MOODS AND TENSES IN XITSONGA

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Aim

The aim of this article is firstly to give an overview of the forms and meanings of the various moods and tenses in Xitsonga, but then to primarily focus on the Dependent mood and its very wide distribution to see in what way Xitsonga may solve the many issues in the language with but one morphological verbal form.

Contents

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INDICATIVE MOOD

The Indicative refers to verb forms that describe an action or event or an expression which states a fact. Four basic tenses may be discerned in Xitsonga: Present, Perfect, Future and A-Past tenses. These tense forms have no clear relationship with time and they are morphological forms of the verb which may refer to other meanings also except the temporal one (see i.a. Mpangane (1995), Du Plessis, Visser (1992), Nxopo (1993) and Rankhododo (1999). Tense forms in Xitsonga may show the time and/or aspect (imperfective, perfective) of the action or state or event expressed by the verb.

PRESENT TENSE

The Present Tense is the form of a verb that shows what exists or is happening now (LDCE (1993)). In the Bantu languages of South Africa it is distinguished by the presence or absence of a morpheme such as [-a-] in Xitsonga or [-ya-] in isiXhosa:

(1)   Xitsonga: Vana v-**a-**tirh-a
                  (2children 2they-pres-work-fv)

         IsiXhosa: Abantwana ba-**ya**-sebenz-a
                  (2children 2they-pres-work-fv)

However, this [-a-] or [-ya-] morpheme does not contribute to the temporal or aspectual meaning of the Present tense: it is employed to bring structures with this morpheme into a focus position. There is no morpheme which specifically refers to the Present tense, its meaning may only be discerned through a comparison with other tenses and its contextual discourse. The tense with the morpheme [-a-] is sometimes referred to as the "long present tense" against the "short present tense" without [-a-] (see Mpangane 1995).

Intransitive verbs with no adjuncts or complements are forced to use this [-a-] morpheme in the Present Tense with the resulting focus then on the action or event depicted in the verb. This morpheme appears with subjectival agreement and it has an influence on the form of the agreement morpheme: if the agreement morpheme consists of a consonant and a vowel, e.g. in class 2 [va-] or class 9 [yi-], the vowel will be displaced by this morpheme [-a-]: [va+a→v-a-], [yi+a→y-a-]:

(2)   Vana v-**a**-ril-a
         (2children 2they-a-cry-fv: the children are crying)

If the agreement morpheme consists of only a vowel, i.e. [u-] in class 1 or second person singular, the vowel will change to a glide **w** with [-a-]: [u+a→w-a-]:

(3)   N'wana w-**a**-ril-a
         (1child 1he-a-cry-fv: the child is crying)

When an adjunct appears with intransitive verbs, the morpheme [-a-] is optional. Its presence on the verb, however, gives rise to the distinction of focus on the tense:

(4)   a.   With [-a-]:   [H-**a**-famb-a [endleleni]]
                            (We-a-walk-fv loc-road: we do walk in the road)

        Without [-a-]: [Hi-famb-a [endleleni]]
                            (we-walk-fv loc-road: we are walking in the road)

      b.   With [-a-]:   [H-**a**-ril-a [sweswi]]
                             (we-a-cry-fv now: we do cry now)

        Without [-a-]: [Hi-ril-a [sweswi]]
                            (We-cry-fv now: we are now crying)

In the sentences above the tense is the present tense and there is no difference in the temporal interpretation of the tenses in (a) and (b) above in (4). The difference in meaning is thus not with the interpretation of the tense but with the issue of focus because of the presence of the morpheme [-a-]:

(5)   a.   With [-a-]:   [Ricece r-a-ril-a [sweswi]]
                            (5baby 5he-**a**-cry-fv now: the baby is now CRYING
                            and not doing something else)

      b.   Without [-a-]: [Ricece ri-ril-a [sweswi]]
                            (5baby 5he-cry-fv now: the baby is crying now, it
                            has not been crying before)

The Present Tense also refers to aspect and specifically the imperfect aspect which expresses duration without specifying completion. Thus, there is a present tense meaning above with an imperfect aspect with an added focus with the morpheme [-a-]. The verbs in the sentences (2-5) above are all intransitive verbs.

With transitive verbs, structures such as the following need to be considered when looking at the Present Tense:

(6)   a.   [... AgrS-V DP]
           [Ricece [ri-lav-a masi]
           (5baby 5he-want-fv milk: the baby wants milk)

      b.   [... AgrS-**a**-V DP]
           [Ricece [r-**a**-lav-a masi]
           (5baby 5he-a-want-fv milk: the baby does want milk)

The focus morpheme [-a-] is present in (6b) above but not in (6a). Sentences with a transitive verb with an object as complement as in (6a) above, may all alternatively appear in the Present Tense with the focus morpheme [-a-] as in (6b) above.

The object of a transitive verb may appear together with its objectival agreement on the verb in the Present Tense:

(7)   [... AgrS-**a**-AgrO-V DP]
        [ndz-**a**-ri-pfal-a rivanti]
        (I-a-5it-close-fv 5door: I do close the door)

In sentences such as (7) above the presence of the focus morpheme [-a-] is compulsory:

(8)   [... AgrS-AgrO-V DP]
        *[Ndzi-ri-pfal-a rivanti]
        (I-5it-close-fv door)

In (7) above the focus morpheme is present together with the objectival agreement [-ri-] of the object [rivanti]. Thus, in (7) there is both focus on the VP but also on the object DP because of the presence of its objectival agreement. In (8) the focus morpheme [-a-] is not present and therefore the sentence is not acceptable because the objectival agreement with the overt DP object as in (7) forces the presence of this [-a-]:

The object DP may be an empty pro coindexed with its objectival agreement:

(9)   [Ndz-**a**-ri-pfal-a pro]
        (I-**a**-5it-close-fv 5pro: I do close it)

The presence of the focus morpheme [-a-] in (9) is compulsory:

(10)   *[Ndzi-ri-pfal-a pro]
        (I-5it-close-fv 5pro)

See (8) above: the same conclusions may be drawn in (10): the objectival agreement [-ri-] with pro forces a focus interpretation which is absent without the focus morpheme [-a-].

According to Mpangane (1995) sentences such as (10) should be acceptable if some adjunct appears with them:

(ii)   a. [Ndz-**a**-vu-dy-a vuswa]
            (I-**a**-14it-eat-fv 14porridge: I do eat porridge)

        b. [Ndz-**a**-vu-dy-a pro [sweswi]]
            (I-**a**-14it-eat-fv 14pro now: I do eat it now)

        c. [Ndzi-vu-dy-a pro [sweswi]]
            (I-14it-eat-fv 14pro now: I eat it now)

In (11b) above the focus morpheme [-a-] appears and thus this sentence may be compared with (9) above. However, (11c) is acceptable although (10) above is not because of the absence of the focus morpheme [-a-].

The adjunct [sweswi] in (11c) causes this sentence to be acceptable. The focus in the sentence in (11c) has moved to the adjunct [sweswi] and the focus morpheme [-a-] is thus not necessary for depicting focus on the adjunct.

Mpangane (1995) also accepts objectival agreement without the focus morpheme in sentences with ditransitive verbs. Ditransitive verbs appear with two object DPs in a structure such as the following (see (6a)):

(12)   … AgrS-V DP DP
       [Ndzi-nyik-a [vana] [swiwitsi]
       (I-give-fv children sweets)

The structure in (12) may appear with the focus morpheme on the verb (see (6b)):

(13)   … AgrS-**a**-V DP DP
       [Ndz-**a**-nyik-a [vana] [swiwitsi]
       (I-a-give-fv children sweets: I do give sweets to the children)

In both (12) and (13) objectival agreement co-indexed with pro may appear as in (7-8) above:

(14)   a. [Ndzi-va-nyik-a [pro] [swiwitsi]
           (I-2them-give-fv 2pro sweets: I give sweets to them)

       b. [Ndz-**a**-va-nyik-a [pro] [swiwitsi]
           (I-a-2them-give-fv 2pro sweets: I do give sweets to them)

According to (8) above, (14a) should not be acceptable because the focus morpheme only appears with (14b) (see (7) above). However, (14a) is acceptable because of the presence of the direct object **swiwitsi**, the objectival agreement refers to the indirect object pro. (14a) is thus comparable to (6a) above which also appears with an objectival complement.

The negative of the Present Tense in the Indicative uses a negative prefix [a-] which appears together with a negative suffix [-i] on the verb. The negative prefix is [-nga-] when the subject DP appears in class 1:

With intransitive verbs:

(15)   [neg-AgrS-v-neg]
       Class 1: [AgrS-neg-V-neg]

       a. Vana a-va-famb-i
           (2children neg-2they-go-neg: the children are not going)

       b. N'wana a-nga-ril-i
           (1child 1he-neg-cry-neg: the child is not crying)

With transitive verbs:

(16)   [neg-AgrS-V-neg DP]
       Class 1: [AgrS-neg-V-neg DP]

   a. Vana a-va-lav-I xinkwa
      (2children neg-2they-want-neg bread: the children do not want
bread)

   b. Wanuna a-nga-pfun-i vanhu
      (1man 1he-neg-help-neg people: the man does not help people)

With objectival agreement:

(17)   [Neg-AgrS-AgrO-V-neg DP]
       Class 1: [AgrS-neg-AgrO-V-neg DP]

   a. Vana a-va-ri-pfal-i rivanti
      (2children neg-2they-5it-close-neg door: the children do not
close it the
      door)

   b. Wanuna a-nga-ri-pfal-i rivanti
      (1man 1he-neg5-it-close-neg door: the man does not close it the
door)

FUTURE TENSE

See also Mpangane (1995). The Future Tense in Xitsonga may be
expressed by either the morphemes **ta** or **ya** which are derived from the
verbs **ta** (come) and **ya** (go).

The Future Tense with [-ta-]:

(1)   [···AgrS-ta-V]
       [Vana [va-ta-ril-a]
       (2chidlren 2they-fut-cry-fv: the children will cry)

(2)   [···AgrS-ta-V DP]
       [Vadyondzisi [va-ta-pfun-a vana]
       (2teachers 2they-fut-help-fv 2children: the teachers will help the
       children)

(3)   [···AgrS-ta-V DP DP]
       [Ndzi-ta-lomb-a wanuna movha]
       (I-fut-lend-fv man car: I will lend the man a car)

(4)   [···AgrS-ta-V LOC]
       [Vana va-ta-tsham-a laha]
       (2children 2they-fut-sit-fv here: the children will sit here)

The Future Tense with [-ya-]:

(5)   Vavasati va-ya-swek-a
        (2women 2they-fut-cook-fv: the women will cook)

(6)   N'wana u-ya-dyondz-a
        (Child 1he-fut-study-fv: the child will study)

Future Tense with [-ta-ya-]

(7)   Xigulana xi-ta-ya-xav-a mirhi
        (7patient 7he-fut-fut-buy-fv medicine: the patient will go and buy medicine)

The Future Tense with [-ta-] refers to a time after the present time while the Future Tense with [-ya-] refers to a time in the distant future.

Negative of the Future Tense:

With Potential morpheme [-nga-]:

(8) a. Vadyondzisi a-va-nga-pfun-i vana
         (2teachers neg-2they-pot-help-neg 2children: the teachers will
         not help the children)

     b. Wanuna a-a-nga-nghen-i
         (1man neg-1he-pot-enter-neg: the man will not come in)

With Potential morpheme and Future Tense morpheme [-nga-ta-]:

(9) a. Vadyondzisi a-va-nga-ta-pfun-a vana
         (2teachers neg-2they-pot-fut-help-fv 2children: the teachers will
         not help the children)

     b. Wanuna a-a-nga-ta-nghen-a
         (1man neg-1he-pot-fut-enter-fv: the man will not come in)

With Potential [-nga-]:

(10) a. Vadyondzisi va-nge-pfun-i vana
          (2teachers 2they-pot neg-help-fv 2children: the teachers will
          not/cannot
          help the children)

      b. Wanuna a-nge-nghen-i
          (1man 1he-pot neg-enter-fv: the man will not/cannot come in)

The Future tense with **ta** or **ya** frequently appears after a clause with the
verb **ta** or **ya**:

With the verb **ta** (come):

(11) a. [Va-ta [va-ta-ndzi-komba] (Maluleke 1998:65)
          (2they-come 2they-will-me-show: they come and will show me)

      b. [u-ta [u-ta-ndzi-byela leswi] (Nkondo 1965:3)
          (you-come you-will-me-tell-this: you come and will tell me this)

      c. [A-va-t-i [va-ta-lovola] (Maluleke 1998:57)
          (neg-2they-come-neg 2they-will-pay-lobola: they do not come
          and will pay lobola)

With the verb **ya** (go):

(12) a. [U-ta-ya [a-ya-xava mafurha (Maluleke 1998:47)
          (1he-will-go 1he-go-buy-oil: he will go and go buy oil)

b. [U-y-ile [a-ya-yima endleleni] (Maluleke 1998:48)
    (1he-go-perf 1he-go-stand in-road: he went and go to stand in
    the road)

PERFECT TENSE

The Perfect Tense represents the form of a verb that shows a period of
time up to and including the present. It also refers to a perfective aspect
which shows a completion of an action.

The Perfect Tense may be expressed by either the suffix [-ile] or[-e]. The
suffix [-e] never appears when the verb has no complement or adjunct:

(1)   a. Va-swek-ile
          (2they-cook-perf1 they cooked)

      b. *Va-swek-e

      c. Va-swek-ile vuswa
          (2they-cook-perf 14porridge: they cooked porridge)

      d. Va-swek-e vuswa
          (2they-cook-perf porridge: they cooked porridge)

Structures with perfect tense verbs:

[Agr-V]

[Vanna] [va-nghen-ile]
(2children 2AgrS-enter-perf: the children entered)

[wanuna] [u-fik-ile namuntlha] [u-fik-e]
[1man 1AgrS-arrive-perf today (AgrS-arrive-perf): the man arrived today)

The verb [-ri] (say) → [-te]:

[u-te yini?]
(2pspro 2psAgrS-say-perf what: what did you say?)

[Agr-V CP]

[Vanhu] va-hum-ile [va-ya-tsham-a ehandle]
(2people 2AgrS-go.out-perf AgrS-fut-sit-fv outside: the people went out to
go and sit outside)

[Agr-V PP]

[Wanuna] [u-w-ile [hi xikosi]
(1man 1AgrS-fall-perf with back-of-head: the man fell on the back of his
head)

[u-ondz-ile [hi ndlala]
(1pro 1AgrS-be-lean-perf with hunger: she is lean because of hunger)

[ndzi-hlangene [na yena]
(1pspro 1psAgrS-meet-perf with him: I met him)

[Agr-V DP]

[Vavasati] [va-swek-ile byalwa]
(2women 2AgrS-cook-perf beer: the women brewed beer)

[ku-b-iw-ile tingoma]
(explpro explAgrS-beat-pass-perf drums: there were beaten drums)

[Agr-V DP CP]

[Wanuna] [u-ku-von-e [u-tsutsum-a]
(1man 1AgrS-2psAgrO-see-perf 2ps-pro 2psAgrS-run-fv: the man saw you running)

[Xikwembu] [xi-hi-endl-ile [leswaku [hi-ta-v-a [na vana v-o tala]
(7God 7AgrS-1ppAgrO-make-perf 1pp pro that 1ppAgrS-fut-be-fv with children of-to-be many: God made us that we will have many children)

Negative: [a-AgrS-V-anga/angi]

a-va-nghen-anga
(neg-2AgrS-enter-neg: they did not enter)

Class 1 AgrS:

Wanuna a-nga-dy-anga/angi
(1Man 1AgrS-neg-eat-neg: the man did not eat)

A-Past Tense

The A-Past Tense in Xitsonga may appear with a verb in the dependent mood. This verb may either be in the present, perfect or future tense:

Present

a.   Vana a-va-tirh-a

Perfect

b.   Vana a-va-tirh-ile

Future:

c.   Vana a-va-ta-tirh-a

The morpheme **a**- above indicates the past tense and the present tense which follows in (a) above refers to the imperfect aspect, the perfect in (b) to the perfective aspect.

A-Past Tense (Present: Imperfective)

Indicative

[a-Agr-V]

[Vana$_i$] [a-va$_i$-tsutsum-a]
(2children past-2AgrS-run-fv: the children were running)

[a-Agr-V DP]

[Ndzhawu leyi y-a byanyi$_i$ [a-yi$_i$-avany-is-a tindlu ta vanhu va-n'wana]
(9place 9dem 9Agr-poss grass past-9AgrS-divide-caus-fv. 10houses 10Agr-poss 2people 2Agr-some: this place of grass was dividing the houses of some people)

[Miehleketo y-a vatirhi$_i$] [pro$_j$] [a-a$_j$-yi$_i$-tw-a ni ku-yi$_i$-von-a [yi$_i$-ri le-yi-nene leyi munhu a-a-fanele ku-hanya hi yona]
(4thoughts Agr-poss workers 1pro past-1AgrS-4AgrO-hear-fv and to-4AgrO-see-fv 4AgrS-copvb-4Agr-good reldet person past-1AgrS-ought to-live with 4it: the thoughts of the workers he heard them and see them that they are good which a person ought to live with them) (Maluleke 1993_39).

A-Agr-V PP

Xana a mi vulavula na mina ke?
(You did speak with me?)

[a-Agr-V DP PP]

[pro$_i$ [a-a$_i$-nga-swi$_j$-rhandz-i] [pro$_j$] [loko [[pro$_k$] [ndzi$_k$-vek-iw-a hosi]
(1pro past-1AgrS-meg-8AgrO-like-neg 8pro when 1pspro 1psAgrS-install-pass-fv chief: I didn't like it when I was installed as chief)

Expletive ku

Hi tlhelo r-a vuxa [pro$_i$] [a-ku$_i$-von-ak-a tiyindlu]
(with side Agr-poss east explpro past-explAgrS-see-neuter-fv houses: on the eastern side there were visible houses)

[a-Agr-V DP CP]

[N'wa-Mahlahla$_i$] [pro$_j$] [a-swi$_j$-n'wi$_k$-vav-is-a [pro$_k$] ngopfu [a$_i$-nga-tiv-i [leswaku u$_i$-ta-n'wi-hlamul-a yini]
1N'wa-Mahlahla 8pro past-8AgrS-1AgrO-hurt-caus-fv 1pro really 1AgrS-neg-know-neg that 1AgrS-fut-1AgrO-answer what: N'wa-Mahlahla it hurt her very much not knowing that she will answer him what (Maluleke 81:11).

[a-Agr-V leswaku IP]

[pro$_i$] [a-ndzi-ehleket-a [leswaku [ndz$_i$-a-n'wi$_j$-rhandz-a [pro$_j$]
(1pspro past-1psAgrS-think-fv that 1psAgrS-pres-1AgrO-like-fv 1pro: I thought that I love her)

A-Past Tense (Perfect: Perspective)

Indicative

[a-Agr-V-ile]

[pro$_i$] [a-ndzi$_i$-etlel-e]
(1pspro past-1psAgrS-sleep-perf: I slept)

[pro$_i$] [a-ndzi$_i$-nga-yingis-angi]
(1pspro past-1psAgrS-neg-listen-neg: I did not listen)

[pro$_i$] [se-a-a$_i$-karhel-e]
(1pro already-past-1AgrS-tired-perf: I was already tired)

Expletive

Ekamareni rin'wana [pro$_i$] [a-ku$_i$-tsham-ile vatswari v-a vona]
(in-room other expl-pro-past-expl AgrS-sit-perf 2parents 2Agr-poss-them: in another room there sat their parents)

[a-Agr-V-ile DP]

[Magondzo hinkwa-wo y-a Soweto]$_l$ [a-ya$_i$-hu-ndzu-k-ile milambu]
(roads all Agr-poss Soweto past-6AgrS-change-perf rivers: all the roads of Soweto changed the rivers)

[Tintombhi$_i$] [a-ti$_i$-ku$_j$-endz-er-ile pro$_j$ tolo]
(10girls past-10AgrS-you-visit-appl pro yesterday: the girls visited you yesterday)

[a-Agr-V-ile LOC]

[pro$_i$] [a-a$_i$-tsham-e [ehenhla ka sangu]
(1pro past-1AgrS-sit-perf on of mat: he sat on the mat)

[a-Agr-V-ile PP]

[Yindlu$_i$] [a-yi$_i$-vandzakan-ile [ni kereke]
(9house past-9AgrS-adjoin-perf with church: the house adjoined the church)

[a-Agr-V-ile INF]

[Timhaka$_i$] [a-ti$_i$-sungur-ile [ku-onh-ek-a eka mukhegulu]
(10affairs past-10AgrS-begin-perf to-spoil-neut-fv loc old-women: the issues began to be spoilt for the old woman)

A-Past Tense with –ta-

A-ndzi-ta-swi-endl-a swilo leswi
(past-I-ta-sit-do-fv things these: I should do these things)

Loko a-mi-ndzi-pfumelel-a, a-mi-ta-n'wi-tshik-a emavokweni ya mina
(if past-you-me-allow, past-you-ta-him-leave-fv in-arms of me: if you allowed me, you should leave him in my arms)

2.   DEPENDENT MOOD

The dependent mood may appear in a wide variety of senses and its distribution will follow after a list of its tenses.

The tenses of the dependent mood

Present Tense

Positive: [AgrS-V-a …..]
            AgrS of class 1: [a-]

… n'wana$_i$ [a$_i$-ril-a]
(1child 1AgrS-cry-fv: the child cries)

… vana$_i$ [va$_i$-dy-a xinkwa]
(2children 2AgrS-eat-fv bread: the children eat bread)

…tihomu$_i$ [ti$_i$-lav-a mati]
(10cattle 10AgrS-want-fv water: the cattle want water)

… wansati$_i$ [a$_i$-n'wi$_j$-pfun-a n'wana$_j$]
(1woman 1AgrS-1AgrO-help-fv 1child: the woman helps her the child)

Negative: [AgrS-neg-V-neg …]
            AgrS of class 1: [a-]

… n'wana$_i$ [a$_i$-nga-ril-i]
(1child 1AgrS-neg-cry-neg: the child is not crying)

… vana$_i$ [va$_i$-nga-dy-i xinkwa]
(2children 2AgrS-neg-eat-neg bread: the children do not eat bread)

… tihomu$_i$ [ti$_i$-nga-lav-i mati]
(10cattle 10AgrS-neg-want-neg water: the cattle do not want water)

… wansati$_i$ [a$_i$-nga-n'wi$_j$-pfun-i n'wana$_j$]
(1woman 1AgrS-neg-1AgrO-help-neg child: the woman does not help her the child)

Future Tense

Positive

··· n'wana a-ta/ya-dyondz-a
(··· the child will study)

Negative

··· n'wana a-nge-dyondz-i
··· n'wana a-nga-ta-dyondz-a

Perfect tense

Positive: [AgrSDep-V-ile]

··· vana$_i$ va$_i$-nghen-ile
(···2children 2AgrSDep-enter-perf: the children having entered)

Negative: [AgrSDep-nga-V-anga/angi]

··· vana$_i$ va-nga-nghen-anga
(···2children 2AgrSDep-neg-enter-neg: the children did not enter)

Distribution of the Dependent mood

The dependent mood may appear in the following types of clauses with the senses as indicated:

1.   In a participial clause
2.   With the complementizer **leswaku**
3.   In subordination with no complementizer
4.   As complement of clausal prepositions:
       4.1   loko
       4.2   hambi
       4.3   mpfhuka
       4.4   kutani
5.   Complement of deficient verbs
6.   Consecutive clause
7.   Coordinated clauses

1.   The Dependent mood in a participial clause

Xitsonga does not have separate verbal forms for the expression of the participle, specifically the distinguishing factor of the imperfect vs perfect aspect, as in the other languages of South Africa. For this purpose it uses the dependent mood but in this participial usage it does not indicate time by itself: it refers for an indication of time to the tense of the matrix clause while it indicates aspect by itself:

(1) [Vana va-nghen-a [va-yimbelel-a]
     (2children 2they-enter-fv 2they-sing-fv: the children come in while
     singing)

The clause with **va-yimbelela** above is a subordinated clause with the dependent mood on the verb. The matrix clause has a verb phrase of which the verb is in the Present Tense of the Indicative mood, i.e. **va-nghena**. The verb in the subordinated clause has the Present Tense of the dependent mood. This tense has no temporal reference, i.e. it does not refer to present time by itself. However, it does have a present time reference which is derived from the Present Tense of the matrix clause. In this sense it refers to a simultaneity of time. By itself the dependent mood above refers to aspect and in this case the imperfective aspect which expresses duration without specifying completion. The Present Tense of the Indicative in (1) may be changed to any other tense without influencing the imperfective aspect in the subordinate clause:

(2) a.   Future Tense: [Va-ta-nghen-a [va-yimbelel-a]
                        (2they-fut-enter-fv 2they-sing-fv: they will come in
                        while singing)

     b.   Perfect Tense: [Va-nghen-ile [va-yimbelel-a]
                        (2they-enter-perf 2they-sing-fv: they came in while
                        singing)

     c.   A-Past Tense: [A-va-nghen-a [va-yimbelel-a]
                        (past-2they-enter-fv 2they-sing-fv: they were
                        coming in while singing)

In all the sentences in (2) the dependent mood retains the present tense (va-yimbelela), but it inherits the time of the matrix clause, i.e. future or past. By itself it will retain its reference to the imperfective aspect.

The dependent mood in its use as a participle may also refer to a Perfective aspect which indicates the completion of an action:

(3) [Va-ta-fik-a [va-dy-ile]
     (2they-fut-arrive-fv 2they-eat-perf: they will arrive having eaten
     (at that time)

The VP with the verb **va-dyile** is in the Perfect Tense of the dependent mood but with its reference to a future time, derived from the matrix clause with **va-ta-fika** which is a future tense of the indicative. The verb **va-dyile** only refers to a perfective aspect. The matrix clause may appear in any tense as in (2) above:

(4) a.   Perfect tense: [Va-fik-ile [va-dy-ile]
                        (2they-arrive-perf 2they-eat-perf: they arrived
                        having eaten)

b. A-Past tense: [A-va-fik-ile [va-dy-ile]
(past-2they-arrive-perf 2they-eat-perf: they had arrived having eaten)

c. Present tense: [Va-fik-a [va-dy-ile]
(2they-arrive-fv 2they-eat-perf: they arrive having eaten)

In each case above the participial clause **va-dyile** has the Perfect tense of the dependent mood but it always refers only to the perfective aspect.

In the following paragraphs attention will be focused on the distribution of the participial clause with reference to the imperfective and perfective aspects.

1.1 Imperfective aspect

1.1.1 The participial clause with the imperfect aspect may firstly appear with a Present Tense of the dependent mood in a subordinate clause:

a. Present Tense Indicative clause with a subordinate clause in the Present Tense of the dependent mood:

(5) [Lava vanhu [va-dy-a xinkwa [xi-ri na botere kumbe vulombe] [kambe [va-dy-a [va-nga-swi-von-i]
(2these 2people 2they-eat-fv 7bread 7it-be with butter of honey but 2they-eat-fv 2they-neg-8it -see-neg: these people eat bread with butter or honey but they eat not seeing it)

The sentence in (5) has two clauses which are coordinated with a conjunct **kambe**. Both clauses have a matrix clause with the Present Tense of the Indicative (va-dya), followed by a subordinate clause with the Present tense of the dependent mood, i.e. with the copulative verb **xi-ri** and the negative verb **va-nga-swi-voni**. These two subordinate clauses refer to the imperfective aspect.

b. Present tense with an exclusive morpheme [-o-/-lo-] in a dependent mood clause followed by the present tense of the dependent mood in a participial subordinate clause:

(6) [Loko [a-heta [ku-hlaya], [w-o-hum-a [a-famb-a]
(when 1he-finish to-read, he-simply-go-out-fv 1he-go-fv: when he finishes to read, he just simply goes out while going away)

The exclusive morpheme –**o**- in **w-o-hum-a** in (6) refers to something which happens in a way that offers no other choice or possibility. The clause with [wo-huma] is in the dependent mood because the verb is dependent on the previous VP after **loko** and **wo-huma** is then taken as a

consecutive clause with a subordinate participial clause [a-famba] denoting the imperfect aspect.

c. Present tense in a dependent mood clause with a present tense of the dependent mood in a subordinate participial clause:

(7) "Ndz-a-ku-rhandz-a", [N'wa-Khwidyana a-vul-a hi ku-yisa voko [a-n'wi-khoma] (Maluleke 1998:51)
(I-**a**-you-love-fv, N'wa-khwidyana 1he-say with to-bring arm 1he-1her-grasp: I love you says N'wa-Khwidyana by bringing up his arm while grasping her)

The first dependent mood clause with **a-vula** is a consecutive clause which appears in direct speech. The participial clause **a-n'wi-khoma** denotes the imperfective aspect.

d. Perfect tense indicative clause with a present tense of the dependent mood in a subordinate participial clause denoting the imperfective aspect:

(8) [U-tshiner-ile ekusuhani [a-ringet-a ku-n'wi-pfux-a] (Maluleke 1998:55)
(1he-approach-perf near 1he-try—f to-him-wake-fv: he came nearer while he tries to wake him)

The subordinate clause with **a-ringeta** is the participial clause.

1.1.2   The participial clause with the imperfective aspect appears with the present tense of the dependent mood with the morpheme [-aha-]:

a. Perfect tense indicative clause with a participial clause where the verb has a morpheme [-aha-]:

(9) [Ndzi-sungur-ile ku-n'wi-tiva [ndz-aha-nghen-a xikolo]
(I-begin-perf to-her-know I-still-enter-fv school: I began to know her while I was still at school)

The subordinate participial clause with –**aha**- has the imperfect aspect but it refers to a past time derived from the perfect tense in the matrix clause of **ndzi-sungurile**.

b. Present tense indicative clause with participle with –**aha**:

(10) [Vanhu va-von-a rivoni [v-aha-ta-a hi le kule]
(2people 2they-see-fv light 2they-still-come-fv with loc far: people see the light while they are still coming from far away)

The participial clause has **aha** as above, but the derivation of time is now the present.

1.1.3 The participial clause with the imperfective aspect appears with the morpheme –**ta**- in the dependent mood:

The morpheme –**ta**- is derived from the verb **ta** (come) and may appear as a Future tense morpheme in the Indicative:

(11) [Va-ta-tirh-a]
      (2they-fut-work-fv: they will work)

This **ta** retains its original meaning when it appears i.a. in the Infinitive:

(12) [Manana u-vitan-a nkwanyana [ku-ta-ka mati]
      (1Mother 1she-call-fv girl to-come-draw water: my mother calls the girl to come and draw water)

The morpheme **ta** may even appear in the Present Tense of the dependent mood but here it has not temporal reference to the future:

a.   Present tense Indicative clause with a participial clause with **ta** in the Present tense of the dependent mood

(13) [Ku-hum-ile wansati un'wana [a-ta-va-hlanganis-a] (Maluleke 1998:52)
      (there-come-out-perf 1woman 1another 1she-come-2them-meet-fv: there came out another woman coming to meet them)

b.   Present tense indicative clause with **aha** with a subordinate clause with a complex verb with **ta** in the dependent mood:

(14) [W-aha-t-a [a-ta-lav-a yini?]
      (1he-still-come-fv 1he-come-want-fv what: he is still coming while he comes to want what?)

1.2   Perfective aspect

The participial clause with the perfective aspect may appear with a perfect tense of the dependent mood in a subordinate clause:

a.   Present tense indicative clause with a subordinate participial clause in the perfect tense of the dependent mood:

(15) [Vanhu va-hlek-a [leswi [a-va-swi-von-a] va-yim-el-e le kule le]
      (2people 2they-laugh-fv 8rel past-2they-8it-see-fv 2they-stand-appl.-perf loc far loc: the people are laughing at what they saw while standing far away)

The verb **va-yimele** is a participial verb in the dependent mood.

(16) [Ndzi-rhandz-a ku-suka [ndzi-tw-ile ntiyiso eka wena]
      (I-like-fv to-leave I-hear-perf truth loc you: I like to leave having heard the truth from you)

The verb **ndzi-twile** is in the perfect tense of the dependent mood.

b. Perfect tense indicative clause with a participial clause in the perfect tense of the dependent mood:

(17) [A-ehleket-a [leswaku [ku-hundz-ile malembe y-o-tala [a-tshik-e xikolo]
(1she-think-fv that there-pass-perf years of-to-be-many 1she-leave-perf school: she thought that there-has passed many years she having left school)

The verb **a-tshike** is in the perfect tense of the dependent mood denoting the perfective aspect.

c. A-past tense indicative clause with the perfect tense of the dependent mood:

(18) [Vavanuna [lava [nga-hubutela] [a-va-ri-karhi [va-ti-hungat-a hi nuwa [va-yim-er-ile swa-kudya] (Maluleke 1981:51)
(2men 2rel past-rise-early past-2they-ri-busy 2they-refl-amuse-fv with game 2they-stand-appl-perf 8food: the men who rose early were busy amusing themselves with a game while they waited for the food)

The verb **va-yimerile** is in the perfect tense of the dependent mood.

(19) [A-a-tsham-e etlhelo [a-langut-an-ile na vona]
(past-1he-sit-perf side 1he-look-recipr-perf with them: he sat on one side while he and them looked at each other)

The verb **a-langutanile** is in the perfect tense of the dependent mood.

The complementizer leswaku

The clause which is a complement of the complementizer **leswaku** may have a verb which is either in the indicative or dependent mood, dependent on the type of verb in the matrix clause.

Statement verbs with the Indicative:

(1) [A-ehleketa [leswaku [u-n'wi-thya vito lero]
(1he-think that 1he-him-name name that: he thinks that he gives him that name)

(2) [W-a-swi-tiva [leswaku [i ricece eka mina]
(1he-**a**-8it-know that it-is baby to me: he knows it that he is a baby to me)

Necessity verbs with the dependent mood:

(3)   [Ava vanku va-lava [leswaku [n'wana a-va-pfuna]
        (these 2people 2they-want that child 1he-them-help: these people
        want the child to help them)

(4)   [Hinkwaswo leswi [swi-twala [swi-tlhela [swi-fanela [leswaku
        [mutswari a-swi-endla]
        (8all 8these 9it-evident 8it-again 8it-ought that 1parent 1he-8ut-do:
        all these things are clear it ought again that the parent must do it)

3.   Subordination with no complementizer

The subordinate clause appears in a dependent mood clause with
reference to necessity:

(1)   a. [Ndzi-lav-a [ku-ku-rhuma evhengeleni [u-ya-ndzi-xav-el-a rikari]
            (I-want-f to-you-send loc-shop you-go-me-buy-appl-fv razor: I
            want to send you to the shop to buy a razor for me)

The necessity clause is [u-ya-ndzi-xavela rikari]

        b. [U-rhum-er-ile xihlangi [xi-ya-vitana Giresi] (Maluleke 1998:58)
            (1she-send-appl-perf 7infant 7ke-go-call Giresi: she sent for an
            infant to go and call Giresi)

The necessity clause is [xi-ya-vitana Giresi]

(2)   [Ndz-a-kholw-a [u-vul-a xifaniso x-a nhwana w-a wena]
        (I-**a**-believe you-mean-fv 7photo 7it-of girl 1it-of you: I believe you
        mean the photo of your girl)

(3)   [Pfuka [hi-famb-a], i vusiku
        (Get-up we-go, it-is night: get up we go, it is night)

Pfuka is an imperative and the necessity clause dependent on it is **hi-
famba**.

(4)   A clause after a clause with the verb –**kuma**:

a.   (Loko xifaniso xi-fika, [xi-ta-kuma [m-aha-rhandz-an-a]
        (when 7photo 7it-arrive, 7it-will-find we-still-love-recipr-fv: when the
        photo arrives, it will find we still love each other)

b.   [U-kum-ile [a-ha-etlel-e [a-khigel-e xi-faniso x-a yena]
        (1he-find-perf 1she-still-sleep-perf 1she-lean-perf photo of him: he
        found her still asleep leaning against his photo) (Maluleke 1998:57)

c.   [U-phapham-ile [a-kum-a [xikandza xi-tsakam-ile hi ndzhope]
        (Maluleke 1998:39)
        (1he-waken-perf 1he-find-fv 7face 7it-wet with mud: he woke up
        finding his face wet with mud)

d.   [U-kum-e [ku-tel-e vanhu endyangu]
       (1he-find-perf there-full-perf people loc-yard: he found there is full of
       people in the yard)

In all the sentences in (4) the subordinate clause appears after the clause
with **kuma** as a verb. The dependent mood in (4a) has the present tense
while (4b-d) has the perfect tense of the dependent mood.

4.   Clausal prepositions

4.1   Loko

With present tense of the dependent mood

(1)   [Hi [loko [manana Baloyi [a-tilelela [a-khoma ndlela [a-tiy-el-a haya]
       (It-is then mother-of Baloyi she-say-goodbye, she-take road she-go-
       home)

(2)   [A-swi-hlamaris-i [loko [vanhu v-o-tala va-nga-wu-von-i ntengo
       wolowo]
       (neg-8it-surprise-neg when people of-to-be-many 2they-neg-3it-see-
       neg quietness: it does not surprise when many people do not see
       the quietness)

(3)   [Loko [a-von-e [leswaku [swi-ta-n'wi-nonon'hwela ku-kuma ntirho
       kun'wana], [a-sungula ku-muka]
       (When 1he-see-perf that 8it-fut-him-difficult to-find work other, 1he-
       begin to-go-home: when he saw it will be difficult for him to find
       other work, he began to go home)

4.2   HAMBI

Hambi may have a complement clause which has a verb which is either in
the indicative or dependent mood.

Dependent mood:

(4)   [Botere ni vulombe swi-ta-dy-ek-a [hambi [u-nga-swi-von-i]
       (Butter and honey 8they-fut-eat-neut-fv though you-neg-8then-see-
       neg: butter and honey will be eaten though you don't see it)

Indicative mood

(5)   [Hambi [botere w-a-yi-von-a [kumbe a-wu-yi-von-i] [loko [u-dy-a
       xinkwa hinkwaxo], [u-ta-dy-a matlhelo ha mambirhi]
       (Though 9butter you-**a**-9it-see-fv or neg-you-9it-see-neg when you-
       eat-fv bread whole, you-fut-eat-fv sides of two: though you see
       butter or you don't see it, when you eat the whole bread, you will
       eat both sides)

4.3   MPFHUKA

With dependent mood in complement clause:

(6)   [A-tsaka ku-vona [leswaku [wanuna a-nga-si-tsandzeka ku-fambisa muchini] [mpfuka [a-n'wi-kombisa]
        (1he-glad to-see that man 1he-neg-se-unable to-run machine since 1he-1him-show: he is glad to see that the man is not yet unable to run the machine since he showed him)

4.4   KUTANI

Kutani appears in coordinated clauses with its complement in the dependent mood:

(7)   [U-nghen-ile exitichini [kutani [a-khandziya thekisi [yi-n'wi-yisa laha]
        (Maluleke 1998:51)
        1he-enter-perf loc-station and-then 1he-get-in 9taxi 9it-him-take there: he entered the station and then he got in a taxi and it brought him there)

5.   Deficient verbs

See Nxumalo (2004) for an overview of the deficient verb in Xitsonga. Deficient verbs have to appear with a complement clause and the verb in this clause may be a verb in the dependent mood:

Deficient ver –**tlhela**:

(1)   [Va-dya vuswa [va-**tlhela** [va-xeka xinkwa]
        (2they-eat porridge 2they-again 2they-cut bread: they eat porridge and again cut bread)

Deficient verb **–karhi:**

(2)   [Loko [va-ri-karhi [va-dya], [Madambi a-dya tlhelo ra botere]
        (When 2they-busy 2they-eat, Madambi 1he-eat piece of butter: When they are busy eating, Madambi eats a piece of butter)

6.   Consecutive clause

The consecutive clause in Xitsonga appears in a tense of the dependent mood but it is dependent for its temporal reference on some previous clause or discourse.

Firstly, the consecutive clause may be dependent on the complement clause of the clausal preposition **loko**:

(1)   a. [Loko [va-ri-karhi [va-dy-a], [Madambi a-dy-a tlhelo ra botere ni vulombe]
            (When 2they-ri-busy 2they-eat-fv, Madambi 1he-eat-fv piece of butter and honey: when they are busy eating, Madambi eats a piece of butter and honey)

The verb **a-dya** is within the consecutive clause which is dependent on the clause after **loko** with a deficient verb **karhi** in the present tense of the dependent mood.

      b.   [Makhahlela [loko [a-nghen-a], [a-kum-a Xikotikoti a-ri-karhi [a-dzuk-a nyuku]
           (Makhahlela when 1he-enter-fv 1he-find-fx Xikotikoti 1he-ri-busy 1he-perspire-fv sweat: when Makhahlela enters, he finds Xikotikoti busy sweating)

The verb **a-kuma** is within the consecutive clause dependent on **a-nghena** in the present dependent clause after **loko**.

      c.   [Jikela [loko [a-von-e [leswaku [swi-ta-n'wi-nonon'hwel-a ku-kuma ntirho kun'wana] [a-sungul-a ku-chavisa Xikotikoti]
           (Jikela when 1he-see-perf that 8it-will-him-be-difficult-fv to-find work elsewhere, 1he-begin-fv to-frighten Xikotikoti: when Jikela saw that it will be difficult for him to find work elsewhere, he began to frighten Xikotikoti)

The consecutive clause verb above is **a-sungula** which is dependent on the perfect tense verb **a-vone** of the dependent mood after **loko**.

Secondly, the second clause is a consecutive clause (see also the section on coordinated clauses):

(2)   [U-tek-ile baji] [a-ambal-a]
       (1he-take-perf jacket 1he-dress-fv: he took the jacket and put it on)

The verb **a-ambala** is within the consecutive clause which is itself dependent on **u-tekile** a perfect indicative clause.

Thirdly, there may be some reference to previous discourse:

(3)   [A-tw-a [leswi [mufambisi a-a-swi-yimbelel-a]
       (1he-hear-fv 8rel 1driver past-1he-it-sing-fv: he heard what the driver was singing)

Consecutive verb above is **a-twa**.

Consecutive clause in direct speech.

(4)   "Ndz-a-ku-rhandz-a", [N'waKhwidyana a-vul-a]
       (I-**a**-you-love-fv, N'waKhwidyana 1he-say-fv: I love you, says N'waKhwidyana) (Maluleke 1998:51).

The consecutive clause verb above is **a-vula**, in the present tense of the dependent mood.

Coordinated clauses

Two indicative clauses:

(1)   [Vanhu va Joni [a-va-von-i nchumu], [a-va-tw-i nchumu loko munhu
       a-dlay-iw-a]
       (2people of Johannesburg neg-2they-see-neg something, neg-2they-
       hear-neg something when 1person 1he-kill-pass-fv: the people of
       Johannesburg see nothing, they hear nothing when a person is being
       killed)

(2)   [U-ti-phar-ile mahlo hi xandla [a-sivela mihloti]] kambe [yi-hum-ile
       [yi-khuluk-a hi lomu matlhelo]] (Maluleke 1998:55)
       (1he-refl-close-perf eyes with hand 1he-prevent 4tears but 4it-flow-
       fv with here sides: he closed his eyes with his hand while preventing
       the tears, but they came out flowing here on the side)

Coordinated clause within a subordinate clause

...khale [PresDep] + [Pres Dep]

(3)   [I khale [hi-ri ndleleni] [hi-nga-fik-i kaya]
       (it-is long we-copul loc-road we-neg-arrive-neg loc-home: it is long
       we are on the road and we are not arriving at home)

...loko [Pres Dep] + [Pres Dep] + [Pres Dep]

(4)   [hi [loko [manana Baloyi a-tilelel-a] [a-khom-a ndlela] [a-ti-y-el-a
       kaya]
       (it-is then 1mother Baoyi 1she-say-goodbye 1she-take road 1she-
       refl-go-appl-fv loc-home: it is then mother of Baloyi says goodbye
       and takes the road and goes by herself to home)

... loko [Pres Dep] + [Pres Dep] + [ya-Dep] + [Perf Dep]

(5)   [Hi [loko [va-tlul-a Kunene] [va-ba magoza] [va-ya-yim-a engoleni ya
       muti] [va-hlalel-e leswi endl-ek-e-ke exikarhi ka gondzo] (Mtombeni
       (n.d. p.11)
       (It-is then 2they-go-over-fv really 2they-take steps 2they-go-stand
       at-gate of village 2they-look-perf that happen-perf-relat in-middle of
       road: it is then they go over and take steps and go and stand at the
       gate of the village and looked at what happened in the middle of the
       road)

The subordination is a participial clause depending on the matrix clause.

[Perf Ind clause [Pres Dep] [Pres Dep]]

(6)   [Va-fik-e [va-xewela hi ku-ti-tsongahat-a ni xichavo] [va-tlhela va-
       pfux-el-a nkata Baloyi ni ku-kombela tintswalo ta matilo ehenhla ka
       ndyangu wa vona]]
       (2they-arrive-perf 2they-greet with to-refl-make-small-fv with
       respect 2they-again 2they-wake-appl-fv spouse Baloyi with to-ask
       10mercies 10of heaven on of 1family 1of them: they arrived while

greeting to make themselves small with respect and wake up spouse of Baloyi to ask for mercies of heaven on their family)

[Perf Ind clause [Perf Dep] [Pres Dep]]

(7)   [Ku-hundz-ile nkarhinyana [Chavani a-miyer-ile] [a-sungul-a ku-kwalala hi nhlundzuko]] (Maluleke 1981:10)
(There-pass-perf short-time 1Chavani 1he-be-silent-perf 1he-begin-fv to-be-pale with worry: there passed a short time while Chavani was silent and beginning to be pale with worry)

[Perf Ind clause [Pres Dep] [Pres Dep]]

(8)   [Swihlanginyana leswiyani swi-pfur-ile beke [swi-hangunux-a] [swi-tek-a mali]]
(8Infants 8those 8they-open-perf bag 8they-take 8they-take money: those infants opened the bag while taking out and taking the money) (Maluleke 1998:53)

The second clause is a consecutive clause

[Indicative Present Tense] + kambe + (PP) + [Consecutive clause in Present Tense of the Dependent mood]

(9)   [Ndz-a-ringet-a ku-n'wi-vutisa] [kambe] (loko ndzi-ri ndzexe) [ndzi-swi-rival-a hinkwaswo leswi a-nga-ndzi-byel-a swona]
(I-pres-try-fv to-him-ask but when I-copul alone, I-it-forget-fv everything which he-past-me tell it: I try to ask him but when I am alone, I forgot everything that he told me)

[Future Tense Indicative with morpheme [-o-] + [Consecutive clause in Present Tense of the dependent mood]

(10)   [Vanhu v-o-tala [v-o-ta-ti-nyik-et-a ku-pfuna ku-rhwala nhundzu] [va-yi-nghen-is-a endlwini]
(2people 2-of-many 2they-o-fut-refl-give-fv to-help to-carry goods 2they-9it-enter-caus-fv in-house: many people will just devote themselves to help to carry the goods and let it go into the house)

(11)   [o-ta-fik-a] [o-y-a kwale michinini]
(1he-o-will-arrive 1he-o-go-fv loc loc-machines: he will simply arrive and just go to the machines)

[Present Tense Indicative with morpheme [-o-] + [Consecutive clause in Present Tense Dependent mood]

[Pres Ind-**o**] + [consecutive clause (Pres Dep) + subordination (Pres Dep)]

(12)   [o-vungavung-a swiambalo swa yena] [a-nyeng-a [vatswari va yena v-aha-ri ema-sin'wini ekuhlakuleni] (Maluleke 1998:51)
(1he-simply-gather-fv clothes of him 1he-sneak-off parents of him

2they-still-copul in-lands in-hoeing: he simply gathers his clothes and sneaks off while his parents are still on the lands hoeing)

[Pres Ind-o + subordination (Pres Dep)] + [consecutive clause [Pres Dep)]

(13) [Laha kaya w-o-tsham-a [a-ri yexe] [a-ti-hlay-el-a tibuku]
      (here loc-home 1he-just-sit-a 1he-be alone 1he-refl-read-appl-fv books: here at home he just sits being alone and reads books by himself)

[Pres Ind-o] + kambe + [consecutive clause (Dep mood-o)]

(14) [h-o-tirh-a ku-ringeta ku-dudza vusi-wana] kambe [by-o-tshama byi-nama-rherh-ile]
      (we-just-work-fv to-try to-shake 14poverty but 14it-just-generally 14it-stick-fast-perf: we just work to try to shake poverty but it just generally stick fast)

The second clause is a consecutive clause.

[Perfect Indicative clause] + [Consecutive clause in ya-Dep]

(15) [U-y-ile] [a-ya-pfux-el-a tata wa yena]
      (1he-go-perf 1he-go-wake 1father 1of him: he went and wake up his father)

[Perfect Indicative clause] + kutani + {Consecutive clause in Pres Dep [Subordination Pres Dep]]

(16) [U-fikile exitichini] kutani [a-khandziy-a thekisi [yi-n'wi-y-is-a kona]]
      (1he-arrive-perf loc-station and-then 1he-climb-on-fv 9taxi 9it-him-go-caus-fv there: he arrived at the station and then he climbed on a taxi bringing him there) (Maluleke 1998:51)

[Perf Ind clause] + kambe + [Consecutive clause in Perf Dep]

(17) [U-ringet-ile ku-tsak-is-a Giresi hi tindlela hinkwato] kambe [a-nga-swi-kot-anga] (Maluleke 1998:54)
      (1he-try-perf to-make-happy Giresi with 10ways 10all but 1he-neg-it-succeed-neg: he tried to make Giresi happy in all ways but he did not succeed with it)

The second clause is a consecutive clause

[Imperative clause] + [Consecutive clause in Pres Dep]

(18) [Ndzi-hlamul-e] [u-nga-dzi-fel-i]
      (Me-answer-subj 2you-neg-me-die-appl-neg: answer me and don't die on me)

[Imperative clause] + [Consecutive clause in ya-Dep] + [Consecutive clause in Pres Dep]

(19)   [Famba] [u-ya-tirh-a exitangeni] [u-tshik-a ku-ndzi-tinga] (Maluleke
1998:57)
(Go you-go-work-fv loc-hut you-leave to-me-bother: Go and go to
work in the hut and leave off to hinder me)

The second clause is a consecutive clause

[Potensial clause] + [Consecutive clause in Pres Dep]

(20)   [Kumbe mi-nga-hi-pfun-a] [mi-hi-rhula ngoma]
(Perhaps you-can-us-help-fv you-us-remove drum: perhaps you can
help us and you remove for us the drum)

The second clause is a consecutive clause

[A-Past Tense clause] + [Consecutive clause in Pres Dep]

(21)   [A-va-vulavul-a hi yena] kambe [swi-nga-n'wi-karhat-i]
(Past-2they-talk-fv about her but 8it-neg-her-worry-neg: they were
talking about her but it does not worry her)

[A-Past Tense clause] + [Consecutive clause in Perf Dep]

(22)   [Madambi a-ri-ri jaha ri kulukumba] [a-mir-ile ni malepfu]
(Madambi past-5he-copul youngman 5ri big 1he-grow-perf and
beard: Mdambi was a big young man and he also grew a beard)

3.   RELATIVE CLAUSES

Present Tense

Positive

a.   The head of the relative clause is also the subject of the relative
clause:

(i) The subject of the relative clause is in class 1: AgrS is
compulsory:
[wansati$_i$ [loyi$_i$ [a$_i$-yimbelel-a-ka]
(1woman 1reldet 1AgrS-sing-fv-relmarker: the woman who sings
Reldet and AgrS may be assimilated:
[wansati$_i$ [l- [-a$_i$-yimbelel-a-ka]
(1woman 1reldet 1AgrS-sing-fv-relmarker: the woman who sings

(ii) The subject of the relative clause is in any class except class 1:
AgrS of the relative clause is optional:
[vana$_i$ [lava$_i$ [(va$_i$)-dyondz-a-ka]
(2children 2reldet (2AgrS)-study-fv-relmarker: children who
study

b.   The head of the relative clause is not the subject of the relative
clause:

AgrS of the relative clause is compulsory:
[swakudya$_i$ [leswi$_i$ [vana$_j$ [va$_j$-swi$_i$-lav-a-ka]
(8food 8reldet 2children 2AgrS-8AgrO-want-fv-relmarker: food which the children want)

Negative

a.   (i)   [wansati$_i$ [loyi$_i$ [a$_i$-nga-yimbelel-i-ki]
(1woman 1reldet 1AgrS-neg-sing-neg-relmarker: woman who does not sing)

        (ii)   [vana$_i$ [lava$_i$ [(va$_i$)-nga-dyondz-i-ki]
(2chidlren 2reldet (2AgrS)-neg-study-neg-relmarker: the children who do not study)

b.   [swakudya$_i$ [lesw$_i$ [vana$_j$ [va$_j$-nga-swi$_i$-lav-i-ki]
(8food 8reldet 2children 2AgrS-neg-8AgrO-=want-neg-rel-marker: the food which the children do not want)

Future Tense

Positive

[Vana [lava [(va)] nga-ta-famb-a
(2children 2rel 2they pot-fut-go-fv: the children who will go)

Negative

[Vana [lava [va-nge-famb-i-ki]
(2children 2rel 2they-not neg-go-neg-relmarker: the children who will not go)

Perfect Tense

Positive [AgrS-V-e-ke]

Vana$_i$ [lava$_i$ [(va$_i$)-nghen-e-ke]
(2children 2reldet (2AgrS-enter-perf-relmarker: the children who entered)

Negative [AgrS-nga-V-angi-ki]

Vana$_i$ [lava$_i$ [(va$_i$]-nga-nghen-angi-ki]
(2children 2reldet (2AgrS)-neg-enter-neg-relmarker: the children who did not enter)

4. IMPERATIVE

Form

Singular: verb with final vowel –**a**: Tirh-a (work)
        With monosyllabic verbs: -**na:** Dy-a-na (eat)
        With objective agreement: Va-tirh-el-e (work for them)

With reflexive morpheme: Ti-tirh-el-e (work for yourself)
Negative: U-nga-famb-I (Do not go)

Plural: Singular with plural –**ni**:
Tirh-a-ni
Monosyllabic verb: -**na**- with –**ni**:
Dy-a-na-ni
With objectival agreement: with –**ni:**
Va-tirh-el-e-ni
With reflexive morpheme:
Ti-tivh-el-e-ni
Negative:
Mi-nga-tirh-i

5. POTENTIAL

Form:

With morpheme [-nga-]:
N'wana a-nga-nghen-a
(1child 1he-pot-enter-fv: the child can come in)

Semantics:

Ability: a-nga-vulavula (he can speak)
Permission: A-nga-muka (he may go home)
Possibility: Theoretical: mpfula yi-nga-na (rain may fall)
            Factual: Rhoko leri ri-nga-ndzi-ringana
                (This dress may fit me)

Negative

Va-nge-famb-i

6. HORTATIVE

Form

Hortative prefix **a**- with verb ending on –**e**:

Singular: A-ndzi-muk-e (let me go home)
           A-a-muk-e (let him go home)

Plural: only two persons:
           A-hi-muk-e (let us go home (we two)
           More than two persons: -**ni**:
           A-hi-muk-e-ni (let us all go home)

Negative: Hi-nga-muk-e
           Hi-nga-muk-e-ni

Semantics:

Necessity: indirect speech after **ri**:
        Ndzi-ri a-hi-muk-e
        (I say we must go home)

Exhortation: to urge or advise someone strongly:
        A-hi-famb-e (let us go)

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