

**THE APPRAISAL OF ASPECT MORPHEMES IN  
NORTHERN SOTHO: A MORPHOLOGICAL ANALYSIS**

by

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*Submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of*

**MASTER OF ARTS IN TRANSLATION**

in the

**SCHOOL OF LANGUAGES AND COMMUNICATION STUDIES**

in the

**FACULTY OF HUMANITIES**

at the

**UNIVERSITY OF LIMPOPO**

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**NOVEMBER 2006**

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## DECLARATION

I, MPHURANE JOSINA MATLEBJANE, declare that **THE APPRAISAL OF ASPECT MORPHEMES IN NORTHERN SOTHO: A MORPHOLOGICAL ANALYSIS**, submitted to the University of Limpopo, has not been previously submitted for a degree purpose at any other university by me. The work was designed and executed by me and all material contained therein has been properly acknowledged.

  
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## DEDICATION

I dedicate this work to my late uncle, Lucas Ntšhimane Mputle and my only sister Mamakete Grace Mokgalapa who became critically ill just before the commencement of this project.

- My husband : Oupa Mathiba' ntsha Phetole.
- My sons : Dira, Shiko and Mpho.

## ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

In Northern Sotho we say: '*Montshepetša bošego ke mo leboga bo sele*', meaning a person should always give thanks to those who gave during dark days. For that reason, I want to direct my sincere gratitude to the following:

God The Almighty who gave me life. He protected me during my studies and gave me power and good health to complete my research successfully.

**Professor R.N. Madadzhe**, my supervisor, for his patience, encouragement and moral support during the course of this project. May the good Lord richly bless you.

The School Manager, **Mr G.W. Makgato** who gave me support and approved my study leave forms with love and trust. My sincere gratitude also goes out to my colleagues, **Miss R.M. Madiba** and **Miss R.V. Digame** who took care of my learners while I was on leave.

My vote of thanks goes to my mother figure **Mrs R.A. Ramatapa** for the effort she took in supporting, guiding, and encouraging me during the course of the research. She used to say "Never be satisfied with the minimum requirements. Be a constant student and keep on broadening your horizon".

My gratitude also goes to my fellow student **Mrs Johannah Mohale**. Thanks for your concern, motivation and support during the course of the research. God bless you.

I have no words to express my gratitude to my dearest husband **Oupa Matlebjane**, even though at times it was difficult to cook for you, you were always positive, patient and willing to provide assistance.

My vote of thanks also goes to my nephew **Sophie Mokgalapa**, my mother **Mina Sefole** and my mother-in-law Sesi **Martha Gwebu** who tirelessly nursed my children during those demanding days when I attended the course work and research project.

Finally, I want to give thanks to **Mrs Rebecca Manaka**. You spend sleepless nights typing my work. You are doing wonderful job, thanks a million times. May the Good Lord multiply your blessings and increase your days.

**ABSTRACT**

The study aims at identifying problems related to Northern Sotho Aspect Morphemes. This will be achieved by examining their occurrence in various patterns (syntax), their structure (morphology), and various meanings they express (semantics). The study argues that some auxiliary verbs such as *šetše*, *lala*, *fola* and *dula* can also occur aspect morphemes since they describe the nature of activities expressed by the verb.

Finally, the study contends that the inclusion of aspect morphemes in various sentences does not produce only literal expressions; they also entail figurative meanings.

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# CHAPTER ONE

## 1.1 INTRODUCTION

Northern Sotho, like other languages, consists of various word categories such as nouns, pronouns, verbs, adverbs, adjectives, idiophones, and aspects. All these categories are needed to be able to express various meanings in Northern Sotho. For the purpose of this study, however, emphasis would be on aspect morphemes as they serve as a link between morphology, syntax and semantics ([http://www.ehu.es/grammar/gram 4.htm](http://www.ehu.es/grammar/gram4.htm), 2005:1-9).

## 1.2 PROBLEM STATEMENT

The new political dispensation and the whole process of transformation in South Africa urge many language structures to initiate a fresh approach towards language. The general focus is on practical and positive measures towards the promotion of multilingualism as well as language development in the Republic of South Africa, which is in accordance with the *Constitution of the Republic of South Africa* (Act 106 of 1996).

The effective language development and the promotion of multilingualism in our country can be attained among others, if the correct form and the correct interpretation of words are rendered. This process can assist not only language learners but also interpreters in our country.

One of the grammatical features that can create problems in communication are aspect morphemes. It is, therefore, the intention of the researcher to provide a morphological analysis of aspects morphemes in Northern Sotho. Even though the study is mainly morphological, it will have a bearing on semantics (that is, the study of meaning as expressed by words and sentences) and syntax (that is, the way in which sentences are constructed) because “certain aspects of morphology have

syntactic and semantic implications” (Fromkin and Rodman, 1993:60). It will thus be essential to define the key terms on the topic, namely, morphology, aspects and morpheme.

Lombard, Kosch, and Serudu (1980:1) define morphology as part of linguistics, which deals with words and their constituents. In the same vein, Louwrens (1994:115) offers the following definition of morphology:

A term referring to the scientific linguistic study of morphemes and their various allomorphs and the way they function in the formation of words.

As far as the morpheme is concerned, Louwrens (1994:113) gives a more comprehensive definition of the morpheme when he states that:

A morpheme is a minimal distinctive unit of grammar, and the central concern of morphology... The morpheme, accordingly, was seen primary as the smallest functioning unit in the composition of words.

From the above definitions of morphology and morpheme, one can deduce that words or word constituents play a major role in communication. It is therefore the task of language specialists to ensure that words or word constituents are treated in a satisfactory manner.

*Webster's New Collegiate Dictionary*, as cited in Poulos and Louwrens (1994:279) define the term aspect as “the nature of the action of the verb as to its beginning, duration, completion or repetition and without to its position in time”.

Aspect morphemes can, therefore, be defined as words or parts of words that can be affixed or incorporated to other words within a sentence or change words in some other way according to grammatical rules of language. Such changes can affect the overall meaning of sentences as illustrated below:

- (1) a. *Ngwana o a bolela.*  
(The child speaks.)
- b. *Ngwana o šetše a bolela.*  
(The child already speaks.)

From the above example, one notices that *šetše* has been incorporated in (1b) above and has caused a slight modification of the overall meaning of the sentence in (1a). The sentence in (1a) above, implies the action of speaking that is taking place while the sentence in (1b) expresses the fact that the action of speaking has already occurred. Of course, this is the literal meaning, contextually, the sentence in (1a) means that the child is capable of speaking while the sentence in (1b) denotes that the child has been capable of speaking for a long time. From this, one realizes that if the speaker/listener is not knowledgeable about the contextual occurrence of *šetše*, a wrong meaning can be rendered.

The progressive aspect is another feature that can create confusion if not correctly interpreted, as exemplified hereunder:

- (2) a. *O a nwa.*  
(He drinks.)
- b. *O sa nwa.*  
(He is still drinking.)
- (3) a. *O a bala.*  
(He reads.)
- b. *O sa bala.*  
(He is still reading.)

There has been meaning derivation on sentences (2a) and (3a) because of the affixation of a progressive aspect *sa*. *Sa* has introduced a slight modification of the meaning of the sentence as it expresses the idea of an action that is persisting in the present time, and is best translated by the English **still**. A speaker/listener who is not familiar with the application of such morphemes can misinterpret them as words expressing a negative form as *sa* can also be used in a negative form. In addition, *sa* as employed in (2b) and (3b) above can also denote emphasis. There are more aspect morphemes in Northern Sotho than *šetše* and *sa* that also have an impact on the morphological and semantic structure of sentences such as *ka*, *nama*, *lala*, *o ile*, and *dula*. All these morphemes will require an in-depth study in order to come up with suggestions of avoiding the ambiguity that they usually cause.

### 1.3 AIM OF THE STUDY

The aim of the study is to examine the use and effect of aspect morphemes in Northern Sotho. In order to accomplish the aim, the following questions will have to be answered:

- \* What are morphological problems associated with aspect morphemes?
- \* Which meanings do aspect morphemes express?
- \* What are the syntactic effects of aspect morphemes on language learning and language development?

### 1.4 OBJECTIVES OF THE STUDY

- \* To identify aspect morphemes which exist in Northern Sotho.
- \* To scrutinize the structure of these morphemes.
- \* To analyse the semantic impact of aspect morphemes on Northern Sotho.

## **1.5 SCOPE AND DELIMINATION OF THE STUDY**

The researcher's emphasis will be on the morphological analysis of aspect morphemes but as already indicated, it will also have a bearing on semantics and syntax as all these aspects are interwoven.

## **1.6 RATIONALE FOR THE STUDY**

It is crucial that there be meaningful communication between speakers of Northern Sotho and this may be achieved, among others, by interpreting aspect morphemes correctly.

Although one may argue that native speakers of Northern Sotho do not need this interpretation as they use native intuition to judge grammaticality, the need for this type of analysis is still there as Northern Sotho today is influenced by many neighbouring languages such as Tshivenda, Xitsonga, English and Afrikaans.

## **1.7 SIGNIFICANCE OF THE STUDY**

The study is of great significance as it will show that aspect morphemes are crucial components of Northern Sotho as their presence or absence has an impact on the meaning expressed by sentences. The study will thus serve as source material for scholars interested in this field.

## **1.8 RESEARCH METHODOLOGY**

In this research study, the qualitative method will be employed as it assists the researcher to interpret and analyse "multiple realities, for it exposes more directly the nature of the transaction between the investigator's own posture and that of other scholars" (Baumard and Ibert, 1999:81), both primary and secondary.

## 1.8.1 Data collection technique

### 1.8.1.1 Primary research method

The primary research method is a method whereby first-hand information is obtained from the respondents. With regard to this study, data will be obtained through consultations with professionals such as three lecturers in both Northern Sotho and Linguistics, five teachers in Northern Sotho, five language practitioners, and ten Northern Sotho elderly educated people. For the purpose of the study, unstructured and open-ended questions will be employed, such as the following:

- \* How can incorrect interpretations of an aspect affect the overall meaning of a sentence in Northern Sotho?
- \* What is the morphological and syntactic significance of aspect morphemes in Northern Sotho?
- \* In which linguistic contexts do aspect morphemes appear in Northern Sotho?

### 1.8.1.2 Secondary research method

The purpose of using the secondary research method in this study is to utilize information already gathered by a variety of scholars. The method entails the collection of data from articles, library books, newspapers, magazines, theses, and dissertations.

## 1.9 LITERATURE REVIEW

The main aim of this subsection is to analyse some of the viewpoints of other writers on aspect morphemes in Northern Sotho and other languages.

### 1.9.1 Poulos and Louwrens (1994)

Poulos and Louwrens (1994:278) emphasise the prefixal forms of aspect morphemes and define them as “prefixes which may be included in various tense forms with the effect of changing or modifying the overall meaning of the verb”. According to Poulos and Louwrens, these morphemes are termed aspect prefixes since they occur before the verb root. By way of example, they consider the following:

- (4) a. *O a nwa.*  
(He drinks.)
- b. *O sa nwa.*  
(He is still drinking.)

According to the above-mentioned authors *-sa-* which is incorporated in (4b) has introduced a slight modification of meaning. Furthermore, they maintain that when this process occurs, the tense is preserved, in other words, the meaning does not affect the tense of the verb.

Poulos and Louwrens (1994:280) distinguish between auxiliary verbs and aspect morphemes when they state that auxiliary verbs are followed by full complements, for example, a participial verb and aspect prefixes on the other hand are part of the larger verb form. There are no complements involved. For example:

- (5) a. *O nyakilo lla.*  
(He almost cried.)
- b. *O dula a lla.*  
(She continually cries.)



*Nyakilo* in the above example is an aspect morpheme and *dula* in example (5b) is an auxiliary verb.

Even though this is a worthwhile study, it also reflects some shortcomings, for example, in addition to *-sa-* and *-nyakilo-*, the above given authors mention *-fo-*, *-no-*, *-dio-*, and *-tšo-* as aspect prefixes but a full explanation of problems associated with meaning is not provided.

The most interesting part of the study is the author's ability to recognise the difference between auxiliary verbs and aspect morphemes. Furthermore, they indicate that in most cases it is sometimes difficult to render an exact equivalent translation, instead, an approximate meaning is given.

### 1.9.2 Taljaard and Bosch (1993)

Taljaard and Bosch (1993) focus on a single aspect morpheme, namely, *-sa-* in isiZulu. In concurrence with Poulos and Louwrens (1994), they refer to *-sa-* as the progressive aspect. They also agree with Poulos and Louwrens when they indicate that *-sa-* which conveys the meaning "still", is inserted immediately after the subject concord, for example:

- (6) a. *A bafana basasenga onondlini.*  
(The boys are still drinking the good cow's milk.)
- b. *Basawadla amaswidi.*  
(They are still eating sweets.)

Taljaard and Bosch (1993) also maintain that *-sa-* in isiZulu can also express the English word "just" and "in the meantime". In this regard, they agree with Poulos and Louwrens's (1994) viewpoint that it is sometimes difficult to give meaning to *-sa-* since it sometimes expresses figurative meaning. As this is applicable in isiZulu,

this study will have to determine whether such meanings can also be expressed by *-sa-* in Northern Sotho.

### 1.9.3 Louwrens (1994)

Louwrens (1994) does not provide more information on aspect morphemes since his study is based only on the description of terms. He emphasises the origin of aspect morphemes. According to Louwrens (1994), one traditional viewpoint states that the future tense *-ilo-*, progressive *-sa-* and the potential *-ka-* are aspects since they have developed historically from auxiliary verbs. To validate his statement, he provides the following example:

- (7) a. *Ba tla go sepela > Ba-tlo-sepela.*  
(They shall go.)

This is important information as it will assist the researcher in realising that aspect morphemes cannot be treated in isolation as they have a link with other categories.

### 1.9.4 Ziervogel (1988)

Ziervogel (1988:94) refers to aspect morphemes as auxiliary verbs. Since his interest is in auxiliary verbs, he defines an aspect as “a predicate seldom used by itself. It must be followed by a main verb, or in a number of cases by a noun, as its complement.”

Ziervogel (1988) thus concentrates on the occurrence of auxiliary verbs. According to him, auxiliary verbs may be in any tense and any mood, while the main verb is dependent on the mood following it, for example:

- (8) a. *O dula a hloka modiro.*  
(Communicatively, he is continuously without work. Literally, he sits lacking work.)

In his study, Ziervogel (1988:95) mentions a number of auxiliary verbs which are followed by the participial mood and take their own object concord, as exemplified below:

- (9) a. *-dula.*  
(spend: always.)
- b. *-šala.*  
(afterwards.)

It is noteworthy that the above-given examples are disyllabic and can also express figurative meaning. This is why Ziervogel (1988:95) opines that an auxiliary verb is often derived from an independent verb, but as soon as it appears as an auxiliary verb, it assumes a figurative meaning. Ziervogel (1988)'s study, therefore, will play a crucial role in this research study as it will assist the researcher to interpret the figurative meanings associated with aspect morphemes.

#### 1.9.5 Lombard, Van Wyk and Mokgokong (1993)

Like Ziervogel (1988), and Louwrens (1991), Lombard, Van Wyk and Mokgokong (1993) discuss aspect morphemes in the context of auxiliary verbs. There is no provision of a direct discussion of aspect morphemes, but a number of examples that can express aspectual meaning are given. The gist of their presentation is that auxiliary verbs are followed by the situative mood as the following examples illustrate:

- (10) a. *nama: Ge a ekwa sepoko se lla ka mokgwa wo, a nama a se betha sa be sa homola.*

(When he heard the ghost crying in this way, he thereupon beat it severely, whereupon it became quiet.)

- b. *fela*: *Ka diphadišano tše dingwe ba fela ba išwa go yo phoka ditšhumamelomo.*

(During other competitions, they were often taken into other rooms to enjoy tea.)

Morphologically, Lombard, Van Wyk and Mokgokong (1993)'s study will be relevant to the research as it outlines grammatical categories that aspect morphemes can appear with.

Meaning plays a crucial part in communication. Incorrect interpretations and renderings can impact negatively on language development, language competence, and the implementation of the principle of multilingualism in our country. It is for this reason that the researcher sees the study on aspect morphemes as essential.

#### 1.10 ORGANISATION OF THE STUDY

This study has been organised as follows:

**Chapter One** deals with the introduction of the study.

**Chapter Two** examines the morphological significance of aspect morphemes in Northern Sotho.

**Chapter Three** analyses the syntactic significance of aspect morphemes.

**Chapter Four** treats the semantic significance of aspect morphemes in Northern Sotho.

**Chapter Five** gives the summary and recommendations of the study.

## CHAPTER TWO

### MORPHOLOGICAL SIGNIFICANCE OF ASPECT MORPHEMES IN NORTHERN SOTHO

#### 2.1 INTRODUCTION

The purpose of this chapter is to discuss the morphological significance of aspect morphemes in Northern Sotho. Aspect morphemes as word categories cannot occur in isolation from other categories. They are inflectional morphemes, which, according to Poulos and Louwrens (1994:235), may be used in various tense forms with the ultimate effect of changing the overall meaning. This chapter will examine and describe the structure of each of the following morphemes, *dula*, *sa*, *fela* and *no*. All possible moods, negatives and tenses in which these aspect morphemes occur will also be indicated with relevant examples. A table that will hopefully give a better perspective on the occurrence of these morphemes will also be provided at the end of this chapter.

#### 2.2 ASPECT MORPHEMES *DULA*

##### 2.2.1 Structure

The aspect morpheme *dula* is a disyllabic verb stem that is defined by Louwrens (1994:59), and Chalker and Weiner (1994:122) as a term used to mean consistency of two syllables, which implies that *du-* is the first syllable and *-la* is the second syllable. Poulos and Louwrens (1994:59) describe a verb stem as a verb root together with its ending. Morphologically, *dula* is analysed as follows;

- (1) *-lal* : verb root  
*-a* : ending or the suffix  
*-dula* : verb stem.

## 2.2.2 Distribution

*Dula* occurs in the following moods:

### (a) Indicative mood

Leech, Deucher and Hoogenraad (1982:79-80) refer to indicative mood as declarative mood and say it is generally used to make statements. Louwrens (1994:84) defines an indicative mood as a form of a verb that occurs in sentences which express the imperfect tense.

### Imperfect tense

According to Lombard *et al.*, (1985:141), the imperfect tense does not necessarily or exclusively have to do with the present tense, but with the imperfectness (non-completion). *The Concise Oxford Dictionary of Linguistics* (1997:171) states that imperfect tense deals with verbs that are past progressive.

### Positive mood

Clark (1987:34) is of the opinion that the term should be reserved for contents in which it contrasts with the negative, which implies that it refers to an expression of agreement. Chalker and Weiner (1994:302) state that a positive clause is characterized by having no negative marker. Let us scrutinize the following example:

- (2) a. *Banna ba dula ba bolela.*  
(Men speak continually).
- b. *Selepe se dula se rema.*  
(An axe chops continuously).

Example (2) illustrates the possibility of the occurrence of *dula* in the imperfect positive indicative mood. In this grammatical pattern, *dula* is always preceded by a concordial morpheme that agrees with the class prefix of the subject, for example, in (2a) *dula* is preceded by a concordial morpheme *ba* that agrees with the prefix of the noun *banna*, and in (2b) *dula* is preceded by *e* that agrees with the prefix of the noun *selepe*. This viewpoint is also supported by Ziervogel *et al.*, (1988:12) since these authors indicate that the subject concords are always identical with the class prefixes.

### **Negative**

Collins (2004:1002) and *The Pocket Oxford Dictionary* (1984:491) describe negative as an expression of refusal and denial.

- (3) a. *Ga a dule a bolela.*  
(He does not speak continually).
- b. *Ga a dule a raloka*  
(He does not play continually).

According to Lombard *et al.*, (1993:145) in Northern Sotho, the negative morpheme is *ga* which occurs before the subject concord, as exemplified in (3) above. Syntactically, it follows the subject concord, but in this instance, the ending is *-e*.

### **Perfect tense**

#### **Positive**

Collins (1981:163) describes perfect tense as a form of verb that shows something that happened before now. Ziervogel *et al.*, (1988:31) on the other hand, say that perfect tense express a completed action. The following examines the occurrence of *dula* in the perfect positive indicative mood:

- (4) *Selepe se dutše se rema.*  
(An axe has just chopped.)

Although the common perfect tense marker is *-ile*, Lombard *et al.*, (1993:117) accounts for the occurrence of *-tše* as in (4) above as follows: “the polysyllabic and disyllabic verb stem that ends on *-la* have their *-la* replaced by *-tše* when they are converted to perfect tense.

Therefore, in (4) above, *dutše* is a perfect tense verb form that has *-tše* as the suffix. In general, *dula* can occur in the perfect positive indicative mood without creating ungrammaticality.

### **Negative**

In this case negation, can be applied in the following two ways:

- a. When the negative morpheme *ga se* is followed by the subject concord, as exemplified below:

- (5) *Ga se a dule a eja.*  
(He was not always eating.)

- b. When the negative morpheme *ga se* is followed by the consecutive concord and the ending is *-a*, as illustrated below:

- (6) a. *Dikgomo ga se tša dula di eja.*  
(The cattle were not always eating.)
- b. *Mollo ga se wa dula o tuka.*  
(The fire is not burning continuously.)



Examples (5-6) above exhibit the occurrence of *dula* in the perfect negative indicative mood. The negative construction is marked by the negative morpheme *ga se* in both examples. In example (5) above, the verb stem *dula* with *-e* as the ending is preceded by the subject concord but in (6) above, the verb stem has *-a* as the ending and is preceded by what is called consecutive concord (refer to the following table for a comprehensive exposition of consecutive concords, the subject concord and the class prefixes):

Classes	Class prefix	Subject concord	Consecutive concord
1	<i>mo-</i>	<i>o-</i>	<i>a</i>
2	<i>ba-</i>	<i>ba-</i>	<i>ba</i>
3	<i>mo-</i>	<i>o-</i>	<i>wa</i>
4	<i>me-</i>	<i>e-</i>	<i>ya</i>
5	<i>le-</i>	<i>le-</i>	<i>la</i>
6	<i>ma-</i>	<i>a-</i>	<i>a</i>
7	<i>se-</i>	<i>se-</i>	<i>sa</i>
8	<i>di-</i>	<i>di-</i>	<i>tša</i>
9	<i>n- m-</i>	<i>e-</i>	<i>ya</i>
10	<i>di-</i>	<i>di-</i>	<i>tša</i>
14	<i>bo-</i>	<i>bo-</i>	<i>bja</i>
15	<i>go-</i>	<i>go-</i>	<i>gwa</i>
16	<i>fa-</i>	<i>go-</i>	<i>gwa</i>
17	<i>go-</i>	<i>go-</i>	<i>gwa</i>
18	<i>mo-</i>	<i>go-</i>	<i>gwa</i>

## Future tense

### Positive

Chalker and Weiner (1994:166) describe future tense as a tense form relating to an event or state yet to happen. Ziervogel *et. al.* (1988:21) say that future tense refers to the action that will occur in future. Kuhn, Meiring, Scheffler, Marais and Oosthuizen (1988:28) agree with these authors since they describe future tense as a tense referring to things that will happen soon, tomorrow, next week or any time in the future. In Northern Sotho, future tense is expressed by the future tense marker *tlo* or *tla*. Let us scrutinize the occurrence of *dula* in the future tense:

- (7) a. *Dinonyana di tla dula di fofa.*  
(Birds will fly continuously.)
- b. *Dikolobe di tlo dula di eja.*  
(The pigs will eat continuously.)

Since example (7) above is grammatically correct, it proves that *dula* can occur in the future positive indicative mood without creating ungrammaticality and distortion.

### Negative

Negation in the future indicative mood does not employ future tense markers *tlo* and *tla*. It is expressed by the potential deficient verb form *ka* followed by the negative morpheme *se*. This statement is also supported by Lombard *et al.*, (1993:147). The following illustrates the occurrence of *dula* in such constructions.

- (8) a. *Motho a ka se dule a lla.*  
(He will not always cry.)

- b. *Dinku di ka se dule di fula.*  
(The sheep will not always graze.)

In example (8) above, *dula* follows the negative morpheme *se* and its ending is *-e*.

(b) **Infinitive mood**

**Imperfect tense**

**Positive**

*The Longman Dictionary of Contemporary English* (1987:537) defines the infinitive mood as the form of a verb that is usually used with *to*. Louwrens (1994:85) supports the description by saying that infinitive is a term used to refer to that form of the verb that is characterized by the infinitive prefix *go-*. The following examples illustrate these descriptions aptly:

- (9) a. *Go dula o lla.*  
(To cry continuously.)
- b. *Go dula o apea.*  
(To cook continuously.)

Example (9) above proves that *dula* can occur in the indicative mood, imperfect tense and in positive form. Syntactically, it follows the infinitive prefix *go-*.

**Negative**

Negation in the infinitive mood is expressed by the negative morpheme *se*, which occurs between the infinitive prefix *go-* and *dula*. The suffixal morpheme of *dula* is *-e* and not *-a*, as illustrated below:

- (10) a. *Go se dule o lapile.*  
(Not to remain tired.)
- b. *Go se dule o reka.*  
(Not to buy continuously.)

### **Future tense**

#### **Positive**

Since future tense is expressed by *-tlo-* and *-tla-*, the following exemplifies the possibility of the occurrence of *dula* with both future tense markers:

- (11) a. *Go tlo dula o thabile.*  
(To stay happy.)
- b. *Go tla dula o thabile.*  
(To stay happy.)

In example (11a), *dula* occurs with the future tense marker *tlo*, and in (11b) *dula* occurs with the future tense marker *tla*.

#### **Negative**

Negation in the future tense infinitive mood can be expressed in two ways, namely:

- (a) When the negative morpheme *se* occurs between the future tense marker and *dula*, which takes *-e* as the ending, for example:

(12) a. *Go se tlo dula o thabile.*

(Not to stay happier.)

b. *Go se tlo dula o enwa.*

(Not to drink continuously.)

(b) When the negative morpheme *se* occurs between the future tense marker and *dula* that takes *-e* as the ending, for example:

(13) a. *Go tlo se dule o thabile.*

(Not to be always happy.)

b. *Go tlo se dule o hlapa.*

(Not to wash continuously.)

Examples (12-13) above prove that *dula* can occur in the future tense, negative infinitive mood. The difference between examples (12 and 13) is that in example (12) the negative morpheme *se* precedes the future tense marker *tlo* and in example (13) the negative morpheme *se* follows the future tense marker *tlo*.

(c) **Imperative mood**

Chalker and Weiner (1994:197) describe the imperative mood as a form of the structure that expresses a command. Van Wyk et al., (1992:101) state that imperative mood is a phrase that consists of verbs issuing command.

**Positive**

The positive imperative mood is characterised by a verb stem that can be used without the subject, as illustrated below:

- (14) *Dula!*  
(Sit!)

A command can be issued to more than one person, in this case the plurality marker *-ng*, is suffixed on *dula*, as exemplified in the following:

- (15) *Dulang!*  
(Get sitted!)

### **Negative**

In the negative imperative construction, the negative morpheme *se* is followed by *dula* with *-e* as the ending. In negation, a command can be also directed to more than one person, *-ng* is suffixed on *dula*, for example:

- (16) *Se duleng.*  
(Don't sit!)

The occurrence of *dula* in the perfect and future imperative mood is not possible. It creates an ill-formed sentence. The following illustrates this viewpoint appropriately:

### **(d) Perfect imperative mood**

- (17) *\*dutše!*

### **Future tense**

- (18) *\*tla dula!*

Examples (17-18) above prove that *dula* is non-occurrence in the perfect and the future tense imperative mood. It creates an irregular and meaningless word order.

### (e) Relative mood

According to Lombard *et al.*, (1993:150), the relative mood modifies a noun or a pronoun and verbs in the relative mood always take the relative suffix *-go* or *-ng*. Louwrens (1994:167) supports this statement by saying that the characteristic feature of relative verbs is the occurrence of the relative suffix *-go*, which has a free variant *-ng*.

### Imperfect tense

#### Positive

- (19) a. *Dikgomo tše di dulago di fula.*  
(Cattle that are continuously grazing.)
- b. *Mpša ye e dulang e goba.*  
(A dog that barks continuously.)

Example (19) above proves that *dula* can occur in the imperfect positive relative mood. In (19a), the sentence consists of the relativisor *tše* and *dula* is extended by the relative suffix *-go*. Example (19b) consists of the relativisor *ye* and *dula* is extended by *-ng* as the suffixal morpheme. The relativisor can occur in all three demonstrative levels and *dula* can occur in such constructions without affecting grammaticality, as illustrated below:

- (20) First position: *Dikgomo tše di dulago di fula.*  
(The cattle that are continuously grazing.)
- Second position: *Dikgomo tšeo di dulago di fula.*  
(The cattle that are continuously grazing.)

Third position:       *Dikgomo tšela di dulago di fula.*  
(The cattle that are continuously grazing.)

### Negative

According to Van Wyk *et al.*, (1992:88), the imperfect tense of the relative mood is expressed by the negative morpheme *sa* that precedes *dula*. The ending of *dula* is *-e* and is extended by the relative suffix *-go* or *-ng*. *Dula* can occur in such constructions without creating ungrammaticality, for example:

- (21) a.     *Lesogana leo le sa dulego le šoma.*  
          (The boy is not working continuously.)
- b.     *Lekgarebe leo le sa duleng le bala.*  
          (The girl who is not reading continuously.)

According to Lombard *et al.*, (1993:150), negation can also be expressed when the negative morpheme *se* takes the relative suffix *-go* or *-ng* as exemplified in the following sentences:

- (22) a.     *Lesogana leo le seng la dula.*  
          (The boy who is not seated.)
- b.     *Lesogana leo le sego la dula.*  
          (The boy who is not seated.)



## Perfect tense

### Positive

The perfect tense is marked by the extension *-tše*, which is further extended by the relative suffix *-ng* or *-go*, for example:

- (23) a. *Mokgekolo yo a dutšego a eja.*  
(The old lady who was just eating.)
- b. *Morutiši yo a dutšeng a ruta.*  
(The teacher who was just eating.)

In example (23a) above, *dula* has been extended by the perfect tense extension *-tše* and the relative suffix *-go* in (23b), *dula* has been extended by the perfect tense extension *-tše* and the relative suffix *-ng*.

### Negative

Negation is expressed by the negative morpheme *se*, which is extended by the relative suffix *-go* or *-ng*. The ending of *dula* is *-e*, for example:

- (24) a. *Mokgekolo yo a sego a dule a bolela.*  
(The old lady who is not talking continuously.)
- b. *Modiši yo a sego a dule a diša.*  
(The shepherd who is not herding continuously.)

## Future tense

### Positive

In the relative future tense, the future tense marker *tla* or *tlo* occurs between the subject concord and *dula*, which is extended by the relative suffix *-ng* or *-go*, as illustrated in the following examples:

- (25) a. *Monna yo a tla dulago a fola.*  
(The man who will keep on smoking.)
- b. *Monna yo a tlo dulang a fola.*  
(The man who will keep on smoking.)

Future tense can also be expressed when the relative suffix *-go* or *-ng* is suffixed on the future tense morpheme *tlo* or *tla*, for example:

- (26) a. *Mosadi yo a tlogo dula a opela.*  
(A woman who will keep on singing.)
- b. *Mosadi yo a tlaggo dula a opela.*  
(A woman who will keep on singing.)

### Negative

The negative form is marked by the negative morpheme *sa*, which is followed by the future tense marker *tlo* or *tla*, which is further extended by the relative suffix *-go* as illustrated in the following sentences:

(27) a. *Yo a sa tlogo dula a bolela.*  
(The one who will not keep on talking.)

b. *Motho yo a sa tlogo dula a sepela.*  
(The one who will not keep on walking.)

**(f) Situative mood**

Grobler, Kotsane, Makopo, Mamabolo, Matsapola, Moganedi, Mokoko and Phala (1988:254) define situative mood as the one where two actions occur simultaneously or an action with the main action of a sentence. Van Wyk *et al.*, (1992:80) indicate that clauses in the situative mood may be employed to indicate that actions or processes or events occur simultaneously.

**Imperfect tense**

**Positive**

(28) a. *Ke mo tseba a dula a kitima.*  
(I know him as a person who is always running.)

b. *Ke mmona a dula a šoma.*  
(I always see him working.)

Example (28) above exhibits the possibility of the occurrence of *dula* in the imperfect, positive situative mood. This examples agree with the previously mentioned descriptions since they show simultaneous occurrence of events. For example, in (28a) the act of knowing occurs simultaneously with the act of running and in (28b), the act of seeing occurs simultaneously with the act of working.

## Negative

In this case, negation is expressed by means of the negative morpheme *sa* which is preceded by the subject concord. Since Lombard *et al.*, (1993:148) state that the negative form consists of the subject concord followed by the negative morpheme, it is, therefore, concluded that *dula* can occur in imperfect negative situative mood, for example:

- (29) a. *Ke mo tseba a sa dule a bolela.*  
(I know him as a person who is not always talking.)
- b. *Ke mo tseba a sa dule a kitima.*  
(I know him as a person who is not always running.)

## Perfect tense

### Positive

*Dula* can occur in the perfect positive situative mood. The following examples validate this statement:

- (30) a. *Ke mmone a dutše a opela.*  
(I saw him busy singing.)
- b. *O sepetše a dutše a lapile.*  
(He went on being tired.)

In example (30) above, *dula* occurs with the perfect tense verbs *mmone* (saw) as in (30a) and *sepetše* (gone) in (30b). The examples also exhibit simultaneous occurrence of *mmone* and *opela* in (30a) and *sepetše* and *lapile* in (30b).

## Negative

The perfect situative mood is negated by the negative morpheme *ga se*, which occurs at the beginning of the sentence. The following illustrates this statement appropriately:

- (31) a. ***Ga se*** *ke ba hwetše ba dutše ba robegile.*  
(I did not find them being broken.)
- b. ***Ga se*** *ke mo sware a dutše a lapile.*  
(I did not touch him being tired.)

Example (31) above illustrates the co-occurrence of activities and all the verbs are in the perfect tense. It is, therefore, concluded that *dula* can occur in the negative form of the perfect situative mood.

## Future tense

### Positive

The future tense of the situative mood is expressed by means of *tla* and *tlo*. For grammaticality's sake, *dula* is suffixed with the perfect tense extension *-tše* as exemplified below:

- (32) a. ***Ke tla*** *mo rata a dutše a bolela.*  
(I will like him no matter he talks too much.)
- b. ***Ke tlo*** *se lema se dutše se eswa.*  
(I will plough it while it still burns.)

## Negative

- (33) a. *Basadi ba ka se tlo ba hwetša ba dula ba epa.*  
(The woman will not find them always being digging.)
- b. *Ba ka se tlo ba tlogela ba dutše ba feditše.*  
(They will not leave them behind even if they are through.)

In example (33) above, negation has been employed by the potential deficient verb form *ka* which is followed by the negative morpheme *se*, which in turn is followed by the future tense marker *tlo*.

## (g) Consecutive mood

According to Poulos and Louwrens (1994:241), consecutive mood is used when actions follow one another in a sequence. It is used to express the second subsequent verb in a series of sequence of consecutive actions.

## Imperfect tense

### Positive

*Dula* can occur in the imperfect positive consecutive mood without creating ungrammaticality, as evident in the following sentences:

- (34) a. *Monna a emelela a tšwa a dula a fola.*  
(The man stood up went out and keep on smoking.)
- b. *Ba sola ba dula ba eja.*  
(They dish out and keep on eating.)

Due to the occurrence of consecutive concords, for example, the consecutive concord, *a* which occurs in (34a) and the consecutive concord *ba* occurs in (34b). The examples also exhibit consecutive occurrence of events. It is, therefore, concluded that the occurrence of *dula* in the imperfect consecutive concord is possible.

### Negative

- (35) a. *A se tsoge a se dule a robetše.*  
(He did not wake up and keep on sleeping.)
- b. *Tša se tsoge, tša se robale tša se dule di pontše.*  
(They did not wake up, sleep and stay asleep.)

In the imperfect consecutive mood, negation is expressed when the negative morpheme *se* precedes verbal elements which occurs consecutively. For example, in (35a), *se* precedes the verbal element *tsoge* (wake up) and *dule* (stay), and in (35b), *se* precedes the verbal element *tsoge* (wake up), *robale* (sleep) and *dule* (stay). In this grammatical pattern, all the verb stem must have the suffix *-e*, as illustrated in (35) above.

### Perfect tense

#### Positive

It has been discovered that the occurrence of *dula* in the perfect tense is only restricted on the consecutive concord *ba* of class 2, for example:

- (36) a. *Ba kokotile, ba tsene, ba apere.*  
(They knocked, entered being dressed.)

Example (36) consists of the perfect tense verbs *kokotile* (knocked), *tsene* (entered) and *dutše* (seated) that are preceded by the consecutive concord *ba*. It constitutes the structure that is in a perfect positive consecutive mood. Since the occurrence of *dula* did not disturb the grammaticality, it is concluded that *dula* can be part of this structure without affecting the meaning. The following requires the occurrence of *dula* with other consecutive concords:

- (37) a.     \***Wa** *fofile wa swere ntlo, wa dutše wa tukile.*  
           (It flew, caught the house and keep on burning.)
- b.     \***Tša** *katakata, tša sokologa, tša kitimile tša dutše di gadima.*  
           (They stepped back, turned, ran and keep on looking back.)

In example (37) *dula* occurs in the perfect tense together with other perfect tense verbs *fofile* (flew away) and *swere* (caught) as in (37a). In (37b), it occurs with the perfect tense verbs *katakatile* (stepped back), *sokologile* (turned), *kitimile* (ran) and *lebelela morago* (looking back). Since example (37) is ungrammatical and meaningless, as indicated by the use of asterisk (\*), it is concluded that, in the consecutive mood, *dula* is restricted to consecutive patterns which consists of only *ba* as the consecutive concord. It is non-occurrence to other consecutive concords.

Negative

- (38) **Ga se** *ba kokote ba tsena ba dula ba apere.*  
       (They did not knock, enter and stay dressed.)

In the negative perfect tense, the negative morpheme is **ga se** and it precedes the consecutive concord *ba* of class 2 as illustrated in example (38) above.



## Future tense

### Positive

- (39) a. *Ba tlo tsena ba a pea ba dula ba ja.*  
(They will enter, cook and keep on eating.)
- b. *Ba tla tsena ba a pea ba dula ba ja.*  
(They will enter, cook and keep on eating.)

Example (38) above shows that future tense consecutive mood is expressed by both *tlo* and *tla*. In general, *dula* can occur in this grammatical pattern without disturbing the meaning.

### Negative

*Dula* can occur in the negative form of the future tense consecutive mood without affecting the structure negatively, for example:

- (40) *Ba ka se tlo tsena, ba a apea ba dula ba ja.*  
(They will not enter, cook and keep on eating.)

In example (40), the negative morpheme has been employed to express the negative statement of the consecutive mood.

### (h) Subjunctive mood

According to Lombard (1994:188), subjunctive mood is characterized by structural features such as the final or ending. As cited in Maseko (2005:49), *The Longman Dictionary of Contemporary English* defines subjunctive mood as a verb form or a

set of verb forms used in some languages to express doubt, wishes, and situations that do not actually exist.

## Imperfect tense

### Positive

- (41) a. *Mmotše gore a dulê a tseba.*  
(Tell him so that he is well informed.)
- b. *Bolela gore ba dulê ba maketše.*  
(Tell him in order to surprise them.)

In example (41), the conjunction *gore* and the extension *-ê* in *dulê* has been used to express *dula* occurring in the positive statement of the imperfect subjunctive mood. The conjunction *gore* and the ending *-ê* are essential features of the subjunctive mood. This viewpoint is also emphasized by Louwrens (1994:188) when he states that, in the subjunctive mood, the verb ending is *-ê*.

### Negative

Negation in the imperfect tense of the subjunctive mood is expressed by the negative morpheme *se* that occurs at the beginning of the sentence or before *dulê*. *Dula* is suffixed with *-ê* as illustrated in the following examples:

- (42) a. *Mmotše gore a se dulê a letile.*  
(Advise him not to keep on waiting.)
- b. *Se mmotše gore a dulê a letile.*  
(Don't tell him so that he keeps on waiting.)

## Perfect tense

### Positive

*Dula* can occur in the perfect tense of subjunctive mood without disturbing the acceptable grammatical order. The following illustrates this viewpoint aptly:

- (43) a. *Ba mmolaile gore ba dulê ba phologile.*  
(They killed him because they wanted to survive.)

Example (43) above is in the perfect tense subjunctive mood since it is characterized by the perfect tense verb *mmolaile* (killed), *phologile* (survived), the suffix *-ê* in *dulê* (keep on) and the subjunctive conjunction *gore* (so that).

### Negative

In this instance the negative morpheme is *gase* and occurs at the beginning of the sentence. The verb stem that precedes *gore* is in the imperfect tense, for example:

- (44) *Ga se ba mmolaye gore ba dulê ba bolokegile.*  
(They didn't kill him because they want to be safe.)

## Future tense

### Positive

In the future tense subjunctive mood the future tense morpheme *tle* precedes the subject concord, which is followed by *dulê* with *-ê* as the ending, for example:

- (45) a. *Sepela gore o tle o dule o mo letetše.*  
(Go so that you can keep on waiting for him.)

- b. *Bolela gore a tle a dule a tseba.*  
(Just talk so that he remains informed.)

### Negative

Negation in future subjunctive mood is expressed when the negative morpheme *se* is followed by *dula* with *-ê* as the ending, as exemplified in (46a) and when the negative morpheme *se* precedes the future tense marker *tlo* as indicated in (46b) below:

- (46) a. *Sepela gore o tle o se dulê o mo letile.*  
(Go so that you don't keep on waiting for him.)
- b. *Tšhaba sekolo, gore o se tlo dula o kgona.*  
(Absent yourself from school so that you don't keep on performing better.)

### (i) Habitual mood

Louwrens (1994:75) states that habitual mood expresses sequential actions and processes which are performed as a habit and verbs in this mood takes the suffix *-e*.

### Imperfect tense

#### Positive

The imperfect positive habitual construction is expressed by the auxiliary verb stem *ke* or *tle* that precedes the subject concord, which in turn is followed by *dula* with *-e* as the ending, as exemplified below:

- (47) a. *Ba tle ba dule ba ngwala.*  
(They usually keep on writing.)

- b. *Ba ke ba dule ba ngwala.*  
(They usually keep on writing.)

### Negative

- (48) a. *Ga ba ke ba dula ba ngwala.*  
(They don't always keep on writing.)

- b. *Ga le ke le dula le ngwala.*  
(You don't always keep on writing.)

Negation in the imperfect tense habitual mood is expressed by the negative morpheme *ga* which occurs with auxiliary verb stem *ke*. In this case, the suffix of *dula* is *-a*, as illustrated in example (48). The inclusion of the auxiliary verb stem in the imperfect negative habitual mood creates ungrammaticality, as illustrated in the following examples:

- (49) \**Ga ba tle ba dula ba ngwale.*  
(They don't usually keep on writing.)

### Future tense

#### Positive

Future tense in the positive habitual mood is expressed by means of the future tense morpheme *tlo* or *tla*, which follows the subject concord, for example:

- (50) a. *O tla tsogela ka mehla gore a dule a bala.*  
(He will go earlier so that he keep on reading.)

- b. *O tlo robala ka mehla gore a dule a tsogela.*  
(He will always sleep so that he arrives early.)

Example (50) above proves that *dula* can occur in the future tense habitual mood as indicated by the future tense marker *tla* in (50a) and *tlo* in (50b) and *ka mehla* (always), which expresses habituality.

### **Negative**

- (51) a. *O tla se tsogele ka mehla gore a dule a bala.*  
(He will not always arrive in time so that he keeps on reading.)
- b. *O tla se bale ka mehla gore a dule a palelwa.*  
(He will not always read so that he keeps on being unsuccessful.)

It is concluded from example (51) above that *dula* can occur in the future tense and negative habitual mood without affecting syntax and semantics.

## **2.3 ASPECT MORPHEME SA**

### **2.3.1 Structure**

*Sa* is a monosyllabic word that is described by Matthews (1997:230) as a word which consists of a single syllable. Louwrens (1994:110) defines monosyllabic as a term used to refer to a form that consists of a single syllable.

### **2.3.2 Distribution**

*Sa* occurs in the following moods:

(a) **Indicative mood**

**Imperfect tense**

**Positive**

In the indicative mood *sa* occurs before the verb stem and is preceded by the concordial morpheme that agrees with the class prefix of the subject, as illustrated in the following structure:

- (52) a. *Mosadi o sa lwa.*  
(The woman is still fighting.)
- b. *Monna o sa ja.*  
(The man is still eating.)

**Negative**

In the imperfect indicative mood, the negative morpheme is *ga*. It occurs before the subject concord that agrees with the class prefix as exemplified below:

- (53) a. *Bana **ga** ba sa robala.*  
(Children are no longer sleeping.)
- b. *Bakgalabje **ga** ba sa fola.*  
(The old men are no longer smoking.)

**Perfect tense**

**Positive**

- (54) a. *Mmutla o sa tšhabile.*  
(The hare has still ran away.)

- b. *Bana ba sa badile.*  
(The children have still read.)

Example (54) above proves that *sa* can occur in the perfect tense positive indicative mood. All verbs in example (54) above are in the perfect form, as indicated by *-ile* in *tšhabile* (ran away) in (54a) and *badile* (read) in example (54b).

### Negative

In this instance negation is employed by the negative morpheme *ga* that precedes the subject concord and the negative morpheme *ga se* that precedes *sa* for example:

- (55) a. *Morutiši ga a sa robetše.*  
(The teacher is no longer asleep.)
- b. *Setšhaba ga se sa boletše.*  
(The nation has not spoken any longer.)

In example (55a) above, *sa* occurs in the negative construction that is expressed by the negative morpheme *ga*, and in (55b) *sa* occurs in the negative construction that is expressed by negative morpheme *ga se*.

### Future tense

#### Positive

The future deficient verb form *tlo* or *tla* occurs between *sa* and the basic verb stem, for example:

- (56) a. *Setšhaba se sa tlo bolela le yena.*  
(The community is still going to speak to him.)



### **The perfect infinitive mood**

- (59) \**Go sa ngwetše.*  
(To still wrote.)

The word order in example (59) above is irregular. The sentence cannot be described syntactically and semantically. The implication is that *sa* is non-occurrence in the perfect infinitive mood.

### **The future tense infinitive mood**

- (60) a. *Go sa tla ruta Sepedi.*  
(Still to teach Sepedi.)
- b. *Go sa tla rera.*  
(Still to preach.)

In Northern Sotho, such a grammatical pattern is acceptable and interpretable. It is the future tense construction that is expressed by *tla*. Since *sa* forms part of the structure, it is concluded that *sa* can occur in the future tense infinitive mood without affecting the structure and the meaning, as illustrated in example (60) above.

- c. **Relative mood**

### **Imperfect tense**

#### **Positive**

- (61) a. *Selepe se se sa remago.*  
(The axe that is chopping.)

- b. *Nko yeo e sa dupago.*  
(The nose that is still smelling.)

*Sa* can occur in the imperfect relative mood that is marked by the relative suffix *-go* and *-ng*, which are affixed on the verbs. For example, in (61a) *-go* has been suffixed on the verb *rema* (chop) and in (61b) *-ng* has been suffixed on *dupa* (smell). The occurrence of *sa* in such constructions does not affect the pattern or the meaning.

### Negative

The following examples signify the possibility of the occurrence of *sa* in the negative form of the imperfect tense relative mood. In this grammatical structure, the negative morpheme *ga se* occurs at the beginning of the sentence and the verb stems are still extended by *-go* or *-ng*, for example:

- (62) a. *Ga se selepe se se sa remago.*  
(It is not the axe that is chopping.)
- b. *Ga se ye e sa dupago.*  
(It is not the nose that is smelling.)

### Perfect tense

#### Positive

- (63) a. *Mpša yeo e sa mo lomilego.*  
(The dog that has beaten him.)
- b. *Monna yo a sa mo ratilego.*  
(The man who still loves.)

## Negative

- (64) a. *Ke morutiši yo a se sa ba rutilego.*  
(It is the teacher who did not teach them.)
- b. *Mpša yeo e se sa mo lomilego.*  
(The dog that did not bite him.)

Examples (63-64) proves that *sa* can occur in the perfect relative mood. In the positive structure, *sa* allows the subject concord *e* as in (63a) and *a* in (63b) respectively. In (63a), the suffix *-go* has been used and (63b) the suffix *-ng* has been used. Negation is expressed by the negative morpheme *se* which follows the subject concord, for example, in (64a) *sa* follows the subject concord *a* and in (64b) *sa* follows the subject concord *e*.

## Future tense

### Positive

*Sa* can also occur in the future tense infinitive mood without initiating some irregularities on the structure. The future tense is expressed by *tlo* or *tla* as the future tense markers. These morphemes are extended by the relative suffix. The following support this statement:

- (65) a. *Monna yo a sa **tlogo** ruta.*  
(The man who will still teach.)
- b. *Leoto leo le sa **tlogo** sepela.*  
(The leg that will still walk.)

## Negative

- (66) a. *Morutiši yo a **ka se** sa tlogo ruta.*  
(The teacher who will not teach.)
- b. *Monna yo a **ka se** sa tlogo mo roma.*  
(The man who will not send him.)

Negation is employed by the negative morpheme *ka se*, which occurs between the subject concord and *sa*, as illustrated in example (66).

## d. Situative mood

## Imperfect tense

### Positive

- (67) a. *Ke mmona a sa bolela.*  
(I see him while he is talking.)
- b. *Ke rapela a sa bina.*  
(I pray while he is singing.)

### Negative

- (68) a. ***Ga se** ke mmone a sa bolela.*  
(I didn't see while he was talking.)
- b. ***Ga se** ke sepele a sa bolela.*  
(I didn't see him while he was talking.)

Since examples (67-68) above are meaningful and grammatically correct, it is concluded that *sa* can occur in both the negative and the positive form of the imperfect situative mood. In the negation *ga se* occurs at the beginning of the sentence as exemplified in (68).

### Perfect tense

#### Positive

- (69) a. *Ke tšhabile a sa khutile.*  
(I ran away while he was still hiding.)
- b. *Ke badile a sa tšwele.*  
(I read while he was still out.)

Through the occurrence of the perfect tense verbs *tšhabile* (ran away) and *khutile* (hidden) in (69a) and *badile* (read) and *tšwele* (went out) in (69b), it is proved that the examples are in the perfect tense. Both examples indicate actions that occur simultaneously. Since *sa* is part of these examples, it is concluded that *sa* can occur in the perfect tense, positive situative mood.

#### Negative

Negation is expressed by the negative morpheme which occurs at the beginning of the sentence. In this instance, the ending of the verb is *-e* as illustrated in the following:

- (70) a. *Ga se ke tšhabe a sa khutile.*  
(I didn't ran way while he was still hiding.)

- b. *Ga se ke ngwale a sa sepetše*.  
(I didn't write while he was still away.)

## Future tense

### Positive

In the future tense, situative mood is expressed by either *tlo* or *tla*, which precedes the verb stem as exemplified in the following:

- (71) a. *Ke tlo mmetha a sa itebetše*.  
(I will beat him while he is still not aware.)
- b. *Ke tla robala a sa ile*.  
(I will sleep while he is still away.)

### (e) Consecutive mood

*Sa* cannot occur in the consecutive mood. Its occurrence with consecutive concords, which are essential features of consecutive mood, produce a sentence which does not conform to the rules defined by Northern Sotho. The following selected number of consecutive concords will demonstrate this viewpoint:

- (72) a. *\*Lekgarebe le fihlile gae la sa hlapa la sa ja*.  
(The young lady arrived home and still wash and still eat.)
- b. *\*Dinku di fihlile nokeng tša sa nwa tša sa sepela*.  
(The sheep arrived at the river still drink and still went away.)
- c. *\*Sehlare se rathilwe ke tladi sa sa wa*.  
(The tree was struck by lightning and still fell.)

d. \**Bana ba tšere dipuku tša sa wela ka mollong tša sa swa.*

(The children took the book still fell into the fire and still burn.)

Eventhough *sa* has been used with various consecutive concords, the sentences remain ungrammatical. For example, in (72a) *sa* has been used in a consecutive mood which consists of a consecutive concord *la* of Class 5; in (72b), it occurs with the consecutive concord *tša* of Class 8; in (72c), it occurs with the consecutive concord *sa* of Class; and in (72c) with the consecutive concord *tša* of Class 7.

#### f. **Subjunctive mood**

#### **Imperfect tense**

#### **Positive**

(73) a. *O sa ba romile gore ba reke.*

(He still send them to buy.)

b. *O sa boya ge o ka mo thuša.*

(He will still come if you help him.)

c. *O sa apeela bana ka mehla a ba solela.*

(He still cook and dish up for them.)

Example (73) above demonstrates the appearance of *sa* with various forms of subjunctive mood, for example, in (73a) it occurs in the subjunctive construction which is characterized by the conjunction *gore* (so that); in (73b) it occurs in a subjunctive construction that is characterized by the conjunctive *ge* (if); and in (73c) it occurs in a subjunctive construction that is termed by Louwrens (1994:190) as the clause of habit. Since the occurrence of *sa* does not affect grammar or meaning, it is concluded that *sa* can occur in the positive form of the imperfect tense.

## Negative

The negative morpheme is *ga*. Both *gore* and *ge* can be employed and the ending of the verb stem is *-e*, for example:

- (74) a. ***Ga a sa bolela gore le se mo kwê.***  
(He is no longer talking in order not to be heard.)
- b. ***Ga a sa tla ge le mmonê.***  
(He is no longer coming since he is been recognised.)

## Perfect tense

### Positive

- (75) a. ***O sa ba biditše gore ba šalelē.***  
(He called them in order to be delayed.)
- b. ***O sa ba rakile gore ba utswa.***  
(He chased them away so that he can steal.)

### Negative

- (76) a. ***Ga se a ba biletše gore ba šalele.***  
(He did not call them to delay himself.)
- b. ***Ga se a ba rakelê gore ba utswa.***  
(He did not chase them away so that he can steal.)



Examples (75-76) above prove that *sa* can occur in the imperfect tense positive and negative subjunctive mood without producing an irregular word order. Negation is expressed by the negative morpheme *ga se* and the ending of the verb stems is *-ê*.

### **Future tense**

*Sa* can occur in future tense subjunctive mood in both positive and negative form. In both forms, the future tense marker *tlo* or *tla* is employed. In negation, the negative morpheme is *ga* and it occurs at the beginning of the sentence, as illustrated in (77) below:

- (77) a. *O sa tla tla gore a nthuše.*  
(He will still come to assist me.)
- b. *O sa tla le ruta gore a le thuše.*  
(He will still teach in order to assist you.)
- (78) a. *Ga a sa tla tla gore a le thuše.*  
(He will not come to assist you.)
- b. *Ga a sa tla apea gore le bolelê.*  
(He will no longer cook to provoke you.)

### **(g) Imperative mood and habitual mood**

*Sa* cannot occur in the imperative and the habitual mood. It forms irregular word order hence sentences that violate grammatical rules result. The following illustrates this viewpoint aptly:

(h) **Imperative mood**

(79) a. \**Sa sepela!*

(Still go!)

b. \**Robala! sa.*

(Sleep still.)

(i) **Habitual mood**

(80) a. \**Bana ba tle ba sa sepela.*

(The children usually still walk.)

b. \**O ke a sa bolela.*

(He usually still talks.)

2.4 **ASPECT MORPHEME *FELA***

2.4.1 **Structure**

*Fela* is a disyllabic verb stem. According to Louwrens (1994:110), disyllabic refers to forms that consists of two syllables. In other words, *fela* consists of a root plus an ending, morphologically it can be analysed as follows:

- (81) *-fel-* : verb root;  
*-a* : ending or suffix;  
*fela* : verb stem.

2.4.2 **Distribution**

*Fela* occurs in the following moods:

(a) **Indicative mood**

**Imperfect tense**

**Positive**

In the imperfect indicative mood, *fela* is preceded by the subject concord, which agrees with the class prefix of the subjects, for example:

- (82) a. *Dinonyane di fela di fofa.*  
(The birds usually fly.)
- b. *Mabone a fela a tuka.*  
(The lights are usually on.)

In example (82a), the subject concord *ba* agrees with the prefix of the subject *dinonyane* and in (82b) the subject concord *a* agrees with the noun *mabone*.

**Negative**

*Ga* is the negative morpheme, it occurs before the subject concord. The ending of *fela* is now *-e* and not *-a*, for example:

- (83) a. ***Ga*** *ba fele ba opela.*  
(They don't usually sing.)
- b. ***Ga*** *di fele di fula.*  
(They don't usually graze.)

## Perfect tense

### Positive

The perfect indicative mood is characterized by the following:

- (a) *Fela*, which consists of *-e* as the ending, is suffixed with *-dutše*, which, according to Lombard, *et al.*, (1993:118), is the perfect extension of all the stems which end in *-tša*, for example:

- (84) a. *Ba feleditše ba sepetše.*  
(They end up left.)
- b. *E feleditše e mmolaile.*  
(It ended up killing him.)

- (b) *Fela* occurring in consecutive construction which consists of *ba* as a consecutive subject concord and the perfect tense ending *-ile*. *Fela* is composed of the applied extension *-etš* and the ending *-a*, for example:

- (85) a. *Basadi ba ile ba feleletša ba boile.*  
(The women ended up coming back.)
- b. *Lekgarebe le ile la feleletša le rokile.*  
(The young woman ended up sewing.)

### Negative

In the perfect negative construction, negation is formed in the following two ways:

(a) When the negative morpheme *ga* is followed by the subject concord that in turn is followed by *fela* with *-etš* and *-a* as the ending, as indicated below:

(86) a. ***Ga ba feletša ba sepetše.***  
(They did not end up leaving.)

b. ***Ga ba feletša ba boile.***  
(They did not end up coming back.)

(b) When the negative morpheme *ga se* appears at the beginning of the sentence. *Fela*, in this instance, is extended by *-etš* and *-e* as the ending, for example:

(87) a. ***Ga se a feletše a mphile.***  
(He did not end up giving me.)

b. ***Ga se a feletše a ngwadile.***  
(He did not end up writing.)

## Future tense

### Positive

In the future indicative mood, *tlo* or *tla* occurs between the subject concord and *fela*, for example:

(88) a. ***Ba tla fela ba bolela.***  
(They will keep on talking.)

b. ***Ba tlo fela ba eta.***  
(They will keep on visiting.)

## Negative

The perfect indicative mood is negated by the negative morpheme *se* that occurs between the future tense marker and the potential aspect *ka*. The ending of *fela* is *-e* as illustrated below:

- (89) a. *Dinku di ka se fele di fula.*  
(The sheep will not keep on grazing.)
- b. *Letšatši le ka se fele le fiša.*  
(The sun will not keep on burning.)

## b. Infinitive mood

## Imperfect tense

### Positive

- (90) a. ***Go fela o sepela.***  
(To keep on walking.)
- b. ***Go fela o eja.***  
(To keep on eating.)

In the imperfect infinitive mood, *fela* is always preceded by the infinitive prefix *go-*, as exemplified in (90) above.

### Negative

The negative morpheme is *se* and it occurs between the infinitive prefix and *fela*. The suffixal vowel of *fela* is changed to *-ê*, for example:

- (91) a. *Go se felê o rapela.*  
(Not to keep on praying.)
- b. *Go se felê o hlatswa.*  
(Not to keep on washing.)

### **Future tense**

#### **Positive**

The future tense marker *tlo* occurs between the infinitive prefix and *fela*, for example:

- (92) a. *Go tlo fela a robala.*  
(To always keep on sleeping.)
- b. *Go tlo fela o khutša.*  
(To always keep on getting some rest.)

#### **Negative**

In the future tense infinitive mood, negation is formed thus:

- (a) When the negative morpheme *se* occurs between the infinitive prefix and the future *tlo*, for example:

- (93) a. *Go se tlo fela o rapela.*  
(Not to keep on praying.)
- b. *Go se tlo fela o robala.*  
(Not to keep on sleeping.)

(b) When the negative morpheme *se* that occurs between the future tense marker *tlo* and *fela*, which has *-ê* as the ending, for example:

(94) a. *Go tlo se felê o eta.*  
(Not to keep on visiting.)

b. *Go tlo se felê o fola.*  
(Not to keep on smoking.)

c. **Imperative mood**

### **Imperfect tense**

#### **Positive**

The positive imperfect tense of the imperative mood is characterised by the following:

(a) *Fela* being used with the hortative particle *a* to express a command. In this instance, the ending of *fela* becomes *-ê*, for example:

(95) *A felê a ngwala.*  
(Let him keep on writing.)

(b) A command can be directed to more than one person, the plurality marker *-ng* is, therefore, suffixed on *fela*, which is preceded by the subject concord as exemplified below:

(96) *A ba feleng ba šoma.*  
(Let them keep on working.)



## Negative

In the imperfect infinitive mood, the negative morpheme is *se* and it is followed by *fela*, which has *-ê*, as illustrated below:

- (97) a. *Se felê le nketela.*  
(Don't keep on visiting me.)
- b. *Se felê le dira lešata.*  
(Don't keep on making noise.)

## d. Relative mood

## Imperfect tense

## Positive

*Fela* is extended by the relative suffix *-go* as indicated in (97a) or the suffix *-ng* as illustrated in (98) below:

- (98) a. *Bana ba ba felago ba opela.*  
(The children who always sing.)
- b. *Mollo wo o felago o tuka.*  
(The fire that is always burning.)

## Negative

The negative morpheme *sa* precedes *fela*, which consists of suffixal with *-e* and the relativiser *-ng* or *-go*, for example:

- (99) a. *Selepe seo se **sa felego** se rema.*  
 (An axe that does not always chop.)
- b. *Pula yeo e **sa felego** e ena..*  
 (The rain that does not always rain.)

The relativiser *-go* or *-ng* may be suffixed on the negative morpheme *se*, which in turn is followed by the consecutive concord, for example:

- (100) a. *Nilo tšeo di **sego** tša fela.*  
 (The houses that are not usually complete.)
- b. *Sekepe seo se **sego** sa fela se nwelela.*  
 (The ship that does not usually sink.)

## Perfect tense

### Positive

In the consecutive structure *fela*, which follows the concordial morphemes, takes the perfect extension *-ditše-* and the relative suffix *-go* or *-ng*, as exemplified below:

- (101) a. *Monna yo a feleditšego a sepela.*  
 (The man who ended up walking.)
- b. *Selepe seo se feleditšego se rema.*  
 (The axe that ended up chopping.)

In example (101a) above, *fela* is preceded by the subject concord *a* and is extended by the perfect tense extension *ditše*, which is suffixed with *-go*. In example (101b),

*fela* is preceded by the subject concord *se* and is extended by the perfect tense extension *-ditše*, which is further suffixed with *-ng*.

### Negative

The negative morpheme in *sa* and *fela* takes the perfect tense extension *-etš-* and *-a* is the ending, which is further extended by either *-go* or *-ng*, for example:

- (102) a. *Monna yo a sa feletšego a sepela.*  
(The man who did not end up leaving.)
- b. *Selepe seo se sa feletšego se rema.*  
(The axe that did not end up chopping.)

### Future tense

#### Positive

In the future tense, relative mood is expressed in the following two ways:

- (a) When *fela* is preceded by the future tense marker *tlo* or *tla* and extended by the relative suffix *-go* or *-ng*,

- (103) a. *Monna yoo a tlo felago a sepela.*  
(The man who will usually walk.)
- b. *Morutiši yo a tla felago a re ruta.*  
(The teacher who will usually teach us.)

In (103a), the future tense *tlo* and the relative suffix *-go* have been employed and (103b), the future tense *tla* and the suffix *-ng* have been employed.

(b) When the future tense morpheme *tlo* or *tla* takes the relative suffix *-go* as illustrated below:

- (104) a. *Ngwana yo a tlogo fela a lla.*  
(The child who will keep on crying.)
- b. *Ngwana yo a tlago fela a lla.*  
(The child who will keep on crying.)

In example (104a) above, *tlo* has been used with the suffix *-go* and in (104b) *tla* has been used with the suffix *-go*.

### Negative

Negation is expressed by *ka se* and is followed by the future tense marker *tlo* that in turn is followed by *fela*, which consists of *-a* as the ending and the suffix *-go* or *-ng* as exemplified below:

- (105) a. *Lebone leo le ka se tlo felago le tuka.*  
(The lamp that will not keep on burning.)
- b. *Legong leo le ka se tlo felago le robega.*  
(The wood that will not keep on breaking.)

c. **Situative mood**

**Imperfect tense**

**Positive**

In this grammatical pattern, *fela* is preceded by the subject concord that agrees with the class prefix. The subject concord of Class 1 is always *a*, for example:

- (106) a. *Ke mmone a fela a hlola.*  
(I saw him busy peeping.)
- b. *Ke ba bona ba fela ba rapela.*  
(I usually see them busy praying.)

In example (106a), *fela* is preceded by *a*, a concordial morpheme of Class 1 and in (106b) it is preceded by *ba*, a concordial morpheme of Class 2.

**Negative**

- (107) a. *Ga ke mo tsebe a fela a bolela.*  
(I don't know him being talkative.)
- b. *Ga ba mo rate a fela a opela.*  
(They don't like him being singing.)

Negation, in this case, is expressed by the negative morpheme *ga*, which appears at the beginning of the sentence as illustrated in (108).

## Perfect tense

### Positive

The perfect situative pattern can be constructed when *ka ge* as the situative feature precedes the subject concord, which in turn is followed by *fela* with the perfect extension *-ditše*. In this instance, all verbs occur in the perfect form, for example:

- (108) a. *O phologile ka ge a feleditše a thabile.*  
(He survived because he ended up running.)
- b. *Ke se lahlile ka ge se feleditše se swele.*  
(I've thrown it away because it ended up burning.)

### Negative

The negative morpheme is *ga se* and appears at the beginning of the sentence, for example:

- (109) a. *Ga se ba mmolaye ka ge a fela a utswa.*  
(He was not killed because he keep on stealing.)
- b. *Ga se ke mmone a fela a dutše.*  
(I didn't see him busy sitting.)

## Future tense

### Positive

The future tense situative mood is employed by the future tense *tla* or *tlo*, appearing with *ka ge* or *ge*, which is also the essential feature of the situative mood.

- (110) a. *Ge ba lwala ba tlo fela ba thiša sekolo.*  
 (If they are sick they will absent themselves from school.)
- b. *Ba mmolaya ka ge a tla fela a tšhaba.*  
 (They are killing him because he will keep on running away.)

### Negation

Negation, in this instance, is expressed when *ka se* precedes the future tense *tlo*, for example:

- (111) a. *Ge ba e bona ba ka se tlo fela ba e thula.*  
 (When they see it, they'll not always knock it off.)
- b. *Ge ba dula ba ka se tlo fela ba kgometša.*  
 (When they sit, they'll not always slumber.)

### (f) Consecutive mood

#### Imperfect tense

#### Positive

In the imperfect consecutive mood, the consecutive concord follows *fela*, for example:

- (112) a. *Monna a redimoga a wa a fela a emiša hlogo.*  
 (The man slipped and fell and kept on raising his head up.)
- b. *Lesea la lla la ja la fela le robala.*  
 (The baby cry, eat and keep on sleeping.)

In example (112a) above, *fela* is preceded by the consecutive concord *a* of Class 1 and in example (112b), it is preceded by the consecutive concord *la* of Class 5.

### Negative

In the negative form, *se* is the negative morpheme and follows the verb form that consist of *-ê* as the ending, for example:

- (113) a. *Mokgekolo a se emelele a felê a se emelelê a se felê a dira gore ba mmonê.*  
(The old lady did not stand up and continue to expose herself).
- b. *Bašemane ba se utswa ba se tšhabe ba se felê ba dira gore a ba bone.*  
The boys did not steal, run away.)

In the negative construction, *fela* has been used with the consecutive concord *a* that precedes verb stems as in (113a) and (113b) *fela* been used with the consecutive concord *ba* of Class 2, which also precedes the verb stem. The negative morpheme is *se*.

### Perfect tense

#### Positive

- (114) a. *Bana ba mo swere, ba mo kukile ba fela ba mmetha.*  
(The children caught him, lifted him up and keep on beating her.)
- b. *\*A le rekile a le jele.*  
(He bought it and ate it.)
- c. *\*Selepe sa remile sa wela sa wele sa robegile.*  
(The axe chopped, fallen and broken.)



*Fela* in the perfect consecutive mood is only possible where the subject concord *ba* of Class 2 is employed as indicated in (114a). The occurrence with other concordial classes creates ungrammaticality as illustrated in (114b-c).

### Negative

There is no restriction in the negative form of the perfect consecutive mood. The implication is that *fela* in this construction can occur with all consecutive concords. The following examples validate this statement:

- (115) a. *Lephodisa ga se la mo swara la mo kuka la fela le mmetha.*  
(The policeman did not catch him, lift him up and keep on beating him.)
- b. *Dikgomo ga se tša fula tša fela di kitima.*  
(The cattle did not graze and keep on running.)
- c. *Banna ga se baa pea, ba nwa ba fela ba bolela.*  
(The men did not cook, drink and keep on talking.)

In example (115) above, the negative morpheme is **ga se**. *Fela* occurs with the consecutive concord **la** of Class 5 as in (115a), in (115b), it occurs with the consecutive concord **tša** of Class 8 and In 115c) it occurs with **ba** of Class 2.

### Future tense

### Imperfect tense

### Positive

- (116) a. *Bašemane ba tla opela ba fela ba letša moropa.*  
(The boys will sing, and keep on beating the drums.)

- b. *Lerapo le tla swa la tuka la fela le thunya muši.*  
(The bone will burn and keep on smoking.)

Example (116) above proves that *fela* can occur in the future tense consecutive mood. In (116a), it is expressed by the future tense morpheme *tla* and in (116b) it is expressed by *tlo*.

### Negative

In this construction, the negative morpheme is *ka se* and precedes either *tlo* or *tla* as illustrated below:

- (117) a. *Lerapo le ka se tlo swa la tuka la fela le thunya muši.*  
(The bone will not burn and keep on smoking.)
- b. *Bašemane ba ka se tlo opela ba fela ba letša meropa.*  
(The boys will not sing and keep on beating the drums.)

### (g) Subjunctive mood

#### Imperfect tense

##### Positive

In the imperfect subjunctive mood, the conjunction *gore* precedes the subject concord, which in turn is followed by *fela* with *-ê* as the ending, for example:

- (118) a. *O bolela gore o felê o mo theeletša.*  
(He is saying that so that you always listen to him.)

- b. *O sepela gore a felê a ikotlolla.*  
(He is just walking to take excercises.)

*Fela* can also occur in subjunctive structures that are not comprised of the conjunction *gore*, for example:

- (119) a. *O apea a fela a eja.*  
(He is cooking so that he keeps on eating.)
- b. *O dira lešata a felê a re tsoša.*  
(He is just making noise to awaken us.)

### Negative

The negative morpheme is *se* and it is followed by *fela* with *-ê*, as the ending, for example:

- (120) a. *O bolela gore o se felê o mo theetša.*  
(He is saying that so that you don't always listen to him.)
- b. *O sepela gore a se felê a ikotlolla.*  
(He is walking so that he doesn't want to do excercises.)

### Perfect tense

#### Positive

- (121) a. *Ba mmoditše gore a felê a ba hlola.*  
(They told him to keep on visiting them.)

- b. *O mo rogile gore a felê a kitima.*  
(He kicked him so that he keep on running.)

The above-mentioned examples exhibit the occurrence of *fela* in the perfect tense subjunctive mood. *Fela* follows the subject concord, which in turn is preceded by *gore*.

### Negative

The imperfect subjunctive mood is negated by *ga se*, which appears at the beginning of the sentence as illustrated below:

- (122) a. *Ga se a mmoše gore a felê a ba hlola.*  
(He didn't tell them to keep on visiting him.)
- b. *Ga se a mo rage gore a felê a kitima.*  
(He did not kick him so that he keep on running.)

### Future tense

#### Positive

In this instance future tense is expressed by means of *tlo* or *tle*, which follows the subject concord as exemplified in the following:

- (123) a. *O bolela gore re tlo fela re mo theetša.*  
(He talks so that we can keep on listening to him.)
- b. *O dira lešata gore re tle re fele re mo theetša.*  
(He is making noise so that we always listen to him.)

## Negative

The negative morpheme is *se* and it occurs between *tla* or *tlo* and the verb stem that is suffixed with *-ê*, for example:

- (124) a. *Ba tla se sepediše gore re felê pelo.*  
(They will not hurry so that we become impatient.)
- b. *Ba tlo se bolelê gore re se felê re ba theetša.*  
(They will not talk so that we don't always listen to them.)

In example (124a), *se* precedes the verb *sepediše* (to hurry) and in (124b) *se* precedes the verb *bolelê* (talk).

## h. Habitual mood

### Imperfect tense

#### Positive

In the habitual imperfect form, the habitual marker *ke* or *tle* precedes the subject concord, which is followed by *fela* with *-ê* as the ending, for example:

- (125) a. *E tle e felê e lla.*  
(It usually rings.)
- b. *E ke e felê e hlatswa.*  
(It usually washes.)

## Negative

The negative morpheme is *go* and is followed by the subject concord and the ending of *fela* is *-ê*, as illustrated below:

- (126) a. *Dikgomo ga di felê di robala.*  
(The cattle do not always sleep.)
- b. *Batho ga ba felê ba di rwala.*  
(People do not always carry them.)

## Perfect tense

*Fela* cannot occur in the perfect habitual mood. Its occurrence creates sentences that are not semantically and syntactically well formed. The following serve to prove this point of view:

- (127) a. *\*Dikgomo di tle di felê di ralokile.*  
(Usually the cattle have played.)
- b. *\*O tlile a fele a bolela.*  
(He was usually talks.)
- c. *\*O ke a fele a rutile.*  
(He usually taught.)
- d. *\*O kile a fele a bolela.*  
(He was usually talk.)

Example (127) above illustrates perfect sentences as indicated by the perfect tense extension *-ile*, which occurs in the verb *ralokile* (played) as in (127a), in *tlile*

(usually) as in (127b), in *rutile* (taught) as in (127c) and finally, in *kile* (usually) as in (127d).

## Future tense

### Positive

In the future tense, *tla* or *tlo* appears between the subject concord and *fela* with *-a* as the ending, for example:

- (128) a.     *O tla ya sekolong ka mehla a fela a ngwala.*  
              (He attends regularly so that he keeps on writing.)
- b.     *O tlo sepela ka mehla a fele a mmone.*  
              (He will go in a regular basis so that he keeps on visiting him.)

In example (128a) the morpheme *tla* has been employed and in (128b) the morpheme *tlo* has been used.

### Negative

In the habitual mood, the negative morpheme is *ga* and occurs at the beginning of the sentence as illustrated below:

- (129) a.     *Ga a tlo ya sekolong ka mehla o fela a šalela.*  
              (He will not attend regularly he will be left behind.)
- b.     *Ga a tlo ya gae ka mehla a fela a ba bona.)*  
              (He will not go home regularly and keep on paying them a visit.)

## 2.5 THE ASPECT MORPHEME *NO*

### 2.5.1 Structure

*No* is a monosyllabic word. It constitutes a complete word since it cannot split into smaller parts.

### 2.5.2 Distribution

*No*  
Sa occurs in the following moods:

#### (a) Indicative mood

##### Imperfect tense

##### Positive

In the indicative imperfect tense, *no* occurs after the subject concord that agrees with the class prefix of the subject noun, for example:

- (130) a. *Monna o no bolela.*  
(The man is aimlessly talking)
- b. *Ntlo e no swa.*  
(The house is just burning.)

In (130) *no* is preceded by the subject concord *o*, which agrees with the subject *monna* (man) of Class 1 as in (130a) and in (130b) *no* is preceded by the subject concord *e*, which has an agreement with the subject *ntlo* (house) of Class 9.



## Negative

Negation is expressed when *ga* is followed by the subject concord, for example:

- (131) a. *Monna ga a no bolela.*  
(The man is not aimlessly talking.)
- b. *Batho ga ba no etela.*  
(People don't just visit with no reasons.)

In example (131a), *ga* is followed by a concordial morpheme *a* of Class 1 and in (131b) *ga* is followed by the concordial morpheme *ba* of Class 2.

## Perfect tense

### Positive

- (132) a. *\*Mosadi o no boletše.*  
(The woman talked aimlessly.)
- b. *\*Mokgekolo o no apeile.*  
(The old lady cooked aimlessly.)

Example (132) above is in the perfect tense as indicated by the perfect verb *boletše* (talked) in (132a) and *apeile* (cooked) in (132b). The inclusion of *no* in the sentences led to the ungrammaticality. It is, therefore, concluded that *no* cannot occur in the perfect indicative mood.

## Future tense

### Positive

In the future indicative mood, *no* occurs when the future tense morpheme *tlo* or *tla* precedes it, as exemplified below:

- (133) a. *Dikgomo di tla no fula.*  
(The cattle will aimlessly graze.)
- b. *Bašemane ba tlo no diša.*  
(The boys will aimlessly herd.)

### Negative

In the future indicative mood, negation is expressed when *se* appears between *no* and the verb stem, which has *-ê* as the ending, for example:

- (134) a. *Bana ba tla no se rekê.*  
(Children will not aimlessly buy.)
- b. *Mmutla o tla no se tšhabe.*  
(The hare will not aimlessly run.)

### (b) Infinitive mood

## Imperfect tense

### Positive

The occurrence of *no* in the imperfect infinitive mood is constructed when the infinitive prefix *go-* precedes *no*, for example:

- (135) a. **Go** *no bolela*.  
(To speak aimlessly.)
- b. **Go** *no raloka*.  
(To play aimlessly.)

### Negative

Negation is expressed by the negative morpheme *se*. It is positioned between *no* and the verb stem, for example:

- (136) a. *Go no se bolele*.  
(Not just to speak.)
- b. *Go no se raloke*.  
(Not just to play.)

### Perfect tense

- (137) a. \**Go no badile*.  
(To read aimlessly.)
- b. \**Go no ngwadile*.  
(To wrote aimlessly.)

Grammatically, example (137) above is not well formulated. The implication is that *no* cannot occur in the infinitive mood in both positive and negative forms.

## Future tense

### Positive

In the infinitive future tense, the future tense morpheme *tlo* occurs between the infinitive prefix and the aspect morpheme, for example:

- (138) a. *Go tlo no dula.*  
(Literally: to will aimlessly sit.)
- b. *Go tlo no bolela.*  
(Literally: to will aimlessly speak.)

### Negative

In the future tense infinitive mood, negation is expressed when *se* precedes the verb stem, which has *-ê* as the suffixal vowel, for example:

- (139) a. *Go tlo no se opelê.*  
(To will not aimlessly sing.)
- b. *Go tlo no se fiše.*  
(To will not aimlessly be hot.)

### (c) Imperative mood

## Imperfect tense

### Positive

In the imperfect imperative mood, the prefix *e-* is affixed before *no* as exemplified in the following examples:

(140) a. *Eno sepela!*  
(Just go.)

b. *Eno dula!*  
(Just stay.)

### **Negative**

Negation in the imperfect imperative is expressed when *se* appears between *no* and the verb that has *-ê* as the ending, for example:

(141) a. *Eno se sepele!*  
(Don't just go.)

b. *Eno se bale!*  
(Don't just read.)

### **Perfect tense**

*No* cannot occur in the perfect infinitive mood. Its inclusion in these structure results in ungrammaticality and meaning distortion. The following examples illustrate this viewpoint aptly:

(142) a. *\*No ralokile!*  
(Played aimlessly.)

b. *\*No bofile!*  
(Tied aimlessly.)

## Future tense

*No* cannot occur in the future tense imperative mood. It creates an irregular word order that is against the structural rules of Northern Sotho, for example:

- (143) a.     \**No tlo bofa!*  
              (Aimlessly will tie.)
- b.     \**No tlo bala!*  
              (Aimlessly will read.)

## (d) Relative mood

### Imperfect tense

#### Positive

*No* can occur in the imperfect relative mood without affecting the structure and the meaning negatively. In this instance, *no* is followed by the verb stem with relative suffix *-go* or *-ng*, for example:

- (144) a.     *Kgoši ye e no bušago.*  
              (The king that just reigns.)
- b.     *Selepe seo se no remago.*  
              (The axe that just chops.)

#### Negative

Negation, in this case, is expressed when the negative morpheme *sa* precedes *no*, which is followed by the verb that has the relative suffix *-go* as the ending, for example:

- (145) a. *Monna yo a sa no sepelago.*  
(The man who is not walking.)
- b. *Tau ye e sa no lomago.*  
(The lion that is not biting.)

### **Perfect tense**

The occurrence of *no* in the perfect tense of the relative mood is not possible. It results in ungrammaticality and ill-formed sentences, as indicated in the following examples:

- (146) a. *\*Mpša ye e no gobilego.*  
(The dog that barked aimlessly.)
- b. *\*Kgoši ye e sa no hlokofetšego.*  
(The Chief that died aimlessly.)

### **Future tense**

#### **Positive**

The occurrence of *no* in the future tense relative mood is possible. The following validate this statement:

- (147) a. *Muši wo o tla no tupago.*  
(The smoke that will just rise.)
- b. *Phefo ye e tlo no fokago.*  
(The wind that will aimlessly blow.)

Future tense relative mood can be expressed when the future tense morpheme *tlo* or *tla* is followed by *no*, which in turn is followed by the verb that has the relative suffix *-go* as illustrated in example (147).

### Negative

- (148) a. *Bašemane ba ba ka se tlo no bolelago.*  
(The boys who will not aimlessly speak.)
- b. *Sekolo seo se ka se tlo no tšwago.*  
(The school that will not aimlessly come out.)

The occurrence of *no* in the negative form of the future tense relative mood is possible. It occurs when the negative morpheme *ka se* is followed by *tlo* and the ending of the verb stem is *-go* as in (148a). It also occurs when the negative morpheme *ka se* follows *tlo* and the verb is suffixed with *-ng* as the relative suffix as indicated in (148b).

### (e) Situative mood

### Imperfect tense

### Positive

- (149) a. *Koko o sepela a no opela.*  
(Grandmother walks and sings aimlessly.)
- b. *Bana ba no robala ba tsoga.*  
(The children just sleep and wake up aimlessly.)



Example (149) above proves that *no* can be part of the imperfect situative mood without affecting the structure. In (149a), it occurs in the subordinate clause, *a opela* (and sings) and in (149) it occurs in the main clause *bana ba robala* (children sleep).

### Negative

Negation in the imperfect situative mood is expressed when the negative morpheme *ga* precedes the subject concord, for example:

- (150) a. *Bana ga ba dule ba no opela.*  
(The children do not keep on singing aimlessly.)
- b. *Nku ga e je e no hwa.*  
(The sheep does not eat instead it drinks.)

In example (150a), *ga* precedes *ba* as the subject concord and in (150b) *ga* precedes the subject concord *e*.

### Perfect tense

*No* cannot occur in the perfect situative mood. Its affixation creates the structure that violates grammatical rules of Northern Sotho. The following prove this point of view:

- (151) a. *\*Bana ba no tšhabile ba e ja.*  
(The children aimlessly ran away and eat.)
- b. *\*Selepe se no remile se eme.*  
(The axe chopped aimlessly and stopped.)

## Future tense

### Positive

- (152) a. *Bana ba tlo no tšhaba ba e ja.*  
(The children will aimlessly ran while they are eating.)
- b. *Selepe se tla no rema se ema.*  
(The axe will aimlessly chop and stop.)

*No* can occur in the future tense situative mood. It is expressed when *tla* or *tlo* occurs between the subject concord and *no*. For example, in (152a) *tlo* occurs between the subject concord *ba* and *no* and in (152b) *tla* occurs between the subject concord *se* and *no*.

### Negative

The negative morpheme in the negative pattern of future situative mood is *ka se*, which precedes *tlo* followed by *no*, for example:

- (153) a. *Bana ba ka se tlo no tšhaba ba eja.*  
(The children will not run and eat without any purpose.)
- b. *Selepe se ka se tlo no rema se ema.*  
(The axe will not chop and stop without any reason.)

(f) **Consecutive mood**

**Imperfect tense**

**Positive**

In the imperfect tense of the consecutive mood, *no* appears between the consecutive concord and the first verb in the consecutive processes, for example:

(154) a. *Banna ba no emelela ba sepela.*  
(Men stood up and went away.)

b. *Basadi ba no emelela ba bolela.*  
(Women stood up and talk.)

**Negative**

Negation in the imperfect consecutive mood can be expressed when:

(a) the negative morpheme *se* precedes the verb of the consecutive activity that has *-ê* as the ending, as illustrated below:

(155) a. *Banna ba no se emelelê ba sepela.*  
(Men did not stood up and went away.)

b. *Basadi ba no se bolelê ba tšhaba.*  
(Women did not talk and ran away.)

(b) the negative morpheme *ga se* precedes the first subject concord and the ending of the verb is *-a*, for example:

- (156) a. *Lebone ga se la no tuka la tima.*  
(The light was not on and off with no specific reason.)
- b. *Mpša ga se ya no goba ya homola.*  
(The dog did not just bark and keep quiet.)

### Perfect tense

#### Positive

- (157) a. *Ba tsene ba no mmetha ba mo roba leoto.*  
(They entered aimlessly, beat him and broke his leg.)
- b. *E jele ya no tsena ka kgoro ya raga ngwana.*  
(It ate aimlessly, entered through the gate and kicked the child.)

Due to the occurrence of perfect tense verb, *tsene* (entered) and the consecutive concord *ba* in (157a) and the perfect verb *jele* (ate) and the consecutive concord *ya* in (157b) proves that the sentences are in perfect consecutive mood. Since the inclusion of *no* has not created ungrammaticality, it is, therefore, concluded that *no* can occur in the perfect positive consecutive mood.

#### Negative

Negation is expressed when the negative morpheme *se* follows *no* and in turn is followed by the verb stem with *-e* as the ending, for example:

- (158) a. *Ba no se mmetha ba mo roba leoto.*  
(They did not aimlessly beat her up and broke his leg.)
- b. *Tša no se fule tša sepela.*  
(They did not aimlessly graze and went away.)

Negation may also be expressed when the negative morpheme *ga se* precedes the consecutive concord, which in turn is followed by *no*, for example:

- (159) a. *Ga se tša no fula tša sepela.*  
(They did not graze and went away.)
- b. *Ga se ya no na ya senya.*  
(It did not rain aimlessly and caused damage.)

### Future tense

#### Positive

- (160) a. *Ba tla no ja ba nwa ba opela.*  
(They will eat aimlessly, drink and sing.)
- b. *Di tlo no ja tša lema tša fula tša sepela.*  
(They will plough, graze and went away.)

Example (160) above proves that either *tlo* or *tla* can be used to express future tense in the positive consecutive mood. In all sentences, *tlo* or *tla* precedes *no*.

#### Negative

In the negative form of the future tense consecutive mood, *no* precedes *se*, which is followed by the verb stem with *-ê* as the ending, for example:

- (161) a. *Ba tlo no se je, ba opela ba nwa.*  
(They will not eat for no apparent reason, sing and drink.)

- b. *Di tla no se fulê tša robala tša tsoga.*  
(They will not graze, sleep and wake up for no purpose.)

(g) **Subjunctive mood**

**Imperfect tense**

**Positive**

- (162) a. *Bašemane ba no tšwa gore ba ngwale.*  
(The boys are just going out for writing.)
- b. *Ngwana o no lla gore a tšwe.*  
(The child just cry for going out.)

*No* can occur in the imperfect tense of the subjunctive mood. *No* is affixed before the subject concord of the main clause, for example in (162a), the main clause is *bašemane ba no tšwa* (the boys are just going out) and in (162b) the main clause is *ngwana o no lla* (the child is just crying.)

**Negative**

Negation is expressed by the negative morpheme *ga* that precedes the subject concord as illustrated below:

- (163) a. *Bana ga ba no ja gore ba kgorê.*  
(The children are not eating for satisfaction.)
- b. *Tate ga a no lema a bune.*  
(Father is not ploughing to reap.)

In example (163a) above, *ga* occurs between the subject concord *ba* and in (163b) *ga* precedes the subject concord *a*.

### Perfect tense

#### Positive

- (164) a.     \**Tate o no fihlile gore a lemê.*  
              (Father just arrived to plough.)
- b.     *Lekgarebe le tšweletše gatee gore le no bolela.*  
              (The young girl appeared just to say something.)

In the perfect subjunctive mood, the occurrence of *no* is restricted to the subordinate clause as illustrated in *le no bolela* (just to say something), in (164b). The occurrence in the main clause creates ungrammaticality as indicated in \**Tate o no fihlile* (father has just arrived).

#### Negative

Negation can be expressed by the negative morpheme *ga se*, which precedes the subject concord in the main clause and *se* which precedes *no* in the subordinate clause, as exemplified below:

- (165) a.     *Lekgarebe ga se le tšwelele gore le no bolela.*  
              (The young girl has not appeared just to say something.)
- b.     *Lekgarebe le tšweletše gore le se no bolela.*  
              (The young girl appeared just not to say something.)

## Future tense

### Positive

- (166) a. *Tate o tlo no tla gore a le lokolle.*  
(Father will just come to release you.)
- b. *Banna **ba tla** no ya gore le šale.*  
(Men will just go so that you remain behind.)

The future tense of the subjunctive mood is expressed by either *tlo* or *tla* that precedes *no* in the main clause. The verb stems in the subordinate clauses has *-ê* as the ending, for example, *lokollê* (release) in (166a) and *šale* (remain behind) in (166b).

### Negative

- (167) a. *Morutiši o **tlo no** se tlê gore le se ngwalê.*  
(The teacher will not just come so that you don't write.)
- b. *Mokgadi o **tlo no** se apeye gore le se jê.*  
(Mokgadi will not just cook so that you don't eat.)

Negation in the future tense of the subjunctive mood is expressed by means of *se* that occurs before the verb in each clause. The ending of all the verbs is *-ê*, as illustrated in (167) above.



(h) **Habitual mood**

**Imperfect tense**

**Positive**

In the imperfect tense habitual construction, the habitual marker *tle* or *ke* follows the subject concord, for example:

- (168) a. *Monna o tle a no bolela.*  
(The man usually speaks.)
- b. *Monna o ke a no bolela.*  
(The man usually speaks.)

**Negative**

Negation can be expressed by *se*, which precedes *no*, as illustrated in the following sentences:

- (169) a. *Bašemane ba tle ba se no diša.*  
(The boys usually don't herd animals.)
- b. *Banenyana ba ke ba se no apea.*  
(The girls usually don't cook.)

**Perfect tense**

*No* cannot occur in the perfect tense of habitual mood. It creates an irregular structure, as illustrated in the following:

- (170) a.     \**Bašemane ba tle ba no ralokile.*  
               (The boys usually played.)
- b.     \**Legapu le ke le no bodile.*  
               (The watermelon is usually rotten.)

## **Future tense**

### **Positive**

- (171) a.     ***Ka mehla** hlogo ya sekolo e **tlo** no bolela.*  
               (The principal will always just speak.)
- b.     *Hlogo ya sekolo e tla no **ke** e bolele.*  
               (The principal usually will just speak.)

Example (171) above shows that *no* can occur in the future tense positive form of the habitual mood. In this instance, *ka mehla* (always) as in (171a) and *ke* as in (171b) have been employed. The future tense morpheme can be either *tlo* as in (171a) or *tla* as in (171b). The occurrence of *tle* as the habitual marker creates some irregularities as exemplified below:

- (172) a.     \**Hlogo ya sekolo e tlo no tle e bolele.*  
               (The head of the school will just usually speak.)
- b.     \**Barutiši ba tla no tle ba rute.*  
               (The teachers will just usually teach.)

## Negative

The following examples prove that *no* can occur in the negative form of the future tense habitual mood:

- (173) a. *Ngwana o ke a tlo no se raloke.*  
(The child will usually just don't play.)
- b. *Banna ba tle ba tlo no se raloke.*  
(The men will usually just don't play.)

In (173) above, the negative morpheme is *se* and it precedes the verb stem. Although the meaning in this case might be distorted, the fact is, the sentences are grammatically correct. Fromkin and Rodman (1993:75) say that grammaticality judgements do not depend on whether the sentence is meaningful or not.

## 2.6 CONCLUSION

It is worth noting that aspect morphemes as inflectional morphemes can be analysed morphologically. In this chapter, the structure of *dula*, *sa*, *fela* and *no* is looked into, with special reference to moods, actuality and tense, and it is summarized as follows:

The occurrence of *dula* in the indicative, relative, situative and subjunctive moods is complete meaning, it can occur in both positive and negative form and in the three basic tenses. In the infinitive mood, it cannot occur in the perfect and imperfect tenses. In the imperative mood, it occurs only in the future tense. It is non-occurrence in the consecutive and habitual moods.

*Fela* has a complete occurrence in the indicative, infinitive, imperative, relative, situative and subjunctive moods. It is non-occurrence in the perfect tense of the consecutive and habitual mood.

The occurrence of *no* in the consecutive mood is complete. It cannot occur in the imperfect tense of the indicative, infinitive, imperative, relative, situative, subjunctive and habitual moods as well as the future tense of the infinitive mood.

**TABLE 2.6.1**

Aspect Morpheme	Moods	Actuality		Tense		
		Positive	Negative	Imperfect	Perfect	Future
<i>Dula</i>						
	Indicative	+	+	+	+	+
	Infinitive	+	+	-	-	+
	Imperative	-	-	-	-	+
	Relative	+	+	+	+	+
	Situative	+	+	+	+	+
	Consecutive	-	-	-	-	-
	Subjunctive	+	+	+	+	+
	Habitual	-	-	-	-	-

Aspect Morpheme	Moods	Actuality		Tense		
		Positive	Negative	Imperfect	Perfect	Future
<i>Sa</i>						
	Indicative	+	+	+	+	+
	Infinitive	+	+	+	+	+
	Imperative	+	+	+	-	-
	Relative	+	+	+	+	+
	Situative	+	+	+	+	+
	Consecutive	+	+	+	+	+
	Subjunctive	+	+	+	+	+
	Habitual	+	+	+	+	+

Aspect Morpheme	Moods	Actuality		Tense		
		Positive	Negative	Imperfect	Perfect	Future
<i>Fela</i>						
	Indicative	+	+	+	+	+
	Infinitive	+	+	+	+	+
	Imperative	+	+	+	+	+
	Relative	+	+	+	+	+
	Situative	+	+	+	+	+
	Consecutive	+	+	+	-	+
	Subjunctive	+	+	+	+	+
	Habitual	+	+	+	-	+

Aspect Morpheme	Moods	Actuality		Tense		
		Positive	Negative	Imperfect	Perfect	Future
<i>No</i>						
	Indicative	+	+	+	-	+
	Infinitive	+	+	+	-	+
	Imperative	+	+	+	-	-
	Relative	+	+	+	-	+
	Situative	+	+	+	-	+
	Consecutive	+	+	+	+	+
	Subjunctive	+	+	+	-	+
	Habitual	+	+	+	-	+

+ = Occurrence

- = Non-occurrence.

## CHAPTER THREE

### THE SYNTACTIC SIGNIFICANCE OF ASPECT MORPHEMES

#### 3.1 INTRODUCTION

The objective of this chapter is to analyse the Northern Sotho aspect morphemes from a syntactic perspective. The position or the arrangement of words in a sentence plays a vital role as regards the meaning, since words are not arranged arbitrarily. A speaker's knowledge of putting words together to form sentences or phrases is therefore essential. According to Fromkin and Rodman (1993:73), the part of grammar that represents the speaker's knowledge of the structure of sentence is called syntax. In this chapter, the occurrence of aspect morphemes *sa*, *setše*, *hlwa*, and *fo* in conjunction with other words is looked into. Attention is given to the occurrence of the above-mentioned morphemes in simple and complex sentences. Tree diagrams will be provided where necessary.

#### 3.2 THE ASPECT MORPHEME *SA*

##### 3.2.1 The occurrence of *sa* in simple sentences

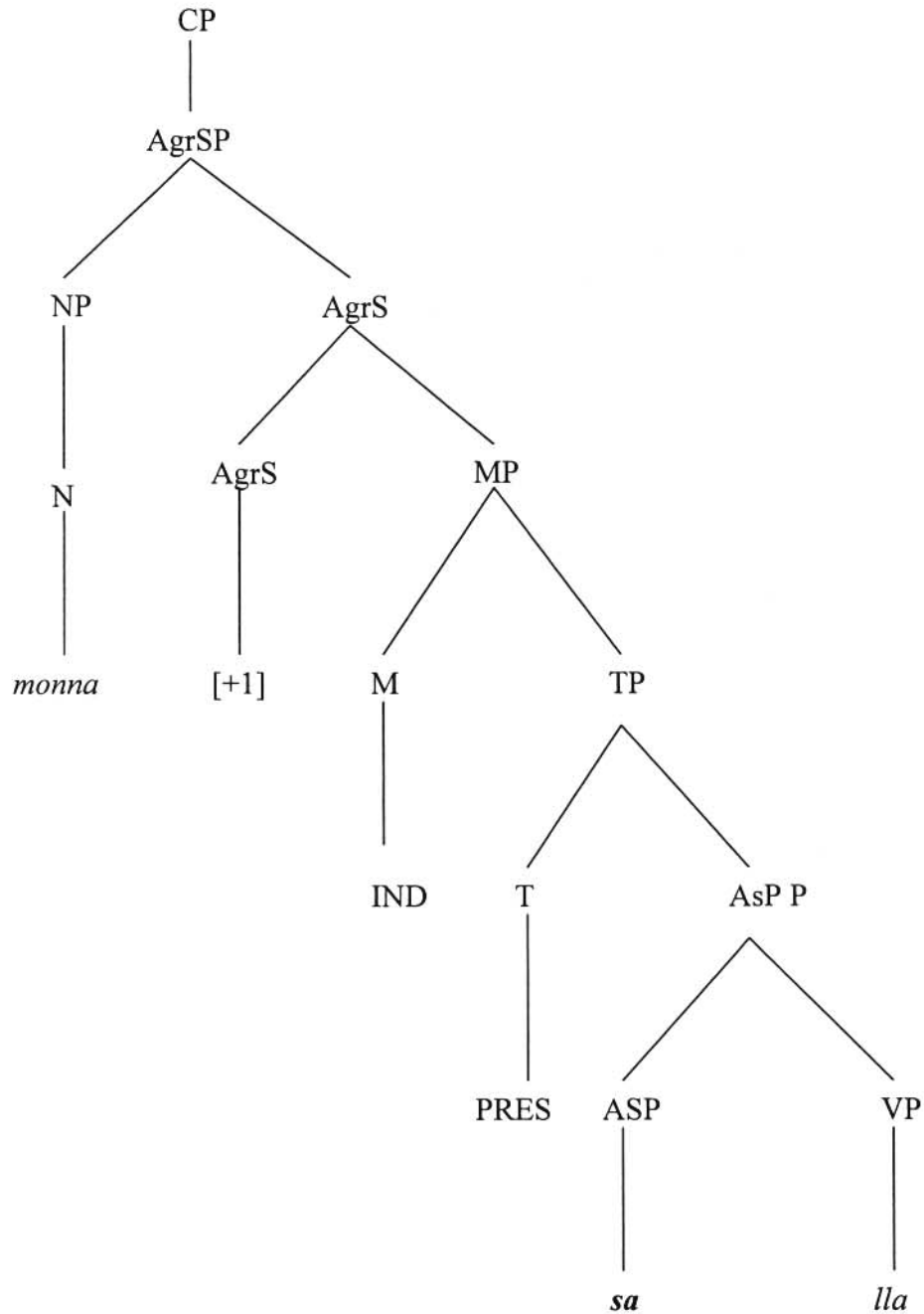
Taylor (1990:92) defines a simple sentence as "a sentence consisting of a single clause". Louwrens (1991:13) refers to a simple sentence as a basic sentence. He concurs with Taylor (1990:02) when he defines a simple sentence as a basic sentence that consists of a single verbal element, which may include either a subject or a subject, as well as some adjuncts. In addition, Francis (1965:61) says "no matter how long it may be, a sentence containing only one predication is still considered a simple sentence".

*Sa* occurs in the following instances: The occurrence with **intransitive verbs**.

Swam (1991:xx) regards intransitive verbs as verbs that cannot have an object or be used in a passive form. According to Louwrens (1994:202), intransitive verbs are verbs that denote processes or actions that cannot affect objects. Hurford (1994:116), on the other hand, describes them as verbs that takes only a subject and no direct or indirect object. The following sentences contain intransitive verbs:

- (1) a. *Monna o sa lla.*  
(The man is still crying.)
- b. *Basadi ba sa apea.*  
(Women are still cooking.)

*Sa*, in example (1a) above precedes the intransitive verb *lla* (cry) and in example (1b) it precedes the intransitive verb *apea* (cook). The incorporation of *sa* in example (1) does not affect the sentence semantically or grammatically. It constitutes what Burton (1996:132) refers to as a complete sentence, since according to him, a complete sentence is formed by a group of words that makes a complete sense. According to Hendrikse, Hubbard, Barnes, Pretorius, Zawada, Bouwer, Janeke, Cluver, Kruger and Wallmach (1996:138), all human languages can be represented in the form of constituent structure trees. The following is the tree structure for *Monna o sa lla* (The man is still crying):



CP stands for complementizer phrase, AgrSP = Subjectival Agreement Phrase, NP = Noun Phrase, N = Noun, AgrS = Subjectival Agreement, MP = Mood Phrase, M = Mood, IND – Indicative, TP = Tense Phrase, T = Tense, PRES = Presnt, Asp P = Aspectual Phrase, VP = Verb Phrase, V = Verb, ADVP = Adverbial Phrase, ADV = Adverb, Agr OP = Object Agreement Phrase, and AgrO = Objectival Agreement.



## The occurrence of *sa* with **monotransitive verbs**

Roberts (1997:82) defines a monotransitive verb as a verb that requires a single noun phrase to complete it. Louwrens (1994:202) refers to monotransitives as a single transitive root that takes only one object. The noun phrase that complements a transitive verb is said to function as its direct object, as exemplified below:

- (2) a. *Katse e sa ja dijo.*  
(The cat is still eating.)
- b. *Malome o sa bala puku.*  
(My uncle is still reading a book.)

Example (2) above proves that *sa* can occur in simple constructions that consists of monotransitive verbs, for example, *ja* (eat) in (2a) and *bala* (read) in (2b). These verbs are transitives since they must be followed by an object noun. In (2a) above, the object noun is *dijo* (food) and in (2b) the object noun is *puku* (book). The sentences conform to the principles that account for grammaticality or well-formed sentences.

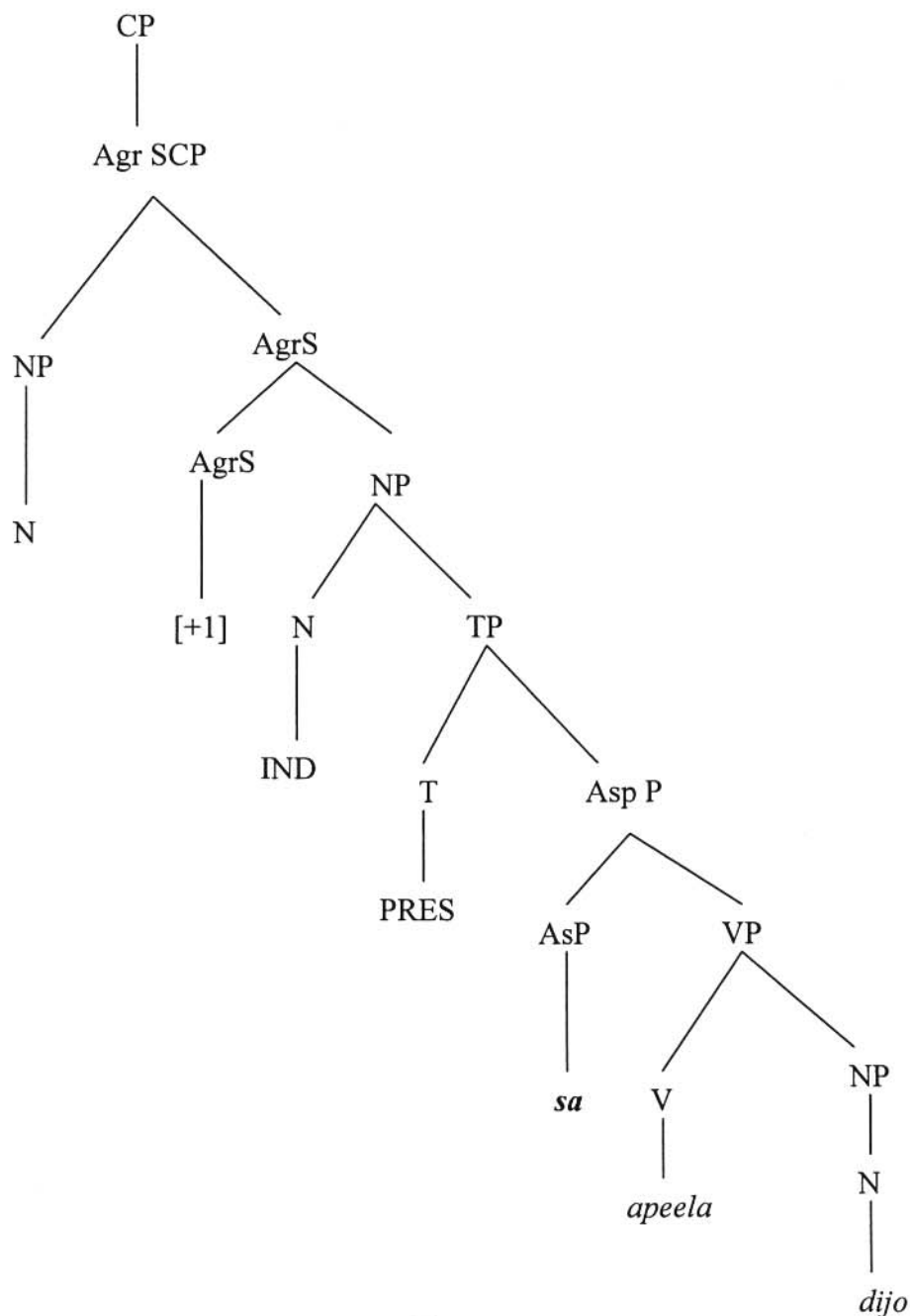
*Sa* can occur in simple sentences with **ditransitive verbs**.

Roberts (1997:83) defines ditransitive verb group as a verb group that requires two noun phrases as its complementation. Furthermore, Roberts indicates that the first complementary noun phrase functions as the indirect object of the ditransitive verb and the second complementary noun phrase functions as the direct object, as exemplified below:

- (3) *Mosadi o sa apeela bana dijo.*  
(The woman is still cooking food for children.)

Example (3) above shows that *sa* can occur with ditransitive verbs. In the given example, *apeela* (cooking for) is a ditransitive verb since it is followed by two object nouns, *bana* (children) and *dijo* (food). As indicated earlier, *bana* (children) is the indirect object and *dijo* (food) the direct object. This viewpoint is also supported by Louwrens (1994:55) when he states that the indirect object always precedes the direct object. The physical representation of *mosadi o sa apeela bana dijo* (the woman is still cooking food for the children) is as follows:

(*Mosadi o sa apeela bana dijo*)



## The occurrence of *sa* with **adverbial constructions**

According to Taylor (1990:88), adverbs describe manner, time, or place of an action. He further indicates that adverbs modify other parts of a sentence or a sentence as a whole processes or action with references to various characteristics. In other words, they describe the nature of the action expressed by the verb in terms of time, place and manner. Finch (2000:84) agrees with Taylor (1990:88) when he describes an adverb as a word that modifies a verb by giving circumstantial information about time, place or manner in which an action/event or process took place.

The occurrence will be discussed in the context of the following adverbs:

### a. **Instrumental Adverbs**

According to Poulos and Louwrens (1994:328), instrumental adverbs are adverbs formed by the prefix *ka-*, which conveys the meaning by means. Louwrens (1994:87) defines adverbs as linguistic units that consist of what is called the instrumental practice *ka-* which is followed by a base, as illustrated below:

- (4) a. *Ba sa bolela ka molomo.*  
(They are still talking with their mouth.)
- b. *Banna ba sa rema ka selepe.*  
(The men are still chopping with an axe.)

Illustrations in example (4) above show that the occurrence of *sa* in the instrumental particle group cannot affect grammaticality. Syntactically, in any sentence that consists of locative adverbial group, *sa* is positioned between the subject or the subject concord and the verb that precedes the instrumental particle group. For example, in (4a) *sa* is positioned between the subject concord *ba* and the verb *bolela* (talk), which is followed by the instrumental particle group *ka molomo* (with a

mouth). In (4b), *sa* occurs between the subject *banna* (men) and the verb *rema* (chop), which in turn is followed by the instrumental particle group *ka selepe* (with an axe).

b. **Locative Adverbs**

According to Cole (1992:340), locative adverbs refer primarily to place. Ziervogel (1988:26) agrees with Cole when he describes them as adverbs expressing place or locality. In Northern Sotho, locative adverbs can be formed in the following ways:

- By using the prefix *go-*

The prefix *go-* indicates that the action is carried out towards some specific individual or individuals, for example:

- (5) *Basadi ba sa ya go morutiši.*  
(The women are still going to the teacher.)

- By using the prefix *ga-*

The prefix *ga-* is used to indicate that the action that is expressed by the verb is directed to a place that is associated with some person or the persons.

For example:

- (6) a. *Ba sa ya gaSekhukhune.*  
(They are still going to Sekhukhuneland.)
- b. *Ba sa ya gaMalome.*  
(They are still going to my uncle's place.)

- By using the prefix *mo-*

According to Poulos and Louwrens (1994:336), *mo-* indicates that the action that is expressed by the verb is carried out on a specific surface, as exemplified below:

- (7) a. *O sa robegile mo leotong.*  
(He has still broken his leg.)
- b. *Mosadi o sa dutše mo legogwaneng.*  
(The woman is still sitting on the mat.)

- By using the prefix *kua-*

- (8) a. *Ke sa robala kua godimo.*  
(I still sleep up there.)

- By suffixing *-ng*

According to Poulos and Louwrens (1994:337), the suffix *-ng* is added to a noun to express the idea of to, at, from, in, or on; for example:

- (9) *Ba sa ya ntlong.*

Examples (5-9) above signify the possibility of the occurrence of *sa* with the locative particle group without disturbing the grammatical form and the intended meaning. Syntactically, *sa* in these constructions precedes the qualified verb, which in turn is followed by the locative adverbial structure, as exemplified in (5) wherein the qualified verb *ya* (going) is followed by the adverbial particle group *go morutiši* (to the teacher); in (6) the qualified verb *ya* (going) is followed by *gaSekhukhune* (at Sekhukhuneland); in (7) *robegile* (broken) is followed by *mo leotong* (on the feet); and in (8) *robala* (sleep) is followed by *ntlontong* (into the house). These grammatical

patterns agree with Onion's (1989:144) viewpoint when he states that adverbs should come immediately after the words they qualify.

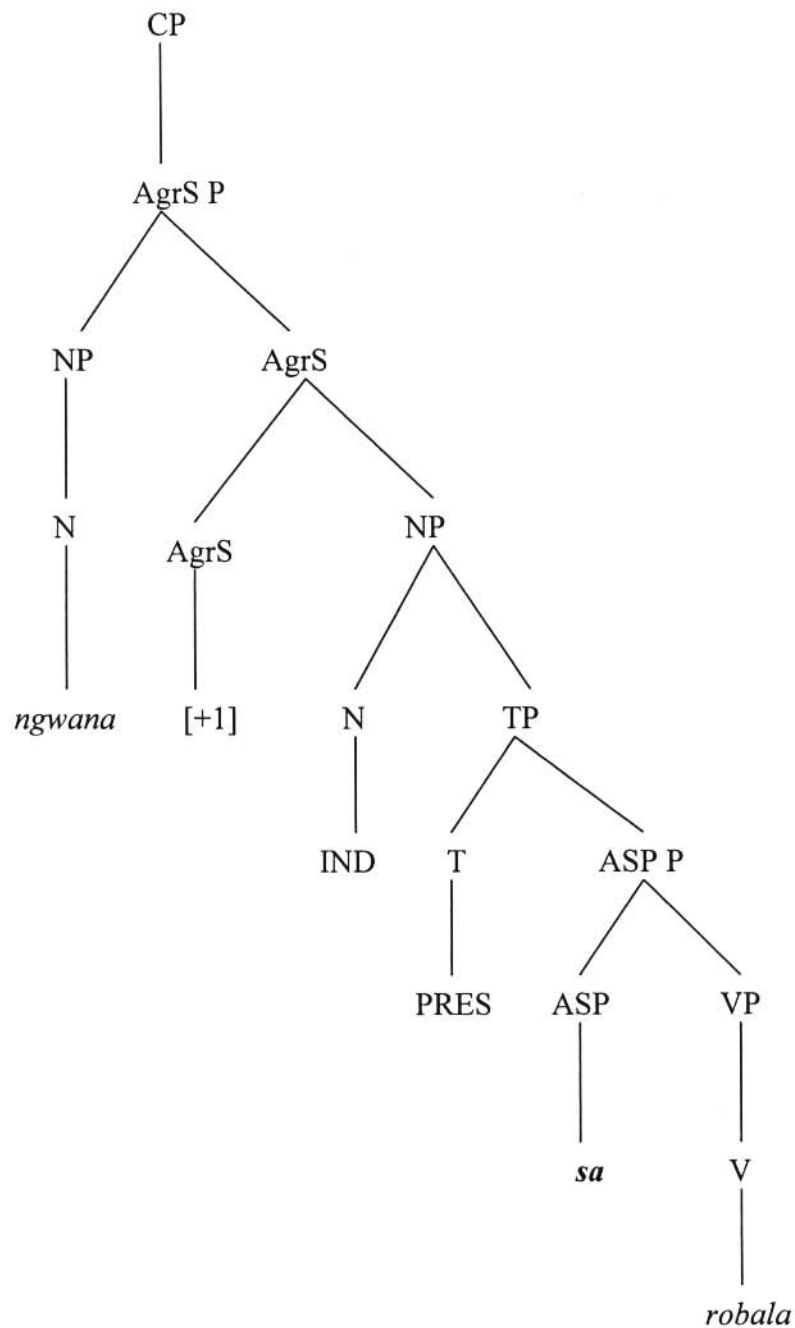
c. **Adverbs expressing manner**

Lombard *et al.*, (1993:168) state that these adverbs answers the question 'how'. According to Barry and Scholten (1995:287), adverbs of manner tell us how the action occurred. They also indicate that adverbs usually modify verbs or adjective and rarely adverbs. The following serves to enquire into the occurrence of *sa* with the adverbs of manner and also tests as to whether or not the occurrence is in line with what the previously mentioned authors said:

- (10) a. *O sa bolela kudu.*  
(He still talks too much.)
- b. *Ke sa dutše gabedi.*  
(I sat twice.)

Looking at example (10a-b) above, *sa* occurs with locative adverbs *kudu* (too much) as in (10a) and *gabedi* (twice) as in (10b). The sentences conform to the rules that accounts for grammaticality. Furthermore, it agrees with Lombard et al., (1993:168), and Barry and Scholten's (1995:287) point of view because the adverb *kudu* in (10a) and *gabedi* (twice) in (10b) modify or describe how the verbs *bolela* (talk) in (10a) and *dutše* (sat) in (10b) took place. The sentence *ngwana o sa robala ga nnyane* (the child is still having less sleep), can be represented on a tree diagram as follows:

*Ngwana o sa robala gannyane.*



d. **Temporal Adverbs**

Lombard *et al.*, (1993:168) are of the opinion that temporal adverbs give an answer to the question of when did an action take place. Louwrens (1994:195) agrees by saying that temporal adverbs describe time at which the action or the process that is expressed by the verb is carried out.

The following temporal adverbs will be discussed:

Adverbs that uses the prefix *ka-*

- (11) a. *O sa tla ka nako.*  
(He still comes in time.)
- b. *O sa robetše ka pela.*  
(He still slept early.)

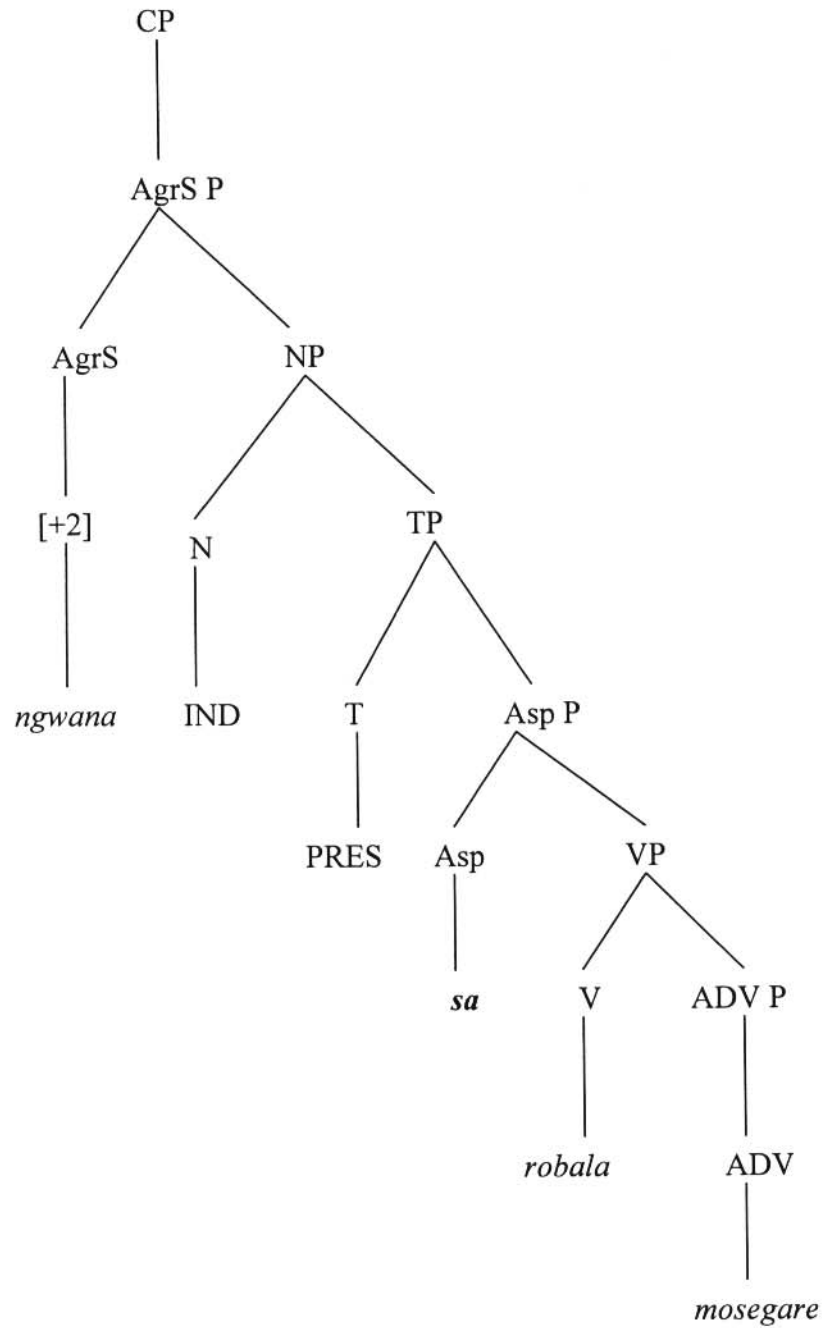
Nouns functioning as adverbs of time.

- (12) a. *O sa hlapa mesong.*  
(He still washes in the morning.)
- b. *O sa robala mosegare.*  
(He still sleeps during the day.)

*Mesong* and *mosegare* in (11-12) above are adverbs indicating time, and this proves that they can occur with *sa* and with *no* negative effect on the sentence. *Sa* in the locative particle precedes the qualified verb, which in turn is followed by the qualifying adverb, as an example in (11a) above, the verb *tla* (come) is followed by *ka nako* (in time); in (11b) the verb *robetše* (slept) is followed by *ka pela* (at early hours); in (12a) the verb *hlapa* (to wash) is followed by the temporal noun, *mesong* (in the morning) in (12b) the verb *robala* (sleep) is followed by the adverb *mosegare* (during the day). This structure is supported by Swanson (1992:2) when he says that adverbs are usually placed just before or after the words they qualify. The following is the tree structure of *ba sa robala mosegare* (they still sleeps during the day.)



(Ba sa robala mosegare)



### 3.2.2 The occurrence of *sa* in complex sentences

Burton (1989:140) defines a complex sentence as a sentence containing the main clause and one or more dependent or subordinate clause. Louwrens (1991:30) writes thus, “complex sentences are sentences that consist of at least two clauses,

each containing its own verbal element". He also indicates that the verbal element in the main clause occurs either in the indicative or the imperative moods, while the verbal element in subordinate clause may occur in any of the dependent moods. In this section, the occurrence of *sa* with the indicative and the imperative moods as main clauses as well as the subjunctive, situative, infinitive, consecutive, relative moods as subordinate clauses will be tested. The main clause is described by Burton (1986:132) as a group of words that make a self contained, finished utterance that needs help from the main clause.

### **Indicative main clause + subjunctive subordinate clause**

- (13) [*O sa bala*] [*gore a atlege.*]  
(He still read in order to pass.)

Example (13) above shows that *sa* can occur in a complex sentence that consists of the main indicative plus subjunctive subordinate clauses, but the occurrence is limited to the main clause. An ungrammatical sentence will result if *sa* is incorporated in the subordinate clause, for example:

- (14) \**[O bala] [gore a sa atlege.]*  
\*(He is reading so that he still succeeds.)

### **Indicative main clause + consecutive subordinate clause**

- (15) \**[Bašemane ba sa hlaba kgomo] [ba sa e rwala, ba ja nama ya yona.]*  
(The boys are still slaughtering the cow, carry it and then eat the meat.)

Example (14-15) above shows that the occurrence of *sa* in the subordinate clause accounts for the ungrammaticality of the whole sentence. To make a well-formed and meaningful sentence, *sa* must be incorporated only in the main indicative clause, as exemplified below:

- (16) [*Bašemane ba sa hlaba kgomo*] [*ba e rwala, ba ja nama ya yona.*]  
(The boys are still slaughtering a cow, carry it and eat the meat.)

**Indicative main clause + situative subordinate clause**

- (17) a. [*Ke sa mmone*] [*a gama kgomo.*]  
(I still saw him while he was milking the cow.)
- b. [*O sola bogobe*] [*a sa bolela.*]  
(He is dishing up while he is still talking.)
- c. [*O sa ja*] [*a sa apeile.*]  
(He is still eating while he is still cooking.)

Sentence (17a) above shows that *sa* can occur in the main clause *ke sa mmone* (I still saw him). Sentence (17b) above shows that *sa* can occur in the subordinate situative form *a sa bolela* (while he was still talking) and example (17c) above on the other hand, shows *sa* occurring in both the main and the subordinate clause. As these processes occur, the grammatical pattern and the meaning are not affected. It is, therefore, evident that *sa* can occur in complex sentences that consist of the main indicative clause plus the situative subordinate clause.

**Indicative main clause + relative subordinate clause**

- (18) a. [*Ke sa bone*] [*ba o utswang.*]  
(I still saw those who are stealing.)
- b. [*Mosadi o rata bana*] [*ba o sa balago.*]  
(The woman likes children who are still reading.)

Illustrations in sentence (18) above shows that *sa* can occur in complex sentence which is characterized by the indicative main clause, for example, *ke sa ba bone* (I still saw them) as in (18a) and *mosadi o rata bana* (the woman likes children) as in (18b) and the relative subordinate clause *baob ba utswang* (those who are stealing) as in (18a) and *baob ba sa balago* (those who are still reading) as in (18b). The relative clause is marked by the ending *-ng* and *-go* that according to Lombard *et al.*, (1993:150), must be suffixed to the verbs of the relative constructions.

### **Indicative main clause + infinitive subordinate clause**

*Sa* in the indicative main clause plus the infinitive subordinate clause can occur under the following conditions suggested by Lombard *et al.*, (1993:158):

(a) When the infinitive clause takes a qualificative attributes, as illustrated below:

(19) [*O sa rata bana*] [*mo go makatšang*.]  
(He amazingly likes the children.)

In example (19) above, *mo go makatšang* (in an amazing way) is an infinitive clause performing a qualificative function. It is a qualifying adverbial group that describes how the act of liking is performed. *Sa* can occur in this construction without affecting either the word arrangement or the meaning.

(b) When the infinitive is locativised

In Northern Sotho, locality is formed through the suffixation of *-ng* or *-go*. In the following example, *go robaleng* (in the sleeping) is the infinitive construction wherein the verb *bolela*(talk) has been locativised by the suffixation of *-ng*. In other words, it indicates the locality where the act of seeing took place, for example:

- (20) [*Ke sa mmone*] [*go robaleng.*]  
(I saw him when I was just about to sleep.)

The implication is that the occurrence of *sa* in complex sentences, which are composed of the main indicative clause plus the infinitive subordinate clause, is confined to the main clauses. If *sa* is incorporated into the subordinate clauses, it can create the loss of grammaticality and meaning.

#### **Indicative main clause + consecutive subordinate clause**

- (21) a. [*Bana ba sa tsoga*] [*ba apara, ba tšeya dipuku ba ya sekolong.*]  
(The children woke up, wash, dress up, took their books and went to school.)
- b. \* [*Basadi ba ya kerekeng*] [*ba sa bina, ba boya gae.*]  
(The women go to church and then still dance and come back home.)

Example (21a) above proves that *sa* can be part of the sentence which consists of the indicative main clause and the subordinate consecutive clause. Sentence (21b) above, on the other hand, shows that *sa* can create some irregularities in the structure. It is, therefore, concluded that for grammaticality sake, *sa* must be placed only in the main clause.

#### **Imperative main clause + subjunctive subordinate clause**

- (22) a. \* [*Sa bolela!*] [*gore o kwagale.*]  
(Still talk! To be heard.)
- b. \* [*Etla!*] [*a sa go bona.*]  
(Come! So that he can see you.)

Example (22) illustrates the occurrence of *sa* in a sentence that consists of the imperative main clause plus subordinate subjunctive clause. In sentence (22a) above the subordinate subjunctive clause is introduced by the conjunction *gore* and in (22b) above *gore* is absent. The inclusion of *sa* in (22b) above produces an irregular word order with a distorted meaning. This is the grammatical pattern that is not supported by Addles and Rucci (1989:67) because they indicate that when writing a sentence, various words and parts must be arranged in a way that expresses the intended meaning clearly and accurately. For that matter, it is concluded that, in the imperative main clause plus subjunctive subordinate clause construction, *sa* must be placed only in the subordinate clause.

#### **Imperative main clause + situative subordinate clause**

- (23) [*Theetša!*] [*ke sa mmone a sepela.*]  
(Listen! I saw him walking.)

#### **Imperative main clause + infinitive subordinate clause**

- (24) [*Lebelela!*] [*go sa tuka.*]  
(Look! It is still burning.)

Illustrations in examples (23-24) above show that the occurrence of *sa* in complex sentences that consist of the main imperative plus situative and infinitive subordinate clause is possible.

#### **Imperative main clause + relative subordinate clause**

The inclusion of *sa* in the main imperative clause can create some irregularities with regard to the word order and the meaning as exemplified in (25b). In the subordinate clause, *sa* can occur with no effect on the grammatical pattern and the meaning, as illustrated in (25a) below:

- (25) a. [Rwala!] [yeo o sa e ratego.]  
(Take what you still don't like.)
- b. [Sa kgetha!] [yeo o mo ratago.]  
(Still choose! The one you love.)

### 3.3 THE ASPECT MORPHEME ŠETŠE

#### 3.3.1 The occurrence of šetše in simple sentences

Šetše can occur with **intransitive verbs**, as exemplified below:

- (26) a. *Bana šetše ba sepela.*  
(The children are going already.)
- b. *Mmutla o šetše o tšhaba.*  
(The hare is running already.)
- c. *Šetše bašemane ba ngwala.*  
(The boys are writing already.)

Example (26) exhibit the possibility of the occurrence of *šetše* with intransitive verb. In (26a) an intransitive verb is *sepela* (going) and in (26b) it is *tšhaba* (ran away); in (26c) in *ngwala* (write). In the three examples above, *šetše* occupies different positions but the grammaticality is still reserved since the sentence is meaningful and constitute a simple sentence.

## The occurrence of *šetše* with **monotransitive verbs**

- (27) a. *Morutiši o šetše a lema tšhemo.*  
(The teacher is already ploughing the field.)
- b. *Selepe se šetše se remile dikgong.*  
(An axe has already chopped the wood.)

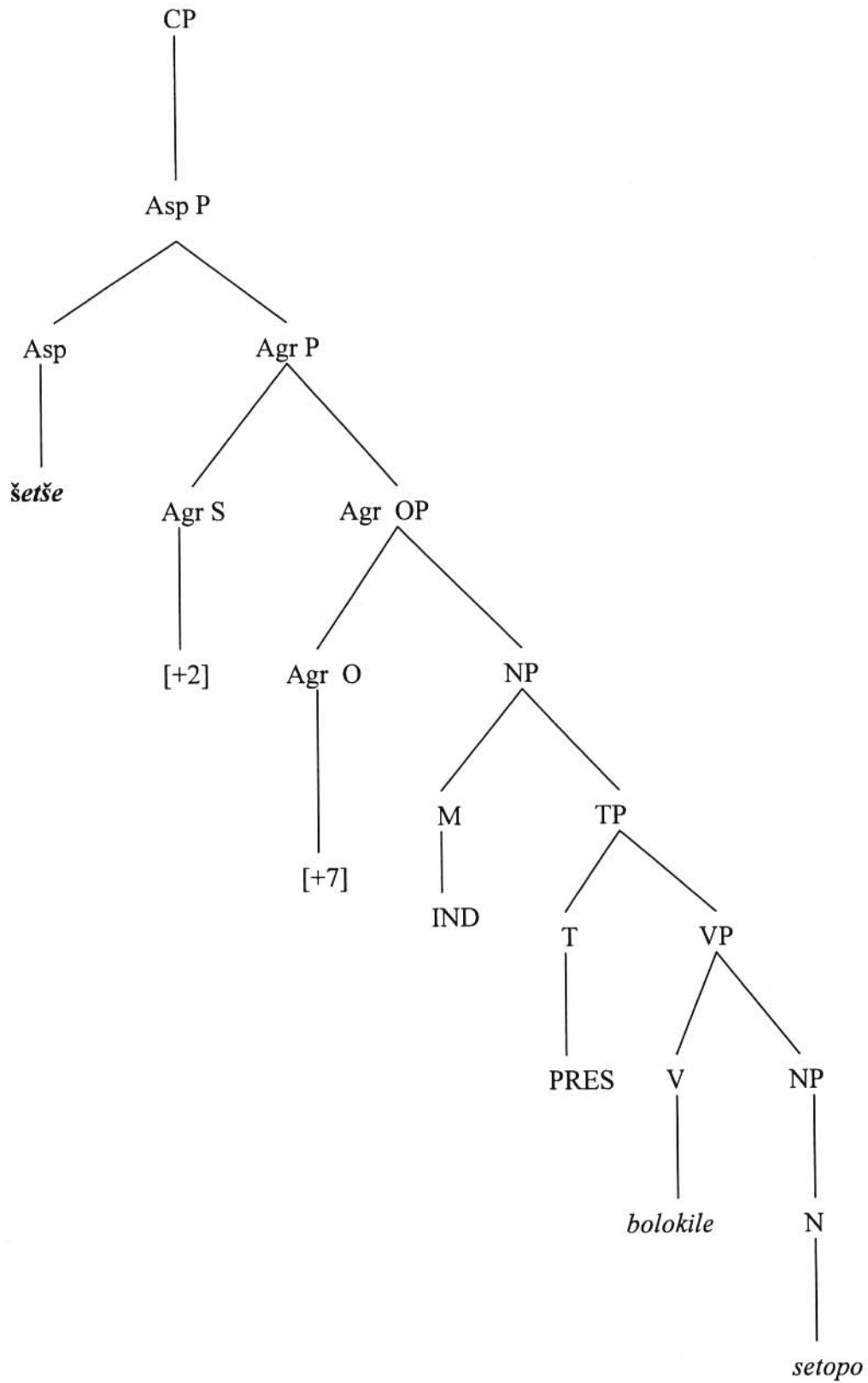
In (27) *šetše* occurs with monotransitive verb *lema* (plough), in (27a) and *remile* (chopped) in (27b). These verbs are monotransitives because they are followed by one object noun. For example, in (27a) above, *mašemo* (fields) is the object noun and in (27b) above, *dikgong* (woods) is the object noun. The occurrence of *šetše* in these two sentences cannot affect the word order and the meaning. According to Louwrens (1991:22) and Hurford (1994:242), when the direct object present and old information or when the speaker assumes that the referent of the direct object is known to the addressee, the object noun may be deleted. The following examine the occurrence of *šetše* in such constructions:

- (28) a. *Šetše ba se bolokile (setopo).*  
(They have already buried it, the corpse.)
- b. *Šetše ba e hlabile (nku).*  
(They have already been slaughtered)(the sheep).

*Še* and *e* in (28) above are object concords which has replaced the deleted object nouns *setopo* (corpse), in (28a) and *nku* (sheep) in (28b). In this instance, the inclusion of *šetše* does not create ungrammaticality. The sentence, *šetše ba se bolokile setopo* (they buried a corpse already), can be represented on a tree structure as follows:



(Šetše ba se bolokile setopo.)



### The occurrence of *šetše* with **ditransitive verbs**

*Šetše* can occur with ditransitives without disturbing the meaning and the structure, as exemplified below:

(29) *Lesogana le setše le reketše bana dijo.*

(The young man has already bought food for the children.)

The verb *reketše* (bought) in example (29) is a ditransitive verb because it is followed by two object nouns, namely, *bana* (children) and *dijo* (food). *Šetše* in (29) is preceded by the subject noun and the subject concord, the position can be shifted to the beginning of the sentence without changing meaning and grammaticality, as exemplified below:

(30) *Šetše lesogana le rekela bana dijo.*

(The young man has already bought food for the children.)

### The occurrence of *šetše* with **adverbial constructions**

*Šetše* can occur with the following adverbs:

#### a. **Instrumental Adverbs**

Instrumental adverbs can occur in various forms, as illustrated in the following examples:

(31) a. *Ngwana šetše a eja ka letsogo.*

(The baby is already eating with the hand.)

b. *Ba šetše ba bolela ka taba ye.*

(They are already discussing about this matter.)

- c. *Malome šetše a fihla **ka nako**.*

The bolded words in (31a-c) are all instrumental adverbs, but they express different meanings. For example, *ka letsogo* (with a hand) in (31a) refers to the object or the instrumental for carrying out the action of eating; *ka taba* (about the matter) refers to the subject under discussion; and *ka nako* (in time) in (31c) refers to uncle's time of arrival. The general view is that *šetše* can occur with the locative particle groups without disturbing word order and meaning.

b. **Associative Adverbs**

*Šetše* can occur with the following associative adverbial groups suggested by Poulos and Louwrens (1994:332):

- (a) When the associative prefix *le-* expresses the idea of 'together with', for example:

- (32) a. *Šetše go šoma nko le molomo.*  
(The nose and the mouth are working already.)

- (b) When the prefix *le-* is translated as 'to', for example:

- b. *Tate šetše a bolela le hlogo ya sekolo.*  
(My father is already talking to the Principal.)

*Nko le molomo* (nose and mouth), as in (32a), and *le hlogo ya sekolo* (with the principal), as in (32b), are associative particle groups that can occur with *šetše* without causing ungrammaticality and the loss of meaning.

c. **Locative adverbs**

The following examples prove the occurrence of *šetše* with the locative adverbial pattern:

- (33) a. *Ba šetše ba eya go morutiši.*  
(The children are already going to the teacher.)
- b. *Šetše a yo ruta gaMatlala.*  
(He has gone to teach at gaMatlala already.)
- c. *Tate šetše a gobetše mo leotong.*  
(My father is already injured on the leg.)
- d. *Šetše mma a feela mokgotheng.*  
(My mother was already sweeping the yard.)

Locative adverbs in example (33) above are *go morutiši* (to the teacher) in (33a) *gaMatlala* (at gaMatlala), in (33b) *mo leotong* (on the leg), in (33c) and *mo mokgotheng* (in the yard), in (33) syntactically *šetše* in the locative adverbial construction precedes or follows the subject concord, as exemplified in (33a-b), precedes or follows the subject, as exemplified in (33c-d). If *šetše* follows the verb, the following structural pattern will result:

- (34) \**Tate o gobetše šetše mo leotong.*  
(Father is injured already on the leg.)

Grammatically speaking, example (34) above is incorrect and illogical. According to the grammatical principles, the adverb *mo leotong* (on the leg) must follow the qualified verb *gobetše* (injured). The implication is that *šetše* can occur with locative adverbs but it is limited to specific positions.

d. **Temporal adverbs**

The following examples show that *šetše* can occur with temporal locative particle with no negative effect on the meaning and the syntax.

- (35) a. *O šetše a apea ka maswiswi.*  
(She is already cooking during late hours.)
- b. *Lesogana šetše le boya bošego.*  
(The young man arrives late already.)

Sentence (35) above illustrates the occurrence of *šetše* with the temporal adverbial construction, *ka maswiswi* (late hours) as in (35a) and *bošego* (during the night) as in (35b). The occurrence of *šetše* with these constructions does not affect grammaticality.

e. **Adverbs of manner**

- (36) a. *\*O šetše a gobetše kudu.*  
(Already he is badly injured.)
- b. *Banna šetše ba šomile mo go kgotsofatšago.*  
(Men already worked in a satisfactory manner.)

The incorporation of *šetše* in sentences (36a-b) does not create some irregularities in terms of word order or the grammatical structure. It occurs with the adverbial particle *kudu* (too much) as in (36a) and *mo go kgotsofatšago* (in a satisfying manner) as in (36b). In example (36) above, the adverbial particle follows the predicate. The structure concurs with the grammatical pattern suggested by Ziervogel (1988:29).

### 3.3.2 The occurrence of *šetše* in complex sentences

As indicated earlier that a complex sentence consists of two clauses, namely, the main clause and the subordinate clause, and that the main clause occurs either in the indicative or the imperative mood, while the subordinate clause occurs in one of the dependent moods, moods will, therefore, play an essential role in this section. Both the indicative and the imperative main clause, as well as the situative, consecutive, subjunctive, infinitive, relative, subordinate clause, will be discussed as follows:

#### **Imperative main clause + subjunctive subordinate clause**

- (37) a.     \**[Bolela!] [gore setše o kwagala.]*  
          (Speak! in order already to be heard.)
- b.     \**[Šetše phakiša!] [ba go bone.]*  
          (Already speak! for them to see you.)

Example (37) is illogical and meaningless. It does not constitute what Burton (1986:132) refers to as a sentence. According to this author, a sentence consists of a group of words that make a complete sense, and are an independent, self-contained and finish utterance. The general perspective is that *šetše* cannot occur in the constructions that consist of the imperative main clause plus subjunctive subordinate clause.

#### **Imperative main clause + subordinate situative clause**

- (38) *[Mmitše!] [ge setše a boa.]*  
      (Call him when he is already on the way.)

*Šetše* can occur in the complex sentences, that are constituted by the imperative main clause plus situative subordinate clause, without changing the meaning and the grammatical form.

### **Imperative main clause + relative subordinate clause**

(39) [*Kgetha!*] [*kgomo yeo e šetšego e fula.*]

(Choose the cow that is grazing.)

Although in example (39) above, the suffix *-go* has been suffixed on *šetše* and not on the verb *fula* (graze), the sentence is logic, correct and expresses the intended meaning. It agrees with Lombard *et al.*, (1995:150) and Hurford's (1994:212) description of a relative mood. According to these authors, a relative mood modifies the noun. In example (39) above, the modified noun is *kgomo* (cow).

### **Imperative main clause + consecutive subordinate clause**

(40) \**[Tsenang!]* [*ba šetše dula, ba ja, ba robala.*]

(Come inside! They already sit, eat and sleep.)

It is evident from example (40) above that *šetše* cannot occur in a construction that consists of the imperative main clause plus the subordinate consecutive clause. Furthermore, besides the inclusion of *šetše*, the two clauses do not interact; there is no sense of continuity and dependency. According to Burton (1986:135), the meaning of the subordinate clause depends on the main clause.

### **Imperative main clause + infinitive subordinate clause**

Poulos and Louwrens (1994:238) state that the infinitive category has dual nature, namely, they have nominal as well as verbal characteristics, as exemplified below:

- (41) a. [Lebelele!] [šetše go tuka lebone.]  
(Look! the burning has started already.)
- b. [Bona!] [go apea šetše ba thomile.]  
(Look! they have already started the cooking.)

Illustrations in (41) above show that there is the possibility of the occurrence of *šetše* in the imperative clause plus infinitive subordinate clause. Example (41a) shows the occurrence of the infinitives in a nominal form. Lombard *et al.*, (1993:157) state that the nominal form indicates the process, for example, *go tuka* (is the burning process), as illustrated in (41a). These authors also say that the verbal form indicates the action, for example, *go apea* (to cook), as illustrated in example (41b). The implication is that, *šetše* can occur in this instance without affecting grammaticality and meaning.

#### **Indicative clause + subjunctive subordinate clause**

The occurrence of *šetše* in a structure that is composed of the main indicative plus the subjunctive subordinate clause is possible, but it is restricted to the main clauses, for example:

- (42) [Šetše ba sepela] [gore ba fihle ka pela.]  
(They are going already in order to arrive earlier.)

When *šetše* is included in the subordinate clause, an irregular and uninterpretable word order will result, as exemplified below:

- (43) \*[Ba batamela gae] [gore šetše ba kwe lentšu].  
\*(They are coming closer in order already to hear the voice.)



Indicative main clause + situative subordinate clause

- (44) a. [Ke tla ba botša] [šetše ba fihlile].  
(I will tell them when they have arrived already.)
- b. [Šetše ba sepela] [ba lebeletše godimo].  
(They already walk facing upwards.)

Example (44) above signifies the occurrence of *šetše* in the main indicative plus subordinate situative clause. The occurrence is possible in both two clauses without any negative effect on the syntax and semantics.

Indicative main clause + consecutive subordinate clause

- (45) [Šetše le wele] [la ba gobatša, la bolaya ba bane.]  
(It has fallen already, injured them and kill four.)

Example (45) above indicates that *šetše* can occur in the indicative main clauses plus consecutive subordinate clauses with no negative impact on the meaning and the grammaticality. Since *šetše* has been incorporated into the main clause, the following tests the occurrence of *šetše* in the subordinate clause:

- (46) \*[Bana ba ithutile] [ba šetše ba rapela ba ya gae.]  
(The children learned, prayed and went home.)

The word order in (46) is irregular and the meaning is distorted. It shows that *šetše* must be strictly placed in the main clause to make the construction grammatical and meaningful.

Indicative main clause + relative subordinate clause

- (47) a. [Šetše ke bone leoto] [leo le robegilego.]  
(I already saw the leg that is broken.)

- b. [Ke tla bona kgoši] [yeo e šetšego e buša.]  
(I'll see the chief that is ruling already.)

*Šetše* in example (47) occurs in both clauses without affecting the structure. Hence it is concluded that *šetše* can occur in complex sentences that consist of the main indicative and the subordinate relative clause.

### 3.4 THE ASPECT MORPHEME *FO*

#### 3.4.1 The occurrence of *fo* in simple sentences

In simple patterns, *fo* can occur with the following parts:

The occurrence of *o* with **intransitive verbs**

- (48) a. *Mosadi o fo bolela.*  
(The woman is talking aimlessly.)
- b. *Ntlo e fo bulega.*  
(The house is just open.)

*Fo* in example (48) above occurs with the intransitive verb *bolela* (talk) in (48a) and *bulega* (opened) in (48b). The sentence reads logically and grammatically. This implies that the incorporation of *fo* in the sentences has not created some irregularities.

The occurrence of *fo* with **monotransitive verbs**

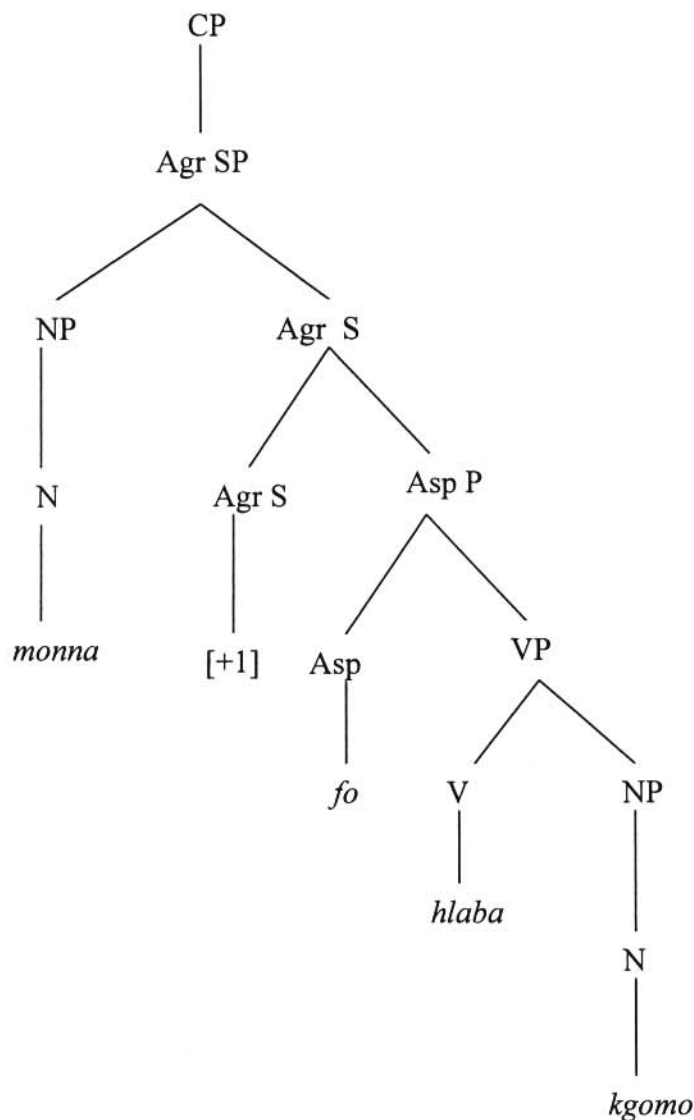
*Fo* can occur with monotransitive verbs without affecting grammatical structure and meaning, as exemplified below:

- (49) a. *Tate o fo dira lešata.*  
(The man is just making noise.)

- b. *Monna o fo hlaba kgomo.*  
 (The man is just slaughtering the cow.)

Syntactically, *fo*, in monotransitive constructions, always precedes the intransitive verb. For example, in (49a) it precedes the monotransitive verb *dira* (do) and in (49b) it precedes the monotransitive verb *hlaba* (slaughter). The following is the physical structure of *monna o fo hlaba kgomo* (the man is slaughtering a cow already.)

(*Monna o fo hlaba kgomo*)



The occurrence of *fo* with **ditransitive verbs**

(50) *Morutiši o fo rokela bana marokgo.*

(The teacher is just sewing trousers for the children.)

The verb *rokela* (sewing for) in example (50) above is the ditransitive verb because it is followed by the two object nouns, *bana* (children) and *marokgo* (trousers). There are instances wherein one of the object noun is pronominalised. Study the following example:

(51) *Morutiši o fo rokela bona marokgo.*

(The teacher is just sewing trousers for them.)

What took place in example (51) above is that the indirect object *bana* (children) assumed the function of a pronoun and occurs as *bona* (them). Since Louwrens (1991:25) says “either one of the objects is pronominalised”, the direct object can also be pronominalised, as illustrated below:

(52) *Morutiši o fo rokela bana ona.*

(The teacher is just sewing **them** for the children.)

In example (52) above, *marokgo* (trousers) has been replaced by the pronoun *one* (them). When all these processes take place, grammaticality is reserved even though *fo* forms part of the structures.

The occurrence of *fo* with adverbial structures

Adverbs are considered by Barry and Scholten (1995:90) as one of the major parts in a sentence. It is therefore essential to test their occurrence with *fo*.

The occurrence will be discussed in the context of the following adverbs:

a. **Instrumental Adverbs**

Instrumental adverbs express the theme or the topic, an instrument for carrying out the action as well as the time. *Fo* can occur with these expressions without affecting grammatical pattern and meaning, as exemplified below:

- (53) a. *O fo bolela ka diatla.*  
(He is just talking with his hands.)
- b. *Basadi ba fo bolela ka banna.*  
(Women are just talking about men.)
- c. *Ba fo tla ka Labohlano.*  
(They just came on Friday.)

In example (53a), *fo* occurs with the adverbial particle *ka diatla* (with hands), which refers to the instrument used for performing the action of talking; in (53b) *fo* occurs with the adverbial particle, *ka banna* (about men) which refers to the theme or the topic discussed by women; and in (53c) *fo* occurs with the adverbial particle *ka Labohlano* (on Friday), which indicates when the arrival was carried.

b. **Associative adverbs**

- (54) *O fo ja le tate.*  
(He is just eating with dad.)

Example (54) above illustrates the occurrence of *fo* with the associative particle group. Normally, associative adverbs are marked by the prefix *le-* that follows the qualified verb. For example, in (54) *le-* follows the qualified verb *ja* (eat). This

grammatical structure is also supported by Poulos and Louwrens (1994:332) who state that the associative prefix *le-* may occur before the verb. The indication is that *fo* can occur with the associative adverbial group without affecting grammaticality and meaning.

c. **Locative Adverbs**

*Fo* can occur with various locative adverbial group with no disturbance on the word order and the intended meaning, as exemplified below:

- (55) a. *O fo ya ga Rakgadi.*  
(He just going to aunt's place.)
- b. *Ba fo etela gaMolepo.*  
(They are just visiting at gaMolepo.)
- c. *O fo dula mo legogong.*  
(He is just sitting on the mat.)
- d. *O fo tsena ntlong.*  
(He is just entering into the house.)

In (55a), *fo* occurs with the locative particle group *ga Rakgadi* (to the aunt), which qualifies the verb *ya* (going); in (55b), the locative adverb is *gaMolepo* (at gaMolepo) and it qualifies the verb *etela* (visit); in (55c), the locative adverb is *mo legogong* (on the mat) and it qualifies the verb *dutše* (sat); and in (55d), the locative adverb is *ntlong* (in the house), which qualifies the verb *tsena* (enter). *Ntlo* (house) is formed through the suffixation of *-ng* on the object noun *ntlo* (house).

d. **Temporal Adverbs**

- (56) a. *Bana ba fo tla **ka pela** sekolong.*  
(The children are just coming early to school.)
- b. *Ba fo boya bošego mošomong.*  
(They are just coming late from work.)

Example (56) proves that temporal adverb can occur in two ways. Firstly, it can be formed through the affixation of the prefix *ka-* before the adverbs as exemplified in (56a) where *pela* (earlier) is preceded by *ka-*. Secondly, temporal adverbs can be formed by means of nouns, as illustrated in (56b) wherein the temporal noun *bošego* (during the night) has been used. *Fo* can occur with these adverbial group with no effect on syntax and semantics.

e. **Adverbs of manner**

- (57) a. *O fo bolela kudu.*  
(He is just eating too much.)
- b. *O fo ya gabedi.*  
(He just went twice.)

In example (57) above, *kudu* (too much) as in (57a) and *gabedi* (twice) as in (57b) are adverbs that tell us how the act of talking in (57a) and the act of going in (57b) happened. *Fo* can occur with these adverbial group with no negative affect on meaning and grammar.

### 3.4.2 The occurrence of *fo* in complex sentences

In this section, a closer look is given to the occurrence of *fo* in complex sentence that also contains the main imperative and indicative clauses plus the subordinate, subjunctive, situative, consecutive, relative and infinitive clause.

Imperative main clause + subjunctive subordinate clause

(58) a. [I *fo* *tšwa!*] [*gore o ba sware.*]  
(Just in order to arrest them.)

b. [I *ja!*] [*gore ba fo bolela.*]  
(Eat in order to provoke them.)

Example (58) above illustrates *fo* occurring in a complex sentence that consists of the imperative main clause and subordinate subjunctive clause. *Fo* can be located either in the main or the subordinate clause with no effect on the structure and the meaning. In (58a), *fo* has been included in the main clause and in (58b) *fo* has been used in the subordinate clause. The incorporation of *fo* in the main clause urges the extension of the verb stem with the vowel *e*. This structure accords with Nokaneng and Louwrens (1995:164) when they say that:

*Ge kutu ya lediri e bopilwe ka senoko se tee, e swanetše go telefatšwa, telefatšo ye e hlaga ka tsela tše pedi, go ka hlomesetšwa tumanoši e ...”*

Imperative main clause + situative subordinate clause

(59) a. [*Efo sepela!*] [*ba hwetše o reka.*]  
(Just in order to find them busy buying.)



- b. [Khuta!] [o tla mmona a fo reka.]  
(Hide! You'll find him busy playing for no purpose.)

Example (59) above shows the possibility of the occurrence *ofo* in all clauses with no effect on grammaticality and meaning.

Imperative main clause + consecutive subordinate clause

- (60) a. [Efo theetša!] [dikgomo tša tla tša tsena ka ntlong tša nwa meetse  
tša sepela.]  
(Listen the cattle came, got into the house, drank and went off.)

Imperative main clause + relative subordinate clause

- (61) a. [Efo kgetha!] [bao ba šomago.]  
(Just choose those who are working.)
- b. [Bona!] [bao ba fogo raloka.]  
(Choose those who are just playing.)

Imperative main clause + infinitive subordinate clause

- (62) a. [Efo lebelela!] [go roka ga gona.]  
(Just look at the way she sew.)
- b. [Ithute!] [go ipalela.]  
(Learn how to read.)

Example (60) above shows the occurrence of *fo* in the imperative consecutive subordinate clause. Sentence (61) above shows its occurrence in the main imperative clause plus subordinate relative clause. Sentence (62) above shows *fo*

occurring in the main imperative clause and infinitive subordinate clause. *Fo* can occur in these constructions with no effect on the grammatical pattern. It is also essential to indicate that when *fo* is incorporated in the imperative main clause, the vowel *e* is not extended to only the monosyllabic verbs, but also on the disyllabics, as exemplified in (61a) or in three syllable word, as illustrated in (62a-b).

Indicative main clause + subjunctive subordinate clause

- (63) a. [Ke fo šala] [gore ba kwe bohloko.]  
(I remain behind to hurt them.)
- b. [Ke ba boditše] [gore ba folla.]  
(I told them to cry for no reason.)

Indicative main clause + situative subordinate clause

- (64) a. [Ke fo mo kwa] [a robetše a gona.]  
(I heard him snoring while he was asleep.)
- b. [Ke mo kwele] [a fo bolela a robetše].  
(I heard him talking while he was asleep.)

Indicative main clause + consecutive subordinate clause

- (65) a. [Ke fo se lebelela] [sa wa, sa dira lešata sa pšhatlega.]  
(I just look at it, it falls, make a nose and breaks open.)
- b. [Ke a tsoga] [ka fo hlapa diatla ka robala.]  
(I woke up, just washed my hands and went to sleep.)

Indicative main clause + relative subordinate clause

- (66) a. [Ba fo hlagola] [yeo e lego ye kgolo.]  
 (They are just ploughing which is too big.)
- b. [Ba tšhabile] [yeo e fogo šoma]  
 (They are afraid of what is just working.)

Illustrations in example (64-66) above prove that *fo* can occur in the complex sentence that is formed by the main indicative clause plus the subjunctive subordinate clause, as exemplified in (63a-b); the main indicative plus subordinate situative, as exemplified in (64a-b); and the main indicative plus subordinate consecutive, as shown in sentence (65a-b). The occurrence of *fo* in these complex structures is not tempering either with the word order or the intended meaning. Its occurrence can be in the main clause, as exemplified in (64a-66a) or the subordinate clause, as shown in (64b-66b).

Indicative main clause + infinitive subordinate clause

In the indicative main clause plus subordinate infinitive clause, *fo* occurs with the following infinitive structures, suggested by Lombard *et al.*, (1993:158):

- (i) Infinitives occurring as pronouns

- (67) [Ke fo bala] [gohle.]  
 (I just read all over.)

In example (67) above *fo* occurs in the main clause. The subordinate infinitive form is *gohle* (all over), as is apparent from *go-*, which is the prefixal morpheme of the infinitives.

(ii) Infinitives indicating action or process

(68) [*Ba fo rata*] [*go ja.*]  
(They just like to eat.)

In example (68) above, the infinitive subordinate clause is *go ja* (to eat), which indicates an act of taking something into the mouth.

(iii) Infinitives taking qualificative attribute

(69) [*O fo mo raga*] [*mo go kwešago bohloko.*]  
(He has just kicked him very badly.)

In (69) above, *mo go kwešago bohloko* (very badly) is an infinitive qualificative pattern qualifying how the act of kicking is carried. In general, *fo* can be used with infinitives acting as pronouns, indicating locality, action and qualifying infinitives, without temparing with word order or meaning.

### 3.5 THE ASPECT MORPHEME *HLWA*

#### 3.5.1 The occurrence of *hlwa* in simple sentences

In simple patterns, *hlwa* will be observed in the context of the following:

The occurrence with **intransitive verbs**

(70) *Ba hlwa ba rapela.*  
(They usually pray.)

Sentence (70) above consists of an intransitive verb *rapela* (pray). *Hlwa* in this sentence cannot interchange positions, it has a fixed position. Syntactically, *hlwa* must follow the subject concord. If it is shifted to any other position, ungrammaticality will result as illustrated in the following sentence:

- (71) \**Hlwa banna ba rapela.*  
(Usually men pray.)

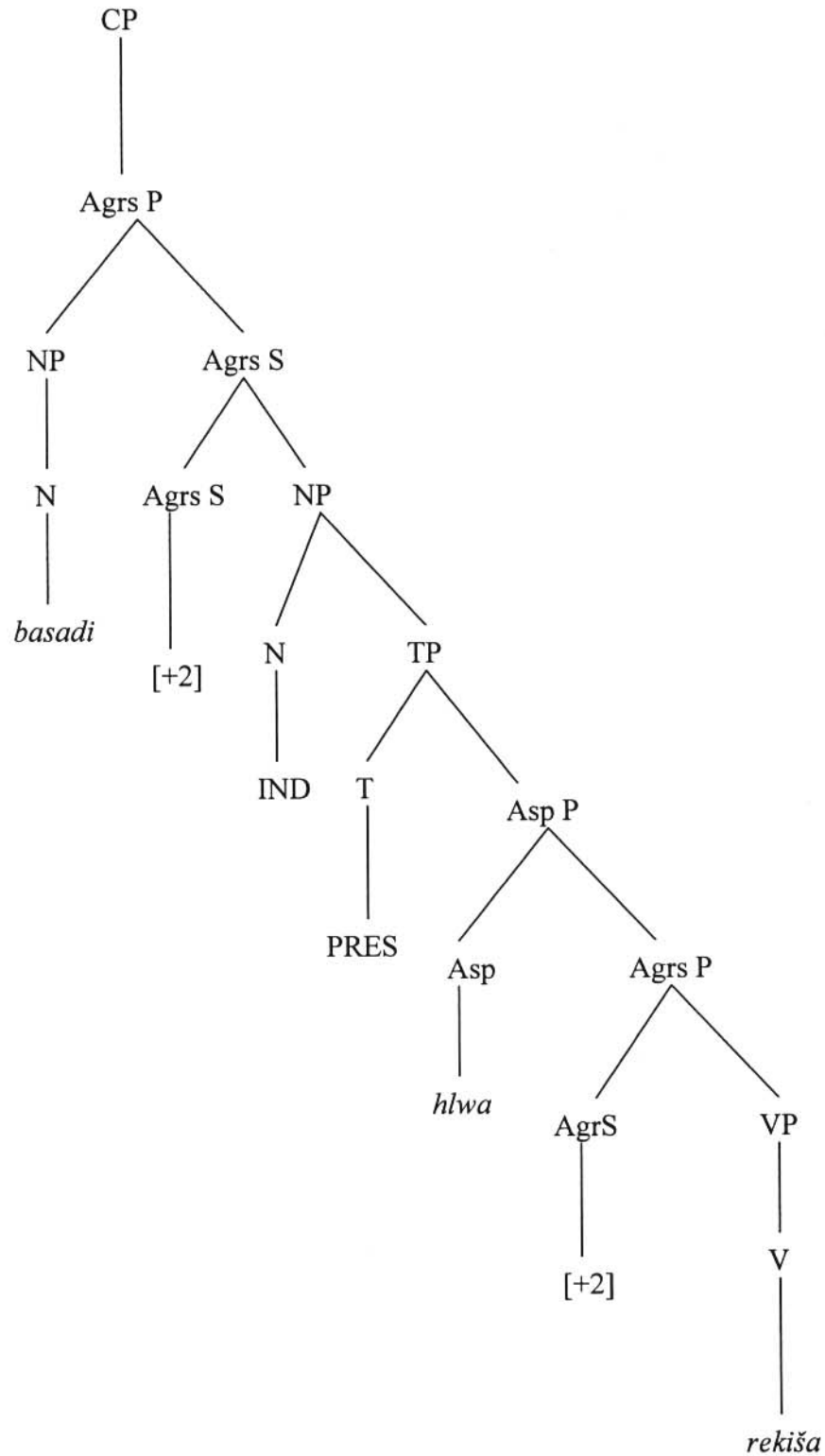
The occurrence with **monotransitive verbs**

- (72) *Ba hlwa ba rekiša merogo.*  
(They keep on selling vegetables.)

In sentence (72) above, *hlwa* is used with the intransitive verb *rekiša* (selling), which must be followed by the object. *Merogo* (vegetables) is the object noun referred to as the direct object. This statement is also supported by Hurford (1994:63).

- (73) *Ba hlwa ba e rekiša.*  
(Usually, they sell it.)

What has been illustrated in sentence (73), above is that *hlwa* can occur in the grammatical pattern wherein the direct object is pronominalised, that is, the direct object is replaced by the object concord, for example, in (73) *e* is the object concord that replaced the noun. The tree structure for *basadi ba hlwa ba rekiša* (Women usually sell) is as follows:



The occurrence with **ditransitive verbs**

- (74) a. *Tate o hlwa a apeela bana nama.*  
 (Father usually cooks meat for the children.)

- b. *Mosadi o hlwa a rekela bana dieta.*  
(The woman usually buys shoes for the children.)

*Bana* (children) in (74a) are object nouns of the ditransitive verb *rekela* (buying for). *Hlwa* (usually) can occur with these verbs with no effect on meaning and grammaticality.

The occurrence with adverbial structures

a. **Instrumental Adverbs**

- (75) a. *Monna o hlwa a bolela **ka molomo**.*  
(The man keeps on talking with his mouth.)
- b. *Ba hlwa ba bolela **ka setšhaba**.*  
(They keep on talking about the nation.)
- c. *Sekolo se hlwa se tsena **ka pela**.*  
(The school usually starts early.)

The words in bold in (75) are instrumental particle group which have been introduced by the prefixal morpheme *ka-*. Although they all have *ka-* as the prefixal morpheme, they express different meanings, for example, in (75a) *molomo* (mouth) is the object of talking, in (75b) *setšhaba* (the nation) is the theme or the topic and in (75c) *pela* (earlier) express time. *Hlwa* occurs with these adverbs with no effect on grammaticality and meaning.

b. **Associative Adverbs**

- (76) a. *Basadi ba hlwa ba šoma **le bana**.*  
(Women usually work with children.)

- b.     \**Bana hlwa ba etla le batswadi.*  
(Usually children come along with their parents.)
  
- c.     \**Banna ba reka hlwa diaparo.*  
(Men buys usually clothes.)

Example (76) above has a clear meaning and correct word order. It exhibits the occurrence of *hlwa* with associative adverb, *le bana* (together with children) is possible. Syntactically, *hlwa* in the associative particle group follows the subject concord, for example in (76a) it follows the subject concord *ba*. If its position is changed, it will lead to an irregular word order, as illustrated in (76b-c).

c.     **Locative Adverbs**

Locative adverbs can be formed in various ways. The following enquire the occurrence of *hlwa* with such constructions:

- (77) a.     *Ba hlwa ba eya go moruti.*  
(They usually go to the priest.)
  
- b.     *Ba hlwa ba gahlana ga kgoši.*  
(Usually, they meet at the Chief's place.)
  
- c.     *O hlwa a e tšholla mo borokgong.*  
(He usually spills it on the trouser.)
  
- d.     *O hlwa a eya nokeng.*  
(He usually goes to the river.)



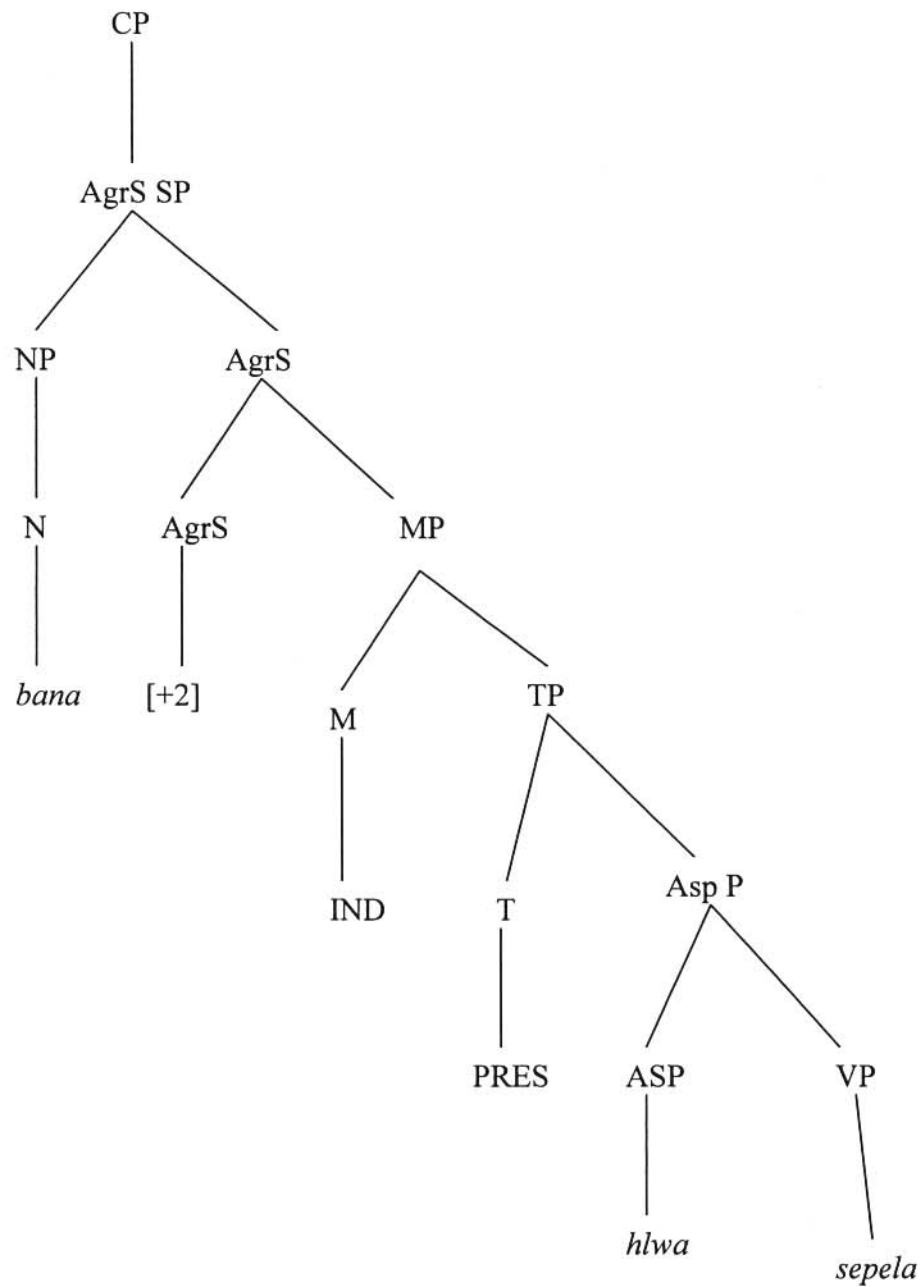
It is obvious from example (77) above that *hlwa* can be part of a sentence that has the locative adverbial group without creating ungrammaticality and distortion of meaning. In example (77a) *hlwa* (usually) occurs with the locative adverb *go moruti* (to the reverend); in (77b) it occurs with the adverb *ga kgoši* (at the Chief's place), in (77c) it occurs with the locative adverb *mo borokgong* (on the trouser); and in (77d) *hlwa* occurs with the adverb *nokeng* (in the river), which is formed through the suffixation of *-ng* on the noun *noka* (river).

d. **Temporal Adverbs**

(78) a. *Bana ba hlwa ba sepela bošego.*  
(Usually, the children walk during the night.)

b. *Ba hlwa ba etla ka nako.*  
(Usually, they arrive in time.)

Illustrations in example (78) show that *hlwa* can be used with temporal particle group without affecting the syntax and the semantics. In (78a) *hlwa* occurs with the temporal adverb *bošego* (during the night); and in (78b) it occurs with the adverbial particle *ka nako* (in time). *Bošego* (during the night) qualifies the verb *sepela* (walk) and *ka nako* (in time) qualifies the verb *etla* (arrives). This statement is also supported by Louwrens (1991:26) because, according to him, temporal particle group specifies a particular point in time with which the process expressed by the verb is associated. The following is the phrase tree structure for *bana ba hlwa ba sepela bošego* (children usually walk during the night).



e. **Adverbs of manner**

- (79) a. *O hlwa a mmetha kudu.*  
 (He usually beats him heavily.)
- b. *O hlwa a nkgorometša ka maatla.*  
 (He usually pushes me hard.)

In sentence (79) above, the morpheme *hlwa* appears with the adverb of manner, *kudu* (very much) as in (79a) and *ka maatla* (very hard) as in (79b) without disturbing the grammatical pattern. As indicated by Barry and Scholten (1995:287), *kudu* (too much) in (79a) tells us how the act of beating was carried and *ka maatla* (very hard), in (79b), tells us how the act of pushing happened. In other words, the previously mentioned adverbs fulfil their task by modifying the verb *mmetha* (beat) in (79a) and *mmotše* (told him) in (79b).

### 3.5.2 The occurrence of *hlwa* in complex sentences

Eight moods distinguished in Northern Sotho by Lombard *et al.*, (1985:139-140) will form part of this section, with the exception of the habitual mood. The indicative and the imperative moods will be used as main clauses and the situative, subjunctive consecutive, relative and the infinitive will be used as subordinate clauses.

#### Imperative main clause + subjunctive subordinate clause

- (80) a. [Tlogela!] [gore ba *hlwê* ba kitima.]  
(Leave! To keep them running.)
- b. [*bolelang!*] [gore ba *hlwê* ba raloka.]  
(speak! in order that they keep on playing.)

Example (80) above exhibits the occurrence of *hlwa* in the imperative main clauses plus subordinate subjunctive patterns. Verbs in the subjunctive phrases must always have *-ê* as the ending. In this instance, the ending of the verb stem is the vowel *-a*, instead *-e* is suffixed on *hlwa* to become *hlwê*. It is also essential to note that verbs in the imperative mood may be directed to more than one person. *Hlwa* can adjust to such constructions with no negative effect on the grammaticality, as demonstrated in (80b) whereby the verbal element *bolela* (speak) is extended by suffix *-ng*, which is a plurality marker.

### **Imperative main clause + situative subordinate clause**

*Hlwa* can occur in the imperative main clauses plus the situative subordinate clauses exemplified in the following examples:

- (81) [*Sepela!*] [*ke hlwa ke šoma ke lwala.*]  
(Work, I usually work being not well.)

The occurrence in the main clause can result in what Fromkin and Rodman (1993:73) refer to as an ill-formed or an ungrammatical sentence, as illustrated in the following example:

- \*[*Bona hlwa!*] [*ba ja ba eme.*]  
(Look! usually, they eat while they are standing.)

### **Imperative main clause + relative subordinate clause**

- (82) [*Kgetha!*] [*yeo e hlwago e eswa.*]  
(Choose! That keeps on burning.)

Illustrations in example (82) above show that *hlwa* can occur with the imperative main clause plus the subordinate relative clause. Although the relative suffix *-ng* is suffixed on *hlwa* and not the verb *swa* (burn), as indicated in (84), the sentence is grammatical and meaningful. It constitutes what Louwrens (1991:30) refers to as the complex sentence since it has two verbal elements, namely, *kgetha* (choose) and *swa* (burn).

### **Imperative main clause + infinitive subordinate clause**

Examples listed below test the occurrence of *hlwa* with the imperative main clause plus the infinitive subordinate clause. The test will include the following conditions:

(i) Infinitives indicating location

(83) \**[Mmone!]* [*go hlwa boeng.*]  
(See him in his usual return.)

(ii) Infinitives qualifying verbs

(84) [*Šoma!*] [*mo go kgotsofatšago.*]  
(Work in a satisfying manner.)

(iii) Pronominalisation of infinitives

(85) \**[lebelela!]* [*hlwa gohle.*]

In examples (83 and 85) above, an irregular and meaningless word order is revealed. The sentence proves the impossibility of the occurrence of *hlwa* in such sentences. Sentence (84) on the other hand, confirms the possibility of the occurrence of *hlwa* in complex sentences that consists of the main imperative clause plus infinitive qualificative structure. In other instances, infinitives can indicate processes or actions. Poulos and Louwrens (1993:157) call infinitives of this kind verbal clause of infinitives, for example:

(86) [*Lebelela!*] *go hlwa o šoma.*  
(Concentrate on the working.)

*Hlwa*, in (86) above, has been included in the infinitive subordinate clause *go šoma* (to work) without changing the grammar and the meaning. It is, therefore, concluded that the occurrence of *hlwa* in the imperative main clause plus infinitive subordinate clause is conditional, that is, it is only possible when infinitives exhibit actions or processes.

### Indicative main clause + subjunctive subordinate clause

- (87) a. [Basadi ba hlwa ba roka] [gore ba fetše.]  
(The women keeps on sewing in order to get finish.)
- b. [Basadi ba roka] [gore ba hlwe ba bolela.]  
(The woman are sewing in order to keep on talking.)

Example (87) above shows that *hlwa* can occur in both the main clause and subordinate clause with no interference on grammar and meaning. In example (87a) *hlwa* occurs in the main clause *ba hlwa ba roka* (they keep on sewing) and in the subordinate clause, *hlwa* occurs in the sentence *gore ba hlwe ba roka* (in order to keep on sewing).

### Indicative main clause + situative subordinate clause

- (88) a. [O hlwa a sepela] [a opela.]  
(Usually he sings whenever he walks.)
- b. [O bolela] [ge ba ehlwa ba mmetha.]

The incorporation of *hlwa* in both sentences does not affect either the structure or the meaning. There are no restrictions, implying that *hlwa* is not limited to a specific clause. The occurrence is possible in both the main and the subordinate clauses.

### Indicative main clause + relative subordinate clause

- (89) a. [Tate o felegetša] [yoo a hlwago a dira lešata.]  
(My father is accompanying those who usually make noise.)

- b. *Koko o hwla a apeela* [*ba ba mo theetšago.*]  
(Usually, grandmother cooks for those who usually listen to her.)

### **Indicative clause + consecutive subordinate clause**

- (90) a. [*Morutiši o hlwa a ruta bana*] [*ba mo theetša.*]  
(Usually, the teacher teaches the children and they listen to him.)
- b. [*Tate o rema dikgong*] [*a hlwa a di rwala a di iša gae.*]  
(My father chops the wood, keep on carrying them and takes them home.)

Example (90) above proves that *hlwa* can be included in a complex sentence that consists of the indicative main clause plus the subordinate relative clause. In the subordinate clause, the relativiser *-go* is suffixed on *hlwa*.

### **Indicative main clause + infinitive subordinate clause**

- (91) a. [*O hlwa a mpotša*][*go boeng.*]  
(He usually tells me upon his return.)
- b. [*Tate o hlwa a roma bana*] [*go reka.*]  
(My father usually sends children to buy.)
- c. [*Ba hlwa ba etela*] [*gona.*]  
(They usually visit the place.)
- d. [*Bakgotse ba hlwa ba elwa*] [*mo go sa felego.*]  
(Usually, friends fight very often.)

Illustrations in (91) show that *hlwa* can occur with various infinitives. In (91a) *hlwa* occurs with *go boeng* (in his coming back) that indicates the location where the act of telling took place. In (91b), *hlwa* occurs with *go reka* (to buy), which indicates the process of the action performed by the subject *bana* (children). In example (91c), *hlwa* occurs in a sentence where the infinitive structure act as the absolute pronoun as apparent in the pronoun *gona* (there). *Hlwa* in sentence (91d) occurs with infinitives taking qualificative attributes, as exemplified in *mo go sa felego* (in an unfinished manner), the qualitative particle group qualifies the verb *elwa* (fight).

### 3.6 CONCLUSION

This chapter discussed the occurrence of the aspect morphemes *sa*, *šetše*, *fo*, and *hlwa* in simple (basic) and complex sentence. It has been discovered that these morphemes occurs in a simple sentence are constituted by the intransitive, mono-transitive, and ditransitive verbs.

Furthermore, the occurrence of these morphemes with the instrumental, associative, locatives, temporal and adverbs of manner is also possible. Since moods are essential features of complex sentences, the occurrence in complex sentences was discussed in the context of moods such as the imperative, and the indicative main clause plus the subjunctive, situative, relative, infinitive and the consecutive subordinate clause.

In the indicative main clauses plus the subjunctive, and the consecutive subordinate clauses, *sa* is limited to the main clauses. In the imperative main clauses, plus the situative subordinate clauses, whereas grammaticality is retained when *sa* is incorporated in the subordinate clauses while in the imperative main clauses that are followed by the consecutive subordinate, the occurrence is limited to the main clauses.



*Šetše* can occur in complex sentences that are composed of the imperative main clauses plus the situative, relative, infinitive subordinate clauses. *Šetše* does not occur in the imperative main clauses plus the subjunctive and consecutive subordinate clauses.

*Fo*'s occurrence in complex sentences that are comprised of the imperative and the indicative mains plus the subjunctive, situative, relative, infinitive and the consecutive subordinate clauses does not create ungrammaticality or meaning distortion. There are no restrictions and limitations.

*Hlwa* can be incorporated in the imperative main clause plus the subjunctive, situative, relative, infinitive and consecutive subordinate clauses, but ungrammaticality is revealed when *hlwa* is included in the main clause. When the indicative structures occur as main clauses, and the subjunctive, situative, relative and consecutive serve as the subordinate clauses, *hlwa* is restricted to the main clauses.

## CHAPTER FOUR

### THE SEMANTIC SIGNIFICANCE OF ASPECTS MORPHEMES IN NORTHERN SOTHO

#### 4.1 INTRODUCTION

This chapter approaches aspect morphemes from a semantic point of view. Semantics is described by Chalker and Weiner (1994:355) as the study or analysis of the relationship between linguistic forms and meaning. Crystal (1991:310) defines semantics as a major branch of linguistics devoted to the study of a meaning in language. These descriptions concur with Louwrens's (1994:173) view since he indicates that semantics is a study of meaning. Since semantics and syntax interact, the chapter will also have a bearing on syntax. The difference, as well as the extent of meaning distortion will be looked into. Special attention is given to *sa*, *no*, *fela* and *šetše*. Meaning is hereunder discussed in relation to the type and the duration of the activity expressed by the verb, since time is the core feature of aspects in Northern Sotho.

#### 4.2 THE ASPECT MORPHEME *SA*

*Sa*, which is translated by the English 'still', is described by Poulos and Louwrens (1994:278) and Ziervogel (1988:34) as the progressive morpheme that expresses the idea of an action that is persisting.

The semantic analysis of *sa* is discussed in the following context:

(a) *Sa* occurring with verbs in the present tense

- (1) a. *Tate o bala puku.*  
(Father is reading a book.)

- b. *Tate o sa bala puku.*  
(Father is still reading a book.)
- c. *Mokgadi o dula Gauteng.*  
(Mokgadi stays in Gauteng.)
- d. *Mokgadi o sa dula Gauteng.*  
(Mokgadi still stays in Gauteng.)
- e. *Ngwana o a nwa.*  
(The child drinks.)
- f. *Ngwana o sa nwa.*  
(The child is still drinking.)

Examples (1a, c and e) consist of activities that are taking place at the present moment. For example, the act of reading as in (1a), the act of staying, as in (1c), and the act of drinking, as in (1e), are all performed the moment we speak. In examples (1b, d, and f) above, a slightly modified meaning is expressed because of the inclusion of *sa* in the structures. *Sa* introduces a sense of continuity that eventually reveals incompleteness of activities. For instance, example (1b) implies that the process of reading, as in (1b), is performed until an unspecified period. Example (1d) denotes that the subject, as we are speaking, is still residing in Gauteng. Example (1c) means that the activity of drinking has not stopped, but it is in progress at the present time.

(b) *Sa* expressing activities that will take place in future

*Sa* can be used to indicate processes that will be carried out in time yet to come, as illustrated below:

- (2) a. *Le mmethe gape, ke sa boa.*  
(Just continue beating him, I'll be back.)
- b. *Le sa tla mpona gosasa.*  
(You'll see me again tomorrow.)

Even though there is no future tense marker in example (2) above, grammatically such sentences are well formed in Northern Sotho. They express processes that will be conducted in future. For example, in (2a), the speaker is telling the addressed that they must continue beating the referent until he comes back. In example (2b), the speaker is telling the listeners that they will see him again. Of course, this is a literal interpretation that entails a command. Figuratively, both sentences express a warning. The speaker is warning the listeners to stop beating the referent, as in (2a), and that he will come back for a revenge as in (2b). The speaker/listener who does not have the capacity of interpreting such constructions might not be aware of the intended message.

- (c) *Sa* occurring with perfect verbs that express the present activities

- (3) *Bana ba sa emetše tsebišo ya dipoelo.*  
(The children are still waiting for the announcement of results.)

Since *sa* is associated with the present and future tense activities, its occurrence with the perfect tense verb like *emetše* (waiting for) in (3) above, can create confusion. For example, the meaning in (3) can be twisted and be interpreted as something that took place in the past. Contextually, sentence (3) indicates that the activity of waiting commenced in the past and progresses until the moment of speaking. Let us examine the following examples:

- (4) a. *Bašemane ba sa robile ditilo.*  
(The boys broke the chairs again.)

- b. *Banenyana ba sa boletše maaka.*  
(The girls lied again.)

Literally, examples (6a-b) denote that the activity of breaking, as in (6a), and the activity of talking in (6b) took place in the past and are progressing as we are speaking. Figuratively, examples (6a-b) denote that the activity of breaking, in (6a), and the activity of telling, in (6b), are performed repeatedly. The emphasis is on the repetition. Such application might lead non-Northern Sotho speakers/listeners astray.

(d) In Northern Sotho, *sa* can be used to express surprise and impatience

- (5) a. *O sa ntebeletše?*  
(Are you still looking at me?)
- b. *O sa homotše?*  
(Are you still quiet?)

Literally, example (5a) implies that the stirring occurs continuously and example (5b) denotes that the act of closing the mouth is in progress. If the contextual interpretation is applied, both sentences express a sense of surprise or amazement. For example, in (5a), the speaker is amazed by the way the referent is looking at him. Example (5a), contextually, may also imply that the speaker is irritated by the way the referent is looking at her, and in (5b) the speaker is amazed by the referent's quietness. Contextually, it may also show that the speaker is feeling so irritated because the referent keeps on closing his/her mouth whenever the speaker talks to him. The non-Northern Sotho speaker might not be able to detect the delivered message.

(e) *Sa* indicating activities or processes that are carried as a habit

(6) a. *O sa nwa.*  
(He is still drinking.)

b. *O sa betha.*  
(He is still beating.)

Sentences (6a-b) do not only express a mere continuity in drinking, as in (6a), and beating, as in (6b), processes. They also entail the habitual aspect, implying that the acts of drinking and beating are performed as a habit.

(f) Orthography can also play a crucial role in this context

The orthography that is described by *Collins Concise Dictionary* (2004:1061) as the spelling considered to be correct, can at times confuse both the non-Northern Sotho and native speakers of Northern Sotho. The following illustrate this viewpoint appropriately:

(7) a. *Selepe sa tate.*  
(My father's axe.)

b. *Seeta sa Mokgadi.*  
(Mokgadi's shoe.)

In the two examples dealt with above, there is no aspectual meaning. *Sa*, which has been applied, does not express a sense of continuity. It is a possessive concord that brings about the agreement between the nouns *selepe* (axe) and *tate* (father), as in (7a) above. Non-Northern Sotho listeners can misinterpret such utterances.

### 4.3 THE ASPECT MORPHEME *ŠETŠE*

*Šetše* is translated by the English ‘already’, which, according to Cobuild (1991:20), is used to say that something has happened earlier than was expected, or sooner than it was expected to happen. *The Pocket Oxford Dictionary* (1984:19) defines ‘already’ as before the time in question. In Northern Sotho, *šetše* relates to activities that took place in the past, but it can also refer to activities that are taking place presently and those that will take place in future, as illustrated in the following:

(a) The incorporation of *šetše* in activities occurring in the present tense.

- (8) a. *Ntlo e a agwa.*  
(The house is being build.)
- b. *Ntlo šetše e agiwa.*  
(The hosue is being build already.)

In (8a) above, the activity of building is performed in the present continuous tense. In (8b), a slight modification of meaning occurs due to the incorporation of *šetše*. It provides certainty that the building commenced. Example (8a), on the other hand, does not provide information regarding the commencement time of the building.

- (9) a. *Lesogana le a fola.*  
(The young man is smoking.)
- b. *Lesogana šetše le fola.*  
(The young man is smoking already.)

Example (9a) indicates the activity of smoking taking place in the present moment. There is no information regarding when the activity commenced. In (9b), *šetše* has been incorporated and, therefore, provides the assurance that the activity of smoking commenced already.

(b) The incorporation of *šetše* in activities that will take place in future.

As a morpheme that indicates activities that already took place in Northern Sotho, it can be used with activities that still have to be completed. Let us observe the following examples:

- (10) a. *Ba ya sekolong gosasa.*  
(They are going to school tomorrow.)
- b. *Šetše ba ya sekolong gosasa.*  
(They are already going to school tomorrow.)
- c. *Re thoma go šoma kgwedi yeo e tlogo.*  
(We will commence with the work next month.)
- d. *Šetše re thoma go šoma kgwedi yeo e tlogo.*  
(We already commence to work next month.)

Temporal adverbs, *gosasa* (tomorrow) in example (10a-b) and *kgwedi yeo e tlogo* (next month) in (10c-d), show that the activity of going in (10a-b) and the activity of working in (10c-d) occur in the future time. The co-occurrence of *šetše* with such expressions seems to be ungrammatical and meaningless. The implication is that, *šetše* introduces an aspect of completion in the activities still to come. Of course, such constructions are grammatically correct but might confuse a non-Northern Sotho speaker/listener.



- (c) *Šetše* occurring with perfect tense verbs that express present meaning

In Northern Sotho, some perfect verbs forms can express imperfect meaning, that is, they can refer to activities that are taking place at the present moment or which are in progress. If *šetše* is incorporated in such constructions, the idea of completion is revealed. The following sentences illustrate this point aptly:

- (11) a. *Ba filile baeng.*  
(The visitors have arrived.)
- b. *Šetše ba fihlile baeng.*  
(Visitors have already arrived.)
- c. *Ba tsene beng motse.*  
(The owners have entered.)
- d. *Šetše ba tsebe beng motse.*  
(The owners have entered already.)

Verbs such as *fihlile* (arrived), as in (11a-b), and *tsene* (entered) as in (11c-d) are regarded by Louwrens (1994:184) as perfect verb forms that denote the activity that is persisting. The incorporation of *šetše* in (11b and d) reveals the idea that the activity was completed in the past. For example, (11b) denotes that the arrival was completed and is non-existent as we are speaking. Example (11d) denotes that the entering was completed in the past. Contextually, examples (11b and d) are marked with emphasis. The speaker stresses on the arrival of the visitors, as in (11b), and the entrance of the owners, as in (11d). Such application might at times become incomprehensible.

- (d) The occurrence of *šetše* with anchoactive verbs

Louwrens (1994:82) indicates that anchoactive roots express a movement into a state and it must not be interpreted as the end of the process. Continuity is, therefore, the essential factor of anchoactive verbs. Let us scrutinise the following examples:

- (12) a. *Rakgolo o a lapa.*  
(Grandfather is becoming tired.)
- b. *Rakgolo šetše a lapa.*  
(Grandfather is already becoming tired.)
- c. *Ngwana o a otsela.*  
(The child is falling asleep.)
- d. *Ngwana šetše a otsela.*  
(The child is falling asleep already.)

*Lapa* (becoming tired) as in (12a), and *otsela* (falling asleep), as in (12c), are anchoactive verbs that indicate the process of getting tired and falling asleep respectively. The incorporation of *šetše* in (12b and d) introduces a sense of completion on activities that are in progress or becoming stative in nature. In other words, *šetše* turns the anchoactive verbal forms into stative verb forms. For example, (12b) may be misinterpreted as:

- (13) *Rakgolo o lapile.*  
(Grandfather is tired.)

Example (12d) may be misinterpreted as follows:

- (14) *Ngwana o otsetše.*  
(The child is asleep.)

#### 4.4 THE ASPECT MORPHEME *NO*

Poulos and Louwrens (1994:285) and Louwrens (1991:55) refer to *no* as a casual morpheme since it indicates activities that are carried in a casual manner. *No* does not express only the idea of aimlessness, it can also express hidden meanings that might not be easily detected. The following illustrates what has been outlined:

- (a) *No* expressing a sense of aimlessly

The activity that is carried aimlessly is said to be carried with no special purpose. *The Oxford English Dictionary* (2004:27) defines aimlessly as, without purpose direction. Nabe, Potelwa and Yiba (1979:5) state that aimlessly refers to 'with no intention'. The following illustrate these viewpoints appropriately:

- (15) a. *Mogwera o a bolela mo hlokomologe.*  
(My friend is talking ignore him.)
- b. *Mogwera o **no** bolela mo hlokomologe.*  
(My friend is just talking ignore him.)

Example (15) above exhibits two different meanings due to the inclusion of *no* in (15b). For example, (15a) is a statement whereby the speaker is warning the referent about his friend's attitude. Example (15b) figuratively expresses a sense of aimlessness. It indicates that the speaker's friend is just talking with no specific purpose.

- (16) a. *Lesogana le a mo rata.*  
 (The young man loves her.)
- b. *Lesogana le **no** mo rata.*  
 (The young man just loves her.)

In example (16b), a different meaning is produced because of *no*. It denotes that the young man doesn't have a specific intention for loving the referent. The act of love is carried with no objective. Contextually, it may also refer that, in spite of the lady's weaknesses, the gentleman is very much in love with her.

b. Expression of uncertainty

Charlton (1971:85) describes uncertainty as the mental state of not having a firm belief. According to *The Pocket Oxford Dictionary* (1984:821), uncertainty refers to a state of being not convinced. *Paperback Oxford Large Print Dictionary* (2002:1207) defines uncertainty as a feeling being of unsure. Let us examine the following examples:

- (17) a. *Ke a ngwala.*  
 (I'm writing.)
- b. *Ke no ngwala.*  
 (I'm just writing.)

For comparison's sake, in example (17b) above, *no* has been incorporated and a hidden meaning is thus produced. In (17a), the speaker is just informing listeners that he is writing. Example (17b) entails an aspect of uncertainty that might not easily be detected. It means that the speaker is not certain about what he is doing. He is not confident about what he is writing.

c. Expression of hopelessness

*Webster's New Dictionary* (1993:479) describes hopelessness as having no expectations of good or success. According to *The Pocket Oxford Dictionary* (1984:353), hopelessness refers to a feeling of no expectation that certain desired events may occur, as exemplified in the following examples:

- (18) a. *Tate o mo tsentsha sekolo.*  
(Father is responsible for his education.)
- b. *Tate o **no** mo tsentsha sekolo.*  
(Father is just responsible for his education.)
- c. *Ke tla ya go mo etela.*  
(I will visit him.)
- d. *Ke tla **no** ya go mo etela.*  
(I will just visit him.)

Examples (18a and c) above entail a mere provision of information. For example, in (18a), the speaker is telling the listeners that his father is responsible for the referent's education and in example (18c), the speaker tells the listeners that he will pay the referent a visit. Sentences (18b and d), on the other hand, entail a hidden meaning. Both express a sense of despair. For example, in (18b) the father has less hope of educating the referent; he does not expect anything afterwards. Contextually, it may also refer that, in spite of the referent's failing and lack of progress, the father continues to provide assistance. In example (18d), the speaker does not expect any reward for visiting the referent. It may also indicate that, in spite of the referent's bad behaviour, the speaker will go and see her.

d. Expression of disrespect

Haddock (1999:95) defines disrespect as the lack of esteem. *The Pocket Oxford Dictionary* (1984:212) describes disrespect as the lack of differential esteem felt or shown towards a person.

The following example supports what has been highlighted above:

- (19) a. *Ke mo theetša ge a bolela.*  
(I listen to what he says.)
- b. *Ke **no** mo theetša ge a bolela.*  
(I just listen when he says.)

Example (19a) denotes that the speaker listens attentively when the referent speaks. In example (19b), figuratively, a sense of disrespect resulting from the affixation of *no* is produced. The sentence implies that the speaker undetermines the referent's utterances. Whatever is said, the speaker does not take it into consideration.

e. The expression of the feeling of unawareness

According to *Paperback Oxford Large Print Dictionary* (2002:1206), unawareness is referred to as not knowing or realising that something is there. *Collins Concise Dictionary* (2004:1637) agrees with these authors when it says that unawareness means being not conscious or not aware of something. Let us study the following sentences:

- (20) a. *Ke a bolela.*  
(I am talking.)
- b. *Ke **no** bolela.*  
(I'm just talking.)

- c. *Ke a mo gata.*  
(I'm treading upon him.)
  
- d. *Ke **no** mo gata.*  
(I'm just treading upon him.)

Examples (20a and c) above are statements. The speaker is telling the listeners that he is saying something as in (20a) and that the speaker is treading upon the referent. In (20b and d), there is a hidden meaning due to the inclusion of *no* in these examples. A feeling of unconsciousness is expressed. For example, (20a) implies that the speaker is making utterances out of his senses. He is not conscious about what he is saying. Example (20d) suggests that the speaker is not aware that he is treading upon the referent. The activities are carried without the speaker's consciousness.

- f. Expression of a feeling of unsatisfactory

*Shorter Oxford English Dictionary Volume One* (2002:3464) defines unsatisfactory as not fulfilling the desired or expectations. According to *Collins Concise Dictionary* (2004:1338), unsatisfactory refers to not fulfilling the desire or needs of a person, as exemplified below:

- (21) a. *Ke bolaya e tee feela.*  
(I am killing only one.)
  
- b. *Ke **no** bolaya e tee feela.*  
(I just kill one.)
  
- c. *Ke swara tše pedi.*  
(I am catching two.)

- d. *Ke no swara tše pedi.*  
(I just catch only two.)

In examples (21a and b), the speaker is providing information that he is killing only one, as in (21a), and in (21c), the speaker informs the listeners that he is catching only two. Due to the inclusion of *no* in (21b and d), contextually, the feeling of incapability to fulfil what has been desired is produced. For example, in (21b) the speaker is not satisfied since he was expecting to catch more than one, and (21d) the speaker is also dissatisfied because he did not catch up to his level of expectation. He might have expected to catch more than that.

- g. Expression of sympathy

*Longman Wordwise Dictionary* (2003) states that sympathy is the feeling that one has when she/he understands why someone is sad and wants to help him feel better. *The Oxford English Grammar* (1996:1459) defines sympathy as a feeling or expression of pity. The following illustrates the expression of sympathy:

- (22) a. *Ke no mo thuša ka ge a hloka batswadi.*  
(I'm helping him because he is an orphan.)
- b. *Tate o no mo rekela diaparo.*  
(My father is just buying him clothes.)

In the two examples given above, *no* has been used to express a feeling of empathy. For example, in (22a) the speaker is showing mercy by assisting the referent who is an orphan. In (22b) the subject is compassionate, and for that matter he buys clothes for the referent.



h. Expressing enforcement and compulsion

The *New Webster's Dictionary and Thesaurus* (1991:132) describes enforcement as the action of putting or imposing force. The *Shorter Oxford English Dictionary* (1967:610) defines enforcement as the action of imposing effect by force. The following sentences demonstrate these descriptions:

- (23) a. *O tla **no** patella le ge o sa rate.*  
(You'll pay even if you are not willing.)
- b. *O tla **no** ya le ge o lwala.*  
(You will go even if you are not willing.)

*No*, in example (23) above, has been used to express activities that are carried by pressure. For example, (23a) denotes that the referent is urged to make payment even if he is not ready to do so. Example (23b) denotes that the referent is compelled to go even if he is not feeling well.

It is deduced from this subsection that *no* does not express only the idea of aimlessness, but that there are various figurative meanings that result from the inclusion of this morpheme in sentences. Such expressions must be interpreted with insight since they are not easily detectable and incomprehensible thereof.

#### 4.5 THE ASPECT MORPHEME *FELA*

*Fela* is translated by the English 'continue', which the *Collins Concise Dictionary* (2001:320) describes as to carry a course of action uninterruptly. *The Pocket Oxford Dictionary* (1984:156) describes continue as the non-stop activity. *Longman WordWise Dictionary* (203:130) refers to continue as the act of doing something for a period of time without stopping. Let us observe the following examples:

- (24) a. *Bašemane ba rema dikgong.*  
(The boys are chopping woods.)
- b. *Bašemane ba **fela** ba rema dikgong.*  
(The boys keep on chopping woods.)
- c. *Bana ba sekolo ba a opela.*  
(The school children are singing.)
- d. *Bana ba sekolo ba **fela** ba opela.*  
(School children keep on singing.)

Examples (24a and c) above are merely statements that do not specify the time frame or the duration of time of the activity expressed by the verb. For example, example (24a) does not indicate the extent of time with regard to the verb chopping. In (24c) also, there is no specification of time regarding the singing process. The affixation of *fela* in (24b and c) gives rise to a slightly different meaning. A sense of continuity is expressed. For example, (24b) denotes that the activity of chopping was carried in a perpetual manner. In other words, the chopping was ceaseless or uninterrupted. Example (24d) indicates that the singing occurs continually. The process keeps on going without breakage.

- b. *Fela* can be used to indicate processes that are carried casually or aimlessly

- (25) a. *Ke no mo lebelela **fela**.*  
(I just keep on looking at her.)
- b. *Lesiba o kuka selepe **fela**.*  
(Lesiba is just lifting up an axe.)

*Fela* in (25a-b) has been used to denote actions that are carried for no specific reason. For example, (25a) implies that the subject is looking at the referent with no specific intention, and (25b) indicates that the axe was lifted up for no special purpose.

c. *Fela* in Northern Sotho can be used to warn.

- (26) a. *O mmethe **fela** re tla kopana.*  
(Just beat him, you'll know me.)
- b. *O bolela **fela** ba tla go bolaya.*  
(If you say something they'll kill you.)
- c. *O sepele **fela** ba tla go lemoga.*  
(If you go they'll recognise you.)
- d. *Le se boloke **fela** le tla se epolla.*  
(If you bury it, you'll exhume it.)

Example (26) above is used to express cautiousness. The speaker in (26a) forewarns the listeners not to harm or cause physical injury to the referent whereas in (26b) the speaker is warning the referent not to disclose the secret or otherwise he will be killed. In (26c), the speaker is warning the referent not to go out but to stay indoors since he will be recognised. Finally, in (26d) the speaker is warning the referent not to bury the corpse or otherwise they will be forced to exhume it.

Besides the previous discussions of *fela*, there are more non aspectual meanings expressed by *fela* that unconsciously a non-Northern Sotho speaker/listener may assign an aspectual role, hence distort the intended meaning, for example:

- (27) a. *O fela pelo ebile o bolaile motho.*  
(He is impatient and ended up killing a person.)

*Fela* in example (27) is employed as a verb expressing lack of endurance or quick temper. It is an idiomatic expression that implies that the referent committed crime (by killing a person) because of being short tempered.

- (28) a. *Motlatšo o timetše, fela o tla bonala.*  
(Motlatšo is missing, but they'll find him.)
- b. *Ba utswitše dieta tša ka fela ke tseba mo ba lego.*  
(They stole my shoes but I know where to find them.)

*Fela*, in example (28) above, has been used to join the two sentences. For example, in (28a) it joins *Motlatšo o timetše* (Motlatšo is missing) and *o tla bonala* (they'll find him). In (28b), it joins *ba utswitše dieta tša ka* (they stole my shoes) and *ke tseba mo balego* (I know where they are).

- d. *Fela* expressing 'only' or 'alone'

- (29) a. *Bagolegwa ba mo robile leoto fela.*  
(The prisoners broke only his leg.)
- b. *E be e le nna fela sekolong.*  
(I was alone at school.)

Example (29a) implies tht it is only the referent's leg that was broken by the prisoners and (29b) denotes that the referent did not have any escort at school. He was alone.

e. *Fela* can be used to indicate that something is just about to finish

(30) a. *Makhura a fela.*

(The oil is just about to finish.)

b. *Leboto le a fela.*

(The wall is just about to be completed.)

Example (30a) means that the oil can be finished out any time; (30b) implies that the building of the wall will soon be completed.

In the light of different meanings expressed by *fela*, it is, therefore, concluded that *fela* can confuse the listeners/readers if they are not careful. A wrong interpretation can be applied and eventually a wrong meaning will thus be rendered.

#### 4.5 CONCLUSION

In this chapter, the semantic analysis of *sa*, *šetše*, *fela* and *no* was discussed. The following was discovered:

- If sentences that consist of the progressive *sa* and verbs in the perfect forms are interpreted literally, meaning will be distorted;
- *Šetše* expresses a sense of completion on processes that are still in progress and which are to be carried in a future course;
- *Sa* and *šetše* contradict one another because *sa* relates to activities that are progressing and *šetše* on the other hand relates to activities that have been carried already;

- *No* does not express only the idea of aimlessly, there are hidden meanings associated with the inclusion of *no* in various structures; and
- *Fela* does not express only the aspect of continuity, there are different meanings that can be implied.

All the meanings alluded to in this chapter can be summarized in a table as follows:

**TABLE**

ASPECT MORPHEMES	<i>Sa</i>	<i>Šetše</i>	<i>No</i>	<i>Fela</i>
Aimlessness	-	-	+	-
Uncertainty	-	-	+	-
Surprise or amazement	+	-	-	-
Disrespect	-	-	+	-
Unawareness	-	-	+	-
Sympathy	-	-	+	-
Just	-	-	+	+
Completion	-	+	-	-
Continuity	+	-	-	+
Warning	+	-	+	+
Unsatisfactory	-	-	+	-
Repetition	+	-	-	-
Hopelessness	-	-	+	-
Habituality	+	-	-	-
Impatience	+	-	+	-
Enforcement & Compulsion	-	-	+	-

## CHAPTER FIVE

### 5.1 SUMMARY

**Chapter One** is composed of the background to the problem, the specific purpose for conducting the research project (aims and objectives), the scope and delimitation of the study that assist in the demarcation of the research project, the significance of the study that indicates the importance of the study, the research methodology; a means by which data are collected and the literature review; the subsection that presents different authors' viewpoints.

**Chapter Two** analyses the structure of aspect morphemes. Their occurrence in moods, tense and negation is also examined. It is discovered that aspect morphemes are characterised by either single or two syllables. The following morphemes have been analysed morphologically: *sa*, *dula*, *fela* and *no*, and this is what happens: *Sa* can occur in the indicative, infinitive, imperative, relative, situative, consecutive, subjunctive and habitual moods, in both positive and negative form, but it cannot start in the perfect and the future tense of the imperative mood. *Dula* cannot occur in the consecutive and habitual moods. In the infinitive mood, it cannot occur in the imperfect and the perfect tense. In the imperative mood, the occurrence is in the future tense. *Fela* cannot occur in the perfect tense of the consecutive and the habitual moods. *No* cannot occur in the future tense of the imperative mood and the perfect tense of all the moods, with the exception of consecutive mood.

**Chapter Three** deals with the syntactical significance of aspect morphemes and attention is given to the occurrence of *sa*, *šetše*, *fo* and *hlwa* in simple and complex sentences. As far as *sa* is concerned, the occurrence in complex sentences is limited to certain clauses. *Šetše* cannot occur in the imperative main clause plus the subjunctive and consecutive subordinate clauses. *Fo* occurs in the indicative and the imperative main clauses plus the subjunctive, situative, relative, infinitive and the consecutive subordinate clauses, without affecting the grammaticality. *Hlwa* is

restricted in the main clauses in the indicative main clauses plus the subjunctive, situative, relative and consecutive subordinate clauses.

**Chapter Four** approaches aspect morphemes from a semantic point of view. In this chapter, the meaning of *sa*, *šetše*, *fela* and *no* is discussed and it is discovered that these morphemes can also express figurative meanings. It is also discovered that some auxiliary verbs can also serve as aspect morphemes because they describe the nature of the activity expressed by the verb.

**Chapter Five** concludes the research project. It contains findings and recommendations.

## 5.2 RECOMMENDATIONS

The proposed recommendations are highlighted:

- Auxilliary verbs *šetše*, *fela*, *lala*, *dula* and *hlwa* possesses features of aspect morphemes, hence their dual nature should therefore be taken into consideration;
- Words are context dependent since aspect morphemes can create distortion of meaning; contextual interpretation must also be applied to avoid distortion;
- Aspect morphemes express various meanings. Effective development of Northern Sotho will be attained if both the figurative and the literal interpretation of phrases or sentences are applied;
- Learning a language is merely learning words and their meanings. Meaning; therefore, plays a crucial role in the implementation of the principle of multilingualism and language development in our country. Language services



must ensure that sufficient meaningful dictionaries (particularly of African languages) are available to facilitate these programmes;

- Finally, translators and interpreters, as essential agents in the development of African languages, must make sure that the correct and unambiguous meaning across languages is provided.

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