

THE MOODS AND TENSES OF
THE VERB IN XHOSA

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P R E F A C E

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ABBREVIATIONS

B.P.	Basic prefix.
C	Consonant.
Cl	noun class, numbered according to Meinhof's system.
F	falling tone - can refer to an underlying high tone or a high low sequence of tones.
H	high tone.
h	high tone.
-h	low tone.
h-h	a high low sequence.
i.v.	initial vowel.
L	low tone.
neg.	negative.
OC	object concord.
P.	person.
pl.	plural.
pos.	positive.
SC	subject concord.
sg.	singular.
v	vowel.
>	becomes, or is rewritten as.
<	is derived from.
∅	zero.
+	is followed by.
/	in the context of.
˙	above a vowel indicates a high tone.
˘	above a vowel indicates a phonetically falling tone.
[]	phonetic realization.
//	phonemic realization.

SCHEME OF M.A. DISSERTATION

1. INTRODUCTION.

A short historical survey of certain writers who have dealt with the moods and tenses of the verb and also of those who have written on tone in Xhosa. The ideas of some writers as to how moods should be classified, is presented and reasons for my acceptance of certain moods for this dissertation. As there has not been as much controversy about the status of tenses, Robins's definition of tense is accepted. The term form is also discussed very briefly here.

2. The chapters are then allocated as follows:

Chapter I	The Infinitive Mood;
Chapter II	The Imperative Mood;
Chapter III	The Indicative Mood;
in which the primary (basic) tenses are discussed.	
Chapter IV	The Participial Mood;
Chapter V	The Compound Tenses other than the future tenses which are handled in Chapter III.
Chapter VI	The Subjunctive Mood;
Chapter VII	The Conditional-Potential Form.
Chapter VIII	The Temporal Form.
Chapter IX	The Formatives /-sa-/, /-ka-/ and /-kwa-/.

Each of these Chapters is divided, when possible, into tenses, and then sub-divisions are made into:

Patterns;
Remarks on Morphology;
Tonal Structures; and
Uses and Significance.

Under the sections on tonal structures tonal rules are indicated where possible.

3. In the conclusion two important points are discussed.

First is the fact that there is a great deal of overlap between the various moods, forms and tenses. For this reason, it is suggested that a bipartite division be made on syntactic grounds, the criterion being whether the forms are dependent or independent, this division being able to overrule all others. Within these two groups it is suggested that it might be useful to make sub-divisions on morphological grounds, these, however, being secondary to the dependent, independent dichotomy.

The second point discussed in the conclusion is the very powerful tonal rule which conditions a final H tone after a pre-stem L toned formative.

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

1.1 In this dissertation an attempt will be made to cover all the moods and tenses of the predicative in Xhosa. The fact that many writers differ in their ideas as to what the moods, and to a lesser extent, the tenses, are, indicates that the different criteria which may be used to classify moods and tenses, enable these to be labelled differently. I will try to stick to semantic criteria as primary; however, form will also be taken into account. It should be realised that if either morphological or syntactical criteria were to be considered primary, the classification would differ. When a generative approach is applied to this problem it will, I am convinced, lead to a far better classificatory system than the one offered here. It will be based on syntactical criteria and there will be no mood per se.

1.2 The most important works on the moods and tenses of the Xhosa predicative and the way in which the authors have regarded moods and tenses, are set out below.

The first grammar of Xhosa, W. B. Boyce's "Grammar of the Kafir Language" (1834), handles six moods: the infinitive, indicative, imperative, potential, optative and subjunctive. Of the tenses Boyce says: (p 52)

"The Tenses of the Verb have reference to the Time and to the State of Action. The Time of an Action is either Present or Past, or Future Present or Future Past: the state of an Action is either Indefinite or Imperfect or Perfect:...making in all twelve tenses."

Considering the time at which this grammar was written, Boyce has given a remarkably good paradigmatic treatment of the moods and tenses of the verb. The auxiliary verb /-nga-/ is treated by him as the formative for the optative mood. Boyce mentions copulatives as the substantive verb /ukuba/.

Appleyard (1850) divides verbs up into two principal kinds: (p 151)

"Regular verbs and Irregular verbs." He says of mood: (p 163) "The term mood or mode

is employed to indicate the general divisions of which the verb is capable, according to the manner in which the action is expressed, or according to the different ways in which the connexion between the subject and the verb may be stated."

He names five moods in Xhosa, these being:

The imperative, the infinitive, the indicative, the potential, and the subjunctive. Of tense he says: (p 166)

"The distinction of tense has reference to the time and state of the verbal action....."

Appleyard postulates seven tenses:

The present, the aorist, the imperfect, the perfect, the pluperfect, the first future, and the second future.

The ideophone is also treated in the section on irregular verbs. Of it he says: (p 237)

"The monosyllabic verb ti, to be or do so, is often found in combination with certain verbal particles, which particularize the kind of being or action referred to, but without themselves being affected either by conjugation or government."

I agree with Lanham and Fortune as described by Fivaz (1963) when they say that the ideophone, because of its abnormal phonology and morphology is outside of the other grammatical categories and forms a class of its own. It should not be handled with the verb.

The next important work on Xhosa predicatives was by J. McLaren in his grammar which went through various revisions and editions between (1886 and 1952.) Originally entitled "Introductory Kafir Grammar with Progressive Exercises" and in a (1906) revised edition "A Grammar of the Kaffir Language" and in an edition revised by G. H. Welsh (1936) entitled "A Xhosa Grammar". McLaren's treatment of the moods and tenses of the predicative was the best presentation right up until 1963 when Louw's "Handboek van Xhosa" was published. McLaren recognized six moods; these being: the indicative, the participial, the subjunctive, the temporal, the imperative and the

and the infinitive. The tenses which he recognized, ten in all, he divided into two sections of which he said: (p 81)

"Four of these are simple or primary, the others secondary or compound tenses."

His primary tenses are: present, perfect and near past, remote past and future, and his secondary tenses: near-past-progressive, near-past-perfect, future-in-the-near-past, remote-past-progressive, remote-past-perfect and future-in-the-remote-past. McLaren deals with mono-syllabic verb stems and vowel commencing verbs in a separate chapter from that in which he deals with consonant commencing polysyllabic verb stems.

He treats the copulative under various different sections including the deficient verb /ukuba/, use of the copula, syntax of adjectives, the copula, simple adjectives, relative adjectives, verb and complement.

In his "Xhosa Manual" (undated), Mncube says: (p.27)

"The Xhosa verb has six moods and two non-finite verb forms."

He does not say what these six moods are and deals with only five, these being: the indicative, the subjunctive, the participial, the potential and the temporal. The non-finite verb forms are the infinitive and the imperative. He only deals with the simple tenses.

The next really important work after McLaren's was Louw's "Handboek van Xhosa" 1963. In it Louw recognizes four moods: the indicative, the participial, the subjunctive and the temporal. He regards the potential as a form, as he does later the temporal, in his lecture study book 1970, prepared for second year students. The infinitive and imperative are treated as non-modal, although in the lecture study book mentioned above, Louw treats both of these as moods.

Low handles the following tenses: present, futures, perfect, remote past, near and remote past continuous, near and remote past perfect and the contingent tense of which he says: (p 228)

"Die kontingente tydvorme is in werklikheid

die verlede tyd" van die toekomstige tyd"

Louw's treatment of both the verbal and the copulative conjugations is very full and will form a basis for studies of Xhosa for a long time to come.

6- In 1967 H. W. Pahl's "IsiXhosa Sebanga Lematriki" appeared. This is the first Xhosa grammar to be written in Xhosa. In 1930 W. G. Bennie produced his "A Grammar for the Xhosa-Speaking" but this work was written in English. Pahl names six moods, three independent and three dependent moods. The three independent moods are: the infinitive, the imperative and the indicative. The three dependent moods are: the subjunctive, the participial and the relative. Pahl handles the moods and tenses of the predicative in some detail. His approach is different to that of other writers as he is writing for mother-tongue Xhosa speakers.

7. The tonal study of Xhosa was started by D. M. Beach in his "The Science of Tonetics and its Application to Bantu Languages 1923, although its importance had been recognized as far back as 1832 in a manuscript grammar by Bennie. He does not deal with the predicative and recognizes certain effects of depressor consonants.

8 The next important works on tone were by Tucker 1949 and Westphal 1951. Tucker explains the effects of the depressor consonants more fully and Westphal mentions the fact that the HL stems appear to come from an original CVVCV stem, i.e. the H tone is derived from what must have been two tones or a long tone (single tone on a long vowel)

9. Lanham's paper (1958) and revised (1963) was a most important contribution.

Jordan (1966) tone marks all vocabulary in his book and explains certain tonal phenomena.

Westphal (1967) deals with the features of tonal displacement, i.e. the shifting of H tones towards the end of extended stems. This is a very important feature of Nguni tonal structure c/f Cope (1959) in which he says of Zulu (p 190)

"On suffixal inflexion the root syllable(s) become(s) tonally neutral, deferring to the

grammatically significant tones falling on the final two syllables of the word."

Westphal quotes his examples from a Transkei dialect whereas this present work exemplifies from a Ciskeian dialect.

Pahl (1967) has sections on tone in which he also quotes from a Ciskeian dialect.

Finally there are three works by Louw (1968), (1969) and (1970).

In the first of these works Louw points out that there are three different kinds of falling tone only one of which is not a high low cluster. He also points out that tone has a grammatical rather than a semantic function.

In 1968 and 1969 Louw points out the difference between the conditional and the potential and in 1969 he gives reasons for accepting a tonal sequence on both the positive and negative potential formative morphs.

In the 1970 paper Louw goes into the phenomenon of tone shift or tonal displacement, as it is called by Westphal, and also proves what both he and Westphal have said before, that although tone does carry some semantic meaning its main purpose is as a grammatical signal.

Louw (1971 p109) also noted that depressor consonants can cause substitution of low tone for high tone under certain circumstances.

This is another very important point to recognize when studying tonal phenomena.

Tone shift, i.e. the forward movement of a H tone from a syllable which then becomes L, has been described by Westphal (1967) for the noun and the infinitive as has been stated. Tone shift also occurs in other forms of the verb, for example in the indicative present tense positive with an OC when it occurs with LL stems.

- e.g. Siyabacénga (We are begging them)
- c.f. Úkúcenga (to beg)
- Ndiyayivúla (I open it)
- c.f. úkúvula (to open)

In the above examples the H tone of the OC has shifted

forward onto the first syllable of the verb.

Tone repetition occurs when a H tone is repeated on a subsequent contiguous syllable with the original H toned syllable retaining its H tone.

- e.g. Úkúminya (to swallow)
- c.f. Ndiya kuminya (I will swallow)
- Úkúpheka (to cook)
- c.f. Ndiya kupheka (I will cook)
- c.f. Úkuthêtha (to speak)
- Úkufúnda (to learn)

In these cases the second syllable of the infinitive prefix has an inherent L tone which occurs as H by tonal repetition, before a L toned stem.

Tone assimilation can best be exemplified in the indicative present tense. In the positive the H tone of the OC shifts forward onto the initial syllable of a LL verb stem as exemplified above. However, in the short form, when there is a H toned SC, this OC which has lost its H tone in tone shift, is juxtaposed to two H tones, one either side of it. In this case it assimilates the H tone of its surrounding syllables.

- e.g. Báyílíma kákuhlé (They cultivate it well)
- >Úkúlima (to cultivate)
- c.f. Siwasíla kakhûlu (We grind it well)
- >úkúsila (to grind)
- Úyítýhála kakhûlu (He pushes it hard)
- >úkútyhala (to push)

In many instances it is impossible to explain surface tone patterns in the above terms. For example, the tone on the prefix of certain nouns, where there is a HH sequence on the prefix before a H tone on the stem, has not yet been explained.

- e.g. Úmfána (youth)
- Ílíwá (cliff).

As there is normally polarity between the final tone of the prefix and the tone of the following syllable, the fact that the final syllable of the prefix, basically L toned, assimilates to the H tone of the surrounding syllables probably needs to be explained in terms of the underlying rules.

The moods and tenses to be accepted in this dissertation.

What will be said here is of an introductory nature and my views on this will be expanded and revised in the conclusion.

The moods and tenses of the predicative in Xhosa have been divided up differently by various writers, as can be seen from the short historical sketch above. The maximum number of moods that have been accepted by writers would seem to be as follows: the infinitive, the imperative, the indicative, the participial, the subjunctive, the temporal, the conditional-potential, the contingent (Doke for Bantu generally), the commentative (Jordan), and the relative (Pahl).

Certain statements have been made by various writers concerning mood.

For Appleyard's remarks see above.

Clement M. Doke (1935) quotes Bradley's Definition of mood: (p 147)

"A special form assumed by the verb in order to mark some manner (modus) in which that connexion between subject and predicate which every verb implies is viewed by the speaker."

Doke goes on to say: (p 147)

"The following moods are recognized in various Bantu languages: imperative, infinitive, indicative, subjunctive, participial, potential, conditional and contingent. Moods are often distinguished from one another by some change in subjectival concord; for instance in Zulu, the class 1 concord varies as follows: indicative and contingent u-, subjunctive and potential a-, participial e-.

It must be observed that while it is still convenient in Bantu to include the infinitive and the imperative among the moods, these forms are really distinct from all the others, not being finite, the first is

a noun, and the second an interjection. Webster's Third New International Dictionary defines mood as:

"(a) Distinction of form in a verb to express whether action or state it denotes is conceived as fact or in some other manner (as command, possibility or wish)."

John Lyons (1968) says of mood: (p.308)

"At least three 'scales' of modality may be relevant. The first is the scale of 'wish' and 'intention' ... The second scale is that of 'necessity' and 'obligation' ... The third is that of 'certainty' and 'possibility'."

1
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}

These definitions are based primarily on semantic criteria and it is semantic criteria which will be considered primary in this dissertation. However, although semantics is considered primary, morphology cannot be disregarded, and, as will be clear from my treatment of the moods and tenses I have taken it into consideration. In fact, if Chafe's theories of language as expounded in Chafe (1970) are subscribed to, it is obvious that it is impossible to divorce the two completely. He points out (Chafe 1970, p 68) that syntax, in which is included morphology, and semantics are very closely allied: "... the boundary between syntax and semantics, a boundary which I am suggesting is nonexistent."

The contingent mood is postulated by Doke. It is considered here, in agreement with Louw (1963) that this is in fact a past future tense and not a mood.

Jordan postulated a 'commentative mood'. Vide Ziervogel (1952) his "Narrative Tense". This is what most writers have considered to be a past subjunctive. There are reasons why this could be considered as a mood in its own right. However, these are only that it is not always past in significance and it is rejected as being a separate mood and will be considered as a past subjunctive in this dissertation.

Pahl's 'relative mood' (1967) will not be accepted as a mood here on semantic grounds.

Louw (1954), (1963), (1969), Van Wyk (1957) and Pahl (1967), regard the potential as a form and not a mood although Ziervogel et. al (1967), say of Zulu (p.89) that "The potential form may also be regarded as a mood."

Van Wyk (1957) says: (p 162)

"There seems to be no justification for the general view that the potential is a non-indicative mood of the verb. It can be proved that the potential, like the progressive, can appear in a number of moods, including the indicative."

Louw (1963a) says: (p 51)

"Die potensiale vorm kan nie as 'n modus beskryf word nie, aangesien dit ook in die partisipiale modus voorkom. Dit kan tereg beweer word dat die potensiale -nga- 'n modaliteitsverandering tot 'n reeds bestaande modus aanbring."

Van Wyk does not name the moods in which he says it can be proved that the potential occurs, other than the indicative mood. Westphal says of the potential that it is a simple tense (Westphal 1971 p 164). However, as has been pointed out by Louw there are reasons for believing that it is a compounding. (Louw 1969 p 126) Louw's contention that it cannot be a mood because it occurs in the participial, is strengthened by the fact that the meaning of the potential can be expressed in the form of a statement as can the indicative. Therefore, even although it has the morphology typical of a mood, it will be handled as a form in this dissertation.

About the temporal Louw says (1963):

"Die sogenaamde temporale modus van Xhosa sal ook as 'n modaliteitsvorm beskou word."

In this I would agree with him as it does not meet the semantic criteria which would classify it as a mood.

As Doke says, the infinitive is distinct from the moods. It is, in fact, a verbo-nominal but it will be handled in this dissertation as it carries the base tonal

forms of the verb.

The imperative can definitely be regarded as a mood. The fact that it has no subject concord in its surface structure means nothing as it most certainly has a deep structure subject concord of the second person. In the plural this also occurs in the surface structure as a suffix vide p. 28. Semantically it fits the accepted definitions for a mood.

The indicative and the subjunctive are accepted as being moods. This fact has not been disputed by anyone except in the case of Jordan's 'commentative mood' (see above).

Tense will be defined according to Robins (1964) in which he says: (p 284)

"The semantic ranges covered by the different forms are mainly on two axes, time relations and what are usually called aspectual difference of completion, incompleteness, continuation and momentariness."

In this dissertation the term aspect is only used tentatively as it is realized that the term aspect, as originally coined for the Slavic languages, referred to a continuous - non-continuous dichotomy which is indicated in the surface structure. In Xhosa we do have continuous vs non-continuous but this is often indicated in the deep, rather than in the surface structure. It is also uncertain if this is really perfect vs non-perfective as in the Slavic languages. Vide Kruger (1971 p.14 et seqq.)

This gives the following tenses: present, future, perfect, remote past, which are the simple tenses; past continuous, near past perfect, remote past continuous, remote past perfect which are the complex tenses, and finally, the compound tenses which are: near past future, remote past future, future continuous and future perfect.

In this work non-modal and non-tense verbal affixes will not be dealt with except where it is necessary, as in the case of the passive suffix in the negative of certain tenses where it affects the tone, and also with the progressive, the negative /ka/ (not yet) and the positive /kwa/ (only), formatives. These last three also

in as far as the tonal structure goes.

The forms are merely extensions of the basic moods and tenses. c.f. Conclusion.

CHAPTER II

THE INFINITIVE 60-2.0 Patterns

Positive	u - ku - (OC) -- R -- a
Negative	u - ku - nga --(OC) - R - i

2.0.1 General Remarks on the Morphology.

The infinitive differs from the moods in that it has no SC.

The prefixal formative /-ku-/ occurs:

- (1) as /-kw-/ before the vowels /a/ or /e/

e.g. Úkwálátha	(To point at)
Úkwála	(To refuse)
Úkwénza	(To do)
Úkwénzákala	(To be injured)

- (2) As /-k-/ before verbs commencing in the vowel /o/

e.g. Úkója	(To roast).
Úkómbéla	(To sing or drum).
Úkóhlwaya	(To punish).

- (3) Otherwise it is unaffected.

e.g. Úkúcheba	(To shave).
Úkuvúka	(To wake up).
Úkuyisúla	(To wipe it).

If there is an OC present the infinitive /ku/ retains its CV form as it occurs before the initial consonant of the OC. If the OC occurs before a vowel commencing verb then its vowel is elided or in the case of class 1, which is a syllabic /m/ the /m/ loses its syllabicity.

e.g. Úkumázi	(To know him).
Úkuyénza	(To make it).
Úkuzoyíka	(To fear them).

Aberrant positive suffixes.

The suffix /-i/ occurs with the two verbs:

Úkwâzi	(To know)
Úkúthi	(To say)

The suffix /-o/ occurs with the verb:

Úkútsho	(To say so)
---------	-------------

Negative	Úkúngasilí	(Not to grind)
	Úkúngaqâshi	(Not to guess)
	Úkúngayigrâyi	(Not to crush it)
	Úkúngambhaptîzi	(Not to baptize him)

The negative prefix being juxtaposed to a v-commencing radical in this case the vowel of the negative formative is elided in favour of initial V of the radical.

Úkúngethâki	(Not to be startled)
Úkúngongâli	(Not to winnow)
Úkúngâli	(Not to refuse)

If there is an OC present then the negative prefix retains its full form and the OC loses its vowel as in the positive.

Úkúngayâkhi	(Not to build it)
Úkúngazôni	(Not to spoil them)

The negative prefix when juxtaposed to a latent i-commencing verb stem, coalesces with the latent initial /i/. $a + i > e$

Úkúngemi	(not to stand)
Úkúngehli	(Not to descend)
Úkúngezi	(Not to come)

Certain verbs as well as any containing a passive extension never take the suffix /i/ in the negative, i.e. /-v-/ (hear) and /-tsh-/ (say so).

e.g.	Úkúngevá	(Not to hear)
	Úkúngatshó	(Not to say so)
	Úkúngalinywá	(Not to be cultivated)
	Úkúngasûlwa	(Not to be wiped)

2.1 The Tonal Structure of the Infinitive.

2.1.0 Monosyllabic stems.

These can be divided into two main groups. Those

with a basic L tone and those with a basic H tone. Latent i-commencing verbs with an overt monosyllabic structure, do in fact, act as monosyllabics and will be included here. Vowel commencing disyllabic stems normally act as monosyllabic stems and will be handled as monosyllabics in this dissertation. In this section, however, they will be exemplified separately, to show that they can, in certain instances, act like disyllabic stems.

2.1.1 L Stems.

The initial tone on the macro-prefix (i.e. a prefix consisting of more than one morpheme) is H. The final tone on this macro-prefix exhibits polarity¹ with the tone on the following syllable when the full macro-prefix is represented. If, however, the first part of the macro-prefix, i.e. the initial vowel /u/ is elided then the tone on the basic prefix is L, i.e. it has an underlying L tone.

Positive. In the positive the L tone on the stem remains L.

e.g.	Úkúya	ékhâya	(To go home.)
	Úkúnya		(To defecate.)
	Úkúwa		(To fall.)

An OC occurs with its normal H tone without affecting the stem, vide Westphal (1967)

e.g.	² Úkuyimba	(To dig it.)
	Úkuyithi	(To say it.)
	Úkuyisa	(To send it to.)

Negative. The L toned negative formative /nga/ conditions a final H tone. If an OC is present it and the H tone of the stem are realized as a HH sequence in all environments.

e.g.	Úkúngalwí	(Not to fight.)
	Úkúngasí	(Not to send to.)
	Úkúngayíthí	(Not to pour it.)
	Úkúngayímbí	(Not to dig it.)

-
1. I use the term polarity as does Westphal (1967) i.e. the tone is H before L and L before H.
 2. As far as I can ascertain, the latent initial /i/ has no influence here.

When occurring with a passive extension the extended stem has a LL tone sequence in the positive.

e.g.	Úkúmbiwa	(To be dug)
	¹ Úkúliwa	(To be fought)
	Úkúthiwa	(To be poured)

In the negative the passive extended stem has a HH tone sequence which is manifest as FL before a juncture."

e.g.	¹ Úkúngaliwa	(Not to be fought)
	Úkúngathiwa	(Not to be poured)
	Úkúngembiwa	(Not to be dug)

2.1.2 HL V-commencing stems.

Positive. The initial H tone of these stems is actually the H tone from the second syllable of the prefix, i.e. these stems behave as L toned monosyllabic stems.

e.g.	Úkóndla	(To rear young)
	Úkóngá	(To use sparingly)
	Úkwánga	(To kiss)

The presence of an OC causes no difficulties, the only change being in the prefix which becomes HL due to its exhibiting polarity with the H toned OC.

e.g.	Úkuyénza	(To do it)
	Úkuyója	(To roast it)
	Úkuyóndla	(To rear it)

Negative. As in the positive, the initial vowel of the stem has no inherent tone but shares the tone of a contiguous morph, in this case the L toned negative formative /nga/. This formative conditions the expected H tone in final position.

e.g.	Úkúngongí	(Not to use sparingly)
	Úkúngophí	(Not to bleed)
	Úkúngení	(Not to be dense).

When there is an OC present it, with its inherent H tone, and the final H tone are manifest as FL before a

1. Note the change in the segmental structure lw → l/- passive extn. c.f. úkúlwa (to fight).

junction.

e.g.	Úkúngayôndli	(Not to rear it)
	Úkúngayênzi	(Not to do it)
	Úkúngamângi	(Not to kiss her)

When there is a passive extension present, these stems act in exactly the same way as do the L toned monosyllabic stems.

Positive e.g.	Úkwenziwa	(To be done)
	Úkôjiwa	(To be roasted)
Negative e.g.	Úkúngojiwa	(Not to be roasted)
	Úkúngondliwa	(Not to be reared)

2.1.3. H tone stems.

As with the L toned stems, the final tone on the macro-prefix exhibits polarity with the following tone. The stem tone is H in both the positive and the negative when there is no OC present. When there is an OC present the OC has a H tone which with the H stem tone is realized as FL before a juncture.

Positive	e.g.	Úkutyá	(To eat)
		Úkumá	(To stand)
		Úkusá	(To get light)
		Úkutshá	(To burn)
With OC	e.g.	Úkuyîtya	(To eat it)
		Úkuyîba	(To steal it)
		Úkuyîva	(To hear it)
		Úkuyîpha	(To give it)
Negative	e.g.	Úkúngatyí	(Not to eat)
		Úkúngemí	(Not to stand)
		Úkúngafi	(Not to die)
		Úkúngevá	(Not to hear)
With OC	e.g.	Úkúngayîbi	(Not to steal it)
		Úkúngawâkhi	(Not to draw it)
		Úkúngazîphi	(Not to give them)

When occurring with a passive extension the H tone is retained in the positive giving the sequence HL because *HH is a non-permissible sequence here. In the negative there

is also a final H tone and this HH sequence is realized as FL before a juncture.

Positive	e.g. Úkutyíwa	(To be eaten)
	Úkukhíwa	(To be drawn)
	Úkuphíwa	(To be given)
Negative	e.g. Úkúngébíwa	(Not to be stolen)
	Úkúngakhíwa	(Not to be drawn)
	Úkúngatyíwa	(Not to be eaten)

2.1.4 FL V-commencing stems.

These stems would appear to have an underlying HH tone sequence, the first tone of which can easily be elided. This being the reason that they can, in certain instances, act like disyllabic FL (HH) stems. However, as they act more commonly like monosyllabic H stems, they will be handled as such here with a noted variation vide section 2.1.3

Positive. The final HH sequence is manifest as a FL sequence before a juncture. Note that the H tone on the initial vowel¹¹ is normally retained and the tone on the basic prefix elided. However a LH can occur on the stem especially when it occurs in non final position.

e.g.	Úkwála	(To decline)
c.f.	Úkwálá kakhúlu	(To decline a lot)
	Úkóma	(To become dry)
	Úkóna	(To sin)
c.f.	Úkoná kakhúlu	(To sin a lot)

Negative. In the negative two patterns are possible. One in which the stem acts as a monosyllabic H stem and the other in which it acts as a disyllabic FL (HH) stem. When acting as a disyllabic stem the negative formative loses its L tone in the surface structure.

As monosyllabic H

e.g.	Úkúngomí	(Not to become dry)
	Úkúngoní	(Not to sin)
	Úkúngalí	(Not to refuse)

As disyllabic FL

e.g.	Úkúngômi	(Not to become dry)
------	----------	---------------------

Úkúngõni	(Not to sin)
Úkúngâli	(Not to refuse)

Note that in this case the HH tone on the prefix is conditioned by the following underlying structure L tone on the negative formative.

When there is an OC present in the negative there is only one possible pattern as would be expected, the OC having a H tone.

e.g. Úkúngayâzi	(Not to know it)
Úkúngayõni	(Not to spoil it)
Úkúngayâkhi	(Not to build it)

With a passive extension these stems behave like monosyllabic H toned stems.

2.1.5 Disyllabic Stems

These can be divided into three groups, LL, HL and FL (underlying HH). V-commencing radicals will be handled separately in this section.

LL stems.

The initial tone of the macro-prefix is high and the tone on the second syllabic exhibits polarity with the inherent tone of the following syllable. Inherent because in the positive, when an OC is present, there is tonal shift. The H tone of the OC shifts forward onto the initial syllable of the verb stem, c.f. Westphal (1967). The final tone on the prefix is L before the OC although the OC has lost its H tone. The passive extension does not alter any of the tones in this group.

2.1.6 LL stems.

Positive.	Úkúsusa	(To remove)
	Úkúcenga	(To plead)
	Úkúcaca	(To be clear)
	Úkúpheka	(To cook)
	Úkútyhila	(To uncover)

With OC e.g.	Úkuyityhála	(To push it)
	Úkuzixhóma	(To hang them up)
	Úkuyilóla	(To sharpen it)
	Úkumyéka	(To leave him alone)

In the negative the L tones formative /nga/ conditions the final H tone in the stem. When there is an OC present it retains its H tone and there is no tone shift or repetition.

Negative e.g.	Úkúngathobí	(Not to bend)
	Úkúngaxubí	(Not to mix)
	Úkúngavundí	(Not to rot)
	Úkúngaxozí	(Not to carve)

With OC e.g.	Úkúngayithintí	(Not to touch it)
	Úkúngayísilí	(Not to grind it)
	Úkúngayityhilí	(Not to uncover it)
	Úkúngayírhumí	(Not to pay for it)

With passive extension there is no change.

There are at least two LL stems which behave like extended L toned monosyllabic stems.¹ These two stems are set out below with an extended form of the L toned verb /úkúlwa/ (To fight), for comparison.

Positive e.g.	Úkúhlala	(To stay)
	Úkúsuka	(To go away)
	Úkúlwisa	(To cause to fight)
With OC e.g.	Úkuyihlala	(To occupy it)
	Úkuyílwisa	(To cause it to fight)
Negative e.g.	Úkúngahláli	(Not to stay)
	Úkúngasúki	(Not to go away)
	Úkúngalwísi	(Not to cause to fight)
With OC e.g.	Úkúngayíhláli	(Not to occupy it)
	Úkúngayílwísi	(Not to cause it to fight)

1. c.f. Louw (1971 p 108)

2.1.7 HL Stems

The prefixal tones are as above. Once again polarity is exhibited to the underlying H tone of the OC in the positive.

Positive e.g.	Úkuqásha	(To guess)
	Úkuzála	(To become full)
	Úkunyúka	(To go up)

The OC loses its H tone before the initial H tone of these stems. c.f. Westphal (1967)

With OC e.g.	Úkuyisúla	(To wipe it)
	Úkumqéshe	(To engage him)
	Úkuziphátáa	(To carry them)
	Úkuzithéza	(To collect it)

Negative. The L toned negative formative conditions, the expected final H tone. This and H tones of the root are realized as FL before a juncture.

e.g.	Úkúngathémbi	(Not to trust)
	Úkúngavúki	(Not to wake up)
	Úkúngathúli	(Not to be quiet)

The OC retains its H tone in the negative.

With OC e.g.	Úkúngaziswéli	(Not to lack them)
	Úkúnganizóndi	(Not to hate you)
	Úkúngaliséli	(Not to drink it)
	Úkúngayiléngi	(Not to hang it)

The passive extension does not affect the tonal structure.

2.1.8 FL Stems.

These stems which can also occur with a HH or LH sequence in certain contexts are labelled as FL in this dissertation because this is the structure they have when occurring before a juncture in their basic form, i.e. in the infinitive. However, it is the writer's contention that a surface FL is actually a manifestation of an underlying HH. c.f. Westphal (1967 p 35), Guthrie (1967 Vol. 1 par 54.41 et seq.) This contention is, I think, born out by the tonal evidence presented in this dissertation, vide conclusion.

Positive. The prefixal tones are as expected, i.e. HL and the stem tones FL before a juncture and HH elsewhere.

e.g.	Úkuqhîna	(To tie a knot)
	Úkukrôkra	(To want more food)
	Úkuqhîtsá kakhûlu	(To bully a lot)
	Úkuvúná kákuhlé	(To harvest well)

The OC loses its H tone before these stems in the positive. c.f. Westphal (1967).

e.g.	Úkuyilînga	(To try it)
	Úkuyigrâya	(To crush it)
	Úkumshiyá ápha.	(To leave him here)

Negative. In the negative the macro-prefix has the expected HH tone before the L toned negative formative /nga/. As there is already a final H tone -- FL having the underlying HH sequence -- the L toned negative formative has no effect on the stem tones.

e.g.	Úkúngalôndli	(Not to spy)
	Úkúngamîxi	(Not to choke)
	Úkúngaphákî kutyá	(Not to dish up food)
	Úkúngathéngî thanga	(Not to buy pumpkin)

In the negative the OC does not lose its H tone.

e.g.	Úkúngazívûni	(Not to harvest them)
	Úkúngabámêmi	(Not to invite them)

The passive extension has no effect on FL stems in the infinitive.

2.1.9 Trisyllabic stems.

These can be divided into three groups:

- (1) HLL stems which act like extended LL stems;
- (2) HLL stems which act like extended HL stems; and
- (3) HHL stems which act like extended FL stems.

In fact these stems have no basic disyllabic forms. Forms with an OC will not be exemplified here as the OC acts exactly as in the disyllabic forms. The passive extension has no effect on any of these forms.

2.1.10 (1) HLL < LL stems.

These are recognizable from the following group in

that the infinitive prefix has a HH tone pattern when juxtaposed to stems in this group, whereas in the following group it is HL.

Positive.	e.g. Úkúhlákula	(To weed)
	Úkúbhátala	(To pay)
	Úkúthándaza	(To pray)
	c.f. Úkúlimela	(To cultivate for) < úkúlima

Negative. In trisyllabic or longer stems, the L toned negative formative /nga/ conditions a final HH sequence. With these stems the initial tone is L before this sequence as would be expected from L tone group stems. The HH sequence is manifest as FL before a juncture.

	e.g. Úkúngadlabhúli	(Not to pierce)
	Úkúngacekísi	(Not to despise)
	Úkúngagodúki ngóku	(Not to go home now)
	c.f. Úkúngavuléli	(Not to open for) < úkúvula

2.1.11 HLL < HL stems.

In this group the macro-prefix has a HL tone pattern when juxtaposed to the stem.

Positive	e.g. Úkugúngutha	(To hit severely)
	Úkuchánkcattha	(To step across stepping stones)
	Úkuthíntitha	(To stutter)
	c.f. Úkusélisa	(To cause to drink) < úkuséla

Negative. The final HH sequence conditioned by the negative formative /nga/ is preceded by the initial H tone of the stem. This initial stem tone can occur as L especially after a depressor consonant. However, this will not be exemplified here as the H toned form is the one preferred by my informants.

	e.g. Úkúngaphúmlí	(Not to rest)
	Úkúngathíntíthi	(Not to stutter)
	Úkúngagqíthísí kakhúlu	(Not to surpass it by much)
	c.f. Úkúngafúndísi	(Not to teach) < úkufúnda

2.1.12 (3) HHL < FL stems.

A very common tonal variation on the stems is LHL. However, in this dissertation they will be exemplified as HHL.

Positive. e.g.	Úkufúmana	(To find)
	Úkugáwúla	(To chop)
	Úkutólíka	(To interpret)
c.f.	Úkuthéthísa	(To cause to talk) < úkuthéthá.

2.1.13 Trisyllabic vowel-commencing stems.

There are only two groups of these; HLL and HHL. They act like trisyllabic stems.

2.1.14 HLL vowel-commencing stems.

Positive e.g.	Úkwándlala	(To lay a mat)
	Úkwámbatha	(To dress oneself)
	Úkwánela	(To be enough)

Negative. The initial vowel takes the L tone of the negative formative before the final HH sequence.

e.g.	Úkúngaléki	(Not to cover)
	Úkúngolúli	(Not to stretch out)
	Úkúngongézi	(Not to add more)

2.1.15 HHL vowel-commencing stems.

As with the consonant-commencing stems, these can also have a LHL pattern which will not be exemplified here except when there is an OC present in which case the initial vowel of the stem takes on the tone of the OC which is manifest as a L in the positive infinitive.

Positive e.g.	Úkwáhlúla	(To separate)
	Úkónwába	(To be contented)
	Úkuyaphúla	(To break it down)
	Úkuyayáma	(To lean upon it)
Negative e.g.	Úkúngalúsi	(Not to herd)
	Úkúngakhâmi	(Not to yawn)
	Úkúnganêki	(Not to spread out)

2.2. Uses and Significance.

The infinitive is a verbo-nominal and can occur in either a verbal or a nominal context.

It can be nominal (a) in that its macro-prefix can govern any of the prefixes which are governed by noun prefixes, i.e. subject, object, adjective, relative, possessive, quantitative and enumerative.

e.g.	Úkutyá kúyátyébisa	(To eat fattens)
	Báfúna úkuthándwa	(They want to be loved)
	Úkutyá ókunîzi	(Much food)
	Úkusébénza ókungwéle	(Holy working.)
	Úkuthúnga kwákhe...	(Her sewing...)

(b) It can be represented by any of the pronouns.

e.g.	Koná úkutyá	(The very food)
	Ôku kutyá	(This food)
	Ókoná kutyá	(The very food)

(c) It can act as a base to an adverb as can other nouns

e.g.	Sithánda úkutyá nókuséla	(We like to eat and drink)
	Báfúmána ímalí ngókusébénza	(They get money by working)
	Uthánda úkúpheka kúnókubáléka	(You like cooking more than running)

(d) It can act as a base to a copulative

e.g.	Kúkópha	(It is the bleeding)
	Kúkuphúmla	(It is the resting)
	Índoda ínókuharíka	(The man can rake)
	Ínkwenkwé ínókúgóduka	(The boy can go home)

The infinitive can occur as a verbal (a) with negative affixes.

e.g.	Úkúngafézi	(Not to complete)
	Úkúngagangí	(Not to be bold)
	Úkúngagciní	(Not to look after)
	Úkúngagodóli	(Not to be cold)

(b) When it occurs with an object or object concord.

e.g.	Úkuthánda ábantu	(To love people)
	Úkúlola íméla	(To sharpen a knife)
	Úkuyiphíka	(To deny it)
	Úkuisiséla	(To drink it)

See also the sections: the future tenses the temporal form, the negative imperative.

CHAPTER III

THE IMPERATIVE MOOD3.0 Patterns.

Positive	singular	(a)	R-a
		(b)	(y) -R-a
		(c)	(y)i -R-a
	With an OC		OC -R-e
	plural	(a)	R-a-ni
		(b)	(y)- R-a-ni
		(c)	(y)i- R-a-ni
	With an OC		OC- R-e-ni

Negative. The same basic pattern occurs with or without an OC.

singular	(i)	musa + uku -(OC) - R-a
	(ii)	Mus'- uku - (OC) - R-a
	(iii)	s'uku -(OC) - R-a
plural	(i)	musani + uku -(OC) - R-a
	(ii)	musan' - uku -(OC) - R-a
	(iii)	san' -uku -(OC) - R-a

In the patterns (ii) and (iii) the s' is very much a contraction of musa which can still be used. This contraction of an auxiliary is very common in Xhosa c.f. the continuous tenses Chapter 6.

3.0.1 General Remarks on the Morphology.

In the positive of the imperative the (c) patterns occur with monosyllabic verb stems. In these patterns the prefix /yí) acts as a stabilizer.

Singular	e.g.	Yizá! (Come!)
		Yiyá émsebénzini! (Go to work!)
		Yityá úkutyá! (Eat food!)
Plural	e.g.	Yimbáni! (Dig ye!)
		Yiváni! (Listen ye!)
		Yibáni! (Steal ye!)

In the Ciskei the consonant of the stabilizer is often dropped in both the singular and plural forms.

e.g.	Izá!	(Come!)
	Ilwá!	(Fight!)
	Ipháni!	(Give ye!)
	Ityáni!	(Eat ye!)

The (b) patterns occur before V-commencing verbs.

Singular e.g.	Yosá inyama!	(Roast the meat!)
	Yakhá índlu!	(Build a house!)
	Yenzá izitúlo!	(Make chairs!)
Plural e.g.	Yongezáni úbisi!	(Add ye more milk!)
	Yonakalisáni intombi!	(Spoil ye the maiden!)
	Yomisáni ingubo!	(Dry ye the blanket!)

V-commencing verbs can also occur with the (a) pattern in the Ciskei.

e.g.	Oná!	(Spoil!)
	Alá!	(Refuse!)
	Ondláni ikáti!	(Rear ye the cat!)
	Ohlwayáni úsána!	(Punish ye the baby!)

Pattern (a) occurs with other verb stems.

Singular e.g.	Fúnda iincwadi!	(Read the books!)
	Lolá iméla!	(Sharpen the knife!)
	Mémá úyihló!	(Invite your father!)
Plural e.g.	Fundisáni abántwana!	(Teach ye the children!)
	Zalisáni ikómityi!	(Fill ye the cup!)
	Choláni izintó!	(Pick ye up the things!)

The form of the imperative which occurs with an OC is, in fact, a present subjunctive form as can be seen from its tonal structure, vide Chapter VII on the present subjunctive.

Singular e.g.	Yityé!	(Eat it!)
	Mhlabé!	(Stab him!)
	Wáphéké amáqandá!	(Boil the eggs!)
Plural e.g.	Bábéthéni!	(Beat ye them!)
	Zityiséni!	(Feed ye them!)
	Búséléni útywalá!	(Drink ye the beer!)

N.B. All these forms have a deep structure SC 2nd p.sg. and a surface structure SC 2nd p.pl. as the suffix /-ni/.

The negative has no simple form; the form which makes use of the negative of the present subjunctive is a more polite form and so is not regarded as the true negative of the imperative, vide par 7.1.2.6., but it makes use of an auxiliary verb which is followed by the verb in the infinitive positive. If an OC occurs, it occurs in the infinitive complement.

The most common form of the pattern is the most highly contracted form, i.e. the one numbered (iii) above.

Singular	e.g. (iii)	S'úkúhlamba ngoku! (Don't wash now!)
		S'úkútshaya! (Don't smoke!)
		S'úkubáphá úkutyá! (Don't give them food!)
Plural	e.g. (iii)	Sán 'úkuyityisa! (Don't ye feed it!)
		Sán 'úkúkhetha! (Don't ye choose!)
		Sán 'úkúchitha ixésa! (Don't ye waste time!)

The other forms are used in more highly stylized forms of speech.

Singular	e.g. (i)	Músa úkúya édólóphini! (Don't go to town!)
		Músa úkuthéthá isingési! (Don't speak English!)
		Músa úkutshixá úcango! (Don't lock the door!)
Plural	e.g. (i)	Musáni úkwaphúla ¹ izintí! (Don't break ye the sticks!)
		Musáni úkuvá úkutyá phámbi kókúbá nihlalé étáfileni. (Don't taste ye the food before ye sit at the table).
		Musáni úkuncokóla! (Don't chat!)
Singular	e.g. (ii)	Mús'úkumbétha! (Don't hit him!)
		Mús'úkubakhatháza! (Don't trouble them!)
		Mús'úkúkhwaza, yithí cwaka! (Don't shout be quiet!)
Plural	e.g. (ii)	Musán'úkumbúlisha! (Don't ye greet him!)
		Musán'úkoyika! (Don't ye fear!)
		Musán'úkwába izintó! (Don't ye distribute the things!)

1, For the effect of V-commencing verbs on the prefixes see Chapter 1.

3.0.2. The present subjunctive also occurs as an imperative, most commonly in the negative (vide present subjunctive).

3.1 The Tonal Structure of the Imperative Mood.

3.1.0 Monosyllabic stems.

The stabilizer /yi/ and the pluralizing suffix (SC 2nd person plural) /ni/ are both L toned.

3.1.1. L stems.

Positive. The imperative conditions a final H tone with L group stems in the positive.

e.g.	Yizá!	(Come!)
	Yithí!	(Say!)
	Yilwá!	(Fight!)
Plural	Yimáni!	(Stand ye!)
	Yipháni!	(Give ye!)

An OC can have either a H or a L tone in the positive imperative. The L toned form is more common after a depressor consonant, otherwise the H toned form is more common. When there is an OC present the stem tone is still H.

e.g.	Yíhlé!	(Descend it!)
	Yímbé!	(Dig it!)
	Zilwé!	(Fight them!)
Plural e.g.	Yíhléni!	(Descend ye it!)
	Yílwéni!	(Fight ye it!)
	Zimbéni!	(Dig ye them!)

The negative forms will not be exemplified in this chapter because they consist of an auxiliary verb with a fixed tonal structure and an infinitive form. (Vide the chapter on the infinitive). The auxiliary verb has a HL tone sequence in the singular and a LHL sequence in the plural.

3.1.2. H stems.

These stems retain their H tone throughout.

Singular e.g.	Yikhá ámázi!	(Draw water!)
	Yibá íntó!	(Steal the thing!)
	Yivá!	(Hear!)

Plural e.g.	Yimáni!	(Stand ye!)
	Yityáni!	(Eat ye!)
	Yibáni!)	(Steal ye!)

With the H toned stems the OC behaves exactly as it did with L toned stems. The stem retains its H tone.

Singular e.g.	Yíphé!	(Give it!)
	Wákhé!	(Draw it!)
	Zibé!	(Steal them!)
Plural e.g.	Yívéni!	(Hear ye it!)
	Wákhéni!	(Draw ye it!)
	Zityéni!	(Eat ye them!)

3.1.3. Disyllabic stems.

The pluralizing suffix is L toned as with monosyllabic stems.

3.1.4. LL stems.

The tone of these stems changes to LH in the imperative. An OC normally retains its H tone but can have a L tone especially after a depressor consonant.

Singular e.g.	Chachá!	(Recover!)
	Chazá!	(Comb!)
	Thobá íntsĩmbi!	(Bend the iron!)

Plural e.g.	Lukáni!	(Weave ye!)
	Thintáni!	(Touch ye!)
	Minyáni!	(Swallow ye!)

With OC

Singular e.g.	Yívalé!	(Close it!)
	Kúpheké!	(Cook it!)
	Yíphiké!	(Deny it!)
Plural e.g.	Yísindéni!	(Smear ye it!)
	Ítyholéni!	(Accuse ye him!)
	Zixozéni!	(Carve ye them!)

3.1.5. The aberrant LL stems.

Singular e.g.	Hlála!	(Sit!)
	Súka!	(Go away!)

Plural	e.g.	Hláláni!	(Sit ye!)
		Súkáni!	(Go ye away!)

With OC

Singular	e.g.	Yihlâle!	(Occupy it!)
Plural	e.g.	Yihlâlêni!	(Occupy ye it!)

3.1.6 HL stems.

The basic HL pattern of the stem is retained in the singular when there is no OC present.

e.g.	Thém̄ba ábantu!	(Trust people!)
	Qés̄ha ísicâka!	(Hire the servant!)
	Zón̄da!	(Hate!)

In the plural the H initial tone of the stem can be repeated on the stem final syllable or there can be tone shift from the first to the last syllable of the stem, i.e. it can either have a HH or a LH sequence. LH is more common after a depressor consonant and HH is more common elsewhere.

e.g.	Zuzáni ímalí!	(Get ye the money.)
	Sáláni kákuhlé!	(Stay ye well!)
	Qásháni!	(Guess ye!)

When there is an OC present the stem takes on a HH sequence. This occurs as FL before a juncture.

Singular	e.g.	Yítháthé ngôku!	(Take it now!)
		Yífêze!	(Complete it!)
		Wúpête!	(Turn it over!)
Plural	e.g.	Zíqéshéni!	(Hire ye them!)
		Yísúléni!	(Wipe ye it!)
		Líkhwéléni!	(Mount ye it!)

3.1.7 FL stems.

These stems retain their FL pattern before a juncture in the singular irrespective of whether or not there is an OC present. In the plural the FL pattern changes to its morphotonemic variation of HH, as it is not final, i.e. the underlying tone is HH throughout.

Singular	e.g.	Línga!	(Try!)
		Krókra!	(Grumble!)
		Qhótsa!	(Bake!)
		Thêtha!	(Speak!)
Plural	e.g.	Phákáni úkutyá!	(Serve ye the food!)
		Vúnáni ámázimba!	(Harvest ye the kafir corn!)
		Síkáni isónka!	(Cut ye the bread!)

With an OC

Singular	e.g.	Yípháke!	(Dish it up!)
		Íshíye!	(Leave him behind!)
		Báthánde!	(Love ye them!)
		Zíthéngé!	(Buy them!)
Plural	e.g.	Yítswébéni!	(Pinch ye it!)
		Yítshintshéni!	(Change ye it!)
		Íthúméni!	(Send ye him!)
		Yíthúngéni!	(Sew ye it!)

3.2 Uses and Significance.

All forms of the imperative are peremptory and if a more polite form is required one of the forms incorporating the subjunctive is used.

Positive	e.g.	Yizá ápha!	(Come here!)
		c/f Ncedá úze ápha.	(Please come here.)
		Thêthá kákuhlé!	(Speak well!)
		c/f Ncedá úthethé kákuhlé.	(Please speak well.)
		Gqithisa úbîsi!	(Pass the milk!)
		c/f Ncedá ugqithisé úbîsi.	(Please pass the milk.)
Negative	e.g.	S'úkúhlamba!	(don't wash!)
		c/f Uzúngahlambi.	(You should not wash.)
		Sán'úkuséla!	(Don't drink!)
		c/f Níngaséli	(Don't drink [request])
		S'úkúhlala ápha!	(Don't stay here!)
		c/f Mawúngahlálí ápha.	-(You must not stay here.)

CHAPTER IV

THE INDICATIVE MOOD

This is a principal mood in that it can occur in a sentence without need of an auxiliary or other verb to complement it.

The tenses will be handled as primary and secondary. Secondary tenses will be handled after the participial mood as they incorporate a verb in another mood, in this case, the participial. The future tense is, in fact, a secondary tense as it incorporates a verb in the infinitive. However, it will be handled with the primary tenses here on an ad hoc basis as the infinitive has already been handled.

The Primary Tenses.

4.1 The present tense.4.1.0 Patterns.

Positive	SC -(OC) - R-a	(short form)
	SC - ya - (OC) - R-a	(long form)
Negative	a - SC ⁿ (OC) - R - i	

4.1.1. General Remarks on the Morphology.

In the positive long form, when it occurs before V-commencing verbs and there is no OC present, the long form formative /-ya-/ is reduced to /-y-/.

e.g.	Úyakháma.	(He is yawning.)
	Siyohlwaya.	(We are punishing.)
	Báyóna.	(They are sinning.)

Before latent i-commencing verbs the /-a-/ of the long form formative coalesces with the latent initial /i/ resulting in /-ye-/.

e.g.	Siyehla.	(We are descending.)
	Ndiyêva.	(I understand.)
	Úmfúndisi úyêza.	(The priest is coming.)

When an OC occurs immediately before a V-commencing verb, it occurs in its consonantal form, see appendix 2. This occurs in all tenses.

- e.g. Ndiyayálama. (I get a glimpse of it.)
 Ndiyayahlúla. (I separate it.)
 Úyazála. (He refuses them.)

When an OC occurs before a latent i-commencing verb, it retains its original form except in classes 2 and 6, in which cases the /a/ of the OC coalesces with the latent initial /i/ resulting in /-be-/ in cl. 2 and /-we-/ in cl. 6.

- e.g. Ndiyayíhla. (I am descending it.)
 Báyawéba. (They are stealing them.)
 Úyayinyúka. (He is ascending it.)

The positive short form.

Before V-commencing radicals the consonantal form of the SC, or OC if present, occurs.

- e.g. Senza úkhúko. (We are making a sleeping mat.)
 Úgqirha wenzakálisa ábántwana. (The doctor hurts the children.)
 Ísicáká siyónisa ingubo ngaphandle. (The servant dries the blanket outside)

Latent i-commencing radicals only affect SCs of classes 2 and 6 when there is no OC present. (For the effects of i-commencing radicals on OCs see above.)

- e.g. Ábántwana béva kákuhlé. (The children understand well.)
 Ámahómba éhla éntábeni. (The dandies come down the mountain.)
 Ábáfázi béva ábántwana. (The women hear the children.)

The negative differs from the positive only with SCs of classes 1 and 6, before V- and latent i-commencing verbs, the effects being the same as in the positive.

- e.g. Akéva. (He does not understand.)
 Akábi. (They do not distribute.)
 Akóndli. (He does not rear.)
 Akénzi. (They do not make.)

4.1.2.0 The Tonal Structure of the Present Tense Principal.

4.1.2.1 Monosyllabic Stems.

These stems have identical patterns in the short form. They can also have identical tonal patterns in the

negative but it is more common for the H toned stems to have a L stem tone in this case, whereas the L toned stems have a H tone. In the positive the SCs third person are always H and first two persons are always L.

4.1.2.2 L toned stems.

Short form.

- e.g. *Úhla éntábeni.* (He descends the mountain.)
- Siya édolóphini.* (We go to town.)
- Úlwa kakhúlu.* (He fights a lot.)

The OC has no effect on the tonal structure.

With OC e.g. *Ndiyíhla íntaba ngámendú.* (I descend the mountain at speed.)

Úyíthi kákuhlé... (He says it well.)

In the long form the formative /-ya-/, which is normally L toned, is assimilated to a H toned SC if there is no OC present.

- e.g. *Ndiyehla.* (I am descending.)
- Báyálwa.* (They are fighting.)
- Úyáwa.* (He is falling.)

The long form formative always occurs with a L tone before an OC.

- With OC e.g. *Úyayíthi...* (He is saying it.)
- Ndiyayíhla.* (I am descending it.)
 - Báyayílwa.* (They are fighting it.)

Positive with the passive extension.

The tonal structure of these is as can be expected from an extended L toned stem, i.e. LL.

- Short form e.g. *Ímbiwa yínjá.* (It is dug by the dog.)
- Íliwa ngábáfána.* (It is fought by the youths.)
- Íthiwa NgúNómsá* (It is said by Nomsa.)
- Long form e.g. *Íyámbiwa.* (It is dug.)
- Íyáliwa.* (It is fought.)

Negative. The SC has a H tone and the stem tone can be either H or L, H being the more common form. Professor Louw (personal communication) reports finding a difference in meaning between /andihli/ and /andihlí/. My informants do not recognize a difference here, however. Note that the final HH sequence occurs as such in all environments.

- e.g. Andihlí. (I am not descending.)
 or Andihli (I am not descending.)
 Azilwí kakhúlu. (They do not fight a lot.)
 or Azilwi kakhúlu. (They do not fight a lot.)
 Abáthi... (They don't say.)
 or Abáthi... (They don't say.)

When there is an OC present the SC has a L tone; the OC and the stem are H toned. The final HH sequence occurs as such in all environments.

- e.g. Akayihlí. (They do not descend it.)
 Asiyilwí. (We do not fight it.)

Negative with the passive extension.

The stem retains its H tone and the extension also takes on a H tone. This HH sequence is realized as FL before a juncture. The SC is H toned.

- e.g. Awúmbíwa. (It is not dug.)
 Ayilíwa. (It is not fought.)

4.1.2.3 H toned stems.

Positive short form. The stem is H toned when juxtaposed to a L toned SC, i.e. one of the first or second person SCs, and L toned elsewhere.

- e.g. Ndityá úkutyá. (I eat food.)
 Úba izintó. (He steals things.)
 Siphá isiphó. (We give the gift.)
 Bawákha kákahlé (They draw it well.)

Long form. In the long form the stem tone remains H. When it occurs after an OC, which also retains its H tone, the HH sequence is manifest as FL before a juncture. The long form formative /ya/ has a L tone.

- e.g. Báyatyá. (They are eating.)
 Íyafá. (It is dying.)
 Líyayíba. (He is stealing it.)
 Niyayívá kákuhlé. (You (pl.) are hearing it well.)

Negative. In the negative the stem tone can be H or L. As L seems to be the more common form it is the one that will be exemplified here. When the SC is juxtaposed to the stem it has a H tone. Otherwise it is L toned.

- e.g. Andíphi nyama. (I do not give meat.)
 Abátyi. (They do not eat.)
 Andíva. (I do not hear.)
 Akawákhi, ámánzi. (He is not drawing it, water.)

Positive with the passive extension.

The tonal pattern is as would be expected for a H tone verb being followed by any one of the verbal extensions.

- Short form. Zíbíwa líséla. (They are stolen by the thief.)
 Kútyíwa ngábántwana. (It is being eaten by the children.)
 Kúphiwa ngábántu. (It is given by the people.)
 Ívíwa ngubáni? (By whom is it heard?)
- Long form. síyebíwa. (It is being stolen.)
 Kúyevíwa. (It is being heard.)
 síyaphíwa. (It is being given.)
 Áyakhíwa. (It is being drawn.)

Negative with the passive extension.

When occurring with other verbal extensions these verbs have a HL tone sequence. With the passive, however, there is a HH sequence on the verb stem; it is manifest as FL before a juncture.

- e.g. Ayityíwa. (It is not being eaten.)
 Azibíwa. (They are not being stolen.)
 Awuphíwá ngúye. (It is not being given by him.)
 Ayivíwá síthi. (It is not understood by us.)

4.1.2.4 Disyllabic stems.

4.1.2.5 LL stems.

The tone of the third person SC is normally

H throughout the positive. However, it can be realized as L as a free variant. (c.f. Louw 1968.) In the positive the initial syllable of the stem assumes a H tone if juxtaposed to a H toned SC or OC. The OC loses its H tone if prefixed by a L toned SC or long form formative /-ya-/, although it still exerts the influence as if it were H toned.

Positive.

Short form 1st persons Uchaza kákuhlé. (You comb well.)
 Sidiza kakhúlu. (We inform a lot.)
 Ndivela éRhini. (I come from
 Grahamstown.)

3rd persons ÚThamí útyhóla ábantu. (Thami accuses
 the people.)
 Ínjá iminya íyeza. (The dog swallows
 the medicine.)
 Bávúla íféstíle. (They open the
 window.)

c.f. Bavúla íféstíle.

Ínjá iminya íyeza.

When the SC is from the first or second person i.e. L toned, the H tone of the OC shifts forward onto the first syllable of the stem. If the SC is H toned the OC retains its H tone which is then repeated on the first syllable of the stem, i.e. the H tone of the OC shifts forward and the OC then assimilates to the tones surrounding it.

With OC 1st persons Siyityhála kakhúlu. (We push it a
 great deal.)
 Siyiphíka kakhúlu. (We deny it vehe-
 mently.)
 Uwusíla kákuhlé. (You grind it well.)

3rd persons Bávúsíla kakhúlu. (They grind it
 well.)
 Ílúxhápha ngóku- (It laps it up
 kháwúleza. speedily.)
 Úyimánca ngámándla. (He sucks it hard.)

In the long form the H tone of the SC is repeated on the long form formative when there is no OC. If there is an OC present its H tone is shifted forward as in the short form and the long form formative has a L tone.

Long form	e.g.	Ndiyacheba.	(I am shaving.)
		Siyacenga.	(We are begging.)
		Îséla liyáthinta.	(The thief is touching.)
		Báyáxhentsa.	(They are dancing.)
With OC	e.g.	Ndiyayimósha.	(I am wasting it.)
		Báyayimúnca.	(They are sucking it.)
		Siyayilóla.	(We are sharpening it.)
		Ziyawaxóza.	(They are carving them.)

In the negative the initial syllable of the stem is H toned and all other syllables have L tones. This

[h - h ~~h~~] tone sequence marks many negative tenses.

Negative	e.g.	Andithóbi.	(I do not bend.)
		Ayivúzi.	(It is not leaking.)
		Akalími.	(He is not cultivating.)
With OC	e.g.	Akayicházi.	(He is not combing it.)
		Abalixúbi.	(They are not mixing it.)

The passive extension has no effect on the positive.

Negative passive. The passive extension conditions a final H tone in the negative. The SC has a H tone.

e.g.	Ayilinywá.	(It is not cultivated.)
	Ayivulwá.	(It is not opened.)
	Azíphekwá.	(They are not to be cooked.)

4.1.2.6 HL stems.

The only case in which these stems do not retain their HL tone patterns is in the negative when there is a passive extension which conditions a final H tone. In this case the stem tone is manifest as FL before a juncture. The third person SCs are normally H toned in the positive but they can occur with a free variant L tone.

Short form	e.g.	Sithêmba ábantu.	(We trust people.)
		Básúla ísitya.	(They wipe the dish.)
		Uswéla ísónka.	(You lack bread.)
With OC	e.g.	Báyithátha ngòku.	(They are taking it now.)
		Siwupéta kakhúlu.	(We turn it over a great deal.)
		Liyíphátha kákuhlé.	(He carries it well.)

Louw (1968) exemplifies a L toned 3rd person SC before an OC which is also L toned. That form is known in this area but is not as common as the one exemplified above.

Long form. In the long form the formative /ya/ has a L tone and the stem retains its HL sequence. The OC loses its H tone.

e.g.	Ziyafána.	(They resemble one another.)
	Báyaséla.	(They are drinking.)
	Ndiyavása.	(I am washing.)
With OC e.g.	Ndiyaziféza.	(I am completing them.)
	Siyamzónnda.	(We hate him.)
	Liyayiphátha.	(He is carrying it.)

Negative. In the negative the stem retains its HL structure. The prefixal formatives all occur with a L tone.

e.g.	Akaqéshi.	(He is not hiring.)
	Abasáli.	(They are not remaining.)
	Asizithézi.	(We are not collecting it.)
	Alibuséi .	(He is not drinking it.)

The passive extension has no effect on the positive.

Negative. As has been seen the passive extension conditions a final H tone in the negative. This with the initial H tone of the stem is manifest as a FL sequence before a juncture.

e.g.	Ayithénjwa	(He is not being trusted.)
	Azithwálwa.	(They are not being carried.)
	Akabéthwá ndím.	(He is not being beaten by me.)
	Ayizúzwá ngúye.	(It is not being obtained by him.)

4.1.2.7 FL Stems.

This tense normally conditions a final L tone except in certain cases when there is a passive extension (see below) and in the Transkeian dialect in the long form with a 3rd person SC when there is no OC - when there is a final H tone, the final HH sequence presumably being realized as such in all environments, vide Louw (1968. p.58). My informants will not accept this HH form and it would seem that it must be restricted to the Transkei.

Short form. As has been stated the final stem tone is L. The OC assimilates the tone of the SC.

- | | | |
|------|------------------|--------------------------|
| e.g. | Ndigráya ámátýe. | (I crush stones.) |
| | Siqhína íntambo. | (We knot the string.) |
| | Báqhōtsa úmbóna. | (They bake the mealies.) |

- | | | |
|--------------|-------------------|----------------------------|
| With OC e.g. | Siyisíka kákuhlé. | (We cut it well.) |
| | Báyithéna ngōku. | (They are pruning it now.) |

Long form. The final tone is L, although there is the dialectal variant mentioned above. The OC assimilates the L tone of the long form formative.

- | | | |
|--------------|------------|--------------------------------|
| e.g. | Siyathíya. | (We are trapping.) |
| | Niyawáka. | (You (pl.) are walking about.) |
| Transkei c.f | Úyatshóná. | (He is drowning.) |

- | | | |
|---------|---------------|-----------------------------|
| With OC | Ndiyayisóngá. | (I am rolling it up.) |
| | Báyazitshíka. | (They are locking them up.) |

Negative. In the negative the initial tone of the stem is H otherwise all the tones are L.

- | | | |
|--------------|--------------------|------------------------------|
| e.g. | Abathúmi bántwana. | (They do not send children.) |
| | Akathúngi. | (She does not sew.) |
| | Asixhéli. | (We do not slaughter.) |
| | Andixóki. | (I do not lie.) |
| With OC e.g. | Akayikrwéli. | (He does not scratch it.) |
| | Abaziséngi. | (They do not milk them.) |
| | Akabaqhítsi. | (They do not bully them.) |
| | Asiyizóbi. | (We are not painting it.) |

With the passive extension.

The passive extension has no effect on the short form positive. In the long form and in the negative, however, it causes the recall of the final H tone. The final HH-sequence is realized as FL before a juncture.

- Long form. e.g. Ziyaghōtswa. (They are being baked.)
 Kúyaphákwa. (It is being dished up.)
 Íyasíkwá ndím. (It is being cut by me.)
- Negative. e.g. Ayivúnwa. (It is not being harvested.)
 Ámáqqabi awafúnjwa. (The leaves are not being heaped up.)
 Ílókhwé ayithúngwá ngúye. (The dress is not being sewn by her.)

4.1.3.0 Uses and Significance.

In the positive there are two forms. A long and a short form.

The long form occurs:

(a) When there is no adjunct following the verb.

- e.g. Izíhlangú zónke (All the shoes which are in
 ézisévénkileni the shop are being sold.)
 ziyáthengíswa.

Lá maháshe áyadlála. (These horses are playing.)
 Îqáqá líyabagxótha. (The polecat chases them
 away.)

(b) When the only adjunct is an object which is represented in the verb by an OC.

- e.g. Ígwalá líyalikhwéla (The coward mounts the
 íháshe. horse.)
 Báyyayigxótha ínkúnzi. (They chase the bull away.)
 Úfúúó líyayítýá íngcá. (The tortoise eats the grass.)

(c) With an adjunct in which case it has an emphatic or contrastive significance. c.f. van Eeden (p.253)

- e.g. Ewé újón úyadlála (Yes, John is playing with
 nóthémba. Themba.)
 Ábántwana báyaluséla (The children are drinking
 úbísí, abaluphúngi. milk not sipping it.)
 Ndiyalála ébhédini. (I am lying on the bed.)

(d) When followed by the enclitic /na/ indicating a question. This does not act as an adjunct.

- e.g. Uyahámba ná? (Are you going?)
 Báyahéthana ná? (Are they hitting one another?)

(e) When a verb in the present tense is followed by the enclitic /nje/ (merely, or like this), it can occur in the long or the short form with a slight change in meaning. (c.f. van Eeden, page 255). The long form has a more definite meaning than the short form. (see below)

- e.g. Ndiyahámba njé. (I am merely going.)
 c.f. Ndihámba njé. (I am merely going. With no purpose.)
 Uyathéthá njé. (You are merely speaking.)
 c.f. Uthéthá njé. (You are merely speaking. With no purpose.)

(f) Very commonly before time adverbs which act as weak adjuncts.

- e.g. Ízinjá zónke (All the dogs are barking now.)
 ziyakhónkotha
 ngóku.
 Ábántwana babó (Their children are singing
 báyácula náshlánje. today.)
 Íntombí iyawubása (The maiden makes the fire at
 úmlilo ngó-6. 6.)

The long form of the present tense very often has a continuous significance, c.f. Ziervogel (1952, p.97).

- e.g. Í-ésile líyabalúma. (The donkey is biting them.)
 Ámáthole áyazikhába (The calves are kicking the
 ézinye íinkomó. other cattle.)
 Siyabalinda njé. (We are merely waiting.)

The long form is often used when there are two objects, the one being represented by an object concord, c.f. van Eeden (op.cit. p.252). This occurs in the perfect

as well.

- e.g. Báyandithéngéla incwadi. (They are buying me a book.)
 Siyabasúsela ikópi. (. We are removing the cup for them).

The long form formative /-ya-/ and the progressive prefix are mutually exclusive.

- e.g. Ndisálamba. (I am still becoming hungry.)
 Íháshe lisáyikhaba inyóka. (The horse is still kicking the snake.)
 Ísicáká sisáhlamba. (The servant is still washing.)

When the emphasis is on some part of the sentence other than the verb in question, the short form occurs, vide Van Eeden (1955 p.246), Louw (1963 p.39).

- e.g. Úóji ugawúla imithi. (George is chopping down the trees.)
 Ínjá ilúma úntu. (The dog bites the person.)

There are certain verbs which can take a double object. This can also happen if there is an applied extension present. c.f. Van Eeden (1955, p.250). In these cases a short form can occur, c.f. long form above.

- e.g. Ndipha úmamá isónka. (I give bread to mother.)
 Bánika ábántwana lilékese. (They give the children sweets.)
 Sizisela úntwana iti. (We bring tea for the child.)

This is true for all other tenses.

The short form of the present tense positive occurs elsewhere. It normally conveys an indefinite significance, c.f. Doke (1961, p.334). This applies to the perfect as well.

- e.g. Ámáqabá áhlala émáXhóseni. (The heathens stay in Xhosaland.)
 Ítakáne litsiba édlélweni. (The lamb jumps in the field.)

Sizibóna éntsímíni. (We see them in the land.)

The present tense can occur in any form, positive or negative with a habitual or a continuous significance, c.f. Ziervogel (1952, p.96)

- e.g. Íkátí iyayisúkela. (The cat chases/is chasing it.)
 Ndikha ámánzi. (I draw/am drawing water.)
 Akuséli masi. (You do not drink/are not drinking sour milk.)

This is the same in any present tense.

Present tense negative.

There is only one form of the negative corresponding to the two positive forms.

- e.g. Ábántwana abatsháyi (The children do not smoke
 éndlwini. in the house.)
 Andibathándi ábántu. (I do not like people.)
 Akandoyiki. (He does not fear me.)
 Ámáxhego akadláli (Old men do not play now.)
 ngóku.

After all negative tenses, if there is no OC in the verb, object nouns, adjectives, relatives or possessive pronouns qualifying the verb are commonly affected in the following way. Nouns lose their initial vowels and cl.10 regains the full noun prefix with polysyllabic stems, as can cl.11. Adjectives lose their initial vowels except in cl.9 where the usual vowel /e/ is replaced by /i/. Possessive pronouns lose their initial vowels and relative concords are reduced to SCs.

- e.g. Úbuhlé abuncédi (Beauty does not help bad
 bafázi babí. women.)
 Íháshe alikhábi (The horse does not kick beau-
 zintombí zintle. tiful girls.)
 ÁmáXhosa akákhi ndlu (The Xhosas do not build a big
 inkúlu. house.)
 Óomamá abathándi (Mothers do not like a baby
 lusána lukhálayó. that cries.)
 Ámápolisa akásukéli (The police do not chase a
 séla libalékayó. thief who runs away.)
 Ítítshala ayohlwáyi (The teacher does not punish
 bám. mine.)

The negative occurring without this reduction of prefixes, as above, is uncommon but when it occurs it

indicates a more definite object. This is so in the case of all negatives.

- e.g. Asiséngi inkomó (We do not milk the red cow.)
 éhomvú.
 Úmfúndi akabháli (The student does not write
 íincwadí ézimfútsháne. the short letters.)
 Andifúmáni éyakhé. (I do not find his.)

4.2. The Perfect Tense.

4.2.0 Patterns.

Positive

Short form SC - (OC) - R - e
 SC - (OC) - R - ile

Negative a - SCⁿ -(OC) - R - anga.

4.2.1 General Remarks on the Morphology.

The perfect suffixal formatives have variants which occur with certain verb radicals. When these variants occur, the difference between the long and short forms is manifest in the tone when there is no difference in the segmental structure.

The variants which occur in the perfect tense positive formative are:

/-ile, -iwe, -e, -e...e, -i, -i...o, -ilo, -o/

The variants /-o/, /-ilo/ and /-i...o/, occur with the verb radical /-tsh-/ (say so) only. The first two of these occur as markers of the short form and long form respectively. The third form occurs with the passive suffix infixed to it.

- e.g. Nditshô izolo. (I said so yesterday.)
 Bâtshilo. (They said so.)
 Sitshilo kúbo. (We said so to them.)
 Kútshiwo. (It was said.)

The variant /-i/ occurs with the following radicals:

- mith - (conceive, become pregnant.)
- hluth - (become satiated)
- hlal - (sit)
- m - (stand)

The radical *-m-* occurs with the suffix *-i* as an alternative to *-ile* with which it can also occur. The radical *-hlal-* occurs with the suffix *-i* whilst being subject to the following rule:

-hlal- → *-hlel-* /— i

- e.g. *Ábántwana báhlúthi ngôku.* (The children are satiated now.)
Íimázi zám ézimbiní zímíthi. (My two cows are pregnant.)
Ábafúndi bémi émgceni. (The students are standing in a straight line.)
Ndihleli. (I am sitting.)

The variant /e...e/ occurs with radicals, usually disyllabic or longer, which end in /-ath-/, /-an-/, or /-al-/. In this case the initial /e/ of the variant replaces the final /a/ of the radical, and the final /e/ is suffixed to the radical. The long form is signalled by a final L tone and the short form by a final HL cluster.

- Long form. e.g. *Ízithéthi zífúduméle.* (The speakers are warm.)
 c.f. *-fudumal* -- Become warm)
Íimfúdó zíbónéne. (The tortoises saw one another). c.f. *-bonan-* (see one another.)
- Short form. e.g. *Zífuméné úxolo ngókuthétha.* (They found peace in talking.) c.f. *-fuman-* (find)
Úsingethé úsána. (She is carrying the baby in arms.) c.f. *-singath-* (carry in arms.)
Bábúlélé izigebénga. (They killed the robbers.)
 c.f. *-bulal-* (kill)

Certain monosyllabic radicals occur with the variant /-e...e/. These are stative in significance. The long and short forms are signalled as above.

- Long form. e.g. *Silélé.* (We are asleep.)
 c.f. *-lal-* (go to sleep)
Báséle. (They are remaining.)
 c.f. *-sal-* (remain)
Ízéle. (It is full.)
 c.f. *-zal-* (become full)

Short form. e.g.	Íntombi íthwélé íggógo.	(The maiden is carrying the tin on her head.) c.f. -thwal- (carry on the head)
	Ítítshala íphéthé ítshóko.	(The teacher is holding the chalk.) c.f. -phath- (carry, hold)

The variant /-e/ occurs: (a) with radicals ending in /-el-/, /-ul-/ and /-ml-/ in either the short or long forms with the difference between short and long forms being signalled as above. However, radicals which end in /-ul-/ or /-ml-/ can occur with /ile/ in the long form.

Long form. e.g.	Ndiyithengéle.	(I bought for him.)
	Úthímle.	(He sneezed.)
c.f.	Úthímílile	
	Índidúbúle.	(He shot me.)
c.f.	Índidúbúlile.	
	Báphúmle.	(They rested.)
c.f.	Báphúmílile.	
Short form. e.g.	Ndibakhokelé kákuhlé.	(I led them well.)
	Ámádoda áxhélé íbhókhwe.	(The men slaughtered the goat.)
	Báphúmle kákuhlé.	(They rested well.)

(b) The variant -e occurs as a short form marker of verbs which occur with the long form marker -ile.

e.g.	Íinkomó zityé íngcá.	(The cattle ate the grass.)
	Ámáhobé áculé kákuhlé ezúlwini.	(The doves sang beauti- fully in the sky.)
	Ísiqhwala sítshayé ícuba kanínzi.	(The cripple smoked tobacco often.)

The variant /iwe/ occurs as a long form marker when there is a passive extension present. In this case the underlying form would be *-ilwe < *-il -iw -e (Low personal communication.)

e.g.	Ábántwana bálúnyíwe.	(The children were bitten.)
	Ímilambo ísétýéznzísiwe.	(The rivers were used.)
	Ímínqathé ítyíwe.	(The carrots were eaten.)

The variant /ile/ occurs:

(a) If there is no adjunct other than an object noun or pronoun which is already represented in the verb by an OC. In this case it is obligatory with verbs other than those mentioned above as taking other forms of the perfect formative, c.f. present tense long form.

- e.g. Ndibabéthile, ábántwana. (I beat them, the children.)
 Ámágwalá ándikhéthile, mná. (The cowards chose me.)
 Ísíhlobo sizityísile, (The relative fed them,
 ízinjá. the dogs.)

(b) In certain instances in place of the suffixal morphs mentioned above. In this case it is as an alternative and is not very common.

- e.g. ¹Báyifúmánilé. (They have found it.)
 c.f. Báyifúméne.
 Ídám ¹lízálile. (The dam is full.)
 c.f. Ídám lízéle.

(c) Other than the contexts already mentioned which take another variant of the formative, /-ile/ is obligatory if there is no adjunct.

- e.g. Ámaháshe ónke ábálékile. (All the horses ran away.)
 Ílanga lítshónile. (The sun has set.)
 Úmyeni wakhé úswélékile. (Her husband died.)

(d) /-ile/ can occur when there is an adjunct present.

- e.g. ¹Ábántu bódwa básélile (The people alone drank beer.)
 útywalá.
¹Úgqirha úphílísile (The doctor cured the
 ábáguli. patients.)
¹ÚDumá úfékéthile ngábo. (Duma trifled with them.)
¹Ínyóká ílúmíle izílo. (The snake bit the
 wild beasts.)

1 These forms are not standard Xhosa but are of the Hlubi dialect.

In the negative there are two variants of the perfect negative formative although the positive suffixes can occur, (see below). The two forms of the negative formative are:

/ -anga/, / -ongo/

The morph *-ongo-* occurs with the radical /-tsh-/(say so) only.

- e.g. Anditshóngo. (I did not say so.)
Akatshóngo. (He did not say so.)

The positive formative can occur as a suffix in the negative with stative verbs. In this case it is as an alternative to /-anga/ which is more common now, the form with the positive suffix not being standard Xhosa.

- e.g. Andílambánga. (I am not hungry.)
Andílambílé.
Akáhlalánga. (He is not sitting.)
c.f. Akahlélé.
Ayizalánga. (It is not full.)
c.f. Ayizélé.

The variant /-anga/ occurs elsewhere.

- e.g. Abandibethánga. (They did not beat me.)
Akasihlikihlánga. (He did not massage us.)
Ígqirha aliphilisánga (The witchdoctor did not
bantu basémzini. cure any people from the
village.)
Ábadála ababotshwánga (The old ones were not
ngámápolisa. arrested by the police.)

4.2.2.0 The Tonal Structure of the Perfect.

General Remarks.

In the short form of this tense there is always a HL sequence on the terminal syllable, which I consider to be long. This should probably be written as /éé/.

In the long form the terminal tone is always L.

In the negative when the suffix /-anga/ occurs it has a HL tone sequence. When the suffix /-ile/ occurs in the negative, it always has a HH tone sequence which is realized as such in all environments.

The passive extension does not affect the tonal structure in this tense.

4.2.2.1 Monosyllabic stems.

With these stems are included the disyllabic V-commencing and latent i-commencing stems which act in the same way as do the monosyllabic C-commencing stems; FL acting like L and HL like H stems respectively.

4.2.2.2 L stems.

Short form. The SC has its usual L tone in the first two persons and H tone in the 3rd person. The suffix has its HL sequence.

- e.g. Ndihlê kákuhlé. (I descended well.)
 Bálwê kakhûlu. (They fought hard.)

When there is an OC present it can occur with its H tone which it normally does, but the OC can assimilate to a L toned SC. If the consonant of the OC is a depressor¹ the OC can occur with a L tone irrespective of the tone of the SC.

- e.g. Úyimbê kákuhlé... (He dug it well.)
 Báyilwê kákuhié. (They fought it well.)
 Siyenzê kákuhlé. (We did it well.)
 c.f. Siyenzê kákuhlé.
 Báyójê kakhûlu. (They roasted it well.)
 c.f. Bázójê kakhûlu.

Long form. In the long form the suffix always has a LL sequence. The OC can occur with its inherent H tone or it can assimilate to the tone of the SC. If the OC contains a depressor consonant it can occur as L or H irrespective of the tone of the SC.

- e.g. Ndizile (I came.)
 Líwile. (He fell.)
 Nophile. (You (pl.) bled.)
 Bóndile. (They went straight on.)

¹ The term depressor consonant is used as in Louw (1971, p.103).

With OC	e.g.	Ndiyítshilo.	(I said it.)
	c.f.	Ndiyítshilo.	
		Lúyíhlile.	(It descended it.)
		Uyóndlile.	(You reared it.)
	c.f.	Uyondlile.	
		Bázóngile.	(They used them sparingly.)
	c.f.	Bázongile.	

Negative. In the negative the SC can be either L or H toned. When there is an OC present it is more common for the SC to have a H tone by assimilation. If, however, the SC is L toned then the OC assimilates this L tone. When there is no OC present then it seems more common for the SC to occur with a L tone.

e.g.	Andiyánga éRhini.	(I did not go to Grahamstown.)
	c.f. Andiyánga éRhini	
	Akezánga.	(He did not come.)
	c.f. Akézánga.	

With OC. If the OC contains a depressor consonant the SC occurs with a L tone and the OC can be either L or H.

e.g.	Andiyíthánga...	(I did not say it.)
	c.f. Andiyithánga...	
	Akazíhlánga.	(He did not descend them.)
	c.f. Akazihlánga.	
	Abazábánga.	(They did not distribute them.)
	c.f. Abazabánga.	

4.2.2.3 H Stems. The stem occurs with a HL sequence on the terminal syllable as expected in the short form of the perfect. An OC assimilates the tone of the SC except when it contains a depressor consonant when it is normally L, or can have an alternative form which is H.

Short form.	e.g.	Sityé úkutyá.	(We ate food.)
		Zifé ízolo.	(They died yesterday.)
		Bóthé ízolo.	(They basked yesterday.)
		Wálé úkuhámba.	(He refused to go.)

With OC	e.g.	Ndikuvé kákuhlé.	(I heard you well.)
		Báwákhé kusásá.	(They drew it in the morning.)

Sízibê ngôko. (He stole them then.)
 c.f. Sízíbê ngôko.

Long form. In the long form the penult and terminal syllables occur with a HL tone sequence, i.e. the basic stem tone is retained.

e.g. Béville. (They heard.)
 Lítyíle. (It ate.)
 Ífile. (It died.)
 Yómíle. (It is dry.)
 Woníle. (You sinned.)

With OC. As in the short form an OC assimilates the tone of the SC. However, when an OC contains a depressor consonant it can occur as L or with a variant H tone after a H toned SC.

e.g. Ndiwakhíle. (I drew it.)
 Úzíbíle. (He stole them.)
 c.f. Úzíbíle.
 Lúlányíle. (He sucked it.)
 Uyalíle. (You refused it.)

Negative. In the negative the suffix /-anga/ has its normal HL tone sequence and all the other tones are L.

e.g. Andivánga. (I did not hear.)
 Ayitshánga. (It did not burn.)
 Akonánga. (You did not sin.)
 Ayalánga. (He did not refuse.)

With OC e.g. Akayityánga. (He did not eat it.)
 Abayiphánga kúye. (They did not give it to him.)
 Asizalánga. (We did not refuse them.)
 Andiyakhánga. (I did not build it.)

With the passive extension.

Short form. Uwiwé ngábo. (You were heard by them.)
 Ítyiwé ngóye. (It was eaten by him.)
 Yóniwé ngáwo. (It was spoilt by them.)
 Yáliwé yiyo. (It was refused by him.)

It is interesting to notice that the penult assimilates the tone of the SC in the short form but it remains H in the long form.

Long form.	e.g.	Ndivíwe.	(I was heard.)
		Ákhíwe.	(It was drawn.)
		Yóníwe.	(It was spoiled.)
		Salíwe.	(We were refused.)

With the passive extension.

Once again /anga/ has a HL tone structure and all other tones are L.

Negative.	e.g.	Akatyiwánga.	(He was not eaten.)
		Ayiphíwánga.	(It was not given.)
		Ayakhiwánga.	(It was not built.)

4.2.2.4 Disyllabic Stems.

In the long form these stems occur with the tonal sequence which they would assume when suffixed by any of the monosyllabic verbal extensions. In the negative of the H group, i.e. HL and FL stems, the initial and terminal syllables are L toned, the penult is H toned and the other syllables are either all high or all low toned. As they are normally all low they will be exemplified as such except for one comparative example given for each series.

4.2.2.5 LL Stems. In the short form the penult is always L toned. The OC is H toned.

Short form.	e.g.	Nipheké kákuhlé.	(You (pl.) cook well.)
		Sityhalé inqwélo.	(We pushed the wagon.)
		Úvelé éKomaní.	(He came from Queens-town.)
		Ívuzé kakhúlu.	(It leaked a great deal.)
With OC	e.g.	Siyíphiké ízolo.	(We denied it yesterday.)
		Báyísilé kákuhlé.	(They ground it well.)
		Lúyísindé kakhúlu.	(He polished it well.)
		Ndiyílolé ngélítýe.	(I sharpened it with a stone.)
Long form.			

If the SC has a H tone, this is repeated on the initial syllable of the stem. Otherwise the initial two syllables are L toned. The final two syllables are both L in all cases.

e.g.	Síthámbile.	(It is soft.)
	Ínéthile.	(It rained.)
	Utshayile.	(You smoked.)
	Silandile.	(We followed.)

With an OC.

The underlying H tone of an OC is shifted onto the initial syllable of the stem. If the SC is L toned then the OC assimilates this L tone in its surface structure. However, if the SC is H toned, the OC retains its underlying H tone by assimilation in the surface structure. The final two syllables are L in all cases as above.

e.g.	Ndiyitsálile.	(I pulled it.)
	Bándíncédile.	(They helped me.)
	Sibangcwábile.	(We buried them.)

Negative. The SC is always H toned, and the suffix has a HL structure.

e.g.	Abáxoxánga.	(They did not talk.)
	Akázilánga.	(He did not abstain.)
	Ayíkrwempánga.	(He did not scratch.)
	Akúfikánga.	(You did not arrive.)
	Abáphindánga.	(They did not repeat.)

With OC (the OC is always H toned.)

e.g.	Asíyigcinánga.	(We did not look after it.)
	Akábáyekánga.	(He did not leave them alone.)
	Asílúxhwithánga.	(We did not pluck it.)
	Akáyixubánga.	(He did not mix it.)

N.B. An important feature of LL stems in the negative tenses, is that the root syllable stays L.

4.2.2.6 HL Stems.

In the positive short form all syllables other than the terminal one assimilate their tone from that of the SC.

Short form.	e.g.	Ndiqashé kákuhlé.	(I chose well.)
		Únyúké íntaba.	(He ascended the hill.)
		Báphúmé ízolo.	(They went out yesterday.)

With OC. When there is an OC present the initial tone of the stem can be either H or L. If the initial consonant of

the stem is a depressor the initial stem tone is more commonly L.

e.g. Ndizithezê izolo.	(I gathered it yesterday.)
Básizondê kakhûlu.	(They hated us a great deal.)
Úyizuzê ésíbhédlele.	(He obtained it from the hospital.)
Siziswelê izolo.	(We lacked them yesterday.)
c.f. Siziswélê izolo.	(We lacked them yesterday.)

Long form. In the long form the last three syllables have a HLL sequence as would be expected from a HL stem. The SC has its expected H tone in the 3rd person and L tone in the 1st persons.

e.g. Báhámbile.	(They went.)
Usélile.	(You drank.)
Sisíndile.	(We escaped.)
Líqáshile.	(He guessed.)

With OC. An OC assimilates the tone of the SC unless it, the OC, contains a depressor consonant in which case it is L toned, irrespective of the tone of the SC.

e.g. Umqéshile.	(You hired him.)
Niyitháthile.	(You (pl.) took it.)
Báyífundile.	(They learnt it.)
Símbéthile.	(He hit him.)
c.f. Sizibéthile.	(He hit them.)

Negative. In the negative the stem tone can be H or L before the HL structure of /anga/. The negative prefix formative and the SC are L toned.

e.g. Akathembánga.	(He did not trust.)
c.f. Akathémbánga.	
Asizondánga.	(We did not hate.)
Abahambánga.	(They did not go.)
Akuvasánga.	(You did not wash.)

With OC. The OC normally loses its H tone but before a H toned initial stem syllable it can be either H or L. It is exemplified as L here.

e.g. Akayisulánga.	(They did not wipe it.)
c.f. Akayísúlánga.	
Aziyiswelánga.	(They did not lack it.)

Andiyiqashánga.	(I did not guess it.)
Abayithathánga.	(They did not take it.)

4.2.2.7 FL Stems.

Short form.

In the short form the initial syllable of the stem can be either H or L. As it is more common for it to assimilate the tone of the SC, this is how it will be exemplified here.

e.g. Ndithumé ábantu.	(I sent the people.)
Báthúngé ihémpe.	(They sewed the shirt.)
Zílingé kakhúlu.	(They tried hard.)
Ukrokré kakhúlu.	(You grumbled a lot.)

With an OC.

When there is an OC present, it normally assimilates to the tone of the SC which tone is repeated on the root syllable of the stem. A depressor consonant in the OC conditions a L toned OC.

e.g. Uyiphaké kákuhlé.	(You served it well.)
Báyishiyé izolo.	(They left it yesterday.)
Bámthándé kakhúlu.	(They loved her very much.)
c.f. Bázithándé ¹ kakhúlu.	(They loved them very much.)

Long form. The tonal structure of the long form is identical to that of the short form except that the final HL sequence is on two syllables instead of one.

e.g. Sixokíle.	(We lied.)
Líkrwélíle.	(It scratched.)
Lítsíbíle.	(It jumped.)

With OC.

e.g. Báyithéngíle.	(They bought it.)
Sizixhelíle.	(We slaughtered them.)
Uyithiyíle.	(You trapped it.)
Bázisóngíle.	(They rolled them up.)

¹ After an OC containing a depressor consonant the root syllable can be H or L. It is exemplified as H here but c.f. Louw (1971, p.109) /úziboníle/.

Negative. In the negative the penult has a H tone as can the antepenult if it does not contain a depressor consonant. However, the form with a H toned penult and all other tones L is more common and is exemplified here.

e.g. Andiqhítsánga.	(I did not bully.)
Abazobánga..	(They did not draw.)
Akancumánga.	(He did not smile.)
Akathúthánga.	(They did not move.)
With OC e.g. Asiyivunánga.	(We did not harvest it.)
Ayiyigrayánga.	(He did not crush it.)
Abayiphakánga.	(They did not serve it.)
Akamshiyánga.	(They did not leave her.)

Stative verbs occurring with a perfect positive suffix in the negative.

Stative verbs do not exhibit aberrant tonal sequences in the position. In the negative, however, when there is a stative suffix, i.e. one which is normally a positive suffix, then the penult and terminal syllable have a HH tone sequence in all environments. This applies to all tonal classes.

e.g. Ayizélé.	(It is not full.)
Ayimithí.	(It is not pregnant.)
1 c.f. Ayimithílé.	
Andiyithwélé.	(I am not carrying it.)
Ayithwalíwé.	(It was not being carried.)
1 c.f. Ayithwélwé.	(It is not being carried.)
Andinxaníwé.	(I am not thirsty.)

4.2.3.0 Uses and Significance.

The perfect tense expresses an action, completed in the near past, the results of which are still felt in the present, (c.f. Beuchat).

e.g. Úmpháthi úsithúmíle ísithúnywá.	(The commander has sent the messenger.)
Úmhlóló únthándíle.	(The widower loved her, - [she has just died])
Andihlolánga bafúndi basésikólweni.	(I did not inspect the children from the school, - [I will do so]).

1 These forms are dialectal rather than standard Xhosa.

For the syntactical uses of the long and short forms of the perfect tense see 4.1.2.0 et. seq. on the present tense. These apply to the perfect as well as to the present tense.

The perfect tense, when used with certain verbs, indicates that a state has been entered into and that this state still exists in the present. These verbs are normally translated into English in the present tense although they are in the perfect in Xhosa. They are called stative verbs by most writers. (c.f. Louw 1963, Ziervogel 1952, Doke 1961, Mncube, Riordan and Davey) and inchoative verbs by others (c.f. Cole 1955, Beuchat). In this dissertation they will be referred to by the more common term, i.e. stative verbs. The aberrant perfect suffixes are normally associated with these stative verbs and can occur in both the positive and negative forms, the negative forms occurring more commonly with the normal negative suffix nowadays, however.

e.g. Ítíshala íphéthé íncwadí.	(The teacher is carrying the book.)
Báséle.	(They are remaining.)
Nihleli.	(You (pl.) are sitting.)
Abálambánga.	(They are not hungry.)
¹ c.f. Abálambílé.	
Andíhlálánga.	(I am not seated.)
¹ c.f. Andíhlélélí.	

Stative verbs can be used non-statively in which case they no longer occur with the aberrant perfect suffixal morphs.

e.g. Ndiyihlalé kakhúlu.	(I occupied it a great deal.)
Úyípháthile.	(He carried it.)
Límíthile.	(It was pregnant.)
Akayithwalánga.	(He did not carry it.)

4.3 The Remote Past Tense.

4.3.0 Patterns.

positive	SC -a - (OC) - R -a
negative	a - SC ⁿ - (OC) - R - anga

¹ These forms are common around Grahamstown.

4.3.1 General Remarks on the Morphology.

The remote past tense occurs as a distinctive tense in the positive only. The negative it shares with the perfect tense, and this will only be handled under 'Uses and Significance' in this section. The remote past formative /-a-/ is, phonetically, a long vowel and phonemically a double vowel, i.e. [aa]. This can be seen from the fact that the F tone on the formative is followed by a H tone on the terminal syllable of a monosyllabic stem. This is not possible after a normal penultimate F tone which occurs on a single syllable. The fact that it is a double vowel is also strongly indicated by the fact that in Shona the remote past formative is made up of /-a-ka-/.

e.g. Ndakádyá. (I ate.)
wakátenga. (you bought.)

Fivaz (1969, p.56)

There is no long and short form in the remote past. The one form occurs in all environments.

e.g. Ábasebénzi báthéthá (The workers talked little
kancinci kúbá because they didn't have
béngénaxésha. time.)
Ímbilá yátyá ingcá (The rock-rabbit ate grass
úbómí bayó bónke. all of its life.)
Úmmélwáné wám wálwá (My neighbour fought with
nábántu ábatshá the young people in the
besésitráteni. street.)

With V-commencing radicals the remote past formative /-a-/ is elided and its tones and length are taken on by the initial vowel of the radical.

e.g. Ndóyíka ingozi kudála. (I feared danger long ago.)
Íháshe lóphá kakhúlú (The horse bled a great deal
kúbá lálilidála. because it was old.)
Ábákhí bákhá izindlu. (The builders built houses.)
Úmqhubi wéngakalisa (The driver injured seven
ábántu ábásixhenxe. people.)

With latent i-commencing radicals, when the SC and radical are juxtaposed, the remote past formative /-a-/ and the latent initial /-i-/ coalesce resulting in the long vowel /-e-/.

- e.g. Ámaháshe ébá úmbóna. (The horses stole the maize.)
 Bézá. (They came.)
 Bényúka. (They ascended.)
 Sévá úmfúndisi. (We heard the priest.)

4.3.2.0. Tonal Structure of the Remote Past Tense.

There is a HL cluster on the remote past formative /a/. The terminal tone in this tense is always H. If this terminal tone is preceded by another H tone and followed by a juncture then these two H tones are realized by the morphotonemic variation FL, which, by the rule is the manifestation of most HH sequences before a juncture. The passive extension does not effect the tonal structure in any way.

4.3.2.1 Monosyllabic stems.

L and H toned stems have an identical tone sequence in this tense, i.e. \widehat{HL} H.

4.3.2.2. L Stems.

- e.g. Ndáwá. (I fell.)
 Wáyá édólóphini. (He went to town.)
 Bézá. (They came.)
 Lóphá. (It bled.)
 Wójá kákuhlé. (He cooked well.)

With OC. An OC retains its H tone and this plus the final H tone is manifest as a FL sequence before a juncture.

- e.g. Ndáyójá kákuhlé. (I roasted it well.)
 Záyóndla. (They reared it.)

4.3.2.3 H Stems.

The stem retains its H tone and the prefix has a HL sequence on the one long syllable. This \widehat{HLH} sequence must be differentiated from FL sequences which occur on the final two syllables of many verbs in which the FL sequence is, in the theory being subscribed to in this dissertation, a realization of an underlying HH sequence.

- e.g. Ndéwá kákuhlé. (I heard well.)
 Yátshá. (It burnt.)
 Yáfá. (It died.)

Bákhá ámânzi.	(They drew water.)
Wákhá indlu.	(He built a house.)

With OC. The OC retains its H tone and this with the H stem tone is manifest as a FL sequence before a juncture.

e.g. Báyázi kákuhlé.	(They knew it well.)
Ndáyityá ngémíni.	(I ate it during the day.)
Wáyóna.	(He spoilt it.)
Sáyíva.	(We heard it.)

4.3.2.4 Disyllabic stems.

4.3.2.5 LL Stems.

The final H tone conditioned by this tense results in a LH sequence on the verb stem. An OC, if present, retains its H tone and has no effect on the stem tone.

e.g. Ndávulá úcango.	(I opened the door.)
Yávuzá.	(It leaked.)
Láyíphosá kakhúlu.	(He threw it hard.)
Wáziqabá ngémbola.	(He smeared himself with ochre.)

4.3.2.6 HL stems. The tense conditions a final H tone resulting in a final HH sequence on the stem. This sequence is manifest as FL before a juncture. The OC retains its H tone and has no effect on the tone of the stem.

e.g. Ndáfúnda.	(I learnt.)
Wáswélá úkutyá.	(You lacked food.)

With OC e.g. Ndámvúsa. (I woke him.)
Sábázóndá kakhúlu. (We hated them very much.)

4.3.2.7 FL Stems.

As these stems already have a final underlying H tone they do not alter.

e.g. Náfúmbá ámagqabi.	(You (pl.) heaped up the leaves.)
Sáyíqhína.	(We knotted it.)
Wáyíséngá kákuhlé.	(He milked it well.)

4.3.3.0 Uses and Significance.

Although this is called the remote past tense in this work, as elsewhere, (c.f. Doke 1961) it actually has more of an indefinite meaning and refers to anything which

is not specifically in the near past (vide Louw 1963). There is no specific negative in this tense. It occurs with the same negative as does the perfect.

- e.g. $\acute{U}mf\acute{a}n\acute{e}kiso\ w\acute{a}vuy\acute{i}sa$ (The picture pleased George.)
 $\acute{u}j\acute{o}ji.$
 $\acute{I}zith\acute{e}th\acute{i}\ z\acute{a}sebenza$ (The speakers worked hard although they were talking.)
 $kakh\acute{u}l\acute{u}\ n\acute{a}ngon\acute{a}$
 $z\acute{a}zith\acute{e}tha.$
 $\acute{I}intw\acute{a}la\ z\acute{a}l\acute{u}m\acute{a}$ (The lice bit the people who were in the camp.)
 $\acute{a}b\acute{a}ntu\ \acute{a}b\acute{a}s\acute{e}k\acute{a}mpini.$

4.4 The Future Tenses.

4.4.0 General Remarks on the Future Tenses.

There are two forms of the future tense which are referred to as the immediate and the indefinite futures respectively. They are differentiated formally only in that the auxiliary verb is different. In the immediate future this auxiliary verb is /za/¹ and in the indefinite future /ya/. The auxiliary verbs are followed by a verb in the infinitive. The infinitive occurs without its initial vowel, although the effects of this initial vowel are manifest in certain variations of the pattern in which there is coalescence between the final vowel of the auxiliary verb and the latent initial vowel of the infinitive. The formative /ku/ is obligatory if the main verb is V-commencing and they are juxtaposed. In this case

$$\begin{array}{l} ku \rightarrow kw / \text{--- } e, a \\ \quad \quad \quad k/ \text{--- } o \end{array}$$

4.4.1 The immediate future tense.

4.4.1.1 Patterns.

- | | |
|----------|---------------------------------------------------------------|
| Positive | (a) SC - za + ku -(OC) - R - a |
| | (b) ² SC - zo -(ku)-(OC) - R - a |
| | (c) SC - o -(ku)-(OC) - R - a |
| | (d) SC - a + ku -(OC) - R - a |
| Negative | (e) a - SC ⁿ - zi + ku - (OC) - R - a |
| | (f) a - SC ⁿ - zu +(ku)-(OC) - R - a |
| | (g) a - SC ⁿ - u +(ku)- (OC)- R - a |
| | (h) ² a - SC ⁿ - zo +(ku)- (OC) - R - a |
| | (i) ² a - SC ⁿ - o +(ku)- (OC) - R - a |

1 The auxiliary verb /-za/ has no latent initial /i-/ unlike the verb stem /-za/.

2. This form is not standard Xhosa.

4.4.1.2 General Remarks on the Morphology.

Any of the above patterns can occur without any apparent difference in meaning. The formative /ku/ can be replaced by /wu/ before a consonant.

- e.g. (a) Úmníníkazi úza (The proprietress will go
kuhámba ngóku. now.)
Ínamba iza kubulála (The python will kill the
úmvólufu. hyena.)
Íhobé liza (The dove will fly into
kubhabhela heaven.)
ezúlwini.
- e.g. (b) Úzokwákha. (He will build.)
Éli gosá lizo- (This steward will work
kusisebénzela. for us.)
Ílúlwáne lízotyá (The bat will eat flies.)
íimpúkané.
Íbhátyi ízonkitywa (The jacket will be worn
ngúJón. by John.)
- e.g. (c) Úmntu wókuthéthá (The person will speak to
nábánye. others.)
Umántyi wókohlwaya (The magistrate will
ábantu. punish the people.)
Ába bantu bóthéthá (These people will talk
náthi. to us.)
Soxabána. (We will argue.)

Pattern (d) normally occurs with the first two persons and with SCs from cls. 1, 2, 3 and 4 only. When it does occur in third person the form cannot be differentiated from the form of the temporal which occurs with a HL tone sequence on the temporal formative /-a-/. Vide Chapter 8.

- e.g. Sakopha kakhúlu. (We will bleed a great deal)
Úmkhósi wákulwa (The army will fight in the
éńva kwedínala. afternoon.)
Sakuyénza, lóo nńó. (We will do it, that thing.)

Negative.

- e.g. (e) Andízí kugrágrama. (I will not growl.)
Akází kusiméma. (He will not invite us.)
Ígqwethá alízí (The lawyer will not
kóhlwaya újím. punish Jam.)
Ámáqabá akází (The heathens will not eat
kutyá ímifúno. vegetables.)

- e.g. (f) Ūsáphó alúzú- (The family will not pray.)
kuthándaza.
Íxhama alízúkufá. (The hartebeest will not
die.)
Ūmakhúlú akázúhlala. (Grandmother will not stay.)
Ísiqhú asízúnqéna. (The crowd will not be
lazy.)
- e.g. (g) Íhlungulú alúkutyá (The crow will not eat the
malí. money.)
Íyezá alúkubúlála (Medicine will not kill
ábantu. people.)
Ígusha ayúkhába. (The sheep will not kick.)
Ímixóxózi ayúvúthwa (The melons will not ripen
kamsínyá. soon.)
- e.g. (h) ¹Íhlwempú alízó- (The pauper will not pay
kubhátala írénte. the rent.)
¹Ámendú akázó- (Speed will not kill them.)
kubabúlála.
¹Ílîshwa alízó- (Misfortune will not trouble
kusikhatháza. us.)
¹Abázóséngá (They will not milk the
íibhókwe. goats.)
- e.g. (i) ¹Ūtshaba alókulwa (The enemy will not fight
nání. with you.)
¹Íimpondo azókuhlaba (The horns will not stab
ábantu. the people.)
¹Ūbubéle abóphilisa (Kindness will not cure
úMerí. Mary.)
¹Ūmkhósi awóphúmélela. (The army will not win.)

4.4.2.0 The Remote or Indefinite Future Tense.

4.4.2.1 Patterns.

Positive SC - ya + ku - (OC) - R - a

Negative a - SCⁿ - yi + ku - (OC) - R - a

4.4.2.2. General Remarks on the Morphology.

The only formal difference between the remote and the immediate future tenses is that, in the remote future, the formative /-ya-/ or one of its variant morphs occurs, instead of /za-/. Only the above two patterns will be exemplified for this tense as the variant patterns are so similar if not identical to the patterns for the immediate future tense and can be referred to under that heading.

1. These forms are dialect of possible Embo origin.

Positive e.g.	Báya kuńsusa.	(They will remove him.)
	Íséla líya kúba.	(The thief will steal.)
	Úkutyá kúya kuphekwa.	(The food will be cooked.)
	Ábántwana báya kudlála.	(The children will play.)
Negative e.g.	Úfúúó alúyí kubulawa ngúye.	(The tortoise will not be killed by him.)
	Íintyátyámbo azíyí koníwa.	(The flowers will not be spoilt.)
	Úńfána akáyí kufúnda.	(The youth will not learn.)
	Ámántombazána akáyí kukhá ámánzi.	(The young girls will not draw water.)

4.4.3.0 The Tonal Structure of the Future Tenses.

As these tenses are, in fact, compounds the tonal structure has only to be exemplified very briefly. The SC and auxiliary verb carry the tones of a normal L toned verb in the present tense and the complement carries the normal tone of an infinitive without its initial vowel, i.e. the basic prefix has a L tone normally although this can be realized as H in certain instances (see below). If a H toned SC merges with a L toned future formative then the resultant vowel is long and carries a HL sequence of tone which is represented by the normal symbol for a falling tone in this dissertation.

N.B. Both the immediate and the remote future tenses are exemplified in this section as their tonal structure is identical.

4.4.3.1 Monosyllabic Stems.

4.4.3.2 L Stems.

The tonal structure of these stems is straightforward in the future tenses.

Positive e.g.	Ndiya kulwa.	(I will fight.)
	Úya kwenda.	(She will get married.)
With OC e.g.	Báya kuyénza.	(They will do it.)
	Lúya kuyilwa.	(It will fight it.)

Negative e.g. Andútsho.	(I will not say so.)
Akází kuza.	(They will not come.)
Asiyí kwanga.	(We will not kiss.)
Abáyí kuyítsho.	(They will not say it.)
Akúzi kuyihla.	(You will not descend it.)

4.4.3.3. H Stems.

The formative /ku/ can take a H tone from the initial vowel of a latent i-commencing or vowel commencing stem if that initial vowel is H toned. In this case the two H tones, on /ku/ and on the stem are realized as a FL sequence before a juncture. Otherwise the /ku/ can retain its low tone and then the stem tone remains H. An OC retains its H tone.

Positive e. g. Ndiza kutyá.	(I will eat.)
Báya kúba.	(They will steal.)
c.f. Báya kubá.	
Líya kóma.	(It will become dry.)
c.f. Líya komá.	
Ndiza kuyázi kákuhlé.	(I will know it well.)

Negative.

In the negative, the H tone of an initial vowel, latent or otherwise, normally takes precedence over the L tone of the future formative /ku/. Otherwise the tones are as expected.

e.g. Andiyí kutyá.	(I will not eat.)
¹ Akázókúvá kákuhlé.	(He will not hear well.)
Ayiyúkútshá.	(It will not burn.)
Asúkwázi.	(We will not know.)
Abáyí kóna.	(They will not sin.)
With OC e.g. Aniyí kuyípha.	(You (pl.) will not give it.)
Akáyí kuyivá lóo ntó kakhúlu.	(He will not hear it, that thing, well.)
¹ Abázókuyála.	(They will not refuse it.)
Akúyí kuyázi.	(You will not know it.)
¹ Asóyákhá lóo ndiu.	(We will not build it, that house.)

1. These are dialectal forms.

4.4.3.4. Disyllabic stems.

These stems will not be exemplified here as they behave as a L toned verb followed by an infinitive, c.f. the infinitive and the present tense with L toned monosyllabic stems.

4.4.4.0 Uses and Significance.

The immediate future can have the significance implied by its name, i.e. it can refer to something that is to happen in the immediate future.

e.g. Íseme líza kubhábhela phézulu ngóku.	(The bustard will fly up now.)
ÚThamí úza kutshata nóNómsá námhlânje.	(Thami will marry Nomsa today.)
Siza kuyénza ngóku.	(We will do it now.)
Úmthi úza kwaphúka.	(The tree will break, i.e. is about to break.)

The immediate future can refer to the fact that the subject is coming to do something.

e.g. Ítíshala íza kohlwaya ábántwana.	(The teacher is coming to punish the children.)
Íntombí íza kwenda.	(The maiden is coming to marry.)
Ígqirha alízi kúphílisa ábántu.	(The doctor is not coming to cure the people.)

The Remote Future.

This tense indicates all future events which are not covered by the immediate future tense.

e.g. Ámáxhego áya kutshaya ícuba.	(The old man will smoke tobacco.)
Ímvúlá ayiyí kunetha.	(The rain will not fall.)
ÓoMerí abâyí kukhetha	(Mary and Co. will not choose.)

It can also refer to the fact that someone is going, i.e. moving, to do something.

e.g. Ínkósikazi íya kuthúnga.	(The lady is going to sew.)
Úsána lúya kuséla úbfsi.	(The baby is going to drink milk.)

THE PARTICIPIAL MOOD

The participial mood can occur in any of the tenses in which the indicative occurs as well as being able to occur in the conditional potential. In many instances the participial is identical to its indicative counterpart in form and it is only the environment that indicates that it is participial. These instances will not be exemplified in this dissertation.

5.1 The Present Participial.5.1.0 Patterns.

Positive	(a)	SC ^P - (OC) - R - a
	(b)	SC ^P - si - R - a
	(c)	SC ^P - s - R - a
Negative		SC ^P - +nga- (OC) - R - i

5.1.1 General Remarks on the Morphology.

The participial SC differs from the indicative SC in classes 1, 2 and 6 only. In these cases the SC^P is /e-/, /be-/ and /e-/ respectively.

Positive. In the positive, pattern (c) occurs when there is a V-commencing radical and no OC or other formative to separate the SC from the initial vowel of the radical.

e.g.	Ábákhí bácúla bésákha.	(The builders sing whilst building.)
	Úmákhúlú úva úkutyá esoyika úkukonákálisa.	(Grandmother tastes the food fearing to spoil it.)
	Xá ísélé lísópha.	(When the frog bleeds.)

Pattern (b) occurs with monosyllabic stems when there is no OC present. /-si-/ acts as a stabilizer.

e.g.	Ábántu báhléka besímbe.	(The people laugh whilst digging.)
	Ígwalá lísólóko lísíya éđólóphini.	(The coward always goes to town.)
	Xá ndisíma.	(When I stand up.)

Pattern (a) occurs elsewhere.

- e.g. Úmzáli úhléka (The parent laughs whilst
ébohwaya ábántwana. punishing the children.)
Íkátí ídlála íbaléka. (The cat plays whilst
running.)
Úmqhági úsólóko (The cock always crows.)
úkhála.

Negative. In the negative there is only one pattern. This is as would be expected as the formative /-nga-/ is always between the SC and the verb stem.

- e.g. Xá éngabaléki, úya (If he does not run he
kubanjwa. will be arrested.)
Xá ndingayósi inyama, (If I do not roast the
siya kuswéleka. meat we will die.)
Xá singafúndi, asiyi (If we do not learn we
kuphúmélela. will not pass.)

Before V-commencing radicals the vowel of the formative /-nga-/ is elided.

- e.g. Xá béngenzi lóo ntó. (If they do not do that
thing.)
Kúthéni béngangi? (Why do they not kiss?)
Kúthéni óngóthi? (Why do you not warm
yourself?)

Before latent i-commencing radicals the /a/ of the negative formative and the latent initial /i/ coalesce resulting in the vowel /e/.

- e.g. Xá béngezi kamsinyáne (If they do not come soon
siza kuqála. we will start.)
Xá éngembi, úya (If he does not dig he
kugxóthwa. will be fired.)

5.1.2.0 Tonal Structure of the Present Participial.

The passive extension has no effect on the tonal structure of the participial, so it will not be exemplified except with monosyllabic stems where it introduces an extra syllable.

The SC can have a H or a L tone. For the sake of simplicity only the H toned form will be exemplified in this section.

The difference in tonal structure between the present participial and the present indicative positive is that in the indicative final underlying H tones are lowered, the one

exception to this being with monosyllabic H toned stems where a final H can occur as a variant vide 4.1.1.2. In the participial the final underlying H tone is retained. Because of this retention of the final H tone in the positive and the fact that /-nga-/, the negative formative, conditions a final H tone, there is often a final underlying HH sequence in the participial which is realized as FL in the surface structure before a juncture.

5.1.2.1 Monosyllabic Stems.

In the negative there is no contrast between H and L stems, except when there is an OC present and the negative form occurs before a juncture.

5.1.2.2 L Toned stems.

Positive. The stabilizer /-si-/ has a H tone like the OC with which it is mutually exclusive. The stem retains its L tone. The H tone of /-si-/ is due to assimilation with the tone of the SC.

- e.g. Kúthéni ésilwa? (Why is he fighting?)
 Kúthéni básiza? (Why are they coming?)
 Kúthéni sisénza? (Why are we making it?)
 Kúthéni úyója? (Why are you roasting it?)

Negative. The stem has a H tone in the negative. This is as expected as there is always a final H tone in the negative of this tense.¹ When an OC occurs it carries its inherent H tone and this and the H tone of the stem always occur as HH and are not manifest as FL before a juncture.

- e.g. Kúthéni béngayi (Why do they not go to town?)
 édólóphini?
 Kúthéni úngabi? (Why do you not distribute?)
 Kúthéni éngayóndli?(Why do they not rear it?)

With the passive extension.

Positive. When there is a passive extension present it has a L tone giving a final LL sequence. Note the deletion of /-si-/ with the introduction of the extra syllable of the passive extension.

- e.g. Xá imbiwa. (If it is dug.)
 Xá isenziwa. (If it is made.)
 Xá ihliwa. (If it is descended.)

¹ vide section on Tone in the conclusion.

Negative. In the negative the passive extension has a H tone. This final HH sequence is manifest as FL before a juncture.

- e.g. Xá ingatshíwo. (If it is not said.)
 Xá ingongíwa. (If it is not used sparingly.)
 Xá ingojíwa. (If it is not roasted.)

5.1.2.3. H toned Stems.

Positive. In the positive the stem retains its H tone and as the OC or stabilizer also has a H tone there is a final HH sequence. This is realized as FL before a juncture.

- e.g. Xá ésítya. (If he eats.)
 Xá zísífa. (If they die.)
 Kúthêní bésíba? (Why are they stealing?)
 Kúthêní síkúva? (Why do we hear you?)

Negative. The negative formative /-nga-/ always has a L tone. The stem tone is, of course, H. When an OC is present the final HH sequence occurs as FL before a juncture.

- e.g. Kúthêní síngakhí? (Why do we not build?)
 Kúthêní éngothí? (Why does he not warm himself?)
 Kúthêní éngayíwa? (Why does he not hear it?)
 Kúthêní ndíngébí? (Why do I not steal?)

When there is a passive extension present it makes no difference in the negative, but in the positive there is a final L tone. The final HH sequence in the negative is realized as FL before a juncture.

Positive

- e.g. Xá ísóníwa. (If it is spoilt.)
 Xá íphíwa. (If it is given.)
 Xá íbíwa. (If it is stolen.)

Negative

- e.g. Xá íngevíwa. (If it is not heard.)
 Xá ígakhíwa. (If it is not built.)

5.1.2.4 Disyllabic Stems.

5.1.2.5 LL Stems.

Positive. In the positive the initial tone of the stem is H. This points to the fact that the underlying tone of the participial SC is H and that the initial tone of the stem takes this or the tone of the OC by tone shift or repetition.

The tone shift is postulated for cases in which the SC occurs with a L tone. This is not exemplified here. Instances of tone repetition are exemplified here. The OC always occurs with a H tone.

- e.g. Xá ivúza. (If it leaks.)
 Xá éphúpha. (If he dreams.)
 Xá éyíphúnga. (If he drinks it.)

Negative. The final syllable has the expected H tone and the other tones do not change from their base forms.

- e.g. Xá íngazamí. (If he does not try.)
 Xá ndingazilí. (If I do not abstain.)
 Xá éngayityhilí. (If he does not uncover it.)

5.1.2.6 HL Stems.

Positive. These stems do not exhibit any aberrations in the present participial.

- e.g. Kúthêná béfána? (Why are they alike?)
 Kúthêní úhamba? (Why are you going?)
 Xá ndisifúnda. (If I learn it.)
 Xá íbábétha. (If he beats them.)

Negative. In the negative the final underlying HH sequence is realized as FL before a juncture. The HH sequence is, of course, due to the fact that the initial stem tone is H and the negative terminal tone is also H, conditioned by the L toned formative /-nga-/.

- e.g. Kúthêní ningaséki? (Why do you (pl.) not lay foundations?)
 Xá singasíndí ngóku. (If we do not escape now.)
 Xá bêngayiqáshi. (If they do not guess it.)
 Xá ndíngayiswélí ngóku. (If I do not lack it now.)

5.1.2.7 FL Stems.

Positive. The FL (underlying HH) sequence is retained with these stems.

- e.g. Xá éthúnga. (If she sews.)
 Kúthêní bét síbá kakhúlu? (Why do they jump a lot?)
 Kúthêní síyithfýéla. (Why is he trapping it?)
 Kúthêní éyítshintshá ngóku? (Why is he changing it now?)

Negative. As in the positive the stem retains its FL (Underlying HH) structure here.

- e.g. Kúthēní úngatshíxi? (Why do you not lock up?)
 Xá bēngaqhítsi kakhúlu. (If they do not bully a lot.)
 Kúthēní ndingasithēthi? (Why do I not speak it?)

5.1.3.0 Uses and Significance.

(1) The present participial occurs as the second or subsequent verb in a series, the first verb being in the indicative present. It is used to represent concurrent actions.

- e.g. Íinkomó zihámba (The cattle eat whilst walking.)
 zísitya.
 Úmqhági úlwa úkhála. (The cockrel fights whilst crowing.)
 Úmphuphi úqhúba (The dreamer dreams whilst driving.)
 éphúpha.

(2) The present participial occurs after the phrases /kúthēní/ (why) and /yíyo lóo ntó/ (that is why.)

- e.g. Kúthēní úngasélí ítyéfu? (Why do you not drink poison?)
 Kúthēní ésíza ngóku njé? (Why is he coming now?)
 Yíyo lóo ntó símbétha. (That is why we are beating him.)
 Yíyo lóo ntó bēwéla (That is why they are crossing the river.)
 úlambo.

(3) The participial can occur after certain conjunctions (c.f. Louw 1963 p.216).

- (a) ékubéni (for as much as)
 nakubá (although)
 ngangókúbá (as much as)
 njéngókúbá (just as)
 Káde (long ago)
 kúbá (because)
 ngókúbá (because)
 ngókókúbá (because)
- (b) Xá (if, when)
 xénikweni (if, when)
 xéshikweni (when)

mhlá	}	(when, on the day that)
mhlána		
mhléni		
mhlénikwéni		
mhlénikwézeni		
nyáka		(when, the year that)
ókó	}	(when - in the past)
ókuyá		
ngangoko		(in as much as)
njengoko		(as)
nágoná		(although)
nóko		(although)
(k)ókúkhoná		(the more)
kángángoko		(as much as)
e.g. Mhlá éhámba siya kuvúya.		(On the day he goes we will rejoice.)
Úzile kúbá éfúnwa.		(He came because he was wanted.)
Úmúlimi úyálima ngóbá ékhúthéle.		(The farmer ploughs because he is diligent.)

(4) The participial occurs after certain auxiliary verbs (c.f. Riordan, 1961, pp.22-23) (see also Louw 1963a)

-hlale	(do continuously)
-mane	(keep on doing)
-fudúla	(do usually, be accustomed to do)
-nge	(ought to do)
-sele, -se	(do now, then or already)
-soloko	(do always)
-be, -ye	(continuous tense forms in the past c.f. sections on past continuous and perfect tenses.)
-ba	(become)

e.g. Úhlala ebhotórosha.	(He is always teasing.)
Bámáne béthéthána.	(They keep on talking to one another.)
ÁmáXhosa afudúla éthándá íibhokhwe.	(The Xhosas usually like goats.)

(5) The present participial can occur with the relative suffix /-yo/ after certain conjunctions - see 3(b) above. (c.f. Louw op.cit.), and after /yiyo lóo ntó/.

e.g. Xá éngalumiyo.	(If he does not bite.)
Yiyo lóo ntó áncúmayó.	(That is why he is smiling.)

Sebénza kángángókó (Work as hard as you want to.)
úfúnáyo.

NOTE. In the Ciskei, after /xa/, /a-/ is preferred as the class 1 SC.

c.f. e.g. Xá ángalumíyo. (If he does not bite.)

The present participial need not indicate present time.

It can occur after certain conjunctions, e.g. xa and oko with the past tense being indicated by a following verb.

e.g. Xá ndíthéthá (When I was talking they left.)
báplúma.

Ókó éhámá sívúyile. (When he left we were pleased.)

Xá békíka sésityile. (When they arrived we were already eating.)

5.2 The Perfect Participial.

5.2.0 Patterns.

Positive	SC ^P - R - ile	(long form)
	SC ^P - R - e	(short form)

Negative	SC ^P - nga - R - anga.
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5.2.1 General Remarks on the Morphology.

For the distribution of the variants of the suffixes see the section on the indicative perfect.

Positive. e.g.	Ábantu bátya xá bélambíle.	(People eat when they are hungry.)
	Ídámá lísólóko lízéle.	(The dam is always full.)
	Kúthéní ízinjá zityilé njé?	(Why have the dogs eaten.)
	Únóntinti úsólóko éyé ésikólweni.	(Nontinti always went to school.)
	Yíyo lóo ntó ámáXhosa élwé námáZulu.	(That is why the Xhosas fought with the Zulus.)

When the SC occurs immediately before a V-commencing radical, the normal consonantal SC occurs except in classes 1, and 6 where e → ∅.

e.g.	Kúthéní ámadoda oyiké ébusúkú njé?	(Why were the men frightened in the night?)
	Xá énzé lóo ntó.	(If he did that thing.)
	Xá wóyiké injá.	(If you feared a dog.)

- Negative. e.g. Yíyo lóo ntó ámasélé (That is why the frogs
éngawelánga émlánjeni. did not fall into the
river.)
- Nakubá íntombí zí- (Although the girls did
ngaphekánga kutyá
sityé kámándi. not cook the food, we
ate it well.)
- Kúthêní íintsáphó (Why were the families
zíngaphilíswánga
phámbi kókúbá not cured before they
zíbuyé? returned?)

5.2.2.0 The Tonal Structure of the Perfect Participial.

In the perfect participial a final sequence of HH is always realized as FL before a juncture. As the passive extension causes no change(s) - with monosyllabic stems it has the same tonal structure as an active long form, - it will not be exemplified here. The perfect participial differs from the indicative in the long form when the suffix has an underlying HH sequence in the participial.

5.2.2.1 Monosyllabic Stems.

5.2.2.2 L toned Stems.

Positive. In the short form the structure is as expected i.e. H toned SC, and OC if present, and a HL cluster on the suffix.

- e.g. Xá ndílwé kakhúlu. (If I fought a lot.)
Kúthêní bángé kakhúlu? (Why did they kiss a lot?)
Yíyo lóo ntó sizé ngóko. (That is why we came then.)
Xá ndíyítshó kákuhlé. (If I said it well.)

c.f. indicative. Bálwé kakhúlu. (They fought a lot.)

In the long form, the tones on the suffix are HH (FL before a juncture), otherwise they are the same as for the short form. This final underlying HH sequence is a mark of the long form of the perfect participial.

- e.g. Xá ézífle. (If he came.)
Xá síwífle. (If we fell.)
Kúthêní béyénzífle? (Why did they make it?)
- c.f. indicative. Úzile. (He came.)

Negative. The negative formative /-nga-/ has a L tone and the tones on the suffix /-anga/ are HL. Otherwise the tones are the same as those for the positive. The HL

sequence on the past negative suffix is a feature of this suffix. It always occurs with this suffix.

- e.g. Kúthēní éngalwánga? (Why did he not fight?)
 Kúthēní bēngangánga? (Why did they not kiss?)
 Kúthēní úngayíhlánga? (Why did you not descend it?)

c.f. indicative. Akalwánga. (He did not fight.)

5.2.2.3 H toned stems.

These stems exhibit identical tonal patterns to the L stems.

Positive. Short form:

- e.g. Xá étyé kakhúlu. (If they ate a lot.)
 Xá béyálé ngóko. (If they refused it then.)
 Xá síwákhé. (If we drew it.)

c.f. indicative. Útyé kakhúlu. (He ate a lot.)

Long form:

- e.g. Xá kúsíle (When it got light.)
 Xá ífíle. (When it died.)
 Xá éyóníle. (When he spoiled it.)

c.f. indicative. Kúsíle (It got light.)

Negative.

- e.g. Kúthēní éngébánga? (Why did he not steal?)
 Kúthēní úngayívánga? (Why did you not hear it?)
 Kúthēní bēngayákhánga? (Why did they not build it.)

c.f. indicative. Akebánga. (He did not steal.)

5.2.2.4 Disyllabic Stems.

5.2.2.5 LL Stems.

Positive. Short form.

There are no tonal aberrations here. The tonal structure is like that of the indicative with the exception of the SCs, which needn't be identical.

- e.g. Xá ndílimé kákuhlé. (If I cultivated well.)
 Xá élúvalé ízolo. (If he closed it yesterday.)
 Xá ívuzé kakhúlu. (If it leaked a great deal.)
 c.f. indicative. Ndílimé kákuhlé. (If I cultivated well.)

Long form:

The final two tones are HH which are realized as FL before a juncture. The initial syllable of the stem retains its basic L tone. In the indicative it assimilates the tone of the SC.

- e.g. Xá útyebile. (If you are fat.)
 Xá évumfle. (If he agreed.)
 Xá síyísililé kákuhlé. (If we ground it well.)
 c.f. indicative. Útyebile. (He is fat.)

Negative:

The negative formative has a L tone and the final two tones have a HL sequence as would be expected.

- e.g. Kúthéni úngayíphikánga? (Why did you not deny it?)
 Kúthéni éngayityhalánga? (Why did he not push it?)
 Xá bégaphuphánga. (If they do not dream.)
 c.f. indicative. Akúphikánga. (You did not deny it.)

5.2.2.6 HL Stems.

Positive Short form.

The tones are as would be expected, i.e. stem tone of H followed by a HL cluster. In the indicative the initial stem tone is assimilated from that of the SC as is that of the OC. Otherwise the indicative and the participial are the same.

- e.g. Xá éyízúzé ápha. (If he obtained it here.)
 Xá síqáshé kákuhlé. (If we guessed well.)
 Kúthéni ésálé izolo? (Why did he remain yesterday?)
 c.f. indicative Uyizuzé ápha. (You obtained it here.)

Long form.

Once again the tones are as expected, i.e. initial H stem tone followed by a HH (FL) sequence. The final two tones of the indicative are LL.

- e.g. ¹Kúthéni síyíswélíle? (Why did we lack it?)
 Kúthéni émkíle? (Why did he leave?)
¹Kúthéni úyísúlíle? (Why did you wipe it?)
 c.f. indicative. ¹Uyiswélíle. (He lacked it.)

1. These are dialectal forms.

Negative.

In the negative the final tone is L and the stem tones can be either HH or LH. A H toned OC normally occasions a HH stem pattern, otherwise it is more commonly LH. However either pattern can occur in any position. In this dissertation HH will be exemplified after an OC and LH elsewhere. The tonal sequence of the indicative is very similar.

- e.g. Xá ndíngaphumánga. (If I had not gone out.)
 Xá éngahambánga. (If they had not gone.)
¹Xá íngayidlúlánga. (If he had not passed it.)
 Xá síngayifézánga. (If we had not finished it.)

c.f. indicative Andiphumánga. (I did not go out.)

5.2.2.7 FL Stems.

These stems exhibit an identical pattern to that of the HL stems in both the positive and the negative.

Positive. Short form.

- e.g. Xá éthúngé kákuhlé. (If she sewed well.)
 Xá úndíthúké kakhúlu. (If you swore at me a lot.)
 Xá ndiyithéngé ízolo. (If I did not buy it yesterday.)

The indicative has the same tonal structure.

c.f. Úthúngé kákuhlé. (She sewed well.)

Long form.

- e.g. Kúthêní útsíbíle? (Why did you jump?)
 Kúthêní étshóníle? (Why did he drown?)
 Xá béwákíle. (If they walked about.)

The indicative differs from this in that it has a final L tone.

c.f. Útsíbíle. (He jumped.)

Negative.

- e.g. Xá éngayítshíntshánga. (If he did not change it.)
 Xá béngamqhitsánga. (If they did not bully him.)
 Kúthêní úngathethánga? (Why did you not speak?)

¹ Although the depressor consonant often conditions an initial L stem tone here, this form with a H tone is perfectly regular.

The indicative has a very similar tonal structure.

c.f. Akáyítshíntshánga. (He did not change it.)

5.2.3.0 Uses and Significance.

For the uses and significance see the indicative perfect and the present participial.

CHAPTER VI

THE COMPOUND TENSES

These can occur in the indicative or the participial but as the difference is only in the SC and in certain cases the negative formative and these have already been handled, the participial will not be exemplified here.

6.1 The Near Past Continuous Tense.6.1.0 Patterns.

Positive	(a)	SC - be + SC ^P - (OC) - R -a
	(b)	SC - b - SC ^P - (OC) - R -a
	(c)	be - SC ^P - (OC) - R-a
Negative	(a)	SC - be + SC ^P - nga - (OC) - R - i
	(b)	SC - b - SC ^P - nga - (OC) - R - i
	(c)	be - SC ^P - nga - (OC) - R - i

6.1.1 General Remarks on the Morphology.

The formative for this tense is an auxiliary verb /-be/ which conditions a following verb complement in the present participial. For the distribution of the various patterns which occur in the participial see the section on the participial. The (a), (b) and (c) patterns occur in the same environments in both the positive and the negative.

Positive. The contracted (c) pattern occurs with SCs of the strong noun classes, i.e. SCs with a CV structure.

e.g.	Bendidlálá kákuhlé.	(I was playing well.)
	Ísifó ésibí bésibúlála ábántu bónke.	(The bad disease was killing all the people.)
	Útywalá bébúnxílisa újóji.	(The beer was making George drunk.)

The contracted pattern, (b) occurs with SCs of the weak noun classes, i.e. SCs consisting of a vowel only. When the SC is of class 1 or 6 there is commonly an assimilation between the SC and the SC^P i.e. u/a → e/ — be or SC → SC^P / — b SC^P in cl.1 or 6.

This is as an alternative to the normal pattern.

e.g.	Ínjá íbikhónkóthá úbusúkú bónke.	(The dog was barking the whole night.)
	Úmlenze úbúsópha kakhúlu.	(The leg was bleeding profusely.)

- Úm̄ntwana ómncíní (The small child was
 úbèthéthá kakhúlu. talking a lot.)
 or Úm̄ntwana ómncíní
 ébèthéthá kakhúlu.

 Ám̄arhamba ábéluma (Puffadders were biting
 ábantu ábanínzi many people that year.)
 kúlóo nyâka.
 or Ám̄arhamba ébéluma
 ábantu ábanínzi
 kúlóo nyâka.

The uncontracted pattern, (a) can occur with the subject belonging to any class or person. It does not occur very often.

- e.g. Ám̄áhobé ábè ecúla (The doves were singing
 émithini phámbi in the trees before they
 kókúbá adúthulwé. were shot.)
 Óonxélé babè besákhá (Nxele and Co. were build-
 índlu xá ábanye ing a house when the
 bébanjive. others were arrested.)

Negative. For the distribution of the patterns (a), (b) and (c) see above under the positive. In this section the (a), (b) and (c) patterns will be exemplified together.

- e.g. Ísikhóhllákali síbè (The wicked person was
 singathúki síbè not swearing, he was
 sísityá ábantu. eating people.)
 Úmfázi ómhlé (The beautiful woman was
 ébéngathéthí not talking much.)
 kakhúlu.
 Ám̄ásango ébéngavulwá (The gates were not being
 ngábáfána. opened by the youths.)

6.1.2.0 The Tonal Structure of the Near Past Continuous Tense.

The tense formative (auxiliary verb) /-be/ has a HL tone sequence when it occurs before a juncture in the uncontracted form. The participial complement has its expected tonal structure.

- e.g. Ndibè ndísihla. (I was descending.)
 Bábè bévála úcango. (They were closing the door.)
 Zibè zingádlúli. (They were not passing.)

Contracted forms. In the contracted forms, when the auxiliary verb occurs immediately before an SC it can have a H or a L tone but it normally assimilates to the tone of

the SC. The SC is that which occurs in the participial so can have either a H or a L tone although H is more common. The complement has its normal participial tonal structure.

- e.g. Bendisíkhá ámánzi. (I was drawing water.)
 Beniyithátha. (You (pl.) were taking it.)
 Bébéthúngá íihémpe. (They were sewing shirts.)

6.1.3.0 Uses and Significance.

The near past continuous tense indicates an action which was incomplete and still taking place at some point of time in the past. The time limit is roughly parallel to that of the perfect tense.

- e.g. Bendidlálá kákuhlé. (I was playing well.)
 íimpángélé bézi:ityá (The guinea fowl were
 úmbóna wómlimi eating the farmers
 izolo. mealies yesterday.)
 Ámádoda ébéngatshayi. (The men were not smoking
 cuba. tobacco.)
 Ámazwí ábéngaqondwá (The words were not being
 ngábafúndi. understood by the students.)

When occurring with stative verbs the near past continuous tense indicates a process which was taking place at some point of time in the past.

- e.g. Úsáphó bélúlamba. (The family was getting hungry.)
 Ídama bélízála. (The dam was filling.)
 Abántwana bébéngaláli. (The children were not going
 to sleep.)
 ÚJim ébéngabhítyi. (Jim was not becoming thin.)

6.2 The Near Past Perfect Tense.

6.2.0 Patterns.

- Positive. (a) SC - be + SC^P - (OC) - R - ile.
 (b) SC - b - SC^P - (OC) - R - ile.
 (c) be - SC^P - (OC) - R - ile.
 Negative (a) SC - be + SC^P - nga - (OC) - R - anga.
 (b) SC - b - SC^P - nga - (OC) - R - anga.
 (c) be - SC^P - nga - (OC) - R - anga.

6.2.1 General Remarks on the Morphology.

For the distribution of the patterns (a), (b) and (c) see the section on the near past continuous tense.

For the distribution of the variants of the perfect suffixes see the section on the perfect tense.

For the distribution of the variants of the perfect suffixes see the section on the perfect tense.

Positive	e.g.	Ábathéthí bábê béthéthíle.	(The speakers had spoken.)
		Íqáqá bélínyúkê íntaba.	(The polecat had gone up the mountain.)
		Úlúsu bélúphekwê ngúmpheki.	(The tripe had been cooked by the cook.)
		Úbusíká bébúfikíle.	(The winter had arrived.)
Negative	e.g.	Íimpah ₁ zám zíbê zíngangcol- ánga.	(My clothes had not been dirty.)
		Ílíwá bélínga- khwélwánga.	(The cliff had not been climbed.)
		Ábáfó bébénga- sebenzánga.	(The men had not worked.)
		Úmlenze úbúngenza- kaliswánga.	(The leg had not been hurt.)

6.2.2.0 The Tonal Structure of the Near Past Perfect Tense.

The tonal structure of the initial SC and the tense formative auxiliary verb /be/, is described in the section on the near past continuous tense. The tonal structure of the participial complement to this auxiliary verb is discussed in the section on the perfect participial. Therefore the tonal structure will not be discussed here.

6.2.3.0 Uses and Significance.

The near past perfect tense indicates an action completed in the near past or in the case of stative verbs a state which has been entered into at some time in the near past. The near past tense is roughly equivalent to the time indicated by the perfect tense.

e.g.	Úmbhálí ébéfúméné índlu.	(The writer had found a house.)
	Úmdláló úbúdlalíwe.	(The game had been played.)
	¹ Áméva ébébáhlábíle ábélúsi.	(The thorns had pricked the herdboys.)
	Ámasélé ébéngatsib- ánga.	(The frogs had not jumped.)

1. Because of the OC in this form there is a juncture after it. Hence the FL sequence, not HH, finally.

6.3. The Remote Past Continuous Tense.6.3.0 Patterns.

Positive (a) SC - a - ye/be + SC^P - (OC) - R - a
 (b) SC - a - SC^P - (OC) - R - a.

Negative (a) SC - a - ye/be + SC^P - nga - (OC) - R - i
 (b) SC - a - SC^P - nga - (OC) - R - i

6.3.1. General Remarks on the Morphology.

The auxiliary verb /-ye/, which is the formative for this tense, conditions a following verb complement in the present participial. The uncontracted forms of the patterns i.e. those marked (a), can occur in normal speech, but are unusual in any form of speech other than a highly stylized one. The (b) patterns are the ones which occur commonly. For the distribution of the patterns which occur in the present participial and the tonal structure thereof, see the section on the present participial.

NOTE: The auxiliary verb /ye/ can be replaced by the auxiliary verb /be/ in the secondary, remote past tenses. (vide Low 1963a, p.151.) However as this is merely a substitution causing no changes, it will not be exemplified in this work.

Pattern (a)

- e.g. Ábefúndisi ¹báyé (The ministers were praying on
 bethándaza ngósúku Christmas day.)
 lwéKrisimési.
 Úmqhági wáyé (The cock was crowing at dawn.)
 úkhálá ékuséni.
 Íqili láyé línga- (The clever person was not
 fúndisi bántwana. teaching the children.)
 Únxáno lwáyé (Thirst was not killing the
 língabuláli cattle.)
 zinkomó.

(b) Patterns.

In these patterns in the weak noun classes a semi-vowel precedes the second SC to act as a barrier between the remote past formative vowel and the vowel of a weak noun class SC. In classes 1 and 6 the semivowel of the auxiliary

1. N.B. The auxiliary verb /-ye/ or its variant /-be/ can also occur with a L tone c.f. Low (1968 p.65). This is not exemplified in this dissertation.

6.4.1 General Remarks on the Morphology.

As all parts of this tense have been handled in other parts of this dissertation the part containing the auxiliary verb in the remote past continuous tense, and the perfect participial complement is handled in the section on the perfect participial this section will be handled very briefly.

Positive

- e.g. ¹Imfene yáyé (The baboon had been shot.)
 idutyulíwe.
¹Umvúndlá wáyé (The hare had been chased by
 úsukelwé yíndoda. the man.)
¹Úbuhlúngú babúfi- (Pain had troubled him.)
 khátház íle.
¹Íháshe lálíkhábé (The horse had kicked the
 íindongá. walls.)

Negative

- e.g. ¹Ábákhí báyé (The builders had not built
 béngakhánga ndlu. the house.)
¹Ihlwempú lálí- (The poor person had not seen
 ngabonángá the snake.)
 nyóka.
¹Ábáyeni bábénga- (The bridegrooms had not
 xhentsánga. danced.)

6.4.2.0 Tonal Structure of the Remote Past Perfect Tense.

The main point worth noting here is the occurrence of HL tone sequence on the vowel of the auxiliary verb /-ye-/. This would indicate a perfect form rather than a remote past one. Another tone sequence can occur on this auxiliary verb in which the SC is H and the auxiliary verb L toned (Louw, personal communication). For the tonal structure of the perfect participial complement see 5.2.2.0.

6.4.3.0 Uses and Significance.

The remote past perfect indicates an action which had, or had not, taken place at some time in the remote past. With stative radicals it indicates an existing state or an action that had not yet been completed at some time in the remote past.

- e.g. ¹Ábélúsi bábécu- (The herdboys had sung.)
 íle.

- ÍsiNǵésí sásithé- (English had been spoken.)
thíwe.
Ábántwana bábélamfíle. (The children were hungry.)
Íhlwempú lálingase- (The poor man had not worked.)
benzánga.

6.5 The Near Past Future (Contingent) Tense.

6.5.0 Patterns.

Positive SC - be + SC^P- $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} za \\ ya \end{array} \right\}$ + ku - (OC) - R - a.

Negative SC - be + SC^P- $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} zi \\ yi \end{array} \right\}$ + ku - (OC) - R - a.

6.5.1 General Remarks on the Morphology.

This tense consists of three components all three of which are described elsewhere in this dissertation and therefore they will not be described again here. The three components are:

The near or remote past continuous tense with the auxiliary verbs /za/ and /ya/ acting as L toned verbs stems.

The future tense participial which incorporates the third component which is the infinitive.

The full pattern as given above occurs very seldom. The contracted forms are far more common as would be expected.

Positive

- e.g. Ndíbé ndiya kujonga. (I was going to look.)
Ízicáká béziya (The servants were going
kusebénza kákuhlé. to work well.)
Ūthándó bélúza (Love was going to kill
kumbúlála. him.)

Negative

- e.g. Ūbé éngazí kuthéthá (He was not going to talk
nabó. to them.)
Ábáqhubi bébéngazí (The drivers were not going
kuqhuba. to drive.)
Índoda íbingazí (The man was not going to
kutshóná émáanzini. drown in the water.)

6.5.2.0 Tonal Structure of the Near Past Future Tense.

As this is handled in 3.2.2.1 and 3.4.3.0 it will not be handled here.

6.5.3.0 Uses and Significance.

This tense indicates an action that would or would not have taken place under certain circumstances. It is "indicative of unfulfilled or unaccomplished intention". Doke (1961 p.195).

- e.g. Ísíqhamo bésiza (Fruit would have helped the
kuncedisa ábántu. people.)
Úmsíndó úbúya (Anger was going to trouble
kumkhatháza. him.)
Úbusiká bebúngayí (Winter was not going to
kuncedisa zintyá- help the flowers.)
tyámbo.

6.6. The Future Continuous Tense.6.6.0 Patterns.

- Positive SC - $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} za \\ ya \end{array} \right\}$ + ku - be/ba + pres. participial, subjunctive or indicative.
Negative a - SCⁿ - $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} zi \\ yi \end{array} \right\}$ + ku - be/ba + pres. participial, subjunctive or indicative.

6.6.1 General Remarks on the Morphology.

The first part of this tense is a future based on the auxiliary verb /ba/ and this is followed by a complement which can be in the present participial, subjunctive or indicative. The present participial occurs most commonly. The auxiliary verb /ba/ occurs more commonly as /be/ in this area but these are in free variation. This auxiliary verb can occur with either a H or a L tone, these tones also being in free variation. For the sake of simplicity the variant /be/ with a L tone will be exemplified in this work.

As the infinitive, present participial, present subjunctive and present indicative are described elsewhere in this dissertation, they will not be described here.

Positive

- e.g. Ndiya kube ndisitya. (I will be eating.)

	Íhíngulú líya kube liphapházela.	(The crow will be flying.)
	Ábálimi báza kube bezóndana.	(The farmers will be hating each other.)
c.f. sub- junctive.	Ábálimi báza kube bázóndané.	(The farmers will be hating each other, Non specific time.)
c.f. indi- cative.	Ábálimi báza kube báyázóndana.	(The farmers will be hating each other. (Specific time.)
Negative e.g.	Abáyí kube besityá náni.	(They will not be eating with you.)
	Akáyí kube éthéngá úkutyá.	(They will not be buying food.)
	Údadéwethú akázi kube ésénzela íti.	(My sister will not be making tea for us.)
c.f. sub- junctive.	Údadéwethú akázi kube ásenzélé íti.	(My sister will not be making tea for us. (Non specific time.)
c.f. indi- cative.	Údadéwethú akázi kube úsenzela íti.	(My sister will not be making tea for us. Specific time.)

NOTE: The slight difference in meaning between the forms with the different complements is given in the translations.

6.6.2.0 Tonal Structure of the Future Continuous Tense.

The tonal structure of the various elements are discussed in 4.4.3.2, 5.1.2.0, et. seq., 7.1.2.0 et. seq., and 4.1.2.0 et. seq. Therefore they will not be discussed here.

6.6.3.0 Uses and Significance.

The future continuous indicates an action which will or, in the negative, will not be taking place at some time in the future.

e.g.	Údaba lúza kube lufunéka.	(The news will be desirable.)
	Úya kube eqhúbela íinkomó ébúhlánti.	(He will be driving the cattle into the cattle kraal.)
	Akáyí kube uqhúba ímotó.	(You will not be driving the car.)
	Ímiqhági ayiyí kube íkhála.	(The cocks will not be crowing.)

6.7 Future Perfect Tense.6.7.0 Patterns.

Positive SC - $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} za \\ ya \end{array} \right\} + ku - be/ba +$ perfect participial,
indicative or past subjunctive.

Negative a - SCⁿ - $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} zi \\ yi \end{array} \right\} + ku - be/ba +$ perfect participial,
indicative or past subjunctive.

6.7.1 General Remarks on the Morphology.

This tense differs from the future continuous in that it has a perfect or past complement instead of one in the present tense. These complements are handled fully under the relevant sections so will not be described here.

Positive

e.g. Ndiza kuba ¹ndilambile. (I will be hungry.)

Úmthéngi úya kube (The buyer will have
ethengé izintó. bought the things.)

Ínéne íya kube íxelfwe. (The truth will have been
told.)

c.f. sub-Ínéne íya kube yáxelwa. (As above.)
junctive.

c.f. indi-Ínéne íya kube íxéliwe. (As above.)
cative.

Negative

e.g. Úmhenze awúzi kuba (The leg will not be
¹ubhityile. thin.)

Ínkúkú ayiyi kube (The fowl will not have
ityiwe. been eaten.)

Úmhlábá awúyi kube (The ground will not have
úmbiwe. been dug.)

c.f. sub-Úmhlábá awúyi kube (As above.)
junctive. wámbiwa.

c.f. indi-Úmhlábá awúyi kube (As above.)
cative. úmbiwe.

1 Stative verb; see section on the indicative perfect.

6.7.2.0 Tonal Structure of the Future Perfect Tense.

For the tonal structures to be found in the vide 3.4.3.2., 4.2.2.0, et. seq., 6.2.2.0 et. seq. and 3.2.2.0 et. seq.

6.7.3.0 Uses and Significance.

"The future perfect indicates that an action will, or will not, have taken place, or will have been completed, or not, at some point in future time." (Beuchat, p.77). When stative verbs occur in this tense they indicate that a state will, or will not be entered into at the time in question.

- e.g. Ndiza kuba ndilambfîle. (I will be hungry [stative])
 Ábákhí báza kuba béthéthîle. (The builders will have spoken.)
 Akází kuba émqhathîle. (He will not have cheated him.)
 Inqáwa ayizí kube isetyenzisiwe. (The pipe will not have been used.)

For the difference in meaning between the forms taking a complement in the participial, subjunctive and indicative see p.91.

CHAPTER VII

THE SUBJUNCTIVE MOOD

The subjunctive has three tenses: a present, a past and a future which is sub-divided into two.

7.1 The Present Subjunctive.7.1.0 Patterns.

Positive SC^a - (OC) - R - e

Negative SC^a - nga - (OC) - R - i.

7.1.1. General Remarks on the Morphology.

The SC^a indicates that the SC of cl.1 is /a-/ and not /u-/ otherwise the SCs are the same segmentally, as the SC of the indicative mood present tense.

Positive

- e.g. Yizáni nímqêshe. (Come ye and hire him.)
 Ndifúnda ndifúndîse. (I learn and I teach.)
 Yizá úbhátalé ímalí (Come and pay your money.)
 yákho.
 Siya kwábawó síselé (We go to father's place and
 úbîsi. drink milk.)

Negative

- e.g. Úngathêthi. (Don't talk.)
 Lumkêla, hléze (Beware lest you do not arrive.)
 úngafikí.
 Zeníngahâmbi. (You (pl.) ought not to go.)
 Másingabízí (Let us not call the children.)
 bantwana.

The SC is elided in classes 1 and 6 before V-commencing radicals. In the other classes the normal consonantal SC occurs (c.f. indicative present tense). In the negative the formative /-nga-/ loses its vowel before a V-commencing radical. Latent i-commencing radicals have the usual effect on immediately preceding formatives ending in /-a-/ when a + i > e.

- e.g. Hléze ákhe. (Lest he build.)
 Hléze wóne. (Lest you sin.)
 Hléze éve. (Lest he hear.)
 Hléze béhle. (Lest they descend.)
 Hléze ángenzi ntó. (Lest they do not do anything.)

7.1.2.0 The Tonal Structure of the Present Subjunctive.

The SC can always have a high tone but often exhibits polarity with the following tone. The passive extension makes no difference to the tonal structure.

7.1.2.1 Monosyllabic Stems.

Monosyllabic L and H toned stems are often identical in the present subjunctive. However, in the negative, when there is an extra syllable, i.e. when there is an OC or a passive extension present, L toned stems usually keep a HH sequence before a juncture whereas the H toned stems manifest a FL sequence in this environment.

7.1.2.2. L Stems.

In the positive the stem retains its basic L tone. In the negative the formative /-nga-/ has a L tone and the terminal syllable has a H tone which is conditioned by the L toned formative /nga/.

Positive

e.g.	Hléze ámbe.	(Lest he dig.)
	Hléze bálwe.	(Lest they fight.)
	Hléze síze.	(Lest we come.)
	Hléze ndíhle.	(Lest I descend.)

Negative

e.g.	Hléze ángophí.	(Lest he does not bleed.)
	Hléze síngawí.	(Lest we do not fall.)
	Hléze ángatshó.	(Lest they do not say so.)

With an OC

Positive. The H tone of the OC shifts forward to the final syllable in the positive.

e.g.	Hléze báyombé.	(Lest they dig it.)
	Hléze úyenzé.	(Lest you make it.)
	Hléze síyongé.	(Lest you use it sparingly.)
	Hléze áyithí...	(Lest he say it.)

As the present subjunctive negative has an identical tonal structure to the present participial negative only one comparative example from each, will be given for each tone class, vide present participial negative.

e.g.	Úngayítshó.	(Don't say it so.)
c.f. participial	Xá úngayítshó.	(If you do not say it so.)

7.1.2.3 H Toned Stems.

In the positive the terminal H tone is reduced to a L tone.

Positive

e.g.	Hléze éve.	(Lest he hear.)
	Hléze yóme.	(Lest it become dry.)
	Hléze ndále.	(Lest I refuse.)
	Hléze íse.	(Lest it get light.)

Negative

e.g.	Úngébi.	(Do not steal.)
c.f. participial	Xá úngébi.	(If you do not steal.)

With an OC

When there is an OC present its H tone shifts forward onto the final syllable as is usual in the present subjunctive positive. In the negative the OC retains its H tone.

Positive

e.g.	Hléze ndiyivé.	(Lest I hear it.)
	Hléze síyakhé.	(Lest we build it.)
	Hléze ákutyé.	(Lest he eat it.)
	Hléze síyanyé.	(Lest he suck it.)

Negative

e.g.	Úngazíbí ngóku.	(You may not steal them now.)
c.f. participial	Xá úngazíbí ngóku.	(If you do not steal them now.)

7.1.2.4. Disyllabic Stems.

With these stems there is tone shift. The H tone of an SC shifts forward onto the initial syllable of the stem with LL stems. Otherwise the initial H tone of the stem shifts onto the final syllable, the initial stem syllable losing its H tone with HL and FL stems.

7.1.2.5. LL Stems.

In the positive these stems assimilate a H tone from the SC, which can then lose its H tone, i.e. it can be accounted for by tone shift in this case, although the SC

more usually retains its H tone in this area, i.e. there is tonal repetition.

Positive	Hléze álime.	(Lest he plough.)
e.g.	Hléze sícenge.	(Lest we beg.)
	Hléze útyébe.	(Lest you get fat.)
	Hléze ávúme.	(Lest they agree.)

Negative

e.g.	Úngaphosí.	(Do not throw.)
c.f. participial	Xá úngaphosí.	(If you do not throw.)

With an OC

When there is an OC present in the positive, the initial H tone which the stem has assimilated from the OC shifts forward onto the terminal syllable and the OC retains its H tone.

Positive

e.g.	Hléze úyíphosé.	(Lest you throw it.)
	Hléze áyíphindé.	(Lest he repeat it.)
	Hléze síyíphungé.	(Lest we drink it.)
	Hléze ndísíphuphé.	(Lest I dream it.)

Negative

e.g.	Hléze úngayízamí.	(Lest you do not try it.)
c.f. participial	Xá úngayízamí.	(If you do not try it.)

7.1.2.6 HL Stems.

In the positive the H tone of the stem shifts forward onto the terminal syllable.

Positive

e.g.	Hléze áqashé.	(Lest he guess.)
	Hléze ndísalé.	(Lest I remain.)
	Hléze ízalé.	(Lest it become full.)
	Hléze báphumé.	(Lest they go out.)

Negative

e.g.	Hléze ángavúki.	(Lest he does not awaken.)
c.f. participial	Xá éngavúki.	(If he does not awaken.)

With an OC

Positive. The basic H tone on the penult shifts forward onto the final syllable. The penult then receives a H tone

from the OC by tone shift. This final HH sequence is realized as FL before a juncture.

- e.g. Hlêze áyifêze. (Lest he complete it.)
 Hlêze sizithêze. (Lest we collect it.)
 Hlêze básisélé ngôku. (Lest they drink it now.)
 Hlêze úyizûze. (Lest you get it.)

- Negative úngabáqêshi! (Don't engage them!)
 c.f. par- Xá úngabáqêshi. (If you do not engage them.)
 ticipial

7.1.2.7 FL Stems.

Positive. In the positive the underlying H tone on the initial syllable of the stem shifts forward onto the terminal syllable where it coalesces with the underlying H tone already on that syllable.

- e.g. Hlêze áthungé. (Lest she sew.)
 Hlêze bátsibé. (Lest they jump.)
 Hlêze sitshoné. (Lest we drown.)
 Hlêze áthiyé. (Lest they trap.)

Negative

- e.g. Hlêze úngaqhîtsi. (Lest you do not bully.)
 c.f. par- Xá úngaqhîtsi. (If you do not bully.)
 ticipial

With an OC

The OC which occurs with FL stems gives a pattern identical to that which occurs with HL stems in both the positive and the negative, i.e. in the positive its tone shifts forward onto the following syllable.

Positive

- e.g. Hlêze sínshíye. (Lest we leave him behind.)
 Hlêze bándithûme. (Lest they send me.)
 Hlêze áyilînge. (Lest they try it.)
 Hlêze básiméme. (Lest they invite us.)

Negative

- e.g. úngayíphâki! (Don't serve it!)
 c.f. par- Xá úngayíphâki. (If you don't serve it.)
 ticipial

7.1.3.0 Uses and Significance.

The present subjunctive indicates a sequential action in which case it occurs as the second or subsequent verb in a series, after a verb in the present or future indicative.

e.g.	Ndiya éđólóphini, ndíthengé izintó.	(I go to town and buy things.)
	Báyathétha bácúle.	(They talk and sing.)
	Siya kuvuka, síhlámbe, sítye úkutyá.	(We will wake up, wash and eat food.)
	Úya kuqhúbe. íinkomó ziye ébúhlánti ázisenge.	(He will drive the cattle to the cattle kraal and milk them.)

The present subjunctive occurs as the second or subsequent verb in a series of commands, the first verb being in the imperative.

e.g.	Yizá úphéke úkutyá.	(Come and cook the food.)
	Thénga útywalá úbuséle.	(Buy beer and drink it.)
	Qhubá imotó úngathéthi.	(Drive the car and don't talk.)
	Tyisa ábántwana úngaláli.	(Feed the children and don't sleep.)

The present subjunctive occurs after certain auxiliary verbs. These auxiliary verbs are set out below:

-buye	(do or happen again)
-de	(do until or finally)
-hle	(do soon, just do)
-khe	(do ever or sometime)
--phinde	(do again)
--phantse	(nearly do)
-suke	(do thereupon)
-thi	(and, and then, happen)
-ye	(and, when, usually)
-ze	(and then)
-ze	(ought to do)
-fane	(do thoughtlessly)(Riordan, 1961)
-ba	(future continuous forma- tive)

- e.g. Úhle ánncedíse. (He soon helps her.)
 Báphantse bálíle. (They nearly cry.)
 Sithi síhambé. (And then we go.)

The auxiliary verb /-be/ occurs in the present subjunctive before a verb in the participial mood. In this case it refers to a process which should be taking place (c.f. Louw 1963, p.161.)

- e.g. Ábe éthêtha. (He ought to be talking.)
 Síbe sífúnda. (We ought to be learning.)
 Bábe bэфúndisa. (They ought to be teaching.)
 Úbe úthíntitha. (You ought to be stuttering.)

Riordan classifies /ma-/ and /kha-/ with the auxiliary verbs set out above. (c.f. Riordan, 1961) However, in this dissertation they will be regarded as hortative prefixes as many writers have classified them (c.f. Louw 1963, Doke 1961). The hortative prefix /ma-/ (must do) can occur with a subject from any one of the noun classes. /kha-/ (please do, or just do), occurs with subjects from the second person only. After /ma-/ the SC of cl.1 and 6 is /-ka-/, and of second person singular it is /-wu-/, otherwise the normal SCⁿ occurs. The hortatives express polite commands.

- e.g. Masíhambé. (Let us go.)
 Makabáleké. (Let him run.)
 Mawúngakhatháli. (You ought not to worry.)
 Khawubhátalé. (Please pay.)
 Khanilíme. (Just plough.)

The present subjunctive occurs after certain conjunctions, these being:

- | | |
|--------------|----------------------|
| áhle, ngáhle | (perhaps, maybe) |
| úkúbá | (so that, that) |
| úkúze | (so that, that) |
| hléze | (lest) |
| ókókúbá | (that) |
| kúfúnéka | (should, obligation) |
| kúfánele | (should, obligation) |

- e.g. Kúfúnéka síthethé. (We must talk.)
 Hléze éve. (Lest he hear.)

Ngáhle bázáme. (Perhaps they try.)
 Úsébénza úkúze átye. (He works so that he can eat.)

The present subjunctive also occurs as a polite form of the imperative, in the negative.

e.g. Níngatshayí! (You may, should, ought not to smoke!)
 Úngaswéli! (You may, should, ought not to be in want!)
 Úngandíbèthi! (You may, should, ought not to hit me.)
 c.f. Súkúndibètha! (Don't hit me!)

The present subjunctive can occur as a principal form in an interrogative before /ntóni/. It has a future significance.

e.g. Úphéke ntóni ngedínala? (What are you cooking for dinner?)
 Wénze ntóni ngókúhlwa? (What are you doing tonight?)
 Nákhè ntóni ngómsó? (What are you (pl.) building tomorrow?)

The present subjunctive can be used as a primary mood when it has the meaning of wish, desire or purpose.

e.g. Úthethé úngathúli. (You ought to talk and not be quiet.)
 Nitye nityébe. (You (pl.) ought to eat and get fat.)
 Úmbambé. (You ought to catch him.)

The present subjunctive occurs as a primary form after OC in commands incorporating an OC (c.f. chapter on imperative.) In this case the OC retains its H tone.

e.g. Yítsháyéle! (Sweep it!)
 Báfúmáne! (Find them!)
 Mshiyéni! (Leave ye him!)

NOTE: There is a deep structure SC of second person singular in the first two examples above and in the third example the SC of the second person plural occurs as a suffix. This is regular.

7.2 The Past Subjunctive.7.2.0 Patterns.

Positive SC - a - (OC) - R - a

Negative a - SCⁿ - a - (OC) - R - a7.2.1 General Remarks on Morphology.

The SCs are the normal SCs positive and negative which occur before the vowel /-a-/.

Positive

- e.g. Wáhamba, wáhamba, (He walked and walked and
wáhamba. walked.)
- Ndápphantsé ndáwa. (I almost fell.)
- Báselá báze bádlála. (They drank and they played.)
- Wápphantsé wáséla (You almost drank poison.)
ityhéfu.

Negative

- e.g. Báyé éhláthini (They went to the forest and
abábúyá. did not return.)
- Ndáza andáhambá. (And then I did not go.)
- Sáza asábákhethá. (And then we did not choose
them.)
- Áza akásíthánda. (And then they did not like
us.)

7.2.2.0 Tonal Structure of the Past Subjunctive.7.2.2.1 Monosyllabic Stems.

The passive extension, when occurring with monosyllabic stems has a final L tone in the positive and a H tone in the negative.

7.2.2.2. L Stems.

In the positive the stem retains its L tone and the SC -a and OC keep their H tones.

NOTE. The past subjunctive formative vowel /-a-/ is a single, short vowel unlike the vowel of the past indicative.

- e.g. Wápphantsé wénza (He almost did that thing.)
lloo ntó.
- Sápphantsé sáyilwa. (We almost fought it.)
- Bápphantsé básánga. (They almost kissed us.)

Negative. The negative occurs with a final H tone and when there is an OC juxtaposed to this final syllable the final two tones exhibit a HH tonal sequence in all environments. The SC has a H tone followed by a low toned past subjunctive formative /a/. This HL sequence is heard as a F tone as it is on a single syllable. The negative prefix formative /a/ has a L tone.

- e.g. Bâphantsé abâyá. (They almost did not go.)
 Sâphantsé asâtshó. (We almost did not say so.)
 Sâphantsé asâyézá. (We almost did not make it.)

When L toned stems occur with a passive extension in this tense the extra L tone which occurs on the extension in the positive causes no difficulties.

- e.g. Yâphantsé yáthiwa. (It was almost filled up.)
 Kwâphantsé kwábiwa. (It was almost distributed.)

However, in the negative the extra H tone on the extension gives rise to a final HH sequence which is manifest as a FL before a juncture unlike the active form with an OC which is always manifest as a HH sequence.

- e.g. Yâphantsé ayôngíwa. (It was almost not used sparingly.)
 Yâphantsé ayembíwa. (It was almost not dug.)
 Zâphantsé azéhlíwa. (They were almost not descended.)

7.2.2.3 H Toned Stems.

These stems retain their H tones in the negative and in the positive when there is no OC present. When the SC-a occurs immediately before the stem the resulting HH sequence is manifest as such in all environments.

Positive

- e.g. Ndâphantsé ndévá. (I almost heard.)
 Bâphantsé bébá. (They almost stole.)
 Wâphantsé wáyitya. (He almost ate it.)
 Sâphantsé sáyála (We almost refused it then.)
 ngôko.

Negative. When an OC occurs immediately before the stem there is a final HH sequence which is manifest as such in all environments. The passive extension carries the same

tonal pattern as does the active form with an OC.

- e.g. Âphantsé akâkhá (They almost did not draw
 âmânzi. the water.)
 Yâphantsé ayâsá. (It almost did not get light.)
 Bâphantsé abâyóná. (They almost did not spoil it.)
 Nâphantsé anâyíphá. (You (pl.) almost did not
 give it.)
 Yâphantsé ayâzíwá. (It was almost not known.)

With the passive extension.

When the passive extension occurs in the positive the terminal syllable has a L tone. Otherwise there is no difference from the active form.

- e.g. Wâphantsé wátyíwá. (He was almost eaten.)
 Ndâphantsé ndálíwá. (I was almost refused.)

In the negative the final syllable has a H tone. Otherwise there is no difference from the active form. The final HH sequence is realized as such in all environments.

- e.g. Sâphantsé asátyíwá. (It was almost not eaten.)
 Wâphantsé akêvíwá. (He was almost not heard.)
 Yâphantsé ayâkhíwá. (It was almost not built.)

7.2.2.4 Disyllabic Stems.

These stems usually have a final L tone in the positive and a H final tone in the negative. In fact, in the positive, when there is an OC present, there can be a complete collapse of contrast tonally when there is neutralization and all three classes can occur with the same tonal pattern. LL stems can, however, occur with a final LH sequence.

As the passive extension has no effect on the tonal structure it will not be specially exemplified.

7.2.2.5 LL Stems.

These stems retain their LL pattern in the positive unless preceded by an OC, in which case the initial tone of the stem assimilates to the H tone of the OC. A less common pattern, which will not be exemplified here, has a final LH sequence after an OC. In the negative the tones are straightforward.

Positive

- e.g. Ndáza ndálíma. (And then I ploughed.)
 Wáza wácenga. (And then you begged.)
 Báza báyívála. (And then they closed it.)
 Sáza sáyísíla. (And then we ground it.)

Negative. The negative prefix /a-/ has its usual L tone, the SC-a, a HL sequence, the L tone of which conditions a final H tone. The initial stem tone retains its basic L form. If there is an OC present it occurs with a H tone.

- e.g. Ndâphantsé (I almost did not push it.)
 andâyítýhalá.
 Wâphantsé akâphosá. (He almost did not throw.)
 Báza abâphuphá. (And then they did not dream.)

7.2.2.6 HL Stems.

These stems exhibit straightforward tonal sequences in the past subjunctive and behave as expected. The final HH sequence in the negative is manifest as a HH or FL sequence in phrase final position, HH being the more common form.

Positive

- e.g. Wâphantsé wáyízúza. (He almost got it.)
 Nâphantsé náthémba. (You (pl.) almost hoped.)
 Ndáza ndáqásha. (And then I guessed.)

Negative. The prefixes have the expected tones and the L tone on the /-a-/ past formative conditions a final H tone. The initial stem syllable retains its basic H tone. This final HH sequence is realized as such in all environments.

- e.g. Bâphantsé abâsálá. (They nearly did not remain.)
 Yáza ayázálá (And then it did not become
 kakhûlu. very full.)
 Îpólísa lâphantsé (The policeman almost did not
 alámqéshá. engage him.)

7.2.2.7 FL Stems.

These stems behave as expected and have a structure identical to that of the HL stems in the positive and the negative.

Positive

- e.g. Báza báthúnga. (And then they sewed.)
 Wáza wávúna. (And then you harvested.)
 Sâphantsé sáyiyila. (We almost designed it.)

Negative

- e.g. Sáza asáthéngá. (And then we did not buy.)
 Wáza akátshóná émánzini. (And then he did not drown in the water.)
 Ndâphantsé andâyithiyá. (I almost did not trap it.)
 Wâphantsé akwâyitshixá kákuhlé. (You almost did not lock it up well.)

7.2.3.0 Uses and Significance.

The past subjunctive occurs as the second or subsequent verb in a series indicating past sequential action. The first verb is in the indicative perfect or remote past tense.

- e.g. Ábántwana báhleká (The children laugh
 báthwála imith- and then carried the loads.)
 wálo.
 ÁmáXhosa ásébénzá, (The Xhosas worked and worked
 ásébénza, ásébénza. and worked.)
 Ūsána lúlilé, (The baby cried and cried and
 lwálila, alwátyá. did not eat.)

It occurs after certain auxiliary verbs, these being the same as those which are followed by a present subjunctive.

- e.g. Ndáza ndáyilúngisa. (And then I repaired it.)
 Wâphantsé akwâm- (You almost did not see him.)
 bóná.
 Báda básincéda. (They finally helped us.)
 Sâphindá asálóbá. (Again we did not fish.)

It can occur before the auxiliary verbs /-be-/ and /-ye-/, these being followed by the participial. This expresses the meaning "and then it happened that". (c.f. Louw 1963, p.161.)

- e.g. Wábe élima. (And then he ploughed.)
 Wábe úthétha. (And then you spoke.)
 Ndáye ndingathúl- (And then I did not keep
 ánga. quiet.)

7.3. The Future Subjunctives.

There are two future subjunctives :

- (1) The ordinary future subjunctive which occurs very seldom; and,
- (2) The emphatic or exhortative future subjunctive.

(1) The ordinary future subjunctive is straightforward with a normal future tense tonal pattern and a H toned SC.

7.3.0 Patterns.

Positive SC^a - zo/yo - ku - (OC) - R - a
 Negative SC^a - nga - zi/yi + ku - (OC) - R - a.

7.3.1 General Remarks.

The full form of the positive pattern is :

SC^a - ze/ye + ku - (OC) - R - a

However, as this is uncommon it will not be exemplified in this dissertation.

7.3.2.0 Tonal Structure of the Future Subjunctive.

The tonal structures of the elements making up this tense are discussed in 7.1.2.2 and in 2.1 et. seq.

(2) The emphatic future subjunctive, called the exhortative subjunctive by Beuchat (1964, p.95) .

7.3.3.0 Uses and Significance.

This form occurs as the second or subsequent of future actions after a verb in the indicative future tense.

e.g.	Báya kuthéngá ítí báyokuyi- phúnga.	(They will buy tea and will drink it.)
	Siya kubabétha siyokuphúmla.	(We will beat them and will rest.)
	Ndiya kutyá ndíngayí kutyeba.	(I will eat and will not become fat.)
	Úya kuvúya, ángayí kulila.	(He will rejoice and will not cry.)

7.3.4.0 General Remarks on the Morphology of the Emphatic Future Subjunctive.

It is presumed that the /b/ which occurs before the

future formative /o/ is an auxiliary verb /be/. This assumption is supported by the fact that it is followed by the participial shown by the fact that the formative /nga/ occurs in the negative and it has a participial tonal structure.

c.f. also Louw (1963, p.223)

"Dit is 'n baie goeie aanduiding dat -bo- 'n saamsmelting is van -ba/e en die infinitief prefiks ku."

and van Eeden (p.300)

"... ontstaan uit 'n sametrekking van die teenwoordige tydvorm van die subjunktief met be as stam, en die infinitief van die betrokke verbumstam."

The future formative /ku/ can occur with the /bo/, but it is normally elided in quick speech except before V-commencing radicals in the positive. (c.f. sections on the infinitive and the future tense.)

Positive

e.g.	Úbolwa.	(You should fight.)
	Bábolima.	(They should plough.)
	Áboyithi...	(He should say it.)
	Níboyithémba.	(You (pl.) should trust it.)
	Ábokwákha.	(He should build.)
	Úbothétha.	(You should speak.)

Negative

e.g.	Ndíbongafánda.	(I should not learn.)
	Síbongathéthi.	(We should not talk.)
	Bábongajíkí.	(They should not turn.)
	Ábongayíkhuphí.	(They should not take it out.)
	Ábokungatyí.	(He should not eat.)

7.3.5.0 Tonal Structure of the Emphatic Future Subjunctive.

This does not need exemplification as it has a normal subjunctive SC followed by a L tone formative /-bo-/ which is followed by the verb stem with its infinitive tonal structure.

7.3.6.0 Uses and Significance.

It is used as a suggestion or an exhortation and can occur after a hortative prefix with the same meaning. It is a primary form.

- e.g. Áboyiphika. (He should deny it.)
 Sibohlakula. (We should weed.)
 ¹Khawúbongasebénzi. (You should not work.)
 ¹Makábongacengi. (He should not beg.)
 ¹Masíbothûtha. (We should move.)

1. The hortative prefixes with /bo-/ are not standard Xhosa. These forms are possibly Embo.

CHAPTER VIII

THE CONDITIONAL-POTENTIAL FORM

The conditional-potential has been called a potential by most writers (c.f. Louw 1963, p.97, Mncube, p.114, Jordan, 1966 p.38 and Riordan, Davey, et.al. 1969 p.287). By some writers, however, it has been called the conditional (c.f. Cole 1955, p.259 and Beuchat, p.81.) The reason that the compound term is used in this work is that it can have either meaning. (c.f. Louw 1969, p.125). When it occurs as an independent form it has a potential significance. It can, however, occur as a dependent form, in which case it has conditional significance.

Louw (1969, p.126) postulates that the vowels of the conditional-potential formatives should be considered as double. This would account for the length of the vowel in both the positive and the negative, and for the HL tone sequence on the negative formative. I agree with this.

The conditional-potential can occur in the participial in which case its SC is replaced by a participial SC (vide section on the present participial.)

8.0. Patterns.

Positive e.g. SC^a - nga - (OC) - R - a

Negative a - SCⁿ - nge - (OC) - R - i

8.0.1 General Remarks on the Morphology.

The SC^a is /a-/ in class 1. It is L toned but otherwise it is the same as the ordinary SC.

Positive

- e.g. Úntu angáthétha. (A person can talk.)
 Íncíníngákhába. (An ostrich can kick.)
 Ámádoda (The men can look after you.)
 angákúgcína.
 Úmántyi angóhl- (The magistrate can punish the
 wáya ábántu. people.)

Negative

- e.g. *Ímpí* ayingélwí. (The army cannot fight.)
 Úíphèki akangé-
 phéki. (The cook cannot cook.)
 Íinkúní azingé-
 cándwa. (The firewood cannot be cut.)
 Ábafúndi abagébháli. (The students cannot write.)

The positive formative /-nga-/ before V-commencing stems.

- e.g. *Ndingákha.* (I can build.)
 Ndingénza lóo ntó. (I can do that thing.)
 Bangóyíka. (They can fear.)

Before latent i-commencing stems the /-a-/ of the formative and the latent /-i-/ coalesce.

- e.g. *Angéhla.* (He can descend.)
 Singévá. (We can hear.)

In the negative, the formative /-nge-/ loses its vowel before /-o-/ commencing stems but retains it before /-a-/ and /-e-/ commencing stems when the initial /-a-/ or /-e-/ of the stem is elided. c.f. Louw (1963, p.98)

- e.g. *Akangékhí.* (He can not build.)
 Akangénzí lóo ntó. (He can not do that thing.)
 Akangóní. (He can not sin.)

8.1.0 Tonal Structure of the Conditional-Potential.

The SCs are L toned as is the negative prefix formative /a/. The positive formative [ngaa] has a EH sequence on the long syllable and the negative formative [ngee] a HL sequence on the long syllable.

8.1.1. Monosyllabic Stems.

Monosyllabic stems can have either H or L tones, these being in free variation, in the conditional-potential.

8.1.2. L Stems.

The SC is L toned as already stated, the stem L with a variant H and the positive formative a HH sequence. An OC retains its H tone, if present. If there is a final HH sequence, i.e. an OC with a H toned stem, the HH sequence retains this shape in all environments.

Positive

- e.g. Angálwa. (He can fight.)
 or Angálwá.
 Ndingéza. (I can come.)
 or Ndingézá.
 Bangáya éRhiní. (They can go to Grahamstown.)
 or Bangáyá éRhiní.

A passive extension has a final L tone.

- e.g. Ingámbiwa. (It can be dug.)

Negative. Once again, an OC preceding a H toned stem, gives rise to a HH sequence which is manifest as such in all environments. The initial negative formative /a/ and the SC are L toned, the negative conditional-potential formative has a HL cluster and the stem is either H or L.

- e.g. Akangétshó. (He cannot say so.)
 or Akangétsho.
 Abangémbí. (They cannot dig.)
 or Abangémbi.
 Asingéyihlí. (We cannot descend it.)
 or Asingéyihli.
 Akengéyithí. (They cannot say it.)
 or Akangéyithi.

A passive extension has a final L tone as in the positive.

- e.g. Ayingémbíwa. (It cannot be dug.)

8.1.3. H Stems.

As has been stated the stem tone can be H or it can occur with the variant L tone.

Positive. In the positive when the stem tone is H and there is an OC present, these two H tones are manifest as FL before a juncture.

- e.g. Angátyá. (He can eat.)
 or Angátya.
 Ndingévá. (I can hear.)
 or Ndingéva.

Angáwákha. (He can draw it.)
or Angáwákha.

Negative. When an OC occurs before a stem with a H tone the HH sequence occurs in all environments.

e.g. Ayingétshí. (It cannot burn.)
or Ayingétshi.

Akangóní. (He may not sin.)
or Akangóni.

Akangéyíphí. (You cannot give it.)
or Akangéyíphi.

When the passive extension occurs with H toned stems the extra syllable has a L tone in both the positive and the negative.

Positive

e.g. Ingátyiwa. (It can be eaten.)
Ingéviwa. (It can be heard.)

Negative

e.g. Ayingébiwa. (It cannot be stolen.)
Ayingéphiwa. (It cannot be given.)

8.1.4 Disyllabic Stems.

8.1.5 LL Stems.

In the positive the LL stems retain their LL structure except before an OC when the OC and the initial tone of the stem are both H. In the negative the stem tone is HL (c.f. Louw 1969, p.128. "In the negative ... LL becomes in Xhosa LH." [Transkei dialect]) In the Ciskei this occurs in certain environments, (see below).

Positive

e.g. Angálima. (He can cultivate.)
Singácenga. (We can beg.)
Ingátyeba. (He can become fat.)
Ingávunywa. (It can be agreed.)
Bangáyithinta. (They can touch it.)
Singáyisinda. (We can smear it.)

Negative

e.g.	Abangêsíli.	(He cannot grind.)
	Asingéyiphíki.	(We cannot deny it.)
	Akangéyityháli.	(They cannot push it.)
	Asingéphíndi.	(We cannot repeat.)

Negative with the passive extension.

The L.H. stem pattern which occurs in the Transkei dialect, occurs in the Ciskei when there is a passive extension with a negative or in the participial positive.

e.g.	Ayingéphoswá.	(It cannot be thrown.)
	Ayingéphungwá.	(It cannot be sipped.)
	Azingéxozwá.	(They cannot be carved.)
	Ayingéxhonywá.	(It cannot be hung up.)

In the participial.

Xá bêngáxhentsá.	(If they can dance.)
Xá bêngátshatá.	(If they can marry.)
Xá singétshicí.	(If we cannot spit.)
Xá éngéyitshayí.	(If they cannot smoke it.)

8.1.6. HL Stems.

The tonal structure which occurs with these stems shows no aberrancies and fits into the general pattern.

Positive

e.g.	Ndingáyízúza.	(I can get it.)
	Bangándithémba.	(They can trust me.)
	Ungásála.	(You can remain.)
	Angáphúma.	(He can go out.)
	Singávúswa.	(We can be wakened.)

Negative

e.g.	Asingébéthi.	(We cannot beat.)
	Aningéthúli.	(You (pl.) cannot be quiet.)
	Andingéyídlúli.	(I cannot pass it.)
	Abangémvúsi.	(They cannot awaken him.)

With a passive extension there is a final H tone and in this case the final tones are manifest as a FL sequence before a juncture.

e.g.	Azingêthêzwa.	(It cannot be gathered.)
	Asingêsêlwa.	(It cannot be drunk.)
	Ayingêlêngwa.	(It cannot be hung.)

8.1.7 FL Stems.

With this class of stems the terminal tone is L when there is no passive extension so that the stem reduces to HL. Otherwise the other tones are as expected.

Positive

e.g.	Angáthúnga.	(She can sew.)
	Singávúna.	(We can harvest.)
	Bangáyíyíla.	(They can design it.)
	Ningázithénga.	(You (pl.) can buy them.)

Negative

e.g.	Asingêwáki.	(We cannot walk about.)
	Abangêtswébi.	(They cannot pinch.)
	Andingéyítshintshi.	(I cannot change it.)
	Akangéyítshíxi.	(He cannot lock it up.)

When there is a passive extension in either the positive or the negative the final syllable retains its basic H tone and the final HH sequence is manifest as FL before a juncture.

Positive

e.g.	Angáshíywa.	(He can be left.)
	Ingáthúnga.	(It can be sewn.)

Negative

e.g.	Akangêqhítswa.	(He cannot be bullied.)
	Ayingêthêthwa.	(It cannot be spoken.)

8.1.8 Uses and Significance.

(1) The conditional-potential indicates that the subject has the potential or permission to do the action described by the verb, or in the negative, lacks this potential or permission.

e.g.	Angásébénza.	(He can/may work.)
	Bangávimba.	(They can/may be stingy.)
	Andingêts'hóni.	(I cannot/may not drown.)
	Akangóyiki.	(He cannot/may not fear.)

(2) It can occur in the participial in which case the SC is replaced by a participial SC, and in the negative there is no initial /a-/.

- e.g. Xá éngásikhátháza. (If he can worry us.)
 Xá béngáxhentsá. (If they can dance on
 ngéCáwa. Sunday.)
 Xá éngébábámbi. (If they cannot catch them.)
 Xá singébéthwa. (If we cannot be beaten.)

(3) It can occur in the near or remote past continuous tenses. In these cases it is in the participial as it occurs after the auxiliary verbs /--be-/ and /-ye-/ respectively. c.f. sections on the near and remote past continuous tenses in the indicative moods. This often implies doubt.

- e.g. Bendingálimá. (I could have ploughed.)
 Bébéngéyízúzi. (They could not have got it.)
 Yáyíngáthúnga. (She could have sewed.)
 Ndándíngéva. (I could not hear.)

(4) It can also occur as a secondary form, in that it must occur with another verb, and in this case it has a conditional meaning. In this case Louw (1969, p.132) reports a Ln...H tonal sequence in all cases. In this area, i.e. in the Ciskei, however, this tonal form is only a less common variant of the normal tonal pattern and therefore has not been exemplified.

- e.g. Ndingáthétha (Should I speak I rejoice.)
 ndiyavúya.
 Angáhamba siza (Should he go we will eat.)
 kutyá.
 Bangátyá báza (Should they eat they will
 kutyeba. become fat.)
 Asingélimi abátyi. (Should we not plough they do
 not eat.)

CHAPTER IX

THE TEMPORAL FORM9.0. The Temporal.9.1 Patterns.

SC - a - ku - (OC) - R - a.

SC - a - ku - nga - (OC) - R - i.

9.1.1. General Remarks on the Morphology.

The SC is that SC which occurs before vowels, except in Cl.1, where it is /a-/. This SC is followed in the pattern by a double vowel (represented orthographically as a single vowel), which precedes an infinitive form with a L toned basic prefix /-ku-/ viz. /-aaku-/. When the temporal is used to indicate a completed action the auxiliary verb /-ba/ occurs as the verb stem in the pattern. It is then followed by a verb in the perfect participial (c.f. Lanham 1955.) The temporal is normally an independent form.

Positive

- e.g. Ndákufika, báya- hámba. (When I arrive they leave.)
 Bákundishíya, ndiyasebénza. (When they leave me, I work.)
 Âkuthêtha, siya kumlíndela. (When he talks we will wait for him.)

Negative

- e.g. Âkungafikí siyatyá. (When he does not arrive we eat.)
 Bákungaboléki máli báya kutyeba. (When they do not borrow money they will become rich.)
 Âkungayí édóló- phini báyágóduka. (When they do not go to town they go home.)

9.1.2.0 The Tonal Structure of the Temporal.

This need not be exemplified at length as it has a HL tonal sequence on the SC-a which is followed by the tonal pattern of the infinitive with a low prefixal tone. The SC-a can also occur with a H tone [hh]. This form is not exemplified here.

9.1.2.1 Monosyllabic Stems.9.1.2.2. L Stems.

- e.g. Ndâkulwa. (When I fight.)
 Sâkungalwí. (When we do not fight.)

9.1.2.3. H Stems.

- e.g. Âkutyá. (When he eats.)
 Âkungatyí. (When he does not eat.)

9.1.2.4 Disyllabic Stems.9.1.2.5 LL Stems.

- e.g. Zâkuyilíma. (When they plough it.)
 Bâkungacengi. (When they do not beg.)

9.1.2.6 HL Stems.

- e.g. Âkuyizúza. (When they get it.)
 Sâkungamthêmbi. (When we do not trust him.)

9.1.2.7 FL Stems.

- e.g. Âkuthûnga. (When they sew.)
 Âkungavûni. (When they do not harvest.)

9.1.3.0 Uses and Significance.

The temporal indicates when an action, described by the verb, takes place.

- e.g. Ndâkulôndla. (When I spy.)
 Sâkubatyhóla. (When we accuse them.)
 Bâkuyénza. (When they make it.)
 Nâkungagebengi. (When you (pl.) do not rob.)

The temporal does not represent present, past or future time within itself, but can translate indefinite, past or future, the time relative to the present being indicated by the preceding or succeeding predicate.

Future:

- e.g. Wâkungayithengi (When you do not buy it you
 uya kuvûya. will rejoice.)
 Sâkufika uya (When we arrive you will
 kusibóna. see us.)
 Âkulima uya (When he ploughs you will
 kumbóna ésébénza. see him working.)

Past:

- e.g. *Âkuthêtha sévá.* (When he spoke we listened.)
Ndâkulwa bândízônda. (When I fought they hated me.)
Sâkungatyí wâbôya. (When we did not eat, you returned.)

Indefinite:

- e.g. *Bâkusibôna siyabalêka.* (When they see us we ran away.)
Zâkubá zîyâbanjwa. (When they steal they are arrested.)
Lwâkungalivalí liyasetyenziswa. (When he does not close, it it is used.)

The temporal can also occur with the auxiliary verb /-ba/ to indicate a future completed action. In this case /-ba-/ is followed by a verb in the perfect participial.

- e.g. *Wâkubá uzíbalîle.* (When you have counted them.)
Sâkungabí sizífúméne uya kuqumba. (When we have not found them you will be angry.)
Wâkubá úmamá éfúndé kakhûlu. (When mother has learnt a lot.)

The temporal often occurs with the verb stem /-bona/ which is then followed by a verb in the present tense. In this case /-bona/ has no overt meaning, but is used idiomatically. (c.f Louw 1963, p.165).

- e.g. *Sâkubôna úkúbá siyatyála.* (When we were planting.)
Âkubôna úkúbá úbétha ábántwana. sifikile. (When he was beating the children we arrived.)
Bâkubôna úkúbá báyáhlákula. (When they were weeding.)
Ndâkubôna úkúbá andihléki. (When I was not laughing.)

The temporal is often used as a complement to the auxiliary verb /-thi/, in which case it is followed by a verb in the past subjunctive. (c.f Louw 1963a, p.165.)

- e.g. *Úthê ákundibôna, wâhleka.* (When he saw me he laughed.)
Ndithê ndâkubhîtya ndávúya. (When I became thin, I rejoiced.)

CHAPTER X

THE FORMATIVES /sa/, /kwa/ AND /ka/.

10.1.0 The progressive formative /sa/ conditions a tonal structure similar to that of the conditional-potential form, therefore it is only necessary to give comparative examples from each tonal group.

/sa/ occurs immediately before the verb stem. In the future tense it occurs immediately before the verb stem or OC if present. In the future tense it occurs immediately before the auxiliary verb stem and not before the OC. This will not be exemplified here. (vide Louw 1963a, p.173.)

Positive

e.g.	¹ Úsálwa.	(He is still fighting.)
c.f.	Ángálwa.	(He can fight.)
	¹ Básátyá.	(They are still eating.)
c.f.	Bangátyá.	(They can still eat.)
	Sisápheka.	(We are still cooking.)
c.f.	Singápheka.	(We can cook.)
	Básáfúnda.	(They are still learning.)
c.f.	Bangáfúnda.	(They can learn.)
	Sisávúna.	(We are still harvesting.)
c.f.	Singávúna.	(We can harvest.)

Negative

e.g.	Andisáwí.	(I am no longer falling.)
c.f.	Andingêwí.	(I may not fall.)
	Abasébí.	(They are no longer stealing.)
c.f.	Abangêbí.	(They may not steal.)
	Asisácéngi.	(We are no longer begging.)
c.f.	Asingêcéngi.	(We may not beg.)
	Akasáhámbi.	(He is no longer going.)
c.f.	Akangêhámbi.	(He may not go.)
	Akusásíki.	(You are no longer cutting.)
c.f.	Akungêsíki.	(You may not cut.)

10.2.0 The formative /ka/ (not yet) occurs only in the negative and it conditions the same tonal patterns as does the /nga/ negative prefix formative of the infinitive, participial and subjunctive, /ka/ is a L toned formative.

1 Note: The variant forms which occur in the conditional-potential also occur here, vide conditional-potential.

Comparative examples will be given with the infinitive as the form of comparison. /ka/ occurs immediately after the SC.

e.g.	Andikalwi.	(I am not yet fighting.)
c.f.	Úkúngalwi.	(Not to fight.)
	Abákatyí.	(They are not yet eating.)
c.f.	Úkúngatyí.	(Not to eat.)
	Akúkalimí.	(You are not still ploughing.)
c.f.	Úkúngalimí.	(Not to plough.)
	Asíkathêmbi.	(We do not yet hope.)
c.f.	Úkúngathêmbi.	(Not to hope.)
	Abákaxhêli.	(They do not yet slaughter.)
c.f.	Úkúngaxhêli.	(Not to slaughter.)

10.3.0 The formative /kwa/ (habitual) occurs only in the positive. It occurs immediately after the SC, has a L tone and conditions the same tonal patterns as does the infinitive prefix /ku/. c.f. Louw (1971a, p.22). He compares /kwa/ to the "locative" possessive concord which is related to the infinitive prefix which explains the above.

e.g.	Bákwalwa.	(They are fighting as usual.)
c.f.	Úkúlwa.	(To fight.)
	Ukwakhá.	(You are drawing water as usual.)
c.f.	Úkukhá.	(To draw water.)
	Sikwavimba.	(We are stingy as usual.)
c.f.	Úkúvimba.	(To be stingy.)
	Úkwazónda.	(He hates as usual.)
c.f.	Úkuzónda.	(To hate.)
	Bákwathêtha.	(They talk as usual.)
c.f.	Úkuthêtha.	(To talk.)

in terms of moods, forms and tenses, there is going to be some overlap between the categories. For this reason, I feel that it would be better to have a bipartite system wherein verbs are classified according to whether they are dependent for their existence on some other syntagma(ta) or are independent.

First some examples of the overlap between the categories as presented so far in this dissertation.

The imperative, the present subjunctive and the infinitive all occur in commands:

e.g.	Imperative	Yityá!	(Eat!)
	Present sub- junctive	Úngatyí!	(You ought not to eat!)
		Yityé!	(Eat it!)
	Infinitive	Músa úkutyá.	(Don't eat!)

The infinitive occurs in the temporal form as well as in the future tenses of the indicative and participial moods.

e.g.	Temporal	Ákufika.	(When he arrives.)
	Indicative future	Úya kuthúla.	(He will be quiet.)
	Participial future	Xá éya kuthétha.	(If he will talk.)

The present subjunctive, the present participial and the infinitive, all share the same negative formative /-nga-/ and the same tonal structure in the negative.

e.g.	Present sub- junctive	Hléze ánga- limí.	(Lest he do not plough.)
	Present par- ticipial	Kúthéní ángalimí?	(Why does he not plough?)
	Infinitive	Úkúngalimí.	(Not to plough.)

The participial occurs after the auxiliary verbs /be/ and /ye/ in the compound tenses of the indicative mood.

e.g.	Bébélúvála.	(They were shutting it.)
	Úbéthéngfle.	(He had bought.)

The participial, the subjunctive or the indicative can occur after the auxiliary verb /-be/ in the future

continuous and perfect tenses.

e.g.	Participial	Ndiya kube ndífúnda.	(I will be learning.)
	Subjunctive	Báya kube bálíme njé.	(They will be ploughing.)
	Indicative	Úya kube úthúnga ihémpe.	(She will be sewing the shirt.)

I agree with Louw (1971, p.112) "that one of the main functions of the tone patterns is to distinguish the different forms in the paradigm of the verb."

However many different moods, forms and tenses share tonal patterns.

For example, in the negatives there is a final HL sequence, except in monosyllabic stems which have a H tone finally, unless a L toned formative occurs immediately before the OC slot, in which case it conditions a final H tone (see below.)

In the positive the tones on the stems, classed according to their basic tones, have identical structures in the following:

- (1) The present tense,
the conditional-potential, and
the past subjunctive.

i.e.

L	>	L
H	>	H
LL	>	LL
HL	>	HL
FL	>	HL

- (2) the indicative perfect short form,
the participial perfect short form,
the participial perfect long form, and
the remote past tense.

i.e.

L	>	H
H	>	H
LL	>	LH
HL	>	HH
FL	>	HH

} underlying forms.

(3) In the infinitive and the indicative perfect long form, all the basic tones are retained.

For the purpose of this comparison variations of tonal patterns have been ignored. The forms chosen have been those which indicate the similarities rather than the dissimilarity of the tonal patterns.

It is realized that in selecting only the stem tones, the possible tonal permutations are very limited and that this fact will have much to do with the similarities shown above. However, be this as it may, these similarities do exist and are worth pointing out.

As there is this difficulty in keeping the various conjugational forms apart, the following would be roughly how the present moods would be relegated to independents or dependents. It should be realized that because of the inexactitude of the definitions, however, it is impossible to do this precisely. The idea being that certain forms can occur as independents or as dependents, i.e. the only criterion for the classification is syntactical. It would probably be desirable to subdivide with the two major groups, probably according to morphological criteria. This would lead to a natural dichotomy between the tenses of the indicative and the participial which are often identical morphologically.

The following would be assigned to the independent group:

(1) Indicative mood

e.g. Siyahámba. (We are going.)
 Báthétha kakhúlu. (They talk a lot.)

The temporal form would be included here as it always occurs in the indicative mood. It can be dependent as well, vide Chapter 8.

e.g. Âkufika. (When he arrives.)
 Zâkungatyí. (When they do not eat.)

The other forms, i.e. the conditional-potential and those formed by the formatives /-sa-/, /-ka-/ and /-kwa-/ can occur as independents or dependents and so need not be exemplified separately.

(2) Imperative mood

- e.g. Yizá! (Come!)
- Dláláni! (Play ye!)

The dependent group would normally, possibly always, include the following:

Participial mood

- e.g. Úmákhí wákha (The builder eats whilst
ésitya. building.)
- Kúthêní éphúpha? (Why is he dreaming?)

(2) Past subjunctive

- e.g. Wáphantsé wávúka. (He almost woke up.)
- Bálwá bálwa. (They fought and fought.)

The infinitive and the present subjunctive are both intermediate to the two main groups and can both occur as dependents or independents. First as independents:

(1) Infinitive

- e.g. Úkúkhaba. (To kick.)
- Úkufá. (To die.)

(2) Present subjunctive.

- Úngalimí. (You ought not to plough.)
- Úngafúndi. (You ought not to learn.)

As dependents:

(1) Infinitive

- e.g. Ndiya kubóna. (I will see.)
- Ndákufika. (When I arrive.)

(2) Present subjunctive

- e.g. Hléze áhambé. (Lest he go.)
- Hlála phántsí (Sit down and eat.)
útye.

It is realized that this splitting of the infinitive could be a reason for not using this proposed scheme. However, for most purposes, it is believed that this proposed classification is better than the present scheme of moods, forms and tenses.

Thus far a great deal more has been said about the moods than the tenses and forms. In the introduction to this dissertation tense was defined according to Robins (op.cit.) and was said to be on two axes, one of time and the other of aspect.

In Xhosa the past tense is the only tense indicating specific time.

e.g. Wáthéthá wáthétha. (He talked and talked.)
 Sápheká. (We cooked.)

The present tense is unmarked for time indicating continuous or habitual aspect.

e.g. Báyafúnda. (They learn or are learning.)
 Sivala úcango. (We shut or are shutting the door.)

The perfect tense indicates time but it can be marked for either past or present time.

Past time e.g. Úyithéngile. (He bought it.)
 Sibabéthile. (We hit them.)
Present time e.g. Ndilambile. (I am hungry.)
 Báléle. (They are asleep.)

As these are the only three simple tenses in Xhosa, the others, being compound tenses, will not be discussed here.

The forms are merely extensions of the basic moods and tenses. The forms indicated by /-sa-/ and /-ka-/ can occur in all moods and tenses unless blocked by meaning. Because of this wide usage they will not be exemplified here. The form indicated by the formative /-kwa-/ is only found in the indicative simple tenses for certain. It may well occur in other moods and tenses but if so, it is so uncommon that my informants are unsure of it.

e.g. Ndiyakwambona. (I see even him.)
 Ndikwambonile. (I saw even him.)
 Ndakwambona. (I saw even him.)

The conditional-potential form can occur in either the indicative or the participial as has been stated. Its

meaning bars it from any tense other than the present.

Indicative

- e.g. Singáyithēnga. (We can/may buy it.)
 Ungásála. (You can/may remain.)

Participial

- e.g. Xá bēngáxhentsá. (If they can/may dance.)
 Yáyēngáthúnga. (She could have sewed.)

It would seem that the temporal form only occurs in the indicative mood.

- e.g. Bâkusibôna. (When they see us.)
 Ndâkulwa. (When I fought.)

As regards the tonal structure, there is one very powerful rule which could be worded as follows:

A low toned prefixal formative - other than the negative conditional-potential formative or any concordial element including infinitive /-ku-/, - which occurs in a position in front of the verb stem and may not be separated from the verb stem by anything other than an OC, occasions a final H tone on the verb stem or a HH sequence if the stem is extended, as long as the stem does not occur with the past negative suffix /-anga/.

This rule is manifest with the following conjugational forms:

- the infinitive negative,
- the present participial negative,
- the remote past tense,
- the present subjunctive negative,
- the past subjunctive negative,
- the formative /-ka-/.

The formative /-kwa-/ has been said to be related to the infinitive /-ku-/ and so need not be especially excepted from the above.

This rule is the main reason for my accepting final FL sequences as having an underlying HH sequence because it is only by accepting a final H tone that this rule will work and it appears to be too powerful to ignore.

Professor Low points out that a HH sequence in the surface structure, can occur before a juncture and that a FL sequence can be realized in different syntactic positions as LH. These facts are true but final HH sequences are limited and often occur with monosyllabic stems. It might be that a surface HH sequence before a juncture acts as a stabilizer or signals an unusual grammatical form c.f. the perfect negative with a positive suffix.

In the case of the LH realization of a pre-junctural FL, there is, as far as I can ascertain, always a HH variant for this. This is common in the Ciskei but it may not occur in the Transkeian dialects. Another possible explanation for this can be gleaned from Cope (1960 p.190) where he says:

"Generally speaking it is only the prefix syllables and the final two syllables of a word which bear such significant tones, the intervening syllables being tonally neutral."

i.e. once an underlying HH is extended by another syllable the initial H of the sequence is neutralized and can occur as a H or a L tone.

Another important point of Xhosa tone is the fact that the passive conditions its own tone patterns in many instances. Low mentions in an article (1971b, p.11) that besides the active and passive voices there are other sub-voices in the Bantu languages. These sub-voices do not condition their own tone patterns as does the passive.

A great deal of what has been said in this conclusion is necessarily tentative and might well have to be altered at a later date.

APPENDIX I

Chart of the interrelationship between the moods, tenses, and forms, excluding /-sa-/, /-ka-/ and /-kwa-/ handled in this dissertation.

	Indica- tiye.		Impera- tiye.		Parti- cipial.		Subjunc- tiye.		Infini- tiye.	
Present	X	O			X	D	X	^D O		
Past	X	O			X	D	X	D		
Perfect	X	O			X	D				
Future	X	O			X	D				—
Temporal	X	O								—
Conditional- Potential	X	O			X	D				
Non-tense			X	O						D O X

X indicates cross-reference occurrence.

— indicates that the future and the temporal incorporate an infinitive into their structures.

O indicates independents.

D indicates dependents.

APPENDIX II

CONCORDIAL ELEMENTS

	Subject		Concord			OC	Concord before V
	Indic.	Part.	Subj. Temp. Cond. Pot.	Neg.			
<i>niha</i> <i>hiwe</i> <i>wawo</i>	1st p.sg.	ndi-					nd-
	1st p.pl.	si-					s-
<i>wawo</i>	2nd p.sg.	u-			-ku-		w-
<i>niha</i>	2nd p.pl.	ni-					n-
<i>uwantu</i> <i>abantu</i>	cl. 1	u-	e-	a-	-ka-	-m-	w-
	2	ba-	be-	ba-			b-
	3	u-			-wu-		w-
	4	i-			-yi-		y-
	5	li-					l-
	6	a-	e-	a-	-wa-		∅-
	7	si-					s-
	8	zi-					z-
	9	i-			-yi-		y-
	10	zi-					z-
	11	lu-					l-/-o lw-/-a/e
	14	bu-					b-
	15	ku-					k-/-o kw-/-a/e

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LIST OF VERBS USED IN SECTIONS ON TONE IN THIS
DISSERTATION.

MONOSYLLABIC STEMS

L toned

úkúhla	(to descend)
úkúlwa	(to fight)
úkúmba	(to dig)
úkúnya	(to defecate)
úkúthi	(to say)
úkútsho	(to say so)
úkúwa	(to fall)
úkúya	(to go to)
úkúza	(to come)

V- commencing

úkwába	(to distribute)
úkwánga	(to kiss)
úkwéna	(to be dense, thick)
úkwénza	(to do, make)
úkója	(to roast)
úkónga	(to use sparingly)
úkóndla	(to rear young)
úkópha	(to bleed)

H toned

úkubá	(to steal)
úkufá	(to die)
úkukhá	(to draw water)
úkuphá	(to give)
úkusá	(to get light)
úkutshá	(to burn)
úkutyá	(to eat)
úkuvá	(to hear)

V- commencing

úkwákha	(to build)
úkwála	(to refuse, decline)
úkwánya	(to suck)
úkwázi	(to know)
úkōma	(to become dry)
úkōna	(to sin)
úkōtha	(to warm oneself, bask)

DISYLLABIC STEMSLL toned

úkúbhonga	(to bellow)
úkúbonga	(to praise)
úkúcaca	(to be clear)
úkúcenga	(to coax, beg)
úkúceza	(to keep at a distance)
úkúchacha	(to recover from illness)
úkúchaza	(to comb)

úkúdina	(to tire)
úkúdinga	(to promise, be unable to get work)
úkúdipha	(to take in handfuls)
úkúdiza	(to inform, blab)
úkúdumba	(to swell)
úkúfika	(to arrive)
úkúgcina	(to look after)
úkúkhwina	(to whine)
úkúlanda	(to follow)
úkúlima	(to cultivate)
úkúlinda	(to wait for)
úkúlola	(to sharpen)
úkúluka	(to weave)
úkúlunga	(to be right)
úkúminya	(to swallow)
úkúmunca	(to suck)
úkúnceda	(to help)
úkúncela	(to suck dry)
úkúncwasa	(to spy on)
úkúncwela	(to cut into strips)
úkúncwina	(to sigh, moan)
úkúnetha	(to rain, get wet)
úkúngwaba	(to bury)
úkúpheka	(to cook)
úkúphika	(to deny)
úkúphila	(to recover, live)
úkúphosa	(to throw)
úkúphunga	(to sip hot drink)

úkúphupha	(to dream)
úkúqaba	(to smear body with clay)
úkúqumba	(to become angry)
úkúrhuma	(to pay for)
úkúsila	(to grind)
úkúsinda	(to smear)
úkúsonta	(to plait)
úkúthamba	(to become soft)
úkúthinta	(to touch)
úkúthoba	(to bend - of body)
úkútsala	(to pull, drag)
úkútshata	(to marry)
úkútshaya	(to smoke)
úkútshica	(to spit)
úkútyeba	(to become fat or rich)
úkútyhala	(to push)
úkútyhila	(to uncover)
úkútyhola	(to accuse)
úkútyoba	(to crush)
úkúvala	(to shut)
úkúvela	(to come from)
úkúvimba	(to be stingy)
úkúvula	(to open)
úkúvuma	(to agree)
úkúvunda	(to rot)
úkúvuza	(to leak)
úkúwahla	(to throw down)
úkúwanqa	(to talk nonsense)
úkúweza	(to ferry across)

úkúwola	(to gather up)
úkúxela	(to tell)
úkúxhentsa	(to dance)
úkúxhoma	(to hang up)
úkúxoxa	(to talk, converse)
úkúxoza	(to carve)
úkúxuba	(to mix)
úkúyala	(to instruct)
úkúyeka	(to leave alone)
úkúzama	(to try)
úkúzila	(to abstain)
úkúzula	(to be restless)

HL toned

úkubétha	(to beat, hit)
úkubhúla	(to thresh, beat out)
úkudlúla	(to pass)
úkuhámba	(to go)
úkufána	(to resemble)
úkuféza	(to complete)
úkufúnda	(to learn)
úkugónda	(to stamp)
úkugónga	(to catch)
úkukrása	(to make a noise)
úkulénga	(to hang or lift)
úkuhika	(to leave)
úkunyúka	(to go up)
úkupéta	(to turn soil over)
úkuphúma	(to come or go out)

úkuqásha	(to choose, guess)
úkuqésha	(to hire, engage)
úkusála	(to remain)
úkuséka	(to lay foundation)
úkuséla	(to drink)
úkusínda	(to escape)
úkusúla	(to wipe)
úkuswéla	(to lack)
úkuthátha	(to take)
úkuthémba	(to hope, trust)
úkuthéza	(to collect firewood)
úkuthúla	(to be quiet)
úkuvása	(to wash)
úkuvúka	(to wake up)
úkuvúsa	(to waken)
úkuxwésa	(to lay across)
úkuzála	(to become full)
úkuzónnda	(to hate)
úkuzúza	(to get, obtain)

FL toned

úkundwêba	(to be timid)
úkufúmba	(to heap up)
úkugrâya	(to crush)
úkukrôkra	(to grumble)
úkukrwêla	(to scratch)
úkulînga	(to try)
úkulôndla	(to peep, spy)
úkumêma	(to invite)

úkumînxá	(to squeeze, choke)
úkruphâka	(to dish up)
úkuqhîna	(to make a knot)
úkuqhîtsa	(to bully)
úkuqhôtsa	(to bake or cook dry)
úkuqwêba	(to lay up, store)
úkusênga	(to milk)
úkushîya	(to leave behind)
úkusîka	(to cut)
úkusônga	(to roll up)
úkuthânda	(to love)
úkuthêna	(to prune, castrate)
úkuthênga	(to buy)
úkuthêtha	(to speak)
úkuthîya	(to trap, snare)
úkuthûka	(to swear at)
úkuthûma	(to send)
úkuthûnga	(to sew)
úkuthûtha	(to move to another place)
úkutsârhwá	(to curse)
úkutshîntsha	(to change)
úkutshîxa	(to lock up)
úkutshôna	(to drown, disappear)
úkutsîba	(to jump)
úkutswêba	(to pinch, nip)
úkuvûna	(to harvest)
úkuwâka	(to walk about)
úkuxhêla	(to slaughter)
úkuxôka	(to lie)
úkuyîla	(to plan, design)

úkuyôla	(to become pleasant)
úkuzôba	(to draw, paint)

TRISYLLABIC STEMSHLL < LL toned

úkúbhátala	(to pay)
úkúcékisa	(to despise)
úkúdlábhula	(to pierce)
úkúgóduka	(to go home)
úkúhlákula	(to weed)
úkúthándaza	(to pray)

HLL < HL toned

úkuchánkacatha	(to step across stepping stones)
úkugqíthisa	(to surpass)
úkugúngutha	(to hit severely)
úkuphúmla	(to rest)
úkuthíntitha	(to stutter)

HHL < FL toned

úkufúmana	(to find)
úkugáwúla	(to chop)
úkutólíka	(to interpret)

V- commencing HLL toned

úkwáleka	(to cover)
úkwámbatha	(to dress oneself)
úkwánáhlala	(to lay a mat)
úkwáneka	(to be enough)

úkólula	(to stretch out)
úkóngeza	(to add more)

V- commencing HHL toned

úkwáhlúla	(to separate)
úkwákháma	(to yawn)
úkwálúsa	(to herd)
úkwánéka	(to spread out)
úkwáphúla	(to break)
úkwáyáma	(to lean upon)
úkónwába	(to be contented)