THE AUXILIARY VERBS AND THE DEFICIENT VERBS IN TSWANA

by

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I dedicate this work to my parents
Mr and Mrs R.S. Setshedi

DECLARATION

I declare that this dissertation handed in herewith for the degree of MASTER of ARTS at the University of the North has not been submitted by me for a degree before at this or another university.

JE Setshedi.
3/6/74.

CONTENTS

Motivation for the study of the auxiliary verbs and the deficient verbs

0.1 The non-finite verbs, i.e. the auxiliary verbs and the deficient verbs, have always been a problem to me and the students of Tswana. The solution to this problem could not be found in any of the available textbooks written in Tswana by Cole, Matseke, Malepe and others. In the preface of his Tswana grammar, Cole admits that no portion of the textbook is exhaustive in its treatment of any aspect. Furthermore he says: "... on the deficient verbs alone, for example, one could write hundreds of pages".[1]

0.2 Much has been written on the non-finite verbs in the Nguni languages. Reference can be made here to J.A. Louw's works, *Die defisiënte Verbum in Zoeloe* (M.A. dissertation, University of Stellenbosch, 1949) and *'n Vergelykende Studie van die Defisiënte Verbum in die Ngunitale* (D.Litt. thesis, University of Stellenbosch, 1963). As far as we are aware, little has been done on the auxiliary verbs and the deficient verbs in Tswana. Scholars in Tswana have referred, almost in passing to these verbal forms. They usually briefly indicate one or two of the characteristics of these verbal forms. None of them has so far incorporated the morphological, semological, syntactical and phonological characteristics of the auxiliary verbs and deficient verbs in his treatment of these verbal forms. An attempt will be made in this study to investigate this matter of auxiliary verbs and deficient verbs in a broader manner.

Presentation

0.3 This work is divided into three chapters only. The first chapter will include a short survey of earlier work on the auxiliary verbs and the deficient verbs. A

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1. Cole, D.T.: *Introduction to Tswana Grammar*, p.vi.

statement of the problem as well as the method of investigating will also be made in this chapter. To promote clarity, certain terms and abbreviations which will be used in this study will be explained. Finally, an evaluation of the contributions made on the auxiliary verbs and the deficient verbs will be made. This will help us to determine the amount of work done already by scholars in various Bantu languages. Some useful data on this aspect will also be obtained from their contributions. The second chapter will be devoted to the auxiliary verbs. A systematic survey of their morphological, semological, syntactical and phonological characteristics will be made. In the third and last chapter attention will be given to the deficient verbs. Their morphological, semological, syntactical and phonological characteristics will also be set out clearly and comprehensively. On the strength of the characteristics of the auxiliary verbs and the deficient verbs noted in the discussion, we shall conclude by effecting a proper classification of these verbal forms.

CHAPTER 1

A SHORT SURVEY OF EARLIER WORK ON THE AUXILIARY AND THE DEFICIENT VERBS

Different views on the auxiliary and the deficient verbs have been expressed by scholars in Bantu languages.

1.1.1   K. Endemann uses the term "defective Verben" to refer to certain verbal forms. Under defective verbs he includes *-tla, -ka, -na, -ra, -sa, -le* and *-mme.*[1] He does not refer to them as members of a particular word-class, nor does he attempt to define them, or to distinguish them from the finite or principal verbs.

1.1.2   From the material J. O'Neil has gathered on the auxiliary verbs in Shona, it is evident that he regards them as ordinary verbs used in a particular context, usually with an adverbial function. For example, in respect of the verb *ku-bva*, he says: "(a) *ku-bva* is a real verb with the primary meaning of 'come from', *wa-ka-bva Harare* (He comes from Salisbury). (b) As an auxiliary verb, *ku-bva* means 'thereupon' or 'and so' or 'straightway' or 'thenceforth', e.g. *Nda-bva ndo-enda* (Thereupon (and so) I went)."[2]

1.1.3   Doke places the auxiliary verbs and the deficient verbs into one category, calling the former "true deficient verbs, which function only as such". He calls the latter "regular verbs which may be used with deficient function".[3] He defines them as: "words which form compound tenses, giving various shades of meaning and additional implications, such as the occasional, persistent, consecutive, etc."[4]

In his Southern Sotho grammar, he adds that: "deficient verbs in Bantu are verbs which require a subordinate or complementary verb to complete their predication".[5] "Being deficient", he continues, "they are

1.   Endemann, K.: *Versuch einer Grammatik des Sotho*, p.145.
2.   O'Neil, J.: *A Shona Grammar*, p.175.
3.   Doke, C.M.: *Textbook of Zulu Grammar*, p.151.
4.   *Ibid.*, p.152.
5.   Doke, C.M.: *A Textbook of Southern Sotho Grammar*, p.245.

never complete or definite in themselves, but are invariably followed by a closely knit complement."[1]

1.1.4   Cole is also of the same opinion, and he defines them as follows: "deficient verbs are so termed because they do not themselves constitute complete predicates. They cannot stand alone, but must be followed by a sub-ordinate verb or copulative formation, termed the complement, in order to produce a complete predication".[2]

1.1.5   Ziervogel is aware that various names such as auxiliary and deficient, have been attached to these verbs. But he also classifies them into one class of words. His opinion about them is that: "others are deficient in so far that they cannot stand alone and convey any intelligible meaning, but have to be followed by a main verb". Furthermore he says: "some, again, are auxiliary in so far that they help in the formation of tenses". According to him, deficient verbs "convey an adverbial meaning, and in translation adverbs like 'again', 'always', 'often', 'sometimes' and so forth are used; they may also convey an English auxiliary verb, such as 'to be'".[3]

What Ziervogel says about deficient verbs in his Venda grammar differs somewhat from the ideas he expressed in the Swazi grammar. He maintains in the former grammar that this verb is auxiliary in this respect that "... it helps to bring out the meaning of another verb".[4] Furthermore he says it is deficient because "... it is incomplete and must have another predicate as complement".[5]

1.1.6   The deficient verb is also described as a word which is used to describe the main predicate. In this respect Van Eeden says that: "dit word gebruik om die hoofpredikaat uit te maak".[6] He is against a classification

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1.   *Ibid.*, p.246.
2.   Cole, D.T.: *An Introduction to Tswana Grammar*, p.286.
3.   Ziervogel, D.: *A Grammar of Swazi*, p.116.
4.   Ziervogel, D.: *A Handbook of the Venda Language*, p.182.
5.   *Ibid.*
6.   Van Eeden, B.I.C.: *Inleiding tot die Studie van Suid-Sotho*, p.181.

of deficient verbs and auxiliary verbs into one category, since according to him, the latter function only in the conjugation of the verb.

1.1.7   Fortune defines the deficient verb semantically as follows: "... it is incomplete and co-ordinate to the complement, and it adds to the complement notions or implications which are often descriptive".[1] "Syntactically", he adds, "(it) is the more important of the two, because it bears the mood and tense of the total compound predicate."[2]

1.1.8   Paroz uses the term auxiliary as a blanket term to refer to both the auxiliary and the deficient verbs. He distinguishes clearly two types of auxiliary verbs, namely, those that "have no meaning of their own, as separate verbs", and those that "have a meaning of their own, which is modified more or less when they become auxiliaries".[3]

1.1.9   Louw and others define the deficient verb as follows: "The auxiliary predicate or deficient predicate or auxiliary verb ... is in fact an extension or modification of an action ... it expresses the English adverbs".[4]

Again, Louw maintains that: "Die vernaamste kenmerk van die hulppredikatief is dat dit selde indien ooit alleen 'n predikaat kan vorm, soos in die geval van ander verba. Dit moet in die reël deur 'n ander predikaat of predikatiewe vorm gevolg word".[5]

In his doctoral thesis, Louw makes no distinction between the auxiliary and the deficient verbs. In this connection he says: "... die verbale auxiliare (is) slegs 'n onderafdeling van die groot groep defisiënte verba of predikatiewe vorm".[6] According to his findings on the

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1.   Fortune, G.: *An Analytical Grammar of Shona*, p.325.
2.   *Ibid.*, p.324.
3.   Paroz, R.A.: *Elements of Southern Sotho*, p.133.
4.   Louw,J.D. & Others: *A Handbook of Zulu Language*, p.118.
5.   Louw,J.D.: *Limi*, No.3, Jan.1967, p.37.die
6.   Louw,J.D.: *'n Vergelykende Studie van Defisiënte Verbum in Nguni-tale*, p.57.

deficient verbs in Nguni it is clear that these verbs function to modify the main verb in the compounded predicate. Moreover, he indicates their distinguishing morphological characteristic as the terminative *-e* which replaces the *-a* of the regular verb.

1.1.10 Matseke defines the deficient verbs *(matlhaedi)* as words which function to describe and to signify tense. In his own words: *"tiro ya one ke go fa tlhaloso le go kaya lebaka".* [1]

1.1.11 According to Bennie, Xhosa has auxiliary verbs that: "express a modification of action, much as adverbs do, and others that are used to obtain certain desired effects". [2]

1.1.12 Givón refers to the auxiliary verbs as defective verbs, because they take "sentential complements ... with the complement verb taking a finite (tensed) form". [3]

1.1.13 In his grammar of Luvale, Horton defines auxiliary verbs in these words: "verbal auxiliaries are employed to form verb tenses, and are both prefixal and infixal; e.g.,

> *na̲tuya*   (we will go)
> *vana̲yi*   (they will go)
> *aka̲ye*   (let him go)" [4]

1.1.14 Green and Igwe say this about the auxiliary verb in their Igbo grammar: "The true auxiliary is never found as a full verb but only immediately before the participle of a verb". [5] According to them only one true auxiliary verb is found, namely, *-na*, e.g.

> *O na azu anu*   (He is (was) buying meat)

They add that: "full verbs such as *-iga* 'to go', can be used as auxiliaries followed by the participle, either immediately or, as is never the case with true auxiliary,

1. Matseke, S.K.: *Setswana Sa Ka Metlha*, p.102.
2. Bennie, W.G.: *A Grammar for the Xhosa Speaking*, p.127.
3. Givón, T.: *Studies in African Linguistics, supplement 3*, p.237.
4. Horton, A.E.: *A Grammar of Luvale*, p.23.
5. Green, M.M. & Igwe: *A Descriptive Grammar of Igobo*, p.141.

separated from it by intervening words".[1]   Their **examples**
are:

>   *O ga izu anu* (He will buy meat)
>   *O ga azu anu* (He will buy meat)

1.1.15   Steere has made an attempt to define the **auxiliary**
verbs.   Nevertheless he refers to them as "irregular **verbs**"
which "are used in making compound tenses".[2]

1.1.16   Ponelis mentions two types of auxiliary verbs
(hulpwerkwoorde) in his Afrikaans grammar, namely modal
and temporal auxiliary verbs.   He defines them as **follows:**
"(b)   (i)(2) Die modale hulpwerkwoorde se betekenis **staan**
in verband met potensialiteit of moontlikheid.
(ii)(2) Die betekenis van *het* is 'verwysing na die **verlede**
tyd'".[3]

1.1.17   In their Afrikaans dictionary, Kritzinger and
others define it (hulpwerkwoord) as: "werkwoord wat **ander**
help om tyd, wyse, en lydende vorm uit te druk".[4]

1.1.18   De Villiers e.a. define it as: "werkwoord wat
lid is van 'n gesegde met 'n verlede deelwoord om tyd,
aspek en/of vorm uit te druk of in verbinding met 'n
infinitief om modaliteit of wyse uit te druk".[5]

1.1.19   The Oxford English dictionary describes the auxil-
iary verb in these words: "one to form tense, moods,
voices, of other verbs".[6]

1.1.20   The Consolidated-Webster Encyclopedic Dictionary
offers the following definition of the auxiliary verb:
"a verb which helps to form the moods and tenses of other
verbs, as have, may, shall, and will".[7]

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1.   *Ibid.*
2.   Steere, I.: *A Handbook of the Swahili Language*, p.149.
3.   Ponelis, F.A.: *Grondtrekke van die Afrikaanse Sintaksis*, **pp.48-49.**
4.   Kritzinger e.a.: *Verklarende Afrikaanse Woordeboek*, **p.246.**
5.   De Villiers, M. e.a.: *Kernwoordeboek van Afrikaans*, **p.213.**
6.   *Concise Oxford English Dictionary.*
7.   *The Consolidated-Websters Encyclopedic Dictionary*, **p.50.**

Furthermore, Webster's New World Dictionary of the American Language refers to the auxiliary verb as: "a verb that helps to form tenses, aspects, moods, or voices of other verbs, as have, be, may, can, must, do, shall, will".[1]

Webster's New International Dictionary explains the auxiliary verb in the following terms: "A verb which helps to form phrases expressing the voices, moods, tenses, etc., of other verbs, usually with some loss of its own original significance (have, be, may, do, shall and will, can, must, in English; sein, haben, werden, können, müssen, wollen, in German; être, avoir, pouvoir, falloir, devoir, in French; - called also link verb. Auxiliary verbs (as be, have) which are used to form compound tenses of other verbs are called tense auxiliaries; those (as can, may) used to form moods of other verbs are called modal auxiliaries".[2]

1.1.21   In his English Dictionary Ogilvie also defines the auxiliary verb as: "A verb which helps to form the moods and tenses of other verbs: as have, be, may, can, do, must, shall and will".[3]

1.1.22   The Standard Dictionary of the English Language combined with Britannica World Language Dictionary explains the term auxiliary grammatically as: "A word which functions as a subordinate element in a sentence and is fully meaningful only in association with the main words, as a preposition or conjunction".[4]   Furthermore, it defines the auxiliary verb proper as: "A verb that helps to express tense, mood, voice, or aspect of another verb, as have in 'we have gone".[5]

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1.   *Webster's New World Dictionary of the American Language*, p.96.
2.   *Webster's New International Dictionary*, p.
3.   Ogilvie, J.: *The Imperial Dictionary*, (Vol.I A-L), p.189.
4.   *Standard Dictionary of the English Language combined with Britannica World Language Dictionary*, Vol.I, Part I A-P, p.99.
5.   *Ibid.*

1.1.23 Steible understands the auxiliary verb to be:
"A form of a class of verbs which, combined with a main
verb, produces all the tenses except the present and the
past; such verbs fall into three types: the modal, to
have, and to be".[1]

1.1.24 "In general", Pei says, the auxiliary verb is: "a
word having no complete meaning in itself, and used in
combination with or reference to another word which has a
meaning of its own (prepositions, conjunctions, auxiliary
verbs such as may, shall)".[2] And he defines the auxiliary
verb specifically as: "A verb used in combination with
another verb, to express the mood, tense, or aspect of the
action denoted by that main verb".[3]

1.1.25 The above definitions of auxiliary and deficient
verbs show great diversity of opinions on this subject.
In this respect the subject warrants further investigation.
Although there can be no universal definition of the
auxiliary and deficient verbs that may suit all languages,
these definitions will be kept in mind in the treatment
of these verbal forms in Tswana. It is interesting to
note that no grammatical definition of the term deficient
verb is offered in any dictionary. It is used only by
scholars in the grammars of their respective Bantu languages.

The problem and method of investigation

1.2.1 The object of this investigation is to describe
the auxiliary verbs and the deficient verbs in Tswana.
More light will be shed on these verbal forms in order to
provide better insight into the problems regarding these.
An attempt will also be made to find a solution to a
possible distinction between the auxiliary and the deficient
verbs in Tswana. It will thus be determined whether these
are words which belong to the same class or category of

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1. Steible, D.: *Concise Handbook of Linguistics*, p.19.
2. Pei, M.A.: *A Glossary of Linguistic Terminology*, p.26.
3. Pei, M.A. & Gaynor, F.: *Dictionary of Linguistics*, p.23.

verbs or not. Furthermore, an attempt will be made to distinguish them from the main or principal verbs.

1.2.2. The question of word categories is still a problem in Tswana. No one has as yet provided suitable criteria according to which words, e.g. nouns, pronouns, verbs, etc., can be identified and distinguished into categories. For Northern Sotho, however, E.B. van Wyk has provided suitable criteria which can be employed in determining the various word categories. They appear in his doctoral thesis, *Woordverdeling in Noord-Sotho en Zoeloe*, and in *Feesbundel vir Prof. Dr. Jan Antonie Engelbrecht*. His criteria for word categories in Northern Sotho will be followed in this study because they can be justified on linguistic grounds. They appear to be derived from the Northern Sotho language itself and not superimposed on to it. It is mainly for this reason that E.B. van Wyk's criteria for word classes will be followed in this study of the auxiliary verbs and the deficient verbs in Tswana.

His criteria for identifying word categories are:
(a)   morphological,
(b)   syntactical,
(c)   phonological and
(d)   semantic.

He does not arrange or place them in any order of significance, but he, however, states that: "wanneer die vier prinsipes in die geheel teenoor mekaar opgeweeg word, skyn dit as of daar nog 'n inherente rangorde is waarvolgens die mofologiese en valensionele prinsipes voorkeur moet geniet bo die fonologiese en semantiese prinsipes".[1]

1.2.3   Under *the morphological criterion*, he includes the following:
"(a)   Morfologiese eenledigheid teenoor morfologiese
         meerledigheid.

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1.   Van Wyk, E.B.: *Feesbundel vir Prof. Dr. Jan Antonie Engelbrecht*, p.77.

(b)   Die voorkoms van individuele morfeme,

(c)   Die voorkoms van bepaalde tipes morfeme,

(d)   Gehele morfologiese strukture,

(e)   Die kombineerbaarheid van wortelmorfeme".[1]

1.2.4   He refers to the *syntactical criterion* as "valen-
sionele kriteria", and he sub-divides it into sentence
valency and word-group valency. Each sub-division is
further sub-divided into:

"1.   Sinsvalensies:

(a)   Sinsvalensie teenoor geen sinsvalensie.

(b)   Valensies vir onafhanklike en afhanklike sinne.

(c)   Valensies vir verskillende soorte onafhanklike
         sinne.

2.   Woordgroepvalensies:

(a)   Valensies vir kombinasie teenoor geen sodanige
         valensie.

(b)   Valensies vir gebruik in neweskikkende en/of
         onderskikkende woordgroepe.

(c)   Valensies as kern en/of bepaling in onderskikkende
         woordgroepe.

(d)   Verskillende soorte kernvalensies in onderskikkende
         woordgroepe.

(e)   Verskillende soorte bepalingsvalensies in onder-
         skikkende groepe".[2]

1.2.5   His *semantic criterion* includes:

"(a)   Betekeniselemente van woorde,

(b)   Betekenismomente van woordstamme,

(c)   Kombinasies van betekeniselemente en/of
         betekenismomente".[3]

1.2.6   Under *the phonological criterion*, he includes:

"(a)   Deelname aldan nie aan die normale fonologiese
         sisteem,

(b)   Toonpatrone van woorde,

(c)   Lettergreeptal kan ook as kriterium geld, d.w.s.
         een-, twee-, drie-, en meerlettergrepige woorde.

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1.   *Ibid.*, p.73.
2.   *Ibid.*, pp.74-76.
3.   *Ibid.*, p.72.

(d)   Morfonologiese en morfotonologiese kriteria kan
        ook aangewend word indien daar sodanige verskyn-
        sels is wat beperk is tot bepaalde tipes woorde".[1]

1.2.7   Since the problem of the auxiliary verb and the
deficient verb is one of word categories, i.e. whether they
belong to one class or category of verbal forms or not, it
follows that the application of Van Wyk's criteria for word
classes to these verbal forms is the only procedure that
could give an acceptable and suitable solution to this
problem. An attempt will be made, following Van Wyk's
criteria for the identification of the word categories, to
compare the auxiliary verb and the deficient verb on the
basis of their morphological, syntactical, semological and
phonological features. These are the features by which
they can be distinguished from one another.

1.2.8   Van Wyk feels so strongly about these criteria for
the identification of the word categories that he suggests
they could be incorporated in a definition of any word
category: "Die definisie van 'n woordklas moet dus verwys
na al die noodsaaklike morfologiese, valensionele, fono-
logiese en semantiese kenmerke van die klas".[2] In this
respect he defines the word as follows: "Die woord in
Noord-Sotho en Zoeloe is die kleinste taalteken wat self-
standig beteken en as sintagmeem dus isoleerbaar en/of
verplaasbaar is, en

(a)   wat morfologies gekenmerk word deur tipiese, deur
        woordklas gekondisioneerde strukture,

(b)   wat op die sintaktiese vlak gekenmerk word deur
        tipiese aanwending waarin konkordiale ooreen-
        stemming veral 'n groot rol speel, en

(c)   wat fonologies gekenmerk word deur die feit dat
        nie-sillabiese konsonante nie op finale grense
        verskyn nie, asook dikwels deur 'n hoofaksent".[3]

1.2.9   Other scholars, notably Th. Endemann, have also
expressed the same view about definitions of elements

1.   *Ibid.*, pp.71-72.
2.   *Ibid.*, p.81.
3.   Van Wyk, E.B.: *Woordverdeling in Noord-Sotho en Zoeloe*, p.362.

(phoneme, morpheme and word) in a language. Endemann's definition of the phoneme is very comprehensive because it includes all the important features of the phoneme. Thus, it compares favourably with Van Wyk's view. It reads as follows: "The phonemes of a language are minimal phonological units, each containing a particular set of acoustic features obtained from a fixed number of acoustic oppositions that are characteristic of that language, performing a contrastive function in the distinction of words in that language".[1] No single feature of the phoneme is given preference to the exclusion of others. From this definition it is very clear what the phoneme actually is in any language.

1.2.10   With the problem stated and the method of investigation set out, it is advisable at this stage to look into how other scholars in Bantu languages have described the features of these verbal forms. In evaluating their works, the intention is to note what useful data can be derived towards solving the problem. Again, it will be investigated whether or not they too have made use of the criteria mentioned, and the extent to which they have employed these criteria. Certain terms and abbreviations that will be used in this study need to be explained before looking into what others have said about the features of the verbal forms to be dealt with in the discussions.

Terms and abbreviations

1.3.1   Certain terms and abbreviations which will be used in this study need to be explained. This is done in order to promote clarity. Some of these terms are often used with no precision by scholars in Bantu languages. Furthermore, for the purpose of this study, certain terms will be employed with particular connotations which may differ from the traditional usages.

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1.   Endemann, Th.: *Communications*, No.2, 1970, p.17.

Predicate and predicative

1.3.2   These two terms are usually regarded as referring
to one and the same thing. Cole defines the predicate as
follows: "... the predicate is the word or group of words
signifying the action which is carried out or undergone by
the subject, or the state in which the subject is".[1]
Similarly, he defines the predicative as: "... a word
which signifies the occurrence of an action connected with
a substantive, or the state in which a substantive is".[2]
Quite clearly, Cole uses the terms, predicate and predic-
ative, as synonyms. The same tendency is shown by Doke
who also defines the predicative as: "... a word which
signifies an action connected with a substantive or the
state in which a substantive is".[3] He does not explain
how he uses the term predicate, but he simply says: "The
sentence may be composed merely of a predicate, e.g.
re-fihlile, ke-motho".[4] It is very clear that he too, uses
the two terms to refer to the same thing. The Oxford
Dictionary defines the term predicate as: "what is said
of the subject, including the copula", and it refers to the
predicative as a word: "forming part or whole of the
predicate".[5]

1.3.3   In Tswana the predicative can be said to be a
structural form of a verb used in a sentence. This struc-
tural form is usually the verb or verbal form itself plus
its preceding SC. In other words, the verb or verbal form
together with its SC constitute a predicative; with the
term predicative referring to the structural form of a
verb used in a sentence or utterance. In *Bana ba-tsena*
sekolo (The children attend school), *ba-tsena* is struc-
turally a predicative. It consists of the SC *ba-* and the
verb *-tsena*. It should be noted that this predicative

1.   Cole, D.T.: *Introduction to Tswana Grammar*, p.57.
2.   *Ibid.*
3.   Doke, C.M.: *A Textbook of Zulu Grammar*, p.34.
4.   Doke, C.M.: *Textbook of Southern Sotho Grammar*, p.52.
5.   *The Oxford Dictionary.*

ba-tsena is also used as a complete predicate. Not all predicatives function as predicates. Some predicatives may contain non-finite or non-finitely used verbs, in which case such predicatives cannot be predicates. The example *Bana ba-nê ba-tsena sekolo* (The children attended school), shows two predicatives, namely, *ba-nê* and *ba-tsena*. The former predicative can never be a predicate on its own; but it is always part of a compounded predicate. Two types of predicatives can thus be distinguished, those that are only parts of compounded predicates and those that may also be predicates on their own.

Following what has been said above about predicatives, the number of predicatives in a sentence can easily be determined. The number of SC determines the number of predicatives constituting a predicate. There is thus a one to one relation between the number of SC and the number of predicatives in a compounded predicate. It is the SC that turns a verb stem or a verbal form into a predicative. As indicated already, a predicative may be used as a predicate (simple) when it consists of a single finite verb, or it may be part of a predicate when the latter is compounded.

The two types of predicatives mentioned above can also be distinguished on the basis of the type of verbs they contain. One type is non-finite because it can never be a predicate on its own, but can only support a finite predicative following it. The other type of predicative is finite because it consists of a verb whose function is to indicate the verbal referent of the complete compounded predicate. In the example: *Bana ba-nê ba-setse ba-tsena sekolo*, the first two predicatives are non-finite, whereas the one following them is finite. In such a compounded predicate, the non-finite predicatives always precede the finite predicative. This fact will further be illustrated under the terms finite and non-finite.

1.3.6   Fortune uses the terms predicate and predicative

in exactly the opposite way in which these terms are being
used here. To him a predicate is a predicative and a
predicative is a predicate. His use of these two terms
will come out clearly when the simple and the compounded
predicates are dealt with.

The simple and the compounded predicates

1.3.7   As the term indicates, a simple predicate is one
which consists of one finite predicative. Structurally, a
simple predicate and a finite predicative show common
features. A simple predicate is, therefore, a single finite
predicative without any supporting predicative. Simply
stated, the simple predicate is independently a complete
predicate. The following are examples of simple predicates
of sentences:

Banna ba-gama dikgomo.	(Men are milking cows)
Banna ba-a-gama.	(Men are milking)
Bana ba-kwala ditlhatlhobo.	(Students are writing examinations)
Bana ba-a-kwala.	(Students are writing)

1.3.8   A compounded predicate consists of more than one
predicative, and unlike the simple predicate, it has one
or more non-finite predicatives preceding the finite pre-
dicative. The finite predicative serves as the governor
of the referent of the predicate, whereas the non-finite
predicatives support and add to the finite predicative,
notions, implications of time, modality and other modifica-
tions. Of the predicatives (two or more) that constitute
a compounded predicate, only one is finite, the others are
non-finite. The following examples will illustrate:

1.   *Re-nê*   *re-tsamaya.*

non-finite   finite
predicative   predicative

complete compounded predicate

(We are already going away)

2

$$\underline{Re\text{-}n\hat{e}} \qquad \underline{re\text{-}setse} \qquad \qquad \underline{re\text{-}tsamaya}.$$

non-finite predicatives   finite predicative

complete compounded predicate

(We were already going away)
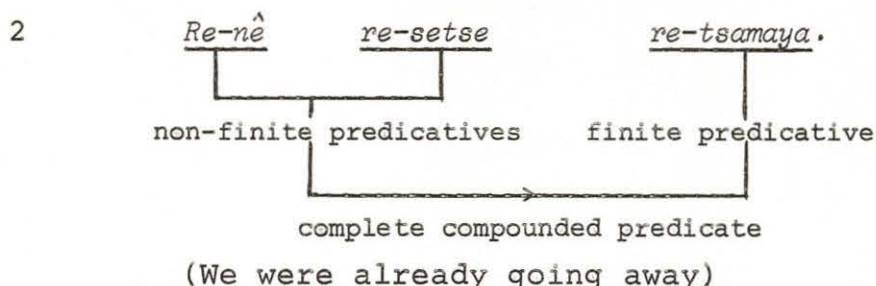
1.3.9   Fortune is of the opinion that: "The compound
predicate, in its simplest form, is a sequence of two
predicates united in one predicative whole". He adds that:
"Of these two predicates the first is the deficient verb,
the second a complement which, in Shona, is usually verbal,
but which may be copulative".[1]

1.3.10   Cole regards the compound predicate as: "compound
tenses consisting of two or more words e.g. *Kene kereka*
(I was buying)".[2] The number of words constituting a
compounded predicate is significant to note because it
also distinguishes a compounded predicate from a simple
predicate. It is true, as Cole indicates, that the com-
pounded predicate consists of two or more words. In this
respect the compounded predicate is a word-group. A simple
predicate, on the other hand, consists of one word and it
belongs, therefore, to a particular word-category - it is
not a word-group. Despite the fact that a simple predicate
shows one predicative (finite) whereas a compounded pre-
dicate consists of two or more predicatives (one finite
and the rest non-finite), both predicates signify only one
verbal referent.

1.3.11   At this stage it may be necessary to point out
the difference between a compounded predicate as dealt
with above, and a series of complete predicates as found
in consecutive constructions. Structurally, the compounded
predicate and the predicates in a series of consecutive
constructions cannot be differentiated. They can, however,

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1.   Fortune, G.: *op.cit.*, p.326.
2.   Cole, D.T.: *op.cit.*, p.235.

be distinguished semologically. The compounded predicate
denotes one verbal referent, whereas a series of complete
predicates signify verbal referents equal to the number of
complete predicates in such a series, e.g.

Compounded predicate

Ba-tloga bá-goroga. (They will soon arrive)
In the above example, the only verbal referent is indicated
by *bá-goroga*.

Series of complete predicates

Ba-tsamaya bá-bua. (They walk and talk)
This example shows two verbal referents which are indicated
by the two complete predicates *ba-tsamaya* and *bá-bua*.

The terms finite and non-finite

1.3.12   The term finite will be used for the purpose of
this study to refer to an ordinary verb or copulative when
it is used as the main referent of the predicate indicative
of a process, action or condition. Such a finite verb can
also be referred to as the main verb in the predicate. The
predicative containing such a main verb will also be
referred to as the finite predicative. In Tswana, the
finite predicative can either be used self-sufficiently or
be used complementarily. The finite predicative is self-
sufficient when it constitutes a complete predicate on its
own. It is complementary when it is the main part of a
compounded predicate. In the example *Ntša e-loma dipodi*
(The dog bites the goats), the finite predicative *e-loma*
self-sufficiently constitutes a complete predicate. But
in *Ntša e-nê e-loma dipodi* (The dog was biting goats), the
same finite predicative *e-loma* is now a complement to the
non-finite predicative *e-nê* and these two predicatives
together form a complete predicate. In a compounded
predicate such as *e-nê e-loma*, the finite predicative is
one of the parts of a complete predicate. It is, however,
the only indispensable part of such a complete predicate

since it is the only predicative with a true verbal
referent. In Tswana, there can only be one finite pre-
dicative in a compounded predicate.

1.3.13   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 depen-
dently used in a compounded predicate, and as such they
require a complementary finite predicative. In Tswana,
there can be more than one non-finite predicative in one
and the same compounded predicate. The following examples
will illustrate the use of non-finite predicatives:

Malome   *o-nê*   *a-aga*   *ntlo.*
        non-finite   finite
        predicative   predicative
        (time)

        complete compounded predicate

Malome   *o-nê*   *a-tlhola*   *a-aga*   *ntlo.*
        non-finite   non-finite   finite
        predicative   predicative   predicative
        (time)   (adverbial)

            complete compounded predicate

Malome   *o-nê*   *a-se-kitla*   *a-tlhola*   *a-aga*   *ntlo.*
        non-finite   non-finite   non-finite   finite
        predicative predicative   predicative   predicative
        (time)   (negative)   (adverbial)

                complete compounded predicate

Monna yola | o-nê | a-ise | a-ke | a-bo | a-tsene *mo moweng wame.*

| non-finite predic-ative (time) | non-finite predic-ative (modal-ity) | non-finite predic-ative (modal-ity) | non-finite predic-ative (modal-ity) | finite predic- |

complete compounded predicate

The term time

1.3.14   In his Tswana grammar, Cole indicates five times, viz., present, past, future, perfect and habitual. The simple mono-verbal and the compounded predicates, according to him: "... primarily indicate distinctions of time".[1]

1.3.15   Steible defines time as follows: "Tense morpheme also called agreement morpheme, is that morpheme which indicates the present or past tense of a verb".[2]

1.3.16   Fortune distinguishes between four tenses in Shona, namely

1.   "time present in mind, which may, or may not, co-incide with the actual present"

2.   "two past tenses, one recent, referring to actions and states that took place on the day of speaking, or the day referred to, and the other, non-recent, referring to actions and states that took place before the day of speaking or the day in mind",

3.   "the present tense, referring to actions and states in existence at the time of speaking or at the time in mind", and

4.   "the future tense which refers to actions and states which lie ahead of the present".[3]

1.3.17   The Oxford English Dictionary describes tense as: "form taken by the verb to indicate the time of the action, as present, future, past, (im)perfect, pluperfect".[4]

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1.   Cole, D.T.: *op.cit.*, p.235.
2.   Steible, D.: *op.cit.*, p.20.
3.   Fortune, G.: *op.cit.*, p.328.
4.   *The Oxford English Dictionary.*

1.3.18   The Consolidated-Webster's Encyclopedic Dictionary explains it as: "one of the forms which a verb takes in order to express the time of action or of fact which is affirmed".[1]

1.3.19   In Tswana only three main tenses need to be distinguished i.e. present, past and future. These are the main tenses that indicate the times in which the process, action or state referred to by the finitely used verb in the predicate, can occur. They are signified by words (verbal forms) in the predicates, possibly also by morphemes, e.g. the verbal form *-nê* for past time, the morphemes *-tla-* and *-a-* for future and present times respectively.

Examples of time indicators in Tswana are as follows:

Past time

Bana   *ba-nê*   *ba-loga*   *magogo.*
   non-finite finite
   predicative predicative
   (past time)

  complete compounded predicate

Future time

Bana *ba-* *tla-* *loga*   *magogo.*
  SC future finite
    time   verb

  complete simple predicate

Bana *ba-* *tla-* *bo* *ba-loga*   *magogo.*
  SC future non-finite finite
    time verb predicative

  non-finite predicative
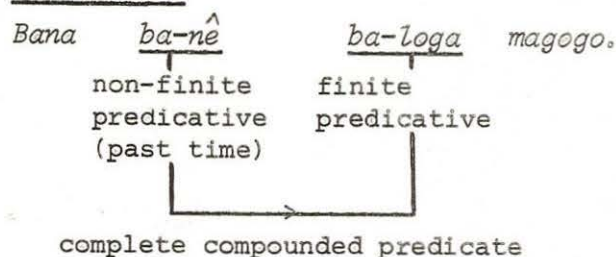
  complete compounded predicate

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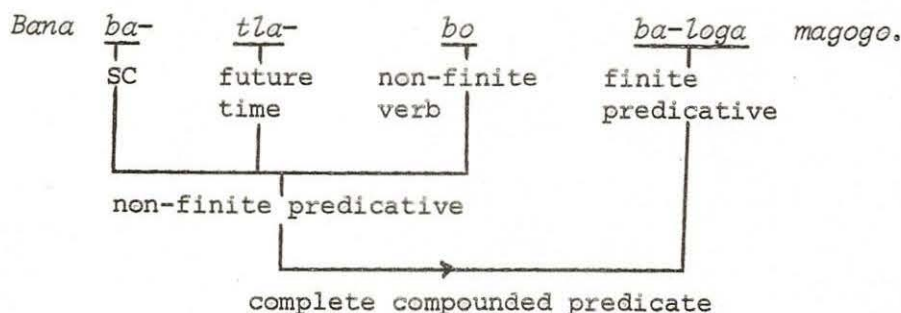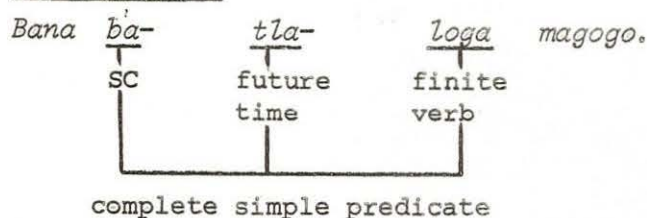
1.   *The Consolidated-Webster's Encyclopedic Dictionary.*

Present time

Bana-ba-loga magogo   OR
Bana ba-a-loga.

Time in Tswana indicates the past, future and
present. It is indicated by words (verbal forms) or pos-
sibly also by morphemes. As can be observed from the above
example, the present time is not being indicated gram-
matically. It can be said to be distinguished indirectly
by the absence of *-nê* and *-tla-* (past and future indicators
respectively) and also by the extra-linguistic situation.

Modality

1.3.20   Pei and Gaynor refer to a modal auxiliary as: "an
auxiliary verb indicating mood, i.e. manner or aspect of
the action denoted by the verb with which it is used".[1]

1.3.21   Webster's New International Dictionary defines
modality as: "the state of or pertaining to some particular
attitude, or concern with, the fulfilment of the action or
state predicated in a clause, as modal force of downright-
ness (we are here), noncommittalness (he may be here), etc.,
which may be conveyed either by flectional mood or other-
wise".[2]

1.3.22   The term modality will be used in this study to
refer to the implications as mentioned by Pei and Gaynor
and Webster with additions of negative and affirmative and
perfective features etc., of the predicate. In Tswana,
modality can be expressed by morphemes as well as by
auxiliary verbs, *-ka-*, *-ba*, *-nê* etc.

Semology

1.3.23   The term semantics is used in various disciplines
with different connotations. Philosophy, Psychology and

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1.   Pei & Gaynor: *op.cit.*, p.25.
2.   *Webster's New International Dictionary.*

Logic for instance, also use this term, but with different
and apparently conflicting references. E.B. van Wyk in-
dicates the problem in connection with semantics as arising
from the fact that: "... die betrokke verskynsels abstrak
en dus maklik vatbaar vir subjektiewe beoordeling is, en
omdat die studie van betekenis nog nie naastenby so radi-
kaal as die studie van klank, morfologiese struktuur en
sintaktiese ordening deurgevoer is nie".[1] For this reason,
the term semology is preferred to semantics, since it will
be used with a strictly linguistic connotation.

1.3.24   The term semology refers to the share any element
has in the process of communication by a language. It is
so that each and every element in a language performs a
particular function in the process of communication carried
out by language itself. In this respect every element in a
language appears to have a share in the process of communica-
tion. For example, the phonemes of a language perform their
function in the process of communication on the acoustic
level, the morphemes do this on the morphological or gram-
matical level, whereas words perform their function on the
syntactical level. For language to communicate, all these
elements come into play, each performing its share on its
own distinct level. Semology, therefore, is the study of
the functional share of each of the elements in the process
of communication performed by language. It is in this
sense that the term semology will be used. In this way
semology differs from semantics which studies the meanings
and not the functional shares of words in a language.

Word-division

1.3.25   The present Tswana official orthography uses the
disjunctive word-division. This disjunctive word-division
distinguishes itself from the conjunctive system which is
used for the Nguni languages. Cole maintains, however,

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1.   Van Wyk, E.B.: *op.cit.*, p.80.

that for Tswana: "... the conjunctive system of writing
is correct for Bantu, and requires that all prefixal as
well as suffixal formatives be joined to the stems or roots".[1]
E.B. van Wyk has formulated a new and more acceptable word-
division which he calls semi-conjunctive. This semi-
conjunctive word-division happens to be a bridge between
the two extreme word-divisions of disjunctive and conjunc-
tive writings. Like the conjunctive system, it considers
the morphemes e.g. SCs, OCs and modal formatives, as
prefixes to the verb, and it thus represents them as one
word with the verb. On the other hand, the semi-conjunctive
represents the particles as independent or separate words
in the same way the disjunctive system does.

1.3.26   In this study, preference is given to the semi-
conjunctive word-division because it will also help to
solve the problem of recognising predicatives and predicates.
Hyphens will, however, be used to prefix formatives to the
verbs.

1.3.27   <u>Abbreviations and symbols used</u>

SC	subjectival concord(s)
OC	objectival concord(s)
´	high toneme
ˋ	low toneme

<u>An evaluation of the contributions made by previous</u>
<u>researchers on the auxiliary and the deficient verbs</u>
<u>in Bantu languages</u>

1.4.1   Contributions made on the auxiliary and the
deficient verbs will be evaluated critically with a view
to obtaining what could be useful to the study of these
verbal forms in Tswana. Note will be taken of the extent
to which other scholars in Bantu languages have employed
the criteria applicable in the description and classifica-
tion of word categories as set out by E.B. van Wyk. One

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1.   Cole, D.T.: *op.cit.*, p.xxxiii.

or two scholars will be selected as representative of a group of scholars who employ certain other criteria.

1.4.2   Sandilands and O'Neil have treated the auxiliary verbs using no criteria whatsoever to identify them as words belonging to a particular category and to distinguish them from other verbs. Their only contribution is that of indicating the meaning of individual verbs when used finitely and again in an "auxiliary capacity". They have made no attempt to come to grips with the problem underlying these verbal forms.

1.4.3   Ziervogel and Cole can be said to represent those scholars who have referred to two criteria, namely form and function in order to describe the auxiliary and/or deficient verbs. Ziervogel says that: "In form the deficient verb tends to end in -e---. Those ending in -a are practically not to be distinguished from their independent form and meaning".[1] From what Ziervogel says about the form of deficient verbs, it is clear that those ending in -a cannot be distinguished from verbs used finitely. What then does distinguish these deficient verbs? The answer to this question is not to be found in his material on these verbal forms. This immediately upsets his criterion of phonology for distinguishing these verbal forms. Furthermore, he says that the formal characteristic feature of deficient verbs is the dropping out of the SC, except when they are followed by the infinitive. This other morphological feature is found wanting because in this form (without SC), he says: "... they are hardly to be distinguished from a conjunction".[2] He describes its function as that of an adverb. In his own words: "(it) conveys an adverbial meaning".[3]

1.4.4   Cole mentions this about the morphology of the deficient verbs: "... many deficient verbs are also

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1.   Ziervogel, D.: *A Grammar of Swazi*, p.116.
2.   *Ibid.*, p.117.
3.   *Ibid.*

defective, having some other terminative vowel than the typical -a". [1] He describes them semologically as: "... tense forms which indicate special implications or modifications of significance as distinct from or additional to the time factor". [2] Furthermore, he adds: "... some of the deficient verbs savour very much of conjunctives in their function and significance". [3] Like Ziervogel, he has not made any extensive use of these criteria of form and function in the analysis and classification of these verbal forms.

1.4.5   The syntactical and semantic features of the deficient verbs have also been referred to. In this respect Fortune (Shona grammar) maintains: "In the compound predicate, the deficient verb is syntactically the more important of the two components, and bears the mood and the tense of the total predicate". [4] "Semantically", he continues, "the deficient verb adds to the complement notions which are often descriptive, the main verbal concept being supplied by the complement." [5] His classification of the deficient verbs is based, not only on the type of mood of the complement, but also on the type of verb and the copulative that follow them.

1.4.6   In his Transvaal Ndebele grammar, Ziervogel classifies the deficient verbs according to their morphological and semological features and also the type of complements that follow them, as follows:

(i)   Semi-deficient predicatives, i.e. those which are hardly to be distinguished from a finite use. Deficient verbs followed by the infinitive belong to this type.

(ii)   True deficient predicatives which usually end in -e.

(iii)   Tense-forming deficient verbs.

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1.   Cole, D.T.: *op.cit.*, p.286.
2.   *Ibid.*
3.   *Ibid.*
4.   Fortune, G.: *op.cit.*, p.324.
5.   *Ibid.*, p.324.

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

(v)   Deficient verbs which signify the copulative, and

(vi)   Deficient verbs which signify negation exclusively.

The above shows the division of deficient verbs into sub-categories, each distinguished by a characteristic feature of either morphology or semology or the type of complement that follows it.

1.4.7   In his investigation of the 'hulp-predikatief' in the Nguni languages, Louw has referred to its morphological and syntactical features as its only distinctive characteristics. In his words: "Die hulp-predikatief moet as predikatief die morfologiese en sintaktiese kenmerke van dié kategorie van rededele besit, maar hulle het sekere kenmerke wat hulle van ander predikatiewe onderskei".[1] He maintains that: "Sintakties is sy vernaamste kenmerk dat dit slegs uitsonderlik isoleerbaar is en in die reël 'n komplement of uitbreiding moet besit wat egter nie daarmee omstelbaar is nie".[2] About their morphological characteristic, he says: "Die uitgange van die hulp-predikatief het baie meer konsekwent as in enige ander groep in die Suidoostelike Sone -*e* i.p.v. -*a* en -*i*".[3] According to him these two features distinguish the deficient verb: "... van ooreenstemmende predikatiewe vorme wat sintakties selfstandig aangewend kan word".[4]

He has found the semological function of these verbal forms to be difficult to determine. ("Dit is moeilik om 'n besondere kenmerkende gebruik van betekenis by die hulp-predikatief vas te stel."[5]) But he adds that: "... wat wel kenmerkend is, is dat die hulp-predikatiewe *as 'n groep* slegs sinsemantiese betekenisse binne 'n

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1.   Louw, J.A.: *'n Vergelykende Studie van die Defisiënte verbum in die Nguni ⊃tale*, p.245.
2.   *Ibid.*
3.   *Ibid.*, p.246.
4.   *Ibid.*, p.249.
5.   *Ibid.*, p.221.

meerledige onmiddellike komponent kan hê".[1] He has left
unanswered the question: what is the significance of de-
ficient verbs in Nguni languages in the process of com-
munication? Or what share do deficient verbs have in the
communicative function of language? Can the deficient
verbs as words of the same class in the Nguni languages
perhaps be said to be insignificant and redundant?

He has, however, indicated the meanings of in-
dividual deficient verbs, e.g. "-*mane* dui aan dat 'n han-
deling aanhou of voortduur en kan deur die partisipiale
modus of infinitief gevolg word".[2] He does not favour
literal translation of their meanings into Afrikaans
because: "... in die meeste gevalle letterlike vertalings
geen goeie doel dien nie, want dit kan heeltemal onver-
staanbaar in die Afrikaanse idioom wees".[3]

Furthermore, he notes that other scholars have
often referred to their meanings when used finitely and
deficiently. But he has mostly referred to their meanings
as deficient verbs only. To his mind, there seems to be
nothing semological and phonological that characterise
these verbal forms as members of the same class or
category.
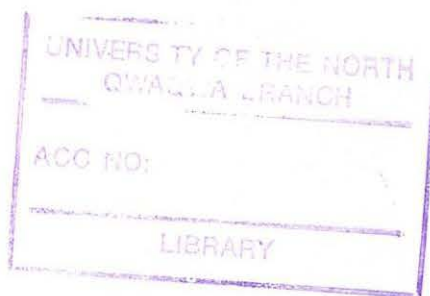
1.   *Ibid.*, p.222.
2.   *Ibid.*, p.99.
3.   *Ibid.*, p.66.

CHAPTER 2
NON-FINITE VERBS

2.2.1   It has been pointed out under the terms finite and
non-finite that verbal forms in Tswana can be clearly
divided into two classes on the basis of their function or
usage. There are those that are used non-finitely and those
that are used finitely in predicates. This is a well-known
division into classes of the major category of verbs. The
non-finite verbal forms apparently show a further sub-
division into:

(i)   those that are inherently non-finite and

(ii)   those that are secondarily non-finite since they
         appear primarily as finite verbs.

The former sub-class can be said to be non-derived forms.
They are basic forms in themselves. The latter sub-class
can be said to be derivations from existing finite verbs.
The sub-classes of the non-finite verbs as indicated here
are purely tentative. This study will give further attention
to this question.

2.1.2   The above provisional divisions may be illustrated
and tested as follows: The predicate of the sentence:
Lebogang o-nê a-batla Rremogolo ka matlho a mahibidu,
contains two predicatives, viz. *o-nê* and *a-batla.* The former
predicative is non-finite whereas the latter is finite.
This non-finite predicative can never be used finitely in
Tswana. Its function is to support the finite predicative
a-batla. It contributes implications of time to this finite
predicative. There are many more verbal forms which function
like *-nê* in predicates. The finite predicative *a-batla* may
form a complete predicate without the supporting non-finite
predicative *o-nê*, e.g. *Lebogang a-batla Rremogolo ka matlho
a mahibidu.* This proves that in Tswana two main divisions
of verbs can be made, namely,

(i)   finite verbs whose function is to signify the main
         referent of the predicate and

(ii)   non-finite verbs which function to support and to
         add to the finite predicative, implications of time,

modality and other modifications.

2.1.3   The sentence: *Basimane ba-batla ba-wela mo nokeng*, shows something different and interesting about the verb *-batla* used finitely in the previous paragraph. In the above example the verb *-batla* functions differently with a different referent. It is now used non-finitely with a modificating or descriptive modal function. This phenomenon about the verb *-batla* shows that Tswana has verbs that can be used either finitely or non-finitely in predicates.

2.1.4   As shown earlier, scholars in Bantu languages in general, and Tswana in particular, seem agreed on the existence of non-finite verbs which are inherently non-finite, and those which are secondarily non-finite, because they also occur primarily as finite verbs. They differ, however, on the classification of these non-finite verbs. Some scholars have classified the inherently and the secondarily non-finite verbs together and named them either deficient or auxiliary verbs. Other scholars, notably B.I.C. van Eeden, have further sub-divided them into auxiliary verbs and deficient verbs.

2.1.5   The verbal forms which are inherently non-finite will first be discussed in this chapter. They will be referred to as auxiliary verbs. Thereafter, and in contrast to these, the secondary non-finite verbs will be dealt with. They will be named deficient verbs. These two provisional sub-classes of non-finite verbs will then be compared with one another in order to determine whether or not a distinct classification is justified. They will be placed into one class when they share common morphological, syntactical, semological and phonological characteristics, and they will then be referred to by either of the terms or by both terms. Conversely, they will be regarded as belonging to distinct sub-classes of the verb when they do exhibit differences in respect of the criteria mentioned above. In the latter case, they will be referred to as auxiliary and deficient verbs respectively, with these terms signifying two distinct sub-classes.

2.1.6   The following is a provisional collection of verbal
forms in Tswana that appear to be inherently non-finite:

-*ise*: *Ga ke-ise ke-rialo.* (Marara, p.32)

        (I have never said so)

-*kitla*: *Ga re-kitla re-be re-agisana sentle.* (Motimedi,
        p.77)   (We will never ever stay together well)

-*kete*: *Puo é ya-kete e-mo-tsena mo tlhogong.* (Motimedi,
        p.91)   (This talk apparently appealed to his mind)

-*bisa*: *Go-bisa go-itse Mafetlhefetlhe go-jesetsa mo*
        khubedung.   (Marara, p.4)

        (Not to know Mafetlhefetlhe is dangerous)

-*mpa*: *Bogolo o-ka-mpa wa-ntlogela ka itulela ke nnosi.*
        (Motimedi, p.74)

        (You could rather leave me to stay alone)

-*nta*: *Monna o-tla-nta re-gaiwa ke khumo ruri.* (Motimedi,
        p.84)   (Man, you will certainly let riches by-
        pass us)

-*ke*: *Bogosi jwa gago ga-bo-ka-ke jwa nna jone.*
        (Motswasele, p.14)

        (Your chieftainship will not be a success)

-*kê*: *... thero ya gagwe e-kê e-tsene mongwe mo pelong.*
        (Motimedi, p.101)

        (May his sermon please appeal to someone's heart)

-*nê*: *Ke-nê ke-sa-itse.* (Mokoma-ditlhare, p.87)

        (I did not know)

-*no*: *Lobopo lo-no lo-tsoga mo borokong.* (Mokoma-ditlhare,
        p.8)   (The creatures were awakening from sleep)

-*na*: *o-na a-ba-bontsha metlholo.*

        (He showed them miracles)

-*bo*: *E-ka-re gongwe o-a-bo o-ya kgakala.* (Motswasele,
        p.5)   (It could be that you are going far)

-*be*: *Metse e-be e-thela losalaba yoobedi.* (Bogosi-kupe
        p.5)   (Both villages were happy)

-*ba*: *A-e-phophotha a-ba a-e-sola mokwatla ka seatla.*
        (Mokoma-ditlhare, p.9)

        (He petted it and even fondled its top with his
        hand)

-*bolo*: *Mareko a-bula molomo a-sa-bolo go-didimala.*
　　　　Mokoma-ditlhare, p.5)
　　　　(Mareko opened his mouth after being silent for a
　　　　long time)

-*bile*: *'Morena, o-botlhale go-re-gaisa rotlhe, o-bile*
　　　　o-pelontle ga-a-tshwane le basimane ba bangwe.
　　　　(Mokoma-ditlhare, p.25)
　　　　(Sir, he is more intelligent than all of us, and
　　　　for that matter he is kind; he does not compare
　　　　with other boys)

-*ka*: *Mogokgo a-nê a-ka a-kgobogela Santi.* (Motimedi, p.107)
　　　(The principal would (from time to time) harass
　　　Santi)

-*kile*: *Ke-a-utlwa o-kile a-ruta gone mono.* Motimedi, p.102)
　　　　(I understand he once taught here locally)

-*mmê*: *Phuthego e-mmê e-ntse.* Motimedi, p.32)
　　　　(The congregation may be seated)

-*mma*: *O-ne a-mma ra-tsamaya sentle.*
　　　　(He let us go well)

-*tle*: *Ke-tle ke-bue le bona.*
　　　(I usually/habitually talk to them) (definite)
　　　Ke-a-tle ke-bue le bona. (indefinite)

2.1.7　　　Some of the non-finite verbal forms listed above
seem to be related to certain finite verbs. They are -*na*,
-*ba*, -*tle*, -*ise* and -*kitla*. To clarify this matter of
whether or not these non-finite verbal forms are related
to the finite verbs -*na* (to rain), -*ba* (to become), -*tlê*
(to come), -*ise* (not taking and -*kitla* (strike with an
object), respectively, the referents of these corresponding
pairs need to be compared. In any language the sound form
of a word is always accompanied by its meaning. In this
respect each and every word is recognised and distinguished
from all other words by virtue of its sound form. The non-
finite verbal forms above seem to be similar in sound forms
to the corresponding finite verbs and there appears to be
nothing that distinguishes their referents.

2.1.8   The non-finite verbal form -*na* indicating past
time, distinguishes itself from the finite verb -*na* which
signifies 'to rain' by means of the prosodic element of
pitch.   It carries a low toneme whereas the finite verb
-*na*, carries a high toneme.   Compare the following examples:
Pula è-nà ya-senya dimela.   (The rain spoiled crops)
Pula è-ná é betsa magadima.   (The rain falls (whilst)
lightnings).

Their referents differ so radically that it becomes difficult
to think of them as related words.   They can be said to be
homonyms whose segmental sound forms are coincidentally
alike but whose referents are altogether unrelated.   Semantic
tone distinguishes them as distinct words.

2.1.9   Another pair of verbal forms which is usually
confused is -*ba* with the non-finite verbal referent of 'in
addition, furthermore or and even', and -*ba*, a finite
copulative verb with the meaning of 'become'.   This con-
fusion is brought about by the problem of orthography which
often represents the finite copulative verb -*baa* as -*ba*.
The orthographic representation -*baa* does not present any
difficulty since this finite verb would visually distinguish
itself from the non-finite verb -*ba* in terms of its sound
form.   It has three phonemes *b-a-a* whereas the non-finite
verb -*ba* has only two phonemes *b-a*.   The standard written
Tswana should consistently reflect the finite verb as -*baa*
and not as -*ba* in order to avoid confusion.   Compare the
following examples:
-*ba*: *Mosimane a-e-phophotha a-ba a-e-sola mokwatla.*
            (The boy petted it and in addition he fondled it)
-*baa*: *Mosimane o-baa monna wa senatla.*
            (The boy is becoming or becomes a strong man)
Their perfective forms also show them as distinct words.
The finite verb -*baa* has -*beile* as its perfective form, e.g.
Mosimane o-beile monna wa senatla.
(The boy has become a strong man)
If the non-finite verb -*ba* would have a perfective form at

all, it would then be *-bile* and not *-beile*. But it seems
doubtful whether it has a perfective form at all. This
matter of *-ba* and *-bile* as the imperfective and perfective
forms of the same verb will receive further attention at a
later stage. The finite verb *-baa* appears to be nothing
else but the copulative use of the finite verb *-baa (-baya)*
meaning 'to put something'.

2.1.10   Yet another pair of verbal forms which is usually
confused is *-tlê* (to come) and *-tle* (usually or habitually).
These verbal forms are also confused by the orthography
which does not represent the open mid-vowel phonemes to
distinguish them clearly from the closed mid-vowel phonemes.
The vowel phonemes *ê* and *ô* are usually represented as *e* and
o respectively. This representation confuses them with
the closed mid-vowel phonemes which are also reflected as
e and *o*. The verbal forms *-tlê* and *tle* are distinct words
simply by virtue of their different sound forms. Cole
rightly points out that *tle* as a 'deficient verb' exists
independently of *-tlê*, the finite verb which can also be
used deficiently with the meaning of 'so that'. As clearly
indicated, the non-finite verb *-tle* and the finite verb *-tlê*
are distinct words which (can be) are distinguished by their
sound forms. The final phonemes of the non-finite verbal
form and the finite verb, distinguish the two forms as
separate words. Compare the following examples:
-<u>*tlê*</u> (finite):   *Ba-bitsê, <u>ba-tlê</u> gae.*
        (Call them to come home)
-<u>*tlê*</u> (non-finite):   *Ba bitse, <u>ba-tlê</u> ba-tlê gae.*
        (Call them so that they (should) come home)
-<u>*tle*</u> (inherently non-finite):   <u>*Ke-tle*</u> *ke-bale dikgang.*
                        Ke-a-tle ke-bale dikgang.
        (I usually/habitually read newspapers)

2.1.11   The verbal forms which may also pose some problems
as to their relatedness are: *-ise* (not taking) and *-ise*
(not yet). Both occur in the negative in addition to having
similar sound forms. They are, nevertheless, experienced

as distinct words by virtue of the difference in their
toneme patterns *-ìsè* used finitely with the verbal referent
'not taking something to' show the toneme pattern low-low,
whereas *-ìsé* used non-finitely with the meaning of 'not
yet', has a high-high toneme pattern. Semantic tone serves
to distinguish them as distinct words. Compare the following
examples:

Ga kè-ìsè diaparo kogo. (I am not taking clothes there)
Ga kè-ìsé kè-ìsè diaparo kogo.
(I have not yet taken clothes there).

2.1.12 The verbal forms *-kitla* meaning 'will not' and
-kitla meaning 'strike/hit (something) with' is also another
pair which may pose some problems. Their segmental sound
forms are the same, and this may create difficulties in
distinguishing them as separate words. Semantic tone is
the only factor which distinguishes them. The verbal form
-kìtlà (will not) which is non-finitely used, differs from
-kìtlà (strike or hit) which is finitely used by its toneme
pattern. The non-finite verb *kìtlà* carries a low-low
toneme pattern, whereas the finite verb *-kítlà* shows a
high-low toneme pattern. Compare the following examples:
-kìtlà (non-finite): *Ga a-kìtlà a-re-tsenya mo molatong.*
        (He will not put us into trouble)
-kítlà (finite): *Ga a-kítlà mosimane ka mabole.*
          (He has not struck the boy with fists)
          ó-kítlà mosimane ka mabole.
          (He strikes the boy with fists)

2.1.13 Some of the pairs of verbal forms noted above
(*-na* 'to rain' and *-na* 'past time'; *-ise* 'not taking some-
thing to' and *-ise* 'not yet'; *-kitla* 'strike or hit' and
-kitla 'will not') could perhaps be etymologically related.
Synchronically, however, they are experienced as distinct
words by virtue of semantic tone. The other pairs, namely,
-tlê 'to come' and *-tle* 'usually or habitually', *-baa/-baya*
'become' and *-ba* 'and in addition or and also', should
present no difficulty. The standard written Tswana should

reflect them accurately and avoid this unnecessary con-
fusion.

2.1.14   There are some non-finite verbs from the provisional
collection which, despite minimal differences in their
sound forms, still convey the same meaning. They can
rightly be considered as variants. These are *-nê*, *-na* and
-no; *-ba*, *-bo* and *be*. Cole rightly maintains that *-na* and
-no are the assimilated forms of *-nê* which is their basic
form. The occurrence of *-na* and *-no* as variants of *-nê* have
thus a linguistic explanation. They occur because of the
influence of assimilation by other vowels adjacent to them.
It should be noted, however, that while the use of the
variant forms *-na* and *-no* is economic and phonetically
comfortable, it is nevertheless not compulsory. The basic
form *-nê* can be used throughout, thus eliminating the
variants *-na* and *-no*. In fact, for the sake of standardiza-
tion, the basic form *-nê* should be the only form used in
the written language. The variant forms *-na* and *-no* could
exist only in the spoken language.

-nê: *Ke-nê ke-sa-itse*. (Mokoma-ditlhare, p.87)
            (I did not know)

-na: *Ba-na ba-tsamaya mo mosong*. (Marara, p.16)
            (They left in the morning)

-no: *Lobopo lo-no lo-tsoga mo borokong*. (Mokoma-ditlhare
            p.8)   (The creatures were waking up from sleeping)

The above examples illustrate the basic verbal form *-ne*
and its assimilated variant forms *-na* and *-no*. As indicated
already, the variant forms can be discarded and only the
basic form *-nê* can be used in the standard written Tswana.
The second and third examples above would then be rendered
as follows:

Ba-nê ba-tsamaya mo mosong.

Lobopo lo-nê lo-tsoga mo borokong.

2.1.15   The occurrence of the basic verbal form *-ba* and
its variants *-bo* and *-be*, is not occasioned by any con-
venience in the spoken language. Their occurrence has thus

no linguistic explanation. They seem to appear as a matter of individual choice, or individual dialects in Tswana. The verbal form -*ba* is undoubtedly the basic form in terms of its wider frequency distribution in relation to the other two verbal forms -*bo* and -*be*, whose occurrence or distribution is very limited. For this reason the latter verbal forms can be said to be interchangeable variants. In the standard written Tswana, therefore, only the verbal form -*ba* should be used.

2.1.16   There are two non-finite verbs in the list that appear to be perfective forms of certain other non-finite verbs. They are -*kile*<-*ka* and -*bile*<-*ba*. Cole regards -*kile* and -*bile* to be the perfectives of -*ka* and -*ba* respectively. He says, for instance, that:
"-*kile*. The perfect stem of -*ka* is used deficiently in the past tense forms to express 'once' or in questions 'ever'. -*bile*: This, the perfective stem of -*ba*, occurs commonly with the invariable SC, as *ebile*."[1]

Of the non-finite verb -*jafilê*, he maintains that: "The simple stem corresponding to this obviously perfect tense form seems no longer to be extant."[2]

The principle underlying the perfective and imperfective forms of finite verbs is that these two forms denote respectively the completed and continuing state of the same process or action signified by the finite verb, e.g.

perfective form	imperfective form
-*batlile* (have wanted)	-*batla* (want)
-*romile* (have sent)	-*roma* (send)
-*rutile* (have taught)	-*ruta* (teach)
-*gamile* (have milked)	-*gama* (milk)
-*ratile* (have loved)	-*rata* (love)

The perfect form which is derived from the imperfective by

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1   Cole, D.T.: *op. cit.*, p.297.
2   *Ibid.*, p.295.

means of the suffix *-ile*, does not result in a completely
new verb. The two forms show closely related meanings.
The perfective form of the verb denotes the completed
aspect of the same finite verb.

The so-called perfective and imperfective aspects
of the non-finite verbs, namely *-kile<-ka* and *-bile<-ba*,
do not conform to the principle governing the perfective
and imperfect aspects of finite verbs in respect of their
meanings or referents. Furthermore, it seems erroneous
to speak of the perfective and imperfective aspects of the
non-finite verbal forms since these verbal forms do not
signify processes or actions which can be taken to be
either completed or continuing. The non-finite verbs
-bile and *-ba*; *-kile* and *-ka*, are semologically not related.
They therefore appear to be different words. Compare the
following examples:

-bile: It has the conjunctive meaning of 'furthermore',
           'moreover', 'also', 'even' or 'for that reason/
           matter', e.g. *O-a-nkitse e/o-bile o-itse batsadi*
           bame. (He knows me, furthermore/for that reason
           he knows my parents).

-ba: It is used in the narrative or consecutive to
           express actions or processes which follow one
           another in a series. It conveys the meaning of
           'and then' or 'thereupon', e.g. *Ke-a-tsoga, ke-ba*
           ke-apaya dijo. (I wake up and then/thereupon I
           cook food).

Scholars who regarded *-kile* and *-bile* to be the
perfective forms of *-ka* and *-ba* respectively, seem to have
done so on the analogy of the morphological implications
of the perfective and imperfective forms of finite verbs.
These pairs of non-finite verbs could perhaps be related
etymologically, but there is nothing synchronically that
shows them as related verbal forms. *-ile* in *-kile* and
-bile does not signify the completed aspect of these verbal
forms. Possibly, it may not be a suffix at all but a

sequence of phonemes which accidentally agrees with the form of the perfective suffix.

The nature or characteristics of the inherently non-finite or auxiliary verbs

At this stage it is possible to deal with the inherently non-finite or auxiliary verbs. Their morphological, syntactical, semological and phonological characteristics will be discussed and illustrated.

Morphological characteristics

2.2.1   The auxiliary verbs, like all other types of verbs, usually take SC to form predicatives, e.g.

-nê: *o-nê o-bolelelwa ke mang?* (Mpolelele-dilo, p.15)
          (Who was telling you?)

-bo: *basetsana ba-tshega ba-bo ba-ntsha la motlhagare.*
          (Mpolelele-dilo, p.24)
          (Girls laughed and (even) showed their side teeth)

-kitla: *Nyalano ya bo-Molatlhegi ga e-kitla e-ema.*
          (Motimedi, p.77)
          (The Molatlhegis' marriage will never be a success)

-ise: *Ga re-ise re-o-tlhoboge.* (Kobo e Ntsho, p.6)
          (We have not yet lost hope in Him)

-kete: *Puo é ya-kete e-mo-tsena mo tlhogong.*
          (Motimedi, p.91)
          (This talk apparently appealed to him)

-kê: *Bogosi jwa gago ga bo-ka-kê jwa nna jone.*
          (Motswasele, p.10)
          (Your chieftainship will not be a success)

-mpa: *Bogolo o-ka-mpa wa-ntlogela ka-itulela ke nnosi.*
          (Motimedi, p.74)
          (You could better leave me to stay alone)

-ke: *... thero ya gagwe e-ke e-tsene mongwe mo pelong.*
          (Motimedi, p.101)
          (May his sermon please appeal to someone's heart)

-be: *Metse e-be e-thela losalaba yoobedi.*
          (Both villages were happy)

-nta: *Monna, <u>o-nta</u> o-tshegwa ke bana jaana.*

(Man, do you let children laugh at you in this manner)

-bile: *O-botlhale <u>o-bile</u> o-pelontle.*   (Mokoma-ditlhare, p.25)

(He is intelligent (and) for that matter he is kind-hearted)

-mmê: *Phuthego <u>e-mmê</u> e-ntse.*   (Motimedi, p.32)

(May the congregation be seated)

-tle: *Nna <u>ke-tle</u> ke-bale dikgang.*

(I usually read newspapers)

-kile: *Ke-a-utlwa, <u>o-kile</u> a-ruta gone mono.*   (Motimedi, p.102)   (I understand he once taught here locally)

-ka: *Mogokgo a-nê <u>a-ka</u> a-kgobogela Santi.*   (Motimedi, p.107)

(The principal would from time to time harass Santi)

-bolo: *Mareko a-bula molomo <u>a-sa-bolo</u> go-didimala.*

(Mokoma-ditlhare, p.25)

(Mareko opened his mouth (after) being silent for a long time)

The SC can, however, be dropped from the auxiliary verbs. This means that the auxiliary predicatives may occur without the SC. This tendency is marked particularly in the spoken language and it is less evident in the written language. The reason for the omission of the SC from the auxiliary predicatives seems to be that the finite predicatives, with which they form compounded predicates, have SC. Hence, the SC of the auxiliary predicatives, although they are left out are still understood since they always agree with the SC of the finite predicatives. The following examples taken from written works will illustrate this morphological characteristic of the auxiliary verbs: (N.B. the SC which are placed in brackets are included by the writer, in the text they are omitted).

-ise: *Ga a-itse le go setla, ga <u>(a-)-ise</u> a-ko a-setle.*

(She does not even know how to stamp, she has never stamped)

-se-ka: *O-tla-ikaega ka wena, (o-)-se-ka wa-sutela gope.*
            (Moepa-tshipi ga a bone, p.42)
            (He will lean against you, you should not shift
            anywhere)

-kê: *Le mong wa gagwe ga (a-)-ka-kê a-se-rata.*
            (Mokoma-ditlhare, p.32)
            (And his master will not like it)

-kitla: *Ga (re-)-kitla re-tsamaya re-sa-laela.*
            (Marara, p.18)
            (We shall not go away without reporting)

-bile: *(Ba-)-bile ba-re-tlogetse kwa morago.*
            (For that matter they left us behind)

-bolo: *Ga (a-)-bolo go-itse.*
            (He has long been knowing)

Although the remaining auxiliary verbs from the
provisional list could not be found in the written
literature without SC, they can, however, be used without
SC in the spoken language as illustrated below:

-kete: *Puo é -kete e-mo-tsena mo tlhogong.*

-mpa: *Bogolo -ka-mpa wa-ntlogela ka itulela ke nnosi.*

-nta: *Monna, -tla-nta re-gaiwa ke khumo ruri.*

-kê: *Thero ya gagwe -kê e-tsene mongwe mo pelong.*

-nê: *-Nê ke-sa-itse.*

-nô: *Lobopo -no lo-tsoga mo borokong.*

-na: *-Na a-ba-bontsha metlholo.*

-be: *Metse -be e-thela losalaba yoobedi.*

-ba: *Ba-e-phophotha, -ba ba-e-sola mokwatla ka seatla.*

-kile: *Ke-a-utlwa -kile a-ruta gone mono.*

-mmê: *Phuthego -mmê e-ntse.*

-tle: *Nna -tle ke-bue le bona.*

2.2.2   The auxiliary verbs may take the suffix *-ng* to
form relative constructions. This relative suffix is
usually taken by the finite verbs when the auxiliary verbs
are not used with them. However, when the predicates
contain auxiliary verbs, this suffix is attached to the
auxiliary verbs while the finite verbs do not take it.

The following examples will illustrate the use of the
relative suffix with auxiliary verbs:

-*nêng*: *Ngwana yo o-nêng a-timetse, o-bonwe.*
(The child who was lost, is found)

-*kitlang*: *Banna ba ba-se-kitlang ba-kgetha, ba-tla-tshwarwa.*
(Men who will not pay tax will be arrested)

-*iseng*: *Batho ba ba-iseng ba-amogelwe ga ba-je selalelo.*
(People who have not yet been confirmed do not
receive holy-communion)

-*keteng*: *Dikgomo tse di-keteng di-nonne di-a-tlhabiwa.*
(Cattle which are apparently fat are being
slaughtered)

-*kêng*: *A Modimo yo o-se-kêng o latlha batho o-roriswe.*
(Let God who will not forsake people, be praised)

-*bisang*: *Batho ba ba-bisang go-itse nnete, ba-tla-latlhega.*
(People who fail to know the truth, will get lost)

-*mpang*: *Molemo o o-mpang o-thusa, ga o-itsewe.*
(The medicine which rather helps, is not known)

-*ntang*: *Monna yo a-ntang a-ineela, ke legatlapa.*
(The man who certainly gives up, is a coward)

-*kêng*: *Bogosi jwa gago jo bo-ka-se-kêng jwa nna jone, ga
bo-thuse sepe.*
(Your chieftainship which will not be a success,
does not help anything)

-*keng*: *Thero ya gagwe e e-keng e-tsene batho, e-ntle.*
(His sermon which usually appeals to people, is
good)

-*bolong*: *Mareko yo a-sa-bolong go-didimala, a bula molomo.*
(Mareko who was for a long time silent, opened his
mouth)

-*kileng*: *Morutisi yo o-kileng a-ruta mono, o-a-itsege thata.*
(A teacher who once taught here, is well-known)

-*tleng*: *Nna yo ke-tleng ke bue le bona, ke lebetswe.*
(I who usually talk to them am forgotten)

-*kang*: *Bana ba ba-kang ba-ithute, ba falola ditlhatlhobo.*
(Students who from time to time read, pass
examinations)

-bileng: *Mosimane yo o-botlhale, yo o-bileng a-le pelontle*
              o falotse mo ditlhatlhobong.

              (The boy who is intelligent, who for that matter
              is kind-hearted, has passed in the examinations)

-mmang: *Noga e e-mmang batho ba-e-bolaa, e-palelwa ke go*
              tshaba.

              (A snake which let people kill it, does not know
              how to run away)

Additional morphemes (modal) in auxiliary predicatives

2.2.3   The auxiliary verbal stems do not undergo any
morphological change when they are used to form the negative.
For that matter some auxiliary verbal stems are already
negative in themselves. The negative formatives *ga-*, or
sa-/se- are usually employed within the auxiliary predic-
atives. The following cases are auxiliary verbs which are
negative in themselves, and they may be used with or without
the negative formatives *ga-* or *-sa-/-se-*:

-ise: *Ga ke-ise ke-je.*

            (I have not yet eaten)

            Ke-robala ke-ise ke-je.

            (I sleep having not yet eaten, i.e. I sleep before
            I eat)

-bolo: *Ga ke-bolo go-reka.*

            (I have not recently bought, i.e. I bought quite
            some time ago)

            Ke-robala ke-sa-bolo go-ja.

            (I sleep not having eaten recently, i.e. I sleep
            having eaten some time ago)

-kitla: *Ga ba-kitla ba-re-itse.*

            (They will not know us)

-kê: *Ga ba-kê ba-tsamaa bosigo.*

            (They never go about in the night, i.e. They are
            not in the habit of going about in the night)

            Some auxiliary verbs which are essentially positive
form the negative by prefixing the suffix *ga-* to the

auxiliary predicative: e.g.

-ka: *Ga ke-a-ka ka-rêka.*

(I did not buy)

Ga o-a-ka wa rêka.

(You did not buy)

-ne: *Ga re-ne re-reka.*

(We will not often buy)

(Ga ba-ne ba-reka.

(They will not often buy)

-kete: *Ga ba-kete ba-lekana ka seemo.*

(They are not apparently equal in height)

Ga re-kete re-tshaba maphodisa.

(We are not apparently scared of the police)

-nta: *Ga ba-a-nta ba-longwa ke noga.*

(They did not let the dog bite them)

Ga re-a-nta ra-wela mo kotsing.

(We did not let ourselves to fall into a pit)

-be: *Ga ba-be ba-itse se se jeleng bana.*

(They, in a way, did not know what happened to the children)

Dikgomo ga di-be di-tsamaya le dinamane.

(The cattle in a way, do not go with the calves)

Again some auxiliary verbs express the negative by means of the negative morpheme *-sa-* or *-se-* which is inserted between the SC and the auxiliary verbs as with ordinary verbs, e.g.

-ka: *Bana ba-se-ka ba-robala.*

(The children should/must not sleep)

Pula e-se-ka ya-na.

(The rain should/must not fall)

Re-ka-bo re-sa-ka ra-robala.

(We, in a way, should not have slept)

-kile: *Ka a-se-kile a-utlwelela se se-neng se-bolelwa.*

(Because he never once listened to what was said)

... *Ka gonne re-se-kile ra-bala, re paletswe ke ditlhatlhobo.* (Because we never once studied, we failed in the examination)

-*mmê:*   *Phuthego e-se-mmê e-letlelela boatla mo difeleng.*

(The congregation should not allow faults in the singing of hymns)

Batho ba-se-mmê ba-leka Modimo tumelo.

(People should not test God)

-*kete:*   *O-se-kete o-sa-itse molao.*

(You should not seem not to know the law)

-*nta:*   *Ba-se-nta ba-phadiwa ke bana ba bangwe mo kgaisanong.*

(They should never allow other children ^to^ surpass them in a competition)

There are also a few auxiliary verbs which cannot form negative predicatives. In these cases, the negative is expressed by the finite predicative. Examples are:

-*nê:*   *Ke-nê ke-sa-itse.*

(I did not know)

-*bo:*   *Ba-bo ba-sa-itse.*

(In a way they did not know)

(*tla-*)-*bo:*   *Ba-tla-bo ba-sa-itse.*

(In a way they will not be knowing)

2.2.4   The modal formative -*tla-*, which is indicative of an intention, may occur with the auxiliary predicatives in the usual position as with the finite predicatives, e.g.

-*bo:*   *ke-tla-bo ke-setse ke-boile.* (Mokoma-ditlhare, p.15)   (I will have already come back)

-*ba:*   *Baetsho, lo-gopola gore bana ba rona ba-tla-ba ba-itse gore rot ke peba.* (Motimedi, p.40)

(My people, do you think that our children will ever know that 'rot' means rat)

-*ne:*   *O-bo o-tla-ne o-sale o-botsa motho.*

(Marara, p.58)

(You take a long time asking a person questions)

-*nta:*   *O-tla-nta re-gaiwa ke khumo ruri.*

(Motimedi, p.84)

(Man, you will let us be by-passed by riches indeed)

-*kete:*   *Re-tla-kete re-tsamaela kwa pele.*
           (We shall seemingly move forward)

-*mpa:*   *Le-tla-mpa le-itsamaela sentle.*
           (You will better go well)

-*ke:*   *Thero yagagwe e-tla-ke e-tsene mongwe mo pelong.*
           (His sermon will better appeal to someone's heart)

-*mmê:*   *Phuthego e-tla-mmê e-ntse.*
           (The congregation will remain seated)

-*ka:*   *Mosimane a-tla-ka a-re-siisa terene.*
           (The boy would let the train leave us behind)

-*bisa:*   *Lo-tla-bisa go-tshamekela mo molelong.*
           (You will stop playing with fire)

-*kê:*   *Bogosi jwagago bo-tla-kê jwa nna jone.*
           (Your chieftainship will certainly become right)

-*bile:*   *Re-tla-bile re-ba-lekola.*
           (We shall for that matter pay them a visit)

2.2.5   The majority of the auxiliary verbs can also
employ the potential formative -*ka*- which takes the same
morpho-tactic position as all modal formatives, i.e.
between the SC and the auxiliary verb e.g.

-*bo:*   *Ba-ka-bo ba-sa-bolo go-tshwarwa.*
           (Mokoma-ditlhare, p.33)
           Re-ka-bo re-setse re-tshwerwe.
           (We could be already arrested)

-*mpa:*   *Bogolo o-ka-mpa wa ntlogele ke le nnosi.*
           (Motimedi, p.74)

-*nê:*   *O-ka-nê a-tlhagetswe ke sengwe sa gonna jalo.*
           (Marara, p.54)
           (He could have been befallen by something of that
           nature)

-*kete:*   *Le-ka-kete ga le-nkitse?*
           (Could you seemingly not know me?)

-*bisa:*   *Batho ba-ka-bisa go rapela Modimo.*
           (People can stop/fail to pray God)

-*nta:*   *Monna, o-ka-nta wa-itewa ke basimane.*
           (Man, can you really let the boys beat you up)

-*kê*:   *Bogosi jwa gago ga <u>bo-ka-kê</u> jwa nna jone.*

         (Your chieftainship will certainly not become right)

-*ka*:   *Mogokgo <u>a-ka-ka</u> a-kgobogela Santi.*

         (The principal would not harass Santi)

-*mma*:   *<u>Ba-ka-mma</u> ba-mo-tlogela.*

         (They could let him go)

-*be*:   *<u>Re-ka-be</u> re-tsamaya jaanong.*

         (We could be leaving now)

2.2.6   The auxiliary predicatives may take the modal formative -*a*- and result in the so-called 'long form' of the predicative, e.g.

-*tle*:   *Diaparo <u>di-a-tle</u> di-tloge di-jewe ke mmoto.*

         (Mokoma-ditlhare, p.15)

-*bo*:   *<u>Ke-a-bo</u> ke-sa-itse sepe.*

-*nê*:   *<u>Ba-a-nê</u> ba-tsamae ka maoto.*

-*kete*:   *There ya gagwe <u>e-a-ke</u> e-tsena batho mo dipelong.*

-*bolo*:   *Ga <u>re-a-bolo</u> go-ba-bitsa.*

-*kê*:   *Bogosi jwa gago ga <u>bo-a-ke</u> jwa nna jone.*

-*nta*:   *Batswana ga <u>ba-a-nta</u> ba-tlhalefa pele.*

-*mma*:   *Ga <u>re-a-mma</u> ra-jabediwa ke basimane.*

-*be*:   *Metse <u>e-a-be</u> e-thela losalaba yoobedi.*

-*ka*:   *Ga <u>re-a-ka</u> ra-welwa ke molato.*

         Dikgomo ga <u>di-a-ka</u> tsa-lala kwa nageng.

There is no definable difference in meaning between 'the short' and 'the long forms' of the auxiliary predicatives. For this reason, the two forms are freely interchangeable, and the differences in meaning that may be experienced are due to the extra-linguistic situation in which such pairs of predicatives are used. This is true only for the auxiliary verbs. As for finite verbs, there is undoubtedly a syntactic significance attached to the two forms.

2.2.7   The morphological characteristics of the auxiliary verbs show that the auxiliary verb stems are root morphemes. These auxiliary verb stems can, therefore, not be analysed any further into morphemic elements. Since they are

indivisible into morphemic elements, no morpheme can be inserted into or substituted for their form. Morphemes can, however, be added to the auxiliary verb stems to form auxiliary predicatives. As noted above, the Sc, the relative suffix -*ng* and the modal formatives, can be added to the auxiliary verbs to form predicatives.

2.2.8   The auxiliary verbs, however, do not take the verbal suffixes such as -*il*-, -*is*-, -*an*-, -*êl*-, -*êg*-, -*olol*-, -*olog*- etc. which can usually be employed with finite verbs.

Therefore, they (auxiliary verbs) conform only partially to the morphological characteristics of the finite verbs.

Semological characteristics

2.3.1   It has been pointed out already that auxiliary predicatives contribute notions and implications of time and modality to the finite predicative in a compounded predicate. In other words, their function or share in the process of communication is to add time and modal implications to the finite predicative with which they form compounded predicates. They do not, like adverbs, describe the predicates as some scholars in Bantu languages have maintained. In the example *ke-nê ke-ise ke goroge* (I had not yet arrived), the auxiliary predicatives *ke-nê* and *ke-ise* add past time and negative modal implications respectively to the finite predicative *ke-goroge*. The main verbal referent of the compounded predicate which is signified by the finite predicative *ke-goroge*, is said to have not yet taken place in the past time by the auxiliary predicatives *ke-ise* and *ke-nê* respectively.

2.3.2   The division of auxiliary predicatives into those that denote time and those that denote modality is usually not very sharp. This is because certain auxiliary verbs would denote both time and modality, at least by implication.

The following are auxiliary verbs that refer to both time
and modality:

-*kitla*: It refers to the negative modality in _the_ future, e.g.
ga *ba-kitla ba-tsamaya* (They will not go away).
The auxiliary predicative *ba-kitla* conveys the
negative modal implications and time in _the_ future.
The verbal referent denoted by the finite
predicative *ba-tsamaya* is said to be not taking
place in the indefinite future time.

-*kile*: *Molatlhegi o-kile a-ruta mono.* (Molatlhegi once
taught here) The auxiliary predicative *o-kile*
has the referents of 'one time in the indefinite
past' and shades of negative modality by
implication, i.e. 'now no longer'.

The auxiliary verb which clearly indicates time is -*nê*,
i.e. past time, e.g. *O-nê a-robala sentle* (He slept well)

2.3.3 Modal auxiliary verbs may be further sub-divided
into a variety of such modal implications. For instance,
there are modal auxiliary verbs which signify negation,
habit, plea or wish or request, co-ordination/consecutive,
etc.

Negation

Except for the auxiliary verb -*bisa* which is self-
sufficiently negative, the other auxiliary verbs signifying
negation require the use of the negative modal formative
ga- in their predicatives. The use of the negative for-
mative *ga*- with these auxiliary verbs appears to be a kind
of double negative, e.g.

-*ise*: *Ga ba-ise ba-bone metlholo.*
(They have not yet seen miracles)

-*kê*: *Ga ba-kê ba-bona metlholo.*
(They did not/never see miracles)

-*bisa*: *Go-bisa go-itse ditiragalo go botlhoko.*
(Not to know events is painful)
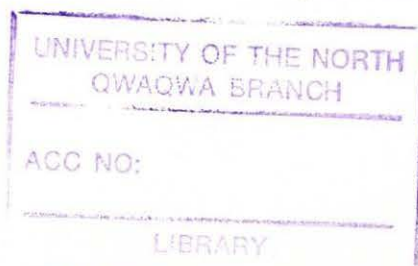
-bolo: *Ga ba-bolo go-re-bitsa.*

(They have not recently been calling us, i.e.
they have long been calling us)

-kitla: *Ga ba-kitla ba-bona metlholo.*

(They will not see miracles)

Habit/potentiality

-tle: *A-lela jaaka pitse e-tle e-lele.*

(He cried as a horse usually cries)

Ke-tle ke-bale dikgang.

(I usually/habitually read newspapers)

Plea, wish or request

-ke: *Thero ya gagwe e-ke e-tsene mongwe mo pelong.*

(Motimedi, p.101)

(May his sermon (please) appeal to someone's
heart)

-mmê: *Phuthego e-mmê e-ntse fa fatshe.*

(The congregation may in the meantime be seated)

-nta: *Re-tla-nta re-gaiwa ke khumo ruri.*

(We shall certainly let riches by-pass us)

-mpa: *Bogolo o-ka-mpa wa-ntlogela ke le nosi.*

(You could rather leave me alone)

Co-ordination or consecutive

-ba: *A-ba-tshega a-ba a-ba-bitsa masilo.*

(Koketso kitso ya Lefatshe, p.22)

(He laughed at them and (even) called them
cowards)

-bile: *O-bua Setswana, o-bile o-a-sekwala.*

(He speaks Tswana, for that matter he writes it)

2.3.4   Something about the co-ordinate or consecutive
modal auxiliary predicatives needs to be said here. These
auxiliary predicatives function to co-ordinate or link
together complete predicates. The Webster's New Inter-
national Dictionary calls them link verbs. Cole does not

regard them as such and he remarks that: "The tendency
to treat such forms as conjunctives seems to arise mainly
from the fact that idiomatic rendering thereof in English
and other European languages requires the use of link
words, e.g. 'when' for erile or etlare, 'furthermore' for
ebile."[1] A close look at the auxiliary verbs, however,
shows some of them to function like co-ordinate conjunctives.
They link together complete predicates. For that matter
they agree to the principle of substitution with conjunc-
tives. Compare the following examples:

-bile: *Loso ga lo-simolole ka nna ebile ga lo-kitla lo-fela*
           ka nna.   (Bogosi-kupe, p.3)

conjunctive   *Loso ga lo-simolole ka nna ka jalo ga*
substitute: *lo-kitla lo-fela ka nna.*
                 (Death does not start with me and (for that
                 matter) it will not end with me)

-ba: *A-ba-tshega a-ba a-ba-bitsa masilo.*

conjunctive   *A-ba-tshega mme a-ba-bitsa masilo.*
substitute: (He laughed at them and also/even called them
              fools)

         Ba-phadimoga, ba-edimola ba-ba ba-ikotlolola.
         (Mokoma-ditlhare, p.22)

conjunctive   *Ba-phadimoga, ba-edimola jaana ba-ikotlola.*
substitute: (They woke up abruptly, they yawned and they
              stretched themselves)

It should be noted that the co-ordinate conjunctive
modal auxiliary verbs cannot be used as initial words of
sentences as it is with most conjunctives. They can only
be used medially in sentences to link up predicates.

Syntactical characteristics

2.4.1   The auxiliary predicatives always precede the
finite predicative in compounded predicates. The latter
predicative is a complement to the former ones. This order
is unchangeable. The following examples will illustrate:

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1.   Cole, D.T.: *op.cit.*, p.381.

1.　　　*A-se-ka*　　　　　*a-itse*　　　　go-*bua*.(Marara, p.46)
　　　aux.predicative　finite predicative

　　　　　　　└────→┘
　　　　　compounded predicate

(He did not know how to speak)

2.　　　*Ke-nê*　　　　　*ke-sa-itse*. (Mokoma-ditlhare, p.43)
　　　aux.predicative　finite predicative

　　　　　　　└────→┘
　　　　　compounded predicate

(I did not know)

3.　　　*Ga ke-kê*　　　　*ke-aka*.　(Marara, p.52)
　　　aux.predicative　finite predicative

　　　　　　　└────→┘
　　　　　compounded predicate

(I never tell lies)

4.　　　*Ga ke-ise*　　　*ke-rialo*.　(Motimedi, p.16)
　　　aux.predicative　finite predicative

　　　　　　　└────→┘
　　　　　compounded predicate

(I have never said that)

5.　　　*O-ka-bo*　　　　*o-sa-utswa*.　(Motimedi, p.11)
　　　aux.predicative　finite predicative

　　　　　　　└────→┘
　　　　　compounded predicate

(You should not have stolen)

2.4.2　In Tswana, it is usual for more than one auxiliary
predicative to be used in a compounded predicate. This is
made possible by the fact that each auxiliary predicative
adds distinct implications of modality or time. The
following examples show more than one auxiliary predicative
employed in compounded predicates:

1. *A ga o-ise   o-ke   o-kopane le morwaa Goitsemang?*

    negative   modal aux.   finite

    modal aux.   predicative   predicative

    predicative   denoting a

               request

         (Botsang Rre, p.41)

        compounded predicate

(Have you not yet met with Goitsemang's son?)

2. *Monna yo ga a-ise   a-ke   a-bo   a-tsene mo moweng wa me.*

    modal aux.   modal aux.   modal aux.

    predicative   predicative   predicative

    (indicating   (poten-   (impatience)   finite

    negation)   tiality)   (or surprise)   predicative

          (Botsang Rre, p.44)

        compounded predicate

(This man has never really appealed to my feelings)

3. *Monna yola o-nê   a-ise   a-ke   a-bo   a-tsene mo moweng wa me.*

    temporal aux.   modal aux.   modal aux.   modal aux.   finite

    predicative   predicative   predicative   predicative   predicative

    (past)   (negation)   (poten-   (tempus)

                 tiality)

        compounded predicate

(That man had never really appealed to my feelings)

4. *Monna yola o-nê   a-bile   a-ise   a-ke   a-bo   a-tsene ...*

    temporal   modal aux.   modal aux.   modal aux.   modal aux.   finite

    aux. pre-   predicat-   predicative   predicative   predicative   predic-

    dicative   ive (co-   (negation)   (poten-   (tempus)   ative

    (past)   ordinating)   tiality)

        compounded predicate

(For that matter, that man had never really appealed to my feelings)

The first example shows two auxiliary predicatives used in a compounded predicate, whereas the second shows three,

the third shows four, and the fourth example shows five
such auxiliary predicatives in a compounded predicate.

2.4.3   The above examples also show the order or sequence
in which the various types of auxiliary predicatives follow
each other when they are used in the same compounded
predicate. The order appears to be: first the auxiliary
predicatives indicating time which are then followed by
modal auxiliary predicatives. The varieties of the latter
type of auxiliary predicatives show a preferential sequence
of

   (i)   co-ordination,
  (ii)   negation,
 (iii)   potentiality and
  (iv)   impatience or surprise.

This order of auxiliary predicatives appears to be inherent
in the language.

2.4.4   The auxiliary predicatives may be used alone with-
out complementary finite predicatives with which they are
usually employed in compounded predicates. They thus give
the impression that they are complete predicates on their
own. In this syntactical context or usage, they are simply
elliptical fragments of complete predicates whose complemen-
tary finite predicatives are taken for granted. The omitted
complementary finite predicatives are usually understood
from the situation or circumstances. The following examples
will illustrate this syntactical usage of the auxiliary
predicatives:

-ka: *Le-go-ka!*

           (You/It will never!)

-kitla: *Ga o-kitla!*

           (You will not!)

-ise: *Ga ba-ise!*

           (They have not yet!)

-bolo: *Ga ba-bolo!*

           (They have long!)

The above usages of non-finite predicatives are abbreviated

forms of complete compounded predicates. In this syntac-
tical context, the non-finite predicatives are imperative
in significance and they are interjectives in function.
In this respect Cole says that: "All verb imperatives are
functionally interjectives."[1] They are employed in certain
situations, usually of conversations/dialogue. For this
reason and in case of doubt as to what they mean, their
complementary finite predicatives can always be brought
back to form complete compounded predicates as follows:

Le go ka ke-go-tlogela.   (I will never leave you)
Ga o-kitla o-tsamaya.   (You will not go away)
Ga a-ise a-gole.   (He has not yet grown up)
Ga ba-bolo go-re-bitsa.   (They have long been calling us)
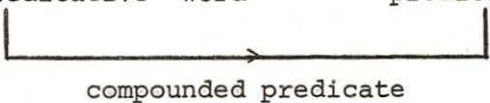
2.4.5   Louw maintains that the non-finite predicative can
be followed by a complete sentence as its complement. He
gives the example: (Xhosa) *andikhange; ubesisiyatha lowe
ukuzizele impendule yam.* According to him *andikhange* is
the non-finite predicative and its complement is the whole
sentence following it. I find what he calls the complement
to the non-finite predicative to be a follow-up statement
which is completely independent of the non-finite predicative
andikhange. For that matter, the two parts are separated
from one another by a pause which in writing is indicated
by a semi-colon. *Andikhange* is to me a non-finite pre-
dicative which depends for its complement, not on the
sentence which follows it, but on a complementary finite
predicative excluded or omitted because it is understood.
It is an elliptical fragment or abbreviated form of a
complete compounded predicate.

The Tswana equivalent of the Xhosa example given
above is: *ga ke-a-ke; yoo o-nê a-tsenwa go-ntlisetsa
phetolo/karabo.* *ga-ke-a-ke* is a non-finite predicative
whose complementary finite predicative is not included
simply because it is understood from the situation of

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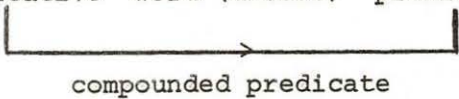
1.   Cole, D.T.: *op.cit.*, p.399.

dialogue involved. The complete sentence *yoo o-nê a-tsenwa go-ntlisetsa phetolo*, is not its complement but a follow-up statement which is self-sufficient. The complement to the non-finite predicative *ga ke-a-ke* can be had on demand, thus *ga ke-a-ke ka-rialo/ka-mo-roma; yoo o-nê a-tswenwa go-ntlisetsa phetolo.* In situations of conversation and dialogue many things are usually taken for granted since they are understood.
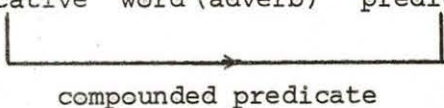
2.4.6   The auxiliary predicatives may be separated from their complementary finite predicatives by the interpolation of words, especially adverbs and deficient predicatives. This systactical feature of non-finite predicatives shows that there is a loose connection between them and their complements, e.g.

1. *o-nê*   *gape*   *a-sa-robale bontle*(Koketso Kitso ya
    non-finite   intervening   finite   Lefatshe, p.47)
    predicative   word   predicative

                    compounded predicate

    (Again or Moreover, he was not sleeping well)

2. *Senonori sa-bo*   *gape*   *se-rialo.*
        non-finite   intervening   finite
        predicative   word (adverb)   predicative

                    compounded predicate

    (Senonori further said that)

3. *Ga a-kitla*   *jaana*   *a-re-tshwenya.*
    non-finite   intervening   finite
    predicative   word (adverb)   predicative

                    compounded predicate

    (As it is, he will not bother us)

4. *Le-a-kete*   *ruri*   *le-lebala seo le se-rutilweng.*
    non-finite   intervening   finite
    predicative   word (adverb)   predicative

                compounded predicate

(You apparently really forget what you have been taught)

5. *Diaparo di-a-bo*   *jaanong*   *di-jewa ke mmoto.*
    non-finite   intervening   finite
    predicative   word   predicative

                compounded predicate

(As it is, the clothes are being eaten by moths)

Types of complements with which the auxiliary predicatives can combine in compounded predicates

2.4.7   Earlier studies in Bantu languages have shown a
tendency to place more importance on the classification of
auxiliary verbs according to the type of complements with
which they combine instead of putting more emphasis on the
auxiliary verbs themselves. In this respect J.A. Louw
remarks: "Die vraag is egter of so 'n eensydige klassi-
fisering van die defisiënte verba korrek is. Wat van die
morfologiese, semantiese en sintaktiese eienskappe van
sulke verba wat geklassifiseer moet word en daarom sal
hulle eie tiperende kenmerke die belangrikste wees. Slegs
hierna kan hulle gesien word as deel van 'n meervoudige
predikatiewe konjugasie waarѵan die kenmerkende eienskappe
as 'n geheel in aanmerking geneem kan word by die klas-
sifikasie van hierdie werkwoorde."[1]

2.4.8   It is now possible at this stage, after the
characteristics of auxiliary verbs have been dealt with,
to discuss the types of complements with which they can
combine in compounded predicates. Two types of such com-
plements can be clearly distinguished in Tswana, namely,

1.   Louw, J.A.: *op.cit.*, p.57.

verbal and copulative complements, e.g.

Verbal complements:

1. *Kgosi Molefi*   *o-nê*   *a-busa*   *Bakgatla.*

                 aux.   verbal predicative
                 predicative   (finite) complement
                 (non-finite)

                 complete compounded predicate

(Chief Molefi was ruling the Bakgatla)

2. *Kgosi Molefi ga*   *a-kitla*   *a-busa*   *Bakgatla.*

                 aux.   verbal predicative
                 predicative   (finite) complement
                 (non-finite)

                 complete compounded predicate

(Chief Molefi will not rule the Bakgatla)

Copulative complements:

1. *Kgosi Molefi*   *o-nê*   *a-le*   *botlhale/mogolo.*

                 aux.   copulative   + N.adjunct./adj.adjunct
                 predicative predicative
                 (non-finite) (non-finite)

                     copulative complement

                 complete compounded predicate

(Chief Molefi was intelligent/big)

2. *Kgosi Molefi*   *o-nê*   *a-se*   *botlhale/mogolo.*

                 aux.   copulative   + N.adjunct./adj.adjunct
                   predicative predicative
                   (non-finite) (non-finite)

                       copulative complement

                 complete compounded predicate

(Chief Molefi was not intelligent/big)

3. *Kgosi Molefi*   *e-nê*   *e-le*   *eng?*

                    aux.   copulative   pron.adjunct

              predicative   predicative

                         (non-finite)

                                copulative complement

                    complete compounded predicate
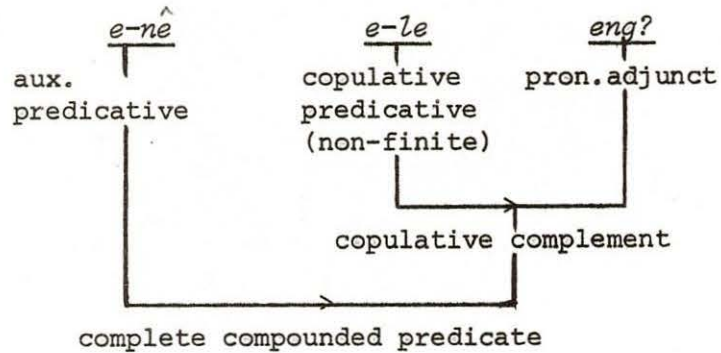
(What was Chief Molefi?)

4. *Molefi*   *e-nê*   *e-le*   *kgosi.*

             aux.   copulative   N.adjunct

           predicative predicative

           (non-finite) (non-finite)

                          copulative complement

                  complete compounded predicate
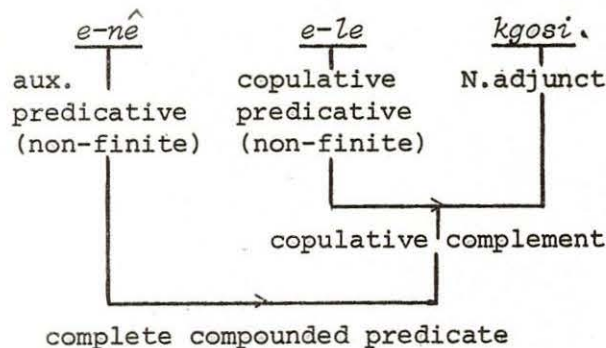
(Chief Molefi was a chief)

5. *Molefi*   *e-bile*   *ke*   *kgosi.*

             aux.   copulative + N.adjunct

           predicative particle

                     (non-finite)

                          copulative complement

                  complete compounded predicate
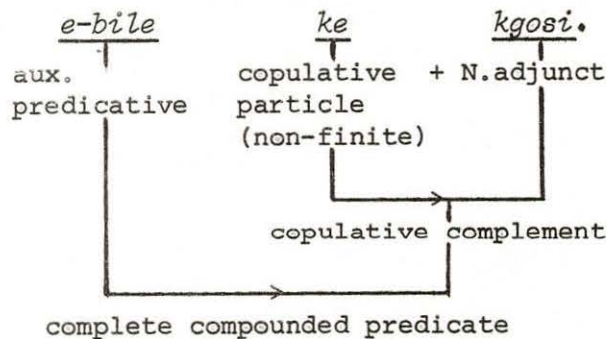
(For that matter Molefi is a chief)

A short note about the copulative complement needs to
be made here. The copulative complement is a word-group
and it consists of a copulative predicative or copulative
particle plus an adjunct which may either be a noun,
pronoun, adjective or an adverb. The copulative predicative
or copulative particle is always non-finite although it is
not an auxiliary verb. It is non-finite because it requires
an adjunct to form a full copulative complement to the
preceding auxiliary predicative.

2.4.9   The two types of complements mentioned above may
each show a variety of modal forms. They may occur in the
participial, infinitive and consecutive. It should be
noted that in principle the complements are syntactically
dependent on the auxiliary predicatives with which they
form compounded predicates. The modal forms in which these
complements may occur are further dependent in as far as
they occur within complete predicates which can either be
indicative or subjunctive, e.g.

1.   *Mosimane*   *o-nê*   *â-disa*   *dikgomo.*

             aux.   verbal predicative
             predicative   complement (finite)
             (non-finite)   (participial modal
                                 form)

                    complete compounded predicate
                          (indicative mood)

    (The boy was looking after the cattle)

2.   *Ga*   *go-kitla*   *go-re-tshwenya.*

             aux.   verbal predicative
             predicative   complement (finite)
             (non-finite)   (infinitive modal form)

                    complete compounded predicate
                          (indicative mood)

    (That will not bother us)

3.   *Ò-jafilê*   *wa-tla.*

      aux.   verbal predicative
      predicative   complement (finite)
      (non-finite)   (consecutive modal form)

                    complete compounded predicate
                          (indicative mood)

    (You did well by coming)

2.4.10   The indicative and subjunctive moods seem to refer
to the type of clauses in which the predicates or sentences
may occur. For instance, the main or independent clause
is always in the indicative mood, whereas the subordinate

or subjoined or dependent clause is usually in the sub-
junctive, e.g.

1. *Batho ba lema masimo*   *gore ba-bone dijo.*
    main clause   subordinate clause
    (indicative mood)   of reason
                                    (subjunctive mood)

                    compound sentence
    (People plough fields so that they can get food)

2. *Ba-a-lema*   *gore ba-kotulê.*
    main clause   subordinate clause
    (indicative mood)   (subjunctive mood)

                    compound sentence
    (They plough so that they can reap)

    In very few instances, however, the complements
to the auxiliary predicatives may occur in the subjunctive
and indicative moods. The subjunctive form of the comple-
ment seems to be determined by the subjunctive nature of
the auxiliary verb with which it combines to form a com-
pounded predicate, e.g.

-*kê*:   *Modimo*   *a-kê*   *a-re-thusê.*
                      aux.   verbal predicative
                      predicative   complement (subjunctive)
                      (subjunctive)

                         compounded predicate
          (May God help us)

-*jafilê*: *Ò-jafilê*   *ó-tsamaê*   *le bona.*
           aux.   verbal predicative
           predicative   complement (subjunctive)
           (subjunctive)

                         compounded predicate
          (You did well by going with them)

    It is interesting to note that the subjunctive

form of the complement occurs exclusively with the two
auxiliary verbs mentioned above. It should also be noted
from the above examples that the subjunctive complement is
always verbal. The indicative complement occurs exclusively
with the auxiliary predicative which is co-ordinate con-
junctive in significance or value. It is referred to as a
complement on a purely structural basis. Syntactically,
however, it is independent of the preceding auxiliary
predicative and for that matter it is a complete predicate
on its own, e.g.

-bile: *ke-bua Setswana,*   *e/ke-bile*   *ke-a-se-kwala.*

          aux.   verbal predicate
          predicative   complement
          (conjunctive)   (indicative mood)

          structurally compounded predicate

This matter of moods and modal forms merits separate treat-
ment and it shall not be dealt with in this study. What
has been observed about moods and modal forms will suffice
for the purpose of the matter under investigation.

2.4.11   Auxiliary verbs which combine with verbal
           complements

(i)   Auxiliary verbs which combine with participial
           verbal complements

-bo: *Dikgomo di-a-bo di-tsamaya le dinamane.*
           (Surprisingly, the cattle are going away with
           claves)
           Ò-a-bo ó-dira eng?
           (What are you doing - I wonder)

-nê: *Dikgomo di-nê dí-tsamaya le dinamane.*
           (The cattle were going away with calves)
           Ò-nê á-dira eng?
           (What was he doing - I wonder)

-ise: *Ga a-ise á-reke dibuka.*
           (He has not yet bought books)
           Dikolo ga di-ise dí-tswalwe.
           (Schools have/are not yet closed)

-*kitla*: *Ga ba-kitla bá-re-tlogela.*

(They will not leave us behind)

Ga a-kitla á-tsamaya.

(He will not go away)

-*ke*: *Ga ke-ke ké-tsamaya bosigo.*

(I usually do not go about in the night)

Dira ga di-ke dí-tlhasela motshegare.

(Enemies usually do not invade during the day)

-*mmê*: (A) *Mosimane a-mmê á-re-letetse.*

(Let the boy be waiting for us)

(A) *Bana ba-mmê bá-robetse.*

(Let the children be sleeping)

(ii) Auxiliary verbs which combine with infinitive verbal complements

-*bolo*: *Ga ke-a-bolo go-ba-bitsa.*

(I have long been calling them)

Dira ga di-a-bolo go-tlhasela lefatshe la rona.

(Enemies have long invaded our country)

-*bisa*: *Go-bisa go-itse dikgang go-utlwisa botlhoko.*

(Not to know news is heartbreaking)

The above auxiliary verbs always combine with infinitive complements. The other auxiliary verbs can, however, also combine with infinitive complements, provided they too, occur in the infinitive predicatives.

(iii) Auxiliary verbs which combine with consecutive verbal complements

-*jafilê*:

1. *Ò-jafilê wà-tla.*

(It is just as well you have come/came)

2. *Ô-jafilê á-bua.*

(It is just as well he spoke)

-*nê*:

1. *Ke-nê kà-reka pere.*

(I bought a horse)

2.   *Ò-nê wà-kgatlhana le mang?*
        (Whom did you meet?)

3.   *Selepe se-ne sá-rema monwana wa gagwe.*
        (An axe chopped his finger)

-ba:

1.   *Di-nê tsa-ba tsá-ineela.*
        (They then/eventually gave up)

2.   *Pele ke-nê ka-ya Tshwane, ka-ba ka-ya Gauteng.*
        (First I went to Pretoria, then I went to
        Johannesburg)

-mpa:

1.   *Ò-ka-mpa wa-ntlogela.*
        (You can rather leave me)

2.   *Dikgomo di-ka-mpa tsa-nwa metsi.*
        (The cattle can rather drink water)

(iv)   <u>Auxiliary verbs which combine with subjunctive
        verbal complements</u>

        As already noted, the auxiliary verbs *-kê* and
-jafile are the only two forms which combine exclusively
with subjunctive complements, e.g.

-kê:

1.   *A ba-kê ba-mo-thusê.*
        (Let them help him)

2.   *Kagiso e-kê e-nnê le lona.*
        (Let/May peace be with you)

-jafilê:

1.   *Le-jafilê le-gakologelwê.*
        (It is just as well you remembered)

2.   *Di-jafilê di-tshabele mo ntlong.*
        (They have gone into the house just in the nick
        of time)

(v)   <u>Auxiliary verbs which combine with indicative
        verbal complements</u>

        The auxiliary verb *-bile* is the only verb which
combines with indicative complements. This fact has

already been noted. The following examples will further illustrate:

1.   *Dintša di-ja nama e/di-bile di-ja le marapo.*

        (Dogs eat meat, for that matter they (also eat bones)

2.   *Ke-a-utlwa, e/ke-bile ke-a-utlwisisa.*

        (I hear, for that matter I understand)

2.4.12 <u>Auxiliary verbs which can combine with copulative complements</u>

        Some of the auxiliary verbs which combine with verbal complements can also combine with copulative complements. They are the following:

<u>Identifying copulative complements</u>

-nê: *Re-nê re-le bana.*

        (We were children)

-bo: *Re-ka-bo re-le bana.*

        (We could be children)

-kete: *E/Re-kete re-le bana.*

        (It is as if we are children)

        (Apparently, or we are children)

-mpa: *Re-mpa re-le bana.*

        (We are rather children)

-mmê: *A re-mmê re-le bagale ba ntwa.*

        (Let us be heroes of the battle)

<u>Descriptive copulative complements</u>

-nê: *Re-nê re-le gaufi le motse.*

        (We were nearer the village)

-kete: *E/Ba-kete ba-le kgakala.*

        (Apparently, they are far away)

        (It is as if they are far away)

-bo: *O-tla-bo a-le gaufi le motse.*

        (He will be nearer the village)

-mpa: *Ba-mpa ba-le botlhale.*

        (They are rather intelligent)

-mmê: *A re-mmê* <u>*re-le-gaufi*</u> *le batho.*

(Let us be nearer the people)

The above examples show that the copulative complement to the auxiliary predicative can either be identifying or descriptive. Furthermore, they show the copulative complements to be always in the participial modal form. There is, however, one auxiliary verb which may combine with copulative complements in the indicative mood. This auxiliary verb is again *-bile*, e.g.

ke bua maaka,   <u>*e/ke-bile*</u>   *ke-legodu.*

     aux. predicative identifying copulative
             complement
             (indicative mood)

     structurally compounded predicate

(I tell lies, for that matter I am also a thief)

Ba-itlhaganetse,   <u>*e/ba-bile*</u>   *ba-gaufi.*

     aux. predicative descriptive copulative
             complement
             (indicative mood)

     structurally compounded predicate

(They have hurried up, for that matter they are near)

It should be noted that the auxiliary verbs which indicate negation do not combine with copulative complements.

Phonological characteristics

2.5.1   The majority of the auxiliary verbs in Tswana have defective sound forms; i.e. they show final vowel phoneme segments other than the usual *-a* of finite verbs, e.g. *-ke, -be, -kete, -tle, -ise, -jafile, -bile, -kile, -no, -bo, -mmê, -kê.*

2.5.2   With the exception of *-jafile*, which has three syllables the auxiliary verbs are mono-syllabic and at most show two syllables, (i.e. they are either mono-syllabic or di-syllabic), e.g. mono-syllabic auxiliary

verbs are: *-ka, -ke, -ba, -bo, -be, -na, -ne, -no, -nê, -tle.*

Di-syllabic auxiliary verbs are:

-ise	*(i-se)*	*-bolo*	*(bo-lo)*
-kete	*(ke-te)*	*-bile*	*(bi-le)*
-bisa	*(bi-sa)*	*-kile*	*(ki-le)*
-mpa	*(m-pa)*	*-mme*	*(m-me)*
-nta	*(n-ta)*	*-kitla*	*(ki-tla)*

2.5.3 The toneme pattern appears to be low on mono-syllabic auxiliary verbs and either low-low or high-high on di-syllabic auxiliary verbs. The toneme pattern of auxiliary verbs seems to be unaffected by the toneme pattern of the SC which are prefixed to them. This phenomenon can be illustrated by compounded predicates in the infinitive mode:

-ise: *Ga g**ò**-ise go-tsamaiwe.*

-kete: *G**ò**-k**è**t**è** go-a-rona.*

-bisa: *G**ò**-b**í**s**á** go dupelela go-a-bolaya.*

-mpa: *G**ò**-ka-m̀p**à** ga-tsamaiwa.*

*-ǹt**à**:*   *Go-ǹta go-nna bolelo.*

*-b**ó**l**ó**:*   *Ga go-a-b**ó**l**ó** go-tlhabanwa.*

*-b**í**l**é**:*   *Go-b**í**l**é** go-batlilwa bopaki.*

*-k**í**l**é**:*   *Go-k**í**l**é** ga-tla-maphodisa mono.*

*-k**ĭ**tl**à**:*   *Ga go-k**ĭ**tl**à** go-nna jalo.*

A summary of the characteristics of auxiliary verbs
===

2.6.1   <u>Morphological characteristics</u>

In principle the auxiliary verbs usually require SC in order to form predicatives.

They may, however, dispense with the SC in their form as predicatives. This morphological characteristic is particularly noticeable in the spoken language and occurs to a lesser degree in the written language.

Other elements can be prefixed or suffixed in the morphological constructions of the auxiliary verbs as

predicatives, e.g. the relative suffix *-ng*, and the modal formatives such as   *ga-,   -sa-/-se-,   -tla-,   -ka-, -a-.*

The above morphological characteristic of auxiliary verbs indicate clearly that these verbal forms are root morphemes. As root morphemes, the auxiliary verbs do not allow insertion or substitution into their form of any morpheme. Morphemes can only be added to the auxiliary verbs to form auxiliary predicatives.

The morphological characteristics of auxiliary verbs show that these verbal forms conform partially to the morphological characteristics of finite verbs.

2.6.2   Semological characteristics

The function or share of the auxiliary verbs in the process of communication is to add notions of time, modal implications and other modifications to the finite predicatives with which they constitute compounded pre- dicates. They are thus non-verbal in respect of their referent.

2.6.3   Syntactical characteristics

The auxiliary verbs in their predicative forms always precede the finite predicatives in compounded predicates. This sequence is not changeable. In principle the auxiliary predicatives require complements in order to form predicates. They may, however, conditionally do without the complements.

It is common for more than one auxiliary verb to be used in one and the same compounded predicate. This is possible because each auxiliary verb in such a compounded predicate would add a distinct modal implication or time to the finite predicative.

In their syntactical order, the auxiliary verbs show a preferential order of auxiliary verbs indicating

time followed by modal auxiliary verbs. The varieties of
the latter kind further show a preferential syntactical
order of

   (i)   co-ordination,

  (ii)   negation,

 (iii)   potentiality and

  (iv)   impatience or surprise.

The auxiliary predicatives may be employed alone
without complementary finite predicatives with which they
usually form compounded predicates. In this syntactical
usage, they are elliptical fragments of complete predicates
whose complementary finite predicatives are taken for
granted. Furthermore, they are imperative in significance
and interjective in function.

The auxiliary predicatives may be separated from
their complementary finite predicatives by the intervention
of words, especially adverbs and deficient predicatives.
This phenomenon of the auxiliary predicatives implies that
they show only a loose connection with their complements.

2.6.4   Phonological characteristics

Most of the auxiliary verbs in Tswana have defec-
tive sound forms in that they terminate in vowels other
than the usual -a of finite verbs.

Except for -$jafilê$ which has three syllables, the
auxiliary verbs usually show one or two syllables in their
sound forms.

The toneme pattern seems to be inherently low on
mono-syllabic auxiliary verbs, and either low-low or high-
high on di-syllabic auxiliary verbs. This phonological
characteristic is borne out by the fact that the toneme
pattern of auxiliary verbs is unaffected by the various
tones of their SC.

CHAPTER 3
THE NATURE OR CHARACTERISTICS OF THE SECONDARILY NON-FINITE OR DEFICIENT VERBS

3.1.1   Deficient verbs usually present difficulties in
translations. These difficulties are experienced particular-
ly by people who study Tswana as a second language. In the
example *Bana ba-setse kwa gae* (Children <u>have remained</u> at
home), *ba-setse* is used finitely with the meaning 'have
remained'. But to translate it as still meaning 'have
remained' in the example *Bana ba-setse ba-fitlhile kwa gae*
would be erroneous. 'The children have remained have
arrived at home' as literal translation of the above example
would be non-sensical. This type of translation would be
noticed in people who do not understand that finite verbs
can change their usual function and become modifiers. The
correct translation of the above sentence is 'The children
have already arrived at home'. This phenomenon about the
verb *-setse* shows that verbs can be used either finitely
or non-finitely with a deficient function. It follows from
this that special care should be taken in translating verbs
as they do not always convey the same meaning. Their
meaning depends on the context in which they are used as
can be noted from the following examples:

-*batlile* (finite): *Yo mongwe o-batlile dikgomo.*

      (The other one <u>looked</u> for cattle)

-*batlile* (deficient): *Yo mongwe o-batlile a-nna moleele.*

      (The other one is <u>nearly</u> tall)

-*lala* (finite): *Ke-tla-lala mo gae.*

      (I will sleep at home)

-*lala* (deficient): *Ke-tla-lala ke-ithuta.*

      (I will study the whole night through)

From the examples noted in the previous paragraph,
it becomes obvious that context, more than anything else,
distinguishes the deficient verbs from the finite verbs.
In other words, context serves as the determinant of the
differences in meaning between the deficient verbs and the

finite verbs. This fact will become clearer later in the
discussion. The basic distinction between deficient verbs
and finite verbs, as noted from the few examples in the
previous paragraph, is that the former are non-verbal in
function whereas the latter are verbal. In the next
paragraph more examples of verbs which can be used deficient-
ly will be given. Their finite verbal referents will be
indicated first.

3.1.2

verb stems	(finite) verbal referent	(non-finite) non-verbal or deficient referent
-sala	remain or stay behind	meanwhile or in the meantime.
-setse	have remained or stayed behind	already.
-tlhola	stay or spend a day	usually or the whole day through.
-tlhotse	have stayed or spend a day	the whole day that has passed.
-tlhole	do not stay or spend a day	no longer.
-tsoga	wake up, or rise	in the morning, usually the next morning.
-tsogile	have woken up or risen	in the morning, usually the previous morning.
-aga	build	usually or often.
-agile	have build	have usually or often.
-tloga	move away or depart	presently, after a while or shortly after-wards.
-tlogile	have moved away or departed	shortly afterwards or after a while.
-nama	stretch	actually, really or after all.
-namile	have stretched	have actually or really.
-lala	sleep	the whole of the night which is not completed.
-letse	have slept	the whole of the com-pleted or previous night.
-batla	want, look for, desire	nearly or almost on the point of, but never quite doing.

verb stems	(finite) verbal referent	(non-finite) non-verbal or deficient referent
-rata	want, look for, desire	nearly or almost or on the point of, but never quite doing.
-senka	want, look for, desire	nearly or almost or on the point of, but never quite doing.
-batlile	have wanted, looked for, desired	have nearly or almost but never quite doing.
-ratile	have wanted, looked for, desired	have nearly or almost but never quite doing.
-senkile	have wanted, looked for, desired	have nearly or almost but never quite doing.
-fêla	expire or come to an end	constantly, always or continually.
-fitlhêla	arrive at	until.
-tsamaya	go, or walk away	until.
-tshwanela	be fitting or appropriate, suit	should or ought.
-tshwanetse	have befitted or suited	should or ought.
-tswa	go out	for that matter or reason.
-re	say	when, if or as it happens.
-rile	have said	when, if or as it happens.
se-na	do not have	after or when.
-tlê	come	and then, subsequently.
-nna	sit down or stay	continue to do or may as well or gradually.
-nnile	have sat down	have continued to do or gradually.
-ntse	have sat down	have continued to do or gradually.
-nne	sit down or stay	occasionally, usually or customarily.
-dika	fight someone in a group	during this year.
-dikile	have fought someone in a group	during the previous year.
-feta	go past	and then.
-fetile	have gone past	have then.

The above deficient verbs can be illustrated in sentences as follows:

-*batla*: *Ke-nê ka-batla goke-wela mo nokeng.*

(I nearly fell into a river)

-*batlile*: *Yo mongwe o-batlile a-nna moleele.*

(Mokoma-ditlhare, p.2)

(The other one is nearly/almost tall)

-*nama*: *Jaanong ke-tla-nama ke-sa-tlhotse malatsinyana.*

(Bogosi-Kupe, p.31)

(Now I will actually be staying a few days)

-*namile*: *Re-namile ra-tsamaya le bona.*

(Shortly thereafter we left with them)

-*lala*: *Ke-nê ke-tla-lala ke fetile.* (Bogosi-Kupe, p.31)

(I was going past tonight)

-*letse*: *Ba-letse ba-gorogile.*

(They have arrived the previous night)

-*re*: *E-re re-swa re-be re-jele monate otlhe.*

(Motimedi, p.60)

(When we die we should have had all the enjoyment)

-*rile*: *E-rile ka ke-ne ke-sa-dire ...* (Motimedi, p.16)

(As it happened/Because I was not working)

-*sala*: *Ke-tla-sala ke-gotsa molelo.*

(In the meantime, I will prepare fire)

-*setse*: *Le borangwane ba-setse ba-mphetoletse diteme.*

(Motswasele, p.44)

(And my uncles have already turned against me)

-*tlhola*: *Tumelo a-se-ka a-tlhola a-botsa sepe.*

(Motimedi, p.11)

(Tumelo no longer asked anything)

Tumelo o-tlhola a-botsa bana dipotso.

(Tumelo usually asks children questions or,

Tumelo asks children questions the whole day)

-*tlhole*: *Tumelo ga a-tlhole a-botsa bana dipotso.*

(Tumelo no longer asks children questions or,

Tumelo does not ask children questions the whole day)

-*tlhotse*: *Re-tlhotse re-bogetse motshameko.*

(We have witnessed a match the whole day)

-tloga: *Ô-tla-tloga o-tshwanela go ya go batla beno ...*

(Motimedi, p.72)

(You will soon be obliged to go and look for your people)

-tlogile: *Ba-tlogile ba-tsamaya ba-sa-laela.*

(Shortly afterwards, they left without saying good-bye)

-tsoga: *Ke-tla-tsoga ke-ya kwa morakeng.*

(I will go to the cattle-post the following morning)

-tsogile: *Ba-tsogile ba-ile kwa morakeng.*

(They have gone to the cattle post in the previous morning)

-aga: *O-na a-aga a-ya ka kwa lelapeng la mogogi.*

(Motimedi, p.41)

(He usually went to the Stewart's family)

-agile: *Re-agile re-ba-bona ba-feta fano.*

(We have usually seen them go past here)

-tshwanela: *Ga ba-a-tshwanela go tshaba.*

(They ought/suppose not to run away)

-tshwanetse: *Ba-tshwanetse ba-diragatsa taolo yame.*

(Motswasede, p.26)

(They ought/suppose to carry out my command)

-feta: *Ke-nê ka-ya gae, ka-feta ka itsese batsadi.*

(I went home, and then informed my parents)

-fetile: *Ba-fetile ba-bega dikgang.*

(They then reported news)

-dika: *Pula e-tla-dika e-nele.*

(The rain will fall this year)

-dikile: *Pula e-dikile e-nele.*

(The rain has fallen the previous year)

(a)   Morphological characteristics

3.2.1   The deficient verbs also require SC to form predicatives. These SC are usually bound to the class to which the noun subjects belong, and they can never be left out of the deficient predicatives. The following examples will illustrate:

-batla: *O-nê a-batla go-wa mo setlhareng.*

        (He nearly fell from a tree)

-batlile: *O-batlile go-wa mo setlhareng.*

        (He nearly fell from a tree)

-lala: *Gompieno ke-tla-lala ke-robetse boroko.*

        (Marara, p.16)

        (Today I will sleep well the night through)

-letse: *Morubisi o-letse o-lela bosigo.*

        (The owl was crying throughout the night)

-tlhola: *Mmaagwe o-nê a-tlhola a-mo-kgalemela.*

        (His mother usually warned him)

-tlhotse: *Banna ba-tlhotse ba-nwa bojalwa.*

        (Men drank liquor the whole day through)

-tsoga: *Ke-tla-tsoga ke-go-boela mo Lefetlhong.*

        (Marara, p.7)

        (I will escort you up to Lefetlhong tomorrow

        morning)

-tsogile: *Ke-tsogile ke-mmone kwa sekolong.*

        (I saw him at school this morning)

-sala: *Ba-tla-sala ba-fepa dikgomo.*

        (They shall feed the cattle in the meantime)

-setse: *(Motimedi) a-bo a-setse a-eme ka dinao.*

        (Motimedi was already on his feet)

-tswa: *O-tswa o-tshaba bankane bagago.*

        (As it is or for that matter, you are afraid of

        your equals)

-ile: *Setshwantsho se-ile sa-dira Molatlhegi pelokgale.*

        (Thereupon the picture made Molatlhegi very brave)

This morphological feature of deficient verbs can also be noted from the examples in sentences given in paragraph 3.1.2.

Additional morphemes in the deficient predicative forms

The following are morphemes which can be added to the deficient predicatives:

3.2.2   The modal morpheme *-tla-:* This morpheme which

expresses an intention can be inserted between the SC and the deficient verb. The deficient verbs which include this morpheme in their predicatives end with the suffix -*a* and never with -*ile*, e.g.

-*lala*: *Ke-nê ke-tla-lala ke-fetile.* (Bogosi-Kupe, p.31)
       (I would proceed on my journey tonight)

-*nama*: *Ke-tla-nama ke-sa-tlhotse malatsinyana.*
       (Bogosi-Kupe, p.31)
       (I will just spend some few days)

-*tsoga*: *O-tla-tsoga a tsena mo gae ka moso.*
       (Mokomedi, p.17)
       (He will arrive at home tomorrow morning)

-*nna*: *Ke-tla-nna ke-go-bitsa ke-re Mokomaditlhare.*
       (Mokoma-ditlhare, p.104)
       (I will continue calling you Mokomaditlhare)

-*tloga*: *O-tla-tloga o-tshwanela go-ya go-batla beno.*
       (Motim, p.72)
       (You will soon be obliged to go and call your people)

-*tsoga*: *Ke-tla-tsoga ke-go-boela mo Lefetlhong.*
       (Marara, p.7)
       (I will escort you to Lefetlhong tomorrow morning)

-*sala*: *Re-tla-sala re-lema masimo.*
       (We will in the meantime plough the fields)

-*tlhola*: *Ke-tla tlhola ke-lema masimo.*
       (I will plough the fields the whole day)

-*re*: *E-tla-re re-re ke dipitse, re-bone ka mebala.*
       (We will believe what we are told when we see the truth)

-*aga*: *O-tla-aga o-letile malatsi otlhe.*
       (You will have to wait all the time)

-*feta*: *Ke-tla-feta ke-ba-begela dikgang.*
       (I will report the news to them on arrival)

-*dika*: *Re-tla-dika re-bolaile mabele.*
       (We shall have good harvest this year)

-*tswa*: *O-tla-tswa o-ipakantse nako tsotlhe.*
       (You will in the meantime be preparing yourself at all times)

3.2.3   The modal morpheme -ka-

The potential modal formative -ka- can also be added to the deficient predicative forms, e.g.

-tlhola: *Bosula e-ka-tlhola e-le bofe, ga bo-a-siama.*
   (Mokoma-ditlhare, p.19)

-lala: *... dipelo di-ka-lala di-sa-robala.*
   (Mokoma-ditlhare, p.44)

-tloga: *(Dinamane) di-ka-tloga tsa-ya go-rakana le dikgomo.*
   (Mokoma-ditlhare, p.12)

-nama: *Ke-ka-nama ke-tlhotse mono.*

-sala: *Bana ba-ka-sala ba-utswa maungo.*

-tlhola: *Re-ka-tlhola re-lema masimo.*

-tsoga: *Ba-ka-tsoga ba-bona metlholo.*

-aga: *Ba-ka-aga ba-re-seba mo mebileng.*

-feta: *Re-ka-feta ra-le-ôtla fa re-boa.*

-dika: *Lefatshe le-ka-dika le-eme ka dinao.*

-tswa: *Di-ka-tswa di-eme ka dijoko.*

-re: *E-ka-re ke-le-bitsa, la-gana.*

-batla: *(A) Ngwana a-ka-batla a-welwa ke letlapa, lona le-tshameka!*

3.2.4   The modal morpheme -sa- or -se-

The modal morpheme -sa- or -se- which is indicative of negation can also be inserted in the deficient predicatives. The deficient verb stems terminate in the negative suffix -e which is concomitant with the negative modal morpheme -sa- or -se-. The following examples will illustrate this feature:

-tlhole: *Tlala e-a-wa, ge/fa batho ba-sa-tlhole ba-lema.*

-lale: *Dipelo di-a-robala, ge/fa di-sa-lale di-uba ka botlhoko.*

-tloge: *Pula e-ka-na, ge/fa e-sa-tloge e-phatlhalatswa ke phefo.*

-sale: *Bana ba-siame, ge/fa ba-sa-sale ba-utswa maungo.*

-fete: *Re-ka-itlhaganela, ge/fa re-sa-fete re-diega kwa sekolong.*

-dike: *Re-tla-welwa ke leuba, ge/fa re-sa-dike re-rapela.*

-tswe: *Ba-tla-siiwa ke nako, ge/fa ba-sa-tswe ba-eme ka dinao.*

-age: *Kutlwano ke maatla, ge/fa e-sa-age e-senngwa.*

-name: *Re-tla-welwa ke molato, ge/fa re-sa-name re-ipuelela.*

The negative modal formative *-sa-* changes to *-se-* when it is preceded by other modal formatives, usually *-ka-*, e.g.

Batho ba-ka-se-tlhole ba-lema masimo.

Dikgomo di-ka-se-dike di-bopame ka gonne pula e-a-na.

Re-ka-se-lale re-tlhoregile boroko ka ntata ya-bona.

Pula e-ka-se-tloge e-na go-se-na maru.

Basetsana ba-ka-se-sale ba-setla mabele.

Ba-ka-se-name ba-re-itatola ba-ntse ba-re-itse.

Re-ka-se-tsoge re-ya masimong ka gonne pula e-a-na.

Kgosi e-ka-se-age e-duedisa batho lekgetho mme e-sa-ba-direle sepe.

Basimane ba-ka-se-fete ba-tlaleana kwa gae.

Bana ba-ka-se-tswe ba-ipaakantse ba-sa-laelwa ke ope.

3.2.5   The modal morpheme *-a-*

The modal morpheme *-a-* which indicates the in-definite is never used with the deficient predicatives. The deficient predicatives, therefore, show the short forms only. The examples, *Yo mongwe o-a-batlile a-nna moleele* and *Ba-a-tlhola ba-lema masimo,* do not exist in Tswana.

3.2.6   The relative suffix *-ng*

The deficient verbs also employ the relative suffix *-ng* in their forms. This suffix is usually taken by the finite verbs. The finite verbs loose it to the deficient verbs in compounded predicates, e.g.

-tlholang: *Batho ba ba-tlholang ba-lema, ba-bona dijo.*

-tlhotseng: *Batho ba ba-tlhotseng ba-lema, ba-bona dijo.*

-lalang: *Ngwana yo o-lalang a-sa-robala, o-robala motshegare.*

-letseng: *Ngwana yo o-letseng a-sa-robala, o-robetse jaanong.*

-tlogang: *Dikgomo tse di-tlogang di-bolola, di-ya masimong.*

-tlogileng: *Dikgomo tse di-tlogileng tsa-goroga, ke tsa kgosi.*

-agang: *Moruti yo o-agang a-re-rerela, o-tsamaile.*

-agileng: Moruti yo *o-agileng* a-re-rerela, o-bua nnete.

-salang: Mosimane yo *o-salang/saleng* a-tshaba, o-boile.

-setseng: Bana ba *ba-setseng* ba feditse, ba-a-tsamaya.

-tsogang: Dikgomo tse *di-tsogang* di-lema, di-robetse.

-tsogileng: Dikgomo tse *di-tsogileng* di-lema, di-robetse.

-dikang: Banna ba *ba-dikang* ba-tlhabana, ba-a-tshepega.

-dikileng: Banna ba *ba-dikileng* ba-tlhabana, ba-a-tshepega.

-namang: Kgosi e *e-namang* e-palelwa, e-a-makatsa.

-namileng: Kgosi e *e-namileng* e-palelwa, e-a-makatsa.

-batlang: Basimane ba *ba-batlang* ba-longwa ke noga, ba-tshogile.

-batlileng: Basimane ba *ba-batlileng* ba-longwa ke noga, ba-tshogile.

-tshwanelang: Nna yo *ke-tshwanelang* go-bua, ke-a-bua.

-tshwanetseng: Nna yo *ke-tshwanetseng* go-bua, ke-a-bua.

-fetang: Mosimane yo *o-fetang* a-botsa kwa gae, o-a-makatsa.

-fetileng: Mosimane yo *o-fetileng* a-botsa kwa gae, o-a-makatsa.

Morphemes which can substitute the suffix *-a* of the deficient verb stems

3.2.7   The negative modal suffix *-e*

The form of the deficient verb stems shows the suffix *-e* in the negative. This negative modal suffix replaces the usual positive and imperfective modal suffix *-a* of deficient verb stems. The negative modal suffix *-e* is usually indicated by the form of the finite verb stems in the finite predicatives. When the deficient predicatives are used with finite predicatives in compounded predicates, the negative modal suffix *-e* is shown in the deficient predicatives and not in the finite predicatives, e.g.

-tlhole: Batho ga *ba-tlhole* ba rapela Modimo sentle.

-lale: Dipelo ga *di-lale* di-uba ka botlhoko.

-tloge: Dikgomo ga *di-tloge* di-bolotswa jaanong.

-tsoge: Basimane ga *ba-tsoge* ba-pharama ka marago.

-sale: Bana ga *ba-sale* ba-tshameka ka metsi.

-age: Dinku ga *di-age* di-sutlha lesaka.

-fete: Ga *re-fete* re-fetela kwa nokeng.

-dike: *Re-ka-se-dike re-bolaa ke tlala ka gonne pula e-a-na.*

-tswe: *Dikgomo ga di-tswe di-fula letsatsi le-fisa.*

-name: *A ga re-name ra-tla le dikgong kwa nageng?*

3.2.8   The aspectual (perfective) modal formatives *-il-e*

The suffix *-a* which indicates the imperfective form of the deficient verb stems, can be replaced by the perfective modal suffixes *-il-e*, e.g.

namile: *Ba-namile ba-tsamaya mo mosong.*

dikile: *Re-dikile re-bolaile mabele.*

-tsogile: *Ba-tsogile ba-ile masimong.*

-batlile: *Dikgomo di-batlile go-bolaa ke lešekere.*

-tlhotse: *Re-tlhotse re-ithuta maboko ka tlhogo.*

There is for every imperfective deficient verb stem, a perfective counterpart. This can be noted in the list given in paragraph 3.1.2.

3.2.9   The subjunctive suffix *-ê*

The deficient verb stems may take the suffix *-ê* in the place of *-a*. They appear in this form when the subordinate clause in which they occur, is in the subjunctive mood. It is worth noting that the finite predicatives do not take this suffix *-ê* as it is usually the case. The suffix *-ê* is shown by the deficient verbs instead, e.g.

-lalê: *Ó-nwa setlare, gore a-lalê a-robetse sentle.*

-tlholê: *Ba-tsoga phakela, gore ba-tlholê ba-lema.*

-tsogê: *Re-nê ra-robala phakela, gore re-tsogê re-ya morakeng.*

-dikê: *Batho ba-rapela thata, gore pula e-dikê e-na.*

-namê: *Ke-nê ka-itlhagenela, gore ke-namê ke-ikhuditse.*

-agê: *Malome o-ne a-re-laya, gore re-agê re-phedisana sentle.*

-fetê: *Ba-nê ba-siana, gore ba-fetê ba-re-tima dijo.*

-tswê: *Ba-itsese, gore ba-tswê ba-ipaakanya.*

3.2.10 The morphological characteristics noted above indicate clearly that deficient verbs are poly-morphemic words. The morphology of the deficient verbs consists of

a root plus one or two suffixes. This is not surprising because in principle their morphology agrees with that of finite verb stems. However, of the verbal suffixes that the finite verbs take, the deficient verbs employ the perfective suffixes *-il-e*, the subjunctive suffix *-ê* and the negative suffix *-e* only.

(b)   Semological characteristics

3.3.1   The deficient verbs serve to describe or modify the finite predicatives in the predicates. Simply stated, the deficient verbs add to the finite complements, notions or implications that are descriptive. Referring to this semological function of the deficient verbs, some scholars in Bantu languages have defined the deficient verbs as words which have an adverbial force. It must be pointed out clearly that deficient verbs do not signify time or tense, such as the past, present and future. They simply indicate special descriptive implications or modifications of significance as distinct from or additonal to the tense factor. The following examples will illustrate the functional value of deficient verbs in communication:

1.   *Re-tlhola re-aga ntlo ya Malome.*
       (We spend the whole day building my uncle's house or
       We build my uncle's house the whole day)
2.   *Bagolo ba lala ba-bua le badimo.*
       (The elders spend the whole night talking to the gods
       or, The elders talk to the gods the whole night)
3.   *Bana ba-sala ba-tshameka ka metsi.*
       (In the meantime children waste water)
4.   *Basimane ba-nama ba-tshaba maphodisa.*
       (In no time/short space of time the boys ran away
       from the police)
5.   *Re-ntse re-ba-emela.*
       (We have for all this time been waiting for them)
6.   *Basimane ba-tla-tsoga ba-ya kwa morakeng.*
       (The boys will go to the cattle-post in the morning)

The above examples show the deficient predicatives describing or modifying their finite complements as follows:

Example 1.   The deficient predicative *re-tlhola* describes the action or process signified by the finite complement *re-aga* in terms of the period of time, i.e. <u>the whole day</u>. The action or process of building is described as taking place the whole day.

Example 2.   The deficient verb *-lala* in the predicative *ba-lala* describes the process denoted by the finite complement *ba-bua* in respect of the period of time in the night.

Example 3.   The deficient verb *-sala* in the predicative *ba-sala* describes or modifies the process signified by the finite complement *ba-tshameka* in terms of time in between certain events (which are implied).

Example 4.   The deficient predicative *ba-nama* describes the finite complement *ba-tshaba* in terms of time which is short.

Example 5.   The deficient predicative *re-ntse* describes or modifies the finite complement *re-ba-emetse* in respect of all the time up to when something (new) occurs.

Example 6.   The deficient predicative *ba-tla-tsoga* describes the finite complement *ba-ya* in terms of time in the morning when the process signified by the complement will be taking place.

3.3.2   A clear indication of the descriptive or modificative function of deficient verbs is that they conform to the principle of substitution with adverbs of time. It is in context and not syntax, however, that deficient verbs substitute adverbs of time in sentences. The descriptive word-group *bosigo botlhe* in the example *Bagolo ba-bua le badimo bosigo botlhe*, can be replaced by the deficient predicative *ba-lala*, thus *Bagolo ba-lala ba-bua le badimo*.

These two sentences convey exactly the same meaning with
the descriptive word-group *bosigo botlhe* and the deficient
predicative *ba-lala* describing or modifying the finite
predicative *ba-bua* in respect of the period which lasts the
whole night. Similarly, the descriptive word-group
motshegare otlhe in the sentence *Re-aga ntlo ya malome
motshegare otlhe*, can be substituted by the deficient
predicative *re-tlhola*, thus *Re-tlhola re-aga ntlo ya malome*.
The descriptive word-group *motshegare otlhe* and the de-
ficient predicative *re-tlhola* describe the finite predica-
tive *re-aga* in terms of the period of time which is the
whole day, i.e. from sunrise to sunset. There is thus no
need to use both the deficient predicative and the descrip-
tive word or word-group in the same sentence.

For this reason deficient predicatives may also
be called adverbs or descriptives. Cole has also noted
this tendency of using both the deficient predicatives and
their equivalent descriptive words or word-groups in the
same sentences, and he comments that: "... the use of the
temporal adverbs *gompieno* (today) and *maabane* (yesterday)
is unnecessary in such constructions, and would be tautolo-
gical. Nevertheless, they are often so used, e.g. *Ke-letse
ke-mmonye maabane*".[1]

3.3.3 The special descriptive or modifying function per-
formed by deficient verbs refers to the period of time in
which the process or action signified by the finite com-
plement is said to be taking place or having taken place.
The period of time signified by deficient verbs stretches
within certain limits. This period has, therefore, a
beginning and an end. In the example *Banna ba-tlhotse
ba-tsoma tau kwa nageng* (Men have been hunting for a lion
in the forest all the day), the deficient predicative
ba-tlhotse denotes a period of time which comprises the
whole day. In Tswana this period is usually from sunrise
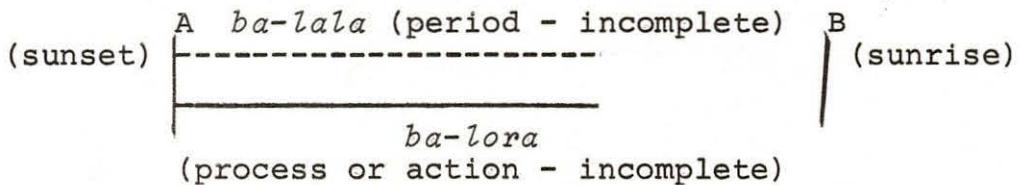to sunset. The example *Ngwana o-lala a-lela*, shows the

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1.   Cole: *op.cit.*, p.298.

deficient predicative *o-lala* which signifies the period
of time in the night. This period is usually from sunset
to sunrise. The deficient predicative *ba-tla-tsoga* in the
sentence *Ba-tla-tsoga ba-ya gae* (They will go home tomorrow
morning), refers to a period in the morning, say between
sunrise and ten o'clock. The deficient predicatives as
noted above describe their finite complements in respect
of the periods they signify.

3.3.4   The deficient predicatives also signify aspects,
i.e. perfective and imperfective, in their semological
function of describing the finite complements. As in-
dicated already in the previous paragraph, the span or
period of time signified by the deficient verbs has limits,
i.e. a beginning and an end. This particular period of
time referred to by the deficient predicatives can there-
fore be in a state of continuing (imperfective) or in a
state of completion (perfective). The period is said to
be in an incompleted state when it is still on, i.e. between
the two limits. Once the period reaches the final limit,
it becomes completed, i.e. perfective. Aspects as indicated
by deficient predicatives agree with aspects as denoted by
finite verbs in predicates. The deficient predicative and
its finite complement can both be in the imperfective state,
e.g. *Bagolo ba-lala ba-lora badimo*. They can also be in
the perfective state when both the period signified by the
deficient predicative and the process or action signified
by its finite complement are completed, e.g. *Ba-tlhotse
ba-lemile diakere tse pedi* (They have ploughed two acres
by the end of the day). The period of time signified by
the deficient predicative can, however, be in a state of
completion when the action or process signified by the
finite complement is in the imperfective state, e.g.
Ba-tlhotse ba-lema masimo (They ploughed the fields the
whole day (which is completed) through). In this case,
the incompleted process or action has the prospect of being
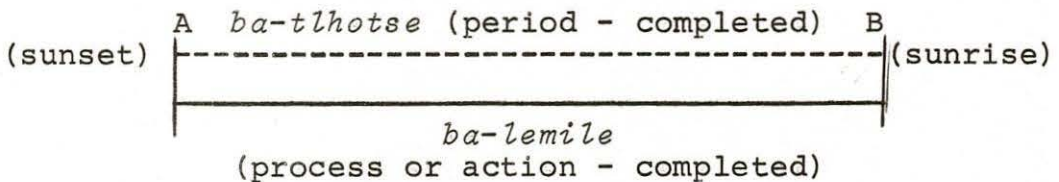continued in the next period. Aspects as explained above

can be illustrated as follows:

(i)   <u>The deficient predicative and its finite</u>
       <u>complement both in the imperfective</u>

```
              A  ba-lala (period - incomplete)  B
(sunset) |--------------------------|          | (sunrise)
         |                          |          |
         |_____|
                    ba-lora
         (process or action - incomplete)
```
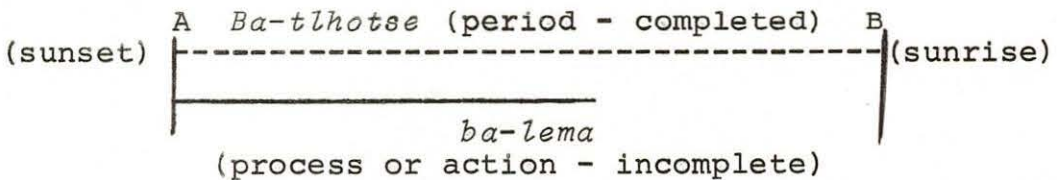
Here the process and the period in which it takes
place are incomplete. They are both in progress towards
the final limit B.

(ii)   <u>The deficient predicative and its finite</u>
       <u>complement both in the perfective</u>

```
              A  ba-tlhotse (period - completed)  B
(sunset) |----------------------------------------|(sunrise)
         |                                        |
         |_____|
                    ba-lemile
         (process or action - completed)
```

Here both the process and the period in which it
takes place are completed. They have attained the final
limit B.

(iii) <u>The deficient predicative in the perfective, its</u>
       <u>finite complement in the imperfective</u>

```
              A  Ba-tlhotse (period - completed)  B
(sunset) |----------------------------------------|(sunrise)
         |                                        |
         |_____|
                    ba-lema
         (process or action - incomplete)
```

The above illustrations show the limits for the
particular periods signified by the deficient predicatives
and the process or action signified by the finite comple-
ments. Vertical line (A) is for the beginning or initial
limit and vertical line (B) is for the end or final limit.
The horizontal line joining lines (A) and (B) indicates
the stretch of the period and process from where they start
to where they end.

3.3.5   It should be emphasised that the imperfective and

perfective forms of both deficient verbs and the finite
verbs are not indicative of tense, present and past respec-
tively as most scholars in Bantu languages have often
maintained. T.M.H. Endemann has aptly dealt with this
matter in his article *'n Voorlopige ondersoek na aspekver-
skynsels in Noord-Sotho*. His finding is that 'aspect'
functions separately and independently of tense or time.
The period or duration of time signified by the deficient
verbs may either be in an incompleted or completed state
but this has nothing to do with tense or time. The fact
is that the period denoted by the deficient verbs (in both
incompleted and completed states) may be in the present,
past and future with these three main tenses shown by
separate elements. The examples below will illustrate:

(a)   <u>Deficient verbs in the perfective in all three
         tenses</u>

<u>Present</u>:
Ba-setse ba-tsamaile.
(They have already left)

<u>Past</u>:
Ba-nê ba-setse ba-tsamaile.
(They had already left)

<u>Future</u>:
Ba-tlabo ba-setse ba-tsamaile.
(They will have already left)
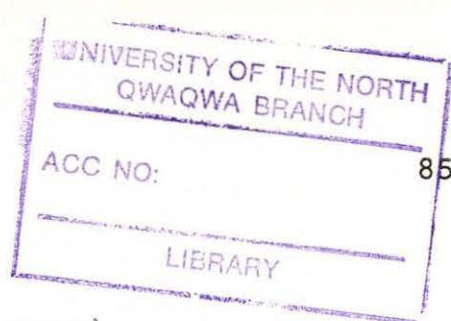
(b)   <u>Deficient verbs in the imperfective in all three
         tenses</u>

<u>Present</u>:
Ba-sala ba-tsamaya.
(In the meantime they go away)

        The period referred to by the deficient predicative,
i.e. *ba-sala*, and the process that takes place in it, i.e.
ba-tsamaya are both in the incompleted state in the present.

Past:

Ba-nê ba-sala ba-tsamaya.

(In the meantime they went away)

　　　The process referred to by *ba-tsamaya* and the
period in which it takes place, i.e. *ba-sala* are in an
incompleted state in the past.

Future:

Ba-tla-sala ba-tsamaya.

(They will in the meantime go away)

　　　The process referred to by *ba-tsamaya* and the
period in which it takes place are in an incompleted state
in the future.

(c)　　　Syntactical characteristics

3.4.1　　The deficient verb precedes the finite verb in a
compound predicate. This syntactical order is unchange-
able. These two verbs, each in its predicative form,
constitute one syntactical unit. Examples are:

*A-bolela fa go-se kgomo e-ka-latlhegang fa a-setse a-di-setse
morago.* (Koketsokitso ya Lefatshe p.36)

Ba-thoba jaaka basimane ba-tlhola ba-dira. (Koketsokitso ya
Lefatshe, p.37)

Ke-a-belaela re-tloga re-tshwarwa. (Mokoma-ditlhare, p.5)

... *O-tla-tsoga a-tsena mogae ka moso.* (Mokoma-ditlhare, p.17)

Goitsemang a-lala a-tlhobaetse bosigo jotlhe.

(Mokoma-ditlhare, p.17)

O-tota o-itlhaganetse e-le tota. (Marara, p.40)

*Fa go-no go-ntse jalo, o-ka-bo a-go-kwaletse jaaka a-aga
a-dira.* (Marara, p.40)

*O-tlhwa a-utlwa ka bo-Township, bo-Newclare, le yona
tumagole Pidibidi.* (Motimedi, p.61)

3.4.2　　Another syntactical characteristic of deficient
predicatives follows from what has been said above. It is
a characteristic syntactical feature of these predicatives
that they require a finite complement which can never be

left out. Should the finite complement be excluded from such predicates, the deficient predicatives revert to their finite use. Context, therefore, is the main determinant of deficient verbs. Compare the following examples with those in the previous paragraph: 3.4.1.

A-bolela fa go-se kgomo e-ka-latlhegang fa a-setse (morago).
Ba-thoba jaaka basimane ba-tlhola.
Ke-a-belaela re-tloga (jaanong).
O-tla-tsoga mo gae ka moso.
Goitsemang a-lala bosigo jotlhe.
O-tota boammaruri mo matlhong.
... Jaaka a-aga (ntlo).
O-tlhwa mo gae.

3.4.3   In principle only one deficient predicative may be used in a compounded predicate, e.g.
O-tla-dira le wena o-ntse o-ikgopotse. (Motswasele, p.3)
Le borangwane ba-setse ba-mphetoletse diteme. (Motswasele, p.44)
Ba-tshwanetse ba-diragatsa taolo yame. (Motswasele, p.26)
Setshwantsho se-ile sa-dira Molatlhegi pelokgale.
(Motimedi, p.18)
Mme a-aga a-ikana. (Marara, p.1)
... Go-twe ke-tlhole ke-lwela moriti le kgantlapane?
(Marara, p.41)

3.4.4   It is also a characteristic syntactical feature of deficient predicatives that they cannot be separated from their finite complements by any intervening word. They form a much more compact unit with their complements than auxiliary verbs.

The above syntactical feature of deficient predicatives becomes clearer when they are used together with auxiliary predicatives in the same compounded predicate. In a compound predicate consisting of auxiliary predicative, deficient predicative and finite predicative, the deficient predicative occurs closest to the finite predicative. In

other words the deficient predicative allows no intervening word, not even the auxiliary predicatives, between it and the finite complement. Consider the following examples:

Re-ka-bo re-setse re-tshwerwe.   (Mokoma-ditlhare, p.23)
(but not: *Re-setse re-ka-bo re-tshwere*)
O-ne a-setse a-lemogile.   (Mokoma-ditlhare, p.24)
(but not: *A-setse o-ne a-lemogile*)
'*Ga ba-ise ba-tlhole ba-tla*'.   (Mokoma-ditlhare, p.29)
(but not: *Ga ba-tlhole ba-ise ba-tla*)
A-ba a-batla a-mo-hupetsa mowa.   (Koketso kitso ya Lefatshe, p.7)   (but not: *a-batla a-ba a-mo-hupetsa mowa*.)
Ga a-kitla a-tlhola a-mo-kgona.   (Marara, p.45)
(but not: *Ga a-tlhola a-kitla a-mo-kgona*)
Tumelo a-se-ka a-tlhola a-botsa sepe.   (Motimedi, p.11)
(but not: *Tumelo a-tlhola a-se-ka a-botsa sepe*)

The conjugation of the deficient verbs

The deficient predicatives are subject to conjugation whereby they may show the various moods and modal implications. The conjugation of the deficient predicatives is shown by the various forms they take.

(i)   The subjunctive mood

3.4.5   Deficient predicatives can occur in the subjunctive mood and they are characterised by the terminative -ê. It is interesting to note or observe that this terminative -ê, usually shown by the finite predicative in the simple predicate, is shown by the deficient predicative only in the compounded predicate. In other words, the finite predicative in the compound predicate with the deficient predicative surrenders this terminative -ê to the latter predicative form. Compare the following examples:

Simple predicates	Compounded predicates
... *gore ba-tsamaê bosigo*	*gore ba-tlholê ba-tsamaya bosigo*
gore ba-disê bana	*gore ba-salê ba-disa bana*
gore ba-tlhobaelê dikakanyo	*gore ba-lalê ba-tlhobaêla ...*
gore ba-rekê diaparo	*gore ba-namê ba reka diaparo*
gore a-disê dinku	*gore a-tsogê a-disa dinku*

(ii)   The imperative mood

3.4.6   The deficient predicatives may also occur in the imperative with or without the SC. They show the terminative -*ê* when they are used with the SC, e.g.

ó tsamaê ó-re-romela dijo!
ó-tlholê ó-dira tiro!
o-salê ó-apaya bogobê!
Ba-lalê bá-robetse sentle!
ó-tsogê ó-ya kwa kgosing!

The deficient verb stems occur in the nonderivative form (basic) when used without the SC in the imperative mood, e.g.

Tlhola o-dira tiro!   (Do your work the whole day)
Sala o-apaya bogobe!   (Cook porridge in the meantime)
Feta o-utlwa dikgang!   (Listen to the news by the way)

The deficient verb stems show the negative by means of the suffix -*e*. This suffix which is usually carried by the finite verb in the simple predicate, negative, is taken over by the deficient verbs in the compounded predicate, and we obtain a double negative, e.g.

Negative of the simple predicate	Negative of the compounded predicate
Batho ga ba-tsamae bosigo	*Batho ga ba-lale ba tsamaya bosigo*
Basimane ga ba-dise dikgomo	*Basimane ga ba-tlhole ba disa dikgomo*
Basimane ga-ba-tshwenye	*Basimane ga ba-age ba-tshwenya*

Types of complements with which the deficient predicatives can combine in compounded predicates

The deficient verbs group themselves well according to the type of complements with which they combine. In this respect the following classification of deficient verbs can be made:

3.4.7(i) Deficient verbs which combine with participial complements

-*baya*/-*baa*: *ke-baa ké-gakologelwa mafoko a ga Sejo.*
(Motswasele, p.15)
(I am now (on the spot) reminded of Sejo's words)

-*fela*: *Ba-fela bá-re-gopola.*
(They always think of us)

-*lala*: *Batho kana ba-lala bá-sa-robala.* (Motswasele, p.33)
(People really do not sleep the whole night through)

-*letse*: *Morubisi o-letse ó-lela bosigo.*
(The owl hooted throughout last night)

-*nama*: *Jaanong ke-tla-nama ké-sa-tlhotse malatsinyana.*
(Now I shall be obliged to stay a few days longer)

-*nna*: *Ke-tla-nna ké-go-bitsa ke-re Mokomaditlhare.*
(Mokoma-ditlhare, p.104)
(I shall continue to call you Mokomaditlhare)

-*ntse*: *Ga feta dikgwedi tse pedi Basetsaneng a-ntse á-robetse.* (Marara, p.19)
(Two months went past with Basetsaneng busy sleeping)

-*re*: *E-re ré-swa re-be re-jele monate otlhe.*
(Motimedi, p.60)
(When we die we should have enjoyed everything)
E-a-re/ke-a-re ké-bua nae, a-didimale.
(Whenever I speak to him he keeps quiet)

-*rile*: *E-rile/O-rile á-mpona, a-iphitlha.*
(When he saw me, he hid himself)

-*sala*: *Mosadimogolo a-sala á-gakgametse.* (Marara, p.19)
(The grandmother remained/was in the meantime surprised)

Ke-tla-sala ké-robetse.

(I shall remain/meanwhile sleeping/sleep)

-setse: ... *a-bo a-setse á-eme ka dinao.* (Motimedi, p.7)

(He was already standing on his feet)

Ke-ne ké-setse ké-lema.

(I was already ploughing)

-tlhôla: Ntlo ya bojalwa e-ne e-tlhola é-tletse makau.

(Mokoma-ditlhare, p.1)

(The beer-hall was full of gentlemen throughout the day)

-tlhotse: Re-tlhotse ré-agela dikgomo lesaka.

(We built a kraal for the cattle the whole of today)

-tlhole: Ga re-tlhole ré-itshwenya ka bona.

(We no longer bother ourselves about them)

-tloga: Ô-tla-tloga á-goroga.

(He will soon/shortly afterwards arrive)

Ò-tloga ó-swaba.

(You will soon regret)

-tsoga: Ô-tla-tsoga á-ya kwa morakeng.

(He will go to the cattle-post tomorrow morning)

-tsogile: Ô-tsogile á-ile kwa morakeng.

(He left for the cattle-post this previous morning)

3.4.8 (ii) Deficient verbs which combine with subjunctive complements

-fitlhela/-tsamaya:

Sala mono go-fitlhela/go-tsamaya ke boê.

(Remain here until I come back)

Lo-se-ka la tsamaya go-fitlhela/go-tsamaya ke-le-bitsê.

(Do not go away until I call you)

The deficient verbs *-fitlhela* and *-tsamaya* which are undoubtedly synonyms appear to be the only two deficient verbs which take subjunctive complements without being in the subjunctive. Most of the other deficient verbs can, however, also be followed by subjunctive complements. But

this is possible only when the deficient verbs themselves
are in the subjunctive, e.g.

-*tlê*:   *Ba bitsê gore ba-tlê ba-tsamaê.*
            (Call them so that they may then go)

3.4.9 (iii) Deficient verbs which combine with infinitive complements

-*batlile*: *Ke-batlile go-tsamaya ke-re ga o-yo mo gae.*
            (Marara, p.6)
            (I nearly went away thinking that you were not at
            home)
-*batla*:   *Ke-nê ka-batla go-ikgaola monwana ka thipa.*
            (I nearly cut off my finger with a knife)
-*ratile*: *O-ratile go-bolawa ke tau.*
            (He was nearly killed by a lion)
-*rata*:   *O-kile a-rata go-bolawa ke tau.*
            (He was once nearly killed by a lion)
-*senkile*: *O-senkile go-wela mo nokeng.*
            (He nearly fell into a river)
-*senka*:   *O-kile a-senka go-wela mo nokeng.*
            (He once nearly fell into a river)
-*tshwanetse*: *Ba-tshwanetse go-diragatsa taolo ya me.*
            (Motswasele, p.26)
            (They ought/should carry out my commands)
-*tshwanela*: *O-nê a-sa-tshwanela go-dira jalo.*
            (He should not have done that)

Alternatively, but infrequently, the participial
may be used as complement to the above deficient verbs,
e.g.

-*batlile*: *Ke-batlile ké-tsamaya ke-re ga o-yo mo gae.*
            (I nearly went away thinking that you were not at
            home)
-*batla*:   *Ke-ne ka-batla ké-ikgaola monwana ka thipa.*
            (I nearly cut off my finger with a knife)
-*ratile*: *O-ratile á-bolawa ke tau.*
            (He was nearly killed by a lion)

-*tshwanetse*: Ba-tshwanetse *bá-diragatsa* taolo yame.

      (They should/ought to carry out my commands)

-*tshwanela*: O-ne a-sa-tshwanela *á-dira* jalo.

      (He should not have done that)

    The above deficient verbs are not the only verbs that can combine with infinitive complements. They are, however, the only deficient verbs which take infinitive complements without themselves being in the infinitive. Most of the other deficient verbs may also take infinitive complements provided they too are in the infinitive, e.g.

-*aga*:   Go-aga go-buiwa jalo.

      (It is usually said in that way)

-*tlhola*: Go-tlhola go-letilwe moruti.

      (The minister is being awaited the whole day through)

-*tlhotse*: Go-tlhotse go-fisa letsatsi.

      (The sun was shining throughout the day)

-*setse*:   Go-setse go-le bosigo.

      (It is already late)

-*tloga*:   Go-tloga go-nna bosigo.

      (It will soon become late)

-*tsoga*:   Go-tsoga go-na pula.

      (The rain will fall tomorrow morning)

-*re*:   Go-re go-tsamaiwa, go-bo go-feditswe.

      (When it is time to leave, everything should be completed)

-*letse*:   Go-letse go-na pula.

      (The rain was falling the previous night)

-*fela*:   Go-fela go-ntse jalo.

      (It is always like that)

-*nama*:   A go-nama go-tsamaiwa go-sa-laelwa?

      (Is it just that people have left without saying good-bye?)

Phonological characteristics

3.5.1   The deficient verbs usually show the final vowel
phoneme -*a* in their sound forms. This is the sound form
they also show when they are used as regular or finite
verbs. The deficient verbs given in the provisional list
indicate this feature clearly.

3.5.2   Except for the mono-syllabic deficient verbs -*re*
and -*tswa*, the deficient verbs are either di-syllabic or
tri-syllabic, e.g.

di-syllabic

-*sala*	(*sa-la*)
-*setse*	(*se-tse*)
-*tlhola*	(*tlho-la*)
-*tlhotse*	(*tlho-tse*)
-*tlhole*	(*tlho-le*)
-*lala*	(*la-la*)
-*letse*	(*le-tse*)
-*fela*	(*fe-la*)
-*nna*	(*n-na*)
-*ntse*	(*n-tse*)
-*nne*	(*n-ne*)
-*dika*	(*di-ka*).

tri-syllabic

-*tsamaya*	(*tsa-ma-ya*)
-*fitlhela*	(*fi-tlhe-la*)
-*tshwanela*	(*tshwa-ne-la*)
-*tshwanetse*	(*tshwa-ne-tse*)
-*tsogile*	(*tso-gi-le*)
-*tlogile*	(*tlo-gi-le*)
-*batlile*	(*ba-tli-le*)
-*ratile*	(*ra-ti-le*)
-*nnile*	(*n-ni-le*)
-*senka*	(*se-n-ka*).

3.5.3   The deficient verbs show a constant toneme pattern

of high-low irrespective of the toneme pattern of the SC
attached to them, e.g.

<u>Indicative mode</u>

-<u>báyà</u>:   *Kè báyà ké-gakologelwa mafoko a ga Sejo.*

-<u>félà</u>:   *Bá-félà bá-re-gopola.*

-<u>lálà</u>:   *Batho kana bá-lálà ba sa lálà.*

-<u>ǹnà</u>:   *Kè-tla-ǹnà ké-go-bitsa Mokomaditlhare.*

-<u>námà</u>:   *Jaanong kè-tla-námà ké-robetse.*

-<u>sálà</u>:   *Mosadimogolo ó-sálà á-gakgametse.*

-<u>tlhólà</u>: *Ntlo ya bojalwa é-tlhólà é-tletse batho.*

-<u>tlógà</u>:   *Dí-tlógà dí-goroga.*

<u>Infinitive mode</u>

-<u>báyà</u>:   *Gò-báyà gò-re-gopotsa kwa Tshwane.*

          (It reminds us of Pretoria)

-<u>félà</u>:   *Gò-félà go-diragala jalo.*

          (It always happens that way)

-<u>lálà</u>:   *Gò-lálà gò-sa-robalwa mono.*

          (People here do not sleep the night through)

-<u>ǹnà</u>:   *Gò-ǹnà gò-na pula malatsi otlhe.*

          (The rain continues to fall on all days)

-<u>námà</u>:   *A gò-námà go-diragala jaana.*

          (It is just that it happens this way)

-<u>sálà</u>:   *Gò-sálà gò-batliwa dikgomo.*

          (The cattle are in the meantime looked for)

-<u>tlhólà</u>: *Gò-tlhólà gò-nna jalo.*

          (It is always that way)

-<u>tlógà</u>:   *Gò-tlóga gò-nna bosigo.*

          (It will soon be late)

A summary of the characteristics of deficient verbs

3.6.1   Morphological characteristics

The deficient verbs also require SC in order to
form predicatives. These SC can never be left out from
the deficient predicatives.

Additional morphemes may be prefixed, infixed or suffixed to the form of deficient predicatives, e.g. the intentional formative *-tla-*, the modal formative *-ka-*, the negative formatives *-sa-* or *-se-*, the negative formative *ga-*, the relative suffix *-ng*.

The deficient verb stems are polymorphemic. Their morphology consists of the root plus suffix(es). The suffix can be substituted by other suffixal morphemes, e.g. the subjunctive suffix *-ê*, the negative suffix *-e* and the perfective suffixes *-il-e*.

The form of the deficient verbs indicates aspect, i.e. the imperfective and the perfective. In principle there is a perfective counterpart for each and every imperfective deficient verb in Tswana.

3.6.2 Semological characteristics

The deficient verbs perform a descriptive function in communication. In this respect scholars in Bantu languages have defined the deficient verbs as words which have an adverbial force. Deficient verbs do not signify time, i.e. present, past and future, but rather indicate special descriptive implications as distinct from or additional to the time factor.

The special descriptive implications signified by deficient verbs refer to the duration, amount or length of the period in which the process or action described or modified is said to be taking or have taken place. This period usually falls within certain limits.

The descriptive function or adverbial force of the deficient verbs can be tested by substituting them (at least functionally or semologically) with temporal adverbs.

The deficient verbs signify aspect, i.e. imperfective and perfective, in their descriptive function in the process of communication. The period of time they refer to, like the process or action signified by finite

verbs, can be in a state of continuing, i.e. imperfective
or in a completed state, i.e. perfective.

3.6.3   Syntactical characteristics

In their syntactical order, the deficient pre-
dicatives always precede the finite predicative in com-
pounded predicates. This order is unchangeable.

The complements to the deficient predicatives can
never be left out of the compounded predicates. Should the
complements be excluded from such compounded predicates,
the deficient predicatives revert to complete finite pre-
dicates (simple). This implies that context, more than
anything else, determines the deficient nature of these
verbal forms.

There can only be one deficient predicative used
in a compounded predicate.

It is also a characteristic syntactical feature
of deficient predicatives that no intervening word can be
inserted between them and their complements. They form a
much more compact unit with their complements.

The above syntactical feature of deficient pre-
dicatives is borne out further by the fact that when they
are used with auxiliary predicatives, they occur closest
to the finite predicatives in compounded predicates.

The deficient predicatives are subject to modal
conjugations without any change in toneme patterns. The
modal conjugations they undergo are indicated by their
morphological constructions, e.g. the suffix -*a* for indi-
cative affirmative, the suffix -*e* for indicative negative,
the suffix -*ê* for the subjunctive etc.

It is worth noting that the finite verbs which
usually take the subjunctive and negative suffixes in
simple predicates, surrender these suffixes to the deficient
verbs in compounded predicates.

The classification of deficient verbs according to the type of complements which they take most commonly, shows them in two main categories. The one category consists of deficient verbs which usually take participial complements whereas the other consists of deficient verbs which take infinitive complements most commonly. The deficient verbs which usually take participial complements may also be followed by infinitive complements provided they too are in the infinitive.

3.6.4   <u>Phonological characteristics</u>

The deficient verbs show a regular sound form characterised by the final vowel phoneme -*a*. This is the sound form they also show when they are used finitely in the imperfective aspect.

Except for a few mono-syllabic deficient verbs, e.g. -*re* and -*tswa*, the deficient verbs are either di-syllabic or tri-syllabic.

The deficient verbs reveal a regular high-low toneme pattern irrespective of the toneme pattern of their SC.

CONCLUSION

A COMPARISON OF THE CHARACTERISTICS OF THE AUXILIARY VERBS AND THE DEFICIENT VERBS IN A TABULAR FORM

	auxiliary verbs	deficient verbs	finite verbs
(a) Morphological characteristics			
1. SC as requirement to form predicatives: Always require SC (+); may conditionally do without SC (-).	-	+	+
2. Morphemes that can be added to their predicative forms:			
(i) the relative suffix -ng; yes (+), no (-)	+	+	+
(ii) the prefixed negative formative ga-; yes (+), no (-)	+	+	+
(iii) the infixed negative formative -sa-/-se-; yes (+), no (-)	+	+	+
(iv) the infixed intentional formative -tla-; yes (+), no (-)	+	+	+
(v) the infixed potential formative -ka-; yes (+), no (-)	+	+	+
(vi) the indefinite formative -a-; yes (+), no (-)	+	-	+
3. Infixes that can be substituted into their stems:			
(i) the perfective infix -il-; yes (-), no (-)	-	+	+
(ii) the applicative infix -el-; yes (+), no (-)	-	only a few	+
4. The divisibility of their stems into morphological elements: mono-morphemic (-); poly-morphemic (+)	-	+	+
5. Indicative of aspect, i.e. imperfective and perfective, by means of morphemes; yes (+), no (-)	-	+	+
(b) Semological characteristics			
1. Non-finite, i.e. indicative of non-verbal referents; yes (+); no (-)	+	+	-
2. Their share in the process of communication: signifier of grammatical time or tense and modal implications (-)			

	auxiliary verbs	deficient verbs	finite verbs
OR signifier of descriptive or adverbial implications (+)	-	+	none
3. Indicative of aspects (imperfective and perfective) as semological features; yes (+), no (-)	-	+	+
4. Their origin as non-finite verbs: inherently non-finite (-) OR secondarily non-finite (+)	-	+	
(c) Syntactical characteristics			
1. Precede the finite predicatives; yes (+), no (-)	+	+	
2. Form loose connection with the finite predicatives (-) OR form compact unit with the finite predicatives (+)	-	+	
3. Complements to these verbal forms: always require a complement (+) OR may conditionally do without a complement (-)	-	+	
4. The number of such non-finite predicatives which can be used in a compounded predicate: only one (+), more than one (-)	-	+	
5. Subject to modal conjugations; yes (+), no (-)	-	+	+
(d) Phonological characteristics			
1. Their sound forms: mostly defective (-), regular (+)	-	+	+
2. Number of syllables in their sound forms:			
one (mono-syllabic), yes (+), no (-)	+	only a few	+
two (di-syllabic), yes (+), no (-)	+	+	+
many (poly-syllabic), yes (+), no (-)	only one	+	+
3. Toneme pattern: low or low-low or high-high (-), high-low (+)	-	+	+

A proper classification of the auxiliary verbs and the deficient verbs

The above table comparing the characteristics of the auxiliary verbs and the deficient verbs reveal the following facts:

(a)   Morphologically, the auxiliary verbs differ from the deficient verbs in more than half the number of characteristics compared.

(b)   Of the four semological characteristics compared, the auxiliary verbs and the deficient verbs differ from each other in three characteristics, and they are similar in only one characteristic.

(c)   Syntactically, five characteristics were compared, and the auxiliary verbs differed from the deficient verbs in four such characteristics. They showed similarity in only one syntactical characteristic.

(d)   Three phonological characteristics were compared, and the auxiliary verbs differed from the deficient verbs in two such characteristics. It is in only one phonological feature that the auxiliary verbs and the deficient verbs showed similarity.

The above assessment of the characteristics of the auxiliary verbs and the deficient verbs show marked differences in respect of their morphological, semological, syntactical and phonological features. These differences justify a further division of the non-finite verbs into two sub-classes, namely, the auxiliary verbs and the deficient verbs. In other words, the auxiliary verbs and the deficient verbs as two sub-classes of non-finite verbs form a sub-class of words of the major word-category of verbs.

The characteristics of the non-finite verbs (auxiliary verbs and deficient verbs) which are comparable to those of the finite verbs have also been indicated on

the above table. In this respect the deficient verbs show
more characteristics ᵢₙ common with the finite verbs, whereas
the auxiliary verbs show less features common with the
finite verbs.

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SUMMARY

The purpose of this study has been to describe and classify the auxiliary verbs and the deficient verbs in Tswana.

A review of the work done by various scholars on the auxiliary verbs and the deficient verbs shows that much has been written on these verbal forms in the Nguni languages. In Tswana, however, very little has been done.
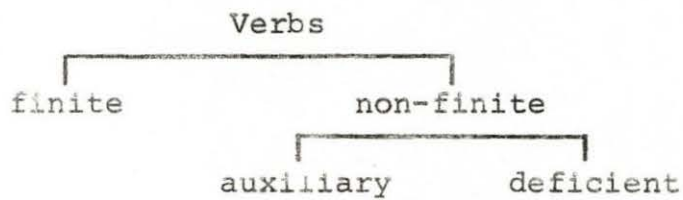
Our examination of the auxiliary verbs and the deficient verbs in Tswana leads us to the following conclusions:

(i)   E.B. van Wyk's criteria for determining word-categories in Northern Sotho and in Zulu are applicable also in the description and classification of auxiliary verbs and deficient verbs in Tswana. This is not surprising, since the problem of these verbal forms is essentially also the problem of word-categories. These criteria relate to the morphological, semological, syntactical and phono-logical characteristics of word-categories.

(ii)   The characteristics of the auxiliary verbs and the deficient verbs as analysed in this study, and summarised in a table on pages 98 and 99, reveal these verbal forms as belonging to two distinct sub-categories of the non-finite verbs. In other words, the non-finite verbs as a sub-category of the major category of verbs, show further sub-divisions into the auxiliary verbs and the deficient verbs. This results in a deviation from the tra-ditional classification of these verbal forms into one category without sub-divisions.

As indicated earlier, some scholars in Bantu languages, and Tswana in particular, have classified these verbal forms together as either auxiliary verbs or deficient verbs. Other scholars have even gone to the extent of using both

these terms, i.e. auxiliary and deficient, as synonyms in classifying these verbal forms together.

This study indicates that verbs in Tswana should be classified into finite and non-finite. The non-finite verbs in turn should be classified into the auxiliary and the deficient verbs. This classification of the major category of verbs can be represented diagrammatically as follows:

```
                       Verbs
        ┌────────────────────────┐
    finite                   non-finite
                        ┌───────────────┐
                    auxiliary        deficient
```

SAMEVATTING

Die doel van hierdie studie is om die hulpwerkwoorde ie
en die defisiënte werkwoorde in Tswana te beskryf en te
klassifiseer.

'n Oorsig van die werk deur verskeie studente oor
die hulpwerkwoorde en die defisiënte werkwoorde toon dat
baie geskryf is oor hierdie werkwoordelike vorme in die
Ngunitale. In Tswana is daar egter weinig gedoen.

Ons ondersoek van die hulpwerkwoorde en die
defisiënte werkwoorde in Tswana het ons tot die volgende
gevolgtrekkings gebring:

(i)   E.B. van Wyk se kriteria om woordkategorieë in
        Noord-Sotho en Zoeloe te bepaal, kan ook toegepas
        word in die beskrywing en klassifisering van hulp-
        werkwoorde en defisiënte werkwoorde in Tswana. Dit
        is nie verrassend nie, omdat die probleem van hierdie
        werkwoordelike vorme in wese ook die probleem van
        woordkategorieë is. Hierdie kriteria het betrekking
        op die morfologiese, semiologiese, sintaktiese en
        fonologiese eienskappe van woordkategorieë.

(ii)   Die eienskappe van die hulpwerkwoorde en die
        defisiënte werkwoorde soos in hierdie studie
        geanaliseer en soos saamgevat in 'n tabel op bladsy
        98 en 99, openbaar dat hierdie werkwoordelike vorme
        tot twee afgebakende sub-kategorieë van die onself-
        standige werkwoorde behoort. Met ander woorde, die
        onselfstandige werkwoorde as 'n sub-kategorie van
        die hoofkategorie werkwoorde vertoon verdere onder-
        verdelings in die hulpwerkwoorde en die defisiënte
        werkwoorde. Dit veroorsaak 'n afwyking van die
        tradisionele klassifikasie van hierdie werkwoordelike
        vorme in 'n enkele kategorie sonder onderverdelings.

Soos hoërop aangedui, het sommige studente van die Bantoe-
tale, en Tswana in besonder, hierdie werkwoordelike vorme
bymekaar geklassifiseer as òf hulpwerkwoorde, òf defisiënte

werkwoorde. Ander studente het selfs sover gegaan om hierdie terme te gebruik as sinonieme in die klassifisering van hierdie werkwoordelike vorme bymekaar.

Hierdie studie doen aan die hand dat werkwoorde in Tswana geklassifiseer behoort te word in selfstandige en onselfstandige. Die onselfstandige werkwoorde behoort op hulle beurt weer geklassifiseer te word in die hulpwerkwoorde en die defisiënte werkwoorde. Hierdie klassifikasie van die hoofkategorie van werkwoorde kan diagrammaties soos volg voorgestel word:

```
                        Werkwoorde
         ┌─────────────────────────────┐
   selfstandige                  onselfstandige
                         ┌───────────────────────┐
                  hulpwerkwoorde    defisiënte werkwoorde
```