

UNIVERSITY OF CAPE TOWN

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A STUDY OF THE AUXILIARY IN SESOTHO

SOLOMON RAMPASANE CHAPHOLE

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ABSTRACT

The Auxiliary is a sadly neglected field of study in Southern African languages. The study investigates the syntactic and semantic behaviour of Auxiliaries in Sesotho. Having established that there is a category AUX in Sesotho, we then developed a descriptive framework in which auxiliaries in Sesotho participate. In this framework we posit as basic the three grammatical-semantic categories of verb phrases, namely, Tense, Aspect and Modality.

The next major step was to develop formal tests which we used as defining characteristics for auxiliaries. We had to do this because the formal tests developed for English, for instance, do not work for Sesotho. The data used in this study represents samples of Sesotho as spoken by the native speakers.

This work makes contributions in two areas. First, to language studies in Southern Africa and then to general linguistic theory. Since Tswana, Northern Sotho and Southern Sotho form one language group predict that the formal 'tests' we have suggested can be applied in the two Sotho languages as well.

As far as Aspect, Tense and Modality are concerned, it is where this study makes a major contribution. Nowhere in Sesotho grammatical studies has either a tense or aspectual system of Sesotho been suggested or discussed. Modality has not even been referred to. In this regard the study is breaking new ground. We hope that a fresh debate will be initiated leading to vibrant discussions on comparative work.

A number of studies on syntactic typology have been made. This study affords Sesotho its rightful place in the AUX debate.

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ABBREVIATIONS

AUX	The Universal Cagatory
Aux	Auxiliary
S	Sentence
NP	Noun phrase
VP	Verb phrase
V	Verb
$\overline{\overline{V}}$	phrasal category
\overline{V}	intermediate phrasal category
Tns	Tense
Asp	Aspect
SC	subject concord
CB	copula base
Neg	Negative
Perf	Perfect
Prog	Progressive
Antic	Anticipative
FUT	Future
ITER	Iterative
DUR	Durative
PERST	Perstitivive
PRES	Present
HABIT	Habitual

SUBJ	Subjunctive
RC	Relative Concord
OC	Object Concord
MOD	Modality
POSS	Possibility
NEC	Necessity
SEC	Secondary
PRIM	Primary
STAT	Stative
PASS	Passive

We have used an unfamiliar term SINTU to refer to Bleek's internationally used term BANTU. As we all know, the term BANTU has acquired ugly connotations in South Africa.

The high tone is marked with, the low is not marked, and only in clear cases has the downstep been marked with the symbol !. The tonal values are based solely on the writer's speech which was carefully monitored by Professor Charles Kisseberth.

SUMMARY

WHAT THE STUDY IS ABOUT

The business of this work is to investigate the syntactic and semantic behaviour of AUXILIARIES in Sesotho. First we are going to demonstrate that auxiliaries are of different types. There are auxiliaries of tense-forming character, aspectual markers, modal auxiliaries, non-concording conjunctive auxiliaries and auxiliary verbs. After identifying and grouping the auxiliaries, we will move on and present a detailed analysis of auxiliary types.

WHY THE AUXILIARY?

We have chosen to study the auxiliary for several reasons. This is a field of study that has been sadly neglected in Southern African Languages. Treatments of auxiliaries in existing grammars are far from satisfactory. We discuss the

limitations of these grammars in the first chapter. When Guma produced his Outline Structure in 1971, there were ululations that a speaker of the language had come up with what we have been waiting for. It soon became apparent however, that there were problems in his grammar as well. In many ways Guma repeats what Doke and Mofokeng have done. His chapter on auxiliaries is only one of the many which have been poorly handled.

There is a hiatus in the description of TENSE and MOOD sequences of verbals in compounded predicates consisting of AUX + RAD entities. It is certainly not clear from existing grammars which sequences of verbal words are linked in a single compound expression with one time reference and which are freely associated sequences in which every member of the sequence is a variable. Such descriptions as exist are merely lists of what are termed deficient verbs with no indication of the existence of the compounded entity. The so-called deficient verbs of previous descriptions are here regarded as auxiliaries which are linked to the main radical.

To our knowledge no one has done this work before, especially in the manner we propose to approach it. In the first chapter we define the auxiliary and review existing

literature on the subject. We are going to look at the available material in chronological order. The idea is to check if there has been any development in the treatment of auxiliaries over the years.

Chapter II develops a syntactic system which forms the basis of our analysis; and then outlines a descriptive framework in which auxiliaries in Sesotho participate.

In Chapter III we identify the auxiliaries. Here we develop formal tests that can be used as guidelines in the identification of auxiliaries. In Chapter IV we present a detailed systematic analysis of auxiliaries that mark aspect. We conclude this chapter with a suggested aspectual system for Sesotho.

Chapter V concentrates on tense-forming and conjunctive auxiliaries. Modal auxiliaries and modality markers are discussed in Chapter VI. When we come to Chapter VII we stop, look back and check if we have solved the problems we confidently undertook to investigate. We ask questions like: Are there residual problems? If yes, what do we propose to do about them?

CHAPTER I

TREATMENTS OF AUXILIARIES IN EXISTING GRAMMARS

1.1 DEFINING THE AUXILIARY

1.2 THE STATUS OF AUXILIARIES

1.2.1 THE AUX CONTROVERSY

1.3 AUXILIARIES IN SESOTHO GRAMMARS

1.3.1 JACOTTET AND PAROZ

1.3.2 DOKE AND MOFOKENG

1.3.3 GUMA'S OUTLINE STRUCTURE

1.4 AUXILIARIES IN OTHER SINTU LANGUAGES

CHAPTER I

TREATMENTS OF AUXILIARIES IN EXISTING GRAMMARS

The purpose of this chapter is to define the Auxiliary and to anticipate its central position in our theoretical framework (2.2); and then to evaluate some of the relevant literature on the subject.

1.1 DEFINING THE AUXILIARY

Crystal defines the auxiliary as a term used in the grammatical description of the verb phase to refer to the set of verbs, subordinate to the main lexical verb which help to make distinctions in mood, aspect, voice (1980, p. 80). It is clear from what Crystal says that the auxiliary is used to denote a sub-category of the verb. In African Linguistics, especially in Southern African languages of the Suntu family the term auxiliary was used by grammarians like Jacottet (1906, 1927) and Paroz (1946). In works such as Doke (1935, 1957), Louw (1949), Cole (1955), Fortune (1955), Van Eeden (1941), Ziervogel (1952), Ziervogel and Dau (1961), and Guma (1971), the term deficient verb is

preferred. In 1963 Louw proposed a departure from Doke's coinage of deficient verb for auxiliary verb. This proposal is, in fact, a return to the earlier use of the term auxiliary verb.

1.2 THE STATUS OF AUXILIARIES

We shall certainly not be overstating the point when we say (of Chomsky) that "it is the measure of a scholar's achievement that other and lesser scholars should produce whole books debating aspects of his thoughts" (Matthews 1979, p.11). As a theorist Chomsky has made important contributions to the development of language study. He has put forward a specific theory of grammar. Today in 1987 we, the lesser scholars, are still fascinated by some of the attractive features of Syntactic Structures. Even though it is controversial today to talk of a Chomskyan revolution (cf. Koerner 1983; Murray 1983), we unwaveringly take the view that "the publication of Syntactic Structures by Noam Chomsky in 1957 ushered in an intellectual revolution in the field [of linguistics]" (Newmeyer 1986, p.1; my emphasis).

In Syntactic Structures, Chomsky proposed an analysis which included the following phrase structure rule:

- a. i. $S \rightarrow NP + VP$
- ii. $VP \rightarrow V + NP$
- iii. $V \rightarrow Aux + V$
- iv. $Aux \rightarrow Tense \text{ Modal Aspect}$

Two fundamental features of the Syntactic Structures analysis are that a syntactic category AUX which appears as a syntactic node in phrase markers, is proposed. The IC's of AUX are the categories Tense, Modal Aspect. Traditionally defined notionally, Chomsky uses them for a purely formal analysis. Not only auxiliary verbs are generated here but also inflectional morphes like Past and Pres. As will be seen in the next chapter, the definition of AUX with which we operate takes into account both the notional and the formal aspect. It could be objected though that the definition as it appears in a.iv is too narrow. The definition is in fact narrow since it excludes verbal conjunctives which are a legitimate group of auxiliaries in Sesotho.

One crucial aspect which we believe relates to the concept auxiliary, is the distinction between form and meaning.

- Examples: 1. Ba rekile (reka-ile)
 They(SC) buy-PERF
They have bought
2. Ba lapile
 They(SC) be-hungry-PERF (lapa-ile)
They are hungry

If we look at examples 1 and 2 above, we notice that in terms of form, they are similar. In each case the form is subject concord + verbal radical + perfect aspect marker.

The crucial difference between the two examples lies in their meaning. Sentence 1 refers to past time while sentence 2 refers to present time even though it is formally marked for perfect aspect. While the aspectual category of the verb is perfect in sentence 1, it is stative in 2. A stative verb in Sesotho is one which is formally/structurally past but semantically present.

The forms ilo and tlilo "going to do" also provide evidence relating to the distinction between form and meaning.

- Examples:
3. Re ilo (ile-ho) bolela
 We(SC) go-PERF-INFIN tell
 We are going to tell (on you)
4. Re tlilo bolela
 We(SC) come-PERF-INFIN tell
- a) We have come to report
- b) We are going to tell on you

First of all ilo as used in 3 above is the contracted form of ile + ho literally "gone + to". In its form then it clearly consists of the perfect morpheme ile + the infinitive prefix ho. However, when we consider the meaning, the time reference is clearly future. It is for this reason that we propose to call ilo an anticipative aspect marker (see para 4.3.3).

As far as example 4 goes, we have two English glosses indicating that the same form can have two meanings. 4a is the unmarked paraphrase of sentence 4 while 4b is the marked form with a future meaning.

Finally, we consider tla "will" and its "past" counterpart.

Example: 5. Letsatsi le tla dikela ka 6 kajeno

Sun it FUT set at 6 today

The sun will set at 6 today

6. Ke tla o nyala

I(SC) FUT you marry

I will marry you

Tla is used as a future tense marker in 5 above and the meaning is also future. In sentence 6 pragmatic factors come into play. The illocutionary force of example 6 is a promise and it can only be a promise when tla is used. The past form of tla is a compound form whose meaning is both conditional and unfulfilled.

Example: 7. Ke ne ke tla o nyala (haeba)...

I(SC). DUR-PAST I(SC) FUT you marry (if)

I would marry you (if) ...

The discussion on form and meaning confirms the view that auxiliaries are grammatical-semantic categories. They face both ways towards form and meaning at the same time.

1.2.1 THE AUX CONTROVERSY

In Chomsky's Syntactic Structures the VP is rewritten as Verb + NP and Verb is rewritten as Aux + V (1957, p.26; p.39). Clearly, this is very much in line with the view that auxiliaries are verbs, but not main verbs. In Aspects however, Aux is no longer dominated by VP, let alone by Verb. The first suggestion Chomsky makes is that Aux is immediately dominated by S and so is a sister node to subject NP and VP (1965, p.86). In Chomsky (1975) Aux is immediately dominated by Predicate Phrase together with VP, but not subject NP, as its sister. Aux does not appear to be a verb at all in this analysis. There is no single constituent that includes both auxiliary and main verb (cf. Ross 1969; McCawley 1971; Palmer 1979a). As we shall soon see, the analysis of Aux has since been subjected to detailed discussions and modifications by several researchers. Our analysis in this work will benefit from Chomsky's original definition of Aux as well as from the modifications of it.

The first claim that Chomsky's (1957) analysis makes is that AUX is a category. There has in fact been a long debate over whether there is evidence of a syntactic constituency of AUX and VP. We shall very briefly consider some of the arguments presented in the AUX controversy. The second claim is that the AUX and the main verb occur in the same

clause; that is, the main verb is not subordinated to the AUX. Chomsky is obviously making these claims for English. Steele (1979, p.10) makes two assumptions which follow from Chomsky's claims about the category AUX. First, Steele assumes that the category is justified for English. Secondly, she argues that AUX is a universal category. It is not our intention to take issue with Steele since some of the assumptions she makes relate to English. What we have to point out is that in Sesotho,

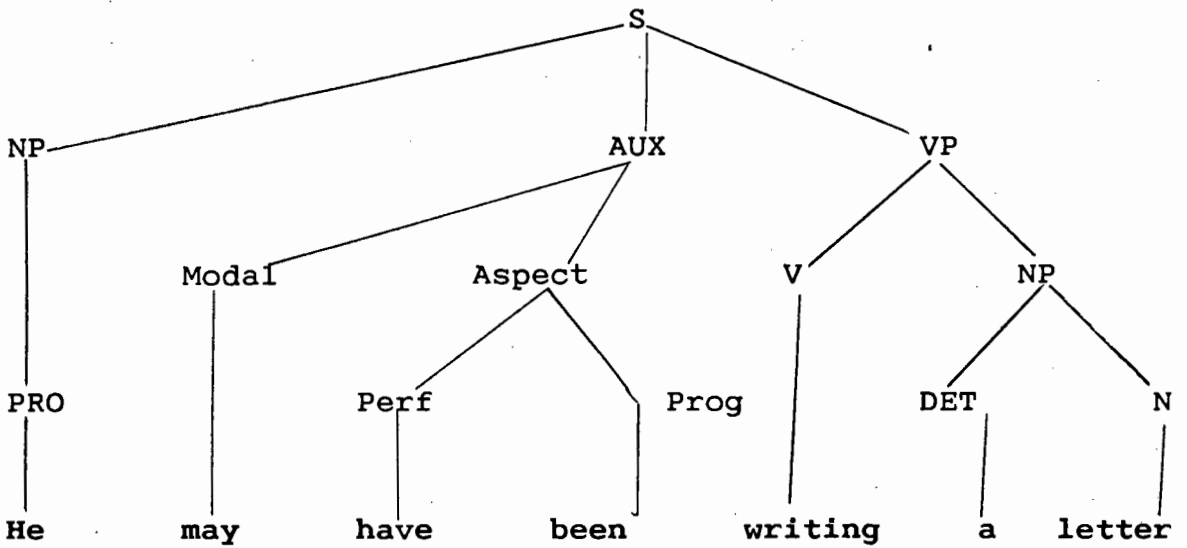
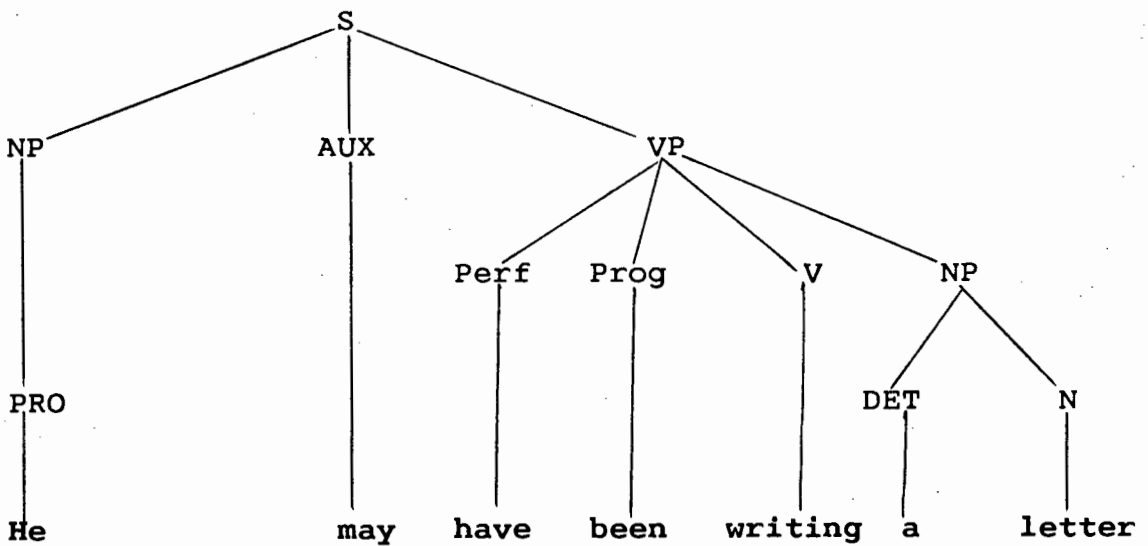
- a, there is a category AUX,
- b, the auxiliary belongs to the verb phrase,
- c, auxiliary verbs dominate their complements.

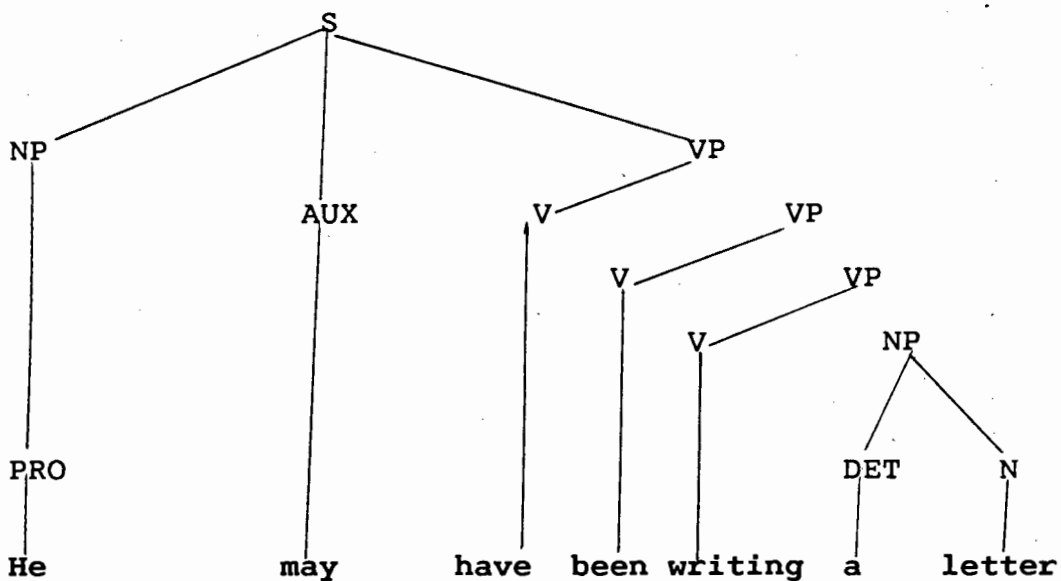
We are using the term dominate in the same sense as Louw (1987).

The fundamental features of Chomsky's original analysis of AUX have been accepted in a number of works including Chomsky (1965; 1972), Emonds (1970; 1972; 1976), Jackendoff (1972), Lightfoot (1974), Akmajian and Wasow (1975), Culicover (1976), Steele (1978; 1979), Akmajian, Steele and Wasow (1979), Wasow (1979) and Steele et al (1981). These authors have discussed in considerable detail the character of the analysis resulting in modifications of the original proposal. We give structures of some of the modified analyses.

1. Chomsky, Studies (1972)

Example 2. He may have been writing a letter

2. Jackendoff, Semantic Interpretation (1972)

3. Edmonds, English Syntax (1976)

The three structures given above show marked differences in their VPs; and in what is included under the AUX node. However, they all share one common feature: AUX is immediately dominated by S. This practice has been retained even in Chomsky's recent work.

In Government-Binding Theory, the node AUX is called INFL (for inflection). The inflectional features are of two kinds. The tense features are contextually related to the verb only. The agreement features are contextually related not only to the verb but also to the subject NP by a rule of agreement. In addition, the agreement features are

contextually dependent on the presence of the feature [⁺tns]. As in the original analysis, INFL is directly dominated by S. This is illustrated in the following simplified structure.

[s NP INFL VP]s

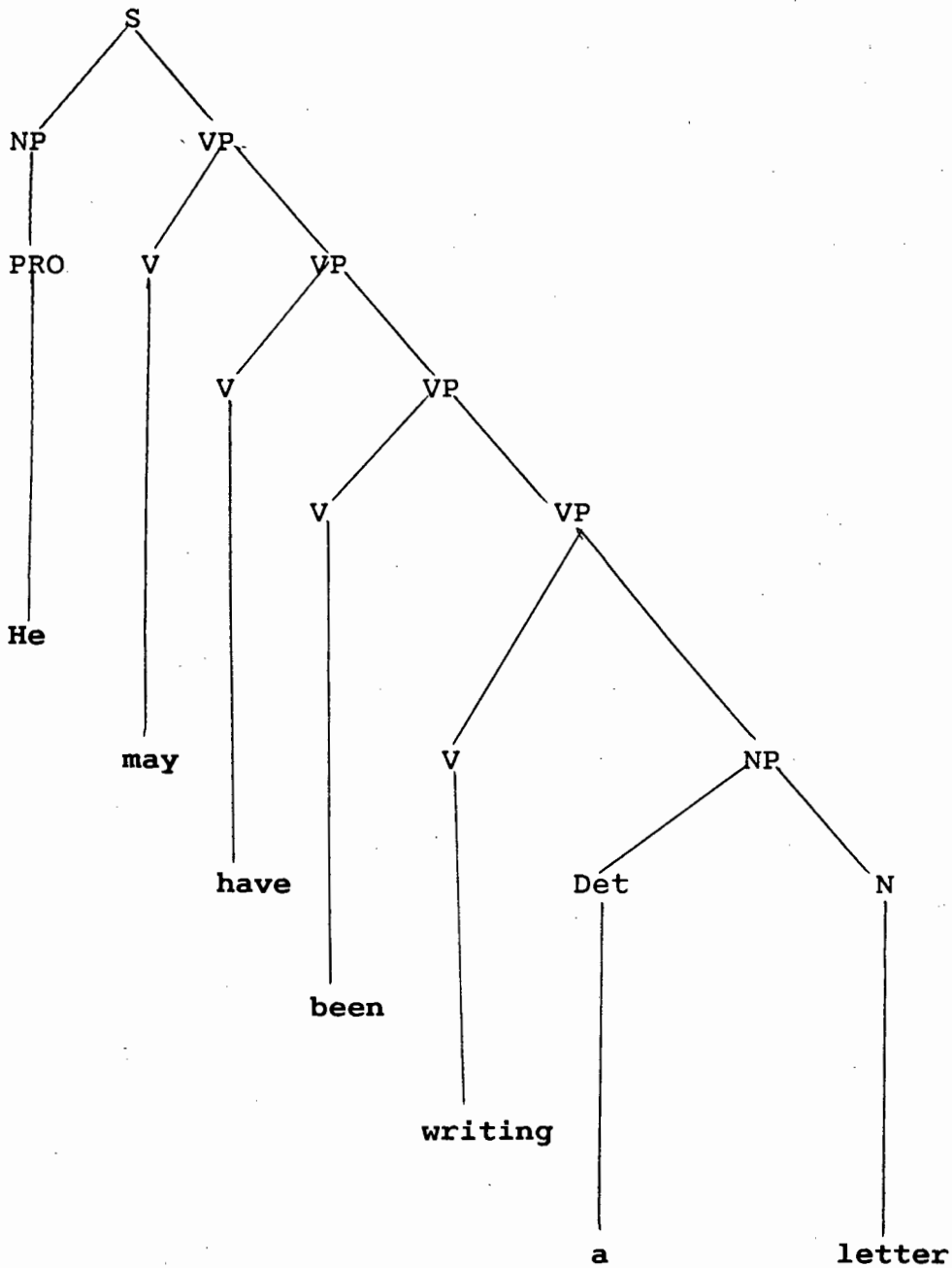
In Chomsky (1986), INFL heads a projection INFL' consisting of the head INFL and its complement, VP. This analysis is in line with our earlier observation that auxiliaries dominate their complements in Sesotho.

Up to now, we have been talking about one camp of the AUX controversy. There is an opposite view that auxiliaries are main verbs.

The first serious proposal that auxiliaries should be treated as main verbs came from Ross (1969). It should be noted though, that this idea had already been suggested in works such as Postal (1965) and Hofmann (1966). Ross denies the validity of the premises upon which the AUX Tense Modal Aspect analysis is based. He does not posit a syntactic category AUX; instead, he considers its purported members to be main verbs which take full sentential complements. The distribution of the auxiliary elements is said to be governed not by a phrase structure rule, but by

independently necessary constraints which hold between main verbs and their sentential complements (cf Steele et al 1981; Emenanjo 1985). The following structure represents Ross's standpoint:

4. Ross 'Auxiliaries as main verbs' (1969)



Ross's side of the controversy is not without followers either. Included in this camp are linguists like McCawley (1971), Lakoff (1971), Ross (1970; 1972), Keyser

and Postal (1976), Anderson (1976), Pullum and Wilson (1977). Steele et al (1981, p.14) and Palmer (1979a, p.4) are agreed that Pullum and Wilson (1977) present the most complete modification of the main verb analysis. However, it is important to note that the extremely well-argued article by Pullum and Wilson has the sole aim to show that an auxiliary as main verb analysis is consistent with an interpretive model of generative grammar. The arguments of these scholars have been dependent upon the assumptions of generative semantics which was fashionable at the time. In this regard, we agree with Palmer that we ought not to argue about the description of a language in terms of what a particular model wants. Rather the model itself should be modified or abandoned if it fails to provide an adequate and appropriate description.

The work by Gazdar, Pullum and Sag (1980) is, in part, a continuation of the main verb analysis. In fact in the theory of Generalized Phrase Structure Grammar (GPSG) developed mainly by Gerald Gazdar, there are no abstract categories like INFL as there is no level at which to represent them. In GPSG as in early X'-Theory, S is a projection of V (cf Gazdar et al, 1985). In Government-Binding Theory an assumption is made that information flows up from INFL to its projection S in the syntax, before INFL is combined with the verb in PF (cf Sells, 1985).

We have to pause at this stage to consider just one of the counter-arguments to Ross's main verb analysis. Huddleston (1969a, 1974, 1976, 1977) have been partly devoted to arguments purported to show that the English auxiliaries are not main verbs. Lightfoot (1974) may be seen to represent a total rejection of Ross's arguments. However, since there is an authoritative, much more superior response, by Frank Palmer, to the auxiliary-as-main-verb analysis; we shall say no more about Huddleston or Lightfoot. Palmer points out, and we agree, that Ross offers ten arguments, nine from English, one from German, to show that auxiliaries are verbs but not that they are main verbs (Palmer 1979a, p.1, my emphasis). Only two arguments are then offered to show that auxiliaries are main verbs.

The foregoing discussion on the AUX controversy is an attempt to provide an explanation for the status of auxiliaries. A few comments are apposite. First, it is quite clear from the discussion above that not all auxiliary elements are verbs. It would be impossible then to treat all such elements as verbs. In Sesotho, as in other languages such as Luiseno, there are auxiliary elements which are not verb-like. Examples include:

se	"already"
sa	"still"
mpa	"nevertheless do"
ke	"do for once"

Ross's approach which treats all auxiliary elements as main verbs is unconvincing. As Emenanjo (1985, p.18) observes, "the treatment of tenses, negation, mood and aspect as main verbs [in Sesotho] appears quite preposterous." In Sesotho the clitics and suffixes which mark these categories cannot be verbs. The only exception might be the future tense marker tla "will" which some believe is derived from the main verb tla "come".

Our main concern is not so much with an approach which gives an independent category status to auxiliary elements under AUX as Chomsky does; but rather with elements that can be included in the category AUX. Steele (1979) has a comprehensive list of twelve notional categories which according to her may be expressed by AUX. Our argument is that while the category AUX for Sesotho will exclude notional categories such as subject agreement, subject marking, object agreement and object marking; auxiliary verbs, modals, clitics and cliticizable elements should be part of the inventory that inhabit the AUX domain.

1.3 AUXILIARIES IN SESOTHO GRAMMARS

In the preface to his Elements of Southern Sotho, Paroz says a grammar, even written anew, cannot be entirely different from other grammars of the same language: indeed books treating of the same subject are bound to have many likenesses (1946, p.v). While we agree with Paroz, we are also aware that learning is an ongoing process. As research unfolds, scholars break new ground and unearth novel insights. It is precisely for this reason that Clement Doke improved on Sesotho grammars which had appeared before 1957. Today his own grammars, not just in Sesotho, need overhauling. Our concern here is to look at treatments of auxiliaries in Sesotho and in other Suntu languages.

It is certainly not an overstatement to say that it is solely through the efforts of the missionaries that Southern African languages of the Suntu Family were subjected to writing.

In 1842 Eugene Casalis published a little treatise called Etudes sur la Langue Sechuana. This work contains a grammar of Sesotho and not Setswana as the title suggests. Schrupf published a Long Grammatical note on Sesotho in 1862. In 1876 Mabile published a little Sesotho grammar called Helps to learn Sesotho. This was followed in 1879 by Kruger's Steps to learn the Sesotho Language; and in 1893 by

Jacottet's Elementary Sketch of Sesotho grammar. What these contributors have in common is that they were all French Missionaries working on the grammar of Sesotho at different times. Practically all of them have made some contributions to the subject of auxiliaries in Sesotho. However, it is in the later grammars that the handling of auxiliaries is more explicit. While we present a chronological author-by-author review of the significant literature on Sesotho auxiliaries we shall also provide an appraisal or critique of the recurrent topics that have been explicitly or implicitly highlighted by the various authors.

1.3.1 JACOTTET AND PAROZ

Clement Doke is right when he says that the lamentable death of Jacottet in 1920, deprived Lesotho of its most gifted linguist and philologist. His standard work on Sesotho grammar, is one of the best early reference books that ever appeared. Jacottet's well-known Practical Method to learn Sesotho was intended to be an aid to those interested in the acquisition of the language. Since our purpose in this study is to investigate the grammar of auxiliaries in Sesotho, we shall concern ourselves with Jacottet's scientific work, A Grammar of the Sesotho Language. Where necessary, reference will be made to his Practical Method.

The first observation Jacottet makes is that Sesotho possesses a large number of verbal forms built up with the help of special auxiliaries and verbal particles. These auxiliaries he continues, enable us to *express many nuances of meaning* (1927, p.118, my emphasis). It is not clear to us what Jacottet means by 'special auxiliaries'. Perhaps he found studying auxiliaries so interesting that he described them in these terms. Having said these verbal forms constitute a large number, Jacottet makes no attempt to give a complete list of them. Neither does he present a survey of their construction. The grammar of auxiliaries in Sesotho is very complex even to the 'speaker linguist'.

The next useful step Jacottet takes is to group auxiliary verbs into three types. However, it is not clear at all what classificatory criteria he uses. For his group B auxiliaries for instance, he says what characterizes them is that when they are in a certain tense or mood, they must be followed by a special tense or mood of the principal verb (1927, p.122). Our observation is that the group of auxiliaries in question is characterized by an agreement feature - they all take a concording complement. Details relating to how the auxiliaries choose moods and tenses follow from this general rule.

One conspicuous setback in Jacottet's discussion of auxiliaries, is his handling of Sesotho tenses. In fact Jacottet is not alone in this. Sesotho grammarians have failed to make a distinction between tense and aspect. Nowhere in the literature is the tense system of Sesotho adequately and convincingly discussed. The Habitual, to cite just one example, is an unfortunate term hallowed by usage. It has been called a mood, a tense, an aspect. In our view, the Habitual is best discussed under aspect (see 2.2).

As far as the conjunctive auxiliaries go Jacottet makes a brilliant observation that these forms are in reality verbal tenses, and have the temporal value of the tense they represent (1927, p.201). As we shall see later, verbal conjunctives interact in a fascinating manner with the sequential set of tenses in Sesotho.

Paroz is essentially repeating what Jacottet has done. One difference is that his section on verbal conjunctions is a muddle. He makes no distinction between conjunctions and conjunctive auxiliaries. Verbal forms like etswe, esita and yaba are clearly conjunctive auxiliaries; whereas forms like kapa, mme and hobane are conjunctions.

Paroz correctly points out that the law of sequence of tenses is a very important feature of Sesotho (1946, p.176). He notes further that in Sesotho, the tense of the main clause governs that of the whole sentence where the subordinate clauses are not in tenses corresponding with the time of speaking; but in tenses corresponding with the main clause. This is material for a later chapter where we discuss the intricate fusion of tense, mood and aspect.

1.3.2 DOKE AND MOFOKENG

In their Textbook of Southern Sotho Grammar, Doke and Mofokeng (henceforth D & M) say in Southern Sotho the deficient verbs form a striking feature of the conjugation of the verb, and have been developed in a more specialized way than either in Nguni or in Shona (1957, p.245). We mentioned at the beginning of this chapter that D & M prefer the term deficient verb to auxiliary verb. In the next paragraph they point out "that the question of mood classification is not important in dealing with [deficient verbs]." What is important is the type of tense and mood in the complementary verb following. Having said this, D & M go on to classify their deficient verbs. When we look at their groups I, II, III and V, we find that they do indeed, use tense and mood as their classificatory criteria. However, D & M's method of classification is bound to run

into difficulties because it fails to distinguish basic auxiliaries from the various morphological forms of the same auxiliaries. For instance, in their classification hla appears twice - as hla and hle. Hle is the subjunctive form of the unmarked form hla. This is also true of na and ne. The method employed by these authors is as misleading as it is misplaced - misleading because it gives an inflated number of auxiliaries; and misplaced because it should be used in the analysis and not classification of these verbal forms.

A neat piece of work D & M have presented, is their paradigm of deficient verb forms. (These are, in fact, conjunctive auxiliaries.) Here they have listed the morphological forms of each of the three basic conjunctive auxiliaries -re, -ba and -ka. In this area D & M have taken Jacottet's work a step further. What they have not done is to present a detailed analysis of these verbal forms. Our task is to locate the place of these conjunctive auxiliaries in the sequential set of tenses; and to show how they interact with auxiliary focus.

1.3.3 GUMA'S OUTLINE STRUCTURE

When Guma published An Outline Structure of Southern Sotho in 1971, there were ululations that a speaker of the language had come up with what we have been waiting for. It soon became apparent however, that there are problems in his work as well. In many ways Guma repeats what Doke and Mofokeng have done. His chapter on auxiliaries is one of the many that are disappointing.

The title of chapter 14 of his Outline Structure is **DEFICIENT VERBS** printed in bold letters. He devotes only five and a half pages to this vast subject. Like D & M, Guma uses tense and mood to classify his deficient verbs. He runs into the same problem we highlighted earlier. Besides falling victim to hla and hle; nna and nne like his predecessors, Guma runs even deeper into the problem by including lala and letse; sala and setse.

He includes a short section on copulative verb stems which he lists as -ba, -le and -na. These are misplaced because they do not take verbal complements as auxiliaries do. At the top of p.238 Guma lists fourteen conjunctive auxiliaries. Some, like eba and eka, appear with more forms while others like ere and empa appear with one form each. Esita is listed with no form at all yet it has a potential form Ekasita.

A complete, sound reference grammar of Sesotho is still to be written.

1.4 AUXILIARIES IN OTHER SINTU LANGUAGES

To our knowledge no full scale study has been made of auxiliaries in Northern Sotho. In Endemann's Versuch einer Grammatik des Sotho, reference is made to verbal forms like tla, ka, na, ra, sa, le and mme (1876, p.145). Endemann calls all these forms defective verbs even though mme is a conjunction and sa an aspectual marker.

In his Introduction to Tswana Grammar, Cole says deficient verbs are so termed because they do not themselves constitute complete predicates. They cannot stand alone, but must be followed by a subordinate verb termed the complement (1955, p.268). Cole is evidently a disciple of Doke. What Cole has to say about deficient verbs is contained in Doke's Bantu Linguistic Terminology of 1935.

Setshedi's work on The Auxiliary verbs and the Deficient verbs in Tswana is a worthy contribution to Tswana language studies. However, this work does not represent a complete,

full scale study of Auxiliaries and/or Deficient verbs in Tswana. The study concerns itself only with the classification of the primary and the secondary auxiliary verbs.

Ziervogel makes a distinction between auxiliary and deficient verbs in his A Grammar of Swazi. He says some verbs are deficient in so far as they cannot stand alone and convey any intelligible meaning and others are auxiliary in so far as they help in the formation of tenses (1952, p.116). The same distinction is still maintained seven years later in his and Dau's A Handbook of the Venda Language. (cf. Ziervogel and Dau 1959, p.182).

Louw (1949) and Fortune (1955) also operate with the Dokean coinage of deficient verb. Fortune says the deficient verb is incomplete and co-ordinate to the complement (1955, p.325). In his doctoral work of 1963, Louw departs from the use of the term deficient verb for auxiliary verb. In his most recent work on 'auxiliary verbs in Xhosa', Louw has this to say: it is probably best to stick to the term auxiliary which is used in most linguistic studies (1987, p.7).

To sum up this section, we have to agree with Louw that the auxiliary verb is a sadly neglected field of study in the Southern African languages.

CHAPTER II

A THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

- 2.1 DEFINING GRAMMAR

- 2.2 DESCRIPTIVE FRAMEWORK
 - 2.2.1 THE TENSE CATEGORY
 - 2.2.2 THE ASPECT CATEGORY
 - 2.2.3 THE MODALITY CATEGORY
 - 2.2.4 TYPES OF MODALITY

CHAPTER II

A THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

Our main concern here is to outline a descriptive framework in which AUXILIARIES in Sesotho participate. This will be preceded by a definition of grammar in which auxiliaries enjoy a comfortable position as a syntactic-semantic category.

2.1 DEFINING GRAMMAR

A grammar, says Palmer, is a description of what people do when they speak a language (1971, p.13). It is not an artefact, one might say, where grammarians impose patterns on language and come out with grammars. We are aware though, that as investigators, we do need to write grammars down; but writing them down does not bring them into existence. This is the view of grammar we adopt in the present study.

Other attempts have been made to answer the question: What is a grammar? Van Riemsdijk and Williams give two senses of what they consider a grammar to be. First, "the grammar

of a language is the knowledge that we say a person has who 'knows' the language - it is something in the head." In their second definition "a grammar is a linguist's account of the structure of a language" (1986, p.3). Their first characterization of grammar given here is, necessarily, modular and smacks of Chomsky's mentalist hypothesis. The second definition is much more down to earth and ties up with Palmer's. Crystal makes a distinction between a descriptive grammar and a theoretical one. The former is a systematic description of a language as found in a sample of speech or writing. He adds that depending on one's theoretical background, it may go beyond this and make statements about the language as a whole. Insofar as these statements are explicit and predictive, the grammar can be said to be descriptively adequate (Crystal, 1980, p.166). A theoretical grammar on the other hand goes beyond the study of individual languages and develops theoretical insights into the nature of linguistic inquiry in general.

2.2 A DESCRIPTIVE FRAMEWORK

Two or more approaches are available to an investigator dealing with a particular linguistic problem. He might choose an approach where he first has to uncover and then describe the linguistic facts about that language. The second option could be to try to account for the uncovered

facts by putting forward a theory of some sort from which such facts follow. There is no doubt that the first approach by itself is inadequate. In fact we fully agree with Hornstein (1977) that it lacks explanatory adequacy. Having said that, we do however, regard uncovering and describing facts about human language as a necessary stage towards a fuller account. Our envisaged framework, though adequate for our descriptive needs, will be seen to fall short since it does not concern itself with issues relating to the EXPLANATORY ADEQUACY of a grammar of auxiliaries in Sesotho.

In outlining our descriptive framework we follow an approach that is essentially generative; generative in the sense that the statements it purports to make about the grammar of auxiliaries in Sesotho will be explicit and predictive. The approach will not, however, be mentalist. Radford points out that it is not necessary to accept Chomsky's views on innateness in order to go along with his views on the goals of linguistic theory (Radford 1981, p.28). For instance, linguists such as John Lyons, Frank Palmer and Peter Matthews among others, are non-mentalist generativists. The approach we propose will be eclectic, picking from traditional grammar, early generative grammar and current syntactic theories what we consider to be enriching to our analysis.

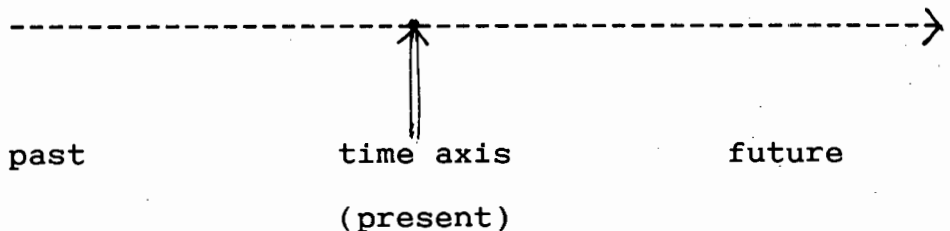
In this framework we posit as basic the three grammatical-semantic categories of verb phrases, namely, TENSE, ASPECT and MODALITY. We do not make a claim however, that these are the only elements which inhabit the AUX domain in Sesotho. As we shall see later, there are others. The reason for a bias towards these is that they are sentential in scope and spatial in nature. They place the situation described in a sentence in a certain time (tense), ascribe a temporal contour to it (aspect) and assess its reality (modality). Whether or not these categories are universal is not our concern. All three mark verb phrases and tend to become almost inextricably fused. For ease of exposition we shall pretend (with Givón 1984) that each category forms a separate, self-contained domain.

2.2.1 THE TENSE CATEGORY

Tense is a category used in the grammatical description of verbs, referring primarily to the way the grammar marks the time at which the action denoted by the verb takes place (Crystal 1980, p.352). For Givón it involves our concept of time as points in a sequence (1984, p.272). Comrie defines tense as grammaticalized expression of location in time (1985, p.9). Johnson (1981, p.151) says the function of a tense category is to locate the position of the speaker's reference time, by relating it to the position of the time of speaking. To Lyons the category of tense

relates the time of the action, event, or state of affairs referred to in the sentence to the time of utterance, the time of utterance being 'now'. (1968, p.305). The emphasis Lyons makes in this last description of tense is that it is a deictic category. This means that tense grammaticalizes the relationship which holds between the time of the situation that is being described and the temporal zero point of the deictic context (Lyons 1977b, p.678). What we make of the five descriptions of tense cited here is that tense expresses time-relations with reference to the time of utterance or time of speaking.

As early as 1929 Otto Jespersen had assumed that time can be represented as a straight line, with the past represented conventionally to the left and the future to the right. We still find linguists representing time in linear order even today (cf. Johnson 1981; Givón 1984; Comrie 1985). For Comrie this convention enables us to represent diagrammatically a range of ordinary language statements about time. To illustrate the concept of time as points in a sequence we adapt the following diagram from Givón (1984, p.273).

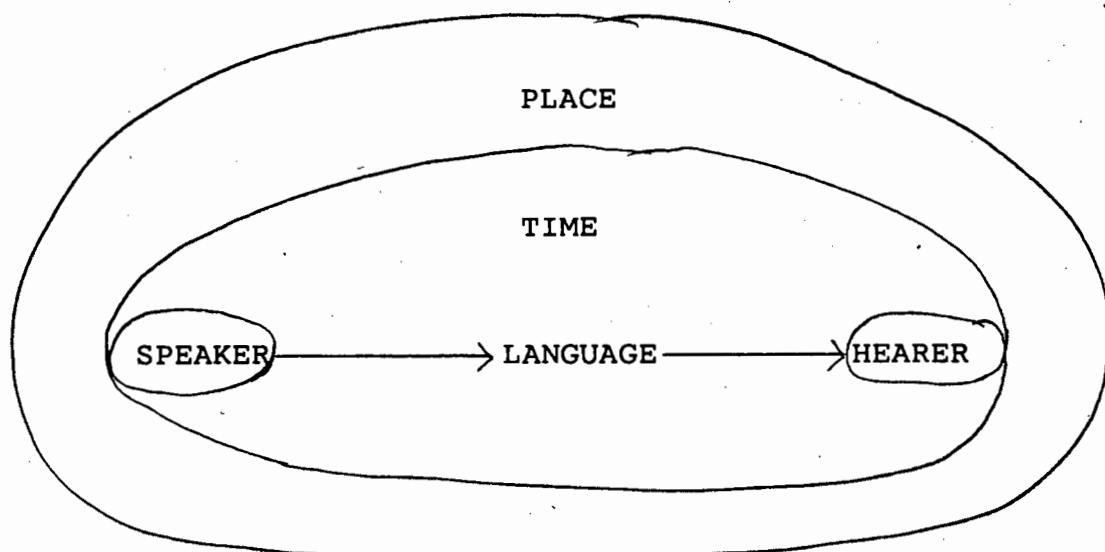


We want to make a number of statements relating to the figure given above. In construing time as a succession of points, we make the claim that there is a sequence in which actions, states of affairs and events take place. Within the flow of linear time there is the time axis which serves as the point of reference. The point of reference has been referred to variously as time of reference, time of speech, or simply as time 'now'. Events are seen to take place before, at the same time as or after the time axis. Representing time-relations on the ordered time dimension can help us make rigorous statements about tense. For instance, to say that one event occurred after another is to say that it is located to the right of that event; to say that one event occurred during some other process is to say that the location of the first event is inside the time span allotted to the second process (cf. Comrie 1985). Furthermore, the time relation itself may either be ABSOLUTE or RELATIVE. Tense is absolute when the point of reference for locating a situation in time is 'now'. It is relative where the reference point is determined by other means notably context. Finally, by representing time on a straight line, we give special attention to the sequence of tenses in human language. This is crucial for our analysis of sequential tenses in Chapter V of this work.

2.2.2 THE ASPECT CATEGORY

The grammatical category of aspect has frequently been confused with tense in treatments of particular languages. This is certainly the case in known grammars of Sesotho (cf. Jacottet 1927; Doke and Mofokeng 1957; Guma 1971). There is also much inconsistency in terminology which makes comprehension of any particular analysis of aspect difficult (cf. Friedrich 1974; Klein 1974; Comrie 1976). Another source of confusion has often been to confound real world facts about time with grammatical ones about aspect. We are talking here about confusing 'a feature of the referent with a feature of the linguistic expression which denotes it' (Holisky 1981, p.129). Comrie lapses into the confusion in question here. Aspect is a grammatical category where aspectual oppositions must be defined in grammatical terms.

Lyons (1968, p.275) and (1977b, p.707) observes that the main difference between tense and aspect is that tense is a deictic category, whereas aspect is not. Deixis concerns the specification of speaker, hearer, time and place of utterance. These four variables constitute the situation which is represented below:



Deictic categories are by definition variable, whereas non-deictic semantic features are relatively fixed. In general treatments of aspect the semantic notions of stativity and progressivity are the two to which reference is commonly made. Others are duration, completion, habituality, iteration, momentariness, inception and termination. This is not to assume however, that this inventory of the aspect category has been uniform and consistent. (cf. Comrie 1976; Lyons 1977b; Holisky 1981; Givón 1984)

Having cleared the air somewhat, we now move on to define aspect starting with this warning from Holisky: The term aspect has almost as many definitions as there are linguists who have used it (1981, p.128). We give some of the many definitions and then pick one with which to operate. Aspect characterizes the narrated event itself without involving its participants and without reference to the

speech event (Jakobson 1957, p.4). Comrie (1976) following Holt (1943) says aspects are different ways of viewing the internal temporal constituency of a situation (1976, p.3). This definition is conceptually less clearer than Jakobson's. Comrie seems to be saying that aspect involves only times that are internal to an event excluding temporally distinct phases of an event as a whole. For Lyons, the term aspect is used to refer to oppositions in so far as they are grammaticalized in the structure of particular languages (1977b, p.705). This is a broad conception of aspect according to which grammaticalized oppositions in languages other than English are legitimately classified as aspectual. Holisky operates with the following definition adopted from Friedrich (1974): Aspect signifies the relative duration or punctuality along a time line that may inhere in words or constructions (Holisky 1981, p.128). What we infer from Friedrich's definition cited here is that the category of aspect can be expressed both by covert-lexical and overt-morphological aspect marking. This is particularly pertinent to the present study as we shall see when we discuss tense and aspectual markers in a later chapter.

Before we consider the membership of the aspect category, we need to look at the distinction between events, states and processes on the one hand and the distinction between acts and activities on the other. Events, Lyons points out, are

non-extended dynamic situations that occur, momentarily, in time; processes are extended dynamic situations that last, or endure, through time; states differ from processes in that they are homogeneous throughout the period of their existence; acts and activities are agent-controlled events and processes respectively (1977b, p.707). The distinctions Lyons makes, overlap with the classification of situations made by Vendler (1967). Vendler says activities are processes that go on in time; accomplishments go on in time, but proceed towards a terminus. Achievements occur in a single movement, while states last for a period of time. Dowty makes an observation that Vendler's attempt to classify surface verbs once and for all as activities or accomplishments is somewhat misguided (Dowty 1972, p.29). Holisky upholds this criticism and adds that the characterization of aspect types must be made with reference to the verbal ROOT, and not merely to a particular surface verb form (Holisky 1981, p.140). We shall return to Vendler's classification in a moment.

A number of aspectual opposition types have been suggested by various analysts of aspect. Here are some of them:

FRIEDRICH 1974

durative - non-durative
 completive - non-completive
 stative - non-stative

LYONS 1977b

stative vs nonstative
 dynamic vs nondynamic
 stative vs dynamic
 durative vs nondurative
 punctual vs nonpunctual
 durative vs punctual
 progressive vs nonprogressive

HOLISKY 1981

punctual - linear
 perfective - nonperfective
 completive - noncompletive
 inceptive - noninceptive
 semelfactive - iterative
 nondurative - durative
 nonprogressive - progressive

GIVÓN 1984

durative vs punctual
 perfective vs imperfective
 completive vs incompletive
 compact vs diffuse
 unbounded vs bounded

Some linguists, notably Givón (1984) have put forward the DURATIVE-PUNCTUAL opposition as basic and subsumed the rest of the oppositions under this pair. Holisky suggests the opposition PUNCTUAL-LINEAR as basic. However, when we look at the definition of aspect with which she operates, she refers to the relative duration or punctuality along a time line (my emphasis). We understand Holisky to be implicitly proposing as basic, the duration-punctuality opposition. The difference between her and Givón is merely

terminological. Lyons does not posit any of the binary distinctions as basic; he does however list the durative-punctual opposition in his inventory. Comrie uses the terms PERFECTIVE and CONTINUOUS in the same sense as punctual and durative respectively. This contributes to the terminological confusion we referred to earlier.

We propose the following binary distinctions for the analysis of aspect in Sesotho. In doing so, we are very mindful of the fact that 'in the present state of our knowledge of the grammaticalization of aspectual distinctions throughout the languages of the world, it is impossible to say with any degree of certainty just how many of the potential two-term systems actually exist' (Lyons 1977b, p.708):

durative vs punctual
 stative vs inceptive
 imperfective vs perfective
 incompletive vs completive
 progressive vs nonprogressive
 telic vs atelic
 habitual vs non-habitual

The results of this inventory will stand or fall on their own merits. The inventory should then be seen as a

'working inventory' in the same sense that we can have a working definition. For the time being we posit as basic the durative-punctual opposition. If the medicine we prescribe is too strong, the data we describe will react.

Our decision is not altogether ad hoc though. It is true that there is an element of subjectivity involved in the sub-classification of situations as events, states and processes. There are however, axioms which may be used as guiding principles in aspectually representing a situation in one way rather than another. We are indebted to Lyons (1977b, p.710ff) for the following discussion.

- i. Given our punctual conceptualization of events, two or more events may be ordered in terms of precedence and successivity.
- ii. By virtue of our assumptions about time, two or more events can be represented as absolutely simultaneous.
- iii. Since states and processes are extended in time, but events are not, an event may be included within the temporal extension of a state or a process.
- iv. Two or more states or processes may be ordered, not only in terms of precedence and successivity, but also in terms of co-extension.

The claim we make is that these principles go a long way towards accounting for the use of major aspectual distinctions that are grammaticalized in languages. This is even more so when we invoke the localist hypothesis.

Localists maintain that spatial expressions are more basic grammatically and semantically than non-spatial ones because they serve as structural templates for other expressions (cf. Anderson 1971; 1973b; Pottier, 1974). One need not be a localist to realize that the spatialization of time is so common a phenomenon in the grammatical and lexical structure of many languages. We have seen that tense is a deictic category; and there is an obvious parallel between spatial and temporal deixis. Aspectual distinctions are even more spatial than tense distinctions. Durative situations (states and processes), unlike events, necessarily will have both a beginning and an end. Reigning for ten years will have an inception and a termination. Further, if durative situations are temporally bounded, they will have between their beginning and their end several temporal phases (Lyons 1977b, p.711)

Stative verbs do not have forms with a perfective meaning in Sesotho. Since stativity and perfectivity are incompatible, it follows that the combination of stativity and imperfectivity would be natural. This accounts for the inclusion of the perfective-imperfective distinction in our inventory.

Within the situational class of processes, there is a subclass which Vendler (1967) calls accomplishments. We have said that accomplishments take time and are completed in

time. For instance ho etsa geto 'to make a decision' is an accomplishment which has as its terminal point the event ho fihlela geto 'to reach a decision'. Accomplishments are, in this sense, processes which have as their end-point an event. The notion of completion is applicable here, hence our completive-incompletive distinction.

A problem we have not addressed so far relates to the HABITUAL - an unfortunate term hallowed by usage. It has been called a tense, a mood, an aspect. In responding to the problem of the Habitual, Comrie adopts what he calls a positive definition of habituality. He makes a useful (positive) distinction between habituality and iterativity, i.e. the successive occurrence of several instances of a given situation. A feature which is common to all habituals is that:

- i. they describe a situation which is characteristic of an extended period of time;
 - ii. the individual situation is such that it can be protracted indefinitely in time (Comrie 1976, pp.27-28).
- Feature ii. marks the difference between a habitual and an iterative situation. No matter how straightforward the distinction seems, the problem still remains, though, just what constitutes a characteristic of an extended period of time? Is it ten days, ten months, ten years or ten decades? We are dealing here with a relative term describing situations which would constitute an extended

period of time in certain contexts and fail in others. It is our contention that the regular iteration of an event creates a series of situations which may be represented as a unitary durative situation. For this reason we propose to subsume the habitual under the more general durative aspect. As Lyons observes, a habitual aspect could be appropriately used for expressing timeless truth statements like Cows eat grass (1977b, p.716).

We leave undefined the DURATIVE-PUNCTUAL opposition until the stage when we discuss aspect markers.

2.2.3 THE MODALITY CATEGORY

Modality is the last of three grammatical-semantic categories which form the basis of our theoretical framework. As we indicated in 1.2 an investigation of modality raises problems concerning the relation between form and meaning. As a syntactic-semantic category, modality "face[s] both ways, towards form and towards notion" (Jespersen 1924, p.56). A purely formal or purely semantic approach is bound to run into difficulties. A semantic basis is required to justify use of the term modality, since this term implies that the semantic characteristics that it denotes are known already.

"Yet at the same time precisely what is to be handled within the concept of modality will depend on the formal features of the language being described" (Palmer 1979, p.2).

The term modality has various meanings.

"In grammatical and semantic analysis, it is a term used to refer to contrasts in mood signalled by the verb and associated categories" (Crystal 1980, p.227).

In this definition, Crystal hints at the relationship between mood and modality which we shall address shortly. For Palmer, modality refers to ways of expressing degrees and kinds of commitment by the speaker. The speaker can give permission, lay an obligation or give an undertaking (1981, pp.152-153). Modality can also relate to qualifications on the truth-value of the proposition which the speaker's utterance expresses (Hubbard 1979, p.33). In this sense the speaker is seen to have at his disposal various modality markers which he can use to qualify his commitment to the factuality of the semantic content of the proposition. A distinction can thus be made between factual assertion and relative assertion where factual assertion characterizes utterances that have a truth-value.

Example: Ntsu ke ngaka
 Ntsu be(COP) doctor
 Ntsu is a doctor

Relative assertion on the other hand is found in modal utterances such as the following:

Example: Ntsu e ka nna ba ngaka
 Ntsu can (MOD AUX) AUX be doctor
 Ntsu could be a doctor

In the second example "there is no such truth-value with respect to occurrence of the event [or state]; what is asserted instead is a specific relation between that event and the factual world" (Joos 1964, p.149).

Before we discuss modality types, we need to look at the relation between mood and modality. The Random House Dictionary defines mood as "a set of categories for which the verb is inflected in many languages, and which is typically used to indicate [1] the syntactic relation of the clause in which the verb occurs to other clauses in the sentence, or [2] the attitude of the speaker to what he is saying, as certainty or uncertainty; wish or command; emphasis or hesitancy." In this definition mood and modality are seen as one and the same thing. In our understanding, only the first part of the definition describes mood; the second has to do with modality.

The concepts of mood and modality are closely related but certainly not similar. Lyons defines mood in relation to a class of sentences which express simple statements of fact unqualified with respect to the attitude of the speaker to

what he is saying (1968, p.307). Nine years later in 1977, he still insists on the distinction between mood and modality. Even though Lyons does not define modality, the basic distinction is clear: mood is a grammatical category, while modality is a semantic term relating to the meanings that are usually associated with mood. Palmer (1979, p.4) compares the relation between mood and modality with that between tense and time.

2.2.4 TYPES OF MODALITY

Here we want to look at the basic types of modality. In doing so, we shall exclude what Overdiep (1937) calls the affective uses of language such as irony and sarcasm to name just two. This is not to deny, however, that pragmatic factors of language use cannot be expressed by modal auxiliaries.

In 1951, Von Wright distinguished between what he called four modes which he labeled:

- i. The alethic modes
- ii. The epistemic modes
- iii. The deontic modes
- iv. The existential modes (pp.1-2)

is possible that Mosito is at home. The speaker's assessment of the truth of the proposition is based on subjective beliefs or knowledge. The semantic notions of necessity and possibility are operative here.

Deontic modality is concerned with the speaker's active relation to events. He can oblige, permit or prohibit an undertaking. The notions of obligation, permission and prohibition are central here. However, in Lyons' description, deontic modality is concerned with the necessity or possibility of acts performed by morally responsible agents (1977, p.823; my emphasis).

Example: Mongane o tlameha ho senola
 Mongane he be-bound-to(MOD AUX) INFIN expose
 leshano lohle
 lies all
 Mongane *must expose all lies*

In this example tlameha expresses an obligation on the subject of the sentence to carry out the action identified in the proposition. On the other hand it could be said that something makes it necessary that Mongane acts in a particular manner. We notice here that there is a close relation between epistemic and deontic. Attempts have already been made at describing the relationship between the two modalities. Leech, who regards epistemic modality as basic, has this to say:

"We may go so far as to claim in fact that possibility and necessity logically include permission and obligation - that permission is a particular kind of possibility and obligation a particular kind of necessity" (1969, p.218).

Halliday, on the other hand, does not posit any of the modalities as basic. For him the two types differ only in their function in language. In his own words modality and modulation are the same system in different functions (1970, p.347). These are two plausible ways of expressing the relationship between epistemic and deontic modality.

At this stage we are able to say that two types of modality, namely, epistemic and deontic, have a place in the grammatical system of Sesotho. Furthermore, these two types of modality can be used to express necessity and possibility. Deontic modality can be used further to express permission, obligation and prohibition.

CHAPTER III

IDENTIFYING THE AUXILIARY

- 3.1 THE VERB PHRASE

- 3.2 DEFINING CHARACTERISTICS FOR AUX
 - 3.2.1 SYNTACTIC FEATURES
 - 3.2.2 RELATIVE CLAUSES
 - 3.2.3 DISTRIBUTION
 - 3.2.4 CLICIS
 - 3.2.5 VERBAL EXTENSIONS
 - 3.2.6 VERBAL PREFIXES
 - 3.2.7 PAST AND PRESENT MEANINGS
 - 3.2.8 AUXILIARY FOCUS

- 3.3 SUMMARY

CHAPTER III

IDENTIFYING THE AUXILIARY

In Sesotho, as in many other languages, a group of auxiliaries arise from constructions of verbs plus infinitive clauses as the examples we give below indicate.

- Examples:
1. Ke lakatsa ho tsamaya
 I wish-to-do(MOD AUX) INFIN go
I wish to go
 2. O batla ho thusa
 He want-to-do(SEC AUX) INFIN help
He wants to help

Lakatsa and batla are autonomous verbs used in examples 1 and 2 above as auxiliaries which dominate their complements ho tsamaya and ho thusa respectively

Other constructions involving auxiliaries include the following:

- Examples:
3. Ba ka etsa ngwana
 They can(MOD AUX) make child
They may make a child

4. Ke tswatswa ke batla
 peipi ya ka
 I(SC) in-vain-do(PRI AUX) I(SC) want
 pipe of mine
I am searching in vain for my pipe

In sentence 3 the modal marker ka, can express three different but related functions or modalities namely, possibility, permission and ability. The three modalities may be paraphrased as follows in English:

- 3.a They may make a child (possibility)
 b They may make a child (permission)
 c They can make a child (ability)

Sentence 4 exemplifies use of auxiliaries in general. In this example, the auxiliary tswatswa means 'do in vain'.

3.1 THE VERB PHRASE

It was established at the end of (1.2) that auxiliaries belong to the verb phrase in Sesotho. This is also true of other Southern African languages such as Tswana, Xhosa and Zulu (cf. Setshedi 1974; Louw 1949, 1963, 1987).

Verbs can be broadly divided into two groups, full verbs and auxiliary verbs. There is scope for borderlines as well. Hubbard says main verbs are the obligatory constituents of the verb phrase at surface structure level in that they are

always either present or understood in the surface sentence (1979, p.15). The auxiliaries on the other hand have the property of optionality. They are not essential constituents of a sentence and when they do appear, they do so always in construction with a main verb.

- Examples:
5. Re bala buka
 We read(V) book
We read a book
6. Re lala re
 We(SC) spend-the-night-doing(AUX) we(SC)
bala buka
 read(V) book
We spend the night reading a book

Bala is a main verb in 5 and 6. Lala 'to spend the night doing' is an auxiliary verb in 6 where it appears with the main verb bala 'read'.

Auxiliary verbs may also be initially divided into two, the primary auxiliaries and the secondary auxiliaries. The primary auxiliaries in Sesotho are all those that require a concurring complement. Agreement features are crucial in this group of auxiliaries.

- Examples:
7. O hla o se
 You(SC) certainly-do(AUX) you(SC) it
 reka sefofane seo?
 buy(V) aircraft that?
Are you certainly buying that aircraft?

8. Nka ka ka
 I(SC) can(AUX) do-for-once(AUX) I(SC)
 mo ruta batho
 him teach(V) people
I can for once teach him a lesson

Further subdivisions are possible in this group of auxiliaries like those that mark tense, aspect and what some linguists have called phase (cf Comrie 1976; Lyons 1977; Palmer 1974).

- Examples:
9. Re tla ba bona
 We(SC) FUT them see
We shall see them (tense)
10. Ke tla be ke sebetsa
 I(SC) FUT ASP I work
I shall be working (aspect)
11. O tswa fihla hona jwale
 He PERF PHASE arrive just now
He has just arrived (phase)

What we propose to call secondary auxiliaries are all those auxiliaries that require an infinitive complement. The infinitive prefix ho- when used with this group of auxiliaries is not a concord element.

- Examples: 15.a Ba a hla*
- They ASP certainly-do
- b Re a mpa*
- We ASP nevertheless-do
- c O a ye*
- He ASP usually-do
- d Le a ba*
- You ASP become
- 16.a Ba a leka
- They ASP try
- They are trying*
- b Ke a kgona
- I ASP be-able
- I am able*
- c Re a lakatsa
- WE ASP wish
- We wish*
- d O a tlameha
- You ASP bound
- You are bound*

3.2 DEFINING CHARACTERISTICS FOR AUX

Our main concern here is to identify auxiliaries in Sesotho. Arbitrary lists of auxiliaries do appear in existing Sesotho grammars; but there are no formal characteristics which can be used as guidelines for the identification of auxiliaries.

These lists have no explanatory value because they contain elements which were picked at random. To attain a higher level of generality, we have to search for formal characteristics or 'tests' for auxiliaries in Sesotho.

It is interesting to note that generally accepted 'tests' for auxiliaries in English and Afrikaans (cf. Twaddell 1968; Palmer 1968, 1974; Hubbard 1979), such as negation, inversion, code and contradictory stress do not work for Sesotho. Louw (1987, p.14) makes a similar observation for Xhosa in respect of inversion. In his own words, "since the auxiliary and its complement cannot be inverted in Xhosa, INVERSION is not a property of the auxiliary verb". He does however, use morphological and syntactic characteristics to classify auxiliary verbs in Xhosa in his earlier work (cf. Louw 1963). Setshedi (1974) following Van Wyk (1961), employs the following, not so much as defining characteristics for auxiliaries, but rather as criteria to distinguish between auxiliary verbs and deficient verbs in Setswana:

phonology

morphology

syntax

semantics (Setshedi 1974, p.8)

There are clear overlaps between these criteria and some of those that we propose for the identification of auxiliaries in Sesotho since syntax and semantics are central in our

analysis. One basic difference is that whereas Setshedi explicitly argues for and employs a structuralist approach in his work, we do not choose any particular model for our theoretical framework (see 2.3).

3.2.1 SYNTACTIC FEATURES

Chomsky (1972, pp.48-61) proposes that all syntactic categories be reanalysed not as unitary elements, but rather as sets of syntactic features.

Reanalysing categories as sets of features ... provides a neat solution to the otherwise intractable problem of handling both the similarities and differences between distinct categories in a unitary fashion. (Radford 1981, p.110).

The categories Aux and V for instance, share certain common characteristics. Syntactically, they can both be preceded by the infinitive prefix ho-.

Examples: 17.a ho tsamaya
 INFIN go(V)
 to go

 b ho dumela
 INFIN agree (V)
 to agree

18.a ho ka bua

INFIN can (AUX) talk

to be able to talk

b ho hla o

INFIN do-certainly(AUX) you(SC)

bua

speak

to certainly speak

Auxiliaries and Verbs also differ in several important ways. For instance, only verbs can occur as first elements of imperatives. This rule excludes auxiliaries like hla, tswa and nna (see 4.3.9).

Examples: 19.a Fepa bana

Feed-IMP(V) children

Feed the children

b Ngola moqoqo

Write-IMP(V) conversation

Write a conversation

20.a *Tswatswa bana

do-in-vain(AUX) children

**In vain the children*

b *Tlameha ho ya

be-bound(AUX) INFIN go

**Be bound to go*

It is feasible then, in a feature analysis, to capture both the similarities and differences between Aux and V if we say that both are verbal, non-nominal constituents; but that they differ in respect of another feature [+Aux]. Under this analysis Auxiliaries and Verbs would be analysed as

$$\text{Aux} = \begin{bmatrix} +V \\ -N \\ +\text{Aux} \end{bmatrix} \qquad \text{V} = \begin{bmatrix} +V \\ -N \\ -\text{Aux} \end{bmatrix}$$

For instance verbs like fepa (feed); hama (milk); disa (herd) would all be analysed as

$$\begin{bmatrix} +V \\ -N \\ -\text{Aux} \end{bmatrix}$$

whereas verbal forms like tswatswa (do in vain); mpa (nevertheless do); hla (certainly do) would all be analysed as

$$\begin{bmatrix} +V \\ -N \\ +\text{Aux} \end{bmatrix}$$

Another advantage of this analysis is the ability to capture borderline cases. What we are saying here is that it is possible to formulate a rule which will apply to both verbs and auxiliaries. Verbal forms like atisa (do frequently); lakatsa (wish to do); kgona (able to); tsoha (do first thing

on getting up); hlola (spend the day doing) would all be analysed as

$$V + \text{Aux} = \begin{bmatrix} +V \\ -N \end{bmatrix}$$

Examples:

21.a Re atisa dijo ha re

We increase(V) food when we

na le baeti

are with visitors

*We increase the food when we have
visitors*

b Re atisa ho robala bosiu

We do-often(AUX) INFIN sleep night

We frequently go to bed late

22.a Ke lakatsa nama

I yearn-for(V) meat

I feel like eating meat

b Ke lakatsa ho ya

I wish-to-do(AUX) INFIN go

I wish to go

23.a Ba tsoha motsheare ka Moqebelo

They rise(V) day time on Saturdays

They get up late on Saturdays

b Ba tsoha ba ya
 They do-first-thing(AUX) they go
 Mafeteng hosane
 to Mafeteng tomorrow
*They travel to Mafeteng first thing
 tomorrow morning*

24.a Bana ba hao ba hlola mona
 Children of yours they stay(V) here
Your children spend the day here

b Bana ba hao ba
 Children of yours they
hlola ba lla
 spend-the-day(AUX) they cry
Your children spend the day crying

3.2.2 RELATIVE CLAUSES

Relative clauses provide interesting facts about the behaviour of auxiliaries. Both primary and secondary auxiliaries take the relative marker -ng

- Examples: 25.a Motho ya tswatswang a batla
 Person who do-in-vain-REL he want
 A person who searches in vain
 Motho ya tlamehang ho
 Person who is-bound-REL(SEC AUX) INFIN
 ya
 go
A person who is bound to go
- b Seritsa se beng se
 Cripple who even-REL(PRIM AUX) he
 ingwathele
 serves-himself
A cripple who even serves himself
 Seritsa se tshwanetseng
 A cripple who should-REL(SEC AUX)
 ho thuswa
 INFIN help-PASS
A cripple who should be helped

The cases cited above are all examples of direct relative clauses. Indirect relative clauses also provide evidence that auxiliaries are [+V] because they take the relative marker -ng. They are [+Aux] because they are embedded together with autonomous verbs in each of the sentences given below.

Examples:

26.a Pene eo ke ntse-ng

Pen which I do-still-REL(PRIM AUX)

ke e batla ha se ya ya

I it look-for NEG is of mine

*The pen I am still looking for is not mine*b Bana bao ke hle-ng

Children who I do-certainly-REL

(SEC-AUX)

ke ba shape ba hana ho rongwa

I them lash they refuse INFIN be-sent

*The children I certainly lash won't**be sent*c Mohahlaula oo re atisa-ng

Traveller who we do-often-REL(SEC

AUX)

ho teana le ona, o hana

INFIN meet with him, he(SC) refuse

ho bona mose o potela

INFIN see dress it(OC) disappear

*The traveller we often meet likes**dresses (women)*

d Mokedikedi oo re lokelang
 Liquid which we be-fitting-to-do
 -REL
 ho o bitsa manyabolo ke metsi
 INFIN it call water is water
*The liquid we ought to call water is
 water*

3.2.3 DISTRIBUTION

Syntax is essentially concerned with specifying which elements appear in which positions in sentences. The essential motivation for setting up categories, and formulating sentence-formation rules in terms of categories (like the aspect category) is that categories enable us to achieve much more general statements about distribution.

Examples: 27.a Ke ne ke re
 I(SC) was-doing(AUX) I(SC) say
 ba tsamaye
 they go(SUBJ)
I was saying they should go

b Ke se ke re
 I(SC) already-do(AUX) I(SC) say
 ba tsamaye
 they go(SUBJ)

I am already saying they should go

c Ke ye ke re ba
 I(SC) usually-do(AUX) I(SC) say they
 tsamaye
 go(SUBJ)

I usually say they should go

d Ke nne ke re
 I(SC) keep-on-doing(AUX) I(SC) say
 ba tsamaye
 they go(SUBJ)

I occasionally say they should go

e Ke ntse ke re
 I(SC) do-still(AUX) I(SC) say
 ba tsamaye
 they go(SUBJ)

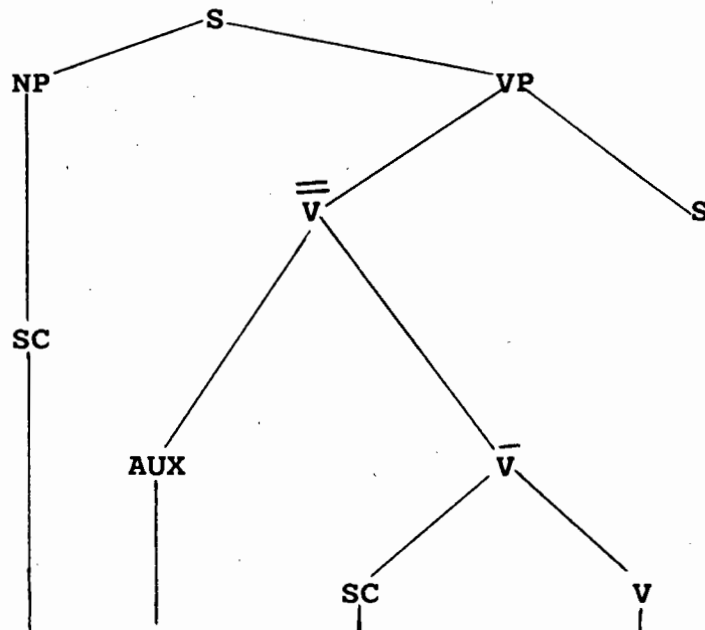
*I am still saying they should go/I have
 been saying they should go*

f Ke hle ke re
 I(SC) do-certainly(AUX) I(SC) say
 ba tsamaye
 they go(SUBJ)

I certainly say they should go

g Ke be ke
 I(SC) be-occupied-in-doing(AUX) I(SC)
 re ba tsamaye
 say they go(SUBJ)
I am usually saying they should go

We give the following representative structure for all of the examples given in 27 above



All the auxiliary elements in 27 are in fact aspectual markers. Any other type of auxiliary such as tense or modal, will not fit in the aspect slot as indicated in the starred examples in 28.

The distribution principle will block use of an auxiliary of a different type in each of the AUX(INFL) positions in the sentences given above. Let us consider the following cases:

- Examples:
- 28.a Ke ne ke re ba tsamaye
 I(SC) DUR-PAST I say they go
I was saying they should go
- b *Ke ile ke re ba tsamaye
I PAST I say they go
- c *Ke atisa ke re ba tsamaye
I do-frequently I say they go
29. *Ke leka ke re ba tsamaye
I try I say they go
30. *Ke tshwanela ke re ba tsamaye
I must I say they go

3.2.4 CLICIS

In Sesotho, as in other Southern African Languages, grammatical morphemes subsume clitics - forms which resemble words but which cannot stand on their own as normal utterances; being structurally dependent on neighbouring words. We fully identify with Louw's observation that a very strong clicis holds between certain auxiliary verbs and their complements (cf. Louw 1987, pp.13-14). He cites the -be of the past continuous in Xhosa as a clitic that can never be separated from its complement. At the most, what are traditionally called continuous tenses are phrases compounded of more than one word.

- Examples: 31.a Ke ne ke tsamaya
 I was-doing(AUX) I leave
 I was leaving
- b Ke sa bo leka
 I still-doing(AUX) it try
 I am still trying it
- c Ke sa ke ke
 I still-for-once(AUX) I
 bo leka
 it try
 I am still for once trying it

In cases such as b and c there is not such a strong clicis between the auxiliaries and their complements. In example c for instance, more morphemic elements have been inserted in the VP to interrupt the clicis between the progressive marker sa and its complement -bo leka

What we notice from the discussion above is that clicis can be used as a defining characteristic for auxiliaries in Sesotho; and indeed, in other Southern African languages.

3.2.6 VERBAL PREFIXES

Auxiliaries do not take verbal prefixes in Sesotho

a, The reflexive prefix i-

Examples: 38 i- + ba > *iba
 i- + ka > *ika
 i- + hla > *ihla

b, The object concord of the first person singular

Examples: 39 n- + ba > *nba
 n- + hla > *nhla
 n- + mpa > *nmpa

c, The object concord of the third person singular

Examples: 40 mo- + ka > *moka
 mo- + ba > *moba
 mo- + mpa > *mompa
 mo- + ye > *moye

3.2.7 PAST AND PRESENT MEANINGS

Modal auxiliaries do not have past and present meanings. What we mean here is that they refer to actions which still have to take place.

Examples: 41 Ke tshwanela ho sebetsa
 I be-obliged-to-do(AUX) INFIN work
I should work

Re ka haha ntlo ka beke
 We can(AUX) build house in weeks
 tse pedi
 two
We can build a house in two weeks

O lokela ho ba
 You be-fitting-to-do(AUX) INFIN be
 mono ka nako
 there on time
You ought to be there on time

Re tlameha ho ba
 We be-bound-to-do(AUX) INFIN them
 sireletsa
 protect
We are bound to protect them

3.2.8 AUXILIARY FOCUS

Hyman and Watters (1984) note that in a number of African languages a curious interplay can be observed between tense-aspect and focus. Focus is understood here as that

information in an utterance which the speaker believes, assumes, or knows that the hearer does not share with him. (cf. Chomsky 1971; Jackendoff 1972; Givón 1975; Dik 1978; Watters 1979). Since the auxiliary is the locus of semantic focus, it follows that some auxiliary markers will be [+focus] while others will be [-focus]. The focused part of an utterance is said to be asserted, while the out of focus part is presupposed.

- Examples:
- 41.a Ntsu o sa le
 Ntsu he do-still (AUX)[+FOCUS] be
 lapeng
 at-home
Ntsu is still at home
- b Ntsu o ntse a le
 Ntsu he do-still(AUX) [+FOCUS] he be
 lapeng
 at-home
Ntsu is still at home
- c Ntsu a ka ba
 Ntsu he do-for-once(AUX)[-FOCUS] be
 lapeng
 at-home
Ntsu might be at home

d Ntsu o lokela
 Ntsu he be-fitting-to-do(AUX)[-FOCUS]
 ho ba lapeng
 INFIN be at-home
Ntsu should be at home

Examples 41.a and b are assertive, their truth values are known to the speaker. The auxiliaries sa and ntse are [+focus]. Sentences 41.c and d on the other hand are presuppositions. The auxiliaries ka and lokela are out of focus.

In the last chapter of his excellent little grammar, Jacottet has this to say:

The so-called verbal conjunctions formed with the verbs ho re, ho ba, ho ka, are in reality verbal tenses and moods. Their form is affected by the relation in which they stand to the preceding sentence (Jacottet 1927, pp.200ff).

We are not presenting an analysis of conjunctive auxiliaries yet. However, we must just point out the irritating, inconsistent use of terminology to describe these forms. Guma (1971), following Doke and Mofokeng (1957), inappropriately refers to conjunctive auxiliaries and deficient verbs. We propose the term conjunctive auxiliary for these verbal elements for two reasons:

3.3 SUMMARY

The purpose of this chapter has been to identify auxiliaries. We suggested a number of 'tests' or defining characteristics for auxiliaries first, to sort out auxiliaries from main verbs then to distinguish between auxiliary types. Three major groups of auxiliaries namely, the primary, the secondary and the conjunctive auxiliaries have emerged. Within the first two major groups, sub-groups like auxiliaries which mark tense, aspect, modality and phase emerged.

In subsequent chapters we subject auxiliary types to detailed analyses starting with the primary auxiliaries in Chapter IV.

CHAPTER IV

THE ASPECTUAL SYSTEM OF SESOTHO

- 4.1 ASPECT MARKERS
 - 4.1.1 PROGRESSIVE ASPECT
 - 4.1.2 PROGRESSIVE MARKER SA
 - 4.1.2.1 SA USED WITH NTSE
 - 4.1.2.2 SA USED WITH YA AND ILO
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 - 4.1.3 THE HABITUAL ASPECT MARKERS
 - 4.1.3.1 THE HABITUAL ASPECT MARKER YE
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- 4.2 MOOD AND ASPECT

- 4.3 ASPECT AND THE INDICATIVE MOOD
 - 4.3.1 THE PROGRESSIVE AND THE INDICATIVE MOOD
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 - 4.3.3 THE ANTICIPATIVE AND THE INDICATIVE MOOD
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 - 4.3.8 THE INFINITIVE MOOD
 - 4.3.9 THE IMPERATIVE MOOD

- 4.4 THE ASPECTUAL SYSTEM FOR SESOTHO

CHAPTER IV

THE ASPECTUAL SYSTEM OF SESOTHO

It was noted in the last chapter that primary auxiliaries subsume auxiliary types that mark aspect, tense, phase and focus. Thirty five primary auxiliaries were identified. A complete list of them with examples appears in appendix A.

Our purpose in this chapter is to investigate the grammar of the auxiliaries that mark aspect. This entails developing an aspectual system for Sesotho where these auxiliaries have a central role to play.

4.1 ASPECT MARKERS

Morolong (1978, p.7; p.99) gives the following list of aspect markers:

sa	<i>still</i>
se	<i>already</i>
ee	
hle	<i>habitual</i>
'ne	
ke	<i>occasional</i>

We add the following to her list:

be *occupied in doing*
 ne *was doing*
 ntse *to still do*
 ya
 ilo *going to do*
 a *to be doing*
 tswa *to just have done*
 ke *to occasionally do*
 nne *to do occasionally*

In an attempt to develop an aspect system for Sesotho, we first have to spell out the nature of the aspectual markers listed above. The crucial questions are: what is their role in the grammatical system of Sesotho? Are they markers of progressive, prospective, perfective or habitual aspect among others? How do they interact with tense and with mood? In short, we must investigate the grammar of aspect.

4.1.1 PROGRESSIVE ASPECT

The simplest definition of progressiveness could be one which is said to describe a situation in progress. However, looking at progressiveness this way, fails to bring out the

difference between progressiveness and imperfectivity. One difference which holds between the two aspectual types is that whereas imperfectivity includes habituality, progressiveness does not.

- Examples:
1. Makalo o ne a atisa
 Makalo he was-doing(AUX) he do-often
 (SEC AUX)
 ho ngola mangolo
 INFIN write letters
Makalo used to write letters
 2. Makalo o ne a atisa
 Makalo he-was doing(AUX) he do-often
 ho be a ngola mangolo
 INFIN be writing letters
Makalo used to be writing letters

Sentence 1 is a non-progressive habitual statement. In this sense, "progressiveness is similar to [durativity], which is definable as imperfectivity that is not occasioned by habituality" (Comrie 1976, p.33). In example 2 two things are happening: first, there is the process of writing letters and the process is presented as habitual. Secondly, the writing of letters is in progress; and this progressiveness is borne by the aspectual marker be occupied in doing. Having defined progressiveness somewhat, we move on to consider the progressive markers sa, ntse, nne and be.

4.1.2 PROGRESSIVE MARKER SA

Our concern here is to show how the progressive marker sa interacts with other aspectual markers, with tense and with mood.

Morolong (1978, p.100) says the form sa 'still' gives to the verb the notion of continuity. She considers the sequence sa + reka 'still buying' where she correctly points out that the event referred to by reka has been going on before the moment of speech and is being continued. It must be pointed out however, that the progressive in Sesotho is not as simple as it looks since the auxiliary is, in general, inextricably fused with the idiom of the language. Let us consider the following sentences:

Examples:

3. Re sa sebetsa

We PROG work

We are still working

4. Ba rekile (reka-ile)

They buy-PERF

They have bought

5. Ba sa rekile (reka-ile)

They PROG buy-PERF

*They have bought enough for the time
being*

6. Ke sa dutse

I PROG sit-STAT

(STAT = stative verb)

I am not going yet

Sentence 3 is a straightforward example where a durative verb sebetsa is preceded by the progressive marker sa. There is compatibility here between progressiveness and durativity. Sentence 4 is an example of the so-called perfect tense in Sesotho. Of greater interest is example 5 where the progressive marker sa is used with a verb in the perfect. Perfectivity is incompatible with progressiveness, yet example 5 is perfectly acceptable as a Sesotho sentence. The sentence, as we see it, means to have bought enough for a while. Quite clearly then, sa introduces the element of durativity which will last until the need to buy comes up again.

In example 6 we have used sa with a verb dutse. This verb is structurally perfect but functionally stative. This fact is in line with Comrie's observation that even though progressiveness can be defined as the combination of progressive meaning and nonstative meaning, there are languages where stative verbs also appear in the progressive (1976, p.35). There is a sizeable number of stative verbs in Sesotho and all of them can be preceded by the progressive marker sa. We give some of them.

- Examples:
7. Di sa kgathetse
They PROG tire-STAT
They are still tired
8. O sa lapile
He PROG be-hungry-STAT
He is still hungry
9. Le sa kgotsofetse
You PROG be-satisfied-STAT
Are you still satisfied?

Fourteen aspectual markers were identified at the beginning of this chapter. Five of them can be used with the progressive marker sa. These are:

the perstitive	ntse	<i>to still do</i>
the anticipative	ya	<i>going to do</i>
	ilo	
the durative	nne	<i>to keep doing</i>
the phasal	tswa	<i>to just have done</i>

4.1.2.1 SA USED WITH NTSE

Neither Doke and Mofokeng nor Guma discuss sa and ntse in their grammars. There are two possible reasons for this. First, aspect is not discussed anywhere in the grammars. Secondly, Sesotho grammarians with the exception of Jacottet and Paroz, have used the term deficient verb to describe auxiliary verbs. Evidently, this approach excludes non-verbal aspectual markers such as sa and ntse.

We have already labeled sa as a progressive marker. We focus on ntse for a moment. To describe this marker, we use the term PERSTITIVE borrowed from Hyman and Watters (1984, p.263). In its meaning of 'to be still doing something', the perstitve clearly aligns itself with the progressive.

Examples: 10. Re sa bo leka (bo = bophelo)

 We PROG it try

 We are *still plodding along*

 11.a Re sa ntse re bo leka

 We PROG PERST we it try

 We are *still plodding along*

 11.b. Re sa ntsane re bo leka

 We PROG PERST we it try

 We are *still plodding along*

Examples 10 and 11 are both progressive. In 11, the effort of trying is persistent because of the added feature of the perstitve marker ntse. Jacottet (1927, p.130) maintains that ntsane used in example 12 above is the longer form of ntse. We have no problem with this. All we can add is that speakers of Sesotho use the two forms idiolectaly.

It is often assumed that sa and ntse are synonymous. Our finding is that they are not. Let us consider some evidence:

Examples: 12. Ke sa ruta
 I PROG teach
I am still teaching

13. Ke ntse ke ruta
 I PERST I teach
I am still teaching

Sentence 12 is progressive while sentence 13 is progressive plus perstitive. Further evidence is provided by the use of the negative.

Examples: 14. Ke sa ruta (pos)
 I PROG teach
I am still teaching
 Ha ke sa ruta (neg)
 NEG I PROG teach
I am no longer teaching

15. Ke ntse ke ruta (pos)
 I PERST I teach
I am still teaching
 Ke ntse ke sa rute (neg)
 I PERST I NEG teach
I have not been teaching

The negatives of 14 and 15 above are syntactically and semantically different. Sentence 14 is a simple statement of fact in the indicative mood whereas sentence 15 involves the participial dependent mood.

Finally, the order of sa in relation to ntse in any acceptable sentence is fixed: ntse will always be preceded by sa whenever they are used together in the same sentence. The sa appearing in the negative form of sentence 15 above, is the negative marker in the participial dependent mood.

4.1.2.2 SA USED WITH YA AND ILO

Westphal, in a working paper, notes that the progressive marker sa readily combines with -tla-, -ya- and -tswa-. He then lists -ilo- as a tense form of -ya-. What this means is that -ilo- is seen as a contracted form of ile + ho 'gone to do'. This is morphologically sound. However, when we look at -ilo- semantically, a different kind of meaning which we propose to call ANTICIPATIVE, arises. Emenanjo (1985) uses the term anticipative aspect without defining it. We are using the term in the same sense that it is used in Psycholinguistics where a later linguistic unit is anticipated; and in Phonetics and Phonology as in anticipatory or regressive assimilation (cf. Clark and Clark 1977; Bolinger 1975; Gimson 1970; Catford 1977). In our use of the term, the action denoted by the verb is anticipated by the use of the anticipative aspectual markers ya and ilo.

Examples: 16. Ke ya reka
 I ANTIC buy
 I am going to buy

17. Ke ilo reka

I ANTIC buy

I am going to buy

Some speakers of Sesotho will actually prescribe that sentence 17 but not 16 should be used as 'proper' Sesotho. Our observation is that the difference between 16 and 17 above is dialectal. In this sense ya and ilo are interchangeable anticipative aspectual markers. Further evidence is provided by the identical negative forms of 16 and 17.

Examples: 18. Ke ya reka (pos)

I ANTIC buy

Ha ke yo reka (neg)

NEG I ANTIC buy

19. Ke ilo reka (pos)

I ANTIC buy

Ha ke yo reka (neg)

NEG I ANTIC buy

I am not going to buy

It is evident from the discussion above that ya and ilo will behave in the same manner towards the progressive marker sa. They both occupy a similar position relative to sa. More precisely they are both infixes between sa and the verb.

- Examples: 20. Ke sa ya reka
 I PROG ANTIC buy
 I am still going to buy
21. Ke sa ilo reka
 I PROG ANTIC buy
 I am still going to buy

The progressive marker sa adds the feature of durativity to examples 20 and 21. This means that the subject in both sentences will be gone for a while (to buy); but will come back.

4.1.2.3 SA USED WITH NNE

There are two nne forms in Sesotho. The first one is what Morolong (1978, p.7) calls the habitual and what we have classified as durative.(p.) It means 'to keep on doing', and it cannot be used with the progressive marker sa.

- Examples: 22. Le nne le re hopole
 You HABIT-DUR you us remember
 Keep on thinking of us
- 23.* Le sa nne le re hopole
 You PROG HABIT-DUR you us remember

The second nne is what we vaguely describe as an imperfective aspectual marker at this stage. It means 'to occasionally do'. This form can be used with the progressive marker sa.

- Examples: 24. Ke nne ke ba bone
 I HABIT-ITER I them see
 I occasionally see them
- 25.? Ke sa nne ke ba bone
 I PROG ITER I them see
 I still see them occasionally

Sentence 25 has a question mark because some speakers of Sesotho feel uncomfortable with it.

4.1.2.4 SA USED WITH TSWA

Before we look at the use of sa with tswa 'to just have done', we need to address the question of PHASE. Comrie says phase refers to a situation at any given point in its duration (1976, p.48). Lyons (1977, p.711) uses the term in much the same sense as Comrie. He says if durative situations (states and processes) are temporally bounded, they will have indefinitely many temporal phases. This is not the sense of phase we wish to explore. Our interest is in the more specialized sense in which phase has been employed by Joos (1964) and Palmer (1974). The name phase derives from the special relation between cause and effect signified by verbs in the perfect phase. Joos says the essential meaning of the perfect phase is that the principal effects of the event are out of phase with it (1964, p.140).

- Examples: 26. Ba tswa fihla
 They PERF PHASE arrive
 They have just arrived
27. Ba a fihla
 They CURRENT PHASE arrive
 They are just arriving

In sentence 26 the perfect phase marker tswa is out of phase with the event of arriving because the phase is perfect while the event is present. What is important to note is that phase, like tense, refers to features of time, and that the perfect indicates a period of time preceding but continuing up to a later point of time (cf. Palmer 1974, p.51). In the case of example 26 the later point of time is the present. Example 27 on the other hand, is in current phase where the effects are in phase with the specified event. It should be noted that sentence 27 has two possible readings, the other being the unmarked one meaning '*they are arriving*'. We return to this in 5.1 when we discuss tense.

We now move on to consider the use of sa with tswa.

- Example: 28. Ba sa tswa fihla
 They PROG PERF PHASE arrive
 They have just now arrived

Morolong (1978, p.100) says the meaning of sa is redundant in a sequence such as 28 given above. Her argument is that the progressive form is frequently used in order to neutralize the verbal force of tswa '*come from*'. There are

two problems with this argument. First, Morolong is looking at tswa as a main verb rather than as an auxiliary which means *to just have done*, yet her own sequence *sa + tsoa + stem* gives an impression that tswa is used as an auxiliary. The second problem is that it is simply not correct to say that sa is redundant when used with tswa. In this regard we recall the reminder by Joos (1964, p.139), that language is rather well adapted to mentioning things because they matter.

- Examples:
29. Ba tswa kena
 They PERF PHASE enter
They have just entered
30. Ba sa tswa kena
 They PROG PERF PHASE enter
They have just now entered
31. Ba a kena
 They CURRENT PHASE enter
They are just entering

The three examples given above show a gradation of recentness. Sentence 31 is more recent than 30, and sentence 30 is more recent than 29. In this sense the progressive marker sa still imparts the aspect of durativity to the event.

Six aspectual markers have been treated so far. Five of them were discussed in relation to the progressive marker sa. The remaining eight will be discussed according to the most common features that they share. They fall into three groups namely, the habitual, the imperfective and the durative.

4.1.3 THE HABITUAL ASPECT MARKERS

We noted earlier (see 2.3.2) that a feature which is common to all habituals is that they describe a situation which is characteristic of an extended period of time. There is a difficulty here which relates to just what constitutes an extended period of time. In response to this question, Lyons (1977, p.716) suggests that a habitual aspect be used to express timeless truth statements such as the following:

- Examples:
- 32. Cows eat grass
 - 33. Oil floats on water
 - 34. Water boils at 100 C

While we agree with Lyons, we are also inclined to believe that the habitual aspect can express imperfective situations which are not necessarily timeless truth statements.

- Examples:
- 35. O ye a re thuse
He HABIT he us help
He usually helps us

36. Le nne le re hopole

You DUR you us remember

Keep on thinking of us

The time-span is not quantified in examples 35 and 36 cited above. The temporal situation being envisaged by the speaker in these two sentences includes the present with features that link it to the past. A habitual situation must have started in the past, persisted for a long enough period and continued into the present.

Doke and Mofokeng (1957, p.269) have identified the same forms as we have done. One difference is that while Doke and Mofokeng call them deficient verbs, we see them as habitual aspect markers. They are:

ye

hle

nne

be

4.1.3.1 THE HABITUAL ASPECT MARKER YE

The auxiliary ye 'to habitually do' may be regarded as the true habitual aspect marker.

- Examples: 37. Ba ye ba re tjhakele
 They HABIT they us visit
 They habitually/usually visit us
38. Re ye re sunane
 We HABIT we kiss-one-another
 We usually kiss one another

Since habituais describe situations that are characteristic of an extended period of time, it follows that such situations will be durative. Emenanjo (1985, p.123) uses the term Durative-Habitual to describe auxiliaries such as ye. This confirms what we proposed earlier (2.3.2) that the habitual be subsumed under the more general durative aspect. Looking at the habitual this way has an added advantage when we consider other habitual markers. For instance, the habitual marker hle 'to certainly do' would differ from ye because hle has an added feature of emphasis. It would be feasible then to describe hle as Durative-Habitual-Emphatic.

- Example: 39. O hle a phehe
 He HABIT-EMPHAT he cook
 He usually (certainly) cooks

The form nne 'to keep on doing' is durative-habitual in the sense that it describes a situation that takes place over a long enough period. The form has an added feature of jussiveness. The aspect marker nne would then be described as Durative-Habitual-Jussive.

Example: 40. Le nne le ba hlokomele
 You DUR you them look-after
 Keep on looking after them

Doke and Mofokeng (1957, p.271) give the form be the meaning 'even do habitually'.

Example: 41. Ke be ke reke
 I HABIT[+FOCUS] I buy
 I usually even buy

The be used in 41 is more a focus rather than an aspect marker. We compare sentence 41 with the two below:

Examples: 42. Ke be ke reka
 I HABIT I buy
 I am usually buying

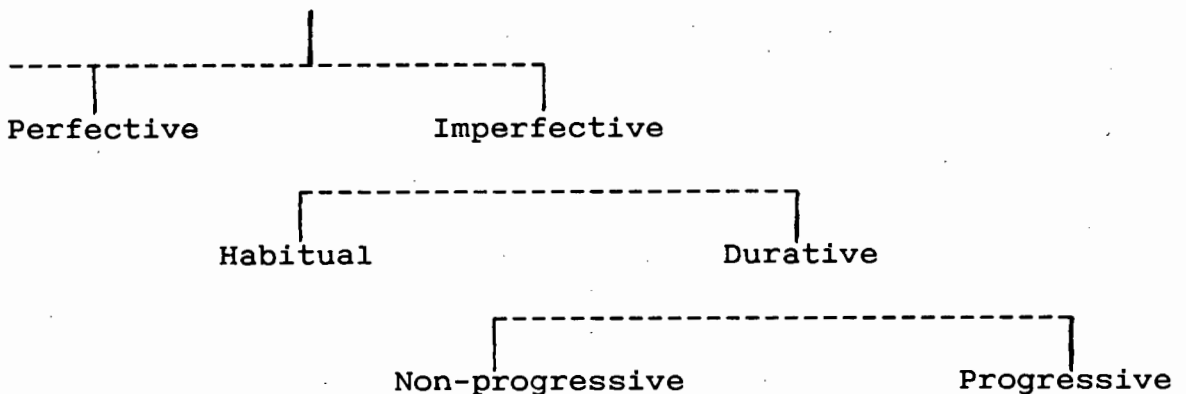
 43. Re be re hlahloba mosebetsi wa
 We HABIT we examine work of
 matitjhere
 teachers
 *We are usually engaged in examining the
 teachers' work*

Sentence 41 could be seen as part of a narrative sequence of events where auxiliary focus features prominently (cf Hyman and Watters 1984). The be used in 42 and 43 means 'to be occupied in doing'. Once again, the durative-habitual aspect is at work even here. Furthermore, the vowel qualities and tonal values of the be used in 41 and those used in 42 and 43 are different.

It is feasible then to say that the four aspectual forms just discussed are all [+durative], [+habitual] and [+imperfective]. We noted earlier in 4.1.1 that imperfectivity includes habituality. The same aspectual forms differ in respect of other features such as [+Jussive], [+Emphatic] and [+Neutral] in the case of ye and nne.

4.1.3.2 THE ITERATIVE ASPECTS

It is apparent from the discussion above that imperfectivity can be sub-divided into a number of distinctive aspectual categories. The following classification is adapted from Comrie (1976, p.25).



According to this table, non-progressive aspects can be subsumed under the durative and ultimately under the more general imperfective aspect. The two non-progressive aspectual markers we are concerned with are ke and nne. They both mean 'to occasionally do'.

- Examples:
44. Re nne re mmone
 We ITER we her-see
 We see her occasionally
45. Re ke re mmone
 We ITER we her-see
 We see her occasionally

The similar English glosses given in 44 and 45 give a misleading impression that nne and ke are synonymous. In our view the essential difference between the two forms is that in addition to the meaning 'occasionally do', ke has an additional meaning of 'do by chance'. We jump ahead to consider another feature which they both share. The situations described in 44 and 45 above must have been repeated a number of times prior to the time of speaking. The repetition of a situation or the successive occurrence of several instances of the given situation is called Iterativity (cf Comrie 1976; Lyons 1977). Events are sometimes composed of a multiple number of essentially equivalent sub-events that are iterated over time. An event can be iterated more or less regularly, i.e. occasionally,

now and then, usually or always. The mere iteration of a situation is not, however, sufficient for that situation to be called habitual. This marks the difference between iterativity and habituality. The forms nne and ke are then [+Iterative], [+Imperfective], [-Habitual] and [-Progressive].

4.1.3.3 THE DURATIVE ASPECT MARKER NE

The form ne 'was doing' has been discussed in a number of works (cf Jacottet 1927; Doke and Mofokeng 1957; Guma 1971). Morolong (1978) devotes a whole chapter to this form where she strains to prove that ne is a tense marker. At the top of p.65 she says it is doubtful that the problem of whether ne is a tense or aspect marker can be easily resolved since there is no clear-cut boundary between tense and aspect. While we agree that tense and aspect are closely related we also strongly believe that there is a clear distinction between them. We noted in 2.3.1 and 2.3.2 that tense expresses time-relations with reference to the time of speaking; whereas aspect is used to refer to oppositions in so far as they are grammaticalized in the structure of particular languages. Furthermore, tense is a deictic category whereas aspect is not.

When we take a closer look at Morolong's claim that ne is a tense marker, we find that there is no formal evidence on which her claim is based. In 3.2.3 we proposed a language-specific rule that relates to distribution. The data we considered included the following:

- Examples:
46. Ke ne ke re ba tsamaye
 I DUR-PAST I say they go(SUBJ)
I was saying they should go
47. Ke nne ke re ba tsamaye
 I ITER I say they go(SUBJ)
I occasionally say they should go
48. Ke hle ke re ba tsamaye
 I HABIT-EMPHAT I say they go(SUBJ)
I habitually say they should go

If we take sentence 46 and substitute ne for true undisputed tense markers like ile 'past' and tla 'future', problems arise.

- Examples:
49. Ke ne ke re ba tsamaye
 I DUR-PAST I say they go
I was saying they should go
- 50.* Ke ile ke re ba tsamaye
 I PAST I say they should go
- 51.* Ke tla ke re ba tsamaye
 I FUT I say they should go

Sentences 50 and 51 are starred because they involve auxiliaries of a different type from ne. Auxiliaries used in sentences 47 and 48 are undisputed aspectual markers. It is feasible then to conclude that ne belongs with aspectual markers like nne and hle rather than with ile and tla which are clear tense markers.

The aspectual marker ne describes a situation that spans a given period of time. Furthermore, the situation described is located in a time frame before the moment of speaking. It would be appropriate then, to describe ne as durative past.

- Examples:
52. Re ne re sebetsa
 We DUR-PAST we work
We were working
53. O ne o le kae?
 You DUR-PAST you being where
Where were you?

4.2 MOOD AND ASPECT

The term mood is traditionally restricted to a category expressed in verbal morphology (cf Palmer 1986, p.21). Jespersen (1924, p.373) insists that mood is a syntactic not a notional category which is shown in the form of the verb. It is probably because of the restriction of the term mood

56. Ke bone monna wa hae
 I see-PERF man of hers
I saw her husband
57. Ke bone monna wa Mafeteng
 I see-PERF man of Mafeteng
I saw the man from Mafeteng

We leave undiscussed the problems relating to the sequential as a mood until we discuss auxiliary focus in the next chapter.

The 'sentence forms' we identify for our descriptive needs are the following:

- a, The Indicative or Independent
- b, The Participial or Dependent
- c, The Subjunctive
- d, The Imperative
- e, The Infinitive
- f, The Conditional

The potential, which is not included in the list above, is not a clear cut form that can be termed a mood. Doke and Mofokeng treat it as a sub-mood; and Westphal calls it a tense. Our view is that the potential can express both modality and tense.

- Examples: 58. Ba ka tsamaya
 They MOD-FUT go
 They may go
59. A ka tshwaya dibuka
 He MOD mark books
 tse lekgolo ka hora
 100 per hour
 He can mark 100 books per hour

In 58 the potential marker ka is doing two things. First, the speaker is giving permission which of course, expresses the attitude of the speaker to what he is talking about. Secondly, the permission granted cannot take place at the time of speaking. It must take place at some time after the time of granting it. In this sense, the potential can be seen as a kind of future tense.

Sentence 59 has to do with proven ability. It has nothing to do with the future tense. The subject in example 59 must have successfully marked a hundred books per hour in the past for the truth-value of the proposition to hold.

The following section is devoted to examining the interaction of aspect with some of the moods listed above. Only the now time-relation will be considered.

4.3 ASPECT AND THE INDICATIVE MOOD

The Indicative is a term used in the grammatical classification of sentence types. It refers to verb forms or sentence types used in the expression of statements (cf Crystal 1980; Lyons 1977; Quirk et al 1972).

Here we investigate the extent to which aspect can be used in making statements of fact. The aspectual types we have identified are the following:

- a, The Progressive
- b, The Perstitive
- c, The Anticipative
- d, The Habitual
- e, The Iterative
- f, The Durative

4.3.1 THE PROGRESSIVE AND THE INDICATIVE MOOD

The progressive marker sa can be used in making statements of fact which are characteristic of the indicative mood.

Examples: 60. Ke a sebetsa

I DUR work

I am working

I am employed

61. Ke sa sebetsa
 I PROG work
I am still working
I am still employed

Examples 60 and 61 are statements of fact whose truth-value can be established.

In the negative conjugation the negative marker ha is prefixed to the positive form and the tone of the subject concord changes from low to high.

- Example: 62. Ha ke sa sebetsa
 NEG I PROG work
I am no longer working
I am not employed any more

4.3.2 THE PERSTITIVE AND THE INDICATIVE MOOD

The perstitutive marker ntse like the progressive marker sa can be used in verifiable statements of fact.

- Example: 63. Ba ntse ba sebetsa
 They PERST they work
They are still working
They are still employed

71. Re hle re
 We HABIT-EMPHAT we
 tshehetsane
 support-one-another(SUBJ)
*We usually (certainly) support one
 another*

72. O nne a tle
 He ITER he come
He occasionally comes

The negative marker ha is prefixed to the positive to form the negative.

Examples: 73. Ha a ye a halefe
 NEG he HABIT he get-angry(SUBJ)
He does not usually get angry

74. Ha re hle re tshehetsane
 NEG we HABIT-EMPHAT we support-
 one-another(SUBJ)
We do not usually support one another

75. Ha a nne a tle
 NEG he HABIT-ITER he come
He does not occasionally come

The mood of all the three sentences as well as their illocutionary force are the same. Sentences 70, 71 and 72 are all assertives (cf Lyons 1977; Searle 1979, 1983; Palmer 1986).

4.3.6 THE ITERATIVE AND THE SUBJUNCTIVE

Ke and nne 'occasionally do' are the two iterative markers we identified. These forms, we noted, are closely related to the habitual markers discussed above. It is not surprising therefore, to see both aspectual types feature in the same mood.

- Examples:
76. Ba ke ba ngole
 They HABIT-ITER they write
They occasionally write
77. Ba nne ba kotule
 They HABIT-ITER they harvest
They occasionally have a good harvest

To form the negative, the negative marker ha is prefixed to the positive.

- Examples:
78. Ha ba ke ba ngole
 NEG they HABIT-ITER they write
They do not occasionally write
- 79.? Ha ba nne ba kotule
 NEG they HABIT-ITER they harvest
They do not occasionally have a good harvest.

4.3.7 THE PARTICIPIAL DEPENDENT MOOD

The perstitive ntse, the habitual be and the durative ne all feature in the dependent participial mood. Ntse was discussed in 4.3.2.

- Examples:
80. Re be re ngola hlahlobo
 We HABIT we write an exam
We are usually writing an exam
81. Re ne re ngola hlahlobo
 We DUR-PAST we write an exam
We were writing an exam

To form the negative, the participial negative marker sa is prefixed directly before the verb and the terminative vowel of the verb changes from a to e.

- Examples:
82. Re be re sa ngole hlahlobo
 We HABIT we NEG write an exam
We are usually not writing an exam
83. Re ne re sa ngole hlahlobo
 We DUR-PAST we NEG write an exam
We were not writing an exam

Three moods namely, the indicative, the subjunctive and the participial were discussed in relation to the aspectual types we have identified. The conditional is tied up with

modality and non-now time relations. It will be treated in Chapters V and VI. The infinitive and the imperative feature less prominently with the aspectual markers already treated. We look at the two moods presently.

4.3.8. THE INFINITIVE MOOD

The infinitive is introduced by the infinitive prefix ho which is then followed by the auxiliary. The following auxiliaries can be used in the infinitive mood: ka 'do by chance', hla 'certainly do' and nna 'keep on doing'.

- Examples:
84. ho ka bona
 INFIN do-by-chance see
 **to be able to see by chance*
85. ho hla o bua
 INFIN certainly-do SC speak
 to certainly speak
86. ho nna o kopa
 INFIN keep-on-doing SC beg
 to keep on begging

It might be mentioned that the auxiliaries used in 84, 85 and 86 are the infinitive forms of the iterative ke 'occasionally do', the habitual hle 'certainly do' and the habitual nne 'keep on doing'.

CHAPTER V

THE TENSE SYSTEM OF SESOTHO

- 5.1 TENSE MARKERS
 - 5.1.1 THE STATUS OF A
 - 5.1.2 THE STATUS OF TLA
 - 5.1.3 THE POSITION OF ILE

- 5.2 TENSE AND ASPECT
 - 5.2.1 THE PRESENT TENSE AND ASPECT
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 - 5.2.3 THE FUTURE TENSE AND ASPECT
 - 5.2.4 CONDITIONALS

- 5.3 DEGREES OF REMOTENESS

- 5.4 THE SEQUENTIAL TENSES
 - 5.4.1 CONJUNCTIVE AUXILIARIES IN SEQUENTIAL TENSES

- 5.5 THE TENSE SYSTEM IN SESOTHO

CHAPTER V

THE TENSE SYSTEM OF SESOTHO

Sporadic discussions of tense have appeared in a number of Sesotho grammars. However, nowhere in the literature has the tense system of Sesotho been adequately and convincingly discussed. Guma (1971, p.168) lists ten tenses of the indicative mood. The reason for his inflated list is that, like his predecessors, he makes no distinction between tense and aspect. Our concern here is to develop the tense system of Sesotho. One of the necessary conditions required is to make a clear distinction between absolute and relative tenses or between what Westphal calls the major and the sequential set of tenses in Sesotho.

We have already said that tense can be described in terms of a temporal dimension that is directional, with a privileged point of time (cf Givón 1984; Comrie 1985; Chung and Timberlake 1985). For Chung and Timberlake the two most important considerations in tense systems are:

- i. the selection of the tense locus or time axis;
- ii. the nature of the relationship between the tense locus and the event frame.

In most tense systems the tense locus is defined by the time of speaking. Tense systems where the moment of speech serves as the time axis are traditionally called absolute tense; whereas systems in which a point other than the moment of speech is the tense locus are called relative tense.

The event frame can relate to the time locus in three ways: it can be anterior to; simultaneous with; or posterior to the tense locus. These distinctions define the three tenses past, present and future. The tense system of Sesotho can be discussed in terms of this tripartite set of distinctions.

- Examples:
1. Ke tsebile (past)
I knew
 2. Ke a tseba (present)
I know
 3. Ke tla tseba (future)
I will know

The three sentences given above exemplify the major set of tenses in Sesotho. They are concerned only with the relationship between the situation (event frame) and the time axis. Further refinements such as the distance between the frame and the locus are not being considered at this stage. The sequential set of tenses will be treated in 5.3.

5.1 TENSE MARKERS

Three tense distinctions were exemplified in the preceding discussion. Three distinct morphemic elements were conspicuous in sentences 1, 2 and 3 cited above. The elements are -ile, a and tla. Since we are dealing with tense, the first logical guess to make would be that -ile, a and tla are tense markers. The elements a and tla seem to wear other semantic shades. It will be worth our while to probe a little.

5.1.1 THE STATUS OF A

In our discussion of phase in 4.1.2.4 we established that a can be used to mark current phase. This use of a is marked and is further accompanied by extra-linguistic factors such as body language. We cited the following example:

Example: 4. Ba a fihla
 They CURRENT PHASE arrive
 They are just arriving

It was also noted that a sentence like 4 above, has a basic unmarked reading meaning They are arriving. It is this unmarked form which is our concern here. The crucial question is: Is a as used in the following sentences a tense marker?

- Examples:
- 5.a, Re a ruta
We are teaching
- b, Re ruta, baphaphathehi
We are teaching refugees
- 6.a, Ba a ngola
They are writing
- b, Ba ngola hlahlobo
They are writing an exam

Sentences 5a and 6a are the long form of the present because there is no object NP in VP. The a in question appears in both cases. When we look at the short form of the present (5b and 6b), the a is missing yet the now time reference of both b- sentences remains unchanged.

If the presence or absence of the element a does not change the location of the event in time, how then can it be a tense marker? Semantically, examples 5a and 6a are straightforward imperfective, durative statements. The verbs used in 5 and 6 are both durative. Furthermore, the a under discussion can be used only with durative verbs (both active and inchoative verbs).

- Examples:
7. O a sebetsa
She is working
8. Poho e a kgathala
The bull is getting tired

Two sets of information can be deduced from the discussion in 5.1.1. First, the a used in examples such as 7 and 8 above is a durative aspect marker meaning 'to do something' (see 4.1). Secondly, it appears to be the case that the present tense is not explicitly marked in surface structure in Sesotho.

5.1.2 THE STATUS OF TLA

Westphal says the Sotho future tense from the structural point of view, is a derivative of the present tense. Nevertheless this derivative form with a future tense meaning is also an integral part of the tense system in general and must be included in any discussion of the tense system as a whole. Tla is a verbal particle with a tense behaviour. It is clear from this statement that Westphal sees tla as a tense marker.

- Examples:
9. Ba tla bua
They will speak
10. Ba tla tla
They will come

We agree with Westphal that tla as used in 9 and 10 above is a tense marker. In this sense tla is a marker of actions that are necessarily speculative in that the predictions made might be changed by intervening events.

If we consider what Austin (1962) calls commissives, we note another sense in which tla can be used.

Example: 11. Ke tla o nyala

I will marry you

Sentence 11 is a promise whose essential condition specifies what the speaker intends as the point of the utterance. The illocutionary force of 11 is a promise. Furthermore, example 11 can only be a promise if tla is used.

Examples: 12. Ke a o nyala

I am marrying you

13. Ke tla o nyala

I MOD you marry

I will marry you

In sentence 12, the speaker is making a commitment, but not a promise as is the case in 13. It is feasible then to see tla, as used in 11, as a modal marker. Comrie (1985, p.45) notes that expressions of future time reference frequently derive diachronically from modal expressions of desiderativity such as tla 'will'.

The verdict on the status of tla then is that tla is primarily a tense marker with a secondary function of modal marker.

5.1.3 THE POSITION OF ILE

In our discussion of aspectual opposition types, we referred to the perfective without discussing it. It is appropriate to deal with perfectivity here since Sesotho grammars view the perfect as a tense. Guma (1971, p.156) says the perfect is used as one of the tenses of the indicative mood. It indicates that the action of the predicate has been completed, resulting in a state that exists now at the time of speaking. The word completed puts too much emphasis on the termination of the situation. It is true that the perfective denotes a complete situation with beginning, middle and end; but it does not put any more emphasis on the end of the situation than on any other part of the situation. For Comrie, the perfect [aspect] indicates the continuing present relevance of a past situation (1976, p.52).

Example: 14. Re jele (ja-ile)

 We eat-PERF

 We have eaten

The perfect as exemplified in 14 above expresses the relation between two time-points. It partakes of both the present and the past.

The perfect marker ile has been used in two main senses in Sesotho grammars:

i. as a verbal extension to mark the perfect tense:

Example: 15. fihla + ile > fihlile

Nteo o fihlile

Nteo he arrive-PERF

Nteo has arrived

ii. as a past tense marker:

Example: 16. Nteo o ile a fihla

Nteo he PAST he arrive

Nteo arrived

We are going to argue that the difference between 15 and 16 is not of perfect tense vs past tense. One of the differences between the two examples is that 15 indicates persistence of the result of Nteo's arrival, whereas 16 does not. Sentence 15 is saying that at the time of speaking Nteo had arrived and was still there. This is not the case with sentence 16. The type of perfect at work in 15 is what Comrie calls the perfect of result where a present state is referred to as being the result of some past situation. Ile as used in 15 is a marker of the perfect of result. We shall discuss sentence 16 in 5.4.

Following Comrie (1976) we discuss three additional types of perfect aspect. He says the experiential perfect indicates that a given situation has held at least once during some time in the past leading up to the present.

Example: 17. Ba kile ba ya mose
 They EXP PERF they go overseas
 They have been overseas

Sentence 17 says that on at least one occasion they did in fact go overseas.

The perfect of persistent situation describes a situation that started in the past but persists into the present.

Example: 18. Re phetse mona dilemo
 (phela-ile)
 We live-PERSIS PERF here years
 We have lived here for years

The perfect of recent past was discussed under phase (see 4.1.2.4). Here the present relevance of the past situation is very recent. Sesotho employs the auxiliary tswa 'to just have done' as a marker of the perfect phase. This is different from ile (and its variants) which is used to mark the other types of perfect.

The discussion above leads us to conclude that ile marks the perfect aspect in Sesotho.

5.2 TENSE AND ASPECT

Here we look at the way tense interacts with aspect. There is an interesting relationship between tense and aspect which occurs when an aspectual distinction is restricted to one or more tenses, rather than operating across the board. The different temporal locations of an event - past, present and future - are inherently correlated with differences in aspect. An event that is ongoing at the speech moment has not been completed. Hence there is a correlation between present tense and imperfective aspect and all other aspectual types that can be subsumed under the imperfective. By implication, there is a correlation between past tense and perfective aspect.

5.2.1 THE PRESENT TENSE AND ASPECT

The present tense, used essentially to describe rather than to narrate, is essentially imperfective. It was established in 4.1.3.2 that the durative, the habitual, the progressive and the non-progressive aspects can all be subsumed under the imperfective aspect.

The two non-progressive iterative aspectual markers we have identified are ke and nne.

Examples: 25. Re nne re mmone
 We HABIT ITER we her-see
 We see her occasionally

26. Re ke re mmone
 We ITER we her-see
 We see her occasionally

Examples: 27. Re ye re tjhakelane
 We HABIT we visit-one-another
 We usually visit one another

28. Ba hle ba otlane
 They HABIT-EMPHAT they hit-each-other
 They usually (certainly) hit each other

29. Le nne le re hopole
 You HABIT you us remember
 Keep on thinking of us

30. O be a robetse(robala-ile)
 He HABIT he sleep-STAT
 He is usually sleeping

All of the examples given above are essentially descriptive since the present tense is used to describe.

5.2.2 THE PAST TENSE AND ASPECT

In contrasting past and present tense we make an aspectual distinction between perfective meaning on the one hand and imperfective meaning on the other. Comrie (1976, p.72) notes that in a number of African languages correlations between aspect and time reference suggest that the most typical usages of verbs in the past, are those with perfective meaning.

- Examples:
31. Lebone o rekile koloi
 Lebone she buy-PERF car
Lebone has bought a car
32. Ke bone ntho ya hao e sephara
 I see-PERF thing of yours RC flat
I have seen your flat thing

If we accept that it is natural for a past tense verb to have perfective meaning, then it is equally natural for a language to seek other means to express a past tense that does not indicate a complete action. It is here that past durative comes in (see 4.1.3.3).

- Example:
33. Morwa o ne a dutse hampe
 Bushman she DUR-PAST she sit-STAT badly
The bushman was sitting badly (It was bitterly cold)

Sentence 33 above describes a situation located in a time frame before the moment of speech (past tense). The situation described spans a given period of time (durative aspect). The verb used in 33 is stative. It might be interesting to look at data involving verbs in the active inchoative and perfect.

- Examples:
34. Le ne le sebeta
 You DUR-PAST you work
You were working
35. Ba ne ba kgathathala
 They DUR-PAST they get-tired
They were getting tired
36. Le ne le sebeditse
 You DUR-PAST you work-PERF
You had worked

Sentences 34 and 35 like 33, are clear cases of the past durative. Sentence 36 on the other hand involves an active verb in the perfect. The point at issue here is whether 36 above is a case of the past perfect or past perfective. We reason. We pointed out earlier that the perfect indicates the continuing present relevance of a past situation. The perfective on the other hand denotes a complete situation. In our view example 36 does not indicate the continuing present relevance of the past situation. The effects of the

action denoted by the verb do not hold at the time of speaking. This is the crucial difference between past perfect as exemplified in 31 and 32 and past perfective as exemplified in 36.

5.2.3 THE FUTURE TENSE AND ASPECT

The progressive marker sa as well as the perstitive ntse can be used with the future tense marker tla.

- Examples:
37. Re sa tla sebetsa
 We PROG FUT work
We will still work
38. Re ntse re tla sebetsa
 We PERST we FUT work
We still still work

The habitual markers hle, nne and be as well as the iterative ke can all be used in the future.

- Examples:
39. Ba tla hle ba otlane
 They FUT HABIT-EMPHAT they hit-each-
 other
They will certainly hit each other.
40. O tla nne a ba hlokomele
 He FUT HABIT he them care-for
He will keep on looking after them

41. Re tla be re ingwathele
 We FUT HABIT we ourselves-serve
We will even serve ourselves
42. Ke tla ke ke motjhakele
 I FUT ITER I him visit
I will for once visit him

5.2.4 CONDITIONALS

To round off the discussion on tense and aspect, we take a brief look at conditionals.

Our knowledge and understanding of conditionals in Southern African languages is very poor. Guma (1977) is the only grammarian who makes any reference at all to conditionals in Sesotho. This confirms Palmer's observation that it is difficult for anyone but a native speaker to understand and explain in full the conditional uses of a language (1986, p.189). A full scale study of conditionals is still to be made.

Conditional sentences are non-factual. They neither indicate that an event has occurred, is occurring or will occur. The sentences merely indicate the dependence of the truth of one proposition upon the truth of another (cf Palmer 1986).

- Examples: 43. Re ne re tla sebetsa
 We DUR-PAST we FUT work
We would work
44. Re ne re ka sebetsa
 We DUR-PAST we POSS work
We could work

The two conditionals cited here refer to future events, and predict that if one takes place, some other one will follow, often with some kind of causal relationship between the two.

One of the reasons why we treat conditionals here is the manner in which they relate to aspect in Sesotho. Of importance to note is the use of ne 'was doing' characterized earlier as the past-durative aspect marker. When used with tla 'shall', 'will' or with ka 'can' ne forms the conditional markers would and could respectively.

- Examples: 45a. Re ne re tla be re sebetsa
 We DUR-PAST we FUT be we work
We would be working
- b. Re ne re ka be re sebetsa
 We DUR-PAST we POSS be we work
We could be working
- 46a. Re ne re tla be re tla sebetsa
 We DUR-PAST we FUT be we FUT work
We would (begin to) work

b. Re ne re ka be re tla sebetsa
 We DUR-PAST we POSS be we FUT work
We could (begin to) work

47a. Re ne re tla be re sebeditse
 We DUR-PAST we FUT be we work-PERF
We would have worked

b. Re ne re ka be re sebeditse
 We DUR-PAST we POSS be we work-PERF
We could have worked

The sentences in 45, 46 and 47 express conditions in relation to the speech moment. The examples in 45 overlap the speech moment. The forms in 46 are posterior to it while the sentences in 47 are anterior to the speech moment. Furthermore, the examples given above show an intricate fusion of tense, aspect, mood and modality. For instance, the conditions expressed in Example 47 are located in a time frame before the time of speaking (past tense), sebeditse is marked for the perfective (perfective aspect), the sentences are the indicative mood, and since judgments are involved, the modality is epistemic.

5.3 DEGREES OF REMOTENESS

The tense distinctions we have discussed so far, not only locate a situation temporally either at, before, or after a reference point, but also provide an approximate measure of

the interval between that reference point and the speech moment (cf Givón 1972; Silverstein 1974; Morolong 1978; Comrie 1985). Before we look at the specific examples of degrees of remoteness in the tense system of Sesotho, we need to outline the possible range of distinctions that can be made. Comrie points out, and we agree, that since simultaneity by definition excludes distinctions of temporal distinctions, temporal distance is relevant only with respect to the parameters of before and after the speech locus. Thus, in principle, we would expect to find distinctions of temporal distance among past tenses and among future tenses (1985, p.85). The reference point from which the temporal distance is measured is taken as the present moment, i.e. the usual deictic centre for tense systems.

According to Givón (1972) ChiBemba has a system of four metrical tenses that are nearly symmetrical in past and future. He identifies the following time intervals or temporal distances:

PAST TIME INTERVALS

- | | | |
|----|----------------|--------------------------------|
| a. | remote past | <i>before yesterday</i> |
| b. | removed past | <i>yesterday</i> |
| c. | near past | <i>today</i> |
| d. | immediate past | <i>within the last 3 hours</i> |

FUTURE TIME INTERVALS

- | | | |
|----|------------------|-----------------------|
| a. | immediate future | <i>within 3 hours</i> |
| b. | near future | <i>later today</i> |
| c. | removed future | <i>tomorrow</i> |
| d. | remote future | <i>after tomorrow</i> |

These time intervals are phonologically and morphologically realized in ChiBemba. In Sesotho there is an asymmetry between past and future in the distribution of temporal distances. The past tense allows more time intervals than the future. Secondly, the degrees of remoteness are lexically marked by the use of time adverbials.

Examples:

PAST TIME INTERVALS

- | | | |
|----|--------------|-----------------------|
| a. | Ngwaholakola | <i>two years ago</i> |
| b. | Ngwahola | <i>last year</i> |
| c. | Monongwaha | <i>this year</i> |
| a. | Maobeng | <i>three days ago</i> |
| b. | Maoba | <i>two days ago</i> |
| c. | Maobane | <i>yesterday</i> |
| d. | Kajeno | <i>today</i> |

FUTURE TIME INTERVALS

- | | | |
|----|---------------|------------------|
| a. | Monongwaha | <i>this year</i> |
| b. | Isao | <i>next year</i> |
| | | |
| a. | Kajeno | <i>today</i> |
| b. | Hosane/hosasa | <i>tomorrow</i> |

The temporal distances cited here are approximate and subjective. For instance, when is a time interval characterized as remote and not recent past, when is it removed and not far past? Chung and Timberlake (1985, p.208) note that even though no precise time measures can be given, the recent past is likely to be used for an interval of a week or so, the far past for an interval of months; the remote past is used for more distant events, including mythical events in the past. It is feasible then to characterize temporal distances as remote, far, recent and immediate.

5.4 THE SEQUENTIAL TENSES

The term sequence of tenses refers to the dependencies between tense forms in successive clauses (cf Crystal 1980, p.320). Westphal (in personal communication) says the sequential set of tenses is more difficult to describe than

the major set which we discussed in the first half of this chapter. In general, he notes, the sequential indicates actions necessarily following on each other. For Westphal, three types of forms belong to the sequential. They are the sequential-narrative, the sequential-vivid and the sequential-subjunctive. He give the following examples:

- Examples:
- 48. Ke hlile ka reka (sequential-narrative)
I certainly bought
 - 49. Ke hle ke reke (sequential-vivid)
I certainly buy
 - 50. Ke tla hle ke reke (sequential-subj)
I will certainly buy

It is true that the sequential set of tenses is difficult to describe in Sesotho. Part of the problem that must be solved is the provision of a successful terminology. Doke and Mofokeng (1957) use a different set of terms from Westphal's such as the past-subjunctive, the habitual and the subjunctive, to describe the same sequences. Hyman and Watters (1984) use the terms consecutive, sequential and narrative to refer to three clause types which according to them, are all related in African languages. They maintain that the terms consecutive and sequential are used to refer to conjoined clauses. An important point they make is that many languages have special narrative tenses which resemble consecutive forms used in common conversation. Our observation is that the sequential set of tenses in Sesotho

is used in narratives to convey sequences of events following one another. When we look at Westphal's examples cited above, we notice that what he calls the sequential-narrative is in fact the past-narrative. His sequential-vivid turns out to be the present-narrative, and the sequential-subjunctive is actually the future-narrative. What we have here are three narrative sequences where the speech moment serves as the tense locus. The past-narrative describes events occurring prior to the speech moment, the present-narrative describes events overlapping the speech moment, and the future-narrative for events subsequent to the speech moment. Indicative sequences in the stative aspect provide further evidence that the tense system of Sesotho is essentially tripartite.

- Examples:
51. Ke hlile ke rekile(reka-ile)
 I HABIT-EMPHAT I buy-PERF
 I have certainly bought
52. Ke hlile ke a reka
 I HABIT-EMPHAT I DUR-PRES buy
 I am certainly buying
53. Ke hlile ke tla reka
 I HABIT-EMPHAT I FUT buy
 I will certainly buy

5.4.1 CONJUNCTIVE AUXILIARIES IN SEQUENTIAL TENSES

Conjunctive auxiliaries are formed from three basic verbal forms in Sesotho. The verbal forms are ho re 'to say', ho ba 'now, then, and', and ho ka 'it is as if'. It is very difficult to give the exact English equivalents for these forms. A complete paradigm of conjunctive auxiliaries adapted from Doke and Mofokeng (1957) appears in Appendix D.

Our purpose here is to show how conjunctive auxiliaries participate in the sequential tenses of Sesotho. These forms, as Jacottet (1927, p.201) points out, are verbal tenses, and have the temporal value of the tense they represent. Thus eba 'and then', is present, ebile 'it was then that' past, yaba 'and then' past-narrative, etlaba 'it will then be' future.

Examples: 54. Ha a phirimellwa eba
 If DUR-PRES sun-sets-on-him then(PRES)
 o a robaletsa
 he DUR-PRES sleep-over
 *When nightfall catches up with him he
 sleeps over*

55. Ebile o se a kgutla ha
 Then(PAST) he already he return when
 a utlwa taba tsa hao
 he hear news of yours
*It was then that he returned when he
 heard your news*

56. O ile a kena sepetlele
 He PERF NARR-DUR enter hospital
yaba o geta mariha teng
 then (PAST NARR) he spend winter there
*He went into hospital and spent the
 winter there*

57. Ha o tla kwano etlaba ho
 If you come this-way then (FUT) INFIN
 lokile
 fine
*If you come this way it will then be
 fine*

What we notice from examples 54-57 cited above is that the verb which follows the conjunctive auxiliary adjusts itself to the tense value of that conjunctive auxiliary. Some grammarians, notably Jacottet (1927) and Paroz (1946), call this mechanism the law of sequence of tenses.

The next group of conjunctive auxiliaries includes eka 'it seems as if', ekile 'it happened that', yaka 'it was as if', etlaka 'it will seem as if'.

Examples:

58. Ha o momametse a bua
 If you him-listen-to-STAT he speak
eka ha di a re malome
 seem-as-if-PRES NEG they AUX say uncle
*When you listen to him speak he does not
 sound normal*
59. Ekile yare re motjhaketse
 It-happen-PERF that we him-visit-STAT
 a re tsholela mekgodutswane
 he us serve lizards
*We visited him once and he served us
 lizards*
60. A nyebella yaka o
 He(NARR) went down as-if(NARR) he
 fokotse athe o tla kgutla ka
 weak-STAT only he FUT return from
 hosele
 different angle
*He pretended to be weak whereas he was
 preparing to attack from a different
 angle*
61. Etlaka ha le morate ha le
 It-FUT-seem NEG you him-like if you
 mokgetholla
 him-isolate
*It will seem as if you do not like him
 if you isolate him*

The verbal forms which make up the third group are ere 'it happens that', eitse 'it happened that', yare 'it happened that', etlare 'it will happen that'.

Examples:

62. O ke a yo nwa
 He occasionally-do(AUX) he go-to drink
ere ha a kgutla a lwane
 and-then-PRES when he return he fight
He goes to drink occasionally and it happens that when he returns he fights
63. Eitse re bua le maburu ana
 It-happen-PERF we speak with boers they
 hantle a hana ho mamela
 nicely they(NARR) refuse INFIN listen
It happened that when we talked to these boers nicely, they refused to listen
64. Yare ha a motlolela
 It-happen-NARR when he her-jump-on
 monna a kena
 husband he entered
It happened that when he jumped onto her her husband entered

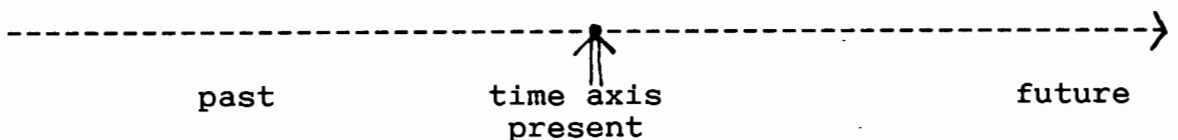
65. Etlare re theoha sefofaneng
 It-FUT-happen we get-off plane-LOC
 ba be ba re tshwara
 they then they us arrest
*It will happen that when we get off the
 plane they arrest us*

The remaining group includes empe, empile, yampa, etlampe 'nevertheless', esita 'notwithstanding', efela 'indeed', esale 'eversince', etswe 'moreover'.

The potential has not been given special attention because we see it as a sub-part of the future in the sense that it is both unfulfilled and prospective. Forms here include ekaba 'is it then possible that', ekare 'if it happens that', ekampa 'it would rather be'.

5.5 THE TENSE SYSTEM OF SESOTHO

The aim of this chapter had been to develop the tense system of Sesotho. In so doing we followed earlier observations (cf Jespersen 1929; Reichenbach 1947) that time can be represented as a straight line as follows:



Our concern is to establish formal representations of absolute tense. Following Comrie (1985) we shall refer to the time point or time interval of the situation to be located in time as E for moment of event. The moment of speech shall be called S. To relate E to S we need to know whether E is located before, after or overlaps S. Given the two time points (S and E) and the temporal relations simultaneous, before and after, we can represent the three absolute tenses as follows:

present	E	simul	S	
past	E	before	S	
future	E	after	S	(Comrie 1985, p.123)

We have not explicitly referred to degrees of remoteness in the formal representation just outlined. We did however, refer to a time point or a time interval that can be occupied by a situation to be located in time. The time interval refers to the degrees of remoteness.

In sum then, the tense system of Sesotho is absolute. The moment of speech serves as the tense locus even for the sequential tenses.

CHAPTER VI

THE MODALITY SYSTEM OF SESOTHO

- 6.1 DEONTIC MODALITY
 - 6.1.1 TYPES OF DEONTIC MODALITY
 - 6.1.1.1 DIRECTIVES
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- 6.3 DYNAMIC MODALITY
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CHAPTER VI

THE MODALITY SYSTEM OF SESOTHO

Different scholars have dealt with modality in many different ways (cf Joos 1964; Lyons 1977; Hubbard 1979; Chung and Timberlake 1985; Palmer 1979, 1986). This clearly indicates the nature of the complexity and the difficulty of arriving at a completely convincing analysis. Our analysis will follow what Palmer (1979) calls a vertical approach where each kind of modality is dealt with separate from the others. This way our exposition gains advantage because each kind has more or less the same syntax and semantics. However, where there is indeterminacy as in the case with neutral dynamic and subject oriented modality, a horizontal exposition proves more productive.

Following Von Wright (1951) we identified two kinds of modality namely, deontic and epistemic modality (see 2.2.4). However, if we take the syntax and semantics carefully into account we can distinguish between three basic kinds of modality, the third being dynamic modality (Palmer 1979, p.36). We shall, therefore, be dealing with three basic kinds of modality starting with deontic modality.

6.1 DEONTIC MODALITY

Deontic modality is concerned with language as action, mostly with the expression by the speaker of his attitude towards possible actions by himself and others (Palmer 1986, p.121). It is concerned with the necessity or possibility of acts performed by morally responsible agents where we impose upon someone the obligation to perform or refrain from performing a particular act (Lyons 1977, p.823). Thus, we make a distinction between deontic possibility and deontic necessity. Deontic possibility is very easy to establish, and it is marked by ka 'may' in Sesotho.

Example: 1. Ba ka tsamaya
 They POSS go
 They may go

The permission to go is granted in 1.

Deontic necessity is problematic. It is marked by the verb tshwanela 'must'. However, there is no clear line between the uses of tshwanela for deontic necessity and for neutral dynamic necessity.

Examples: 2. Ngwetsi e tshwanela
 Daughter-in-law she NEC
 ho hlompha
 INFIN respect
 A daughter-in-law must show respect

3. Baeti ba tshwanela ho hlahisa
 Visitors they NEC INFIN produce
 mangolo a baeti ha ba
 letters of visitors when they
 fihla moeding
 arrive at-the-border
*Visitors must produce passports when
 they get to the border*

In sentence 2 the attitude of the speaker towards what he is saying is not in doubt: the speaker is laying an obligation. This is a clear case of deontic modality. The attitude of the speaker is not as obvious in example 3 where the speaker could simply be making an assertion (see 6.3).

6.1.1 TYPES OF DEONTIC MODALITY

Here we discuss the sub-types or sub-systems within the deontic system. Chung and Timberlake (1985, p.247) identify eight 'different senses of the deontic mode'. They are:

1. Imperative (the speaker commands the addressee to realize the event)
2. Exhortative (the speaker exhorts the addressee to participate in realizing the event)
3. Voluntative (the speaker expresses the intention to realize the event)
4. Optative (the speaker desires an event of some participant)
5. Jussive (the speaker allows an event)
6. Obligative (the event is required of some participant)
7. Permissive (the event is allowed of some participant)
8. Abilitative (the event is within the ability of some participant)

The impressive list given here shows striking similarities with a list of sub-categories suggested by Jespersen (1924, pp.320-321). The first seven sub-types given above appear in Jespersen's list which is purely notional and contains very little theoretical significance.

In 6.1 we noted that deontic modality is concerned with language as action. In this sense, language is performative in the sense that it actually initiates action either by the speaker himself or by others. The use of the term performative points to the relevance of the theory of speech acts which was initiated by Austin (1962) and developed by

Searle (1979). Since speech act theory is concerned mainly with a relation between the speaker and what he says, it provides a useful semantic framework for the discussion of modality. Searle (1983, p.166) argues that there are five basic categories of illocutionary acts. They are:

1. Assertives (where we tell hearers how things are)
2. Directives (where we get them to do things)
3. Commissives (where we commit ourselves to doing things)
4. Declaratives (where we bring about changes in the world with our utterances)
5. Expressives (where we express our feelings and attitudes)

Assertives and declaratives are members of the epistemic system and will be discussed below.

Palmer (1986, p.97) points out that the most important types of deontic modality in a grammatical study appear to be Directives and Commissives. Volitives and Evaluatives which can be subsumed under Expressive have a somewhat doubtful status. The imperatives may be treated as the unmarked type of deontic modality. These are the five sub-types of deontic modality which we discuss presently.

6.1.1.1 DIRECTIVES

Directives are utterances where speakers try to get hearers to do things and to initiate action (cf Ross 1968; Lyons 1977; Crystal 1980; and particularly Searle 1983). The modals ka 'may' and tshwanela 'must' are crucial here as markers of the notions of possibility and necessity.

- Examples:
4. Lenepa a ka tla jwale
 Lenepa he POSS come now
Lenepa may/can come now
 5. Lenepa o tshwanela ho tla jwale
 Lenepa he NEC INFIN come now
Lenepa must come now

The negative forms will be discussed under a separate sub-heading dealing with grammar.

The deontic modals ka and tshwanela appear to have related forms such as lokela 'ought', tlameha 'obliged' and ka nna 'might'.

- Examples:
6. Re lokela ho ba thusa
 We NEC INFIN them help
We ought to help them
 7. Ke tlameha ho ya hae
 I OBLIG INFIN go home
I have to go home

8. Lebone a ka nna a fihla
 Lebone she POSS she arrive
Lebone might arrive

It is important to note that even though examples 6-8 above are clearly attitudinal, they are not directives at all.

6.1.1.2 COMMISSIVES

Commissives are defined by Searle (1983, p.166) as utterances where we commit ourselves to do things. Here we can either make promises or give threats. Sesotho uses the modal tla 'shall' to mark commissives.

- Examples:
9. Ke tla o nyala
 I MOD you marry
I will marry you
10. O tla bona mmao
 You MOD see mother-yours
You will see your mother

Sentence 9 is a promise. Whether or not the promise made meets the requirements of the sincerity condition is not relevant at this stage. Sentence 10 is simply making a threat. Some regard the threat made in 10 as an insult. All that we need to add is that uptake will depend on what the hearer wants to hear.

6.1.1.3 VOLITIVES

Volitives are sub-types of the expressive modality. They are concerned mainly with the distinction between wishing and hoping.

Examples:

11.a Ke lakatsa eka mme a ka tla
 I MOD that mother she can come
 hosane
 tomorrow

I wish mother would come tomorrow

b Ke lakatsa eka mme a ka be
 I MOD that mother she can be
 a le mona hona jwale
 she be here now

I wish mother were here now

c Ke lakatsa eka mme a ka be a
 I MOD that mother she can be she
 tlile maobane
 come-PERF yesterday

I wish mother could have come yesterday

12.a Re tshepa hore ntate o tla hosane
 We MOD that father he come tomorrow
 We hope father will come tomorrow

b Re tshepa hore ntate o teng
 We MOD that father he is-here-now
 We hope father is here now

c Re tshepa hore ntate o tllile maobane
 We MOD that father he came yesterday
 We *hope that father came yesterday*

What the sentences 11 and 12 above illustrate is that the distinction between wishing and hoping is valid irrespective of the time relation, i.e. for future, present and past. Moreover, wishes do not relate only to what is unrealizable as Jespersen (1924) suggests, or to what is impossible as Moore (1934) put it because wishes in the future are none of these. Lastly, it should be noted that both wishes and hopes are expressed by lexical verbs lakatsa 'wish' and tshepa 'hope'.

6.1.1.4 EVALUATIVES

The status of evaluatives as modality sub-types is still in doubt. Palmer (1986, p.119) argues that if evaluatives are defined as attitudes towards known facts, then they are not strictly modal. He then considers data from Derbyshire (1979, p.144) which we paraphrase as follows in Sesotho:

- Examples:
13. O a tla - hlokomela
 He DUR-PRES come - take-care(IMP)
He is coming - be warned
14. Ba a tla - ha ke dumele
 They DUR-PRES come - NEG I agree
They are coming - I do not believe it

In both 13 and 14 the second part of the example expresses the speaker's attitude towards known facts. However, there is an element of evaluation in be warned. Sentence 15 below appears to be even more evaluative.

Example: 15. Ke a swaba hore a etse
 I DUR-PRES regret that he do(SUBJ)
 ntho e tjena
 thing RC such
 I regret that he should do such a thing

The speaker does not merely present the facts, he evaluates them. This supports the view that evaluatives are modals which belong with the deontic system since they are concerned with attitudes.

6.1.1.5 IMPERATIVES

Most languages including Sesotho, use the term imperative to express mands. The term mand was first used by Skinner to refer to commands, demands, requests and entreaties. For Lyons mands are a subclass of directives. However, mands differ from other subclasses of directives such as warnings, recommendations, and exhortations in that they are governed by the particular speaker-based felicity-condition that the person issuing the mand must want the proposed course of action to be carried out (1977, pp.745-6). In this sense then, the imperative holds a relation to the deontic system.

To specify this relation Palmer (1986, p.108) argues that the imperative is best seen as the unmarked member of the deontic system just as the declarative is the unmarked member of the epistemic system. Palmer's argument (which we agree with) is that the imperative is often a simple form (this is certainly so in Sesotho), and that it is not necessarily stronger than the modal tshwanela 'must' or ka 'may'.

- Examples: 16. Tloo kwano
 Come-IMP here
 Come here
17. Kena
 Enter-IMP
 Come in

The imperative is merely presented as a deontic proposition in 16 and 17 above where the hearer is left to judge the force of his obligation. In 16 the directive is an order, whereas it is an expression of permission in 17.

6.1.2 GRAMMAR

Since it is the grammar that distinguishes one kind of modality from the others, it is necessary to round off the discussion on deontic modality by looking at the grammar of deontic modals. In particular, we shall consider interrogation, negation and tense.

6.1.2.1 INTERROGATIVES

We identified three deontic modals in 6.1 above. They are ka 'may', 'can'; tshwanela 'must' and tla 'shall'. These forms may all be used in interrogatives to ask if the person addressed gives permission, lays an obligation or makes a promise.

- Examples:
18. Nka tsamaya jwale?
I-MOD go now
May/Can I go now?
 19. Ke tla e fumana hosane?
I MOD it get tomorrow
Shall I get it tomorrow?
 20. Re tshwanela ho kgutla?
We NEC INFIN return
Must we come back?

6.1.2.2 NEGATION

Either the modality or the event may be negated. Ka + neg 'may not' or 'can not' negate the modality, i.e. they refuse permission. On the other hand neg + tshwanela 'must not' and neg + tla 'shall not' negate the event.

- Examples:
21. O ka se tsamaye jwale
 You POSS NEG go now
You may not/cannot go now
22. Ha le a tshwanela ho kgutla
 NEG you DUR-PRES NEC INFIN return
You must not come back
23. Ha o tlo e fumana hosane
 NEG you FUT it get tomorrow
You shall not get it tomorrow

There is an obvious difference between refusing permission (ka + neg) and laying an obligation not to (neg + tshwanela). With the former the permission is normally required while with the latter the speaker takes a positive step in preventing the action for which permission may not normally be required (cf Seuren 1969; Palmer 1979).

6.1.2.3 PAST AND FUTURE

Deontic modals can have no past tense forms for past time. Neither in the modality nor in the event can there be any indication of past time. One cannot in the act of speaking give permission, lay an obligation or give an undertaking in

the past. Deontic modality cannot be expressed in the future for similar reasons given for the past. However, the event is always future. One can only give permission or lay an obligation for events/action to take place after the time of speaking.

6.2 EPISTEMIC MODALITY

Epistemic modality is concerned with matters of knowledge, belief or opinion rather than fact (cf Lyons 1977; Steele et al 1981; Givón 1982; Palmer 1979, 1986). Palmer (1986, p.51) suggests that the term epistemic should apply not simply to modal systems that basically involve the notions of possibility and necessity, but to any modal system that indicates the degree of commitment by the speaker to what he says. In addition to judgments, the epistemic system should include evidentials. Declaratives will be treated as the unmarked member of the epistemic mode.

6.2.1 JUDGMENTS

Givón (1982, p.24) sees judgments as propositions that are asserted with doubt. Epistemic judgments can either be weak or strong (cf Palmer 1986), and are expressed by the modals ka 'may' and tshwanela 'must'.

- Examples: 24. Lenepa a ka ba lapeng
 Lenepa he POSS be at-home
 Lenepa may be at home
25. Lenepa o tshwanela ho ba lapeng
 Lenepa he NEC INFIN be at-home
 Lenepa should be at home

A weak judgment is expressed in 24 while a strong one is expressed in 25. Furthermore, these two examples express what is epistemically possible (sentence 24) and what is epistemically necessary (sentence 25).

Another way of approaching the epistemic meaning of ka and tshwanela is in terms of the distinction between speculation and deduction. In this regard Coates (1983, p.41; p.131) has this to say:

In its most normal usage, epistemic must [tshwanela] conveys the speaker's confidence in the truth of what he is saying, based on a deduction from facts known to him.

May [ka] and might [ka nna] are the modals of epistemic possibility expressing the speaker's lack of confidence in the proposition

It is reasonable to conclude then, that epistemic ka 'may' involves speculation on the part of the speaker, whereas epistemic tshwanela 'must' involved deduction.

6.2.2 EVIDENTIALS

Evidentials are propositions that are asserted with relative confidence (Givón 1982, p.24). Barnes (1984) proposes five types of evidentials namely:

- i. visual
- ii. non visual
- iii. apparent
- iv. secondhand
- v. assumed

We agree with Palmer (1986) that the evidential nature of the system is most clearly suggested by the first two, where the distinction is between the kind of sensory evidence. Secondhand, on the other hand, clearly refers to the Quotative which is no less evidential. The term quotative is used here as a category that includes hearsay and report. It is concerned with the evidence derived from what others have said. Different quotative forms where a verb of reporting is used can be distinguished in Sesotho.

Examples: 26a. Ho thwe

 INFIN say-PASS

It is said

 b. Ho itswe

 INFIN say-PASS-PERF

It was said

- 27a. Batho ba re
 People they say-PRES
People say
- b. Batho ba itse
 People they say-PERF
People said
- 28a. Nnyeo o re
 So-and-so he say-PRES
Someone says
- b. Nnyeo o itse
 So-and-so he say-PERF
Someone said
- 29a. Nnyeo o ntjwetsa.....
 So-and-so he me-tell-PRES
Someone tells me
- b. Nnyeo o ntjwetsitse
 So-and-so he me-tell-PERF
Someone told me
- 30a. Ke jwetswa ke.....
 I tell-PASS by
I hear from
- b. Ke jwetsitswe ke.....
 I tell-PERF-PASS by
I was told by

It is worth mentioning that 26a. can be used to indicate that what is being said is part of a myth or story in Sesotho.

6.2.3 DECLARATIVES

Lyons, among others (cf Langacker 1972), lists declaratives as one of three basic sentence types to be found in languages. The other two are interrogatives and imperatives. He says declaratives are straightforward statements of fact that may be regarded as epistemically non-modal (1977, p.797). Palmer (1986, p.26) notes however, that this does not preclude the possibility that declaratives may be treated as the unmarked forms within a modal system. We noted earlier also that Searle (1983, p.166) includes declaratives within the epistemic system. It is our view then that when a speaker utters a declarative sentence, he is expressing his opinion that what he says is or is not true. The declarative is unmarked in Sesotho except for tense and aspect.

Example: 31. Poqo o lapeng
 Poqo COP at-home
 Poqo is at home

Sentence 31 expresses the speaker's knowledge rather than his belief. In this sense then, 31 is an expression of the speaker's commitment to the truth of what he is saying.

6.2.4 GRAMMAR

As in the case of the grammar of deontic modals, we shall concern ourselves with interrogation, negation and tense.

6.2.4.1 INTERROGATIVES

We do not normally question epistemic modality. This is borne out by the fact that in the instances where questions are asked, these are usually echo questions.

Examples:

32a. Lenepa a ka ba lapeng

Lenepa he POSS be at-home

Lenepa may be at home

b. Na Lenepa a ka ba lapeng?

QM Lenepa he POSS be at-home

Can Lenepa be at home?

33a. Lenepa o tshwanela ho ba lapeng

Lenepa he NEC INFIN be at-home

Lenepa should be at home

b. Na Lenepa o tshwanela ho ba lapeng?

QM Lenepa he NEC INFIN be at-home

Should Lenepa be at home?

6.2.4.2 NEGATION

The markers of modality here are ka 'may' and tshwanela 'must'. For epistemic possibility ka + neg 'may not', 'cannot' negates both the proposition and the modality.

Example: 34. Lenepa a ka se be lapeng
 Lenepa he POSS NEG be at-home
 Lenepa may not/cannot be at home

Neg + tshwanela 'must not' on the other hand negates the proposition.

Example: 35. Lenepa ha a tshwanela ho ba lapeng
 Lenepa NEG he NEC INFIN be at-home
 Lenepa mustn't be at home

6.2.4.3 TENSE

Ka 'may' is used to make epistemic judgments about propositions relating either to the present or the future. Epistemic tshwanela 'must' is usually used to refer to the present (see examples 24 and 25 above).

As far as the past goes, it is generally the case that the modality is in the present only because the judgments we make are normally in the act of speaking. However, the proposition can be in the past since we can make judgments about past events.

Example: 36. Sebatu o ne a tshwanela ho ba
 Sebatu he DUR-PAST he NEC INFIN be
 mosebetsing
 at-work
 Sebatu must have been at work

6.3 DYNAMIC MODALITY

Dynamic modality is concerned with ability and disposition. Two subkinds of modality can be distinguished within this mode. One is neutral or circumstantial modality and the other is subject oriented modality. We noted in the opening paragraph of this chapter that our discussion of dynamic modality will take a horizontal exposition because of the indeterminacy we find between neutral dynamic and subject oriented possibility.

6.3.1 DYNAMIC POSSIBILITY

Sesotho has two markers of dynamic possibility. They are the modal marker ka 'can' and the verb kgona 'be able to'.

When looking at ka, an attempt should be made to distinguish a neutral from a subject oriented use of this form. The following two sentences illustrate the use of neutral ka.

- Examples:
37. O ka lahleha morung o
 You POSS get-lost in-forest RC
 dense that
 teteaneng oo
You can get lost in that dense forest
38. Mengwapo ke yona feela eo o ka
 Scratches are all only what you POSS
 e bonang
 them(OC) see
Scratches are all that you can see

In examples 37 and 38 we have used the impersonal O 'you' as the subject. Furthermore, the appropriate paraphrase for the use of neutral ka in these examples is 'it is possible for ...'

The subject oriented use of ka 'can' refers to the ability of the subject.

Example: 39. Mohlomi a ka tshwaya dibuka tse
 Mohlomi he POSS mark books one
 sekete ka hora
 thousand per hour
 *Mohlomi can mark a thousand books per
 hour*

The ability expressed in 39 is a relatively stable, enduring quality of the agent or actor as Halliday puts it.

It should be noted though that subject orientation should not be defined strictly in terms of ability. While it is true that only animate creatures may have ability, subject orientation is possible with inanimates, where it indicates that they have the necessary qualities or power to cause the event to take place (Palmer 1979, p.73).

Example: 40. Mathata a ka sulafaletsa
 Hardships they POSS make-distasteful-for
 motho bophelo
 person life
 *Hardships can make life distasteful for
 a person*

The subject in 40 is not an agent but a set of inanimate circumstances with the power to bring about an event. Furthermore, the same subject may be characterized as an object which, semantically, is the most neutral case.

Kgona 'be able to' like ka 'can', also indicates ability and as such, it is always subject oriented.

Example: 41. O kgona ho bona
 You POSS INFIN see
 Are you able to see?

Subject oriented possibility is expressed in 41. However, there is an interesting way in which kgona 'be able to' differs from ka 'can'. Kgona is often used to indicate actuality, i.e. it suggests that in addition to the actor (subject) being able to perform the action or go through the process, he is actually doing it at the time of speaking.

Another difference between kgona 'be able to' and ka 'can' is that kgona is

+V
-N
-AUX

while ka is

+V
-N
+AUX

(see 3.2.1)

Examples: 42. Re a kgona
 We DUR-PRES be-able
 We are able to

 43.* Re a ka
 We DUR-PRES POSS

6.3.2 GRAMMAR

6.3.2.1 NEGATION

Only the modality is negated. This is done by formally negating the modal.

- Examples:
44. Mohlomi a ka se tshwaye dibuka
 Mohlomi he POSS NEG mark books
 tse sekete ka hora
 one thousand per hour
Mohlomi cannot mark a thousand books per hour
45. Ha o kgone ho bona?
 NEG you POSS INFIN see
Are you not able to see?

6.3.2.2 INTERROGATIVES

Both ka 'can' and kgona 'be able to' can occur in interrogative forms.

- Examples:
46. O ka nthusa mona?
 You POSS me-help here
Can you help me here?

47. Le kgona ho tla?

You POSS INFIN come

Are you able to come?

The use of ka in 41 has a conventional implication where an action is requested.

6.3.2.3 TENSE

Subject oriented ability cannot take place in the past. The modality is present while the event is future (see example 34 above). With subject oriented possibility, the situation is different. The modality can be marked for both past and future.

Examples: 48. O kgonne ho bona?

You POSS INFIN see

Were you able to see?

49. O tla kgona ho tla?

You FUT POSS INFIN come

Will you be able to come?

It was noted that kgona 'be able to' is used to indicate actuality. This suggests that in its unmarked form, kgona 'be able to' expresses the present tense.

6.3.3 DYNAMIC NECESSITY

Dynamic necessity is concerned with neutral or circumstantial necessity. It is marked by the modal verbs tshwanela 'must' and tlameha 'have to'. We noted in 6.1 that there is indeterminacy resulting from the use of tshwanela 'must' to mark both deontic necessity and dynamic necessity. Some of the interesting examples of dynamic necessity involve the interrogative and the negative. In these cases concern is not so much with the use of these grammatical categories in their formal sense as with the expression of an opinion by the speaker.

- Examples:
50. Hobaneng ke tshwanela ho hatellwa
 Why I NEC INFIN press-down-
 PASS
 tjena
 like-this
Why must I put up with this oppression?
51. Ha re a tshwanela ho
 NEG we DUR-PRES NEC INFIN
 ikgathatsa haholo
 bother too-much
 We must not worry too much

Tlameha 'have to' is much stronger than tshwanela 'must'. In its literal sense tlameha 'have to' means 'bound to' or 'obliged to' which suggests that there is some external compulsion.

Example: 52. Ke tlameha ho falla
 I OBLIG INFIN leave
 I have to leave

It might be argued that to account for tlameha we do not only need subject oriented and neutral necessity but external necessity as well. This is one difference between the use of tshwanela and tlameha. Other differences for English must and have to have been accounted for by other analysts of modality (cf Bouma 1975; Palmer 1979). We have to point out though that the distinction between colloquial and formal use of must and have to as accounted for by Bouma (1975) and Palmer (1979), does not arise in Sesotho.

6.3.3.1 GRAMMAR

The grammatical issues are familiar even here.

NEGATION

We noted in the discussion of deontic must that the negative of tshwanela 'must' negates the event. The function is the same even here, and it extends to tlameha as well.

CHAPTER VII

LOOKING BACK

- 7.1 CONTRIBUTIONS TO LANGUAGE STUDY IN SOUTHERN AFRICA

- 7.2 CONTRIBUTIONS TO LINGUISTIC THEORY IN GENERAL
 - 7.2.1 THE CATEGORY AUX
 - 7.2.2 AUXILIARIES AND SYNTACTIC TYPOLOGY
 - 7.2.3 AUXILIARIES AND COMPLEMENTATION
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- 7.3 RESIDUAL PROBLEMS
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 - 7.3.4 CONCLUDING COMMENT

CHAPTER VII

LOOKING BACK

In this epilogue we look back in an attempt to complete the circle, so to speak. First, we consider contributions of this study to language studies in Southern Africa and then to general linguistic theory. Secondly, we consider residual problems and suggest possible future research directions.

7.1 CONTRIBUTIONS TO LANGUAGE STUDY IN SOUTHERN AFRICA

It is not always easy to decide if a given form is an auxiliary or an autonomous verb. To address this problem we developed formal characteristics which can be used as guidelines for the identification of auxiliaries. These formal tests are discussed in Chapter III. Louw (1987) considers Rank-shifting and asks the question whether the auxiliary verb can shift from its autonomous use as a complete sentence to the final bound form as a single morpheme. Our standpoint is that this is not possible in Sesotho. Since Tswana and Northern Sotho and Sesotho form one language group, we predict that the formal 'tests' we have suggested can be applied in the two Sotho languages as well.

Morolong (1978) is the first researcher to pay serious attention to Aspect in Sesotho. However, her study is selective rather than comprehensive. Our contribution in relation to aspect is the development of an Aspectual System for Sesotho. This might initiate fresh debate leading to comparative as well as typological studies on the subject in Southern African languages. We are aware that a vibrant investigation of aspect in Xhosa is well under way.

Tense has been studied slightly more than aspect in Sesotho. From Jacottet (1927) to Guma (1971) discussions on tense have been nothing but a muddle of tense and aspect. Westphal refers to the tense system of Sesotho and suggests a split between the major and the sequential set of tenses. We have taken his ideas further and suggested an absolute tripartite tense system for Sesotho where even the narrative sequences fit neatly into the proposed system.

Modality, with specific reference to Sesotho, is not discussed anywhere in the literature. Morolong (1978, p.8) lists six forms which she calls modal verbs. On closer examination, only one form namely, tshwanela 'must', turns out to be a modal verb. We have devoted a whole chapter to

the discussion of modality in Sesotho. In this regard the study is breaking new ground. More work still has to be done though. For instance, conditionals and complementation to name just two research areas, can be studied in relation to modality.

7.2 CONTRIBUTIONS TO LINGUISTIC THEORY IN GENERAL

Here we draw attention to some specific areas in which this study of the Auxiliary in Sesotho has contributions to make.

7.2.1 THE CATEGORY AUX

Emenanjo (1985, p.205) says AUX is a necessary and universal category, not an available one. We agree! Steele (1979) has identified twelve notional categories which inhabit the AUX domain. They are Modality, Tense, Subject agreement, Subject marking, Aspect, Question, Emphasis, Quotative, Object marking, Object agreement, Negation, Reflexive. At the end of 1.2 of this study we pointed out that there is a category AUX in Sesotho. In addition to most of the notional categories identified by Steele, Sesotho includes conjunctive auxiliaries (see 5.4.1) and focus as discussed in Hyman and Watters (1984).

7.2.2 AUXILIARIES AND SYNTACTIC TYPOLOGY

Besides the ongoing debate on the AUX controversy, studies on syntactic typology have appeared (cf Steele et al 1981; Shopen 1985; Palmer 1986; Comrie 1976, 1985). This study makes contributions relating to typology. For instance, as a typical SVO language Sesotho has auxiliaries. Furthermore, these auxiliaries are found before the main verb in acceptable sentences.

7.2.3 AUXILIARIES AND COMPLEMENTATION

Steele (1978, p.14) has observed that auxiliaries are complemented by a special form of the main verb. This study confirms that a group of auxiliaries arise from constructions of verbs plus infinitive clauses where auxiliaries dominate their complements (see Appendix B).

7.2.4 AUX MOVEMENT

The auxiliary and its complement cannot be inverted in Sesotho. Inversion is not, therefore, a property of the auxiliary verb.

7.3 RESIDUAL PROBLEMS

Hyman and Watters have written an important paper which examines the interaction between focus and the semantic features of tense, aspect, mood and polarity (1984, p.233).

We have referred to focus when we developed defining characteristics for auxiliaries. We noted in 3.2.8 that since the auxiliary is the locus of semantic focus, it follows that some auxiliary markers will be [+ focus] while others will be [-focus]. Our second reference to focus was its interaction with clause types such as the sequential and the narrative.

What we have not addressed is a full scale investigation into the nature of auxiliary focus in Sesotho. This entails first identifying all auxiliary types that mark focus.

These include:	tena	<i>do in desperation</i>
	tla	<i>do well</i>
	hana	<i>do at once</i>
	be	<i>even do</i>
	ke	<i>do for first time</i>
	ka	<i>do for once</i>
	se	<i>already do</i>

Secondly, the following parameters will have to be addressed in any complete work on auxiliary focus:

- a. realization of focus
- b. types of focus
- c. scope of focus
- d. control of focus

We pointed out earlier that while tense, aspect and modality are essentially semantic categories, there is no way that they can be discussed without reference to syntax. Our work shows a greater leaning towards semantics rather than syntax. However, as Paroz (1946) and Jacottet (1927) maintain, 'what characterizes [some] auxiliaries is that, when they are in a certain tense or mood, they must be followed by a special tense or mood according to the law of sequence of tenses'. This is the second set of residues we have not addressed in this study. Westphal has been working on this particular aspect of auxiliaries for some time now. We summarize his major arguments below.

Westphal identifies three sequences in which auxiliaries relate to their complements. They are:

- a. AUX + SEQ for Auxiliary + Sequential
- b. AUX + DEP for Auxiliary + Dependent
- c. AUX + DEP OR SEQ for Auxiliary + Dependent

III. If the auxiliary is in the future, in the subjunctive or in the imperative, the main verb is in the sequential or subjunctive.

- Examples:
- 7. Ke tla hle ke reke
I will certainly buy
 - 8. O re ke hle ke reke
He says I must certainly buy

IV. If the auxiliary is in the potential the main verb is sequential or narrative.

- Example:
- 9. Nka hla ka reka
I may definitely buy

In certain contexts the three auxiliaries exemplified in 2-4 above have an auxiliary + indicative sequence besides the one shown there. The sequences are illustrated with hlile as follows:

- Examples:
- 10. Ke hlile ke rekile
I have certainly bought
 - 11. Ke hlile ke a reka
I am certainly buying
 - 12. Ke hlile ke tla reka
I will certainly buy
 - 13. Ke hlile nka reka
I can certainly buy.

Westphal then gives his full list of auxiliaries which participate in the AUX + SEQ combination as follows:

1.0 BA 'to even Do fully planning to DO

1.1 -bile (stat) + IND/pres, perf, futr, potl

1.2 -be/-bile/-tlaba/-kaba + SEQ as indicated above. The AUX may be IND/DEP/REL in the 4 tenses

1.3 -be/-ba/-be + SEQ as indicated above. The AUX may be SEQ/narr, vivd, subj

2.0 HLA 'to certainly DO'

2.1 -hlilo (stat) + Ind/pres, perf, futr, potl

2.2 -hle/-hlile/-tlahle/-kahla + SEQ as for BA 1.2

2.3 -hle/-hla/-hle + SEQ as for BA 1.3

3.0 KA 'to DO for once'

3.1 .

3.2 -ke/-kile/-tlake/-kaka + SEQ as for BA 1.2

3.3 -ke/-ka/-ke + SEQ as for BA 1.3

4.0 KAKA in negative only

4.1 .

4.2 As in Nkèkè-karèka. Note: This apparently duplicated AUX needs further investigation. Its forms are best set out in full ... as will be done presently ... with their English meanings

4.3 .

5.0 AKA in negative only

5.1 .

5.2 As in Hakéaká-karéka 'I didn't buy', negative of Keilé-karéka. This, like 4.0, requires further study

5.3 .

6.0 YA

6.1 .

6.2 (a) Keye-kereka 'I usually buy' (I am wont to DO)

(b) Keile-kareka 'I did buy' = (1) Initiating perfect
(2) An emphasising perfect

6.3 .

7.0 MPA 'DO nevertheless notwithstanding opposition'

7.1 .

7.2 -mpe/-mpile/-tlampe/-kampe + SEQ

7.3 -mpe/-mpa/-mpe + SEQ

8.0 NNE 'keep on DOING'

8.1 .

8.2 -nne/-nnile/-tlanne/-kanna + SEQ

8.3 -nne/-nna/-nne + SEQ

9.0 TLA 'DO well, DO indeed'

9.1 .

9.2 .

9.3 ./-tla/-tle + SEQ

10.0 EKETSA 'DO over and above what was required'

10.1 .

10.2 -eketse/-ekeditse/-tlaeketsa/-kaeketsa + SEQ

10.3 -eketse/-eketsa/-eketse

11.0 BOELA 'DO again (for second time)'

11.1 -boetse (stat) + IND/pres, perf, ...

11.2 -boele/-boetse/-tlaboela/-kaboela + SEQ

11.3 -boele/-boela/-boele

7.3.2 AUXILIARY + DEPENDENT

These are simply listed without examples

17.0 SALA 'remain DOING'

18.0 TENA 'DO tiresomely, inappropriately, in desperation'

19.0 TLOHA 'DO rashly, unexpectedly, regrettably'

20.0 TSOHA 'DO early'

21.0 TSHOHA 'DO unexpectedly, in an unplanned way'

22.0 TSWA 'DO futilely and without end'

23.0 RATLA 'nearly DO'

24.0 HLOLA 'spend the day DOING'

25.0 LALA 'spend the night DOING'

7.3.3 AUXILIARY + DEPENDENT + SEQUENTIAL

These, he notes, appear to offer a choice of either a Dependent or a Sequential sequence of the main verb. Once again he merely lists them without examples.

- 11.0 FELA 'in fact DO'
- 12.0 FIHLA 'DO before anything else'
- 13.0 NYAFA 'DO at the right time'
- 14.0 PHAKA 'DO opportunely'
- 15.0 PHAKISA 'DO soon, quickly'
- 16.0 PHETA 'DO again (for second time)'

7.3.4 CONCLUDING COMMENT

Westphal has initiated an extremely important research which requires a meticulous worker that he is. However, it is evident that the work is incomplete. Only the AUX + SEQ has been discussed and fully exemplified. Our view is that when completed, this work will make a major contribution to syntactic theory. Finally, we wish to add that when using concepts such as habitual, sequential, future, subjunctive, imperative and potential, clear dividing lines should be drawn between aspect, tense, mood and modality.

APPENDIX A

PRIMARY AUXILIARIES

The following is a list of auxiliaries requiring a concurring complement.

Ba 'to even do'

Example: 1. Ke fihlile ka ba ka ingwathela
I arrived and even served myself

Be 'to be occupied in doing'

Example: 2. Re be re hlahloba mosebetsi wa matitjhere
We are usually engaged in examining the teachers' work

Hla 'to certainly do'

Example: 3. O hla o se reka sefofane seo?
Are you certainly buying that aircraft?

Ka 'to do for once'

Example: 4. Nka ka ka mo ruta batho
I can for once teach him a lesson

Ye 'to habitually do'

Example: 5. Ba ye ba re tjhakele
They habitually visit us

Nne 'to keep on doing'

Example: 6. Le nne le re hopole
Keep on thinking of us

Ne 'was doing'

Example: 7. O ne o lwanahlakoreng lefe?
On which side were you fighting?

Se 'already or now do'

Example: 8. Ntate o se a le tseleng
*Father is now leaving/
Father is already leaving*

Ntse 'to still do'

Example: 9. Ke ntse ke sebetsa le Sombatha
I still work with Sombatha

Mpa 'to nevertheless do'

Example: 10. Re mpa re re o je pele o tsamaya
*We are saying you should nevertheless
eat before you go*

Boela 'do again'
 Example: 11. Mmaspekere o boela a re etela mariha hape
Mmaspekere will again visit us in winter

Eketsa 'do over and above'
 Example: 12. Phakwane a eketsa a ratha mosadi ka kwakwa
*Phakwane further hacked his wife with a
 matchet*

Fela 'to end up doing'
 Example: 13. O fela o nyala mmabotswa eo?
*Are you in fact getting married to that
 lazy woman?*

Nyafa 'do at right moment'
 Example: 14. Modsadi a nyafa a fihla
His wife arrived at the right moment

Phaka 'do opportunely'
 Example: 15. Se ka phaka wa kgutla hle
Do not return too soon please

Pheta 'do again (for second time)'
 Example: 16. A pheta a re lwanela molamu wa hloho
He protected us a second time

Sala 'remain doing'

Example: 17. Ba sala ba ikanehile letsatsing
They remain basking in the sun

Tena 'do in desperation'

Example: 18. Ke tena ke o shapa tjena ka botlokotsebe
bona ba hao
*I end up lashing you in this manner
because of your delinquency*

Tloha 'do rashly, regrettably'

Example: 19. Ke tloha ke o raha hona jwale tjena
I will soon kick you

Tsoha 'do early or upon waking up'

Example: 20. Kokobela o tsoha a topotse kajeno
Kokobela got up angry this morning

Tshoha 'do by chance'

Example: 21. Nka tshoha ke teana le yena
I could meet him by chance

Tswatswa 'do futilely'

Example: 22. Mme o tswatswa a batla lemao la hae
Mother is searching in vain for her needle

Batla

'nearly do'

Example:

23.

Ba batla ba qetile*They are nearly finished*La batla le longwa ke noha*You were nearly bitten by a snake*Hlola

'spend the day doing'

Example:

24.

Bahlakwana ba hlola ba ikwalletse ka

matlung

*Bahlakwana spend the day in their houses*Lala

'spend the night doing'

Example:

35.

Ledimo le lala le bala bibebe*The cannibal spends the night reading the bible*Haba

'do inopportunistically'

Example:

26.

Se ka haba o bue*Do not speak yet*

OR

Se ka haba wa nyala*Do not get married yet*

Tla 'do well'

Example: 27. A tla a bua Mosotho
He spoke well, the Mosotho

Fihla 'do before anything else'

Example: 28. O fihle o robale
Sleep first thing on arrival

Phakisa 'do soon or quickly'

Example: 29. O phakise o re tsebise
Let us know soon

a 'present progressive'

Example: 30. Re a tsebana
We know each other

Tlilo 'have come to do'

Example: 31. Ba tlilo kopa kgotso
They have come to ask for peace

ke 'sometimes do'

Example: 32. O ke a tjhake
He visits sometimes

nne 'occasionally do'

Example: 33. O nne a mo thuse
He helps her occasionally

ilo 'going to do'

Example: 34. Re ilo bolela
We are going to tell on you

ya 'going to do'

Example: 35. Ba ya reka
They are going to buy

APPENDIX B

SECONDARY AUXILIARIES

The following is a list of auxiliary verbs requiring a class 15 verbo-nominal complement.

Anela 'only just be able to do'

Example: 1. Le tla anela ho dumedisana feela
You will only be able to exchange greetings

Atisa 'do frequently'

Example: 2. Re atisa ho buela ho-dimo ha re hleutse
We usually speak loudly when we are tipsy

Lakatsa 'wish or long to do'

Example: 3. Ke lakatsa ho teana le Sanane ka nama
I wish to meet the Devil in person

Leka 'try to do'

Example: 4. Ba leka ho kgutla le mehlala
They are trying to mend their ways

Lesa

'leave off doing'

Example: 5. Lesa ho nkenā hanong
Stop interrupting me

Lokela

'be fitting to do'

Example: 6. Re lokela ho ngola kerama ya Sesotho
We ought to write a Sesotho grammar

Hloka

'need to do'

Example: 7. Ntate o hloka ho tseba ka nako
Father needs to know in time

Tlameha

'be bound to do'

Example: 8. Re tlameha ho sebeletsa bana ba rona ka
 thata
We must work hard for our children

Tshwanela

'be obliged to do'

Example: 9. Ngwetsi e tshwanela ho hlompha
A daughter-in-law should show respect

Hana

'do at once'

Example: 10. O hana ho bona mose o re pote, o se a le
 ho ona
*Once he sees a dress disappear around the
 corner, he is already there*

Batla

'want to do'

Example: 11. Re batla ho bolotsa bana ba rona
We want to initiate our children

Thabela

'be pleased to do'

Example: 12. Morena o thabela ho nyala sethepu
A chief is pleased to have a polygamous marriage

Tshaba

'be afraid to do'

Example: 13. Ba tshaba ho kena ka hare
They are afraid of getting into trouble

Tlohela

'leave off doing'

Example: 14. Tlohela ho re satallela re se thoka
 tsa hao
Stop behaving as though we were your equals

Tsohela

'rise to do'

Example: 15. Lere o tsohela ho re felehetsa
Lere rises to accompany us

Kgona

'be able to do'

Example: 16. Mantombi o kgona ho thatha
Mantombi can plait

Rata

'like to do'

- Example: 17. Lebo o rata ho suna ntatae
Lebo likes to kiss her father

Dulela

'keep doing'

- Example: 18. Kgotso o dulela ho raha mmae
Kgotso keeps kicking her mother

Tlwaela

'be accustomed to do'

- Example: 19. Ngwana o tlwaela ho hlongwa habonolo
A child gets toilet trained very easily

Dumela

'agree to do'

- Example: 20. Ke dumela ho o hlokomela ho isa lefung
I agree to look after you till death do us part

Qala

'begin to do'

- Example: 21. Morena o qala ho busa isao
The king begins his rule next year

Qeta

'finish doing'

- Example: 22. Bano ba geta ho futhumatsana
Those have just finished warming up each other

Salla 'remain to do'

Example: 23. Bana ba salla ho sunana

These remain to kiss

Within the broad class of non-concording auxiliaries is yet another group of auxiliary verbs which require a complement. However these auxiliaries share a common characteristic - they are all verbal conjunctives. We list them below separate from the group of secondary auxiliaries just cited.

APPENDIX C

CONJUNCTIVE AUXILIARIES

What follows is a list of the non-concording conjunctive auxiliaries.

Etswe

'moreover'

Example: 1. O kgutlele haeno etswe ha o re thuse ka
letho mona

*You should return to your home moreover
you are not of any help to us here*

Esale

'ever since'

Example: 2. Esale a tsamaya ha re eso fumane lengolo
*Ever since he left we have not received
a letter*

Efela

'indeed'

Example: 3. Efela a tseba mosebetsi wa hae
He certainly knows his work

Empa

'but'

Example: 4. O rata dijo empa o botswa ho pheha
You like food but you are lazy to cook

- Empile 'nevertheless'
- Example: 5. Empile ya eba bohlaswa ba hae feela
It nevertheless was just his carelessness
- Yampa 'nevertheless'
- Example: 6. Yampa ya ba lehlohonolo feela hore re se
phethohe ka koloi
*It was nevertheless just luck that the car
did not overturn*
- Ekampa 'it would rather'
- Example: 7. Ekampa ya ba nna ya shwang bakeng sa
ngwana ka
I would rather die in my child's place
- Etlampe 'will nevertheless'
- Example: 8. Etlampe e be yena ya emang ntatae sebaka
*It will however be he filling in for his
father*
- Eka 'it seems as if'
- Example: 9. Ha o momametse a bua eka ha di a re malome
*When you listen to him speak he does not
sound normal*

Ekile

'it happened that'

Example: 10. Ekile yare re motjhaketse a re tsholela
mekgodutswane

*We visited him once and he served us
lizards*

Etlaka

'it will appear that'

Example: 11. Etlaka ha le morate ha le mokgetholla

*It will seem as if you do not like him if
you isolate him*

Yaka

'it was as if'

Example: 12. A nyebella yaka o fokotse athe o tla
nyoloha ka ho sele

*He pretended to be weak whereas he was
preparing to attack from a different angle*

Eke

'as if'

Example: 13. E tle eke ha a motsebe ha le teana

*It should appear as if you do not know him
when you meet*

Eba

'and then'

Example: 14. Ha a phirimellwa eba o se a robaletsa

*When nightfall catches up with him he
sleeps over*

Ebile 'and'/'it was then that'

Example: 15. Ebile o se a kgutla ha a ntlwa taba
tsa hao
He then returned when he heard your news

Etlaba 'it will then be'

Example: 16. Ha o tla kwano etlaba ho lokile
If you come here it will be fine

Ebe 'and then'

Example: 17. Ke tla palama sefofane ebe ke hira koloi
Mangaung
*I will take a 'plane and then hire a car
in Bloemfontein*

Yaba 'and then'

Example: 18. O ile a ya sepetlele yaba o geta
mariha teng
*He went into hospital and spent the
winter there*

Enoba 'it should then be'

Example: 19. Enoba le file basadi tjhelete ha le le
jwaleng tjena
*You should give your wives money and then
come to drink*

Ekaba

'is it then possible'

Example: 20. Ekaba o tla bona senotlolo moo ke se
beileng?

Will he then find the key where I put it?

Ere

'it happens that'

Example: 21. O ke a yo nwa ere ha a kgutla a lwane
*He occasionally goes to drink and it
happens that when he returns he fights*

Eitse

'it happened that'

Example: 22. Eitse re bua le maburu ana hantle a hana
ho mamela

*It happened that when we talked to these
boers nicely they refused to listen*

Etsware

'it just happened that'

Example: 23. Etsware ke mokopa hantle a nthohaka

*It just happened that I asked her nicely
and she insulted me*

Etlare

'it will happen that'

Example: 24. Etlare re theoha sefofaneng ebe ba a
re tshwara

*It will happen that when we get off the
'plane they arrest us*

Enore

'it should happen that'

Example:

25.

Enore ha ba le bitsa le hare*You should refuse when they call you*Yare

'it happened that'

Example:

26.

O fihlile ka shwalane yare ka mezo a

tswela pele

*He arrived at dusk and proceeded at dawn*Ekare

'if it happens that'

Example:

27.

Ekare ha a bua jwalo ka ema ka tsamaya*If he talks like that I will get up and go*

APPENDIX D

PARADIGM OF CONJUNCTIVE AUXILIARIES

(A) POSITIVE AND NEGATIVE

	-RE		-BA		-KA	
	(positive)	(negative)	(positive)	(negative)	(positive)	(negative)
Indicative:						
Present	<i>ere</i>	-	<i>eba</i>	-	<i>eka</i>	-
Perfect	<i>eitse</i>	<i>haeare</i>	<i>ebile</i>	-	<i>ekile</i>	-
Imm. Past	<i>etspare</i>	<i>haetsore</i>	-	-	-	-
Future	<i>etlare</i>	<i>haetlore</i>	<i>etlaba</i>	<i>haetloba</i>	<i>etlaka</i>	<i>haetloka</i>
Subjunctive:						
Pres.-Fut	<i>ere</i>	<i>esere</i>	<i>ebe</i>	<i>esebe</i>	<i>eke</i>	-
Emphatic	<i>enore</i>	<i>esenore</i>	<i>enoba</i>	<i>esenoba</i>	-	-
Perfect	<i>e-ee ere</i>	<i>(haekebe ere)</i>	<i>e-ee ebe</i>	-	<i>e-ee eke</i>	-
Past	<i>e-ile eare</i>	<i>(haeakaeare)</i>	<i>e-ile eaba</i>	-	<i>e-ile eaka</i>	-
Potential:	<i>ekare</i>	<i>ekesere</i>	<i>ekaba</i>	<i>ekesebe</i>	<i>ekaka</i>	-
Participial:		<i>esare</i>	-	<i>esabe</i>	-	<i>esake</i>

(B) POSITIVE FORMS ONLY

	-RE	-BA	-KA
Past -NE: ²			
Present	<i>ene ere</i>	<i>ene e ba</i>	<i>ene eka</i>
Perfect	<i>ene eitse</i>	-	-
Future	<i>ene etlare</i>	<i>ene etlaba</i>	<i>ene etlaka</i>
Past	<i>ene eile eare</i>	-	<i>ene eile eaka</i>
Habitual	<i>ene eee ere</i>	<i>ene eee ebe</i>	<i>ene eee eke</i>
Potential	<i>ene ekare</i>	<i>ene ekaba</i>	-
Potential -BE:			
Present	<i>ekabe ere</i>	<i>ekabe e ba</i>	<i>ekabe eka</i>
Perfect	<i>ekabe eitse</i>	-	<i>ekabe ekile</i>
Future	<i>ekabe etlare</i>	-	<i>ekabe etlaka</i>
Past	<i>ekabe eile eare</i>	-	-
Habitual	<i>ekabe eee ere</i>	<i>ekabe eee ebe</i>	<i>ekabe eee eke</i>
Future -BE:			
Present	<i>etlabe ere</i>	<i>etlabe eba</i>	<i>etlabe eka</i>
Perfect	<i>etlabe eitse</i>	-	-
Past	<i>etlabe eile eare</i>	-	-
Habitual	<i>etlabe eee ere</i>	-	-

Exclusive -SE:

Present	<i>ese ere</i>	-	<i>ese eka</i>
Perfect	<i>ese eitse</i>	-	-
Future	<i>ese etlare</i>	-	<i>ese etlaka</i>
Past	<i>ese eile eare</i>	-	<i>ese eile eaka</i>
Habitual	<i>ese eee ere</i>	-	<i>ese eee eke</i>
Potential	<i>ese ekare</i>	-	-

(C) OTHER DEFICIENT VERB STEMS:

	-SITA	-MPA	-FELA	-LE	-TSOA
Indicative:					
Present	<i>esita</i>	<i>empa</i>	<i>efela</i>	-	-
Perfect	<i>esitile</i>	<i>empile</i>	-	-	-
Future	<i>etlasita</i>	-	-	-	-
Subjunctive					
Pres.-Fut	-	<i>ɪ =</i>	-	-	<i>etsoe</i>
Past	<i>easita</i>	<i>eampa</i>	-	-	-
Perfect	<i>esite</i>	-	-	-	-
Potential:	<i>ekasita</i>	<i>ekampa</i>	-	-	-
Progressive:	-	-	-	<i>esale</i>	-

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