. (Refer also to 5.2.6.)

These categories are dependant on each other. This leads to acceptance of a particular hierarchical arrangement in their analysis.

Each of the major categories have subcategories, which influence the selection of subcategories by their inclusion. (Refer to 5.2.6.6. and 5.2.6.3.)

As for the role of the auxiliary verbs in the different verbal categories, the following can be stressed:

⇒Auxiliary verbs can appear in all the tense-indicating moods of Tswana.

⇒The majority of auxiliary verbs have an influence on the tense and time of the action or process of the verb. There are, however, only two auxiliary verbs which are employed to indicate tense. These auxiliary verbs are *-nê*, and *-tla (+ bô-)*. These two auxiliary verbs are employed to shift the reference point to a position in the past or in the future. The auxiliary verb *-ilê* can also indicate past time, but it does not have the ability to move the reference point. It indicates a certain point in the past, and is always followed by the consecutive mood.

⇒Aspectual distinctions that are indicated by auxiliary verbs which have rank shifted lexically, and include the progressive aspect indicated by the deficient verb *-sa-*, and the 'persistive' indicated by the deficient verbal stem *-a-*. The semantic values of the majority of auxiliary verbs indicate a relation to time. The details of these relations are examined in chapters six and seven.

The category of actuality is the last to be named; however, that does not imply that it is less significant. All auxiliary verbal groups can be negated. It is interesting, however, to note the subtle difference that is brought about when the auxiliary verb is negated (refer to

(21b), (22b) and (23b)) in an auxiliary verbal group as opposed to when the independent verb is negated (refer to (21c), (22c) and (23c)).

(21a) Moithuti o santse a kwala.

'The student is still writing.'

(21b) Moithuti ga a tlhôle a kwala.

'The student is no longer writing.'

(21c) Moithuti o santse a sa kwale.

'The student is still not writing.'

(22a) Morutabana o tlhola a busa dibuka tsa gagwê tsa lae borare ka nakô.

'The teacher always returns his library books on time.'

(22b) Morutabana ga a tlhôle a busa dibuka tsa gagwê tsa lae borare ka nakô.

'The teacher no more returns his library books on time.'

(22c) Morutabana o tlhola a sa buse dibuka tsa gagwê tsa lae borare ka nakô.

'The teacher always does not return his library books on time.'

(23a) Karabô o lêtse a ipaakanya go ya kwa Gautêng ka bese gompîeno.

'Karabo, yesterday/last night prepared himself to go to Johannesburg by bus today.'

(23b) Karabô ga a lala a ipaakanya go ya kwa Gautêng ka bese gompîeno.

'Karabo did not yesterday/last night, prepare himself to go to Johannesburg by bus today.'

(23c) Karabô o lêtse a sa ipaakanya go ya kwa Gautêng ka bese gompîeno.

'Karabo, yesterday/last night did not prepare himself to go to Johannesburg by bus today.'

CHAPTER 6

AUXILIARY VERBS AND TENSE

6.1 INTRODUCTION

This chapter deals with the verbal category of tense. In the African languages there are two main approaches to tenses. On the one hand there is the traditional approach to tense where tenses were basically divided into the categories of simple (monoverbal) and compound (multi/poliverbal) tenses. On the other hand there is the more modern approach to tense where tenses are divided into the categories of absolute and relative tenses on the basis of the point in time which is referred to in the verb or verbal group. The auxiliary verb plays an important role in the structure and semantic significance of the so-called compound tenses in the traditional approach and the relative tenses in the modern approach. The linguistic elements involved in the simple tenses (traditional approach) and the absolute tenses (modern approach) are exactly the same. The linguistic elements involved in the compound tenses (traditional approach) and the relative tenses (modern approach) are also exactly the same. It thus seems that the two approaches differ in the method of analysing/describing tenses.

The traditional treatment of tense forms in the African Languages is based on views which stem mostly from the theories of the classicists (refer to Doke (1947) and Cole (1955)), hence the use of the terms 'perfect' and 'imperfect'. In this regard Lyons (1968) can be quoted.

He (1968:305) describes tense as follows :

The essential characteristic of the category of tense is that it relates the time of the action, event or state of affairs referred to in the sentence to the time of utterance (the time of utterance being 'now'). Tense is therefore a deictic category.

Comrie (1985:9) states that:

Tense is the grammaticalized expression of the location of events in time.

Tense, according to Comrie, is therefore, the form (morphological/phonological structure) taken by a verb to indicate the time of the action.

Louwrens (1994(c):196), in referring to Richards et al. (1992) and Crystal (1991), states the following on tense:

Tense can be defined as the structural realisation of logical time distinctions in the form of the verb. - - - Tense is therefore, a purely linguistic or grammatical notion, and viewed as such, one comes to understand the definition of tense given by Richards et al. (1992:376) when they describe tense as the relationship between the form of the verb and the time of the action or state it describes. Crystal (1991:348) gives a similar definition of tense: 'A category used in the grammatical description of verbs (along with aspect and mood) referring primarily to the way the grammar marks the time at which the action denoted by the verb took place.'

Although grammarians differ on the terminology to be used, this view on tense can be regarded as the one that was generally accepted by grammarians when the traditional view on tense was still supported in the African languages. (Recently a new approach stressing the importance of aspectual distinctions has been propagated.)

Posthumus (1989:22) asserts the following in his description of tense:

Tense is morphologically marked in the verb form. The tense oppositions reveal the relation between event time, coding time and reference time.

Like Comrie, he thus also points out that tense is the form taken by a verb to indicate the time of action (event time) in relation to the time of the utterance (coding time).

Languages generally indicate the location of events in time by varying the morphological form of the verb. African languages, Tswana in this case, conforms to this rule. Compare the following:

(1) Mosadi o *bôna* noga e e mô tselêng.

'The woman sees the snake that is in the road'.

(2) Mosadi o *bône* noga e e mô tselêng.

'The woman saw the snake that is in the road'.

In comparing the above two sentences it is clear that the verbal endings *-a* and *-e* are the markers of different tense forms.

6.2 Aims:

This chapter has the following aims:

- ⇒To discuss the traditional approach to tense forms in the African languages and in Tswana.
- ⇒To discuss the structure and meaning simple and compound tenses as opposed to relative tenses.
- ⇒To attend to the similarities and differences between simple and compound tense forms and relative tense forms.
- ⇒To present the recent view to introduce an aspectual value to the complementary verb in auxiliary verbal groups
- ⇒To put forward a revised tense system for Tswana which is in line with new insights brought about by the most recent theories on tense.

6.3 MODUS OPERANDI

The *modus operandi* will be to:

- ⇒ Give an overview, in chronological order, of the work of the most prominent grammarians following the traditional approach.
- ⇒ Point out the differences and similarities between the traditional and the modern approach by comparing simple and compound tense forms to relative tense forms.
- ⇒ Present the recent views proposing the introduction of an aspectual value as the value of the complementary verb in auxiliary verbal groups.
- ⇒ Discuss the value and functions of the components of the relative tenses.
- ⇒ Finally, to identify a paradigm of tense forms for Tswana.

Keeping traditional and modern views apart at all times is difficult as the two approaches deal with the same topic.

6.4 THE TRADITIONAL APPROACH TO TENSE FORMS IN AFRICAN LANGUAGES

An overview of the traditional views on tenses in the African languages covers an extensive number of books and articles.

6.4.1 Doke

Doke (1947:163) states the following on tense in general in Zulu:

The Zulu tense division according to time is not so clear and precise as that of many other Bantu languages. Nevertheless, in the main, the general Bantu division

holds for Zulu, viz. remote past, immediate past, present, immediate future and remote future.

Doke (1947:184) presents the following paradigm of tenses for Zulu - (Tswana examples are given):

Remote past tense:

(3) Ka bô ke apara.

'I was then getting dressed'.

Present tense:

(4) Ke a apara.

'I am getting dressed'.

Immediate past tense:

(5) Ke apêre.

'I have dressed/ I dressed'.

Immediate future tense:

(6) Ke tla apara.

'I shall get dressed'.

Remote future tense:

(7) Ke tlabô ke apara.

'I shall be getting dressed'.

Having given these tenses, Doke (1947:163) adds that:

In addition to the above tense system, Zulu employs quite a large number of deficient verbs which form *compound* tenses giving various shades of meaning and

additional implications, such as the occasional, persistent, consecutive, etc. (*italics RSP.*)

Apart from the above division, Doke (1947:162) indicates that “implication” also forms a basis for the subdivision of tenses in Zulu:

Within the different moods, tenses are subdivided in Zulu according to the implication of the action.

He points out three implications (examples will be rendered in Tswana), viz.

i. Simple, indicating an action in no way qualified, e.g.

(8) Ke a rata.

‘I love’.

ii. Progressive, indicating an action which has been going on in the past and still continues, e.g.

(9) Ke sa ntse ke ithuta dipalo ka gonne di thata.

‘I am still studying maths because it is difficult’.

iii. Exclusive, indicating an action which has not yet been performed. e.g.

(10) Ga ke ise ke reke dijo tsa dintjwa.

‘I have not yet bought dogfood’.

The “implications” that Doke indicates here are in my opinion aspectual distinctions of the verb as they all relate to the timespan of the action of the verb (*handelingsduur*), and not specifically to the time at which it takes place. It seems that the Tswana version of these implications are:

the persistive/‘imperfect tense’ *-a-* (refer to 3.5.2.1.) for the simple implication, the progressive *-sa-* for the progressive implication, and the negative exclusive auxiliary verb *-ise* for the exclusive implication.

Doke thus refers to compound tenses and the use of “deficient” verbs to form these tenses and to give the further implications to these compound tenses.

A further division of the tenses is announced by Doke (1931:162) when he states that:

Tenses are further subdivided in Zulu according to the *manner* in which the action is carried out. (italics RSP.)

Three of these manners are suggested for Zulu. They are (examples are given in Tswana):

i. Indefinite, e.g.

(11) *Ke nna fa fatshe.*

‘I sit down’.

ii. Continuous

(12) *Ke a nna.*

‘I am (busy) sitting down’.

(13) *Re ya kwa tôrôpông ka gonne re batla go rêka dijo.*

‘We are going to town because we want to buy food’.

iii. Perfect (used for stative verbs only), e.g.

(14) *Ke dutsê.*

‘I am sitting down./I am seated’.

(15) *Ke ême.*

‘I am standing’.

6.4.2 Van Eeden

Van Eeden (1941) differentiates between simple tense forms and compound tense forms. He indicates that the present, past, and future tense forms exist in Zulu, but states that a

further distinction can be made to include “remote”, and a “recent” past tense and a “recent”, and a “remote” future tense. He (1941:229) states the following in this regard:

Met betrekking tot die tyd-*aspek* is dit belangrik dat daar naas die gewone drie tydskeidings of -indelingen, nl. die *teenwoordige*, *verlede*, en *toekomende* tyd, ten opsigte van toekomende en verlede tydvorms 'n verdere tydskeiding bestaan, waarvolgens onderskei word tussen (betreklik) *resente*, en (betreklik) *verre* toekomende en verlede tydvorms.

He also states that tense distinction is made on the basis of two other reasons/grounds apart from the times that are identified in the moods. These grounds are:

- i. the manner (wyse/aard) in which the action takes place.
- ii. the determination whether a certain implication can be attached to the action.

The paradigm of compound tense forms that Van Eeden gives consists of four categories, viz.:

- i. tense forms with the auxiliary verb *-nê*, e.g.

(16) **Dintšwa di nê di loma moêng ka di nê di sa mo itse.**

'The dogs were biting the visitor because they did not know him'.

- ii. tense forms with the auxiliary verb *-tlabô*, e.g.

(17) **Banna ba -tlabô ba lwa fa ba ka lemoga fa dikgômo tsa bôna di bolailwê.**

'The men will be fighting if they can find out that their cattle are killed'.

- iii. tense forms with the auxiliary verb *-kabô*, e.g.

(18) **Banna ba kabô ba lwa fa moruti a nê a sa gôrôga.**

'The men could have been fighting if the preacher had not arrived'.

iv. compound tense which employs more than one of the auxiliary verbs mentioned in the above examples, e.g.

(19) **Banna ba nê ba tlabô ba lwa fa ba sena go tswa mô kôpanông.**

'The men would have been fighting after they left the meeting'.

Van Eeden (1941:536-603) discusses the auxiliary verbs as they feature in the moods. He also distinguishes between the semantic values of the different deficient verb stems that play a role in tense distinction. It can be mentioned here that the Tswana auxiliary verb *kabô* is different from its Zulu counterpart in that it is not a tense-forming auxiliary. Its semantic value is one of indicating potentiality only.

6.4.3 Wookey and Brown

Wookey and Brown (1949:152) propose the following paradigm of tenses which they refer to as "Table showing first person singular in all the moods and tenses".

For the purposes of this study the table has been shortened to show only the tenses that they indicate for the indicative mood, as all the tenses are realized in the indicative mood.

There is, however, an exception in that an "emphatic" tense is identified for the imperative mood. It is ignored, however, as the imperative does not have tenses.

TENSE	EXAMPLE	ENGLISH EQUIVALENT
Present	Ke a roka	I sew/ I am sewing
Imperfect	Ke nê ke roka	I was sewing
Past	Ke nê ka roka	I sewed
Perfect	Ke rokilê	have sewed or sewn
Pluperfect	Ke nê ke rokilê	I had sewn
Future	Ke tla roka	I shall sew

Moods, tenses, aspects and the semantic values of ordinary verbal prefixes have been confused in the table. What is important from the above table, however, is that it is apparent that Wookey *et al.* (1949:152) use the complementary verb to indicate tense and not, as it should be, the auxiliary verb. Note the following examples:

(20) *Ke nê ke roka.*

'I was sewing'.

(21) *Ke nê ke rokilê.*

'I had sewn'.

In these instances the auxiliary verb remains the same indicating past time (shifting the reference point to past time), while the complementary verb indicates whether the action or event took place before, at the same time or after reference time. The complementary verb in auxiliary verbal groups (where the auxiliary verb indicates tense), therefore, does not indicate tense but adds an aspectual value to the action of the verb (refer to 6.6.). If the complementary verb is not viewed as aspect indicating in such cases, then one has to view the construction as a compound tense, a notion which is being rejected in this study, (refer to 6.4.10. and 6.6.).

Wookey and Brown do not distinguish between simple and compound tense forms as they present both simple and compound tenses in the same table.

6.4.4 Sharpe

Sharpe (1952:27) proposes the following paradigm of tenses:

i. Present tense:

(22) *Ke ngaka ê e kgônang go fôdisa balwêtse.*

'He is a doctor who is able to heal patients'.

(In this 'tense' Sharpe presents the verb in the relative mood in the present tense.)

ii. Perfect tense:

(23) *Ke ratilê tirô ê e dirilweng ke bana ba sekôlô sê segolo.*

'I have liked/ I liked the work performed by pupils of the high school'.

iii. Future tense:

(24) Ke tla mo lefa madi a a kopilêng.

'I will pay him the money he requested.

In as far as the compound tenses are concerned, Sharpe (1952:91) identifies what he calls the compound past tense. According to him, this type of tense is used to describe an isolated past event, or to introduce a narrative, e.g.

(25) Ke nê ke rata go ithutêla borutabana.

'I have liked/ I did like/ I liked to study to become a teacher'.

6.4.5 Sandilands

Sandilands (1953:1, 5, 37, 82) divides tense forms in Tswana into the following categories:

i. Present tense:

(26) Ke kwala lekwalô.

'I write a letter/ I am writing a letter'.

ii. Future tense:

(27) Ke tla kwala lekwalô.

'I shall write a letter'.

iii. Perfect tense:

(28) Ke kwadilê lekwalô.

'I wrote a letter'.

iv. Past indefinite:

According to Sandilands (1953:82) the past indefinite indicates an action which was continuously going on, or was being frequently repeated, at some time in the past, e.g.

(29) **Ke nê ke kgwêetsa kôloi.**

'I was driving a car'.

(30) **Re nê re tshameka mô tselêng.**

'We were playing in the road'.

Wookey and Brown refer to this tense as the imperfect. Other grammarians such as Doke prefer to call it a past continuous tense. This is more accurate and more suitable as a traditional description of the tenses which denote continuous action. The term past continuous tense also seems more explicit than the terms imperfect or past indefinite tense.

v. Past definite

Sandilands (1953:86), indicates that this tense is marked by the employment of the auxiliary verb stem *-nê* plus the complementary verb in the consecutive. This is in contrast to the past indefinite tense where the auxiliary verb stem *-nê* is also used, but where the complementary verb is in the present tense of the indicative. He states that:

The past definite (sometimes called the past historic) indicates a definite or finite action which was done and completed at a point of time now past.

Compare the following example:

(31) **Ke nê ka rêka.**

'I bought/ did buy'.

Sandilands thus identifies two distinct tenses on the basis of the form of the complementary verb in the auxiliary verbal group. Note that the auxiliary verb stem *-nê* is the same for both (30) and (31).

6.4.6 Doke and Mofokeng

Doke and Mofokeng (1957:247) propose the following table as their paradigm of tenses. For the purpose of this study, headings of columns and rows have been kept, but examples have been changed to Tswana:

:	EXCLUSIV E -SÊTSE	PAST -NÊ	SUBJUNCT IVE -BÔ	FUTURE - BÔ	POTENTIA L -BÔ
1. Present	Ke sêitse ke rêka	Ke nê ke rêka	Ke bô ke rêka	Ke -tlabô ke rêka	Nka bô ke rêka
	I am now buying	I was buying	Then I bought	I will be buying	I could buy
2. Perfect	Ke sêitse ke rêkilê	Ke nê ke rêkilê	Ke bô/be ke rêkilê	Ke tlabô ke rêkilê	Nka bô ke rêkilê
	I have already bought	I had bought	Then I had bought	I shall have bought	I could have bought
3. Future	Ke sêitse ke tla rêka	Ke nê ke tla rêka	-----	-----	Nka bô ke tla rêka
	I shall have been ready to buy	I could have been ready to buy	-----	-----	I could be ready to buy.
4. Potential	Ke sêitse ke ka rêka	Ke nê ke ka rêka	-----	Ke tlabô ke ka rêka	Ke ka bô ke ka rêka
	I am (already) ready to buy	I could be buying	-----	I shall be able to buy	I could be able to buy
5. Progressive-	-----	Ke nê ke sa rêka	-----	Ke tlabô ke sa rêka	Nka bô ke sa rêka
	-----	I was still buying	-----	I shall still be buying.	I could still have been buying
6. Habitual	-----	Ke nê ke a tle ke rêke	-----	Ke tlabô ke a tle ke rêke	Ke ka bô ke a tle ke rêke
	-----	I was always buying	-----	I shall always be buying	I could always be buying.
7. Exclusive	-----	Ke nê ke sêitse ke rêka	-----	Ke tlabô ke sêitse ke rêka	Nka bô ke sêitse ke rêka
	-----	I was already buying	-----	I shall already be buying	I could already be buying
8. Past	Ke sêitse ke ilê ka rêka	Ke nê ke ilê ka rêka	-----	Ke tlabô ke ilê ka rêka	Nka bô ke ilê ka rêka
	I had already bought	I had then bought	-----	I shall have then bought	I would have then bought

Doke and Mofokeng do not refer to the terms ‘simple tense’ or ‘compound tense’ explicitly. They do discuss what they refer to as deficient verbs with a full participial complement, and they point out that the “deficient” verb *-nê* has the full range of complementary tenses. Their distinction of tenses is confusing since they regard the deficient auxiliary verbs indicating the potential, progressive, and exclusive aspects as tense forms when in combination with the auxiliary verb *-nê*.

6.4.7 Cole

Cole is generally regarded as the most prominent grammarian of Tswana to date.

He (1975:235) indicates that Tswana has a wide variety of verb tenses, the conjugation of the verb usually being one of the most complicated aspects of Bantu grammatical structure. Besides simple monoverbal tenses, e.g.

(32) *Kc a rêka.*

‘I am buying’.

He also mentions the compound tenses:

Besides simple monoverbal tenses, Tswana makes extensive use of *deficient or “auxiliary” verbs*, thus forming compound tenses consisting of two or more words. (1975:235) (*italics RSP.*)

It is clear from the quotation above that he is vague on the notion of compound tense.

Regarding the role of the deficient verbs in the indication of time and tense, Cole (1975:235) observes the following:

Deficient verbs are used both to indicate simple distinctions of time or tense and to provide special implications or modifications of significance as distinct from or additional to the time factor.

In compound tenses consisting of two or more verbs, according to Cole, the first is deficient or auxiliary, the remainder constituting the complement. Thus in,

(33) *Ke nê ke rêkilê dikgômo tsê di nônnêng.*

'I had bought fat cattle'.

ke nê is the deficient verb, and *ke rêkilê* is its complement.

Cole (1975:236) also identifies what he refers to as multiverbal tenses. In such tenses, the complement itself is compound, e.g.

(34) *Nka tla ka seka ka rêka.*

'I might not buy'.

In the given example, *ka seka ka rêka* is complementary to the deficient verb *nka tla*. Thus, the complement while expressing the main concept, is grammatically subordinate, and is usually of the participial or subjunctive type.

In addition to the above three types of tense, Cole also identifies inchoative verbs and stative tense, and the perfect and past tenses of the indicative mood as tense forms. They will now be attended to briefly.

(a) Inchoative verbs and stative tense

Cole (1975:277) refers to verbs that occur very commonly in certain tenses, but relatively infrequently, and sometimes never in others, as inchoative verbs. He uses the term stative for the tenses (as a group) in which such verbs predicate a state. Cole (1975:276 - 277) states:

Except where otherwise indicated, all verbs in Tswana, whether primitive or derivative are conjugated according to the scheme set out in the preceding paragraphs. There are many verbs however, which exhibit what may be termed *fastidiousness* in conjugation, that is they occur very commonly in certain tenses, but relatively infrequently, and sometimes never, in others.

Among the verbs which exhibit fastidiousness are those which, in the past, have usually been classified as "stative verbs", though there has recently been some considerable discussion and argument among students of Bantu languages

concerning the validity of this term. However, as will be illustrated presently, it is only in certain tenses that these verbs predicate a state. It seems preferable therefore, to refer to them as *inchoative* verbs, and to use the term *stative* for the tenses, as a group, in which such verbs predicate a state. The stative tenses comprise all those which, in the positive, require the employment of the perfect stem, together with the corresponding negative forms. These are therefore, the perfect, past perfect, future perfect and past future perfect tenses of the indicative mood, and the perfect, past perfect and past present perfect tenses of the conditional mood. All other tenses may be classified as *non-stative*.

Regarding inchoative verb stems Cole (1975:277) states the following:

Inchoative verb stems indicate an action which can continue for only a limited period of time before attaining completion of the action, whereupon some type of mental or physical state results. In other words, such verbs, when occurring in non-stative tenses, predicate the idea of 'becoming' or entering into a state, whereas the completed action and resultant state is expressed by their use in stative tenses.

Compare examples (35) and (36) below. Example (35) is regarded as a non-stative tense by Cole, whereas (36) is regarded as a stative tense.

(35) Kgamêlô e a tlala.

'The bucket is becoming full'.

(36) Kgamêlô e tlêtse.

'The bucket is full'.

The stative tenses, therefore, comprise all inchoative verbs which in the positive require the employment of the perfect stem in order to predicate a state entered into or a completed action.

From the explanation and examples cited by Cole, it is noted that what he calls stative tense is what is termed as stative aspect according to the definition of tense given by Lyons (refer to 5.2.2.). Cole thus regards an aspectual distinction as a tense distinction,

the reason being that in this case the time of utterance and the time of the event are the same (the present). Stativity and inchoativity are irrelevant to the time of the action/event but refer to the fact whether the verb indicates a state or condition or whether it indicates an action or event.

(b) The perfect and past tenses of the indicative mood

i. Perfect tense

According to Cole (1975:283) the perfect tense is used to indicate a completed (past) action and the resultant state in present time, e.g.

(37) Ba rôbêtse.

'They are asleep'.

(38) Dikobô tsa bôna di kôlôbilé.

'Their blankets got wet/ their blankets are wet'.

It is apparent that the perfect tense is used to indicate a state or condition which was entered into in the past time, and persists in present time, or a past action, the results or effects of which are regarded as persisting in present time.

ii. Past tense

The past tense of inchoative verbs, on the other hand, indicates that the state was achieved in past time and continued for a period and the state does not persist in present time, e.g.

(39) Ke nê ka kôlôba.

'I got wet/ was wet - but subsequently got dry again'.

The past tense according to Cole (1975:283) occurs most commonly in introducing a narrative past. Sometimes it is used to indicate definiteness or emphasis in connection with a state entered into, or an action carried out in past time, irrespective of whether or not any state, result or effect still persists in present time, e.g.

(40) *Kc nê ka bôna bana ba tsamaya mô tselêng.*

'I saw children walking in the road'.

From the examples given by Cole, it is evident that according to the *modern* approach to tense and aspect his perfect tense is what is referred to as absolute past tense and his past tense is, in fact, relative past tense because of the use of the auxiliary verb *-nê*.

In conclusion, Cole identifies the following types of tenses:

⇒ Simple or monoverbal tenses

These tenses are what has been referred to as simple tenses because only a single verb is used.

⇒ Compound tenses

These tenses are what has been referred to as compound tenses, because of the use of an auxiliary verbal group which consists of a single auxiliary verb as introductory member, and a complementary verb as complement.

⇒ Multiverbal tenses

These tenses are similar to the compound tenses because they include an auxiliary or deficient verb as introductory member, but the complement in this case also consists of an auxiliary verbal group, thus the complement itself is a verbal group.

⇒ Stative tenses

What Cole refers to as stative tense is the perfective form of inchoative verbs. The inchoative verb in the perfect does not predicate a process, but rather a state. (As indicated above, this is not a tense distinction but an aspectual distinction.)

⇒ Perfect and past tenses

In his introduction to these two tenses, Cole again mistook an aspectual distinction as a tense distinction. (The perfectivity or non-perfectivity, or persistence or non-persistence

of an action has nothing to do with the time of execution of the action.) A further problem with the past tense is that Cole sees the consecutive mood of the complementary verb as a tense distinction. Louwrens (1994(c)), on the other hand, regards the consecutive as an aspect. Even if one agrees with Louwrens on the issue, it is inaccurate to see the consecutive as indicating tense only. (Refer to 5.2.1., and 6.6.5.)

6.4.8 Lombard *et al.*

As far as Lombard *et al.* (1985:141) are concerned, three basic tenses are distinguished, viz. the imperfect, perfect and future tenses.

i. Imperfect tense

Four different aspects of imperfectiveness are distinguished, viz.:

(a) The momentary aspect which implies that the action is being performed now, at this moment, i.e. the action has not been concluded yet, e.g.

(41) Ke ja dijo tsê di monate tsê di apêilwêng ke mmê.

'I am eating the delicious food that was prepared by mother'.

(b) The habitual aspect, e.g.

(42) Ke a tshuba.

'I smoke'.

which may imply that I have the habit of smoking, although I am not necessarily smoking at the moment.

(c) The universal aspect, e.g.

(43) Ditaui di ja nama.

'Lions eat meat'.

This sentence implies that all lions at all times all over the world eat meat. This is the universal aspect of the imperfect tense.

(d) The continuous aspect which implies that the work-action continues uninterruptedly over a period of time, e.g.

(44) Ke dira bosigo bôtlhê.

'I work all night'.

The above example indicates that the imperfect tense does not necessarily relate to the "present tense" but rather indicates noncompletion.

ii. Perfect tense

Lombard *et al.* (1985:141) state the following regarding this tense:

The perfect tense is expressed by means of the perfect extension.

They indicate that there are two aspects that can be identified with this tense, viz.:

⇒the completion aspect, e.g.:

(45) Ke tsamailê mô tselêng ê maabane.

'I walked on this road yesterday'.

This implies that the action or process was completed or concluded yesterday (in the past).

⇒the stative aspect, e.g.:

(46) Kgamêlô e tlêtse.

'The bucket is full'.

This implies that the bucket became full and it is full (in the state of being full) at the moment.

iii. Future tense

According to Lombard *et al.* (1985:142) the future tense refers to an action or process which will be performed or which will take place in the future, e.g.

(47) Basimane ba tla tshameka ka bôlô fa ba sena go fêtsa ka tirô ya bônê.

‘The boys will play with the ball after finishing their work’.

Lombard *et al.* (1985) follow the traditional approach to tense and in so doing mistakenly take the aspectual distinction of perfectivity as opposed to imperfectivity as a tense distinction, while it is in fact an aspectual distinction.

Imperfect and perfect, according to Lombard *et al.* (1985:142) designate the non completion and completion of actions. These are aspectual notions which should not be confused with tense. The perfective and imperfective distinction cuts across different tenses.

In conclusion, it can be said that the categorization of the future tense is a controversial issue, not only in the African languages but also in European languages. Lombard *et al.* (1985:142) make use of the term ‘future tense’ on the basis of the semantic conceptualization of this phenomenon.

6.4.9 Taljaard and Bosch

Taljaard and Bosch (1988:31) distinguish between a present, past, and future tense for Zulu. These tenses will now be discussed briefly, and illustrative Tswana examples will be given.

i. Present tense

In the so-called present tense, Taljaard and Bosch (1988:31) distinguish between two forms, viz.:

⇒the short present tense, e.g.

(48) Baithuti ba bala dibuka mô bokgobabukeng.

'They read books in the library'.

In this tense the predicate is followed by a descriptive (adjunct) or an object.

⇒the long present tense, e.g.

(49) Ntatê o a itapolosa.

'My father rests'.

In this tense the controversial *-a-* (*-ya-* in Zulu) is used in the verb; there are therefore no descriptives or objects in the sentence.

The description of Taljaard and Bosch (1988:55) of the perfect differs from the description supplied by the other grammarians discussed above. Taljaard and Bosch regard the perfect as an aspect expressing completed actions. According to them, an aspect as such does not locate time, i.e. it does not necessarily indicate when an action takes place, it indicates how an action is performed within the setting of time. In the perfect tense, they then deal with the aspect of completion, e.g.:

(50) Ke bône baithuti kwa tôrôpông maabane bosigo.

'I saw the students in town last night.'

ii. Past tense

According to Taljaard and Bosch (1988:59) the past tense refers to an action that took place some time in the past, e.g.:

(51) Monna o nê a gamilê dikgômo tsa gagwê.

'The man had milked his cows'.

In their discussion of the use of the auxiliary verb stem *-be* they distinguish a past tense with either a verbal or copulative complement. In example (51) above *-nê* is an auxiliary verb stem and *a gamilê* is a verbal complement. The complement can assume all the forms and aspects of the situative.

iii. Future tense

Taljaard and Bosch (1988:61) indicate that the future tense in Zulu is formed by the auxiliary verb stems *-za* (come), and *-ya* (go). They state the following on these two auxiliary verb stems:

They are preceded by the subject concord like any other verb and are followed by the infinitive form of a verb without the initial vowel of the class prefix *uku*.

In Tswana the future tense is formed by means of an auxiliary verb stem, viz. *-tla*, e.g.

(52) Bana ba tla taboga.

'The children will run'.

Like many other linguists Taljaard and Bosch (1988:149) do not distinguish between compound and simple tense forms.

In their discussion of the use of the auxiliary verb stem *-be*, (1988:149) they do, however, refer to a "compound predicate", and state the following regarding such structures:

It denotes a continuing action or state that takes place at a certain point in time, and can be used in the present, past or future tense.

The Tswana auxiliary that is noted to have the same value as the Zulu *-be* is *-nê*, and it distinguishes a relative past tense, e.g.:

(53) Re nê re tshameka mô mêtšing maabane.

'We played/were playing in the water yesterday'.

In Tswana the complementary verb can assume all forms and aspects of the situative (depending on the verb itself) when *-nê* is used in the formation of the past tense. For a more elaborate discussion of the continuous past tense (as identified by Taljaard and Bosch (1988:150)) as it is viewed for Tswana according to the recent approach to tense (refer to 6.6.3.4.).

6.4.10 Conclusion

The classification of tenses into absolute and relative categories respectively is grammatically and semantically more acceptable than the division into “simple” and “compound” tenses which are made on purely *formal* grounds, rather than on the semantic values of tenses. The dichotomy “absolute” versus “relative” is used for the very reason to indicate the semantic value and usage of tenses. Another problem regarding the traditional definition of tenses arises from the fact that grammarians in some cases define them according to the auxiliary verb used and in other cases in terms of the complement.

It is clear that the traditional classification of tense forms is based on the classification which is acknowledged for English. This is understandable as almost all the grammarians who propagated the traditional approach to tense were schooled in that grammatical tradition. However, this classification has been elaborated to include the differentiation between “simple” and “compound” tenses, as mentioned above. This was done to account for the auxiliary verbs that prevail in the African languages.

In the so-called compound tenses grammarians tend to define tenses according to the auxiliary verb used, e.g. “past” and “future” and according to the complement, e.g. past continuous, past perfect, future continuous, etc. Such structures are said to be “compound”. The main criticism against this distinction of “compound” versus “simple” tenses is that logically the existence of two (or more) tenses in one structure is a contradiction. The notions of compound tense forms, as opposed to relative tense forms, will now be discussed.

6.5 THE TRADITIONAL APPROACH TO TENSE FORMS VERSUS THE MODERN APPROACH TO TENSE FORMS IN AFRICAN LANGUAGES

6.5.1 Introduction

In the traditional approach to tense a distinction is made between simple and compound tenses. The term compound means to put together, combine, mix or concoct. Compound

tense may, therefore, be described as a tense consisting of two or more verbal roots. An overview of the compound tenses as seen by different grammarians is given below.

In the modern approach to tense the distinction between simple and compound is replaced by the distinction between absolute and relative tenses. What were traditionally referred to as simple tenses, are recently being referred to as absolute tenses, and what were traditionally referred to as compound tenses, are recently being referred to as relative tenses. The choice of the term absolute refers to the situation where the interpretation of the event/action contained in the verb is done from a reference point which is absolute, in other words the deictic centre. On the other hand the choice of the term relative refers to the situation where the interpretation of the event/action contained in the verb is done from a reference point which is relative to the deictic centre. (For a more elaborate discussion on the relative tenses refer to 6.5.3.) The so-called compound tenses from the traditional approach will now be attended to as they were described by grammarians.

6.5.2 Compound tense forms

The following are the views of prominent grammarians on compound tenses:

6.5.2.1 Doke

According to Doke (1947:201)

In Zulu, compound tenses, that is tenses consisting of more than one word are formed by the employment of a large number of deficient verbs. The majority of these deficient verbs are followed by the subjunctive or participial mood, though some take the infinitive, and with these it is sometimes difficult to differentiate between true verbs and deficient verbs. Most of the deficient verbs are irregular in form, in fact the only ones to end in regular -a are to be found among those followed by the infinitive mood.

From the quotation above, it is evident that Doke (1947:202) does not distinguish between the tense forming auxiliary verbs and the non-tense forming auxiliary verbs. The following are some of his examples accompanied by Tswana examples:

(54) Ngagula ngabuye ngasinda. Tswana: Ke nê ke lwala mme ka fôla.

'I was sick and then I recovered'.

(55) Sagoduka sabuye sabuthwa. Tswana: Re ilê gae mme re ilê ra rulagannngwa.

'We went home and then were mobilised'.

Doke regards any tense form consisting of more than one verb as a compound tense. In Tswana the majority of auxiliaries cannot be used in the formation of the compound tenses, as their semantic values contribute other values to the structure.

6.5.2.2 Van Eeden

Van Eeden (1941:320) has a different view on the compound tenses. He describes them as follows:

Daar bestaan 'n groot aantal tydvorms wat gevorm is met behulp van die verbale ouksiliêre. Hulle word as samegestelde tydvorms onderskei omdat hulle in werklikheid bestaan uit 'n verbinding van twee (of meer) tydvorms, waarvan een van die ouksiliêre gedeelte met *nê-* en die volgende gedeelte bevattende die betrokke verbumstam elk sy (eie) subjekskonkord het.

Van Eeden, elaborates:

Die element *nê-* word beskou, nie as 'n ouksiliêre verbum (stam) of hulpwerkwoord (stam) nie, maar as 'n verbale ouksiliêr of hulpformatief; en hierby kan gevoeg word dat die gedeelte of dan verbum wat die laaste deel van so 'n saamgestelde tydvorm uitmaak, as die hoofverbum beskou kan word alleen indien daarmee slegs bedoel word dat dit, in teenstelling met die ouksiliêre gedeelte, die een is wat die handeling van so 'n tydvorm uitdruk.. (1941:320)

On the point of meaning and usage of compound tenses, Van Eeden (1956:321) states that:

In hierdie tydvorm tree die ouksiliêre nê- op met die betekenis van 'was' / 'is gewees', en is dit die (temporale of tydbepalende) element wat van die samegestelde verbale vorm 'n verbale tydvorm maak.

According to this point of view, the literal translation of a Tswana example such as:

(56) Ke nê ke bôna

'I was seeing '

would appear as:

"Ek was (gewees) ek sien/ siende" of "ek was siende."

6.5.2.3 Doke and Mofokeng

Doke and Mofokeng (1957:185) argue that:

In Bantu languages conjugation of the verb is the most complicated of all the grammatical processes, and in this Southern Sotho is no exception. Not only is there a wide variety of forms indicative of mood, implication and tense, in the composition of which various auxiliary elements are brought into play, but there is further a very extensive series of compound tenses, in the formation of which are deficient verbs causing a repetition of subjectival concords in most cases. The use of these deficient verbs gives rise to a multi-verbal conjugation, which it has been found necessary to treat separately from the main univocal conjugation.

They state further that:

Various auxiliary formatives, some verbal, may also be employed in the formation of certain tenses and moods, some preceding, some following the subjectival concord. Tense forms may further be enlarged by the inclusion of an objectival concord.

The problem here is that for compound tense formation they do not distinguish between tense-forming and non-tense-forming auxiliaries. In their paradigm on tense forms

(Doke and Mofokeng (1957:249)) it is clear that they ascribe tense formation to the auxiliary verbs as well as to their complements.

6.5.2.4 Cole

Cole clearly distinguishes between simple and compound tenses. (Refer to 6.4.7.) He (1975:236) holds the opinion that compound tenses in Tswana consist of two or more verbs, the first being the deficient or “auxiliary” verb, and the remainder constituting the complementary verb. Thus in the example:

(57) *Re nê re rêkilê.*

‘We had bought’.

Re nê is the deficient or auxiliary verb indicating past time, and *re rêkilê* is its complement indicating the perfect tense according to Cole. It is therefore the past perfect tense.

In the example:

(58) *Re nê re tsamaya.*

‘We were walking’.

Re nê indicates past time and *re tsamaya* is the present tense according to Cole. He refers to this form as the past continuous tense.

On scrutinizing Cole’s past tense, one realizes that it occurs mostly to introduce the narrative of past events. It also sometimes indicates definiteness, or emphasis in connection with a state entered into in the past time irrespective of whether or not any state or result still persists in the present time. (Refer to 6.5.2.4.)

6.5.2.5 Van Wyk

In his article on the combination of tenses, moods and aspects in Northern Sotho, Van Wyk (1981:101) describes a compound tense for Northern Sotho as follows:

Die beginsel van samestelling berus daarop dat die hulpwerkwoordstam *nê-* met 'n neutrale eksistensiële betekenis, vertaalbaar as 'wees' (in die omstandighede dat) gebruik word. Die begrip saamgestelde tyd impliseer dus hierdie betekenis.

Van Wyk (1988) identifies only two tenses, viz. the present and the perfect. In his discussion he indicates how the different tenses, moods and aspects can be combined to predicate the semantic value that is needed.

From the definition of time given by Lyons (1968) (refer to 5.2.3.), it is clear that perfectivity is not a tense form, but an aspectual distinction. (Refer to Endeman (1966:51), and Louwrens (1994(c):118).) The future, however, is seen by Van Wyk as an aspect.

Van Wyk's reference to compound tenses (as opposed to the more modern relative tenses) indicates that his discussion is still within the framework of the traditional theory.

6.5.2.6 Lombard *et al.*

As noted in 6.4.8., Lombard *et al.* (1985:141) distinguish three basic tenses in Northern Sotho. They are the imperfect, perfect and future tenses. In their discussions, they do not acknowledge either an absolute or a compound tense form. Instead this is what Lombard *et al.* (1994:142) say :

The imperfect and perfect tenses consist of single verbs which contrast in terms of suffixes, viz. the perfect extension versus no extension.

It can thus be deduced that the tenses that they refer to are the 'simple' tenses. Lombard *et al.* (1985: 141) state that the perfect tense is expressed by the perfect extension. Seen in the light that the tenses they identify consist of only one verb, the so-

called perfect tense would be the absolute past tense according to the modern approach. In verbal groups the perfective suffix does not necessarily indicate tense, (refer to 6.6.).

In the case of future tense, however, Lombard *et al.* (1985:142) do refer to a deficient verb form *-tlo*, followed by a basic verb stem. An example for Tswana would be:

(59) Basimane ba tla tshameka bôlô ka mathapama.

'The boys will play with the ball in the afternoon'.

The future tense is regarded by Lombard *et al.* as a semantic phenomenon which only exists in contrast with the imperfect and perfect tenses. Lombard *et al.* do not indicate how they would treat verbal groups with respect to tense.

6.5.2.7 Taljaard and Bosch

Taljaard and Bosch (1988:149) state the following in connection with the notion "compound tense" for Zulu:

The auxiliary verb stem -be is always the first verb of the compound predicate in Zulu. The second verb, or independent verb, is always in the situative form. The full form of the compound predicate consists of the following: the auxiliary -be with its concord plus the independent verb with its concord. e.g.

(60) Bengibona abantwana.

'I saw/was seeing the children'.

In Tswana this example would be:

(61) Ke nê ke bôna bana ba ba tshamekang kgwele ya dinao.

'I saw/was seeing , children who were playing football'.

According to them, the independent verb *Ngibona (ke bôna)* is always in the situative as is evident in the negative form - *Bengingaboni*.

(62) Ke nê ke sa bone.

'I was not seeing'.

Taljaard and Bosch (1988:149) distinguish a “compound predicate”. This study prefers to refer to such predicates as auxiliary verbal groups.

6.5.2.8 Louwrens

Louwrens (1994(a) :167,203) distinguishes between simple and compound tenses. He regards the following example:

(63) **Ke tlo ba ke sa šoma ge le boa.**

‘I shall still be working when you return’.

as a ‘complex’, or ‘compound’ **form of the verb** and states that:

This second part, i.e. *ke sa šoma* of this compound verb is called a complement of the auxiliary verb...

The use of the term *compound (complex) verb* to refer to the complementary verb in an auxiliary verbal group is confusing as this *compound (complex) verb* in the example above is an ordinary *independent verb* verb which features the deficient auxiliary verbal stem *-sa*.

In defining the notion of compound tenses Louwrens (1994(a):247) states the following:

...the compound tenses are based on the auxiliary verb root -b- which is the verb “to be” in Northern Sotho. A compound tense has at least two parts: the first part is the one that incorporates the auxiliary verb and the second part is the complement. e.g.

(64) **Re be re dula kwa Polokwane** (Tswana - *Re nê re nna* kwa Polokwane.

‘We stayed/were staying/ used to stay in Pietersburg’.

The underlined words make up one compound tense. This is an indication that there is only one word category involved, - a verb. The first part *Re nê*, is the part that contains the auxiliary verb root *-b-*. The second part *re nna* is the complement. Louwrens (1994(a):248) states that:

One could refer to this tense as the perfect present (or past present) tense.

Louwrens (1994(a):248) refers to examples such as the following Tswana example:

(65) *Re nê re tlabô re nna kwa Durban jaanong.*

'We would have been living in Durban now.'

as *past future present tense*, which reflects well the combination of the three basic tenses, namely perfect for *re nê*, future for *re -tlabô* and present for *re nna*. A term such as past future present is confusing to say the least. Louwrens (1994(b)) adopts the modern approach to tense (which differentiates between absolute and relative tenses) and expresses a view which differs from the one expressed by him above. In addition to adopting the modern approach to tense, Louwrens (1994(b):121) also proposes the introduction of aspectual values to the complementary verbs in auxiliary verbal groups in the relative tense forms. He states the following on the past tense:

In the past tense, a distinction needs to be drawn between absolute tense forms which are monoverbal e.g. *Ke ngwadilê* 'I wrote', and relative past tense forms which always consist of an auxiliary verb plus a complement, e.g. *ke be ke ngwala* 'I was writing', *ke be ke ngwadile* 'I had written' etc. Furthermore, verbs in the past tense can express either a perfective or an imperfective meaning.

For a more elaborate discussion of Louwrens' views on the modern approach to tense refer to 6.6.

6.5.2.9 Conclusion

It is evident that several grammarians in the African languages have more or less the same view on the verb forms of the so-called compound tenses. According to them these forms constitute compound past tenses or compound future tenses, e.g.

(66) *Ke nê ke ba bône.*

'I had seen them'.

(67) *Ke tlabô ke go thusa.*

'I shall help you then'.

The Tswana grammarians quoted above associate the use of the auxiliary verb stem *-nê* with past tense forms. The auxiliary verb *-ila+bô* is associated with future tense by some. Traditionally the notion "compound tense" has been widely accepted except in a few cases where it has not been explicitly mentioned. The main criticism against this view is that the term is contradictory, since one cannot have two tenses in the same verb.

The following features of the compound tenses can be deduced:

SYNTACTICALLY the (auxiliary) verbal group in a compound tense consists of an *auxiliary verb* followed by a complementary predicate which can be a verb, an auxiliary verb, or a copulative verb.

SEMANTICALLY compound tenses consist of two tenses, viz. the one tense represented by the *auxiliary verb* being the tense marker, the other one represented by the complementary predicate, e.g.

(68) *Re nê re raga bôlô mô lebalêng.*

'We were kicking the ball on the field'.

Here *Re nê* is the auxiliary verb, and *re raga* is the complementary predicate.

The problem is how to interpret the complementary verb. Does it constitute a tense as the interpretations up to now suggest, or does it constitute aspect as recently propagated by Louwrens (1994(b)). Posthumus (1989:22-28), who has done extensive work on tense in Zulu, does not express his views on this issue explicitly.

The more modern approach to tense where the terms absolute and relative tenses replace the terms simple and compound will now be discussed. This will be done to determine whether the modern approach can solve the problem of time reference particularly where there is an auxiliary verbal group involved, thus in the relative tenses.

6.5.3 Relative tense forms

6.5.3.1 Introduction

In the modern approach to what has traditionally been referred to as compound tenses, the time of the action or event in the verb is discussed in *relation* to the time when the utterance referring to it was made. In other words tense is a deictic category which relates the time of the action, event or state of affairs (referred to as E.T. - event time) to the time of utterance, which is also referred to as coding time (C.T.). C.T. coincides with the deictic centre in the case of the absolute tense forms and constitute the point from which utterances are interpreted.

The distinction made in the traditional approach between simple and compound tenses is referred to as absolute and relative tenses in the modern approach.

Posthumus (1990:23) describes absolute tense forms as follows:

In these tense forms, the reference point from which the temporal semantic interpretations are done, is the deictic centre (coding time). The grammatical tense forms of anteriority, simultaneity and posteriority, are generally referred to as past, present and future tense respectively. A distinction is thus made between present (events coinciding with coding time), past (events prior to coding time) and future (events subsequent to coding time).

Mabule (1992:15) states the following on absolute tenses:

The term absolute tense is a term that is used to refer to tenses which take speech time or coding time as their reference point.

For the purpose of this study the term absolute tense will be used to refer to a tense which uses the deictic centre or the 'present' as its primary reference point. Note the following examples:

(69) **Ba bôna mabônê a motse.**

'They see the lights of the village'.

(70) **Ba bône mabônê a motse.**

'They saw the lights of the village'.

In the first example (69) event time coincides with coding time whereas in the second example (70) the event took place prior to coding time, the deictic centre, the primary reference point, remains the present moment - now.

The views of prominent grammarians on relative tenses will now be given briefly.

6.5.3.2 Botha

In his discussion of deictic time reference (deiktiese tydsverwysing) in Afrikaans, Botha (1990) does not use the terms absolute and relative tense as some grammarians in the African languages do. His views on tense, however, relate to the modern approach to tense. A short overview of his views will therefore be given here.

Botha (1990:103) indicates that tense is a deictic category and he quotes Wiessenborn and Klein (1982:3) when they state the following on deixis:

The domain *par excellence* where language and reality meet.

According to Botha this implies that deixis is closely related to contextuality, and it is the way in which contextual information is integrated in language. This is also the case in the African languages and in Tswana.

Botha explains the following terms relevant to deictic time reference:

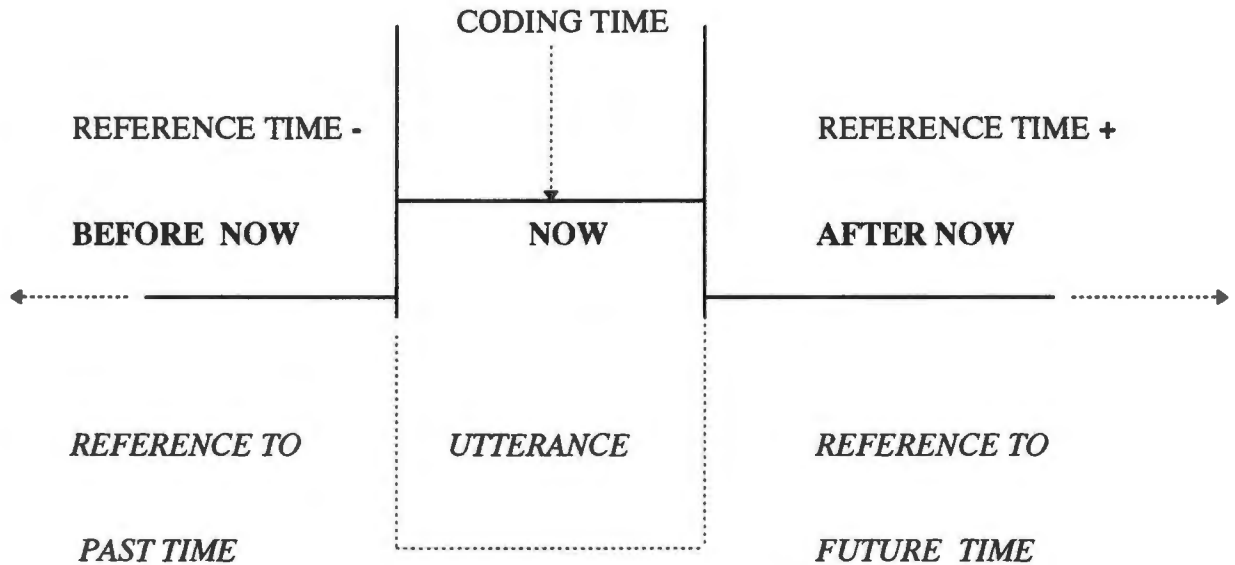
⇒The deictic centre

Every utterance takes place at a certain place, at a certain time, and it is anchored to that situation. This means that words such as now, then, today, yesterday, tomorrow are interpreted according to a changed deictic centre. (The view of a changed or shifted deictic centre is inaccurate as the deictic centre cannot be moved or shifted. For more information in this regard refer to Posthumus (1996).)

⇒Coding time and reference time

Coding time is the time at which the utterance is made, while reference time is the time or timespan which is referred to.

Botha (1990:105) presents the relation between coding time and reference time in the following scheme:



Where the sending of a message and its decoding (receiving) does not take place simultaneously, Botha refers to encoding time and decoding time. (What Botha refers to as decoding time would be the same as what Posthumus refers to as reference time.) In such an instance the recipient of the message has to acknowledge the time and place where the speaker (sender) was at the time of the utterance. There is thus a speaker-orientated deictic centre and a recipient-orientated deictic centre. In the framework of reference points regarding time, Botha (1990:107) names two ways of referring to time:

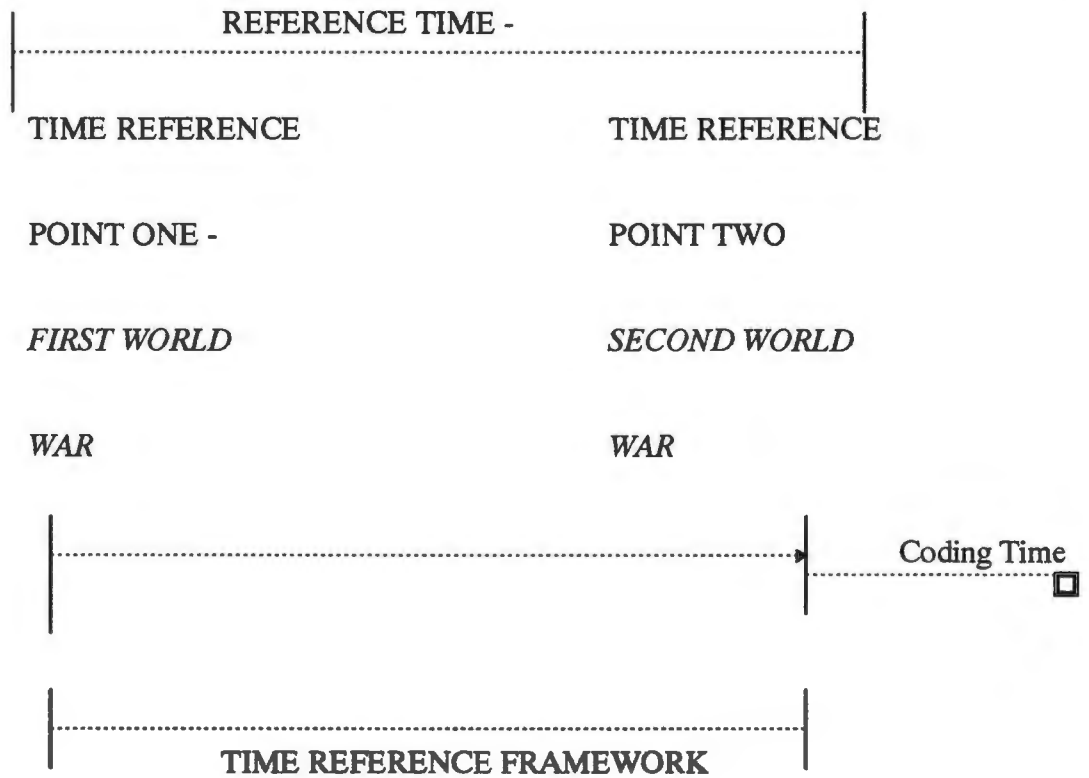
i. Points of time reference (Tydsverwysingspunte)

Well-known time reference points in history (like the day of creation, the year Jan van Riebeeck landed in the Cape, the first and second world wars, etc). can be used to contextualize the reference points in history. Botha presents this diagrammatically.

Compare the following two examples (71) and (72):

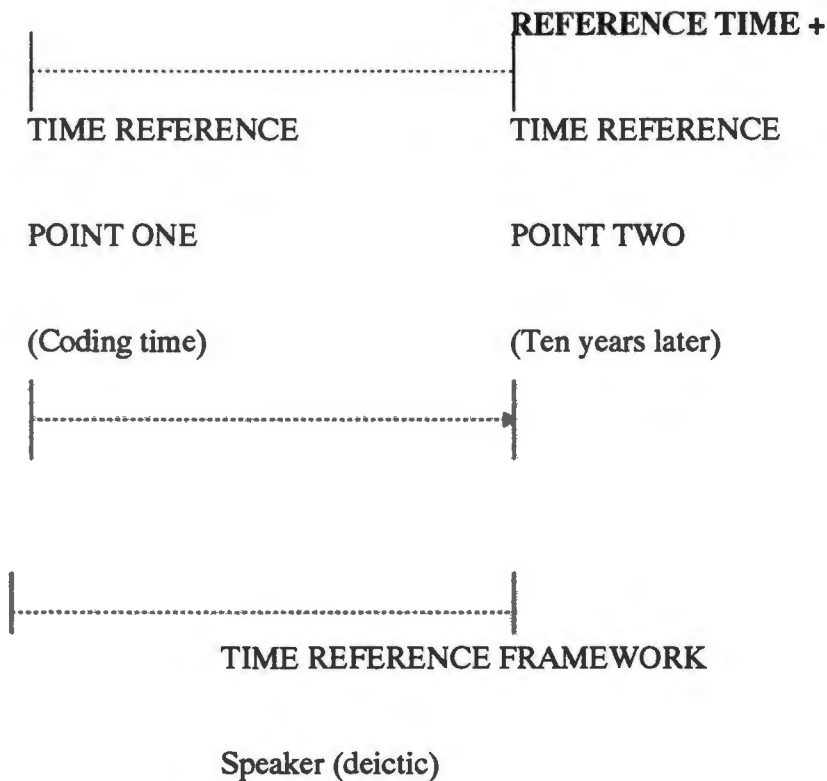
(71) *Dingwaga di le lesome morago ga ntwaga ya ntlha ya mafatshe re nê ra kôpana gapê.*

'Ten years after the first world war we met again'.



Absolute time (non-deictic)

(72) Gongwe re tlabô re kôpana gapê morago ga dingwaga di le lesome.
 'Perhaps we will meet again after ten years/in ten years' time'.



Botha (1990:108) indicates that apart from time reference points which indicate the moment, there are also time reference points which indicate a timespan.

ii. Time reference points within a time reference framework (Tydsverwysingspunte binne 'n tydsverwysingsraamwerk)

Botha (1990:108) explains that a deictic time reference framework can be seen as an arbitrary timespan which is constructed of points in time or time units each of which features a relative relationship to the deictic centre, and includes the deictic centre as point of codification. The speaker is now able to move his timespan limits as far as he wants to the past or the future or in both directions from the deictic centre. The speaker may use standardised time units (calendrical) to manipulate deictic or non-deictic time boundaries. Botha then sketches the following scenario to explicate his views.

Coding time for **speaker one** is 15 March 1990, and he controls different deictic and non-deictic reference points from that.

Coding time for **speaker two, Jan**, is 1 March 1990.

Two weeks ago Jan said that the guests would leave next Saturday.

In this instance the time reference is deictic and the coding time of the speaker is taken as the reference point from which different references are made.

On 1 March Jan said that the guests would be leaving on the 17th of March.

In this example time reference is non deictic because of the use of standardised time (calendar time)

Botha then indicates that the first example includes deictic as well as non-deictic time reference. Compare the following:

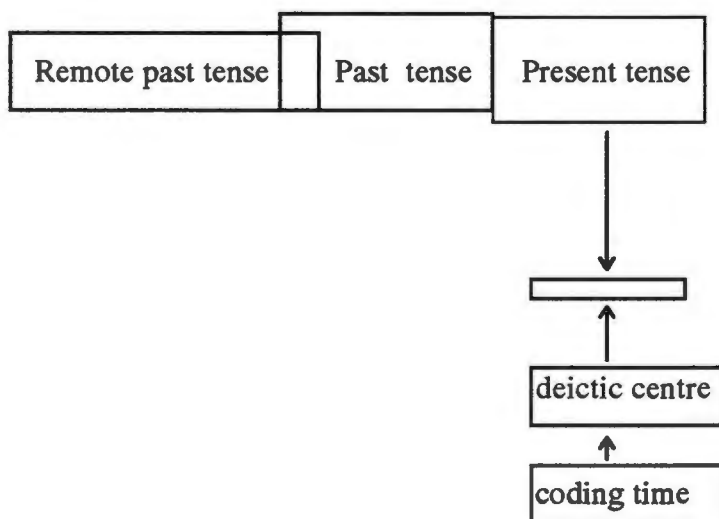
Jan's coding time is used as reference time for the utterance.

Next Saturday indicates the 3rd of March which is non-deictic to speaker one's coordination of time and space. It is thus not part of speaker one's subjective time reference framework. According to this study, Botha's view in this respect is inaccurate as it is based on an indirect deduction. Next Saturday is seen as deictic.

Botha then goes on to indicate the importance of different time adverbials in the deictic time reference framework. He ends his article presenting (diagrammatically) a tense system for Afrikaans.

6.5.3.3 Posthumus

Posthumus (1989:23) uses the following tense figure to represent the absolute tense paradigm. (those tense forms which have coding time as their reference time):



On the marking of tense in the African languages Posthumus (1988:140) states the following:

In the African languages tense is marked by morphological and phonological contrasting verb forms.

Regarding the analysis/description of absolute tenses, Posthumus (1988:140) states that:

In the case of the *absolute tense forms* R.T. coincides with E.T. and the reference point from which the temporal semantic interpretations are made is the D.C.

The abbreviations used by Posthumus are clarified below:

D.C. is the deictic centre - the origo or position from which the reference is made.

R.T. is reference time - the time taken as the point of reference for the interpretation of the event time.

E.T. is event time - the time at which the event takes place.

Thus in the sentence:

(73) Ntatê o mphilê madi.

'Father gave/has given me money'.

D.C. - is now - the time at which the utterance is made.

R.T. - is now.

E.T. - is some time in the past.

In the case of the absolute tense forms the DC and the RT coincide; however, the interpretation of tense is not always made from coding time (C.T. - speech time). In the case of the relative tense forms the interpretation of *event time* is made in relation to *reference time*, which is in turn established in relation to *coding time* which is constituted by the *deictic centre*. In Tswana, the form of the auxiliary verb (in the auxiliary verbal group) expresses the relation between C.T. and a newly established reference time (referred to as R.T.). In this regard Posthumus (1988:140) states that:

This newly established reference point which serves as a primary anchoring point for the semantic interpretation of events may be prior to or subsequent to C.T.

The Setswana auxiliary verbal stems *-nê* and *tlabô*, indicate the shifting of the reference point from coding time to a moment prior to or subsequent to coding time respectively, e.g.

(74) Mosadimogolo o nê a tlhatswa diaparô.

'The old woman was washing the clothes'.

(75) Mosadimogolo o tlabô a tlhatswa diaparô.

'The old woman will be washing the clothes'.

From the above examples, it can be deduced that in the relative tense forms, the reference point for the location of event time is a point in time which is not the present moment or speech time.

It is now clear that what Cole (1975:282) refers to as the past tense is, in fact, a relative past tense, e.g.

(76) Ke nê ka mmona kgantele jaana.

'I saw him just a few moments ago'.

This past tense, as conceived by Cole, indicates that the state was achieved in past time and continued for a period, but that something else occurred subsequently and therefore the state does not persist in the present time. Thus

(77) Ke nê ka rôbala.

'I went to sleep'.

implies that I subsequently awoke.

Attempting to improve on the traditional views, a more modern approach has been propagated by Posthumus (1989). He distinguishes between absolute tense forms, which are structurally monoverbal, and relative tense forms which are bi- or poli-verbal respectively, i.e. consisting of an auxiliary verb as an introductory member and a complementary verb which could be either a copulative verb, an independant verb, or a verbal group.

According to Posthumus' approach, the term that has been used traditionally, viz. compound tense, is inappropriate or unsuitable, because it suggests a combination of two or more tenses in one group which is quite illogical. He (1988:140) opts for a distinction between absolute and relative tenses and indicates that:

Relative tenses are distinguished by the fact that the reference point from which the temporal semantic interpretations are made, is a point other than coding time.

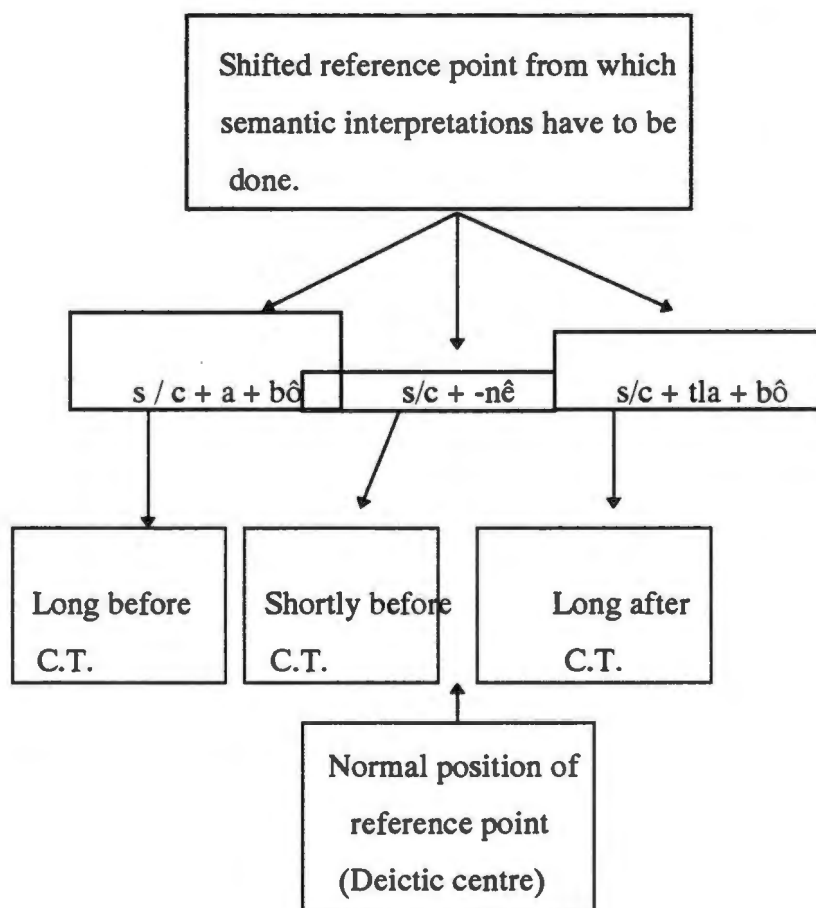
Posthumus (1989:23) describes relative tense as follows:

Tense forms which express a relation between event time, reference time and coding time are called relative tenses.

The interpretation of the relative tenses thus involves the following three points:

- (a) The point of speech, i.e. the time at which the utterance is made viz. speech time or coding time.
- (b) The point of the event, i.e. the time at which the event (or state) occurred, and
- (c) The point of reference, i.e. the temporal standpoint from which the speaker invites his audience to consider the occurrence of the event (or the reaching of the state, viz. reference time).

Posthumus (1989:24) supports his argument with the following tense paradigm for the relative tense forms, i.e. those tense forms which reflect the event time in relation to reference time and coding time. This paradigm which Posthumus gave for Zulu has been furnished with the Tswana auxiliary verbs for the purposes of this study.



According to this exposition by Posthumus, the form and meaning of relative tenses depend primarily on a newly established reference point, which is not the present moment (coding time/the time the utterance was made), e.g.

(78) Ke nê ke ba bôna fa ba tswa mô kerêkeng.

'I saw/ was seeing them when they came out of the church'.

Here the event time (ET - my seeing them) is linked to another point, or rather event (namely their coming out of church) in the past, which now serves as reference time.

If the process is seen as being incomplete (i.e. in progress) with regard to the said point in time in the past, this tense form conveys an imperfective meaning. Compare (79) and (80) below.

(79) Maabane ka ura ya bobêdi, ba nê ba ithuta.

'Yesterday at two o'clock they were studying'.

(80) Mosimane o nê a thaisa ditlhapi.

'The boy was catching fish/fishing'.

Posthumus (1982) introduced the term relative tense to the African languages, applying it to Zulu. This approach is very efficient for Zulu and it can be used fruitfully in Tswana as well to analyse and describe tense forms. The naming/labelling of the semantic value of the complementary verb in auxiliary verbal groups, however, has not been refined terminologically by Posthumus up to the present.

6.5.3.4 Louwrens

Louwrens (1994(b):120) states the following on relative tenses:

Relative tenses in Northern Sotho are expressed by auxiliary word groups consisting of an auxiliary verb with the stem *-ba* or *-bê* plus a complementary verb which can either be in the present, past or future tense.

Louwrens supports Endeman (1966:50) when he indicates that the first part of such compound structures (i.e. the auxiliary verb), indicates the appropriate tense form, whereas the second part contains the verb indicating aspect only.

Louwrens (1994(b):118) relies on the work of Posthumus and others, and introduces the semantic value of aspect applicable to the second member of the auxiliary verbal group in the relative tenses.

He defines aspect as follows:

Aspect hence relates to whether an action is presented as being/having been in progress at a given juncture (e.g. he was reading) or whether it is presented as a completed whole (e.g. he read). Louwrens (1994(b):118)

Louwrens (1994(b):119) elaborates:

. . . the terms perfect i.e. completed and imperfect i.e. uncompleted convey aspectual notions which are currently wrongly applied to tense.

On the basis of the above, the following Tswana examples can be presented to indicate that the complementary verb in auxiliary verbal groups in Tswana also carries aspectual value:

(81) Di nê di nolê mêtsi.

'They had drunk water'.

(82) Re tlabô re mo thusa.

'We shall be helping him/her'.

In example (81) *di nê* indicates past tense, while the second member *di nolê* indicates perfective aspect.

In example (82) *re tlabô* indicates future tense, while *re mo thusa* indicates imperfective aspect.

Louwrens therefore divides the relative past tense forms into the relative past tense forms with *imperfective* aspect and the relative past tense forms with *perfective* aspect.

Thus a Tswana example such as:

(83) **Ke nê ke taboga.**

'I was running'.

constitutes an example of a relative past tense with imperfective aspect, whereas:

(84) **Ke nê ke tabogilê.**

'I had run'.

is an example of a relative past tense with perfective aspect.

Louwrens (1994(b)) suggests the same for the future tense with *-tlabô*.

6.5.3.5 Mabule

Mabule (1993:12) identifies absolute and relative tenses with a series of subdivisions under each. He states the following on absolute tense:

The term absolute tense is a term that is used to refer to tenses which take speech time (or coding time) as their reference point. Mabule (1993:15)

Mabule (like Posthumus) thus uses the term absolute tense to refer to a tense form which uses the moment of speech as its primary reference point. With the term relative tense he refers to tenses which depend on the deictic centre as well as another reference point for its interpretations. He states that:

This point is given by the context or marked by an auxiliary/deficient verb form. In other words we distinguish between two types of relative tense, namely those that are marked by the deficient verb form *-be* and those that are dependent on another sentence (co-structure). Mabule (1993:19)

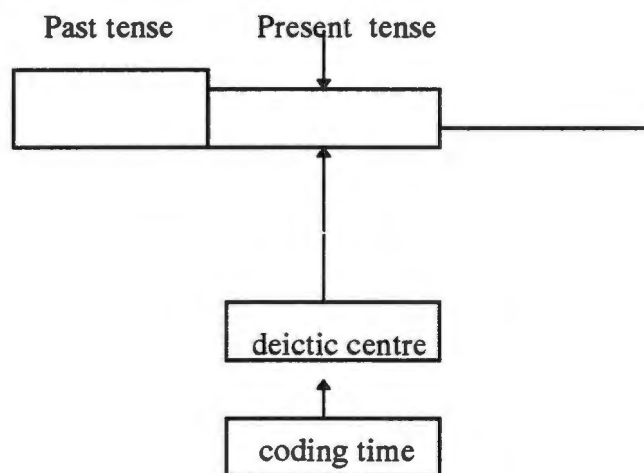
Mabule (1993:20) quotes Comrie (1985:58) who suggests that the present moment is always available as a reference point for relative tenses unless barred by the context.

He deduces from this that:

This implies that a relative tense is strictly one which is interpreted relative to a reference point provided by the context, since the context always provides the present moment.

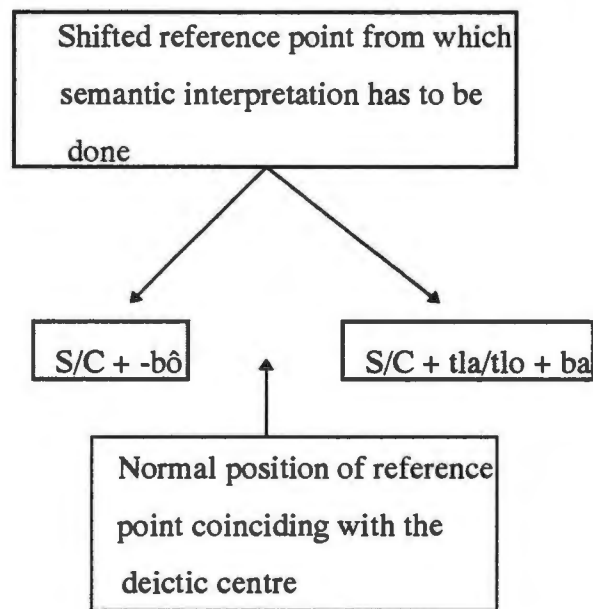
Mabule (1993:19 & 22) indicates the difference between absolute and relative tenses in the following diagram:

TENSE PARADIGM FOR ABSOLUTE TENSE



The above is the tense paradigm for the absolute tense forms. Here Mabule (1993:19) illustrates that absolute tense forms have coding time (deictic centre) as their reference time.

TENSE PARADIGM FOR RELATIVE TENSE



The above is the tense paradigm for the relative tenses. Here he indicates that relative tense forms reflect the event time in relation to reference time and coding time.

Like Posthumus, Mabule (1993:21) indicates that in the relative tense forms speech participants have to keep track of the deictic centre even if the events are interpreted primarily from another (shifted) reference point, since that (shifted) reference point is established in relation to the deictic centre.

Refer to examples (85) to (88) for relative tense forms:

(85) Di nê di fula

'They were grazing'. (at a certain time in the past)

(86) Di nê di fudilê

'They had grazed'. (by a certain time in the past)

(87) Di tlabô di fula.

'They will be grazing'. (at a certain time in the future)

(88) Di tlabô di fudilê.

'They will have grazed'. (at a certain time in the future)

Mabule does not present a definite list of his “relative tense forms” for Northern Sotho. He only mentions the relative past tense with *-nê*.

6.5.4 Conclusion

Posthumus, Louwrens and Mabule are the only three grammarians who have done work on the introduction of the notion of relative tense in the African languages.

When relative tenses are compared to compound tenses the following is evident:

- ⇒ The term compound tense, as used by the grammarians mentioned in 6.4., and 6.6. implies tenses where the verbal group consists of two or more verbs, of which each constitute a *certain tense*.
- ⇒ The relative tenses (as used by grammarians referred to in 6.5.3.), on the other hand, are tenses which are analysed in a more scientific way. Here the interpretation of event time is made in relation to reference time which is in turn established in relation to coding time, which is constituted by the deictic centre.
- ⇒ The terms compound tense forms, and relative tense forms, refer to one and the same grammatical form. Thus forms which have traditionally been referred to as *compound tenses* are referred to as *relative tenses* according to the modern approach. The difference lies in the analysis of the auxiliary verbal groups, in terms of their semantic values. This matter was touched upon in 6.5.3. and will be dealt with further in 6.6. below.

6.6 THE INTRODUCTION OF ASPECT

6.6.1 Introduction

In response to the work of grammarians in the African languages such as Endemann (1966), Lombard *et al.* (1985), Van Wyk (1981 and 1987) and others, Louwrens attempts to clarify the relation regarding aspect and tense, with specific reference to the aspect of

perfectivity and imperfectivity. He (1994(b)) argues that the application of the term aspect in existing descriptions of the Northern Sotho verb is unsatisfactory in several respects. He explicates the cognitive import that the term aspect is intended to have in those grammatical traditions from which the theory of aspectology has developed. He reaches the conclusion that:

. . . the terms perfect and imperfect tense should be done away with by replacing them with past and present aspect respectively.

Louwrens (1994(b):118) cites Forsyth, whose characterization of aspect is valued by numerous grammarians. Forsyth (1970:3) characterizes aspect as follows:

The category of aspect indicates that the action expressed by the verb is presented:

(a) in its course, in process of its performance, consequently in its duration or repetition (imperfective);

(b) as something restricted, concentrated at some limit of its performance, be it the moment of origin or beginning of the action or the moment of its completion or result (perfective).

Aspect is thus a term which is used to indicate the manner of the duration of a process. This process is intrinsically related to the tense forms of the process.

Louwrens (1994(b):118) opts for the introduction of aspect applicable to the second member of the auxiliary verbal group of relative tenses. He rejects the notion of compound tense and therefore interprets the complementary verb in terms of the notion of aspect instead of interpreting it as another “complementary” tense form. The first member indicates the tense form. (Refer to 6.5.3.4.)

Louwrens (1994(b):117) criticizes Van Wyk's views on aspect as follows:

Firstly, the criterion which he applies to identify aspect is essentially a morpho-syntactic one, and such a criterion for the identification of aspects is nowhere recognised in the general literature dealing with this topic.

Secondly, Van Wyk's criterion leads him to include into the category of aspect verb forms which are, according to the vast literature dealing with this topic, not aspectual in nature, i.e. the potential and the future. On the contrary, Van Wyk's premise leads to the exclusion of certain other verb forms which are indeed aspectual, i.e. the perfective and imperfective forms of the present, past and future tense.

The interpretation of the auxiliary verbal group according to Louwrens's view for Northern Sotho, can be explicated for Tswana in the following Tswana examples:

(89) Ba nê ba kwadilê tihatlhobô sentlê.

'They had written the exam well'.

(90) Ba nê ba kwala tihatlhobô sentlê.

'They were writing their exam well'.

In example (89) *ba kwadilê* indicates perfective aspect, while *ba nê* would indicate past time. In example (90) *ba kwala* indicates imperfective aspect. The views expressed here by Louwrens introduce a new approach to the complementary verb of the auxiliary verbal group in the relative tenses. Introductory work on this topic was done by Endemann as far back as 1966. Aspect and the role of auxiliary verbs regarding the presentation of aspectual value in Tswana is attended to in more detail in chapter 7. Aspect as a semantic value of the complementary verb regarding tense distinction, as seen by Louwrens (1994(b)), will now be attended to. Aspectual distinctions of the present tense will first be discussed followed by those of the past tense.

6.6.2 Aspectual distinctions in the present tense

Regarding the aspectual value of verbs of the present tense Louwrens (1994(b):120) states that:

As far as the aspectual characteristics of present tense verbs are concerned, it should be observed that they are all *imperfective* in nature.

Louwrens (1994(b):120-121) then puts forward the various “aspectual distinctions” identified in the category of imperfectivity by *Lombard et al. (1985:141)*. They are:

⇒The momentary aspect:

The action is in progress at the moment of speaking.

(91) Re a tshameka. (jaanong)

‘We are playing’. (now)

thereby implying that we are performing the action right now. We are still busy at this moment.

⇒The habitual aspect:

Actions which are carried out as a habit are presented by the present tense.

(92) O tshameka thênese.

‘He plays tennis’.

thereby implying that he has the habit of playing tennis, although he is not playing tennis at the moment.

Louwrens (1994(b)) attempts to prove that what is known as the habitual mood is actually aspect and not mood.

⇒The universal aspect:

Here the present tense is used to present general logical statements.

(93) Dithôlô di ja matlhare a dithhare.

‘Kudus eat the leaves of trees’.

thereby implying that all kudus all over the world eat the leaves of trees.

⇒The continuous aspect

In this case the present tense may express an action which is carried out continuously over a period of time, e.g.

(94) **Re bala letsatsi lôtlhê.**

'We read the whole day'.

thereby implying that the reading process continued uninterruptedly over a period of time, without our being busy with it at the moment of speaking.

Lombard et al. (1985:190) does not regard the progressive *-sa-* as indicating aspect. He refers to it as the persistive deficient verb form *-sa-*. In this regard Louwrens (1994(b):116-120) differs from him as he regards the progressive as an aspect. He contends that:

... in the light of the interpretation given to the term **aspect** thus far, examples such as *o sa bala* 'she is still reading', *re ša soma* 'we are still working' etc. should be regarded as one of the most salient instances of aspectual marking in Northern Sotho, since verbs such as these explicitly communicate information pertaining to the internal temporal constituency of the processes which are involved. Louwrens (1994(b):121)

The progressive aspect is sometimes also referred to as the persistive aspect. In Tswana it is marked by the auxiliary verb *-ntse* (perfect form of *-nna*), which has a persistive semantic value i.e. indicating that the process is in the course of happening or is proceeding or continuing. In this sense the persistive auxiliary verb *-ntse*, and the progressive morpheme *-sa-* are synonymous and are, in fact, interchangeable and can be used together in the same auxiliary verbal group. The difference between *-sa* and *-ntse* seems to be that the latter implies that the process has started some time prior to the moment of speech, whereas the former implies that the process is happening at the moment of speech. On the strength of these facts the auxiliary verb *-nna* (*-ntse*) can also be regarded as having aspectual value, e.g.

(95) *Bana ba nna ba ithuta.*

'The children keep on studying'.

(96) *Baithuti ba sa ntse ba êmêtse dipholô tsa bône.*

'The students are still waiting for their results'.

(This view on *-ntse* is subject to a difference of opinion.) It is important to note that these 'aspects' are actually ontological discourse truths, as they are not related to the event internal times of the verbs involved. They seem to have a lexical and situational base and are therefore not aspectual in the sense of indicating *manner of the duration of the process*. (Refer to 6.6.1.) Another significant point regarding these "aspects" is that they appear only in the present tense.

6.6.3 Aspectual distinctions of the past tense

The main aspectual distinctions that exist in the past tense (and in the future tense) are those of perfectivity and imperfectivity.

Louwrens (1994(b):121) quotes Lombard *et al.* (1985:142) and Lyons (1977:707), and uses these quotations to stress the point that stative verbs in the past (perfect) tense form are imperfective, as they convey an imperfective meaning since the action or process in the verb is still going on. This implies that the lexical meaning of stative verbs is used to indicate aspect. Thus, to indicate the difference between perfective and imperfective aspect in such cases, Louwrens uses purely lexical semantic criteria.

The value of imperfectivity is not marked in the verb form, whereas the value of perfectivity in the African languages and Tswana *per se* is marked morphologically by the verbal extension *-ilê* in actional verbs. A question arises regarding the exclusion of stative verbs in the indication of perfective aspect when *-ilê* is used. It would imply that the value of *-ilê* is nullified - it could just as well not have been there. However, Louwrens (1994(c):138) states that the perfect tense extension is,

A term used to refer to the suffix **-ilê** and its variant forms which occur in verbs of the so-called *perfect tense*.

Thereby giving a value of *perfect tense* to it. However, though he has changed his opinion on this value (from indicating tense to indicating aspect) it seems peculiar that in the case of stative verbs in the relative past tense the semantic value of *-ilê* is ignored.

The following examples of aspectual difference in the past tense in Tswana could serve as explanation:

(97) **Bana ba nê ba rôbala.**

'The children were falling asleep/were busy falling asleep'. - Imperfective aspect.

(98) **Bana ba nê ba rôbêtse.**

'The children were sleeping'. - Imperfective aspect.

(99) **Bana ba nê ba kwala.**

'The children were writing'. - Imperfective aspect

(100) **Bana ba nê ba kwadilê.**

'The children had written'. - Perfective aspect.

In examples (97) and (98) *rôbala* and *rôbêtse* would be indicating the imperfective aspect, as the process was still going on. In examples (99) and (100) *kwala* would indicate imperfectivity, whereas *kwadilê* would indicate perfective aspect. It is thus clear that in examples (97) and (98) the lexical value is used to indicate the imperfective aspect whereas in the second example the lexical value is used to indicate imperfectivity in the verb *kwala*, but in *kwadilê* the perfective extension is employed to indicate perfective aspect.

Thus, according to Louwrens, the imperfective aspect is not marked by a specific morphological item because its value is included in the semantic value of the verb. The only proviso is that the verb must be of the actional type, because stative verbs with the

perfective extension still indicate imperfective aspect, i.e. they still signify the position/state/condition in which an object finds (found) itself.

Thus morphologically actional verbs indicating perfectivity, feature the perfective extension *-ilê* when they indicate perfectivity, yet when it comes to inchoative and stative verbs only semantic criteria, based on the lexical semantic content of these verbs, are used to identify perfectivity.

In keeping with the argument of this study, a rule should be adequate enough to identify all members of a category that it is intended to identify. The differentiation/ addition that the researcher proposes is that the perfective extension *-ilê* (or its variants) as a morphological feature be used as criterion for the determination of perfective aspect, but that perfectivity in stative verbs be referred to as *stative perfectivity*. Examples such as (101) and (102) would then be referred to as indicating *stative perfective aspect*, and an example such as (103) would be referred to as indicating perfective aspect.

(101) Bana ba rôbêtse.

'The children are sleeping'.

(102) Mosimane yô o nônnê mô e leng gore diaparô tsa gagwê di sa mo lekane.

'This boy is so fat that his clothes do not even fit him'.

(103) Bana ba tsamailê.

'The children (have) left'.

As has already been mentioned, the progressive aspect is compatible with the past tense form of stative verbs, but not with that of actional verbs as the latter are perfective. Compare:

(104) Diaparô tsa rona di sa kôlôbilê.

'Our clothes are still wet'.

*** (105) Banna ba sa dirilê.**

'The men have still worked'.

Examples of each of these types of aspect in the absolute and relative past tense will be given below.

6.6.3.1 Absolute past tense with perfective aspect

(109) *Ntšwa e bolailê koko.*

'The dog killed a chicken'.

(110) *Ba tlilê.*

'They arrived'.

6.6.3.2 Absolute past tense with stative perfective aspect

(111) *Dikgômo tsa ga malomê di nônnê thata ngwaga ô.*

'My uncle's cattle are very fat this year'.

(112) *Tamo ya rona e tlêtse.*

'Our dam is full'.

(113) *Bana ba kgôtse ka ba jelê dijô tsa bônê tsôtlhê.*

'The children are satisfied as they have eaten all their food'.

6.6.3.3 Relative past tense with imperfective aspect

As has been indicated earlier, the time of the process or action (ET) is indirectly linked to reference time (RT), and to coding time in the relative tenses. If the process or action has not been completed at reference time (RT), then this tense will convey an imperfective meaning. Compare examples (116), (117) and (118):

(114) *Kgantele ka ura ya boraro ke nê ke bôna Piti a tsamaya mô tselêng.*

'A while back at three o'clock I saw Piet walking in the street'.

(115) *Maabane fa o fitlha ke nê ke kwala lekwalô.*

'Yesterday when you arrived I was writing a letter'.

(116) *Phakêla ka ura ya borôbêdi ke nê ke ba thusa go dumisa kôlôi ya bônê.*

'This morning at eight o'clock I was helping them to start their vehicle'.

6.6.3.4 Relative past tense with perfective aspect

The relative past tense conveys the perfective aspect when the process of the complementary verb has been completed with regard to the particular time in the past.

E.g.

(117) **Kgantelê ka ura ya boraro ke nê ke bône Piti a tsamaya mô tselêng.**

'A while back at three o'clock I had seen Piet walking in the street'.

(118) **Maabane fa o fitlha ke nê ke kwadilê lekwalô.**

'Yesterday when you arrived I had written a letter'.

(119) **Maabane ka ura ya bobêdi ke nê ke tsogilê.**

'Yesterday at two o'clock I had woken up'.

6.6.3.5 Relative past tense with stative perfective aspect

(120) **Maabane ka ura ya bobêdi ke nê ke rôbêtse.**

'Yesterday at two o'clock I was asleep/sleeping'.

(121) **Phakêla ka ura ya botlhano tamo ya rona e nê e tlêtse.**

'This morning at five o'clock our dam was full'.

(122) **Ngwaga ô o fetilêng monna yôo o nê a humilê.**

'Last year that man was rich'.

6.6.4 Aspectual distinctions of the future tense

The absolute future tense can only indicate the imperfective aspect because the action is still to happen in the future. The relative future tense can, however, indicate all three aspectual distinctions as indicated in the relative past tense. (Also refer to 6.6.3.4., 6.6.3.5., and 6.6.3.6.) Examples of each of these are given below (refer to 6.6.4.2., 6.6.4.3., and 6.6.4.4.)

6.6.4.1 Absolute future tense with imperfective aspect

(123) Basimane *ba tla ya go tsoma ka mosô*.

'The boys will go hunting tomorrow'.

(124) Baithuti *ba tla kwala ditlhatlhobô fa ngwaga e fêla*.

'The students will write exams at the end of the year/when the year ends'.

(125) Morutabana *o tla letlêlêla bana go ya kwa tôrôpông ka mosô*.

'The teacher will allow the children to go to town tomorrow'.

6.6.4.2 Relative future tense with imperfective aspect

(126) Ka mosô ka ura ya borôbêdi *ke tlabô ke pênta ntlo ya me*.

'Tomorrow at eight o'clock I shall be painting my house'.

(127) Baithuti *ba tlabô ba kwala ditlhatlhobô fa ngwaga e fêla*.

'The students will be writing exams at the end of the year/when the year ends'.

(128) Maitseboa ka ura ya bosupa *re tlabô re rêêtsa dikgang mô seyalemowêng*.

'Tonight at seven we will be listening to the news on the radio'.

6.6.4.3 Relative future tense with perfective aspect

(129) Ka Labobêdi *ke tlabô ke baakantsê kôlôyi ya me*.

'On Tuesday I shall have fixed my vehicle'.

(130) Ka Laboraro fa o fitlha fa *ke tlabô ke ithêkêitse ditlhako tsê dintšhwa*.

'On Wednesday when you get here I shall have bought myself new shoes'.

(131) Morutabana a re fa bana ba fitlha mô sekôlông ka mosô *o tlabô a tshwailê ditekô tsa bônê*.

'The teacher says that when the children arrive at school tomorrow he/she will have marked their tests'.

6.6.4.4 Relative future tense with stative perfective aspect

(132) Ngwaga ô o tlang ka dinako tsê, fa pula e ka na sentlê, dikgômo tsa rona *di tlabô di nônnê thata*.

'Next year by this time, if it rains well, our cattle will be very fat'.

(133) **Ka ura ya bobêdi ka mosô tamo ya ga ntatê e tlabô e kgadilê.**

'At two o'clock tomorrow my father's dam will have dried up'.

(134) **Maitseboa ka ura ya bolesomê, re tlabô re rôbêtse.**

'Tonight at ten o'clock we will be sleeping'.

6.6.5 Conclusion

6.6.5.1 Compound tenses

The term compound tense is problematic, since it expresses a contradiction as it is impossible to have two tenses in the same verbal group. The analysis of verbal groups according to the modern approach of relative tenses, is clear and more appropriate. The distinction between absolute and relative tenses has been introduced into the African languages by Posthumus (1982) for Zulu. Mabule (1992) and Louwrens (1994) elaborated on this theory for Northern Sotho. It is, however, still new in the field of grammatical studies in the African languages.

6.6.5.2 Aspect

The introduction of the term "aspect" as suggested by Louwrens is regarded as logical and suitable. The inclusion of verb forms which are indeed aspectual i.e. the imperfective forms of the present, and the perfective and imperfective forms of the past and future tenses is regarded as valid.

6.6.5.3 Future tense

There are conflicting views regarding the notion "future tense". Lombard *et al.* (1985: 142) include the future tense form in their discussion of tense. Posthumus (1987:203), on the other hand, excludes the future tense from his paradigm of tense because it does not express a relationship between coding time and event time in the same way as the present and past tenses. Van Wyk (1987:283) prefers to refer to the future tense forms and similar structures as implications.

In this regard Louwrens (1994(b):122) considers the following examples as aspectually neutral since they refer to future events which render them hypothetical. He states:

. . . verbs in the future tense can logically not communicate anything with regard to the completion or non-completion of the processes which are involved, because they are still to come.

Compare:

(135) *Re tlabô re bala kuranta fa go le tsididi.*

'We shall be reading the newspaper if it is cold'.

(136) *Re tlabô re badilê dikuranta fa ba gôrôga.*

'We shall have read the newspaper when they arrive'.

The verbal category of aspect is only marked morphologically in the verb in the case of the perfective aspect. Other aspectual distinctions are to be deduced from the semantic value of the verb. The question of aspectual neutrality is a difficult one, yet though the processes in question are in the future (and thus hypothetical) it is the researcher's contention that the same markedness or non-markedness of aspect that exists for the past tense also exists for the future tense. In example (136) above, the act of reading is linked to a particular time reference point in the future at which the act of reading will be incomplete, i.e. imperfective. In example (137) however, *ba badilê* indicates that the act of reading is linked to a time reference point in the future at which the reading will be complete, i.e. perfective since it is morphologically marked in the verb. The same markedness is in the past tense.

6.7 VALUE AND FUNCTION OF THE COMPONENTS OF VERBAL GROUPS INDICATING RELATIVE TENSES

The components of the verbal groups indicating relative tense forms (viz. the deficient verb and the subordinate verb, termed a complement) will be dealt with in this section. This will be done by examining the different deficient and auxiliary verbs which are contained in the structures indicating these tenses.

6.7.1 The deficient verbs employed in relative tenses

The deficient verbs *-nê* and *-tlabô* are used in Tswana to indicate relative tense.

6.7.1.1 The deficient verb *-nê*

Various African language grammarians have studied the deficient verb *-nê* which is used in the formation of relative tense forms. They approached the analysis of tense forms from different angles. Some of these approaches have been contrary to the principle of a deictic centre.

Doke (1986:194 - 195) refers to these forms as the 'contingent mood' in Zulu. He describes it as follows:

In this mood are found only past tenses, indicative of unfulfilled or unaccomplished intention. Each of these tenses has past as well as future auxiliaries in the formation, and by some these tenses have been called 'past future', a term which describes their form rather than their function. Zulu employs in this connection both immediate and remote past tenses.

He cites an example, which in Tswana would be:

(137) *Ke nê ke tlabô ke itumêtse fa rrê a gôrôga.*

'I would have been excited when father arrives'.

In the above example the point for the location of the situation is given by the context or marked by the deficient verb, *-nê*.

Referring to the use of *ba-/be-* in the compound tenses of the verb for Zulu Van Eeden (1956:320) states the following:

In Zulu bestaan daar ook 'n groot aantal tydvorms wat gevorm is met behulp van die verbale ouksiliêr *ba-/be-*(-ba, word, wees).

Ziervogel et al. (1977:77) refer to these as the continuous past tenses. Concerning the semantic interpretation of the use of *-nê* in the relative tense they state:

-nê as part of a compound predicate indicates an action which continued in the past.

A Tswana example would be (138):

(138) *Dipodi di nê di fula mô thabêng.*

'The goats were grazing on the hill'.

The definition of Ziervogel et al. as quoted above clearly indicates that the meaning of *-nê* is defined in terms of the complement. According to the approach regarding the aspectual value of the complementary verb adopted in this study (refer to 6.6.) the complementary verb *di fula* would indicate aspect. Thus the deduction that the meaning of *-nê* is defined in terms of the complement would be wrong as it indicates past time.

Van Wyk (1981:101) as quoted earlier asserts the following on the semantic function of *-nê*:

Die beginsel van samestelling berus daarop dat die hulpwerkwoordstam *-nê* met 'n neutrale eksistensiële betekenis, vertaalbaar as wees (in die omstandighede dat), gebruik word.

This deduction is also inaccurate as *-nê* does not relate to the 'event internal' time (aspect) of the verb, but rather to the 'event external' time (tense).

The grammarians quoted above associate the auxiliary verb stem *-nê-* with completion or incompleteness of the action (a deduction which is based on the value of the complementary verb). Van Wyk (1981: 101) then suggests, although not explicitly, that the interpretation of the *-nê* should not be done from coding time, but from another reference point in the past.

Cole (1979:235) asserts that deficient verbs are used to indicate simple distinctions of time or tense. Example (139) can be cited here:

(139) *Ke nê ke builê fa ba simolola go lwa.*

'I had spoken when they started fighting'.

Thus, according to Cole (1979:238) (who follows the traditional view on tense), the semantic value of the deficient verb *-nê* indicates some time in the past.

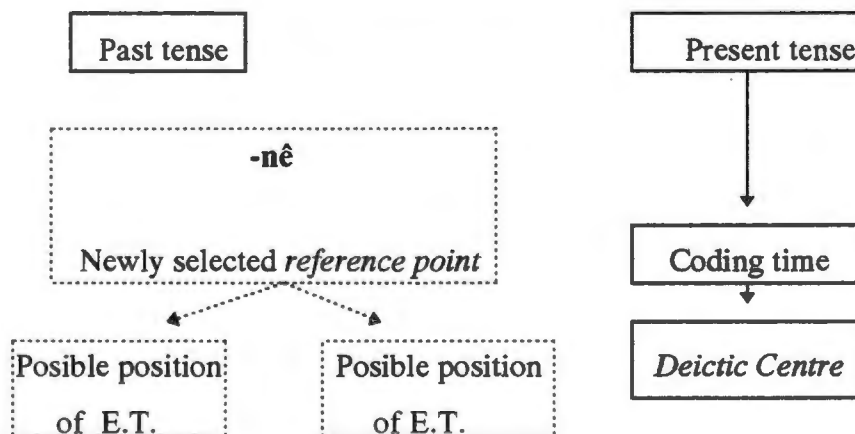
This study agrees with Posthumus (1988:23) who regards this auxiliary verb form as a marker of the reference point for the interpretation of event time. Note example (141) below.

(140) *Re nê re itumêtse fa re bôna batsadi ba rona.*

'We were happy when we saw our parents'.

In example (140), the deficient verb stem *-nê* marks the point of reference in relation to coding time (the deictic centre). This means that the interpretation of the event time is not made in relation to coding time, but it is made in terms of a newly established reference point in.

Schematically it can be presented as follows:



The reference point is prior to coding time. It is clear that *-nê* establishes a newly selected reference point in relation to the deictic centre form which the interpretation of the event is to be made.

6.7.1.2 The deficient verb stem *-tlabô*

The deficient verb stem *-tlabô* indicates that the action will start in the not too nearby future. This could be the reason why grammarians such as Cole and Sandilands refer to this tense as the future continuous tense, which clearly indicates a definition in terms of the complement. Should the complementary verb be perfective then this verb form should be named the future tense with perfective aspect. Compare the following:

(141) *Ke tlabô ke thaisa ditlhapi fa baêng ba gôrôga.*

'I shall be fishing (catching fish) when the guests arrive'.

(142) *Ke tlabô ke thaisitse ditlhapi fa baêng ba gôrôga.*

'I shall have caught fish when the guests arrive'.

In example (141), the complementary verb indicates the imperfective aspect and in (142) perfective aspect.

The future with *-tla* differs from the future with *-tlabô* in that the former is an absolute tense, and it indicates that the action will be executed in the nearby future. It also conveys the idea that the action/event will definitely/surely take place. The relative future tense with *-tlabô* on the other hand conveys the idea of some remoteness in the execution of the process/event indicated in the verb. This event/process is usually related to some other accompanying actions. Compare (143) and (144) below:

(143) *Ba tla tlisa kôlôl ya rona beke ê e tlang.*

'They will bring our vehicle next week'.

(144) *Ka ura ya bobêdi re tlabô re gôrôgilê kwa gae.*

'By two o'clock we shall have arrived at home'.

According to Posthumus (1982:99) there are two relative and two absolute future tenses in Zulu. These tenses are indicated by the auxiliary verbs *-za* and *-ya*. The first indicates an action which takes place "shortly" after coding time, whereas the later indicates an action/event that takes place "long" after coding time.

For Tswana it can be indicated that the absolute future tense with *-tla* tends to refer to a time closer to coding time, whereas the relative future tense with *-tlabô* tends to indicate an action that takes place 'longer' after coding time.

The issue as to whether the future is a tense or an aspect has still not been clarified. Posthumus (1982) holds the opinion that the future tense may rather be interpreted as an aspect, and not as a tense as it is hypothetical and not factual. He (1982:98) states:

Bearing in mind the fact that the future tense may rather be interpreted as an aspect

Yet, he (1982:100-101) indicates that the deictic centre can be shifted (even in the future) when he states that:

. . . a schematic diagram indicating the possible positions of the shifted deictic centre.

In contradiction with this, Posthumus (1988 and 1996) indicates that the deictic centre cannot be shifted, but that a shifted reference point in relation to the deictic centre is created by the auxiliary verbal group. This shifted reference point can be in two positions in the past or in two positions in the future. In the light of the description of the past tenses and applying the same rules to describe the future tense, this study opts to regard the future as a tense, and not an aspect.

6.8 TENSE FORMS IDENTIFIED FOR TSWANA

From section 6.4. to 6.6. an overview of the tenses according to both the traditional approach and the modern approach were given. It was indicated that in the traditional approach tenses were identified as simple and compound tenses according to the complexity of the verb. The traditional approach thus argued that the auxiliary verb as well as the complementary verb in auxiliary verbal groups indicate tense.

In the more modern approach the method of analyzing tense became more scientific in that terms such as deictic centre, reference time, event time etc. were employed in the analysis and description of tense. A distinction between absolute and relative tense is based on the point from which the temporal interpretation is made. In the absolute tenses the reference point coincides with the deictic centre, while in the relative tenses the reference point is shifted to a point other than the deictic centre.

In this study the modern approach to tense will be adhered to, and in that paradigm absolute and relative tense forms and their subcategories will be put forward on the basis of the views of Posthumus (1989:140), Mabule (1992:12) and Louwrens (1994:120). The importance of the auxiliary verbs *-nê* and *-tlabô* in the presentation of the relative tenses is clear (refer to 6.7.1.1. and 6.7.1.2.).

In the treatment of the relative tenses thus far, only a single auxiliary verb has been used in the auxiliary verbal groups. There are however instances where two or even more auxiliary verbs may appear together. This complexity of the predicate makes the naming of the different possibilities a problem.

The following tense forms are suggested for Tswana.

6.8.1 Absolute tense forms

The absolute tense forms distinguished for Tswana are the present, past and future tenses.

6.8.1.1 Present tense

The term present tense is misleading in a sense, since it is not solely used to describe actions that are happening at speech time. It can also be used to refer to general truths, habitual or iterative actions. (Refer to Posthumus (1982:88-91.) It is therefore appropriate to name it the present indefinite or the present imperfect tense. Compare examples (145) and (146) below.

(145) Tau e bôna dithôlô tsê di nwang mêtsi mô molapông.

'The lion sees the kudus that are drinking water at the river'.

(146) Bana ba tshameka mô pulêng.

'The children are playing in the rain'.

In the above examples event time coincides with coding time. The seeing and the playing are taking place at speech time (coding time).

There has been a substantial debate in the African languages on the so-called short form of the present tense (as indicated in (148) and (149) above), and the long form where the morpheme *-a* is used (as mentioned in (150) below). (See du Plessis (1978 & 1986); Doke (1965:167;334); Ziervogel et al. (1976:47); Louw (1963:39); Van Eeden (1956:245); Kosch (1987).)

(147) Bana ba a tsamaya.

'The children are walking'.

The debate on an appropriate term to be used for this morpheme (present tense *-a*) is also still not over. It is not the aim of this study to solve the problem. This morpheme will therefore be referred to as the present tense *-a-* morpheme.

6.8.1.2 Past tense

This tense form was traditionally also known as the perfect tense, or the present perfect tense. It describes an action/event that started in the past, and was completed in the past.

(148) *Re bône moruti wa kêrêkê ya rona.*

'We saw the preacher of our church'.

(149) *Maabane ke rutilê bana mokgwa wa go dirisa sekêê.*

'Yesterday I taught the children the way to use the scissors'.

The events in both (148) and (149) took place prior to coding time (speech time), and are completed.

6.8.1.3 Future tense

The views of linguists on this tense differ. (Refer to 6.6.5.3.) Lombard *et al.* (1985:142) state that:

The future tense is characterised by the occurrence of a deficient verb form *-tla*, followed by a basic verb stem

The deficient verb stem *-tla* indicates that the action will be executed at a given point, - some time in the (near) future, e.g.

(150) *Baithuti ba tla tla kwano fa ba sena go kwala tekô ya bônê.*

'The students will come here after they have finished writing their test'.

The future with *-tla* indicates that the action will be factual and be executed in the near future, and conveys the idea of either promise or definiteness, e.g.

(151) *Re tla ya kwa Gautêng ka Lamodimo.*

'We shall go to Johannesburg on Sunday'.

(152) *Re tla rêka nama kgantelê.*

'We shall buy meat just now.'

(153) *Bana ba tla ja fa ba tshwêrwe ke tlala.*

The children will eat when they are hungry'.

The view adopted here is in accordance with Lombard *et al.*'s view (1985:142) where the use of the term future tense is restricted to the semantic conceptualization of the phenomenon where events take place subsequent to coding time.

6.8.1.4 Sequential/narrative [past] tense.

The consecutive mood distinguishes only one tense - the so called *sequential* or *narrative* tense. In Zulu these two forms (mood and tense) are phonologically distinct; however, this is not the case in Tswana. The sequential/narrative tense indicates the chronological succession of processes, i.e. it indicates a process which took place subsequent to a previous process. It is often used in telling stories, or describing events that have taken place. The process that precedes the one mentioned need not be verbally realized if the context is known. For a more elaborate discussion on the consecutive in Northern Sotho refer to Lombard *et al.* (1985:152), Louwrens (1991:42-46), and Louwrens (1994(a):240 et seq.). Louwrens (1994(b): 123) opts to classify the consecutive and the habitual moods as aspects. Examine the following Tswana example:

Malôba dintšwa tsa moagisanyi wa rona *di nê tsa tlola* legora *tsa tsêna* mô tshingwanêng ya rona *tsa bolaya* dikoko tsa rona di le nnê, *tsa tlolêla* kwa go bônê gapê *tsa di ja*. E rilê ntatê *a boa* kwa tirông, *a bôna* tiragalô e, *a gakalla* mô go maswê, mme *a bitsa* mapodisa.

(The other day our neighbour's dogs jumped over the fence into our garden, killed four of our chickens, jumped back over again, and ate them. When my father came home he saw it, got furious and called the police.)

Written evidence that this form of the verb is used with the future tense in Tswana cannot be found at the moment. After several talks with mother tongue speakers it is clear that it can also be used to indicate sequential events in the future, i.e. past, with reference to a previous action, whether the latter is in the past or future tense. See example (154) below.

(154) Kgantele fa re sena go fêtsa ka karolô e ya tirô, *re tla ya kwa tôrôpông, ra rêka dijô le mašwi, ra boêla kwano, ra ja, mme ra tswêlêla ka tirô ya rona.*

'In a while when we have finished this section of work, we shall go to town, buy food and milk, return here, eat, and continue with our work'.

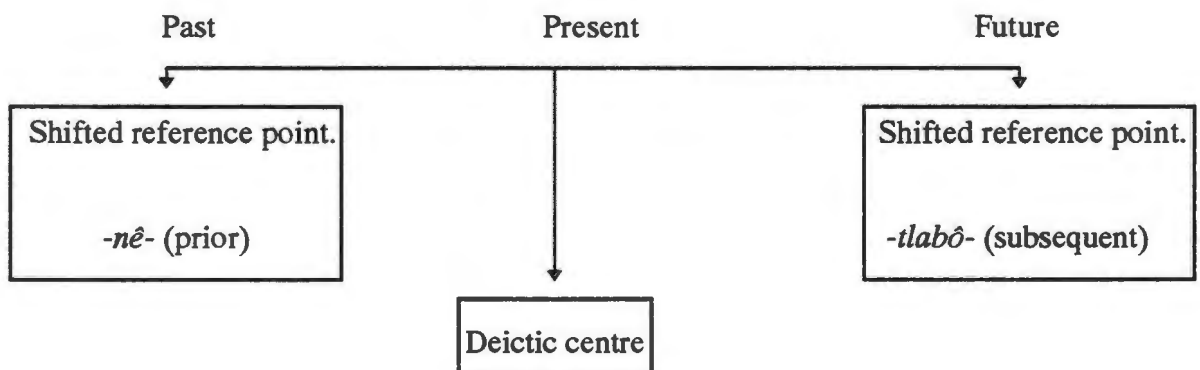
6.8.2 Relative tense forms

Relative tense forms are interpreted according to a reference point other than coding time.

Posthumus (1989:23) maintains the following on the relative tenses:

Tense forms which express a relation between event time, reference time and coding time are called relative tenses.

Thus, in the relative tenses the reference point from which the interpretation of an event is made is some point in time which is speech time i.e. coding time. This point is given by the context or marked by an auxiliary/deficient verb. This reference point which serves as a primary anchoring point for the semantic interpretation of events, may be prior to coding time or subsequent to coding time. This can be represented schematically as follows :



Relative tense forms are marked by auxiliary verbs (tense auxiliaries) followed by their complementary predicates. The complements of the tense-forming auxiliary verbs may also include other auxiliary verbs which have a temporal semantic value such as *-lala*, *-tloga*, *-dika*, *-jafilê* etc., but they do not affect the specific tense forms in question.

The following relative tense forms are identified for Tswana:

6.8.2.1 Remote past tense

In this tense form the auxiliary verb *-nê* is used. See example (155) below:

(155) *Bagolo ba nê ba leka go rarabolola kgêtsi ya ga rrê Malao.*

'The elders were trying to solve Mr. Malao's case'.

Thus, in this tense form the event is interpreted in relation to a reference point that is prior to coding time. In (155) above, the action of solving the problem was in process at a specific point in the past, i.e. it is a past tense with imperfective aspect. If the example is changed to:

(156) *Bagolo ba nê ba rarabolotse kgetsi ya ga rrê Malao.*

'The elders had solved Mr. Malao's case.'

The action of solving the case was finished at reference time, i.e. the complementary verb in this case indicates perfective aspect.

6.8.2.2 Remote future tense

In this tense the reference point is indicated by the auxiliary verb *-tlabô*. It is followed by the independent verb in the situative mood. It (*-tlabô*) usually signifies that the action will be executed in the not too nearby/immediate future. Compare the following:

(157) *Fa o fitlha mô ka Labobêdi re tlabô re sa rôba mmidi.*

'When you arrive here on Tuesday we shall still be harvesting mealies'.

(158) *Fa re gôrôga kwa tôrôpông mabenkele a tlabô a sêtse a tswêtswe.*

'When we arrive in town the shops will already have closed'.

(159) **Fa ngaka e sena go fêtsa ka tirô ya gagwê go tlabô go sêse go le bosigogare.**

'When the doctor has finished his job it will already be midnight'.

It is clear that the examples above convey the idea of some remoteness in the execution of the process.

6.8.2.3 Remote future-past tense/ (Remote future tense (with preceding events))

In this tense form the reference point is shifted to a point in the distant future by the auxiliary verbal stem *-tlabô*. The auxiliary verbal stem *-nê* then indicates that the action or process in the verb was intended to have been completed at reference time when the complementary verb is of the actional type. Compare the following:

(160) **Ba tlabô ba nê ba tlilê go re êtêla maabane, mme jaanong kôlôl ya bônê e rôbêgilê.**

'They would have come to visit us, but now their vehicle has broken down'.

(161) **Re tlabô re nê re ilê kwa lewatlêng, mme kôlôl ya ga ntatê e nê ya utswiwa ke magodu.**

'We would have gone to the coast, but my father's vehicle was stolen by thieves'.

In cases where the complementary verb is a stative verb, it signifies that a subject will have entered into a state at reference time. Compare the following:

(162) **Bana ba tlabô ba nê ba rôbêtse.**

'The children will/would have been asleep'.

(163) **Tamo ê, e tlabô e nê e tlêtse ka Laboraro, mme jaanong mêtsi a tsêrwe ke tamo ê ntšhwa ê e agilwêng ngôgôla.**

'This dam would have been full by Wednesday, but now the water has been taken up by the new dam that was built last year'.

6.8.2.4 Remote past-future tense / The remote past tense (with succeeding events))

In this tense form the reference point is shifted to a point in the distant past by the auxiliary verbal stem *-nê*. The auxiliary verbal stem *-tlabô* then indicates that the action or process in the verb was intended to be performed (or not to be performed) or an event was supposed to take place (or not to take place) if certain circumstances had not

interfered or if certain conditions were favourable. The two auxiliary verbs can be translated as 'would have'. Compare the following:

(164) *Ntatê o nê a tlabô a fûlhilê ka ura ya bobêdi fa kôlôi ya gagwê e nê e sa robega.*

'Father would have arrived here at two if his car had not broken down'.

(165) *Re nê re tlabô re ilê kwa gae fa morutabana a nê a sa re bitsa.*

'We would have gone home if the teacher hadn't called us'.

6.8.2.5 Remote imperfective sequential past tense

This tense is named after the coordinative consecutive auxiliary verbal stem *-bô* which signifies that an action took place in the past, usually some time after a previous action, or an implied action in a preceding context. This kind of auxiliary verbal group cannot be used as a second member in a coordinated series of subsequent actions, as is the case with the absolute sequential past tense.

In this tense form the auxiliary verbal stem *-bô* which occurs in the narrative past tense, is used. Compare (166) and (167) below.

(166) *Morago bana ba bô ba kwala lekwalô la semmusô go dira kopô ya go amogêlwa mô ngwageng ô o tlang.*

'Afterwards the children (then) wrote an official letter applying for admission for next year'.

(167) *Jaanong phokojwê ya bô e tsaya kgêtse, ya ya le yônê kwa gae.*

'The jackal then took the bag and went home with it'.

From the examples cited above, it is clear that the tense signifies a more remote action, than the absolute sequential past tense.

6.8.2.6 Remote past consecutive tense

This tense signifies an action which took place in the past and it does not necessarily imply a previous process, whereas the remote sequential past tense with *-bô* (mentioned above) implies one or more previous processes. Compare (168) and 169) below.

(168) *Morago ga môo re nê ra boêla gae.*

'Afterwards we returned home'.

(169) *Dintšwa di nê tsa loma moêng wa bônê.*

'The dogs bit their visitor'.

However, it remains difficult to determine an appropriate term to name this tense. The above-mentioned term is proposed as a result of the values indicated by the auxiliary verbal stem *-bô* and the complementary verb. (Refer to Cole (1975:282-283).)

6.9 CONCLUSION

In this chapter the distinction between absolute and relative tense forms in Tswana was pointed out. Absolute tense forms refer to tenses which take speech time as their reference point. A distinction is made between the present, the past, the future and sequential (past) tenses.

In the relative tenses, the reference point for the interpretation of events is some point in time other than coding time. In Tswana the reference point is marked by the auxiliary verbal stems *-nê* and *-tlabô*. It may be prior or subsequent to coding time. After the discussion of the theoretical background the tense forms listed below were proposed for Tswana. The terms for some of these tenses are not satisfactory as they include contradictions. This is the result of the semantic values of the auxiliary verbal stems involved. It is therefore better to refer to the description given for each of these tenses. However, for quick reference the proposed terms are still given:

⇒remote past,

⇒remote future,

⇒remote past-future / remote past (with succeeding events) ,

⇒remote future-past / remote future (with preceding events),

⇒remote sequential past, and the

⇒remote past consecutive tense.

The following points from this chapter are considered as important:

⇒Tense is morphologically and phonologically marked in the verb structure.

⇒In the absolute tense forms coding time (deictic centre) coincides with reference time. In the relative tenses events are interpreted in relation to a reference point which is not coding time.

⇒The auxiliary verbs which have been identified as tense markers in Tswana are *-nê*, *-tlabô* and *-bô*.

⇒The predicate in the absolute tenses is monoverbal, whereas in the relative tenses it is polyverbal.

⇒A set of absolute and relative tense forms, respectively, has been identified.

⇒It should be born in mind that this chapter is an attempt at explaining a linguistic phenomenon that is controversial in the African languages. Much still has to be done on systematizing the description of tense and aspect in the African languages.

CHAPTER 7

AUXILIARY VERBAL GROUPS

7.1 AIMS

This chapter has the following aims:

- ⇒ To define auxiliary verbal groups and their compulsory as well as non-compulsory members.
- ⇒ To discuss the mood of the independent verb and that of the auxiliary verb.
- ⇒ To discuss each auxiliary verb individually regarding its meaning and usages (the moods it can appear in).

7.2 DEFINITION

An auxiliary verb group (as is the case with other word groups) can be defined on two levels:

- ⇒ the word category level, and
- ⇒ the syntactic or functional level.

A full definition will incorporate both these levels.

7.2.1 Definition on the word category level

An auxiliary verb group is a word group which consists of an auxiliary verb as one (first) member and (i) a verb/verbal group (ii) a copulative group or (iii) another auxiliary verb group as the other (second) member.

Compare the following examples:

- Aux verb
- i. verb/verbal group - *ba tlabô* ba tlistsê ditulô.
 - ii. copulative group - *e tlabô* e le mô lapêng
 - iii. auxiliary group - *e tlabô* e sêse e lomilê ngwana

7.2.2 Definition on the syntactical/functional level

An auxiliary verb group is a word group which consists of an introductory member as first member and a verbal complement as a second member, e.g.

intr. member + complement

- ba nê* + ba tlistsê ditulô (verbal group)
- + *ba le mô lapêng* (cop. group)
- + *ba sêse ba tlistsê ditulô* (aux. group)

7.2.3 Exhaustive definition

An auxiliary verb group is a word group which consists of an auxiliary verb as introductory member and a verb/verbal group, a copulative group or another auxiliary verb group as the complementary member (the complement). The complement expresses the main process or action while the auxiliary verb in broad terms expresses the manner of duration of the process/action or the time at which the process/action takes place.

7.3 NON-COMPULSORY MEMBERS OF THE AUXILIARY VERB GROUP

These members include the following subordinate functional classes: the subject; the objects; the descriptive(s) (adverbs, adverbial groups, adverbial clauses).

They are called subordinate, non-compulsory or additional functions on the syntactic level because they are not essential components for the existence of the auxiliary verb group (and even the verbal group or the copulative group), although they may be very important semantically and textually.

7.4 THE STRUCTURE OF AUXILIARY VERB GROUPS: HIERARCHY OF FUNCTIONS

The aforementioned (compulsory and non-compulsory) members of an auxiliary verb group join to form the following structures: (the term structure is used here to express the meaning of two or more components which are joined in a permissible linear and a hierarchical order):

7.4.1 With verbal complement

(Subj.) + intr. aux. + pred. + (verbal complement) + (obj.) + (descriptive)

(Dintšwa tsêo) + *ga di tlhôle* + di loma + (bana) + (mô tselêng)

(Those dogs do not bite (children) (in the street) anymore).

(Subj.) + intr. aux. + intr.cop.v + compl. + (descriptive)

(Dikgômo tsêo) + *ga di tlhôle* + di le mô tselêng (jaanong)

(Those dogs are not in the street anymore (now)).

The reason why the object in (7.4.1.) is included in the complement of the auxiliary verb is that it has a strong semantic connection with the independent verb sustained by the fact that it can be anaphorically referred to by its objectival concord, e.g.

(1) **Dintšwa tsêo ga di tlhôle di *ba* loma.**

'Those dogs do not bite *them* anymore'.

The reason why the descriptives are of lower rank than subjects is that most of them are conditionally mobile in the sense that they can be moved to the front position which is indicative of a looser semantic relation with the predicate than the subject, e.g.

(2) **Jaanong dintšwa tsêo ga di tlhôle di loma batho.**

'Now those dogs no longer bite the people'.

A descriptive can also occur after the subject in which case the subject becomes an appositional member of the auxiliary verb group, e.g.

Dintšwa tsêo, gompiêno ga di tlhôle di loma batho (Those dogs (as for them) today they do not bite the people anymore).

(3a) **Go nê go se na mêtsi mô tankêng ê.**

'There was no water in this tank'.

(3b) **Mô tankêng ê, go nê go se na mêtsi.**

'In this tank, there was no water'.

7.5 THE MOOD OF THE AUXILIARY VERB AND THAT OF THE COMPLEMENT

7.5.1 The mood of the auxiliary verb

The mood of the (first) auxiliary verb, determines the usage of the particular auxiliary verb group as a whole, irrespective of the mood of the complement which in its turn is determined by the auxiliary verb. Compare the following examples.

(4) ***O nna a ba tshwênya fa ba tshameka.***

'He keeps on bothering them while they are playing'.

The auxiliary verb is in the *indicative mood* while the complementary verb is in the *situative mood*. The whole group functions as an independent *indicative sentence*. The conjunctive group (*fa ...*) is a subordinate clause of time while the auxiliary verb group is the main sentence.

(5) ***Ke mmône a nna a ba tshwênya (fa ba tshameka).***

'I saw him continuing to bother them (while they were playing)'.

The auxiliary verb is in the *situative mood*, as is the complement. The whole auxiliary group functions as a dependent *situative clause of circumstance/time*.

(6) *A nna a ba tshwênya (fa ba tshameka).*

'He then kept on bothering them (while they were playing)'

The auxiliary verb is in the consecutive mood and the complementary verb is also in the consecutive mood. The whole auxiliary group functions as an independent consecutive sentence.

(7) *Ke tla rulaganya gore a se nnê a ba tshwênya (fa ba tshameka).*

'I shall arrange(i.e. make that) he should not keep on (continue) bothering them (while they are playing)'

The auxiliary verb is in the subjunctive mood and the complement in the situative.

(8) *(O) se nnê o ba tshwênya!*

'Do not keep on bothering them!'

The auxiliary verb is in the *Imperative mood* and the complement in the situative.

In conclusion it can be indicated that the function and meaning of an auxiliary verb group is determined by the mood in which the auxiliary verb occurs and not by the mood of the complement which, in its turn, is determined by the auxiliary verb itself. This is also true of ordinary verbal groups and copulative groups. The mood therefore determines the usage in the larger syntactic environment. For instance, the external function(s) of an auxiliary verb group occurring in the indicative or situative mood will correspond to that/those of a verbal group occurring in the same mood.

7.5.2 The mood of the complement

The mood of the complement of the auxiliary verb is determined by the auxiliary verb, i.e. the auxiliary verb requires that the complement should be in a particular mood. Compare the following examples:

- i. The auxiliary verbs *-kilê*, *-ka*, for instance, require the complement to be in the consecutive mood, e.g.

(9) **Dintšwa di kilê tsa loma bana mô tselêng.**

'The dogs once bit the children in the street'.

(10) **Dintšwa ga di ka ke tsa loma bana mô tselêng.**

'The dogs cannot bite the children in the street'.

ii. The auxiliary verbs, *-nê*, *-tlhôla*, *-tsoga*, *-bô* for instance require the complement to be in the participial/situative mood, e.g.

(11) **Dintšwa di nê di loma bana mô tselêng.**

'The dogs bit/ were biting the children in the street'.

(12) **Dintšwa di tlhôla di loma bana mô tselêng.**

'The dogs keep on biting the children in the street'.

(13) **Dintšwa tsa bô di loma bana mô tselêng.**

'The dogs then bit the children in the street'.

iii. The auxiliary verbal stems *-ise*, *-(a) -nê* require the complement to be in the habitual mood, e.g.

(14) **Dintšwa ga di ise di lome bana mô tselêng.**

'The dogs have not yet bitten the children in the street'.

(15) **Dintšwa di (a) nê di lome bana mô tselêng.**

'The dogs have once/sometimes in the past bitten the children'.

7.6 PROPER AUXILIARY VERBS

7.6.1 Used in negative structures

The following auxiliary verbs are used in negative structures being negative counterparts of certain positive forms. This group includes the following auxiliary verbal stems: *-bisa*, *-ise*, *-ka*, *-kitla/-ketla*, *-nê*, and *-nke*. Each of these auxiliaries will now be treated with respect to their modal valences.

7.6.1.1 The auxiliary verbal stem *-bisa*

It occurs in the infinitive and is followed by the infinitive.

(16) *Go bisa go utlwa go ka go tsênya mô molatông*

'To fail to hear can land you in trouble'.

7.6.1.2 The auxiliary verbal stem *-ise (-ese)*

It occurs in the following model and morphological categories:

i. Indicative

Present tense - followed by the habitual

Meaning: not yet, not at all, e.g.

(17) *Bana ga ba ise ba gôrôge.*

'The children have not yet arrived'.

ii. Situative

Present tense - followed by the habitual

Meaning: not yet, not at all, e.g.

(18) *Fa lo ise lo fêtse fa ke boa, ke tla lo betsä.*

'If you are not yet through when I return, I shall punish you'.

7.6.1.3 The auxiliary verbal stem *-ka*

The auxiliary verb *-ka* occurs in the following model and morphological categories:

i. Indicative

(a) Present tense negative

(1) Followed by the situative present imperfect

Meaning: never, not as habit, e.g.

(19a) *Ga ba nke ba rêka.*

'They never buy'.

(19b) *Ga re nke re ya sekôlông ka Lamodimo.*

'We never go to school on Sunday'.

The negative morpheme *ga-* is used with *-ka* to negate.

(2) Potential - followed by the consecutive

Negative

Meaning: can/will/shall not

The negative morpheme *ga-* is used with its variant *-se-*, e.g.

(20) *Ga ba ka ke ba rêka.* or *Ba ka se ka ba rêka.*

'They shall never buy'.

(b) Absolute past tense - followed by the consecutive:

Meaning: once, once upon a time, or ever (in interrogative sentences), e.g.

Positive

Negative

Ba kilê ba rêka.

Ga ba a ka ba rêka.

(They once bought).

(They never bought).

Nkilê ka rêka.

Ga ke a ka ka rêka.

(I once bought).

(I never bought).

The negative is that of the absolute past tense

(21) *A ba kilê ba rêka?*

'Have they ever bought?'

ii Subjunctive - followed by the consecutive:

Negative

The negative morpheme *se-* is used, e.g.

(22a) Ntatê o tsêilê madi a me gore *ke se ka ka* rêka.

'So that I should never (definitely not) buy'.

(22b) Ke nôtlêitse lebati gore *ba se ka ba* tsêna.

'I locked the door so that they (definitely) cannot come in'.

The ending of the auxiliary verb may also be *-e/-ê*, e.g.

Hortative form followed by the subjunctive, e.g.

(23) A *ba kê ba* rêkê!

'Let them buy!'

C. Consecutive - followed by the consecutive:

Negative

Meaning: never

The negative morpheme *-se-* is used, e.g.

(24a) *Ra se ka ra* rêka.

'Then we never bought'.

(24b) *Ba nê ba re solofêditsê gore ba tla tliša dibuka tsa rona, mme ba se ka ba tla.*

'They promised us that they would bring our books, but they never came'.

D. Habitual - followed by the habitual:

Negative

Meaning: usually not, normally

The negative morpheme *-se-* is used, e.g.

(25a) *Re se ke re di rêke.*

'We normally (usually) didn't buy them'.

(25b) *Ntatê o nê a tihôla a ya go tshameka thênese ka Satertaga, mme rona re se ke re ye le ênê.*

'Father used to go to play tennis on Saturdays, but we normally/usually did not go with him'.

E. Situative

(a) Present tense

With potential and followed by the consecutive.

Negative

Meaning: cannot/shall not/will not

The negative morpheme *-se-* with the variant *-sa-* is used, e.g.

(26a) *Fa nka se ka ka rêka.* or *Fa ke sa ka ke ka rêka.*

'When/if I cannot buy'.

(26b) *Fa re ka se ka ra boa/ Fa re sa ka ke ra boa, re tla lo itsisa ka mogala.*

'If we cannot come back we will let you know by phone'.

(b) Past tense - followed by the consecutive.

Positive

Meaning: once, ever, e.g.

(27a) Fa ntšwa e kilê ya ja mae, ga e na go tlogêla mokgwa ôo.

'If a dog has once eaten eggs, it will not abandon that habbit'.

(27b) Fa o kilê wa bôna kôtsi ya dikôlôi, o tla itse gore motho o tshwanêtse go kgwêêtsa ka kêlôtlhokô.

'If you have ever seen an accident you will know that one has to drive carefully'.

7.6.1.4 The auxiliary verbal stem *-kitla/-ketla*

As auxiliary verb it means "shall/will not".

A. Indicative mood

Present tense negative - followed by the situative present imperfective.

(28) Monna yôo o a tshêpêga, ga a kitla a go tsiêtsa.

'That man is trustworthy, he will not deceive you'.

B. Situative

Present tense negative

(29) Fa banna ba sa kitla ba tla le dibuka tsa bôna, o ba romêlê go nna.

'If the children will not bring their books along, (you must) send them to me'.

7.6.1.5 The auxiliary verbal stem *-nke*

As auxiliary verb it means “will/shall not”.

A. Indicative mood

Past tense negative

Followed by the situative imperfect present tense.

(30a) Ntšwa êo ya gago ga e nke e fênnya ya me.

‘That dog of yours will not overpower mine’.

(30b) Ba ka mo kopa, mme ga a nke a ba adima kôloi ya gagwê.

‘They can ask him, but he will not lend them his vehicle’.

B. Situative

Present tense negative - followed by the situative imperfective present tense.

(31a) Ke tla ya gae, fa ba se nke ba utlwa.

‘I shall go home, if they are not going to listen’.

(31b) Ke tla tlogêla dilô tsê gônê fa, fa o se nke o nthusa ka tsônê.

‘I shall leave these things right here if you will not help me with them’.

7.6.2 Auxiliary verbs with the semantic value of logical time

Auxiliary verbs with this value indicate that the main processes are/were executed at a certain time or time lapse. This feature has led to the view that they have a descriptive function. The following auxiliary verb stems belong to this group: *-bôlo*, *-sena*, *-jafilê*, *-kilê*, *-ilê* and *-sale*. The auxiliary verbal stem *-setse* has more or less the same semantical value as this group, however it is treated as the perfective form of *-sala* (refer to 7.7.4.2.) Subsequently each of these auxiliaries will be treated with respect to their modal valences.

7.6.2.1 The auxiliary verbal stem *-bôlo*

-Bôlo always occurs in the negative form and occurs in the following modal and morphological categories:

A. Indicative

(1) Present tense - followed by the infinitive.

Meaning: some time ago, already, long ago, e.g.

(32a) *Ga ke bôlo go rêka.*

'I bought quite some time ago/ long ago'.

(32b) *Ga ke bôlo go go bolêlêla gore o se ka wa tshameka mô tselêng, mme ga o na ditsêbê.*

'I told you long ago not to play in the road, but you do not have ears'.

B. Situative

(1) Present tense - followed by the infinitive or the situative present tense.

Meaning: some time ago, have already, had long ago, e.g.

(33a) *Fa bana ba sa bôlo go tsamaya/ba tsamaya, o busê diaparô tsa bônê.*

'When the children have long gone, return their clothing'.

(33b) *Fa a bônwa ke dintšwa o nê a sa bôlo go tsêna.*

'When/at the time the dogs saw him, he had long since entered'.

7.6.2.2 The auxiliary verbal stem *-sena*

As auxiliary verb it means “after”.

Only situative forms of *-sena* occur, with its complements being infinitive, e.g.

(34a) *Ke tla go thusa fa ke sena go anêga diaparô tsê.*

‘I shall help you after I have hung up these clothes’.

(34b) *Fa di sena go fûla, lo di nosê mêtsi.*

‘After they have grazed, (you must) let them drink water’.

In some instances the infinitive and the subject concord of the complement can be left out, the result being that the two words form one.

(35) *--ke sena go rêka./ -- ke senô rêka.*

‘After I have bought’.

7.6.2.3 The auxiliary verbal stem *-jafilê*

This auxiliary verb occurs in the following modal and morphological categories:

A. Indicative

(a) Past tense - followed by the subjunctive or the consecutive.

Meaning: “at the right time/moment, appropriate time, exactly, in the nick of time”.

Note the following examples:

(36a) *O jafilê a tla kwa tselêng ka kôlôi e ne e ilê go gata ntswa ya rona.*

‘He has come to the road just at the right moment as the car was going to run our dog over’.

(36b) *O jafilê a tla go re thusa ka re ne re sa kgône go thibêla dikgômo.*

‘He then came to help us (just at the right time) as we couldn’t control the cattle’.

B. Situative

(a) Past tense - followed by the subjunctive or the consecutive.

Meaning: “at the right time/moment, appropriate time, exactly”.

(37a) *Fa bana ba jafilê ba gôrôga fa sekôlông, o itse gore bese e nê e sa rôbôga.*

‘If the children arrive at school (at the right time), you know that their bus did not break down’.

(37b) *O jafilê wa thuntsha noga, e nê e ilê go ntoma.*

‘You shot the snake (just at the right time) as it was going to bite me’.

(37c) *Ngwana yôo o letlhôgônôlô, o jafilê wa êmisa kôlôi ka o nê o ya go mo gata.*

‘That child is lucky as you stopped that car just at the right time as you were going to run him over’.

7.6.2.4 The auxiliary verbal stem *-kile*

This auxiliary verb occurs in the following modal and morphological categories:

A. Indicative

(a) Past tense - followed by the subjunctive or the consecutive.

Meaning: “once, once upon a time, at one time (referring to the past)”. Note the following examples:

(38a) *Ke kilê ka pômpa leotwana la kôlôi ya me gore le bê le thunyê.*

‘I once pumped the wheel of my vehicle so that it burst’.

(38b) *Ntate o kilê a nthêkêla ditlhako tsê dintšha ka kerešemose.*

‘My father once bought me new shoes on christmas.’

B. Situative

(a) Past tense - followed by the subjunctive or the consecutive.

Meaning: “once, once upon a time, at one time (referring to the past)”. Note the following examples:

(39a) *Fa o kilê wa bona tau o tla itse gore ga se selô sê motho a tshamekang ka sône.*

‘If you have once seen a lion you will know that it is not something that one plays with’.

(39b) *Fa ke kilê ka mmôna ga ke kake ka mo lebala gapê.*

‘If I have seen him once I shall not forget him again’.

C. Infinitive

Meaning: “once, once upon a time, at one time (referring to the past)”. Note the following examples:

(40a) *Go kilê ga nna le ditlou mo tikologông ê.*

‘Once upon a time there were elephants in this region’.

(40b) *Go kilê ga nna le tshwene ê e kgaogilêng leoto la morago, mme e ne ya boilaiwa ke dintjwa tsa batsomi.*

‘There once was a baboon which had lost one leg, but it was killed by the hunters’ dogs’.

7.6.2.5 The auxiliary verbal stem *-ile*

This auxiliary verb occurs in the following modal and morphological categories:

A. Indicative followed by the consecutive.

Meaning: “a while ago, justnow, at a certain time (referring to the past), then”. Note the following examples:

(41a) *Ke ilê ka tswala lebati kgantelê*

‘I closed the door just now’

(41b) *O ilê a ba thusa ka dikgêtsi tsê ba di rwêlêng.*

'He then helped them with the bags that they are carrying.'

B. Situative followed by the consecutive.

Meaning: "at a certain time (referring to the past), then, when". Note the following examples:

(42a) *Ka ba ilê ba tswala hêkê dikgômo di ne di sa kgône go ya go fula.*

'Since the time they had closed the gate the cattle were unable to go and graze'.

(42b) *Le fa ba ilê ba re koba kwa ga bonê re tla boêla teng.*

'Eventhough they then chased us away from their house we will go back there'.

C. Infinitive followed by the consecutive.

Meaning: "at a certain time (referring to the past), then, when". Note the following examples:

(43a) *Fela jaake re nê re re re a tsamaya, go ilê ga gôrôga banna ba babêdi.*

'Just when we wanted to leave, then two men arrived'.

(43b) *Ka lesêdi la ngwêdi le ne le le lentsi go ilê ga bonala sentlê bosigo bôo.*

As the light of the moon was clear it was very visible that night'.

7.6.2.6 The auxiliary verbal stem *-sale*

This auxiliary verb occurs in the following modal and morphological categories:

A. Indicative followed by the consecutive.

Meaning: "the last time, then, when". Note the following examples:

(44a) *Ba sale ba tlilê kwano beke ê e fertilêng, go tloga moo ga re isê re ba bone gapê.*

'They last came here last weak, since then we have not seen them again'.

(44b) *Dipitse di sale tsa feta fa maabane, mme e seng gapê.*

'The horses came past here yesterday, and not again'.

B. Situative followed by the consecutive.

Meaning: "the last time, then, when". Note the following examples:

(45a) *Ka ba sale ba re kopilê go ba êtêla re tla ya go bône kamosô.*

'As they last time asked us to visit them, we shall go to them tomorrow'.

(45b) *Ka dintjwa tsa ga malomê di sale tsa ntoma ga ke na go mo êtêla gapê.*

As my uncles' dogs bit me last time I shall not visit him again'.

C. Infinitive followed by the consecutive.

Meaning: "the last time, then, when". Note the following examples:

(46a) *Go sale ga bonala dinaledi beke ê e fetilêng.*

'Stars where last seen last week'.

(46b) *O fetile fa go sale gale phakêla.*

'He came past here when there was still enough time this morning.'

7.6.4 The co-ordinative consecutive auxiliary verbal stem *-ba*

The auxiliary verbal stem *-ba* is a copulative stem which, however, is never used as a copulative stem as is the case with its counterparts in North Sotho and Sesotho. For the formation of copulative groups Tswana uses the copulative verb *-nna* instead. (Refer to Cole (1955:337).) The reason why *-ba* lost its copulative verbal meaning and function in Tswana and why *-nna* is used instead, is uncertain.

As a proper auxiliary verbal stem, *-ba* has the semantic value of coordinating two (or more) predicates consecutively (not causally connected), rendering the semantic values of "and, and then, and also, and further".

-Ba is also used in emphatic negative structures in which the auxiliary verbs *-ka* (*ke, kê*) - *kitla/-ketla* and *-nke* are used.

There is another auxiliary verb of copulative origin with form *-bô* and dialectically *-bê*. Cole (1955:292), and Sandilands (1953:155, 211, 216) refer to a *-ba* group, and a *-bô* group. Whether *-bô* is dialectically or otherwise related to *-ba* is not certain. However, semantically and syntactically they are not the same. For instance, *-bô* is not used to coordinate two predicates as is the case with *-ba*.

In the following examples *-bô/bê* cannot be replaced by *-ba*:

(47a) **E nê ya bô (bê) e le loetô lwa malatsi a le mabêdi.**

'It was about a journey of two days'.

(47b) **Lo tla utlwa molaô; mme e tlabô e le molaô wa manông.**

'You will feel the law; but it will be the law of the vultures'.

(47c) **Ba lebalê, ngwanaka! ba a bô ba go rumola fêla.**

'Forget them, my child! they are probably (again, busy) teasing you'.

-Ba has the phonological variant *-bô* in the environment of subjectival concords which include /o/, e.g.

(48a) **Nôtlêla mabati ôtlhê, o bô (bê) o ya go iphitla fa tlase ga bolao.**

'Lock all the doors, and go and hide under the bed'.

(48b) **Gêlêla mêtsi ka kgamêlô, o bô(bê) o a tlisa kwano.**

'Get water in the bucket, and bring it here'.

It occurs in the following modal and morphological categories:

A. Indicative

(a) Present tense

(1) Basic - followed by the situative imperfect present tense.

Meaning: also, too, then, again, further, e.g.

(49) Ke batla go rêka kôlôi, ke bô ke batlêla ngwana wa me mosese.

'I want to buy a car, and then buy a dress for my child'.

The ending *-a* can sometimes be doubled, the meaning being *eventually, in the end*, e.g.

(50) Ke baa ke gakologêlwa mafoko a gagwê.

'I am then eventually reminded of his words'.

(2) Potential - followed by the consecutive.

Meaning: also, even, e.g.

(51) A ka ba a go thusitsê fa o tlisitsê diaparô tsa gagwê.

'He would have helped you if you had brought his clothes'.

(b) Future tense - followed by the situative imperfect present tense.

The vowel of the future tense morpheme *-tla*, is doubled, e.g. *-tlaa*.

Meaning: also, again, eventually, in the end, e.g.

(52) Motho yô mongwe le yô mongwe yô o nwang mêtsi a, o tlaa ba a nyôrwa gapê.

'Each and every person who drinks this water, will be thirsty again (in the end)'.

B. Subjunctive - followed by the subjunctive.

Meaning: also, further, as a result, e.g.

(53a) Monna o nê a betsa legôdu ka tshipi gore le bê le swê.

'The man hit the thief with an iron bar/rod until he died'.

(53b) Mosimane o nê a gotlha kôlôî gore e bê e phatsimê.

'The boy sanded/polished the vehicle until it shone'.

C. Consecutive - followed by the consecutive.

Meaning: then, afterwards, till, e.g.

(54) Ngaka ya mo alafa a ba a fôla

'The doctor treated him, and then he got better'.

D. Habitual - followed by the habitual.

Meaning: and, also, even, and then, e.g.

(55a) Ka Disatertaga bana ba nê ba tsoga phakêla, ba bê ba aparê diaparô tsa bônê tsê dintlê, ba yê tôrôpông.

'On Saturdays the children got up early, put on their smart clothes, and go to town'.

(55b) Nakô nngwê kgôsi e nê e ya kwa lebênkêlêng mme e nne kôo, gongwê e ba/be e lalê kôo.

'Sometimes the chief went to the shop, sat there, and sometimes also/even slept there'.

E. Infinitive - followed by the situative imperfect.

Meaning: then, and then, e.g.

(56a) Mogolwane mongwê o kilê a êtêla kwa lefatsheng lê le kgakala a ya go ikamogêlêla bogôsi, le go ba a boa.

'A certain rich man once went to a far land to receive the kingship and then came back'.

(56b) Motsomi o tsoma diphôlôgôlô ka a dirisa nama ya tsônê, le go ba a dirisa matlalô a tsônê.

'The hunter hunts the wild animals as he uses their meat, and he also uses their skins'.

F. Situative

(a) Present tense

(1) Basic - followed by the situative imperfect present tense.

Meaning: and also, and then, further, e.g.

(57a) O a ja, a ba a nwa.

'He eats, and also drinks'

(57b) Moêti o nê a re léboga a ba a re fa madi.

'The guest thanked us, and also/even gave us money'.

(2) Potential - followed by the situative imperfect present tense.

Meaning: perhaps, possibly, e.g.

(58a) Fa a ka ba a itse gore ba batla go mmetsa, o nê a tla tsaya tsela ê nngwe.

'If he had (perhaps) known that they want to beat him, he would have taken another road'.

(58b) Fa dikgômo di ka ba di lwala o nê a se ketla a di gama.

'If the cattle were (perhaps) ill he would not have milked them'.

(3) Future tense - followed by the situative imperfect present tense.

Meaning: eventually, in the end, e.g.

(59a) Fa nka amogêla lekwalô la ga ntatê ke tla ba ke itse gore ba tla gôrôga leng.

'If I can receive my fathers letter I shall know when they will arrive'.

(59b) Fa badiri bôtlhê ba thêogêla beke yôtlhê re tla ba re fêtsa tirô e ka Labothano.

'If every worker comes to work for the whole week, we shall eventually finish this job on Friday'.

7.6.5 The inferential or stative auxiliary verbal stem *-bô*

The meaning of *-bô* can be defined as a state, or an *existential continuity in space* which is mapped onto a continuity in time, i.e. it indicates the temporal continuity of an event. (refer to 4.6.1.2.) In conjunction with the futuritive prefix *-tla*, *-bô* is used in the formation of future tense forms. The value of *-bô* is sometimes elusive as it has a variety of values in different contexts. Compare the following:

A. Indicative

(a) Present tense

(1) Basic

Followed by the situative.

Meaning: no doubt, then, perhaps, most probably, surely, e.g.

(60a) *Mosetsana yôo e a bô e le mofênî.*

'That girl is perhaps (probably) the winner'.

(60b) *Dikgômo tsêo e a bô e le tsa ga ntatê.*

'These cattle are probably my fathers'.

(60c) *Wêna wa re ba a go rumola, mme bana bao ba a bô ba tshameka fêla, ngwanaka.*

'You think that they are teasing you, but those children are most probably just playing, my child'.

(60d) *O a bô a gana go re thusa.*

'He is (probably) (no doubt) refusing to help us'.

(60e) *Ke nê ke re ke legôdu, mme e a bô e le ntatê yô o tsênang.*

'I thought it was a thief, but it was only father entering'.

(2) Potential - followed by the following tenses of the situative.

Present tense positive and negative

Meaning: may, can, able to, e.g.

(61a) *Kgamêlô e kabô e tlala.*

'The bucket could become/ have been becoming full'.

(61b) *Morutabana o kabô a re thusa jaanong.*

'The teacher could help/have been helping us now'.

Past tense positive and negative

Meaning: can/may definitely, most probably, e.g.

(62) Dikgômo di kabô di gamilwê mariga.

'The cattle could definitely have been milked during winter'.

(b) Future tense

Followed by the following tenses of the situative:

(1) Present tense

Positive and negative

Meaning: will/shall be (busy) e.g.

(63a) Ka kgwedi ya Phatwê re tlabô re lema.

'We shall plough (be busy ploughing) in August'.

(63b) Ka mosô ka ura ya bobêdi re tlabô re rêetsa ditlhamane mô seyalemowêng.

'Tomorrow at two o'clock we shall be listening to stories on the radio'.

Progressive, positive and negative

Meaning: will/shall still be (busy) ., e.g.

(64a) Basimane ba tlabô ba sa letilê mokatise wa bônê.

'The boys will still be waiting for their coach'.

(64b) Kgaka e tlabô e sa elama mae a yônê.

'The guinefowl will still be nesting its eggs'.

(c) Past tense

(1) Non-stative perfective aspect, positive and negative

Meaning: will/shall have, be in the state of, e.g.

(65a) *Re tlabô re fêditsê ka dijô fa baêng ba gôrôga.*

'e shall be finished with the food when the guests arrive'.

(65b) *Re tlabô re sa fêtsa ka dijô fa baêng ba gôrôga.*

'We shall not be finished with the food when the guests arrive'.

(65c) *Ke tlabô ke tsamailê fa o boa.*

'I shall have gone when you come back'

(65d) *Ke tlabô ke sa tsamaya fa o boa.*

'I shall not have gone when you come back'.

(2) Stative perfective aspect, positive and negative

(66a) *Ka nakô e ka mosô, tamo ya ga ntatê e tlabô e tlêtse.*

'By this time tomorrow my fathers' dam will be full'.

(66b) *Ka nakô ê ka mosô, tamo ya ga ntatê e tlabô e sa tlala.*

'By this time tomorrow my fathers' dam will not be full'.

B. Consecutive - followed by the situative present tense.

Meaning: accidentally, and then (with reference to past time)

(67a) *E re ke feta ka bô ke bôna Ntebalêng a bala buka êo.*

'When I went past I (then) saw Ntêbaleng reading that book'.

(67b) *E rilê Obakêng a tla, ka bô ke bua le Pulê.*

'When Obakêng came, I happened to be talking to Pule'.

(67c) *Mô motseng ôo ga bô go le mosadi wa motlhôlagadi.*

'In that town there was (as it happened) a widow'.

It is also used in the formation of sequential tenses. (Refer to 6.7.1.1.)

C. Situative - Similar to the indicative mood in tense and meaning.

7.6.6 The perfective auxiliary verbal stem *-nê*

The auxiliary verb *-nê* is employed in the formation of relative past tense forms. As such *-nê* was dealt with in the chapter on tenses. (refer to 6.7.1.1.).

7.7 IMPROPER AUXILIARY VERBS

Improper auxiliary verbs have a verbal and an auxiliary verbal status, i.e. they are proper independent verbs which can also function as auxiliary verbs followed by predicative complements. They are therefore called improper auxiliary verbs. This dual function can be ascribed to their idiosyncratic semantic features which enable them to act as auxiliaries as well. In comparing the mutual verbal semantic features of these verbs, one finds that they indicate some motion/movement or state in space which is then metaphorically mapped onto a movement or state in time in which domain the action of the complementary verb is performed. (Refer to chapter 4.) It is therefore predicted that there is a semantic linkage between their verbal semantic features and their auxiliary semantic values, which can be described as a shift from a literal meaning to a figurative meaning. This shift in meaning will become evident in the description of the auxiliaries in the following paragraphs.

Generally all these auxiliary verbs indicate semantic values such as the logical time, the continuation, the temporal succession, the duration or the repetition of processes (i.e. the complementary predicate) respectively. Because of these values they are sometimes regarded as having a descriptive (adverbial) function. Another view is to regard them as auxiliaries with aspectual values. In the following paragraphs, however, they are classified into categories with respect to correspondences and differences between their semantic values. In this regard it must be noted that the existing grammars and even informants differ with respect to the precise semantic values in a number of cases.

7.7.1 Auxiliary verbs expressing a semantic value of continuation/duration

This category of auxiliary verbs expresses a continuation/persistence of the process of the independent verb for some time. The following auxiliary verbs are considered as belonging to this category: *-aga*, *-nna*, *-tlhōla*. The modal valences of each of these auxiliaries will now receive attention.

7.7.1.1 The auxiliary verbal stem *-aga*

As a verb it has the semantic value of: build/construct/erect. As auxiliary verb it means: always, continually, constantly, keep on. It may occur in the following modal and grammatical categories:

A. Indicative

(a) Present tense

(1) Imperfective - followed by the situative present

(68a) *Re aga re ya kwa Gautêng ka re rêka dilô tsa lebenkele la rona têng.*

'We continually go to Gauteng as we buy the stock for our shop there'.

(68b) *Ba aga ba re êtêla, mme ntatê o gana gore re yê kwa go bônê.*

'They always visit us, but father does not want us to go to them'.

(2) Potential - followed by the situative

(69a) *Kólôi êo e ka aga e go tlogêla mô tselêng.*

'That vehicle can always leave you stranded in the road'.

(69b) *Fa o sa baakanye marulêlô a ntlo ya gago e ka aga e dutla.*

'If you don't fix the roof of your house it can always leak'

(b) Future tense - followed by the situative present

(70a) *Fa re ikhutsa monate fa, re tla aga re boêla kwano.*

'If we have a nice holiday here we shall keep on returning here'.

(70b) Fa lo sa baakanye legora, diphôlôgôlô di tla aga di lo senyêtsa mabêlê.

'If you don't fix the fence the wild animals will keep on/continually damage your corn'.

(c) Past tense - followed by the situative present

(71a) Bana ba sekôlô ba agilê ba êmêla bese fa tlase ga setlhare sê.

'The school children always waited for the bus under this tree'.

(71b) Ke agilê ke tsamaya ka tsela ê, mme jaanong mmusô o e tswêtse.

'I always travelled along this road, but now the government has closed it'.

B. Subjunctive - followed by the situative or the subjunctive

(72a) Molao o laêla gore re agê re kgwêetsa dikôlô tsa rona mô ntlhêng ga molêma ga tsela.

'The law instructs us always to drive our vehicles on the left hand side of the road'.

(72b) Tlhôgô ya sekôlô sa rona e batla gore re agê re aparê sentlê.

'The headmaster of our school wants us always to dress neatly'.

C. Situative

It is used with the same tenses and meaning as the indicative mood.

D. Habitual - followed by the habitual or the situative

(73a) Rrê Mólôlô a age a feta mô go rona jaaka a nê a sa ntse a kgwêetsa bese.

'Mr Moloi always came around our place when he was still driving the bus'.

(73b) Dithôlô di age di senya mmidi wa rona jaaka re nê re sa ntse re lema masimo a a fa tlase ga thaba.

'The kudus always damaged our mealies when we were still ploughing the fields under the mountain'.

E. Consecutive - followed by the consecutive or the situative

(74a) Ntšwa ya ga rrê Malao ya aga e ntêlêka fa ke tlisa mašwi le kuranta ya gagwê.

'Mr Malao's dog would always chase me when I brought his milk and newspaper'.

(74b) *Moruti a aga a gakolla batho go phela fa tlase ga melao ya Modimo.*

'The preacher then always reminded the people to live under the law of the Lord'.

7.7.1.2 The auxiliary verbal stem *-nna*

As verb stem it means sit, be, become.

As an auxiliary verb it occurs in the following modal and morphological categories in which it can also be viewed as having a persistive/progressive aspectual meaning.

A. Indicative

(a) Present tense

(1) Imperfective - followed by the situative imperfect present tense.

Meaning: continually, perpetually, keep on, still, e.g.

(75a) *Ba nna ba êmisa kôlôi ya bônê mô maémong a me.*

'They continually park their vehicle in my space'.

(75b) *Ke nna ke go gakolola ka letsatsi la tsalô la ga mmê.*

'I continually remind you of mother's birthday'.

(2) Potential - followed by the consecutive

Meaning: can/may just as well, e.g.

(76a) *Ntatê a re re ka nna ra ya kwa tôrôpông jaanong.*

'Father says that we may go to town now'.

(76b) *Tladi e ka nna ya bolaya dikgômo tsê di êmeng fa tlase ga setlhare.*

'Lightning may kill the cattle that are standing under the tree'.

(b) Future tense - followed by the situative imperfect present tense.

Meaning: continually, perpetually, keep on, e.g.

(77a) *Ke tla nna ke isa ngwanakê kwa sekôlong.*

'I shall keep on taking my child to school'.

(77b) *Ntšwa êo e tla nna e bôgola bosigo.*

'That dog will keep on barking at night'.

(c) Past tense

(1) Perfective form - followed by the situative imperfect

Meaning: continually, perpetually, keep on, e.g.

(78a) *Ba nnilê ba lebêlêla dinalêdi bosigo.*

'They kept on watching the stars at night'.

(78b) *Re nnilê re mo êtêla kwa kôkêlong.*

'We kept on visiting him in the hospital'.

(2) Stative form (stative perfective) - followed by the situative present tense, imperfect aspect

Meaning: go ahead, all the time, continue, keep on, e.g.

(79a) *Baithuti ba bangwe ba sêtse ba ilê go rôbala, mme nna ke ntsê ke kwala.*

'The other students have gone to sleep, but I continue (keep on) writing'.

(79b) *Ke go batlilê naga yôtlhê, o ntse o le kae?*

'I looked for you all over, where were you all the time?'

-ntse- is also involved in the indication of time, and specifically in the participial mood.

Compare the following:

(79c) **Re ba tlogêitse ba ntse ba tshameka ka bôlô.**

'We left them playing with the ball'.

(79d) **Ba ntse ba bua ka kgêtsi ê go tloga maabane.**

'They have been discussing this case since yesterday'

(79e) **Ba tla re fitlhêla re ntse re tlhatswa diaparô.**

'They will find us here (still) washing clothes'.

What is interesting in this case is that *-ntse-* cannot be followed by *-nê* or *-tla+bô*, however it can follow *-nê* or *-tla+bô* or both of them.

(3) Progressive alternative - followed by the situative imperfect present tense

Meaning: continue, carry on, still, e.g.

(80a) **Thêlêbišene ya rona ke ya kgale, mme e sa ntse e tshameka sentlê.**

'Our television is old, but it still plays well'.

(80b) **Ke rôbêitse sentlê bosigo, mme ke sa ntse ke lapilê.**

'I slept well last night, but I am still tired'.

B. Imperative - followed by the subjunctive

Meaning: continue, keep on, e.g.

Positive

(81a) **Nna o tswêlêlê ka tirô ya gago.**

'Keep on proceeding with your work'.

(81b) **Nnang lo gotlha ditshipi tsêo.**

'Keep on sanding those pieces of iron'.

Negative

(82a) *Se nnê o tswêlêla ka tirô ya gago.*

'Don't keep on proceeding with your work'.

(82b) *Se nnêng lo gotlha ditshipi tsêo.*

'Don't keep on sanding those pieces of iron'.

C. Consecutive - followed by the consecutive

Meaning: still, continually, kept on, e.g.

(83a) *Phokojwê ya nna ya leka go ntsha nku mô lesakêng.*

'The jackal kept on trying to take the sheep out of the kraal'.

(83b) *Lekau la nna la tlisêtsa kgarebê dišêše.*

'The young man kept on bringing the girl flowers'.

D. Subjunctive - followed by the subjunctive

Meaning: continue, keep on, in the meantime, e.g.

(84a) *Tsênya dikgong tsê dingwe gapê mô molelong gore o nnê o tuka.*

'Put more wood on the fire so that it keeps on burning'.

(84b) *Bula hêkê gore dikgômo tsêo di nnê di tsênê re êmêtse bagami.*

'Open that gate so that the cattle can come in (in the meantime) while we are waiting for the milkers'.

E. Habitual - followed by the habitual

Meaning: continue, carry on, keep on, as a habit, e.g.

(85a) *Dikôlô di nne di wêle mô motlhabêng ôo.*

'The vehicles continually get stuck in that sand'.

(85b) *Ba nne ba tshameke bôlô go fitlha go nna lefifi.*

'They usually keep on playing soccer until it is dark'.

F. Situative

(a) Present tense

(86a) Modiri o fêdilê pelo ka bana *ba nna* ba mo tshwênya.

'The worker is tired as the children keep on bothering him'.

(86b) Fa bana *ba nna* ba sa ithute ba tla palêlwa ke go kwala ditlhathobô.

'If the children continue not to learn they will not be able to write the exams'.

(b) Present tense, potential - followed by the situative imperfect present tense

Meaning: can/may continue, e.g.

(87a) Fa bana *ba ka nna* ba gôga motsoko mô sekôlông molao wa sekôlô o tlabô o le bokoa tôta.

'If children can keep on smoking in school the discipline in the school will be very weak/poor'.

(87b) Fa *re ka nna* ra ya tôrôpông ka tsela ê dipitse tsa rona di tla ê tluaêla.

'If we should continually use this road to town, our horses will get used to it'.

(c) Future tense - followed by the situative imperfect present tense

Meaning: continue, carry on, e.g.

(88a) Fa monna *a tla nna* a kgwêêtsa a nolê, o tla wêlwa ke kôtsi nakô ê nngwe.

'If the man will keep on driving under the influence, he will get into an accident sometime'.

(88b) Fa *o tla nna* o ruta pitse êo, e tla nna bokwafo.

'If you will continue teaching that horse it will become tame'.

(d) Past tense

(1) Perfective aspect

Followed by the situative imperfect present tense

Meaning: continue, carry on, e.g.

(89) Fa ba kabô ba nnilé ba bua le ênê, o tlabô a boêtse kwa ngakêng.

'If they continued talking to him, he would have returned to the doctor'.

(2) Stative perfective aspect

Followed by the situative stative perfective.

Meaning: continue, be busy, e.g.

(90) Fa re ntsê re rôbêtsê, magôdu a utswa dilô tsótlhê tsa rona.

'While we were sleeping, thieves stole all belongings'.

(3) Persistive alternative - followed by the situative imperfect present tense

Meaning: be busy, go on, e.g.

(91a) Fa ba sa ntse ba tlôtla ba bôna kôloi ya ga Tshêpô e feta.

'While they were still talking they saw Tshêpô's vehicle pass'.

(91b) Fa dikgômo di sa ntse di fula tsa utlwa seme se thunya.

'While the cattle were still grazing they heard the whip cracking'.

7.7.1.3 The auxiliary verbal stem *-tlhola*

As a verb stem it means to inspect, look, visit briefly, spend a day, spend some time.

Note the following examples:

(92a) Ke tla tlhola kwa sekólông letsatsi lôtlhê.

'I shall spend the whole day at school'.

(92b) *Tlhôla nama mô pitsêng!*

'Look for/ inspect the meat in the pot'.

As an auxiliary verb it has the value of always, continually, keep on.

It occurs in the following modal and morphological categories:

A. Indicative mood

(a) Present tense

Followed by the situative imperfect present tense

(1) Positive

Meaning: always, continually, e.g.

(93a) *Ba tlhôla ba mpêga ka kôloi ya bônê.*

'They always give me a lift/ pick me up with their car'.

(93b) *Ntatê o tlhôla a re rêkêla digwapa fa selagêng.*

'Father always buys us biltong at the butchery'.

(2) Negative

Meaning: no longer

The negative morpheme *ga-* is used, e.g.

(94a) *Ga ke thôle ke gôga motsoko.*

'I am no longer smoking tobacco. (Litt.) I am no longer keeping on smoking'.

(94b) *Ga a tlhôle a tla kwano ka Sôntaga.*

'He no longer comes here on Sundays'.

(3) Persistent positive

Meaning: always, continually, e.g.

(95a) A mmê o sa tlhola a le gakolola go tlhapa mênô.

'Is mother still continually reminding you to brush your teeth?'

(95b) A Pulê o sa tlhola a ya go tsoma ka mariga.

'Is Pule still continually going hunting in winter?'

(4) Persistent negative

Meaning: no longer

The negative morpheme *ga-* is used, e.g.

(96a) Mmê ga a sa tlhola a le gakolola go tlhapa mênô.

'Mother is no longer continually reminding you to brush your teeth'

(96b) Pulê ga a sa tlhola a ya go tsoma ka mariga.

'Pule is no longer continually going hunting in winter'.

(5) Potential positive

Meaning: always, continually, the whole day, e.g.

(97a) Katse êo e ka tlhola e re tshwênja fa re sa e kobe jaanong.

'That cat can/could bother us for the whole day if we don't chase it away now'.

(97b) Bana ba ka tlhola ba thuma fa o sa ba laêle go tswa mô mêtšing.

'The children can swim for the whole day if you don't order them to get out of the water'.

(b) Future tense - followed by the situative present tense

Meaning: continually, always, a time/day spent, e.g.

(98a) Dikgômo di tla tlhola di fula mô tshimong ê ka go na le dijô tsê dintsi fa.

'The cattle will spend the day grazing in this field as there is a lot of food here'.

(98b) *Baêng ba tla tlhola ba ikhutsa fa tlase ga ditlhare le rona.*

'The guests will spend the day resting under the trees with us'.

(c) Past tense - followed by the situative present tense, imperfect aspect

Meaning: a time/day spent; the whole day, e.g.

(99a) *Re tlhôtse re jwala merôgô mô tshingwanêng.*

'We spent the day planting vegetables in the garden'.

(99b) *Bana ba tlhôtse ba tshameka, ga ba a dira tirô ya bônê.*

'The children spent the day playing, they did not do their work'.

B. Imperative - followed by the situative

Positive

Meaning: always, continually, the whole day, e.g.

(100a) *O tlhôle o araba mogala wa me!*

'Answer my phone for the day'.

(100b) *Tlhola o pênta mabati a.*

'Spend the day painting these doors'.

Negative

Meaning: no longer, never again.

The negative morpheme *se-* is used, e.g.

(101a) *Se tlhôle o thusa basimane bao.*

'You must no longer help these boys'.

(101b) *Go nna tsididi jaanong, o se tlhôle o tlogêla ntšwa kwa ntle bosigo.*

'It is becoming cold now, you must no longer leave the dog outside at night'.

(It is important to note that the verb in the imperative mood has two forms. The first being the direct form where no subject concord is being used, and the second which includes a subject concord . This second form is sometimes also referred to as the hortative.)

C. Subjunctive - followed by the situative present tense, imperfect aspect

Meaning: continually, always, the whole day, e.g.

(102a) **Ke tla bula mêtsi gore tamô e tlhôle e tlala.**

'I shall open the water so that the dam can become full during the day'.

(102b) **Re a tsamaya, tlisa dibuka tsa gago gore o tlhôle o di buisa mô tselêng.**

'We are leaving, bring your books so that you can spend the day reading them on the road'.

D. Consecutive - followed by the situative (imperfect aspect) or the consecutive

Meaning: continually, always, the whole day, e.g.

(103a) **Re nê ra ya kwa molapông, ra tlhola re thaisa ditlhapi têng.**

'We then went to the river and spent the day fishing there'.

(103b) **Diphôlôgôlô tsa rêetsa tau, mme go tswa môo tsa tlhola di sia fa di bôna nôga.**

'The wild animals listened to lion, and from then on they always ran away when they saw a snake'.

E. Situative

(a) Present tense - followed by the situative present tense, imperfect aspect

(1) Positive

Meaning: always, continually, the whole day, e.g.

(104a) **Fa bana ba tlhola ba tla kwano, Pulê o a iphitlha, ka a sa batle go tshameka le bônê.**

'Always when the children come here, Pulê hides as he doesn't want to play with them'.

(104b) **Fa ditshwêne di tlhola di re di utswa maungo a rona, re di kolopa ka matlapa.**

'When the baboons always want to steal our fruit we throw stones at them'.

(2) Negative

Meaning: no longer

The negative morpheme *sa-* is used, e.g.

(105a) **Fa mmidi o sa tlhôle o le mêtsi, re tla o rôba.**

'When the mealies are no longer wet we shall harvest them'.

(105b) **Fa pula e sa tlhôle e na, ke tla ya go tlhola dijwalwa tsa me.**

'When the rain is no longer falling I shall go and inspect my seedlings'.

(3) Progressive positive plus the situative

Meaning: always, continually, e.g.

(106a) **Fa mosimane yô a sa tlhola a go tshwênya, o tlê go mpolêlêla.**

'If that boy still keeps on bothering you, you must come and tell me'.

(106b) **Fa kolobe ya naga eo e sa tlhola e senya morôgô wa lona lo ka e thuntsha.**

'If that warthog still keeps on damaging your vegetables you may shoot it.'

(4) Progressive negative

Meaning: no longer.

The negative morpheme *sa-* is used, e.g.

(107a) **Fa kôlôi ya gago e sa tlhôle e batla go duma, o tlhôle mêtsi a bêtêrii.**

'If your vehicle no longer wants to start you must check the water in the battery'.

(107b) **Fa ba sa tlhôle ba feta fa, lo itse gore go na le sengwe sê se ba tshwênyang.**

'If they no longer come past here/ around here, you must know that there is something that bothers them'.

(5) Potential positive

Meaning: always, continually, the whole day, e.g.

(108) Fa *ba ka tlhola* ba sa dire, o ba kobê.

'If they can spend the whole day not working, chase them away'.

(b) Future tense - followed by the situative present tense, imperfect aspect

Meaning: continually, the whole day, e.g.

(109) Fa *di tla tlhola* di bôgola bosigo bôtlhê, ke tla letsêtsa mong wa tsônê mogala.

'If they should keep on barking for the whole night, I shall call their owner on the phone'.

(c) Past tense - followed by the situative mood, imperfect aspect

Meaning: the whole day, always, continually, e.g.

(110a) Fa *di tlhôtse* di fula sentlê ke tla itse gore ga di lwale.

'If they spent the day grazing well, I shall know that they are not ill'.

(110b) Fa *ba tlhôtse* ba nwa bojalwa ruri, re tla itse gore ke matagwa.

'If they spent the day drinking all the time, we shall know that they are drunkards'.

7.7.2 Auxiliary verbs with the semantic value of logical time

These auxiliary verbs indicate that the main process takes/took place or will take place at a specific time or stretch of time. The following auxiliary verbs resort to this category -*akofa*, -*dika*, -*lala*, -*phakêla*, -*tsoga*. The modal valences of each of these auxiliaries will now receive attention.

7.7.2.1 The auxiliary verbal stem -*akofa*

This verb is used very rarely, and it seems as if its usage has declined in time since the grammars of Sandilands (1953) and Cole (1955) were written. This deduction is made on the grounds that mother tongue speakers approached for assistance are vague on the

meaning. It is used in the Bible, however, according to Sandilands (1953:225), as a verb it has the semantic value of to make haste, to speed up, to hurry. It is usually used in the causative form *-akofisa*, which means to accelerate, - a vehicle for example. It is more commonly used as an auxiliary verb when it has the value of immediately, at once, quickly, straight away, very soon, hastily.

However difficult to determine, it has been found in the following modal categories, e.g.

A. Indicative

(a) future tense

(111a) *Re tla akofa re ya go mo dumêdisa.*

'We shall go quickly/immediately to greet him'.

(111b) *Ba tla akofa ba tswa mô ntlong êo fa ba ka utlwa gore go na le nôga têng.*

'They will come out of that house quickly when they hear that is a snake in there'.

B. Consecutive

(112a) "*Ba akofa ba tlogêla matloa a bône, ba mo sala morago*" (Mareko 1:18)

'They at once left their nets and followed him'.

(112b) "*A akofa a bodiwa mmaagwê, a ba a isiwa kwa kgôsing.*" (Padiso 1:37)

'She was immediately asked her mother's name, and taken to the chief'.

(112c) *Podi ya kgatlhwa ke mafokô ao, ya akofa ya tlolela mô sedibêng gapê.*

'Goat was pleased with these words and immediately jumped into the well again'.

(112d) *Dikgarêbe tsê dingwê tsa akofa tsa tlogêla tsala ya tsônê mô tselêng, tsa ba tsa sia.*

'Some girls then quickly/immediately left their friend behind in the road and ran away'

(112e) *Yô mongwe wa batsomi, ka e le motho yô o bofefô, a akofa a palama setlhare.*

'One of the hunters, since he was a quick man, immediately climbed into a tree'.

C. Subjunctive

(113a) A kô o ba bolêlêlê gore *ba akofê* ba tlê kwano.

'Please tell them that they must come here immediately'.

(113b) Ke tla ba letsêtsa mogala gore *ba akofe* ba tlisê dibuka tsa bana.

'I shall ring them up so that they bring the children's books quickly/immediately'.

D. Situative

(114) Fa o ntsê o gana go inêela mô molaông jaana, o tla akofa o iphitlhêla o le nôsi, o se na tsala le fa e le nngwê.

'If you continually refuse to give in to the law (abide by the law) in this manner, you shall quickly (very soon) find yourself all alone, without even a single friend'.

7.7.2.2 The auxiliary verbal stem *-dika*

As verb it means go around, surround. Note the following examples:

(115) Ba fitlha bosigo ba *dika* motse.

'They arrived at night and surrounded (went around) the town'.

As auxiliary verb it means last/this/following year.

It occurs in the following modal and morphological categories:

A. Indicative

(a) present tense followed by the situative past

(116) Balemi ba nê *ba dika* ba bône thôbô e e bôitshêgang ya mmidi.

'The farmers harvested a huge mealie crop last year'.

(2) Potential - followed by the situative perfect aspect

(117) Ke *ka dika* ke fêtsa go duêla kôlôlê ya me.

'I can finish paying my vehicle this year'.

(b) Future tense - followed by the situative past

(118a) *Re tla dika re ya go tsoma kwa Kgalagadi.*

'We shall go hunting in the Kalahari next year'.

(118b) *Re tla dika re fêtsa ka ntlo ê ntšhwa ya rona.*

'We shall finish our new home next year'.

(c) Past tense - followed by the situative past

(119a) *Ntatê o dikilê a bolailê mabêlê.*

'Father had a huge corn harvest last year'.

(119b) *Pula e dikilê e nelê thata.*

'It rained a lot last year'.

B. Situative

(a) Present tense

(1) Imperfective aspect - followed by the situative past

(120a) *Fa pula e nê e dika e nelê, dikgômo tsa rona di kabô di sa bopame jaana.*

'If it had rained last year, our cattle would not have been this thin'.

(120b) *Fa bana ba rona ba nê ba dika ba ithutilê, ba ka bô ba se fa gapê.*

'If our children studied last year, they would not be here anymore'.

(2) Potential - followed by the situative

(121a) *Fa serame se ka dika se boitshêga gapê, dinku tsa rona di tla bolaiwa ke sone.*

'If the cold should be that severe again (this year), our sheep will be killed by it'.

(121b) *Fa pula e ka dika e gana go tla gapê, molemi o tla patêlêšêga go rêkisa polase ya gagwê go kgôna go duêla molato.*

'If the rain should stay away again this year, the farmer will be forced to sell his farm to pay his credit'.

(b) Future tense - followed by the situative past

(122a) *Fa ke tla dika ke kgôna go fêtsa ka dithutô tsa rona e tlabô e le ka ntlha ya thusô ya ga rrê Mabidikane.*

'If I shall be able to finish my studies this year, it will be due to the help received from Mr Mabidikane'.

(122b) *Fa re tla dika re bolailê mabêlê, e tlabô e le ka loratô lwa Modimo fêla.*

'If we shall have a huge corn harvest this year, it will only be through God's love'.

(c) Past tense - followed by the situative or consecutive

(123a) *Re dikilê re agilê lesaka lê letona, ra bô ra gôtša molelô bosigo bô bongwe le bô bongwe fa kgôrông gore ditau di se ka tsa atamêla têng.*

'Last year we built a big kraal, and made a fire at the gate every night so that the lions would not come close there'.

(123b) *Re dikilê re ilê go tsoma, mme ra se ka ra kgôna go bôna le fa e le phôlôgôlô ê nngwê, ka pula e nê e nelê thata mme tlhaga e thibilê thata.*

'We went hunting last year, but were unable to see even one wild animal as it had rained and the grass was high/dense'.

C. Subjunctive - followed by subjunctive or situative

(124a) *Re tla aga tamô gore re dikê re nnê le mêtsi kwa thabêng.*

'We shall build a dam so that we have water at the mountain this year'.

(124b) *Ntatê o tipa dikgômo tsa rona ka metlha gore di dikê di se longwê ke dikgofa.*

'Father dips our cattle regularly so that they are not bitten by ticks this year'.

7.7.2.3 The auxiliary verbal stem *-lala*

As a verb it means sleep/spend a night, stay overnight, lie down.

As auxiliary verb it has the semantic values of during the night, the whole night, last night, yesterday.

It occurs in the following modal and morphological categories:

A. Indicative mood

(a) Present tense

(1) Imperfective - followed by the situative imperfective

(125a) *Ke lala ke gôpola wêna fêla.*

'I am thinking about you only. (all night)'.

(125b) *Ke lala ke mo thusa ka tirô ya gagwê.*

'I help him with his work (all night)'.

(2) Potential - followed by the situative imperfective

(126a) *Dintšwa tsa ga malomê di ka lala di bôgola bosigo bôtlhê.*

'My uncle's dogs can bark the whole night long'.

(126b) *Re ka lala re bina bosigo bôtlhê.*

'We can spend the whole night dancing'.

(b) Future tense - followed by the situative imperfective

(127a) *Moithuti o tla lala a ithuta.*

'The student will spend the night learning'.

(127b) *Pula e tla lala e na.*

'It will rain for the whole night'.

- Followed by the past tense of the situative

(128a) *Baêng ba rona ba tla lala ba gôrôgilê.*

'Our guests will arrive during the night'.

(128b) *Re tla lala re tshwêrwe ke tlala.*

'We shall spend the night being hungry'.

(c) Past tense

In past tense form (*sc -lêitse*) it also expresses yesterday.

- Followed by the present imperfective tense of the situative

(129a) Sekólô se *lêitse* se tswalêtswe boikhutsô.

'The school was closed for the holidays yesterday'.

(129b) Kuranta ya rona e *lêitse* e sa tlisiwa.

'Our newspaper was not delivered yesterday'.

- Followed by the situative perfective

(130a) Morutabana o *lêitse* a tlisitsê maduô a rona.

'The teacher brought our results yesterday'.

(130b) Dikgômo tsê tharo tsa ga ntatê *di lêitse* di bolailwê ke tladi.

'Three of my dad's cattle were killed by lightning yesterday'.

(130c) Pula e *lêitse* e nelê.

'It rained yesterday'

(130d) Re *lêitse* re bêsitsê nama ya nku.

'We braaied mutton last night'.

B. Subjunctive - followed by the situative imperfective or subjunctive

(131a) Ke tla bulêla mêtsi gore tshingwana e *lalê* e kôlôba.

'I shall open the water so that the garden gets wet through the night'.

(131b) Ntatê o tla adima mogoma mô go bônê gore re *lalê* re lema.

'Father will borrow a plough from them so that we can plough through the night'.

C. Consecutive - followed by the situative imperfective aspect

(132a) Balesika ba kgobokana, *ba lala* ba ôpêla bosigo bôtlhê, mme letsatsi lê le latêlang ba ya go mo fitlha.

'The family came together, sang for the whole night, and went to bury him the following day'.

(132b) Lesôlê la sia, la lala le iphitlhlê mô tshimong ya mmidi, mme letsatsi lê le latêlang la bônê gore le tshwanêtse go ya kae.

'The soldier ran away, spent the night hiding in a mealiefield and the next day saw which way he had to go'.

D. Situative - Similar to the indicative mood in tense and meaning

7.7.2.4 The auxiliary verbal stem *-phakêla*

Phakela can be used as an adverb meaning in the morning. As a verb it means get up early, come early. Note the following examples:

(133) Ka mosô ke tla phakela.

'Tomorrow I shall get up early'

As an auxiliary verb it occurs in the following modal categories:

A. Indicative

(a) Present tense - followed by the situative imperfective

Meaning: (early) tomorrow, the next morning. Note the following examples:

(134a) Morutabana o *phakêla* a le šapa ka le sa dira tirô ya lona.

'Tomorrow the teacher will give you a hiding as you haven't done your work'.

(134b) Setlhare sê *se phakêla* se bolailwê ke seramê ka le sa se sirêlêtsa.

'This tree will have been killed by the cold tomorrow, as you did not protect/cover it'.

(b) Present tense persistive - followed by the situative imperfective

Meaning: tomorrow morning, the following morning. Note the following examples:

(135a) *Ba sa phakêla ba tla kwano ka kôlôl ya ditônki.*

'They are still coming here with their donkey cart'.

(135b) *Ke sa phakêla ke ya mapôdiseng ka kgêtsi ê.*

'I am still going to the police with this case this morning'.

(c) Present tense potential - followed by the situative imperfective

Meaning: tomorrow morning, the following morning. Note the following examples:

(136a) *Ditsala tsa gago di ka phakêla di tla kwano fa o ka di bitsa ka mogala jaanong.*

'Your friends can come here in the morning if you call them now'.

(136b) *Morutabana a ka phakêla a go koba kwa sekôlông fa o sa apara sentlê.*

'The teacher can chase you away from school in the morning if you are not dressed properly'.

(d) Future tense - followed by the situative imperfective

Meaning: early tomorrow, the following morning. Note the following examples:

(137a) *Re tla phakêla re di tlisa.*

'We shall bring them early morning'.

(137b) *Ba tla phakêla ba feta ka dikgômo tsê di yang go rêkisiwa.*

'They shall pass here early morning with the cattle that are going to be sold'.

(e) Past tense - followed by the consecutive

Meaning: this morning. Note the following examples:

(138a) *Ke phakêtse ka bitsa bana bôtlhê.*

'I called all the children this morning'.

(138b) *Ntšwa ya rona e phakêitse ya loma bana mô tselêng.*

'This morning our dog bit children in the street'.

- Followed by the situative perfective

Meaning: this morning. Note the following examples:

(139a) *Ke phakêitse ke utlwilê mosadi a goa mô kagông ê e kwa moseja ga seterata.*

'I heard a woman screaming this morning in the building across the street'.

(139b) *Bana ba phakêitse ba bône nkwê e tshwara phala.*

'The children saw a leopard catching an impala this morning'.

B. Infinitive - followed by the infinitive

Meaning: early morning. Note the following examples:

(140a) *Go phakêla go tla kwano go re thusitsê thata.*

'Getting up early to come here helped us a lot'.

(140b) *Re sêitse re tlwaêitse go phakêla go ya kêrêkêng.*

'We are already used to getting up early to go to church'.

C. Subjunctive - followed by the subjunctive

Meaning: tomorrow, the following day. Note the following examples:

(141a) *Re tla ba gakolola gore ba phakêle ba tlê le madi a gago.*

'We shall remind them to bring your money tomorrow'.

(141b) *O mo laêlê gore a phakêle a fêtsê tirô ya me ka mosô.*

'You must instruct him to finish my work tomorrow'.

D. Habitual - followed by the habitual.

Meaning: the following morning. Note the following examples:

(142a) Fa bomalomé ba re étêla mmé a *phakêle* a phêpafatsa ntlo sentlê gore e nnê phêpa fa ba fitlha.

'When my uncle (and his family) come to visit, mother usually cleans the house in the morning so that it is clean when they arrive'.

(142b) Fa dikôlô di tswalêlwa *ba phakêle* ba tla ka dibaesekele gore re yê tôrôpông.

'When the schools close they usually bring their bicycles in the morning so that we are able to go to town'.

E. Situative

(a) Present tense - followed by the situative imperfective

Meaning: tomorrow, the following day. Note the following examples:

(143a) Fa dikômo *di phakêla* di sa batle go tsêna mô lesakêng, ntatê o tla le betsa ka gonne lo di tshosa fa kgôrông.

'If the cattle do not want to come into the kraal tomorrow father will punish you, as you frighten them at the gate'.

(143b) Fa ntšwa êo *e phakêla* e go loma ke tla go tshêga ka o tlhola o e tshwênnya.

'If that dog should bite you tomorrow, I shall laugh at you as you always bother it'.

(b) Present tense persistentive - followed by the situative imperfective.

Meaning: early tomorrow, the following. Note the following examples:

(144a) A o *sa phakêla* o tliša kôlô ya me?

'Are you still bringing my vehicle early in the morning/tomorrow morning?'

(144b) A o itse fa *ba sa phakêla* ba ya tôrôpông?

'Do you know whether they still go to town early in the morning/tomorrow morning?'

(c) Present tense potential - followed by the situative imperfective

Meaning: tomorrow morning, the following morning. Note the following examples:

(145a) *Fa ba ka phakêla ba tlisa dilô tsa rona ga re ka ke ra ya go ba tshwarisa.*

'If they could bring our thing early in the morning, we will not have them caught'.

(145b) *Fa o ka phakêla o betsa ntšwa ê gapê, nna ke tla fêtsa ka wêna.*

'If you could hit this dog again tomorrow I shall deal with you'.

(d) Future tense - followed by the situative imperfective.

Meaning: tomorrow morning, the following morning. Note the following examples:

(146a) *Fa pula e tla phakêla e na, ga re na go ya tôrôpông.*

'If it will rain tomorrow morning we will not go to town'.

(146b) *Fa moruti a tla phakêla a tla kwano ke tla itse gore o mo filê molaêtsa.*

'If the preacher shall come here early in the morning I shall know that you gave him the message'.

(e) Past tense - followed by the situative perfective

Meaning: this morning. Note the following examples:

(147a) *Fa ke kabô ke phakêitse ke itse ka kôpano ê, ke kabô ke sa tla morago ga nakô.*

'If I had known about this meeting early in the morning, I would not have come late'.

(147b) *Fa ke phakêitse ke go bônê fa thoko ga tsela, ke kabô ke sa go feta fêla.*

'If I had seen you next to the road this morning I would not have just passed you'.

F. Consecutive - followed by the consecutive or the situative

Meaning: early morning, the following day. Note the following examples:

(148a) *Re nê ra di sala morago go fitlha le phirima, ra phakêla re tswelêla ka motlhala wa tsônê.*

'We then went after them until the sun went down, and the next morning we followed their spoor further'.

(148b) *Re nê ra rôbala go bapa le tsela fa tlase ga dinalêdi, ra phakêla re tswêlêla ka loêto la rona.*

'We then slept next to the road under the stars, and the following morning continued our journey'.

1.7.2.5 The auxiliary verbal stem *-tsoga*

As a verb it means get up wake up, awake, (a)waken. Note the following examples:

(149) *Fa re tshwanêitse go êtêla kgakala, re tsoga phakêla.*

'When we have to travel far, we get up early'.

A. Indicative

It occurs in the following modal and morphological categories:

(a) Present tense - followed by the situative

Meaning: tomorrow, the following day. Note the following examples:

(1) Imperfective e.g.

(150a) *Re tsoga re ya ngakêng.*

'We are going to the doctor tomorrow'.

(150b) *Ke tsoga ke ya sekôlông ka baesekele ya me ê ntšhwa.*

'I am going to school tomorrow on my new bicycle'

(2) Persistentive, e.g.

(151a) *A o sa ntse o tsoga o tla kwano.*

'Are you still coming here tomorrow?'

(151b) *A lo sa ntse lo tsoga lo tlisa mogoma wa ga ntatê.*

'Are you still bringing my father's plough tomorrow?'

(3) Potential, e.g.

(152a) *Lôtlêla kôlôlî ya gago, o ka tsoga o fitlhêla e tsêrwe.*

'Lock your vehicle, you may find it stolen/taken in the morning'.

(152b) *Fa phefô e foka jaana, pula e ka tsoga e na.*

'If the wind blows like this, it might rain tomorrow'.

(b) Future tense - followed by the situative imperfective

Meaning: tomorrow, the following day. Note the following examples:

(153a) *Baithuti ba tla tsoga ba simolola ka ditlhatlhobô.*

'The students will begin with their exams tomorrow'.

(153b) *Ke tla tsoga ke ya go ithêkêla borokgwê bô bontshwa.*

'I shall go and buy myself a new pair of trousers tomorrow'.

(c) Past tense - followed by the situative imperfective and perfective.

Meaning: this morning. Note the following examples:

(154a) *Ke tsogilê ke feta fa lebenkeleng la bônê.*

'I went past their shop this morning'.

(154b) *Ngwana o tsogilê a gana go nwa molemô wa gagwê.*

'The child refused to drink his medicine this morning'.

B. Imperative - followed by the situative imperfective or the subjunctive

Meaning: tomorrow, the following morning (day). Note the following examples:

Positive

Negative

*O tsogê o tsamaya!**O se tsogê o tsamaya!*

(You must leave tomorrow!)

(You must not leave tomorrow!)

The negative morpheme *se-* is used.

C. Consecutive - followed by the situative imperfective or consecutive

Meaning: tomorrow, the following day. Compare:

(155a) *Tau e nê ya lalêla diphôlôgôlô fa mêtšing, ya tsoga ya lêlêka thôlô, ya e tshwara, ya e bolaya.*

‘The lion waited for the animals at the water; in the morning he chased a kudu, caught it, and killed it’.

(155b) *Ngwana yô, o ithuta thata. Maabane o nê a ithuta go fithla bosigo, a rôbala, a tsoga a tswêlêla ka tirô ya gagwê gapê.*

‘This child studies hard. Yesterday he studied until late, went to sleep, and continued with his work early this morning’.

D. Subjunctive plus present tense of the situative or subjunctive

Meaning: tomorrow, the following day. Note the following examples:

(156a) *Ke tla lala ke baakantsê tlhòbòlô ya me gore ke tsogê ke betšê sentlê ka yônê.*

‘I shall fix my gun tonight so that I can shoot straight tomorrow’.

(156b) *Ke tla itsise Piti maanô a rona gore a tsogê a itse gore a dirê eng.*

‘I shall inform Piet about our plans so that he will know what to do tomorrow’.

E. Situative

(a) Present tense

Meaning: tomorrow, the following day. Note the following examples:

(1) Imperfective - followed by the situative imperfective

(157a) Fa bana *ba tsoga* ba ya sekólông, o ba thusê ka dibuka le dijô tsa bônê.

'When the children leave for school tomorrow you must help them with their books and their food'.

(157b) Fa baêng *ba tsoga* ba boêla gae, lo ba êlêlêtsê masegô.

'When the guests leave tomorrow, you must wish them luck/bestow your blessings on them'.

(2) Persistent - followed by the situative imperfective

(158a) A o sa (*ntse o*) *tsoga* o tla kwano fa batsadi ba gago ba se na go ya tirông?

'Are you still coming here tomorrow after your parents have left for work'.

(158b) Ke tla boêla morago, fa ditlhôgô tsa dikólô *di sa (ntsê di) tsoga* di kôpana.

'I shall go back, while the principals of schools are still meeting tomorrow'.

(3) Potential - followed by the situative imperfective

(159a) Fa lesôlê *le ka tsoga* le gana gore ke tsênê mô bokgôbabukêng gapê, ke tla kwalêla tlhôngô ya lônê lekwalô.

'If the soldier could deny me entrance to the library again tomorrow I shall write a letter to his head/commander'.

(159b) Fa ntšwa *e ka tsoga* e ntoma, ke tla e bolaya.

'If the dog can possibly bite me tomorrow, I shall kill it'.

(b) Future tense - followed by the situative imperfective.

Meaning: tomorrow, the following day. Note the following examples:

(160a) Fa dintšwa *di tla tsoga* di lwa, ke tla di gasa ka mêtsi a a belang.

'If the dogs should/will be fighting tomorrow, I shall throw boiling water at them'.

(160b) Fa motshameki a tla *tsoga* a ikopêla boitshwarêlô mô morulaganying, o tla mo letlêlêla go tshameka gapê.

'Should the player tomorrow ask the organiser to be pardoned, he will allow him to play again'.

(c) Past tense - followed by the situative imperfective or perfective

Meaning: this morning. Note the following examples:

(161) *Fa a ne a tsogilê a lwala, ke nê ke ka kgôna go mo alafa ka molemô ô mošwa ô.*

'If he was ill this morning, I could have been able to treat him with this new medicine'.

7.7.3 Auxiliary verbs with the semantic value of successive continuation

These auxiliary verbs indicate the continuation/proceeding, or commencement of the action of the complementary verb (soon) after a preceding one. Therefore their general auxiliary semantic value can be rendered by "(soon) afterwards, proceed to, presently, then, till, a bit later on, soon, furthermore, finally", etc. It is difficult to distinguish between the values of the auxiliary verbs of this category from those belonging to the category treated in the next paragraph. However, by comparing their verbal meanings and their auxiliary verbal values the difference becomes more obvious. The modal value also has an influence on the value of the auxiliary verb.

The following auxiliary verbs belong to this category: *-fêla*, *-tloga*, *-feta*, *-tsamaya*, *-tla*.

The modal values of each of these auxiliaries will now receive attention.

7.7.3.1 The auxiliary verbal stem *-fêla*

As verb it means get finished, come to an end.

As auxiliary verb it means without reason, simply, finally, at last.

It occurs in the following modal and morphological categories:

A. Indicative

(a) Present tense

(1) Imperfective - followed by the situative imperfective

(162) *Bana ba, ba fêla ba re thusa.*

'These children just helped us'.

(2) Potential - followed by the situative imperfective

(163a) *Modulasetulô a ka fêla a gana ka lekwalô la ga ntatê.*

'The chairperson may withhold my father's letter in the end'.

(163b) *Ntatê a ka fêla a nkwadisa kwa sekôlông se sengwe.*

'Father may end up enrolling me at another school'.

(b) Future tense - followed by the situative imperfective

(164a) *Tswaa fôo, kgômo êo e tla fêla e go gata fa e batla go tswa.*

'Move away from there, that cow will simply/just step on you if it wants to get out'.

(164b) *Tirô ga e ise e fêle, mme re tla fêla re boêla gae.*

'The job is not finished, but we shall just/simply go home'.

B. Situative - Similar to the indicative mood in tense and meaning

C. Consecutive - followed by the consecutive

(165a) *Aberahama a fêla a bua naê gapê.*

'Abraham finally spoke to him again'.

(165b) *A fêla a jewa ke tsônê ditau tsê di nêng tsa ja mogolowê le pitse ya gagwê.*

'Finally he was eaten by the same lions which ate his elder brother and his horse'.

(165c) *A boêla a botsa monnawê mme ênê a fêla a gana.*

'She again asked her sister but she refused *in the end*'.

7.7.3.2 The auxiliary verbal stem *-tloga*

As verb it may mean depart, go away, move away.

As auxiliary verb it expresses the meaning of soon, presently, over some time, shortly afterwards, a bit later on, by and by.

It occurs in the following modal and morphological categories:

A. Indicative

(a) Present tense

(1) Imperfective - followed by the situative imperfective

(166a) *Ke tloga ke go betsa fa o sa tlogêle go ntshwênya.*

'I shall beat you just now if you don't stop bothering me'.

(166b) *Ntšwa e tloga e go loma, tlogêla go e tshwênya!*

'The dog will bite you just now; stop bothering it'.

(166c) *Ke tloga ke senya baesekele ya gago fa o sa tlise ya me.*

'I shall break your bicycle just now if you don't return mine'.

(2) Progressive - followed by the situative

(167a) *Thipa êo e sa tloga e go sega fa o sa tlhômêle.*

'That knife will cut you just now if you are not careful'.

(167b) *A re gôlêgê phôlô êo, e tloga e tlola lebôta la lesaka.*

'Let us tie that ox up, just now (presently) it will jump over the wall of the kraal'.

(3) Potential - followed by the situative or the consecutive

(168a) *O ka tloga wa siiwa ke bese fa o sa tlogêle go tshameka.*

'You could soon be left behind by the bus if you don't stop playing now'.

(168b) *Ngwana yôo a ka tloga a wa fa a sa itshwarêlêle.*

'That child could fall just now if she doesn't hold on'.

(b) Future tense - followed by the situative

(169a) *Terena ya 10 e tla tloga e tsêna.*

'The ten o'clock train will enter shortly'.

(169b) **Se tsamayê jaanong, o tla tloga a tla.**

'Don't leave now, he will come soon/a bit later on/presently'.

(169c) **Mosadi o tla tloga a fêtsa ka mosese o a o simolotsêng maabane.**

'The woman will shortly finish the dress she started yesterday'.

(c) Past tense

(170a) **Basimane ba nê ba tshwênya basetsana, mme ba tlogilê ba tsamaya.**

'The boys bothered the girls and they left shortly afterwards'.

(170b) **Monna o nê a kgalemêla dintšwa, fa e se jalô di kabô di tlogilê tsa re loma.**

'The man talked to the dogs, otherwise they could shortly have bitten us'.

B. Situative - It is used with the same tenses and meaning as the indicative mood

C. Subjunctive - followed by the subjunctive

(171a) **Ke tla go supêtsa setulô sê sengwe gore o se tlogê o tla go nna mô go sa me.**

'I shall show you another chair so that you do not come and sit on mine just now /afterwards'.

(171b) **Re tla ruta bana ba rona gore ba tlogê ba kgônê go ithusa.**

'We shall teach our children so that they can shortly/soon help themselves'.

D. Consecutive - followed by the consecutive or the situative

(172a) **Phokojwê a bôna gore o mô molatong ô mogolo, a ragoga, a siêla kwa setlhareng, mme a palêlwa ke go se palama, a tloga a tla go kopa maitshwarêlô.**

'Jackal then saw that he was in big trouble, he jumped away and ran to the tree, but could not climb it, and shortly came to ask forgiveness'.

(172b) **Ditau tsa tshwara dikgômo tsê pêdi mô lesakeng, tsa di gôgêla kwa ntlê, tsa di ja mme tsa tloga tsa ya go rôbala mô meriting.**

'The lions caught two cows in the kraal, dragged them outside, ate them and afterwards went to sleep in the shade'.

1.7.3.3 The auxiliary verbal stem *-feta*

As verb it means pass, pass on, surpass, overtake, exceed.

As auxiliary verb it means: just now, soon, proceed to, furthermore, immediately, go on.

It occurs in the following modal categories:

A. Indicative

(a) Present tense

(1) Imperfect - followed by the situative

(173a) Tlhókômêla dibuka tsê sentlê, kana morutabana o feta a go botsa ka ga tsônê fa a boa.
‘Take good care of these books as the teacher will proceed to ask you about them when he returns’.

(173b) Mmê o feta a go betsa ka o thubilê lebônê lêo.
‘Mother is going to punish you as you have broken that light’.

(2) Potential - followed by the situative or the consecutive

(174a) Tau e ka feta e tshwara dikgômo tsa gago fa o sa gôtse molêlô fa kgôrông ya lesaka.
‘The lion can come along and catch your cattle if you don’t make a fire at the gate of the kraal’.

(174b) Baôki ba ka feta ba gana go go amogêla fa o se na lekwalô la ngaka.
‘The nurses may go on to deny you access you if you don’t have a letter from the doctor’.

(174c) Phcfô e ka feta e diga/ya diga ntlo ya gago.
‘The wind may soon go on to topple over your house’.

(b) Future tense - followed by the situative imperfect

(175a) Nna fêla jalô, ngaka e tla feta e go thusa.
‘Stay just like that, the doctor will proceed to help you’.

(175b) Ngaka e tla ba romêla molemô, mme ôné o tla feta o ba alafa.

'The doctor will send them medicine, and that will proceed to cure them'.

(175c) Ya kwa go rrê Leping o mo thalosêtsê bothata ba gago, o tla bôna o tla feta a go thusa.

'Go to Mr Leping and explain your problem to him, you will see that he will then help you'.

(c) Past tense - followed by the consecutive

(176a) Ntšwa ê e bosilo e fetilê ya bolaya dikoko tsa ga ntatê.

'The vicious dog went on to kill my father's chickens'.

(176b) E nê e le ngwaga ô o leuba, mme gapê sefakô se fetilê sa senya dijalô mô masimong.

'It was a dry year, and, on top of that, hail went on to (proceeded to) destroy the crops in the fields'.

B. Consecutive - followed by the consecutive

(177a) Pôo e nê ya bula hêkê ka tlhogo, mme dikgômo tsa feta tsa ja mabêlê a ga ntatê.

'The bull opened the gate with its head, and the cattle went on to eat father's corn'.

(177b) Morago ga sebaka ra fitlha fa kgôrông, mme senôtlôlô sa feta sa gana go lotlolola lebati.

'After a while we reached the door, but the key went on to refuse to open the door'.

C. Subjunctive - followed by the subjunctive

(178a) Re tla ba gakolola gore ba fetê ba tsênê ka lebati lê le kwa morago.

'We shall remind them that they should enter via the back door'.

(178b) Kc mmolelêtse gore a fetê a kopê tetla mô kgôsing pele.

'I told him that he firstly had to ask for permission from the chief'.

D. Situative

(a) Present tense

(1) Imperfect - followed by the situative imperfective

(179a) Fa ba feta ba sa re dumêle, re tla ba supêtsa makwalô a ngaka.

'If they should proceed not to believe us we shall show them the letters of the doctor'.

(179b) *Fa e feta e re e a ntoma, ke tla e thuntsha.*

'If it proceeds to attempt to bite me, I shall shoot it'.

(2) Potential - followed by the situative imperfective

(180a) *Fa ba ka feta ba gana go go letléléla ke tla ba lelétsa mogala.*

'If they could refuse to allow you I shall phone them'.

(180b) *Fa ba ka feta ba rêkisa dikgômo tsêo ka tlhwatlhwa ê e kwa tlase, o di rêkê.*

'If they should proceed to sell these cattle at a low price, you must buy them'.

(b) Future tense - followed by the situative imperfective

(181a) *O tla feta a go duêla fa o dirilê sentlê, o tla bôna.*

'He will then proceed to pay you if you worked well, you will see'.

(181b) *Fa lo gôrôga, ba fe lekwalô lê, bônê ba tla feta ba lo fa dilô tsê lo tshwanêtseng go di busa.*

'When you arrive give them this letter, they will then proceed to give you the things you have to bring back'.

(c) Past - followed by the consecutive

(182a) *Fa ba kabô ba fetilê ba lo thusa sentlê re kabô re dumêtse gore ba duêlwê, mme e seng ka mokgwa ô.*

'If they had proceeded to help you nicely we would have agreed that they be paid, but not in this way'.

(182b) *Batho ba re e re fa a bôna gore o tshwêrwe, o fetilê a tswa ka dintlha tsôtlhê.*

'People say that when he saw that he had been caught he went on to reveal all the facts'.

(182c) *Fa a kabô a fetilê a re fa molaêtsa re kabô re itse gore lo mô mathatêng.*

'If he had gone on to give us the message we would have known that you are in trouble'.

7.7.3.4 The auxiliary verbal stem *-tsamaya*

As a verb *-tsamaya* means to walk, to go, to function (e.g. a machine). When used as an auxiliary it has the semantic value of till, until, indicating that the action of its

complementary verb has to be fulfilled before the termination or completion of the previous process, e.g.

(183) **Jaanong kgôsi ya tlogêla motlhanka wa yôna mô kgôlêgông a tsamayê a lefê molato wa gagwê.**

'Then the chief left his servant in jail until he paid his debt'.

As auxiliary verb *-tsamaya* can either be used with the class-bound concord of the subject, or it can be used in the infinitive. In the latter case the auxiliary verb occurs before the subject because the infinitive cannot take a subject. Therefore the auxiliary verb functions as a conjunction in such cases, e.g.

(184a) **Ke tla nna nao (le wêna) go tsamaya bagaêtsho ba tla/ba tlê go ntêkola.**

'I shall stay with you until my kindred come to visit me'.

(184b) **Bana ga ba na taolô mô leruông go tsamaya ba golê ba tswê banna.**

'The children have no control of the inheritance until they grow up and become men'.

The auxiliary verb *-tsamaya-* also has a metaphorical semantic value, in that it indicates a continuation of the action or event in the independent verb. This value originates from the verbal value of walking or going. (Refer to 4.6.3.2.) Compare the following examples:

(185a) **O tlohôkômêlê monna yôo, o tla tsamaya a senya leina la gago.**

'You must be careful of that man, he will go around abusing your name'.

(185b) **Mosadi yô o tlohôla a tsamaya a gôdisa leina la Modimo.**

'This lady always goes around praising the name of the Lord'.

(185c) **Ka nakô êo masôlê a nê a tsamaya a fisa matlo a batho ba ba sa dumalaneng le molao wa mmusô.**

'At that time soldiers were going around burning the houses of people that did not agree with the laws of the government'.

7.7.3.5 The auxiliary verbal stem *-tla*

As a verb *-tla* means 'come', e.g.

(186) Dikgômo di tla phakêla.

'The cattle come early'.

It is almost impossible to circumscribe exactly or define the auxiliary verbal meaning of *-tla* as used in the modal categories because there seems to be no perceptible semantic relationship between its original verbal meaning and its auxiliary semantic value. However, its auxiliary semantic value can be circumscribed by "come, and then, at some time (with respect to a futuritive action)". This shade of meaning of *-tla* can also be perceived when it is used with a conjunctive function to introduce a clause of time as is the case with *go tsamaya* and *go fitlhêla*, e.g.

(187) Ke tla ba tlhokômêla go tla ba didimalê.

'I shall look after them until they become quiet (silent)'.

This auxiliary verb occurs in the following modal and morphological categories:

A. Infinitive followed by the subjunctive, e.g.

(188a) Tlhokômêla dikgômo mô lesakeng, go tla mapodisa a tlê.

'Guard the cattle in the kraal until the police arrive'.

(188b) Batlang dibuka tsa me go tla lo di bônê.

'Look for my books until you find them'.

(188c) Emisa kôloi êo fêla fêo go tla ntatê a e bônê.

'Stop that vehicle right there until father has seen it'.

B. Indicative present, potential - followed by the consecutive

Meaning: can, possibly, might come and at some time (later on), then, may soon. Note the following examples:

(189a) *Ditau di ka tla tsa tshwara dipitse.*

'The lions can possibly (might come / may soon) catch the horses'.

(189b) *Re boêlêtsa thutô ka re ka tla ra e lebala.*

'We repeat the lesson, lest we forget it (we might possibly come to forget it)'.

B. Subjunctive - followed by the subjunctive

Meaning: then, can. Note the following examples:

(190) *Bula lebati gore re tlê re bônê.*

'Open the door so that we may (then) see (later on)'.

In the hortative, e.g.

(191) *O tlô (tlê) o ntshwênnyê!*

'You dare disturb me!' Note the vowel assimilation.

D. Habitual - followed by the habitual. In this instance there is a striking similarity between *-tle* and *(a) nê* (refer to 7.5.2.(3)). Meaning: come and, on occasion, sometimes. Note the following examples:

(192a) *Ke nê ke tle ke ba bône kwa motseng*

'I used to see them in town from time to time/sometimes'.

(192b) *Kgômo ê, e a tle e amuse dinamane tsa dikgômo tsê dingwe.*

'This cow has sometimes allowed other calves to drink'.

(192c) *Pula e (a) tle e ne ka mariga.*

'It has rained in winter on occasion'.

(192d) **Ke a tle ke bône nalêdi ê e wêlang kwa tlase.**

'I have on occasion seen a falling star'.

E. Present tense potential - followed by the consecutive

Meaning: may, might, possibly, may/might come and. Note the following examples:

(193a) **Fa pôô e ka tla e go kgologêla, tloêla mô lebôtêng la lesaka.**

'If the bull should possibly charge you, jump onto the wall of the kraal'.

(193b) **Fa o tsamaya bosigo o ka tla wa bôna diphôlôgôlô tsê di tsamayang bosigo.**

'If you walk at night you might see the animals that walk around at night'.

F. Consecutive

Go tla can occur in the consecutive in which case it is always concomitant with the auxiliary verb *-ba* which also occurs in the consecutive. It expresses the value of until.

(194a) **Setšhaba sa gola sa ata mô Egepeta, ga ba ga tla ga tsoga kgôsi ê e sa itseng Yosefa.**

'The nation grew and increased in Egypt, until there arose a king which didn't know Joseph'.

(194b) **Ka mo leta ka bopelotêlêlê, a ba a tla a tla.**

'I waited for him patiently until he came'.

(194c) **Batho ba le bantsi ba phuthêgilê, ga ba ga tla ga tlhokêga felô fa ba ka êmang gônê.**

'Many people had gathered so (much so) that there was a lack of space where they could stand'.

7.7.3.6 The auxiliary verbal stem *-fitlha*

As a verb it means arrive, reach e.g.:

(195a) **O nê wa fitlha ka nakô mang?**

'At what time did you arrive?'

(195b) **Tsela ê e fitlha kae.**

'To where does this road reach?'

As auxiliary verb it means “on arrival” at that specific time, in the past, present or future. This indicates that the event/process in the independent verb takes place at a time when another action stops/ reaches an end.

It occurs in the following modal and morphological categories:

A. Indicative

(a) Present tense

(1) Imperfective - followed by the situative imperfective

Meaning now, presently, at the moment, at this time.

(196a) **Monna yôo o *fitlha* a gana go re duêla.**

‘This man refuses to pay us (at this time)’.

(196b) **Dikgômo tsê di *fitlha* di gana go tsêna mô sakêng.**

‘These cattle are refusing to go into the kraal. (at this time)’

(196c) **Kôlôi ê o e nthêkisêditsêng, ke ê, e *fitlha* e gana go duma.**

‘The vehicle you sold me, here it is (at the moment) refusing to start’.

(196d) **Monna yô ke tihôlang ke rêka go ênê ke yô, o *fitlha* a batla go ntsiêtsa.**

‘This man from whom I always buy, here he is (at the moment) trying to cheat me’.

(b) Past tense - followed by the situative present

Meaning at that time - referring to past tense.

(197a) **Ke lekilê go mo thusa, mme o *fitlhilê* a nkoba jaaka o koba ntšwa.**

‘I tried to help him, but he chased me away like a dog’.

(197b) **Ba nê ba re bône, mme ba *fitlhilê* ba sa re dumêdisc.**

‘They saw us, but they did not greet us’.

(c) Future tense - followed by the situative present

(198a) *O tla fitlha a bua le wêna fa ba sena go fêtsa.*

'He will talk to you after they have finished'.

(198b) *Ke lapilê thata jaanong, mme ke tla fitlha ke tlhapa kwa gae.*

'I am very tired now, but I shall wash at home'.

(198c) *Isa tirô ê kwa go rrê Molôi, ênê o tla fitlha a go kaêla gore go na le molato kae.*

'Take this work to Mr Moloi, he will indicate to you where the problems are'.

B. Consecutive

(199a) *Dikgômo tsa fitlha tsa ja mabêlê otlhê a a nêng a le mô kgamêlông.*

'The cattle then ate all the corn that had been in the bucket'.

(199b) *Malomê a fitlha a re thusa go fêtsa go baakanya dibaesekele tsa rona.*

'My uncle then helped us to fix our bicycles'.

(199c) *Phokojwê a fitlha a re o tla loga leanô.*

'Jackal then thought that he would make a plan'.

C. Imperative

(200a) *O fithê o phêpafatsê phaposi ya gago fa o sa batle gore ke go betsê!*

'You better then clean your room if you don't want me to punish you!'

(200b) *Fitha o fêtsê tirô ya gago fa!*

'Finish your work here (now)!'

(200c) *Fitha o sêlê matlakala a o a gasitsêng fa!*

'Pick up the garbage you have thrown here (now)!'

D. Habitual

(201a) *Ka dinakô tsêo ntatêmogolo a fitlha a re fe dimonamona.*

'In those times my grandfather usually gave us sweets'.

(201b) **Fa re ba êtêtse, mmêmogolo a *fitlhe* a apêye dijô tsê di monate.**

'When we visited them grandmother usually cooked nice food'.

E. Subjunctive

(202a) **Bula lebatlêo gore bana *ba fitlhê* ba re bônê fa ba feta.**

'Open that door so that the children can see us when they go past'.

(202b) **Ke baya senôtlôlo mô godimo ga lebatlêo gore o *fitlhê* o kgônê go tsêna.**

'I am putting the key on top of the door so that you can come in'.

(202c) **Ke ntshitsê nama mô setsidifatsing gore o *fitlhê* o e apêyê fa o tshwarwa ke tlala.**

'I took meat out of the fridge so that you can cook it when you get hungry'.

F. Situative

(a) Present tense

(1) Potential - followed by the situative present tense.

(203a) **Ntatê a *ka fitlha* a re thusa go baakanya selô sê.**

'Dad can help us to fix this thing'.

(203b) **Dikgômo *di ka fitlha* di fêtsa dijô tsê ka pela.**

'The cattle can finish this food quickly'.

(203c) **Ngaka e *ka fitlha* e gana go go tihatlhoba fa o sa tlhape sentlê.**

'The doctor can/may refuse to examine you if you don't wash properly'.

Other possible values of *-fitlha* in this mood correspond with those of the indicative mood.

7.7.4 Auxiliary verbs with semantic value of "simultaneous execution"

These auxiliary verbs indicate that the process of the complementary predicate takes/took/will take place during the execution of another process. Their general semantic value can therefore be rendered by on arrival, in the meantime, all along, for the

time being, keep on, while, etc. The following items can be classified under this category: *-nama*, *-sala*, *-êta*, *-fitlha*. The modal valences of each of these auxiliaries will now receive attention.

7.7.4.1 The auxiliary verbal stem *-nama*

As a verb it means spread out (grow), be stretched out, e.g.

(204) **Go nama maoto.**

'To stretch out the legs'.

As auxiliary verb it means for the time being, just now, in a little while, afterwards, thereupon, later on, in the meantime/meanwhile.

It occurs in the following modal and morphological categories:

A. Indicative

(a) Present tense

(1) Imperfective - followed by the situative imperfective

(205) **Dingwaga di nama di feta ka go latêlana.**

'In the meantime the years go past (one after the other)'.

(2) Potential - followed by the situative imperfective

(206a) **Dinamane di ka nama di tlhaotswê.**

'The calves can be separated in the meanwhile'.

(206b) **Mosimane a ka nama a tlhatswitsê kôlôi êo.**

'The boy could have washed that car in the meantime'.

(b) Future tense - followed by the situative imperfective

(207a) *O tla nama a go thula fa o sa tswe mô tselêng.*

'He will just now (presently) bump into you if you do not get out of the road'.

(207b) *Baithuti ba tla nama ba ya gae fa motlathêlêdi a sa gôrôge.*

'The students will go home just now/in a while if the lecturer does not show up'.

Followed by the situative past with the persistive aspect

(208a) *Fa ba mmona o tla nama a sa ntse têng fôo.*

'When they see him he will (for the time being) still be sitting right there'.

(208b) *Wêna latêla dikgômo kwa nagêng, nna ke tla nama ke sa di tshêlêla dijô.*

'You go and fetch the cattle in the veld, I shall pour out food for them in the meanwhile'.

(c) Past tense - followed by the situative imperfective or perfective

(209a) *Re namilê ra fêtsa ka tirô yôtlhê.*

'We finished all the work in the meantime'.

(209b) *Ba namilê ba nwa bojalwa bô bo nêng bo le mô setsidifatsing.*

'In the meanwhile they drank all the beer that was in the fridge'.

- Followed by the situative imperfective or perfective with persistive

(210a) *Ba namilê ba sa roka mesese ya bônê.*

'They are fixing their dresses in the meantime'.

(210b) *O namilê a sa thusa rraagwê.*

'He is helping his dad in the meantime'.

(210c) *Ba namilê ba sa ilê gae.*

'They went home for a little while/in the meantime'.

B. Imperative - followed by the situative imperfective or past with persistent

(211a) *Nama lo re êmêtse fa! Re latêla ba bangwe ka pela.*

'Wait here for us in the meantime, we are going to look for the others quickly'.

(211b) *Nama o ntse têng fa! Ke ilê go tsaya baesekele kwa kôlôing.*

'Sit right here in the meantime, I am going to fetch the bicycle at the wagon'.

C. Consecutive - followed by the consecutive

(212a) *Ga nama ga diragala sengwe sê se bosula thata.*

'Thereupon something very bad happened'.

(212b) *Re nê re êmêtse molaêtsa, mme ga nama ga tsêna monna yô o tagilwêng tôta.*

'We were waiting for a message, and then/in the meanwhile there entered a very drunk man'.

(212c) *Batho bôtlhê ba nê ba tswêla kwa ntlê, mme ga nama ga latêla le ênê.*

'All the people went outside, and thereupon (meanwhile) he also followed'.

D. Subjunctive - followed by the subjunctive or situative

(213a) *Ke tla ba ruta go apaya nama gore ba namê ba e ikapêêlê.*

'I shall teach them to cook meat so that they can cook for themselves in the meanwhile'.

(213b) *Ba re filê ditena le semêntê gore re namê re ikagêlê ntlo.*

'They gave us bricks and cement so that we can build ourselves a house in the meanwhile'.

E. Habitual - followed by the habitual

(214a) *Dikgômo tsêo di name di ba êmêle fa kgôrông.*

'Those cattle usually waited for them at the gate (in the meanwhile)'.

(214b) *Ntšwa ya gagwê e nê e rutêgilê thata, mme e name e mo bulêle lebati ka leroo.*

'His dog was very well trained, and usually opened the door for him with its paw'.

F. Situative - Similar to the indicative mood in tense and meaning.

7.7.4.2 The auxiliary verbal stem *-sala*

As a verb it means remain, stay behind, follow. Note the following examples:

(215) **Ke tla sala fa lo sa mpitse.**

'I shall stay behind if you don't call me'.

As an auxiliary verb it has the semantic value of meanwhile, in the meantime (during someone's/something's absence).

It occurs in the following modal and morphological categories:

A. Indicative mood

(a) Present tense

(1) Imperfective - followed by the situative imperfective

Meaning: meanwhile, in the meantime. Note the following examples:

(216a) **Mariga a fetilê, re sala re a gopola jaaka selô sa bogologolo.**

'Winter has passed, we remember it in the meantime as a something of long ago'.

(216b) **Kana nakô e ntse e feta ka bonakô jang! Fêla malôba re nê re ja kere semose mme re sala re e gôpola ekeke ke selô sa bogologolo.**

'How quickly time passes! Just the other day we celebrated Christmas but meanwhile we think of it as if it were a something that happened long ago'.

(2) Potential - followed by the situative imperfective

(217a) **O tlohôkômêlê ntšwa êo sentlê, e ka sala e bolaya dinku tsa gago fa o sa e gôlêge.**

'You must be careful with that dog, it might go on to kill your sheep if you don't keep it tied up'.

(217b) **Borôthô bô bo ka sala bo jewa ke dinônyane.**

'This bread might be eaten by birds in the meantime'.

(b) Past tense - followed by the stative perfective of the situative

Meaning: already. Note the following examples:

(218a) **Re sêitse re di bône.**

'We have already seen them'.

(218b) **Ba sêitse ba gôrôgilê.**

'They have already arrived'.

(218c) **O sêitse a rôbêtsê.**

'He is already asleep'.

(c) Future tense - followed by the present imperfective of the situative.

Meaning: in the meantime, meanwhile. Note the following examples:

(219a) **Latêla dibuka tsa gago kwa sekôlông, nna ke tla sala ke phêpafatsa ntlo.**

'Go and fetch your books at school, I shall clean the house in the meantime'.

(219b) **Isa kgamêlô ê kwa go ntatê ke tla sala ke go êmêla fa.**

'Take this bucket to dad, I shall wait for you here in the meantime'.

B. Consecutive mood - followed by the situative imperfective -

Meaning: afterwards, during absence. Note the following examples:

(202a) **Basimane ba nê ba itumêtse thata, mme ba sala ba tshêlana ka mêtisi, ba taboga ba tshameka.**

'The boys were very happy, and in the meanwhile they threw water at each other, ran around and played'.

(220b) **Eirilê re sena go tsamaya, baêti ba sala ba re utswêtsa dithoto, mme ba sia.**

'After we had left, the visitors stole our belongings and ran away'.

C. Subjunctive mood

Followed by the situative imperfective or subjunctive

Meaning: meantime, meanwhile. Note the following examples:

(221a) Ke tla ba kopa gore ba salê ba go thusa go baakanya kôloi ya gago.

'I shall ask them to help you to fix your vehicle in the meanwhile'.

(221b) Ke ya kwa tôrôpông jaanong, o tlogêlê bana gore ba salê ba ithuta.

'I am going to town now, you must leave the children alone so that they can study in the meantime'.

D. Imperative mood - followed by the situative imperfective or subjunctive

Meaning: meantime, meanwhile, e.g.

(222a) Sala o fêtsê tirô ya gago!

'Finish your work in the meantime!'

(222b) Lo salêng lo phêpafatsa boapêlo!

'Clean the kitchen in the meantime'.

(b) Past tense - followed by the situative imperfective.

Meaning: already. Note the following examples:

(223a) Fa o sêtse o kwala, tswelêla fêla.

'If you are already writing, just go on'.

(223b) Fa ba sêtse ba di gama ga go thuse sepê.

'If they are already milking them it is useless'.

- Followed by the situative past

Meaning: has/had already. Note the following examples:

(224a) *Fa a sêitse a gôtsitse molêlo re tla o ôra le ênê.*

'If he has already made a fire we will enjoy the heat with him'.

(224b) *Fa mogwêbi a sêitse a nôtlêtse lebenkele ga re ka ke ra kgôna go rêka molêlô.*

'If the shopowner has already locked the shop we will not be able to buy matches'.

7.7.4.3 Auxiliary verbs *-êta/-nna*

As verb it means to "take a journey, take a trip, walk/go along". As auxiliary verb it has the value of all (along) the way, while, at the same time, proceed, keep on. That is to say that the process expressed by the complement of *-êta* continues/continued/will continue mostly during the execution of another process. It is therefore synonymous with *-feta* and *-nna*.

(225a) *Ba tla êta ba go thusa.*

'They will help you all the time'.

(225b) *Go bua o êta o nwa ga go a siama.*

'To speak while/keeping on drinking is impolite'.

(225c) *Msilakazi a tswêlêla pele, a êta a fênya merafe yôtlhe ê a rakaneng le yônê.*

'Msilakazi went on, and all along/at the same time conquered all the tribes he encountered'.

(225d) *Rrê ga a ke a êta a betsa pitse ya gagwê.*

'Father never keeps on beating his horse'.

(225e) *Basadi ba nê ba latêla banna ba bônê, ba êta ba duduêtsa mô tselêng.*

'The women followed their men while trilling/shouting/jubilating in the street'.

7.7.5 Auxiliary verbs with semantic value of repetition

These auxiliary verbs indicate that a process is repeated or takes place frequently. The following auxiliary verbs resort to this category: *-ata/-atisa*, *-boa/-boêla*. The modal valences of each of these auxiliaries will now receive attention.

7.7.5.1 The auxiliary verbal stem *-atisa*

As verb *atisa* has the semantic value of 'cause to multiply'.

As auxiliary verb it may mean 'often or frequently'.

It may occur in the following modal and morphological categories:

A. Indicative

(a) Present tense

(1) Imperfective - followed by the infinitive

(226a) *Ditau di atisa go bôpa gaufi le ntlo ya rona.*

'The lions often roar close to our house'.

(226b) *Bôna ba atisa go re êtêla ka Lamodimo.*

'They often pay us a visit on Sundays'.

(226c) *Dinku di atisa go sutlha go bapa le hêkê.*

'The sheep often go through the fence next to the gate'.

(2) Progressive - followed by the infinitive

(227a) *A ba sa atisa go le tlisêtsa mašwi.*

'Are they still bringing you milk often'?

(227b) *Badiri ba sa atisa go rêka mô lebenkeleng lê fa ba tswa kwa tirông.*

'The workers still often buy here when they come from work'.

(3) Potential - followed by the infinitive

(228a) *Basimane ba ka atisa ba go tshwênnya fa o sa ba kgalemêle.*

‘The boys can often bother you if you don’t scold them’.

(228b) *Balemi ba ka atisa go adima mogoma wa gago fa o sa ba duêdise.*

‘The farmers can keep on borrowing your plough if you don’t let them pay’.

(228c) *Baapêi ba ka atisa go se tshole ka nakô, fa o sa bue le bônê.*

‘The cooks might frequently not dish up on time, if you don’t talk to them’.

(b) Future tense - followed by the infinitive

(229a) *Diphôlôgôlô di tla atisa go tlola terata fa tlhaga e simolola go fêla ka ntlha ê.*

‘The wild animals will often jump over the fence if the grass diminishes on this side’.

(229b) *Dikgômo di tla atisa go tla, fa o di fa letswai.*

‘The cattle will frequently come, if you give them salt’.

B. Subjunctive - followed by the infinitive

(230a) *Ke tla ba kopa gore ba atise go re adima kuranta ya bônê.*

‘I shall ask them to often lend us their newspaper’.

(230b) *Ke tla ba bolêlêla gore ba atisê go re êtêla.*

‘I shall tell them that they should pay us a visit frequently (should often pay us a visit)’.

C. Habitual - followed by the infinitive

(231a) *Dikolobê tsa naga di atise go senya mabêlê ka nakô ya go jwala.*

‘The warthogs often used to destroy the corn at the time of planting’.

(231b) *Maphôi a atise go sêla mmidi fa thokô ga setimêla fa re photha.*

‘The doves often used to pick up the mealie kernels next to the harvester when we harvested mealies’.

D. Consecutive - followed by the infinitive

(232a) *Morutabana a atisa go bala kuranta fa a sena go ruta.*

'The teacher then frequently read the newspaper after the lesson'.

(232b) *Barui ba atisa go kgobokana go bua ka ga melemô ya dikgômo.*

'The farmers then often got together to discuss cattle medicine'.

E. Situative: It is similar to the indicative mood in tense and meaning.

7.7.5.2 The auxiliary verbal stem *-boa* (or *-boêla*)

As verb stem it has the meaning of return, come back, come again. Note the following examples:

(233) *Ke tla boa kwa Mmabatho ka mosô fa re ka fêtsa.*

'I shall return from Mmabatho tomorrow, if we could finish'.

It occurs in the following modal and morphological categories:

A. Indicative

(a) Present tense - followed by the situative imperfective

Meaning: repeatedly, again, once more, e.g.

(234a) *Kônyana êo, e boa e siêla kwano fa o sa e fe mašwi a a lekaneng.*

'That lamb will repeatedly run back here if you don't give it enough milk'.

(234b) *Leotwana lêo le boa le senyêga gapê fa o sa le baakanye sentlê.*

'That wheel of the vehicle will get damaged again if you don't fix it efficiently'.

(b) Present tense potential - followed by the consecutive

Meaning: again, once more, e.g.

(235a) *Fa moêtêlêdipele a nkopa nka boa ka rulaganya kôpanô ê nngwe gapê.*

'If the chairman asks me I shall again organize another meeting'.

(235b) *Fa ba gana nka boa ka ya go bua le bônê gapê.*

'If they should refuse I could go and talk to them again'.

(c) Future tense - followed by the situative imperfective

Meaning: again, once more, e.g.

(236a) *Ke tla boa ke lo thusa ka selô seô fa ke sena go fêtsa ka tirô ya me.*

'I shall help you with that thing again after I have finished my work'.

(236b) *O tla boa a go araba ka botlalô fa a sena go bala buka êo.*

'He will answer you again in detail after he has finished reading that book'.

(d) Past tense - followed by the consecutive

Meaning: again, once more, e.g.

(237a) *Mokgwêetsi wa bese o boilê a kopa bana gapê gore ba seka ba tsamaya mô beseng fa e tsamaya.*

'The driver of the bus again asked the children not to walk around in the bus while it is moving'.

(237b) *Ntatê o boilê a mpolêlêla gapê gore ke jê dijô tsa me tsôtlhê.*

'Father told me again that I had to eat all my food'.

B. Habitual - followed by the habitual

Meaning: again, once more, e.g.

(238a) *A tle a boe a re lêbogêlê thusô.*

'He often thanked us for our help'.

(238b) Re tle *re boe* re ba thuse ka tirô ya bônê.

'We usually help them with their work repeatedly'.

C. Consecutive - followed by the consecutive or the situative

Meaning: again, once more, e.g.

(239a) Re nê ra leka go bua sentlê le ênê, mme *a boa* a betsa mosadi wa gagwê gapê.

'We tried to talk to him, but he beat his wife again'.

(239b) Batho ba kêrêkê ba lekilê go mo thusa, mme *a boa* a simolola go nwa gapê.

'The people from the church tried to help him, but he started drinking again'.

D. Subjunctive - followed by the subjunctive or the situative

Meaning: again, once more, e.g.

(240a) Kwala nômorô ê mô bukanêng ya gago gore *o boê* o e tshotsê fa o batla go ntelêtsa mogala.

'Write this number in your booklet so that you have it when you want to phone me again'.

(240b) Se nôtlêlê fôo gore *a boe* a tsene fa a batla.

'Don't lock that door so that he can come in again, if he wants'.

E. Situative.

(a) Present tense - followed by the situative imperfective

Meaning: again, once more, e.g.

(241a) Fa mmê *a boa* a go botsa, o mmolêlêlê boamaaruri.

'If mother asks you again you must tell her the truth'.

(241b) Fa lekau lêo *le boa* le go tshwênnya, o mpitse!

'If that young man bothers you again you must call me'.

(b) Present tense potential - followed by the consecutive

Meaning: again, once more, e.g.

(242a) *Fa namane ê, e ka boa e sutlha terata, o e bôfêlêlê thôbane mô molaleng.*

'If this calf should go through the fence again you must tie a pole/stick to its neck'.

(242b) *Fa ntšwa ya gago e ka boa e bôgola bosigo bôtlhê ke ya go e bolaya.*

'If that dog of yours barks for the whole night again I am going to kill it'.

(c) Future tense - followed by the situative imperfect

Meaning: again, once more. Note the following examples:

(243a) *Fa kôlôî ê e tla boa e rôbêga, ke tlabô ke itse gore bathudi bao ga ba itse sepe.*

'If this car should break down again I shall know that those mechanics know nothing'.

(243b) *Fa ke tla boa ke mo kopa madi a me ka mosô, e tlabô e le la boraro.*

'If I am going to ask him once more (again) for my money tomorrow, it will be for the third time'.

(d) Past tense - followed by the consecutive

Meaning: again, once more. Note the following examples:

(244a) *Fa e le gore bana bao ba boilê ba senya ditlhako tsa bônê ka bôomo, ba tla tsamaya mariga ôtlhê ba se na ditlhako.*

'If those children damaged their shoes again on purpose they will walk the whole winter without shoes'.

(244b) *Fa ntataago a boilê a go thusitsê, ke gore leratô la gagwê mô go wêna le letona.*

'If your dad helped you again it is because his love for you is so big'.

7.7.6 Auxiliary verbs with conjunctive function.

This category includes those auxiliary verbs which are syntactically transposable, and have a conjunctive function. Synchronically these items are conjunctions, however from a diachronical point of view they are auxiliaries as their origin is verbal. This category includes the following items: *e bilê, e kete, e kile, e re, gobô, gone, gore, go tla, go*

tloga, go fitlhêla, go tsamaya, ntswa/etswa, mme. (Refer to 3.8.1.) These auxiliaries will now receive attention.

7.7.6.1 The auxiliary verb *e bilê*

Meaning: also, even, furthermore, moreover.

It is used with the present, past and future tenses of the indicative and situative moods.

Compare the following:

(245a) *Ba nê ba re amogêla, e bilê ba (nê ba) re nosa mêtsi.*

'They welcomed us, and even gave us water'.

(245b) *Ntatê o nê a re letlêlêla go ya tôrôpông, e bilê o nê a re fa madi go rêka dimonamona.*

'Father allowed us to go to town, he even gave us money to buy sweets'.

(245c) *Re tla ba thusa go pêga dilô mô kôlôing, e bilê re tla ba thusa go di isa kwa gae.*

'We shall help them to put their baggage in the vehicle and we shall even help them to take it home'.

7.7.6.2 The auxiliary verb *e kete*

Meaning: as if, looks as if, seems as if, possibly, probably, presumably.

(246a) *Ntšwa e nê e khubame e kete e sule.*

'The dog was lying as if it was dead'.

(246b) *Monna o nê a tsamaya e kete o bolaiwa ke setlhabi.*

'The man walked as if he was enduring pain'.

(246c) *O nê a kgwêêtsa e kete o tagilwê.*

'He drove as if he was drunk'.

7.7.6.3 The auxiliary verb *e kile*

This auxiliary verb introduces tertiary descriptives with *ya re*. It can precede or follow *ya re*.

Meaning: once upon a time, once, when. Note the following examples:

(247a) *E kilê ya re bogologolo, go nê go na le phokojwê le phiri.*

'Once upon a time long ago, there was a jackal and a wolf'.

(247b) *Ya re e kilê phiri a re o batla go sia a fitlhela gore phokojwê o bôfilê mogatla wa gagwê mô setlharêng.*

'When wolf wanted to run away he found out that jackal had tied his tail to a tree'.

7.7.6.4 The auxiliary verb *e re*

This auxiliary verb is formed by the classless *-e* in combination with the verb *-re*. It means to say, and has the semantic value that the action of the independent verb follows at a certain time in the past and often this action leads to another. This auxiliary verb appears in different moods and times. Compare the following examples:

A. Indicative

(a) Present tense with the situative

Meaning: when, if, then (at that time).

(248a) *E re phala e bôna batho ba atamêla, e siê.*

'When the impala saw the people coming closer, it runs away'.

(248b) *E re morutabana a ba tlhalosêtsa, ba rêêtse.*

'When the teacher explains to them they keep quiet'.

(248c) *E re o ba bôna, o ba rée o re ke batla go ba bôna.*

'When you see them, tell them that I want to see them'.

(b) Potential plus situative

Meaning: if, it seems as if, as if, perhaps, it could be.

(249a) *E ka re basimane bao ba batla go palama dipitse tsê di mô lesakeng.*

'It seems as if those boys want to ride the horses that are in the kraal'.

(249b) *Fa o lebêlêla maru, e ka re pula e etla.*

'If you look at the clouds it seems as if it is going to rain'.

(c) Future tense plus situative

Meaning: if, when, at that time (future).

(250a) *E tla re fa pula e tla rona re bê re sêitse re le kwa gae.*

'When the rain comes we shall already be at home'.

(250b) *E tla re fa kgômo e e nang le namane e bôna dintswa e di kgologele.*

'When the cow with the calf sees the dogs it will attack them'.

(250c) *E tla re fa ke sena go sega tlhaga ke ye go nwa mêtisi kwa lethôpông.*

'When I have finished mowing the lawn I shall go and drink water at the hose'.

(d) Perfective plus situative

Meaning: when, at the time (past), when, then.

(251a) *E rilê re fitlha kwa gae, ntatê o nê a sêitse a le têng.*

'When we arrived at home, father was already there'.

(251b) *E rilê ngaka e sena go mo alafa, mmê a mo tshêlêla tec.*

'After/when the doctor had treated him, mother poured him some tea'.

B. Consecutive

Meaning: when, at the time, if, then.

(252a) *Ya re malomê a tla ra mo thusa go folosa dithoto tsa gagwê.*

'When my uncle came, we helped him to unload his baggage'.

(252b) *Ya re ba tswa mô sekôlông ba tabogêla kwa gae go ipaakanya go ya go tshameka le ditsala tsa bônê.*

'When they came out of school, they ran home to get ready to go and play with their friends'.

7.7.6.5 The auxiliary verb *-gobô*

Meaning: because, as, considering, for.

(253a) *Re tla ba êmêla gobô ba batla go tsamaya le rona.*

'We will wait for them, because they want to walk with us'.

(253b) *Ke bula lebati gobô mmê o nkopilê go le bula.*

'I am opening the door because mother asked me to open it'.

Gobô is also used with *ka*. Compare the following:

(254a) *Re tliê go tsaya dipholo tsa rona ka gobô re batla go lema ka tsônê jaanong.*

'We have come to fetch our oxen as/because we want to plough with them'.

(254b) *Ke kobilê dikgômo ka gobô di nê di batla go senya tshingwana ya rona.*

'I chased the cattle away as they wanted to damage our garden'.

7.7.6.6 The auxiliary verb *gonne*

Meaning: because, as, seeing that, for.

(255a) *Ke mo duêtse gone o nê a ntirêtse.*

'I paid him because he worked for me'.

(255b) **Palama mô kôlôing *gonne* re batla go tsamaya.**

'Get into the vehicle because we want to leave'.

7.7.6.7 The auxiliary verb *gore*

Meaning: that, so that, if, whether.

It is most commonly used with the subjunctive mood.

(256a) **Mmitsê *gore* maagwe mo thusê.**

'Call him so that his mother can help him'.

(256b) **Bula lebati *gore* re tsênê tlhê.**

'Open the door so that we can enter please'.

It is also used with the indicative mood however. Compare the following:

(257a) **Mmotse *gore* a o itse dikgômo tsê.**

'Ask him whether he knows these cattle'.

(257b) **Ba botsê *gore* a ba sa ntse ba dula kwa Sefatlhane.**

'Ask them whether they still live in Zeerust'.

(257c) **Ga ba itse *gore* re tla gôrôga leng.**

'They do not know when we will arrive'.

(257d) **Ga ke itse *gore* ntšwa ya gago e ilê kae.**

'I do not know where your dog has gone'.

7.7.6.8 The auxiliary verb *go tla*

Meaning: until, prior to, in front of, preceding.

This conjunctive (auxiliary) is followed by the subjunctive.

(258a) **Re nê re le ditsala tsa bône *go tla* ba re tsiêtsê.**

'We had been their friends, until they cheated us'.

(258b) *Re tla ba êmêla go tla ba fêtsê.*

'We shall wait for them until they finish'.

(258c) *Go tla a nkopê boitshwarelô, ga ke nke ke mo thusa gapê.*

'Until he asks me to pardon him I shall not help him again'.

7.7.6.9 The auxiliary verb *go tloga*

Meaning: subsequently, from, since.

(259a) *Ke olê, go tloga môo ga ke gôpole sepê.*

'I fell, since then I do not remember anything'.

(259b) *O ntse a nthusa go tloga maabane.*

'He has been helping me since yesterday'.

(259c) *Pula e ntse e na go tloga bosigo.*

'It has been raining since last night'.

7.7.6.10 The auxiliary verb *go fitlhêla*

Meaning: until, in front of, preceding, foregoing, anterior.

Go fitlha is followed by the subjunctive.

(260a) *Phefo e nê e tsêna ka phatlha êo go tloga beke ê e fetilêng, go fitlha ke e thibê maabane.*

'The wind has been blowing through that hole from last week until I closed it yesterday'.

(260b) *Di nê tsa re tshwênya go fitlhêla re di kobê.*

'They (animals) bothered us, until we chased them away'.

(260c) *Rraabô o nê a ba thusa go fitlha ba ipônêlê tirô.*

'Their father helped them until they found a job'.

7.7.6.11 The auxiliary verb *go tsamaya*

Meaning: until, prior to, in front of, preceding.

Go tsamaya is followed by the subjunctive.

(261a) **Ke tla ba thusa *go tsamaya* ba kgônêe go itirêla.**

'I shall help them until they can work for themselves'.

(261b) **Kgômo e nê ya êma sentlê *go tsamaya* re batlê go simolola go gama.**

'The cow stood nicely until we wanted to start milking'.

(261c) **Lekau le nê la ithuta sentlê *go tsamaya* le ratanê le mosetsana yô.**

'The young man studied well until he started to love this girl'.

7.7.6.12 The auxiliary verb *ntswa/etswa*

Meaning: though, although, even if, even though, whereas, and yet, despite.

It is followed by the different tenseforms of the situative.

(262a) **Moruti o nthusitsê *etswa* ke se mongwe wa kêrêkê ya gagwê.**

'The preacher helped me regardless of the fact that I am not a member of his church'.

(262b) **Ke nê ka pêga mosadi le ngwana mô tselêng *etswa* ke itse gore malatsi a motho ga a pege motho yô mongwe.**

'I gave the lady and child a lift even though I know that one does not pick up a person along the road these days'.

(263c) **Ke tla tsamaya ke se na jase *etswa* ke itse gore go ka nna tsididi.**

'I shall go without a jacket even though I know that it can become cold'.

7.7.6.13 The auxiliary verb *mme*

Meaning: and, but, yet.

(264a) *Ke nê ka lo botsa mme lo nê lo sa nkarabe.*

'I asked you, but you did not answer me'.

(264b) *Re batla go ya kwa lewatleng, mme kôlôi ya rona e rôbêgilê.*

'We want to go to the seaside, but our vehicle is broken down'.

(264c) *O nê a re o tla ka ura ya borôbêdi, mme ga a bonale.*

'He said that he would come at eight, but/yet he is nowhere to be seen'.

7.8 HIERARCHY OF AUXILIARY VERBS

In the structural composition of auxiliary verbal groups (as indicated in 7.4.) only one auxiliary verb is included. However, two or more auxiliary verbs can occur, e.g.

(265) *Ba nê ba tlhola ba sêtse ba tsamailê ka dinakô tsê.*

'They had always already left by this time'.

(266) *Ga ke ise ke bê ke mmône.*

'I have never ever seen him'.

(267) *Re nê re tlabô re sa ntsê re le têng.*

'We would still have been there'.

(268) *Re nê re sa bôlo go lala re tshôtlha kang ê ka bolêêlê.*

'Yesterday we had already discussed/pondered over this matter for a long time'.

The mutual positions which can be taken up by the various auxiliary verbs relative to each other and their positions with respect to the main predicate are specific. The number of auxiliaries which can occur simultaneously in the group is restricted to two and occasionally three.

The various positions can be described as follows:

i. All auxiliary verbs precede the main/complementary predicate (a verbal group or a copulative group), e.g.

(269) *Ba nê ba disa metlhape ya dinku.*

'They herded the flock of sheep'

(270) *Re ntse re leka go siamisa kôlô.*

'We are still busy repairing the car'.

(271) *Di (a) tle di gangwe ka thapama.*

'They are usually milked in the afternoon'.

(272) *Ga ba kitla ba go tshwênya.*

'They shall not bother you'.

(273) *O se ka wa bua jalô.*

'You mustn't talk like that'.

ii. Auxiliary verbs used in negative structures precede other auxiliary verbs.

The auxiliary verbs *sc-kitla* and *sc-ka*; *-ke* are used to negate the prefixal morphemes *-tla* and *-ka* respectively if they occur in the structures of auxiliary verbs, e.g.

(274) *Re tla tsoga re go thusa.*

'We shall help you early next morning'

(275) *Ga re kitla re tsoga re go thusa.*

'We shall not help you tomorrow morning'.

(276) *Di ka nama di tsêna mô masimong.*

'They can go into the fields in the meantime'.

(277) *Ga di ka ke tsa nama di tsêna mô masimong.*

'They cannot enter the fields in the meantime'.

In negative structures with *-ka* and *-ise* the auxiliary verb *-ba* and *-ka* may be added after these auxiliary verbs for emphasis.

(278) *O se ka wa ba wa bua jalô.*

'You must never ever talk like that'.

(279) *O se ka wa bua jalô.*

'You must never talk like that'.

(280) *Ga ke ise ke bê/ke ke mmône.*

'I have never yet seen him'.

(281) *Ga ke ise ke mmône.*

'I haven't yet seen him'.

(282) *Ga o ise o kô/bô o nthuse.*

'You have never yet helped me'.

iii. The auxiliary verb *-ka* which can be introduced into the basic negative of the consecutive, subjunctive, habitual and imperative moods for the formation of emphatic negatives, precedes an auxiliary if the latter is included in the positive structure, e.g.

(283) *O nnê o mo tshwényê.*

'You must keep on bothering him'.

(284) *O se ka wa tlhola o mo tshwênya.*

'You must not bother him anymore'.

(285) *Ka tloga ka ya go mmôna.*

'I (afterwards) went to see him'.

(286) *Ka se ka ka tloga ka ya go mmôna.*

'I (afterwards) didn't go to see him'.

(287) *Ditau di lale di tsome bosigo.*

'Lions usually hunt during the night'.

(288) *Ditau di se ke di lale di tsoma bosigo.*

'Lions usually do not hunt during the night'.

(289) *A lo nnê lo tshameka.*

'You must go on/keep on playing'.

(290) *A lo se ka lwa nna lwa tshameka.*

'You must not go on/keep on playing'.

iv. The emphatic negative of auxiliary verbal groups which include the auxiliary verbs *-tla*, *-ba* or *-ka* in the imperative or subjunctive and *-tla* in the habitual mood, is formed by using the auxiliary verb *-ka* after them, e.g.

(291) *A (o)kê o yê kwa lebenkeleng.*

'Please go to the shop'.

(292) *A (o) kê o se ka wa ya lebenkeleng*

'Please do not go to the shop'.

(293) *Rrê a laola gore dikgômo di tlê di gangwê.*

'Father instructed that the cows be milked'.

(294) *Rrê a laola gore dikgômo di tlê di se ka tsa gangwa.*

'Father instructed that the cows not be milked'.

(295) *Re nê re tle re game dikgômo ka thapama.*

'We usually milked the cows in the afternoon'.

(296) *Re nê re tle re se ke re gamê dikgômo ka mathapama.*

'We did not usually milk the cows in the afternoon'.

v. The auxiliary verbs *-nê*, *-kîlê*, *-ilê* and *-bô* (*-tlabô*, *-kabô*) occupy the (most) initial position in an auxiliary verbal string, e.g.

(297) *O nê a ise a bê a nkwalêle.*

'He had not yet written to me'.

(298) *Ba nê ba sa bôlo go lala ba tshôtlha kgang ê ka bolêêlê.*

'They had discussed this matter for a long time last night'

(299) *Go kilê ga bô go na le monna mongwê.*

'Once upon a time there was a certain man'

(300) *Dingaka di nê di ise di tlhaloganye modi wa bolwêtse jwa gagwê.*

'The doctors did not as yet understand his illness'.

(301) *Ke tlabô ke ntse ke dira.*

'I shall still be working'.

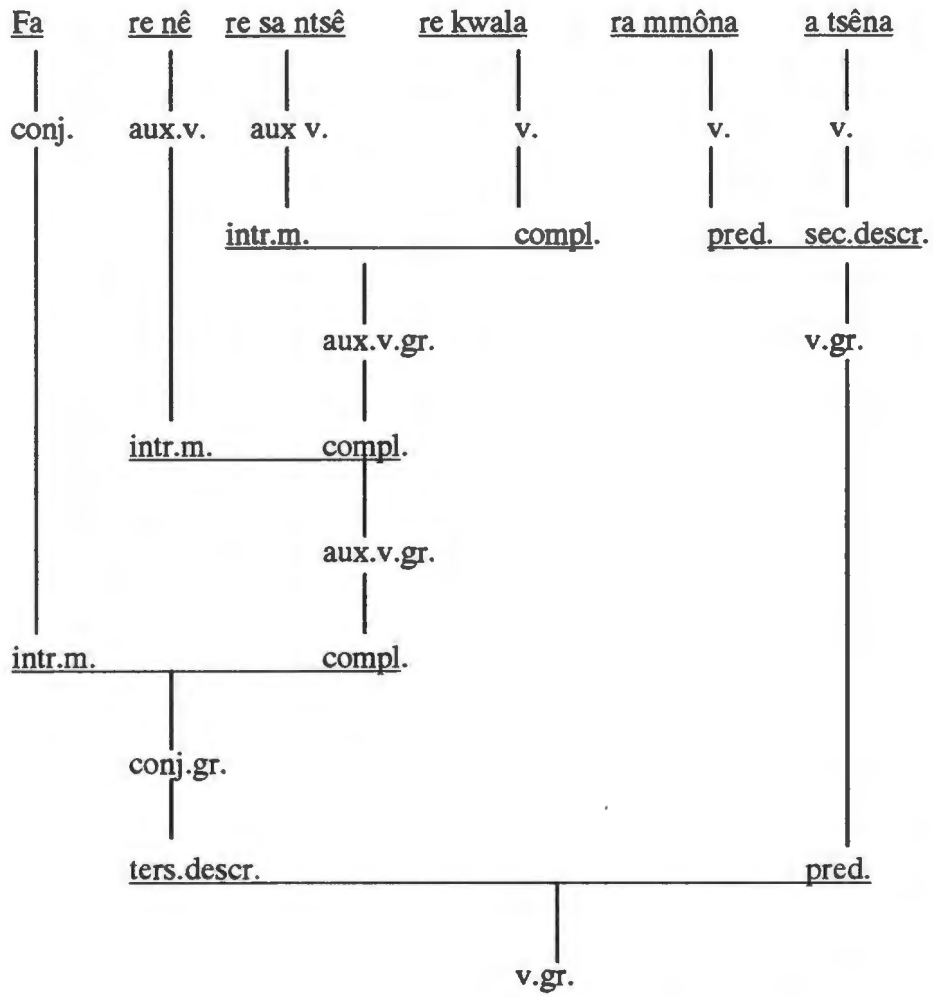
(302) *Ba nê ba tlabô ba sa ntse ba dira.*

'They would still be working'.

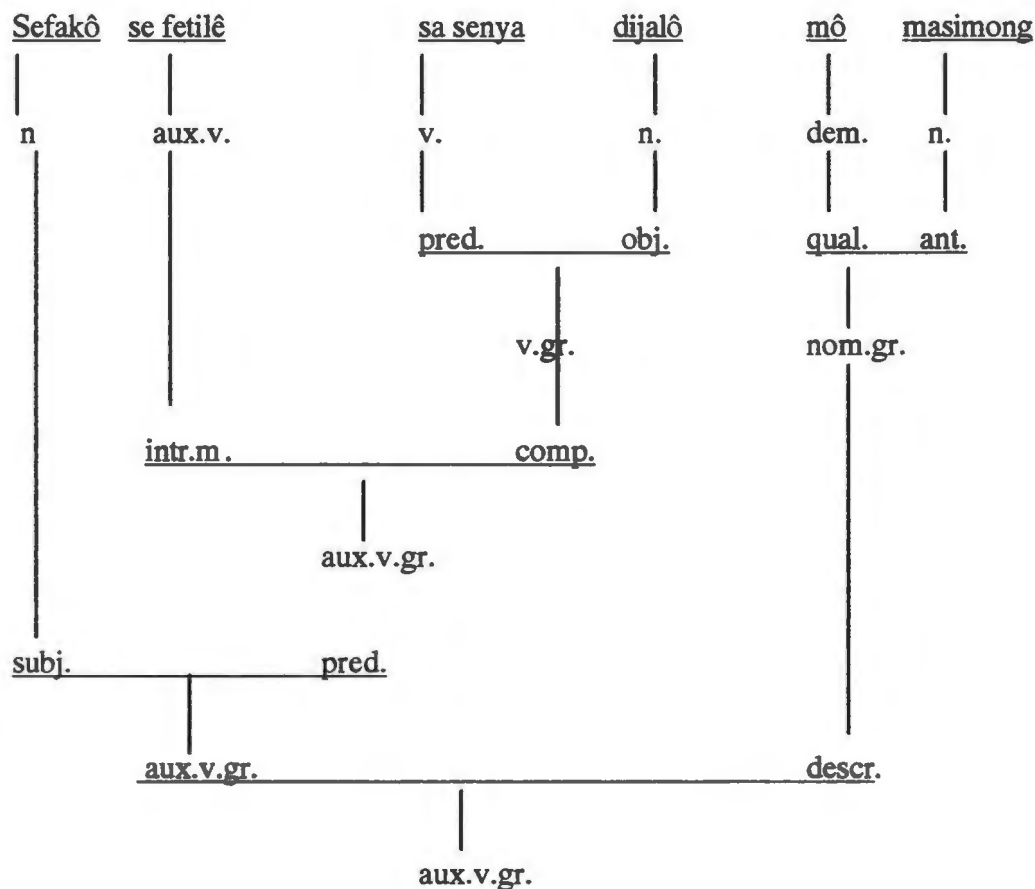
(303) *Go nê go kilê ga bô go na le monnamogolo yô ô nêng a tshela a le nôsi.*

'Once upon a time there was an old man who lived alone'.

7.9 EXAMPLES OF ANALYSIS



(While we were still busy writing, we then saw him coming in).



(The hail then came and damaged the crop on the fields.)

The abbreviations used in the analysis above represent the following:

n - noun;

aux.v.gr. - auxiliary verb group;

descr. - descriptive;

conj. gr. - conjunctive group;

obj. - object;

ant. - antesedent;

nom.gr. - nominal group;

comp. - complement;

abs.pr. - absolute pronoun;

first mem. - first member;

co-ord -pred. gr. - co-ordinate predicative group

aux.v. - auxiliary verb;

dem. - demonstrative;

sec. descr. - secondary descriptive;

pred. - predicative;

qual. - qualificative;

v.gr. - verb group;

intr.m. - introductory member;

subj. - subject;

co-ord. con.gr. - co-ordinate group;

second mem. - second member;

7.10 EXTERNAL FUNCTIONS OF THE AUXILIARY VERBAL GROUPS

The external functions (the valential features of the *group*) of auxiliary verb groups are exactly identical to those of the verbal groups and copulative groups. The various functions are the following:

7.10.1 As independent sentences

An auxiliary verb group can act as an independent sentence if the initial auxiliary verb occurs in one of the independent moods, i.e. the indicative, the imperative, the consecutive and the habitual mood respectively. Compare the following examples:

(304) *Bolwêtse jôo, bo tla feta bo bolaya batho.* (indicative)

'That illness will go on to kill people'.

(305) *Ke nê ke tle ke ba bône kwa motseng.* (indicative)

'I usually saw them in town'

(306) *Ga nama ga latêla le ênê.* (consecutive)

'Thereupon/meanwhile he also followed'.

(307) *A re: nama o sêtse fa!* (imperative)

'He then said: Remain here for a while/in the meantime'.

(308) *Diphokojwê di (a) tle di tswe ka lotlatlana.* (habitual)

'The jackals usually come out at dusk'.

7.10.2 As a secondary (modal) descriptive

An auxiliary verb group can act as a secondary descriptive clause if the auxiliary verb occurs in one of the dependent moods, i.e. the situative, the subjunctive and the infinitive mood, e.g.

(309) *Di tshwanêtse go nosiwa, di tlê di umê.*

'They ought to be watered so that they can bear fruit'.

(310) *Tsamaya go sa ntsê go na le sebaka.*

'Go while there is still an opportunity'.

(311) *Ra ba ra bôna dinôtshe mô mosimêng di ntsê di fofa-fofa kwa le kwa.*

'Then we saw the honeybees in the hole while they kept on flying back and forth'.

(312) *Re tla mô êmêla fa go fitlhêla a gôrôga.*

'We shall wait for him here until he returns'.

(313) *Se bolotsê dikgômo di ise di gangwe.*

'Don't drive out the cattle before they are milked'.

7.10.3 As complement of an auxiliary verb

(314) *Ba tlabô ba ntsê ba dira fa re fitlha têng.*

'They shall still be working if we arrive there'.

(315) *O se ka wa ba wa ba tshwênnya.*

'You must never ever annoy them'.

7.10.4 As complement of conjunctions

(316) *Jaanong ngata ya dithôbane ya mô palêla jaaka e sêitse e palêtse mogolowê.*

'The bundle of sticks was also too heavy for him, just as it was already too heavy for his older brother'.

(317) *Ka motsomi o nê a gôpola gore ntšwa ya gagwê e a tsênwa, a e bolaya ka tihôbôlô.*

'Since the hunter thought that his dog went mad, he killed it with his gun.'

(318) *Re nê ra tswêlêla pele ka dipitse etswa di sêitse di lapilê ka ntlha ya motlhaba.*

'We proceeded with the horses although they were already tired because of the sand'.

7.11 VERBS WITH VALENCE FOR INFINITIVES

There is a group of verbs in Tswana which have valence for infinitive verbs as complement. This seems to be confusing, as the structure of such a group may then *appear* to be the same as that of an auxiliary verbal group. That would in turn imply that these verbs should

on morphological and syntactic grounds be auxiliary verbs. These verbs are: *-rata*, *-batla*, *-itse*, *-kgona*, *-leka*, *-tshwanêitse*, *-tlwaêitse*, *-lebêitse*. Compare the following examples:

(319) *Ntatê o rata go bala.*

'Father likes to read'.

(320) *Bana ba batla go ithuta.*

'The children want to learn'.

(321) *Molwêitse o kgôna go ja.*

'The ill person/patient is able to eat'.

(322) *Ke leka go fêtsa.*

'I am trying to finish'.

(323) *Ntatê o nê a re re tshwanêitse go boa.*

'Father said that we have to come back'.

(324) *Dipitse di tlwaêitse go taboga.*

'The horses are used to running'.

(325) *Morêki o lebêitse go duêla.*

'The buyer forgot to pay'.

These infinitive complements have valence for qualificative complements which would render them nouns. Consider the following:

(326) *Dipitse di tlwaêitse go taboga gô.*

'The horses are used to *this* running'.

However, they also have valence for descriptive complements which would imply that they are verbs. Compare the following:

(327) *Dipitse di tlwaêitse go taboga mô tselêng.*

'The horses are used to running in the road'.

Because of the duality (noun and verb) of the infinitive it can also be indicated that they have valence for both descriptive and qualificative complements at the same time. Consider the following:

(328) *Dipitse di tIwaêtse go taboga mô tselêng gô.*

'The horses are used to this running in the road'.

(For a more elaborate discussion on the infinitive in Tswana refer to Vermeulen (1976)).

This study has suggested that it is preferable to refer to these verbs (that take the infinitive as complement) as verbs, and not as auxiliary verbs. Another reason why they are seen as verbs is that all of those mentioned above are transitive and therefore have valence for objects. It should be noticed that when the infinitive follows intransitive verbs it functions as a secondary descriptive.

Because of their semantic value they are further qualified as modal verbs. Regarding this kind of verb in Afrikaans, De Villiers (1975:225) indicates that:

In Afrikaans het die modale werkwoorde, waartoe gewoonlik gereken kan word *kan, mag, moet, sal, wil, behoort, hoef* - - .

Note the semantic similarities. (For a more elaborate discussion refer to De Villiers (1971:27-35).) These verbs, and their combination with the infinitive need further research, but they are not auxiliary verbs.

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